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The Gurjara-Pratīhāras

BY

R. C. MAJUMDAR M.A., Ph.D.

The Gurjaras are one of those central Asiatic hordes that poured into India from time to time through its north-western passes, became a prominent political factor for some time, and ultimately merged into her vast population, hardly leaving any trace of their foreign origin. The very important part played by the Gurjaras in ancient Indian history had been scarcely recognised till the brilliant researches of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.[1] The former recognised, for the first time, the existence of an early Gurjara empire in Northern India, while the latter gave the correct identification of the Gurjara princes referred to in contemporary inscriptions. The last named scholar further established the identity of the Gurjara princes of the copper-plates with the homonymous kings mentioned in the stone inscriptions, and also gave for the first time the true interpretation of the dates in their records.

[1] A. M. T. Jackson in *Bombay Gazeteer*, Vol. I, Part I, App. III; Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 405ff., 413 ff. Two other important contributions on the subject are by Dr. V. A. Smith in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 53-76, 247-281; and Dr. Hoernle in *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 639-662: *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 1-32.

With these fixed points, it has become possible to interpret aright the records relating to the Gurjaras and furnish a connected narrative of their achievements in India. This is the task I have set before me in the following pages.

The name Gujarāt still preserves the memory of the important tribe that must have once held sway over the province. The settlement of the tribe further north is indicated by place-names like Gujranwālā, Gujarāt, and Gujar-khan in the Punjab. The district of Shāharanpur was actually called Gujarāt in the 18th century and one of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gujargar. Intermediate between these, the territory corresponding to the northern and central Rājputānā is referred to in some inscriptions of the ninth century A. D. as Gurjaratrā[1] and must therefore be looked upon as a settlement of the Gurjaras. These places roughly indicate the main stages in the onward progress of the Gurjaras from the north-western frontier of India to the Kathiāwār Peninsula.

A study of the geographical distribution of the Gujars, the modern representatives of the Gurjaras, also leads to the same conclusion. They are now found in great numbers in every part of the north-west of India, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Hazara mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarāt. They are pretty numerous in the western Himālayas, in the Punjāb, United Provinces and western Rājputānā. Towards Gujarāt they form a large part of the population and it is held that a Gurjara element underlies all the chief cultivating classes of Gujarāt above those traceable to a distinctly Kol origin. They are specially numerous along the banks of the upper Jumnā, in the upper Doab,

[1] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 414.

Shāharanpur, Mozaffarnagar, Mirāt and Bulandshahar. They occupy the petty state of Samptar in Bundelkhand and one of the northern districts of Gwalior. Their most southerly settlements are in the Nerbudda valley and the district of Nāgpur to which they migrated in the tenth century A. D. They are not now found south of the Vindhyas where those returned as Gujars are traders from Gujarāt who retain traditions of cognate origin.[1] Even in ancient times small bodies of Gurjaras must have in this way settled in far off provinces. Thus we read in Maṇimekhalai, a poem composed in Tamil country before the 6th century A. D., that the Gurjaras built a temple at Puhar on the Kāvery.[2] Again, an individual called Gurjjara, and probably belonging to that tribe, was employed to engrave a copper-plate charter of

[1] The short account of the present distribution of the Gurjaras is based on the following authorities:—

(*i*) Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 71.

(*ii*) Kennedy, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 985.

(*iii*) Baines, *Ethnography*, p. 44.

(*iv*) Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 192.

According to Bühler, the Gurjaras are at present pretty numerous in E. Rajputana, but this is denied by Cunningham and Kennedy. For further particulars about the present settlement of the Gujars, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 481 ff.

[2] This point has caused a great deal of discussion among the European and Tamil scholars. The actual expression that is the cause of so much trouble, is, to transliterate it as near as possible, "Kuchcharakudihai," which the editor explains as a temple of Gurjara workmanship. The normal equivalent of Gurjara or Gurjjara is in Tamil *Kuchchara*, *Kudihai* is the Sanskrit *Ghaṭikā*. Dr. V. A. Smith and Prof. Macdonald, however, quote the occurrence of this expression in Maṇimekhalai as arguing a late date for the Tamil Classic. The Tamil scholars, on the other hand, convinced as they are of the antiquity of the Classics have tried to explain away the meaning of the expression. Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyer now derives it from *Kudhra* giving the sense for the compound as a whole of something like a cave temple or something near it. Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, to whom I am indebted for the above note, observes as follows :—"I do not offer it as a definite conclusion, but I do believe that the immigration of the Gurjaras is not such a settled fact of history for deductive applications." I entirely agree in Mr. Aiyangar's views, and take this opportunity of thanking him for having kindly supplied me with full information on the point under discussion.

Harshavardhana's found in a village 32 miles north-east from Āzamgaḍh.[1]

Opinions differ as regards the origin of the Gurjaras. Cunningham was of opinion that the Gurjaras were descended from the Yueh-chi, and belonged to the same stock as the well-known Kushanas.[2] He appears to have been led to this conclusion mainly in view of the fact that the copper-plate grant of the third Gurjara chief of Broach was dated in the Śaka year 400, thereby pushing back the date of the advent of the Gurjaras into India before the fifth century A. D. These copper-plates have, however, been proved to be forgeries,[3] and the available records show that the establishment of a ruling dynasty of the Gurjaras at Broach cannot be pushed beyond the end of the sixth century A. D. There remains, therefore, no ground for connecting the Gurjaras with the Kushanas except the fact that a division of the Gurjaras on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumnā is called Kushane; but this by itself cannot be looked upon as a convincing proof.

It is now generally held that the Gurjaras entered into India along with the Hūnas[4] and were a branch of that race. The close proximity of the periods when the two tribes first emerge into our view on Indian soil no doubt lends strength to this assumption, but there does not seem to be any independent ground for this conclusion. On the other hand the Hūnas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in Indian records.[5]

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 72.

[2] *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. II, pp. 70 ff.

[3] Kielhorn's *Northern List*, Nos. 347, 348, 349.

[4] Baines, *Ethnography*, p 44. V. Smith in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 54. The question has been minutely discussed in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 471-478 The writer contends that the Gurjara is an Indianised form of "Khazars," a tribe that entered into India along with the White Hūns.

[5] *Cf.* Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harshacharita*, translated by Thomas and Cowell, p. 101; also verse 13 of the Garuḍa pillar inscription of Bādal, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 160.

On the whole the question of the origin of the Gurjaras must still be held to be an open one. The same remark applies to another cognate point, *viz.*, the time when they immigrated into India. Apart from their supposed connection with the Hūnas, there remains no ground for looking upon the middle of the fifth century A. D. as the upper limit of this date. As will be shown below we can trace two definite stages of their settlement before the middle of the sixth century A. D., by which time they had imbibed the culture of the land to a fair degree. It is indeed difficult to form an estimate of the time required by a nomadic horde for these purposes, and although one century may be just possible two centuries or even more appear to be more likely.

As has already been noticed above, the Gurjaras first settled in the Punjāb, but practically nothing is known about their achievements in this part of the country. We read, indeed, in the Rājataraṅgiṇī that Śaṅkaravarman, "bent on the conquest of Gurjara, uprooted in battle in a moment the firmly rooted fortune of Alakhāna, king of Gurjara, who humbly gave up to him the Ṭakka land, preserving his own country as if he had saved his own body at the sacrifice of a finger."[1] It is, however, difficult to determine whether Alakhāna really belonged to the Gurjara tribe, or was merely the king of a country that derived its name from the settlement of the tribe in the past.

Although we possess but meagre accounts of the early settlements of the tribe in the Punjāb, more reliable information is available regarding the progress of the Gurjaras further south. Several inscriptions supply us with the account of a long line of chiefs belonging to the Pratīhāra clan, and ruling over central and northern

[1] Stein's translation, pp. 204-5.

Rājputānā. That the Pratīhāras belonged to the Gurjara tribe is proved beyond all doubt by such expressions as *Gurjara-pratīhārānvaya* occurring in Mathanadeva's inscription.[1] The settlement of the Pratīhāras in Rājputānā thus serves as a landmark in the forward movement of the Gurjaras, and, as subsequent history will show, their future political greatness, leading to their wide spread in Northern India, is, to a great extent, due to this event. Again, so far as is known to us at present, the Pratīhāra clan, alone among the Gurjaras,[2] played an important part in ancient India, and hence an historical account of the early ruling dynasty of this clan is of surpassing importance in the history of the Gurjaras.

Our knowledge of this dynasty is based upon six inscriptions, *viz.*—

(I) Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, published in J.R.A.S., 1894, p. I ff. The inscription is dated, but the portion containing the date has been variously interpreted. Thus Munsi Devīprasād, Dr. Kielhorn and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar read the date respectively as Samvat 940, 4, and 894.[3]

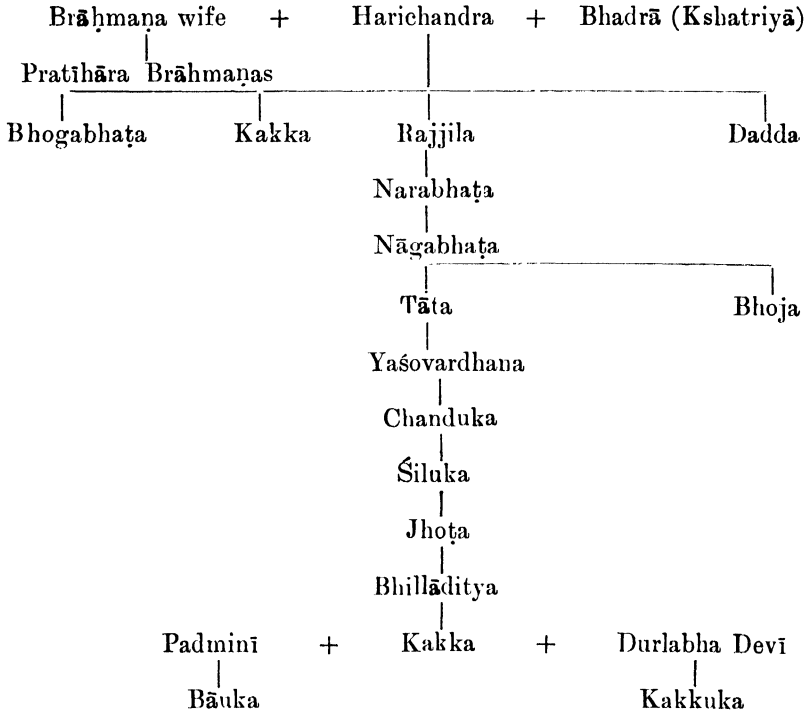
(II-VI) The five Ghaṭiyāḷā inscriptions of Kakkuka. One of these was published in J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 513 ff. and the remaining four, in Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 277 ff. Three of these five inscriptions bear the date Samvat 918. The other two have no dates.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266.

[2] It is true that the origin of other important tribes in India has been traced to the Gurjaras. But while all these theories may be accepted as good working hypotheses, hardly any of them can claim to be an established fact.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 3; *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv*, W. Circle, 1906-7, p. 30. I am at present engaged in editing this inscription for Ep. Ind. and have accepted Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the date as the correct one. The topic will be fully discussed in my paper in Ep. Ind.

The inscriptions supply us with the following genealogy of a line of kings belonging to the Pratīhāra dynasty.



All the above names except that of Kakkuka occur in inscription No. I. In the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscriptions of the Pratīhāra Kakkuka dated in V.S. 918 some names are slightly modified, such as Śilluka for Śiluka and Bhilluka for Bhillāditya. As they trace only the line of descent, they omit the names of the three brothers of Rajjila and the brother of Tāta. They add a new name to the dynastic list, *viz.*, that of Kakkuka, the step-brother of Bāuka.

The inscriptions thus furnish us with a line of kings extending over twelve generations. Taking twenty-five years as an average for each generation, the total reign-period of the dynasty would be about 300 years. As the known date of Kakkuka is Samvat 918 or 861 A.D., and that of his step-brother Bāuka, Samvat 894 or 837 A.D.,

the founder of the dynasty Harichandra may be placed at about 550 A.D.[1]

The verse 9 of inscription No. I tells us that the four sons of Harichandra built a large rampart round the fort of Maṇḍadyapura which was gained by their own prowess (*nija-bhujārjjite*). Maṇḍadyapura must be the same as Mandor whence the stone bearing the inscription was probably brought to Jodhpur five miles to the south.[2] It is thus proved that the Pratīhāra clan of the Rajputs had advanced as far south as Mandor in the heart of Rājputānā shortly after the middle of the sixth century A.D. This part of Rājputānā is referred to in inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. as Gurjaratrā[3], and must therefore be looked upon as a stronghold of the Gurjara power. It is permissible to hold, then, that the historic origin of the name is to be traced to the Pratīhāra clan of the Gurjaras which strongly established itself in the locality and ruled there for three hundred years up to the middle of the ninth century A.D. It is further legitimate to identify it with the Gurjara power to which various references are made in the records of the seventh century A.D. Let us discuss these one by one.

[1] Dr. Hoernle remarks :—" The two half-brothers Kakkuka and Bāuka formed the twelfth generation of the Parihār dynasty. This fact at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign will place Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 A.D." (J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 28.) Dr. Hoernle here overlooks the difference between 'reign' and 'generation.' A consideration of the duration of the well-known historical dynasties would show that the average duration of a generation must be taken to be at least 25 years.

Thus (*i*) Eight generations of Pāla kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla I ruled for more than 209 years.

(*ii*) Seven generations of Chālukya kings from Kīrtivarman I to Kīrtivarman II ruled for more than 180 years.

(*iii*) Nine generations of Rāshṭrakūṭa kings from Dantidurga to Indrarāja IV ruled for more than 229 years.

(*iv*) Nine generations of Pratīhāra kings from Vatsarāja to Trilochanapāla ruled for more than 244 years.

These give an average duration, for a generation, of 27, 26, 25, and 27, respectively.

[2] *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, W. Circle, 1906-7, p. 30.

[3] *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 414.

(1) The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited a Gurjara kingdom which was about three hundred miles north of Valabhi.[1] The direction and the distance lead us to the territory round Jodhpur over which Harichandra's dynasty was ruling at the time of the pilgrim's visit. There can be scarcely any doubt, therefore, that the Gurjara kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang was the principality ruled over by the Pratīhāra line under consideration. Nay, I believe that we are even able to identify the king whose court was visited by the pilgrim. "The king," says he, "is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old. He is distinguished for wisdom and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability."[2] Now, as the pilgrim visited the kingdom about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty we may reasonably expect four generations of kings to have passed away during that period, and the young king may be looked upon as belonging to the fifth. On referring to the dynastic list we find king Tāta occupying this position. The verses 14-15 of the inscription No. I inform us that the king Tāta, considering life to be evanescent as lightning, abdicated in favour of his younger brother, and himself retired to a hermitage, practising there the rites of true religion. The curious confirmation about the religious fervour of the king who may be held on other grounds to have been a contemporary of the pilgrim gives rise to a strong presumption about the correctness of our identification.

It has been urged by Bühler[3] and V. A. Smith[4] that the kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang was that of king Vyāghramukha, who belonged to the Chāpa dynasty.

[1] Watters, Vol. II, p. 249.
[2] Beal, Vol. II, p. 270.
[3] *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XVII, p. 192.
[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 923.

The theory rests upon the fact that Brahmagupta, the astronomer, who wrote his astronomical work Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta under the patronage of king Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty, was known as Bhillamālavakāchārya. It has been contended that Bhillamāla which is thus proved to be the capital of Vyāghramukha, is identical with Pi-lo-mo-lo, the name given by Hiuen Tsang to the capital of the Gurjara kingdom visited by him and that the latter is therefore the principality ruled over by Vyāghramukha. Professor Bhandarkar has pointed out several drawbacks in this explanation.[1] It will suffice here to point out that the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhillamāla is far from satisfactory in view of its distance from Valabhi as given by Hiuen Tsang. Besides, the Chāvoṭakas, who are looked upon as identical with the Chāpas,[2] are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Nausari Grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya Pulakeśirāja,[3] and the Chāpa kingdom cannot therefore be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang.

(2) The feudatory Gurjara chiefs of Broach claim descent from a race of Gurjara kings (*Gurjara-nṛipa-vaṁśa*).[4] Now the earliest known date of the third of these chiefs is 629 A.D.[5] Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him we get the date 580 A.D., for the feudatory (*sāmanta*) Dadda who founded the line. This date corresponds so very well with that of Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, that the identity

[1] *J. Bo. Br., R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 417-8; Mr Jackson remarks "D. R. Bhandarkar has doubted Brahmagupta's connection with Bhinmal, but, I think, without sufficient reason." Dr. V. A. Smith remarks, "I agree with Mr. Jackson that the objections raised by Mr. Bhandarkar are of little weight" (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 55, f.n. 3). But neither of these scholars has attempted to meet the arguments adduced by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 926. [3] Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 404.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 313. [5] *Ibid.*

of the two may be at once presumed. It has been already suggested, on general grounds, that the Broach line was feudatory to the main line of the Gurjaras further north, and the proposed identification shows that the main Gurjara power in the north was the Pratīhāra line under consideration. An important piece of evidence in support of this has recently been brought to light by Mr. A. Venkata Subbiah. We learn from the colophon and the opening stanzas of the commentary known as *Laghuvṛitti* on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkārasaṁgraha*, that it was written by Indurāja, who was a Pratīhāra and an inhabitant of Konkana.[1] This goes a great way towards proving that the Gurjara rulers of Broach belonged to the Pratīhāra clan.

(3) It is recorded in the Aihoḷe inscription[2] that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and the Gurjaras submitted to the Chālukya hero Pulakeśi II. The Gurjaras must here be taken to refer to the Pratīhāra dynasty under consideration, for it cannot denote the feudatory line founded by Dadda as it is included under the Lāṭas. The mention of the Gurjaras along with the Mālavas and the Lāṭas clearly show that they occupied a territory contiguous to these two provinces, and the kingdom of the Pratīhāra line under consideration exactly corresponds to this.

(4) Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers to Prabhākaravardhana's successful wars against the Gurjaras. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown, on general grounds, that the Gurjaras in this passage must refer to those in Rājputāna.[3] This conclusion is supported by another consideration. The feudatory Dadda II of Broach is said to have protected a lord of Valabhi against the Kanauj emperor.[4] Surprise has

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 132.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 1.
[3] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 415.
[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 315-6.

justly been expressed how a small state like Broach could withstand the force of the mighty emperor. Everything however appears quite clear if we admit Broach to have been a feudatory state of the dynasty of Harichandra and remember its hereditary enmity with the royal house of Thāneswar. That the Gurjaras were not worsted in their struggles with Thāneswar kings appears quite clearly from the fact that they retained their independence, as Hiuen Tsang informs us, till at least a late period in the reign of Harshavardhan. The struggle between Dadda II and the rulers of Kanauj, incidentally referred to in inscriptions, may thus be looked upon as an episode in the long-drawn battle between the two powers.

The various references to the Gurjaras in the records of the seventh century A. D. may thus be held to apply to the Pratīhāra line under consideration. It may of course be argued, in the absence of pompous and high-sounding titles in the inscriptions of this line of rulers, that they were only small feudatory chiefs[1]; but the contention can hardly be maintained in view of the fact that in this respect our inscription No. I bears a close resemblance to the Gwalior inscription of the emperor Bhoja.[2] Inscription No. I applies the term *rājñī* to Bhadrā, the queen of Harichandra, and to Jajjikādevī, the queen of Nāgabhaṭa, and the term *mahārājñī*[3] to Padminī, the queen of Kakka. It refers to the *rājadhānī* of Nāgabhaṭa and the *rājya* of Tāta, Jhoṭa and Bhillāditya.

[1] *Cf. e. g.*, Dr. Hoernle's remarks in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 28.

[2] *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 277. I am at present engaged in editing this inscription for Ep. Ind The readings and interpretations of the record, different from those in the published version, are results of my own study.

[3] Dr. Hoernle's idea that the term Mahārājñī applied to Padminī denotes her father's rank does not commend itself to me. It is more reasonable to take it as denoting her husband's status. Besides, there is no evidence at present to show that Kakka was the son-in-law of Bhoja I.

The sons of Harichandra are called *Bhūdharaṇakshamā*, Kakka is styled *bhūpati*, and Bāuka is called *nṛisiṁha*.[1] The Gwalior inscription gives no royal epithet to Nāgabhaṭa, the first chief, calls the second and fourth chiefs respectively as *kshhmābhṛidīśa* and *kshmāpāla*, while Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja, the greatest kings of the dynasty are introduced without any royal epithet. Whatever might be the reasons, the close parallel between these two contemporary records would preclude any conclusion regarding the subordinate rank of the chiefs under consideration on the ground of the absence of high-sounding royal epithets. It may also be observed in this connection that the inscriptions do not assign any such subordinate titles to these rulers as are used by the feudatory Gurjara chiefs, and this contrast between the two lines of rulers undoubtedly testify to the fact that the Pratīhāra rulers under consideration were independent and not subordinate.

Having discussed these preliminary points we are now in a position to reconstruct the history of the Pratīhāra rulers of Rājputānā.

It would appear that towards the middle of the sixth century A. D. the Gurjaras advanced from their settlements in the Punjāb towards the heart of India. The period was indeed a suitable one for their conquering expeditions. After the downfall of the short-lived empires of Yaśodharman and Mihirakula, Northern India must have presented a favourable field for the struggle of nations, and the Gurjaras thus found a favourable opportunity to press forward. It may be readily imagined that their advance towards the east was checked by the rising power of the ruling house of Thāneswar, and

[1] Dr. Hoernle's statement that the praśastis of the Jodhpur Pratīhāras "give them no territorial titles whatsoever, not even raja" cannot thus be accepted as quite correct.

that was probably the origin of the hostility between the two powers. In the south, however, there was no great power to oppose any successful resistance to them, and hence they were able to make rapid advances in this direction. Harichandra must have been the leader or at least one of the principal leaders of this advanced section of the Gurjaras; in any case his family emerged as the most powerful of the clan and established itself in the territory now roughly represented by the Jodhpur State.

We possess some information about this Harichandra from inscription No. I. He was a *brāhmaṇa*, versed in the Vedas and other *Śāstras* and is described as a preceptor like Prajāpati. It is interesting to note that he married two wives, one from a Brāhmaṇa and the other from a Kshatriya family. The sons, "born of the Brāhmaṇa wife, became Pratīhāra Brāhmaṇas," "while those born of the Kshatriyā, the queen Bhadrā," became the founders of the royal line of the Pratīhāras. A word of explanation is given in inscription No. I as regards the origin of the name Pratīhāra. This, added to what we learn from the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja, informs us that the clan claimed descent from the epic hero Lakshmaṇa, and the fact that he served as a door-keeper (*pratīhāra*) to his brother Rāma on a memorable occasion, gave rise to the epithet assumed by it.[1] All these serve to

[1] Sva-bhrātrā Rāmabhadrasya prātihāryaṁ kṛitaṁ yataḥ I.
Śri (pra) ttihāra- vaṁśo-yam-ataś-cho-nnatim- āpnuyāt II. 4.
(Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka.)
Ślāghyas-tasy-ānujo-sau maghavamadamusho Meghanādasya saṁkhye I
Saumitris-tīvra-daṇḍaḥ pratiharaṇavidher-yaḥ pratihāra āsīt II. 3.
(Gwalior inscription of Bhoja).

I do not accept the interpretation put upon the above passage by Kielhorn (*Nach., Gottingen*, 1905, p. 301), Pandit Hirananda (*Arch. Surv.* 1903-4, p. 277) and Dr. Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 200), as none of them has taken the first passage into consideration. The point would be fully discussed in my paper on the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.

show the great extent to which the Gurjaras had imbibed the culture of the land in their settlements in the Punjab. Then, again, it is significant that the Kshatriya wife of Harichandra is called a queen, while no such royal epithet is added to his Brāhmaṇa wife. The fact possibly was, that Harichandra, versed in the Śāstras, began his life as a preceptor in one of the peaceful settlements of the Gurjaras in the Punjab; but when the tribes once more resumed their military campaign, his racial instincts triumphed over the veneer of his borrowed culture and he changed the *Śāstra* for the *Śastra*. He proved to be the most successful military leader among the Gurjaras and established a royal line that kept alive his name and fame for generations to come.

The onward rush of the Gurjaras was not stopped with the death of Harichandra. The verse 9 of inscription No. 1 informs us that his sons conquered Maṇḍadyapura (Mandor) and built a fortress there, to keep the enemies in check.[1] Again, we are told in verse 12 of inscription No. 1 that Nāgabhaṭa, the fourth king, fixed his capital at the large city of Meḍantaka,[2] which has been identified by Munshi Devīprasād with Merta, 120 miles north-east of Mandor.[3]

The territory round Mandor is almost due south from the Gujarāt and Gujranwālā districts of the Punjāb. It may be held, therefore, that the Gurjaras proceeded, generally speaking, towards the south from these strongholds. Their gradual advance in this direction ultimately led them across the Nerbudda as far as the river Kīm, and possibly even beyond it. Our knowledge about the

[1] *Cf.* Verse 9 of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka. Munshi Devīprashad reads "Māṇḍavyapura," but the third letter is not *vya*. It may be read as *dya* or *dhya*.

[2] *Cf.* verse 12 of the Jodhpur inscription.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 3.

different stages of this extensive conquest is as yet imperfect, but some main facts may be brought out by a study of the contemporary records.

As has already been noted above, these southern territories were ruled in the seventh century A.D. by a feudatory line of Gurjara chiefs who traced their descent from *Sāmanta* Dadda. This person I have already identified with Dadda, the son of Harichandra. It is legitimate to infer, that, adopting a practice afterwards followed by both the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Rajjila created a feudatory principality in the south under his younger brother Dadda, evidently as a check against the rising power of the Valabhis and the Chālukyas. Altogether six rulers of this line are known to us, *viz.*, Dadda I, Vītarāga-Jayabhaṭa I, Praśāntarāga-Dadda II, Jayabhaṭa II, Bāhusahāya-Dadda III, and Jayabhaṭa III, each of these being the son of his predecessor.[1] The earliest records of the family, dated 629 and 641 A.D., belong to the time of Dadda II, and we possess also several grants of the last king Jayabhaṭa III dated 706 and 736 A.D.[2] The identification of the villages mentioned in these grants enables us to form an estimate of the extent of the feudatory Gurjara principality. As Dr. Fleet remarks, "these records cover the country from the north bank of the river Kīm to the south bank of the Māhī, and so show the extent of the Gurjara territory in the neighbourhood of the coast; inland it doubtless extended to the Ghāts."[3]

Now, it is a noticeable fact that all these territories belonged to the Kaṭachchuris or Kalachuris. The Sankheḍā Grant of Śāntilla[4] shows that the territory round

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 313.

[2] Kielhorn's *Northern List*, Nos. 395, 709, 402, 403.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 315.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 21 ff.

Dabhoi were ruled by Nirihullaka, a feudatory of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Again, the Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja[1] prove that the districts of Kairā and Broach were under his possession. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Gurjaras must have come into possession of these territories after the Kaṭachchuris, and this is in full agreement with the evidence at present available to us. The last known date of the Kaṭachchuri family is 609-610 A.D., while, as has been mentioned above, the earliest Gurjara record is dated in 629 A.D. It must be held therefore that the feudatory Gurjara principality, under Dadda, in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D., did not originally extend beyond the Māhī. The inevitable quarrel that must have at once ensued with their southern neighbours, the Kaṭachchuris, ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the latter and the extension of the Gurjara principality south of the Māhī, sometime after 610 A.D.

Dr. Fleet has expressed the opinion that "Dadda I and Jayabhaṭa I must have been vassals" of the Kalachuri king Buddha.[2] I cannot find any grounds for endorsing this view. The fact that their successors ruled over the Kalachuri territories does not prove anything, for such was also the case with Vijayarāja, a ruler of the Gujarāt branch of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmī. Dr. Kielhorn has remarked, while editing the Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja, that "the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kaṭachchuri grant was known to, and made use of by the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants of Gurjara Dadda II. In my opinion, it tends to indicate that the family of these chiefs rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja. If Dadda Praśāntarāga had been preceded

[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 294 ff.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 315.

by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *praśasti*, most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kaṭachchuri grant."[1] The force of this argument is, however, considerably weakened by his own admission that the inscriptions of the Chālukya Vijayarāja also show the same characteristics. These, therefore, cannot be held to imply that the Broach rulers were dependent upon the Kaṭachchuris at the beginning.

The extension of the Gurjara power in Lāṭa brought it into conflict with the Chālukyas who had conquered the Kalachuri territories in southern Lāṭa and advanced beyond the river Tāptī before the year 643 A.D.[2] The Aihoḷe inscription of the year 634 A.D. refers to the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and Gurjaras in terms which prove that they were not subjected by force, but, being impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśi II, had voluntarily submitted to him, or sought his protection.[3] The cause of this voluntary submission is not far to seek. If we remember the hostility of the royal house of Thaneswar against the Gurjaras and the Mālavas, it may be readily imagined that these two powers had turned towards Pulakeśi as the only hero capable of checking the aggressions of Śrī Harsha. Probably, as a result of this, the Gurjara kingdom retained its independence as testified to by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. It must have been in course of this conflict that the Gurjara prince Dadda II gave protection to a Valabhi king when the latter had suffered defeat in the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. There are also reasons to believe that king Dharasena IV resided for some time at Broach enjoying the hospitality of Dadda II.[4]

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.
[2] Kielhorn's *Northern List* No. 398.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 10, and f. n. 5.
[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 316.

The Gurjara alliance with the Valabhis and the Chālukyas was at an end as soon as the danger had passed away with the downfall of Harsha, and the inscription of Dadda III, dated 706 A.D., represents him as waging war against the kings of the east and the west, meaning certainly the king of the Valabhis in the latter case and probably the western Chālukyas in the former.[1] An inscription dated 730 A.D. refers to a successful struggle of Jayabhaṭa III against the king of Valabhi. The struggle possibly took place sometime before 725 A.D. for, as we shall just see, the Gurjara power was overthrown in Lāṭa, shortly after that time.

There can be scarcely any doubt that the Gurjaras in Lāṭa were able to hold their own against the royal houses of Thaneswar, Valabhi and Bādāmī simply because they were backed by the main power of the Pratīhāra ruling family at Meḍantaka. For, otherwise it is difficult to explain how such a small principality could manage to maintain its independent existence against such powerful foes. We have already referred above to the first four kings of this main dynasty. Verses 13-17 of inscription No. I describe the next four kings, of whom, however, nothing of particular importance is known. The next king Śiluka is described in verses 18-20. The verse 18 tells us that he fixed the perpetual boundary of the provinces of Stravaṇī and Valla. Now these two provinces, along with a few others are said to have been included in the territories of Kakkuka,[3] the 14th king

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Kielhorn's *Northern List* No. 403.

[3] Yena prāpta mahākhyātis-Travaṇyām Valla-Māḍayoh |
Āryeshu Gurjjarattrāyām Lāṭa-deśe cha parvate || 3
Ep. Ind., IX., p. 280.

Marumāḍa-Valla-Tamaṇi-pariyankā-ajja-Gujjarattāsu |
Jaṇivo jeṇa jaṇāṇam sachcharia-guṇehi aṇurāo ||
J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 517-8.

of the dynasty. It may be held, therefore, that there was some disturbance in the kingdom. That some danger had befallen it is also implied in the next verse wherein we are told that the protector of Vallamaṇḍala gained the confederacy of the Bhaṭṭis by overthrowing Devarāja.[1] Here the, Bhaṭṭis seem to be the name of the sub-clan to which the rulers belonged, for in verse 26 of inscription No. I, Padminī the queen of Kakka, is said to be the purifier of the Bhaṭṭi clan. These facts, by themselves alone, are not easy to understand, but when taken along with other known facts, they yield interesting information. These facts are :—

(1) The Arab raids.

(2) The rise of a new ruling dynasty among the Pratīhāras.

(I) It is a well known fact that the Arabs had established themselves in Sindh at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. and used to send military expeditions into the interior from time to time. The Nausārī plates of the Gujarāt Chālukya Pulakeśirāja,[2] dated in 738 A.D., refers to an expedition of the Arabs in course of which they are said to have defeated the kings of the Saindhavas, the Kachchhellas, Saurāshṭra, the Chāvoṭakas, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras. It seems very likely that the Arab invasion referred to in the grant was that undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Kalif

These verses which occur in the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscriptions of Kakkuka seem undoubtedly to imply that Kakkuka ruled over the countries mentioned therein. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar holds the same view in *J. Bo. Br. R. A., S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 414. For the identification of the countries see *Ep. Ind*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

[1] Bhaṭṭikaṁ Devarājaṃ yo Vallamaṇḍala-pālakaḥ |
Ni(pā)tya tatksha (?) ṇam bhūmau prāptavān-chchhatra-chihnakaḥ ‖ 19
(Jodhpur inscription.)

In this, as well as in other instances, the differences from the published version are results of my own study of the original record.

[2] *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Oriental Sec., p. 231.

Hashám (724-743 A.D.). Biládurí gives a short account of these expeditions, and mentions, among other things, that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Barús and other places, and conquered Bailamán and Jurz.[1] There can be no doubt that Marmad is the same as Maru-Māra which is referred to in the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscription No. II above, and includes Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur State.[2] Barús is undoubtedly Broach, and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. It is now a well known fact that Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gurjara. Bailamán probably refers to the circle of states referred to in inscription No. I, as Vallamaṇḍala. It would thus appear that the Arabian army under Junaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south.

This catastrophe must have taken place about the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. According to Biládurí, the Arab expeditions were arranged by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hashám who ruled from 724 to 743 A. D. According to Elliot Junaid was succeeded by Tamím about 726 A. D.[3] Evidently this last date is far from being definitely known and we may therefore conclude that the expeditions were undertaken shortly after 724 A. D. The Nausārī plates show, however, that the expeditions referred to in them took place between 731 A. D. and 738 A. D. For, according to the Balsār plates,[4] Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja did not come to the throne till the year 731 A. D. and as he himself takes the credit of having repelled the Arabs from Nausārī the event must be dated after that year. Now Biládurí tells us that besides the Gurjara territories

[1] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

[3] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 442.

[4] Referred to in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 231.

noted above Junaid sent officers against Uzain, and against the country of Maliba (evidently meaning the eastern and western Malwa), but Junaid's successor was feeble and in his days the Musulmans retired from several parts of India, and left some of their possessions.[1] If we consider together the informations supplied by the Indian inscriptions and the Arab historians, we may safely conclude that the Arab expeditions which began shortly after 724 A. D. lasted for a period of about ten years. During the first part of this period, under the direction of Junaid, the Arabs achieved great successes and overran the neighbouring provinces as far as Ujjain in the east and Lāṭa in the south.[2] But the force of the first onward rush was soon spent up, and under Tamím, the feeble successor of Junaid, they had to retire from their newly conquered territories. In the south they were defeated by the Gujarāt Chālukyas under Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja, while in the east they met with a new power which not only checked their present aggressions but was destined to prove one of the strongest bulwarks against the advance of the Islamic power in future. This was the Pratīhāra dynasty of Avantī, of which we next proceed to give some detailed account.

(2) It has been already noticed above that the Gurjaras advanced southwards from the Punjab till they settled in and about Mandor in Rājputānā, and that from this place they not only continued to advance towards the south but also moved towards the east. The available evidence shows that they settled in various parts of the country in both these directions. Thus Dr. V. A. Smith has

[1] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[2] The Chinese annals corroborate this view. We are told that during the period Kai-yuen (713-741 A.D.) an ambassador from the king of Central India demanded military aid from the Chinese emperor for punishing the Tibetans (who had conquered Central India) and another enemy, still more powerful, which had recently made its appearance, *viz.*, the Arabs (Ta-chi). *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, pp. 174-75.

shown that there are consistent traditions, current in different parts of Bundelkhand, to the effect, that the Parihāras settled there about the eighth century A. D.[1] Towards the south their occupation of Lāṭa has already been referred to and it is not impossible that they proceeded even further south ; for Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah has traced the existence of Pratīhāra chiefs even in the Kanara country.[2] But by far the most important settlement in this direction was that of Avanti, or western Malwa, for the Pratīhāra chiefs of this place were the founders of the great imperial family at Kanauj. This fact, so far as I know, has not been recognised by any historian, but it seems to me to rest on unimpeachable grounds. I shall therefore deal with the question in some detail.

Mr. K. B. Pathak brought to light a passage in Jaina Harivaṁśa of Jinasena which gives the precise date of its composition as follows[3] :—

Śakeshv = abdaśateshu saptasu diśaṁ pañchottareshū = ttarāṁ
Pāti-Īndrāyudha-nāmni Kṛishṇanṛipaje Śrīvallabhe dakshiṇāṁ ।
Pūrvāṁ Śrīmad = Avanti-bhūbhṛiti nṛipe Vatsā = dirāje = parāṁ
Sauryānām = adhimaṇḍale jayayute vīre Varāhe = vati ॥

The passage was subsequently noticed by Peterson[4] and Fleet[5] and the following remarks of the last named scholar may be taken to fairly represent the views of all the three regarding its interpretation. "A passage in Jaina Harivaṁśa of Jinasena tells us that the work was finished

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1881, Part I, pp. 3 ff. [2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 132.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 141. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 197, fn. 2.
[4] Peterson's fourth *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Extracts, p. 176.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 195-6.

in Śaka-Samvat 705 (expired), = A. D. 783-784, when there were reigning,—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with the modern Waḍhwâṇ in the Jhâlâvâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr,—in the north, Indrâyudha; in the south Śrîvallabha; in the east, Vatsarâja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and, in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas." This seems to have been the accepted view till 1902 when Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a somewhat different interpretation of the passage.[1] "The second half of the stanza," said he, "beginning with *Śakeshv-abda-śateshu*, etc., does not appear to me to have been properly translated. The word *nṛipa* in my opinion, shows that *Avanti-bhūbhṛiti* is to be connected with *pūrvāṁ* and *Vatsādirāje* with *aparāṁ*. The translation would then be as follows: "in the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west king Vatsarāja (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha." Dr. V. A. Smith writing in 1909, accepted the interpretation of Prof. Bhandarkar with the prefatory remark "that the translation has been the subject of dispute."[2] Later on Mr. R. Chanda,[3] Mr. R. D. Banerji[4] and Sten Konow[5] accepted the translation given by Prof. Bhandarkar, which may thus be said to have held the field till now.[6] In my humble opinion, however, the views of Fleet and Pathak seem to be preferable. For, in the first place, the author evidently seeks to describe the four kings in the four directions; but according to Prof. Bhandarkar's view,—apart from grammatical difficulties, there being no object of the verb *avati*,—we

[1] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 421, fn. 4.

[2] *J. R. A. B.*, 1909, p. 253. [3] *Gauḍa-rāja-mālā*, pp. 19-20.

[4] *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 50. [5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol, XIII, p. 200.

[6] But Dr. Hoernle accepted the old interpretation in 1904, although the views of Prof. Bhandarkar were known to him.

get a fifth province and there remains no name for the king of the east, the only exception of the kind. Secondly, as the writer was indicating these directions with reference to Vardhamānapura, modern Waḍhwāṇ, in the Jhālāwar division of Kāṭhiāwār, "the west" can only refer to Saurāshṭra and cannot be taken to apply to a country like Gurjaratrā or even to any part of Rājputānā where Vatsarāja is supposed to have been ruling. According to the interpretation of Dr. Fleet, Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti, would be the king of the east, and king of Saurya—or Sauramaṇḍala, evidently Saurāshṭra, the king of the west, referred to by the author. It will be observed that this is fully in keeping with the geographical position of Waḍhwaṇ where the author wrote his book.

Quite recently, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn my attention to a passage in an unpublished copper plate grant in his possession,[1] which runs as follows:—

Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ rājanyaiḥ Ujjayinyāṁ yadā=sitaṁ |
Pratīhārī(ḥ) kṛtaṁ yena Gurjjareś=ādi rājakaṁ ||

This points to a Gurjara Pratīhāra kingdom in Ujjain, for the word Pratīhāra, apart from its usual meaning, is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan. Professor Bhandarkar admits that this finally settles the point, in regard to the interpretation of the passage in Harivaṁśa, in favour of Pathak, Peterson and Fleet.

Now, an account of the Pratīhāra dynasty to which this Vatsarāja, king of Avanti, belonged, has been

[1] This was formerly in the possession of his elder brother, late Mr. S. R. Bhandarkar. It will henceforth be referred to as Sanjan copper plate. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is editing it for the Ep. Ind. I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to him for having kindly permitted me to use the inscription before its publication.

preserved in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.[1] It tells us that, Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the family, defeated the powerful forces of a Mlechchha king.[2] The manner in which this solitary fact is mentioned with regard to the founder of the royal line seems to show that it was looked upon as of great importance in the history of the family. Now the locality of Nāgabhaṭa's kingdom and the period when he flourished, may be gathered from the passage in the Jaina Harivaṁśa referred to above. It has been unanimously held by scholars that the Vatsaraja, referred to in the above passage, is the Pratīhāra king of the same name, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa. As Vatsarāja was ruling in 783-784 A. D., Nāgabhaṭa may be taken to have flourished about 725 A. D. Again Avanti must be looked upon as the home territory of the dynasty, for although Vatsarāja ruled over an extensive kingdom, he is called the ruler of Avanti in the above passage. It may be held therefore, that Nāgabhaṭa was ruling over Avanti about 725 A. D.

As we have seen above this was the period when the great Arab raid took place, and Bilādurī clearly mentions Uzain as being attacked by the Arabs. Uzain is no doubt the same as Ujjain, the capital of Avanti and there can scarcely be any doubt, therefore, that the Gwalior inscription, like the Nausārī plates, refers to the Arab expedition described by Bilādurī.

According to the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja, the Arab forces were defeated by Nāgabhaṭa and this is fully

[1] See f. n. 2, p. 12 above.

[2] Gwalior inscription, verse 4. The letters read by Pandit Hirānanda as "Valana-mlechchha," should, I think, be read as "Valava (n)-mlechchha." Profesor D. R. Bhandarkar read the third letter as 'cha' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240) and takes 'Valacha' to mean Baluchas. This view has been accepted by Dr. Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol, XII, p. 200)

in keeping with the account of Bilādurī, who observes:— "They (*i.e.*, the Arabs) made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimand and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al Bailamān and Jurz....." Thus whereas other places were conquered, the Arabs merely sent incursions against Ujjain, and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian, it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their expedition against Ujjain. It is also significant that the Nausārī plates do not include the king of Avanti among the list of those that were defeated by the Arabs.

We are now in a position to follow intelligently the account of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Jodhpur. It is possible that from the very beginning their kingdom consisted of a number of feudatory principalities which together composed a *maṇḍala*. At least the expression *vallamaṇḍalapālaka*,[1] applied to one of the kings in verse 19 of inscription No. I, seems to show that they were looked upon as the head of the confederacy. The disruption of this confederacy must have been one of the disastrous consequences of the Arab expeditions by which the whole country was overrun. In any case the outlying principality of Lāṭa does not seem to have been retained long, for 736 A. D. is the latest date obtained for the Gurjaras in this quarter. Śiluka who occupied the throne in the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. seems to have been able to avert a total wreck of his empire, and preserved the provinces of Stravanī and Valla to his family. Fortunately for him the fury of the Arab invasions passed away in a few years; but a new danger was ahead. The rival Pratīhāra line of Avanti had acquired prestige and renown by hurling back the

[1] *Cf.* f. n. 1, p. 20 above.

Islamic hordes from their frontier, and it was inevitable that they should seek to wrest the supreme power from the Jodhpur Pratīhāras, whose power must have been considerably weakened by the recent reverses. As noticed above, the verse 19 of inscription No. I informs us that "Śiluka, possessed of the sign of umbrella, gained the confederacy of the Bhaṭṭis by having defeated Devarāja."[1] It appears to me that this Devarāja is identical with the king of the same name in the Avanti family, who was the nephew of Nāgabhaṭa. This assumption rests upon three grounds :—

(1) The contemporaneity of Śiluka and Devarāja, both having lived about 750 A. D.

(2) This Devarāja is described in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja as having laid the foundation of the future greatness of his family by defeating other kings.

(3) Vatsarāja, the successor of Devarāja, is said in the same inscription to have wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan.[2] It seems to me very likely that this famous Bhaṇḍi clan is no other than the Bhaṭṭi clan to which the Jodhpur Pratīhāras belonged.

The whole history of the period may then be construed as follows with the help of the data referred to above. As we have seen, shortly after the beginning of the eighth century A. D., a Pratīhāra dynasty was ruling in Avanti or western Malwa. That this dynasty was closely allied to the ruling dynasty of Jodhpur admits of no doubt, for both possessed the common tradition of being

[1] *Ibid.*

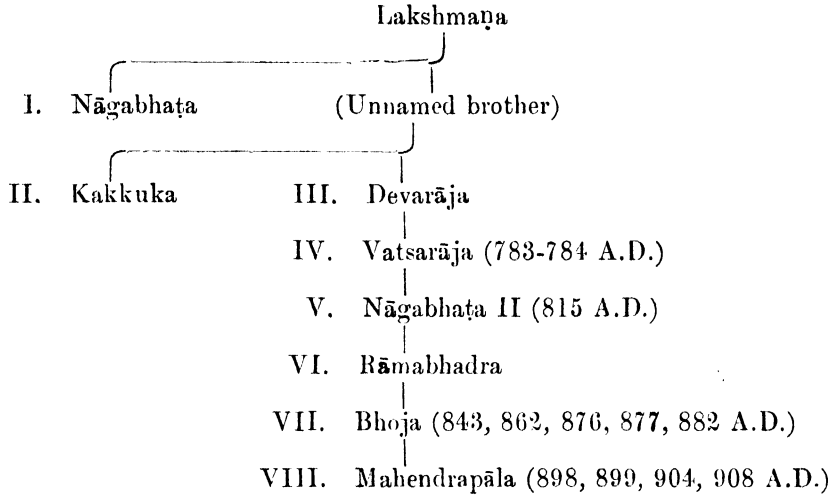
[2] *Cf.* verse 7 in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.

descended from Lakshmaṇa the brother of Rāma; both traced the common name Pratīhāra to the fact that the hero once served as a doorkeeper to his elder brother Rāma; and the two families contained such common names of kings as Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja, the first two of which are not to be met with anywhere else. It is not definitely known in what relation the new dynasty stood to the old one, and when it advanced as far as Western Malwa. It is not of course impossible that the same wave of conquest which brought the Gurjaras as far as Lāṭa in the south also established another branch in Avanti, a little to the east of it. This supposition is strengthened by the consideration that both these territories belonged to the Kaṭachchuris just when the Gurjaras were advancing from Rājputānā. That the Kaṭachchuris had to give way before the advanced hordes of the Gurjaras appears quite clearly from the occupation of Lāṭa by the latter some time before 629 A. D., as has been already noticed above. It is quite probable that the conflict between the Gurjaras and the Kaṭachchuris continued even after the occupation of Lāṭa by the latter, till they had also wrested Western Malwa from their enemies. In the century, 625-725 A. D., then, the Gurjaras held sway over an extensive territory, and so far as is known to us at present, there was something like a confederacy of states over which the Pratīhāra family of Jodhpur ruled as suzerains. But then came the disastrous Arab invasions when the mighty Gurjara power lay prostrate before the vanguards of Islam. One of the Gurjara principalities, however, successfully withstood this terrible shock. The natural defences, as well as its remoteness might have contributed towards the result, but in any case the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler of Avanti hurled back the forces of Islam and probably also caused the ultimate retreat of the marauders not long afterwards. This triumphant

success of one of the Gurjara principalities must have sadly contrasted with the serious reverses sustained by others and in particular by the ruling family which had hitherto exercised the suzerain power. It was inevitable that the successful power should make a bold bid for the supreme position, and it was natural that the Gurjara states should favourably entertain this claim of one who had proved to be their true saviour. That explains the struggle between Devarāja of the new family, and Śiluka, who possessed the sign of umbrella, *i.e.*, hitherto held the supreme position. Devarāja was however defeated and Śiluka regained, or rather retained his suzerainty over at least a part of the Gurjara states. The rising Pratīhāra power of Avanti was not, however, to be checked by a single reverse. Vatsarāja, the son and successor of Devarāja, continued the struggle, and at length "wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan." Thus passed away the glories of the family of Harichandra, after it had successfully ruled as suzerain power for about two hundred years. The altered condition of the family is faithfully reflected in inscription No. I. After describing the military exploits of Śiluka, the poet tells us that "his son Jhoṭa proceeded to the Bhāgīrathī" and his grandson Bhillāditya "possessed of *satva* qualities and disposed to austerities bestowed the kingdom on his son and proceeded to Gangādvāra" (vv. 21-22). This seems to indicate that the Pratīhāra family of Jodhpur was politically insignificant during the latter part of the eighth century A. D. The history of the Gurjaras henceforth centred round the rulers of the Avanti line, and we shall therefore proceed with their history, touching only incidentally upon that of the older family.

The early kings of this dynasty, their relation to one another and the known dates we possess

of them may be represented by the following table :—



[The third king Devarāja is also known as Deva-śakti, and the seventh king is referred to under four different names such as, Mihira,, Ādivarāha, Prabhāsa and Bhoja. Mahendrapāla is called Mahendrāyudha and Nirbhaya Narendra by his court poet Rājaśekhara. The fifth verse of the Gwalior inscription may be taken to imply that the second king Kakkuka was also known as Kākustha.]

We have already seen that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the family flourished about 725 A. D. and established its greatness by his triumphant success over the Arabs. The Hānsoṭ plates of the Chāhamāna feudatory Bhartṛivaḍḍha II [1] records a grant that was made at Broach, in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvaloka, in the year 756 A. D. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar upheld the view that this Nāgāvaloka is no other than Nāgabhaṭa I [2] and Dr. Sten Konow has accepted it. [3] It

[1] *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p 200.

would then follow that he re-established the Pratīhāra suzerainty over Broach which the family of Jodhpur must have lost during the Arab expeditions. A reminiscence of Nāgabhaṭa's struggle with the neighbouring powers seems to have been preserved in the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II, a king of the Śaila dynasty ruling over part of Central Provinces. We are told that Pṛithuvardhana, a previous king of the family, conquered the Gurjara country.[1]

Practically nothing is known of the second king Kakkuka. The third king Devarāja is described in the Gwalior inscription as a very powerful ruler, wielding sovereignty over a number of chiefs. But, as noted above, he failed in his attempt to establish his suzerainty by defeating the Jodhpur Pratīhāras. The cause of this failure is not far to seek. Almost at the same time when Nāgabhaṭa was laying the foundations of the future greatness of his family, a new power arose in the south. This was the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkhed. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha informs us that king Dantidurga, the founder of the new power, conquered Avanti and performed a sacrifice in which a Gurjara king served as the Pratīhāri or door-keeper.[2] This event possibly took place some time after 754 A. D., as it is not mentioned in the Sāmāngaḍ plates of Dantidurga,[3] dated in that year. It is likely, therefore, that the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king who suffered defeat in the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was Devarāja. Thus began that hereditary struggle between the two powers which lasted for about two hundred years. For the present, it must have considerably weakened the newly risen power. But

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 41.

[2] See the verse quoted above on p. 25.

[3] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 53.

fortunately, confusion shortly broke out in the Rāshṭrakūṭa affairs, and a palace revolution placed Kṛishṇa I on the throne.[1]

Vatsarāja, the son and successor of Devarāja, was thus in a more favourable position than his father, and successfully accomplished the task left unfulfilled by the latter. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest heroes of the family and his reign constitutes a definite landmark in its history. The passage in Jaina Harivaṁśa, quoted above, definitely locates him at Avanti in the year 783-784 A.D., but, as a matter of fact, his power extended beyond its limits. The Gwalior inscription informs us that he took the empire from the Bhaṇḍis. As I have already indicated above this probably refers to his suzerainty over the Gurjara states in Rājputānā. In any case, the Osia stone[2] inscription and the Daulatpurā copper plate[3] clearly show that he exercised sway in Gurjaratrā, in central Rājputānā.

We gather some important informations about Vatsarāja from the Rāshṭrakūṭa records. The eighth verse

[1] Dr. Fleet held the view that, Dantidurga was deposed in favour of his uncle Kṛishṇa I. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I., Part II, p. 389, 390-391). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar rejects this view (*Ibid*, p. 195) and is supported by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 209) Sten Konow (*Ibid*, XIII, p. 277) and Dr. V. S. Sukthamkar (*Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 123). But the mere assertion in the earlier plates that Kṛishṇa I became King after Dantidurga had ascended to heaven or that the latter is called *Sva-Kulāmbhoja-bhāskara* does not take away from the force of Dr. Fleet's arguments. For it is very likely that Kṛishṇa I had murdered Dantidurga who had taken to vicious courses during the last part of his reign and then usurped his throne. Thus he would naturally ascend the throne after Dantidurga had gone to heaven. But whatever of these theories be correct, the view I have taken above, *viz.*, that there was a palace revolution in the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kingdom, rest upon the clear statement of the Baroda plates that " Kṛishṇarāja uprooted his relative who had resorted to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself, for the benefit of his family." (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 162.)

[2] Marshall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 1010; *Prog. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1906-7, pp. 15, 36.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 208. The date must now be read as 900 and not 100.

For this and other corrections in the dates of the Gurjara inscriptions by Prof D. R. Bhandarkar *cf. J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 410-11. The corrections were accepted by Kielhorn in *Nach. Konig. Ges. Wissen.* Gottingen, pp. 300-304.

in the Rādhanpur plates of Govinda III, which is also repeated in the Waṇî grant of the same monarch refers to the defeat inflicted upon him by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva in the following words:—

"By his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert Vatsarāja, who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of the royalty of the Gauḍa, he in a moment took away from him, not merely the Gauḍa's two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn moon, but his own fame also that had spread to the confines of the regions." [1]

This passage certainly proves that Vatsarāja had defeated the King of Gauḍa,[2] before he was himself defeated by Dhruva. It has been generally concluded that Vatsarāja invaded Gauḍa and must have of course conquered the intermediate states. This view, however, has probably to be given up in view of a verse in the Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarsha I. It tells us with reference

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 248.

[2] I have no hesitation in taking Gauḍa as the name of a part of Bengal, which generally indicated at this period the whole of this kingdom. The late A. M. T. Jackson opposed this current view, apparently on the authority of Al Beruni's statement that Thāneswar was called Guḍa in his days. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 163-64). Mr. B. C. Mazumdar supported Mr. Jackson by citing a verse from the Matsya Purāṇa to the effect that Rājā Śrāvasta founded Śrāvastī in Gauḍa deśa, the evident conclusion being of course that "Gauḍa must have been lying to the north of Kośala and to the north-west of Mithilā" (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 442). It is, therefore, quite clear that there were more than one Gauḍa, but the real point for decision is, which is the famous kingdom of Gauḍa referred to in the records of the eighth century A. D. With the evidence at present available there can, I think, be only one answer to this question. The Pāla kings of Bengal are called Gauḍeśwar in their inscriptions whereas the rulers of no other province are as yet known to have assumed this title. Besides the recently discovered Harāhā inscription shows that Bengal was referred to in the inscriptions as Gauḍa as early at least as the middle of the sixth century A. D, for we have a verse with reference to Īśānavarman which runs as follows:—

"*Kṛitvā chāyatimochitāsthalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśrayān*"

As the Gauḍas are said to have taken the shelter (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p 117) of the sea, Gauḍa here can only refer to Bengal which has a sea coast, and neither Thaneswar nor any country north of Kośala. (For a different interpretation of the verse quoted by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar *cf. Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 286).

to Dhruva, that 'he took away the white umbrellas of the King of Gauḍa (who was) destroyed between the Ganges and the Jumna.' This verse seems to refer to an encounter between Dhruva and the King of Gauḍa somewhere between the Ganges and the Jamunā.[1] That the Rāshṭrakūṭa king had actually proceeded so far in his career of conquest is also proved by a verse in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja.[2] The important points established by these references may be summarised as follows:—

I. That the kingdom of Gauḍa stretched as far at least as Allahabad in those days.

II. That Vatsarāja defeated the King of Gauḍa.

III. That, probably not long afterwards, Vatsarāja as well as the King of Gauḍa were defeated by Dhruva.

It appears that while Vatsarāja was laying the foundations of the future greatness of his family in the west, the Pālas had established a strong monarchy in Bengal in the east. The former gradually expanded his kingdom towards the east while the latter did the same in the opposite direction. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that there would be a trial of strength between the two. In the first encounter the lord of Gauḍa was defeated[3]; but while the rivals were thus fighting with

[1] Gangā-Yamunayormmadhye rājkño=Gauḍasya naśyataḥ |
Lakshmī-līlā-ravindāṇi śveta-chhatrāṇi yo-harat || 144.

[2] Yo=Gangā-Yamṛne taranga-subhage grihṇān-parebhyaḥ samaṁ |
Sākshāch-chihna-nibhena ch=ottama-padam tat-prāptavān-aiśvaraṁ |
Deh-āsammita-vaibhavair-iva guṇair-yyasya bhramadbhir-ddiśo |
Vyāptas-tasya babhuva kīrtti-purusho Govinda-rājaḥ sutaḥ ||

Ind. Ant., Vol XII, p. 159.

Dr. Fleet who edited the inscription took the first two lines as referring to Govinda III (*Ibid.*, p. 163), and Mr. R. Chanda also adopted the same view (*Mānasī*, Vol. VII, p. 589). In my humble opinion this is a mistake and the last line clearly shows that the reference is not to Govindarāja but to his father, Dhruva.

[3] It is thus not necessary to suppose that Vatsarāja actually advanced as far as Gauḍa, for the battle might have taken place far away from its borders. It was

each other, a common enemy appeared from the south, involved both of them in a common ruin and pushed as far as the Ganges and the Jamunā.

Thus began that tripartite struggle between the Gurjaras, the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas which may be looked upon as the most important factor in the political history of India during the next century. The key-note of this struggle seems to have been the possession of the Ganges and the Jamunā, or more properly speaking, Kanauj, for which each of these tried and succeeded in his own turn. In order that the account of this struggle might be intelligently followed we arrange below, in a tabular form, the list of kings of the three rival dynasties, so far as we are concerned with them here.

Gurjara.	*Rāshṭrakūṭa.*	*Pāla.*[1]
Devarāja ...	... Dantidurga (753 A. D.)	... Gopāla (C. 770-780 A.D.)
Vatsarāja (783-784 A. D.)	... Dhruva (C. 779-794)	... Dharmapāla (C. 780-815) A. D.
Nāgabhaṭa (815 A. D.)	... Govinda III (C. 794-814)	... ...
Rāmabhadra ...	... Amoghavarsha (814-877)	... Devapāla (C. 815-850 A. D.)
Bhoja (C. 843-890 A. D.)	... ...	Vigrahapāla (850-860 A.D.)
Mahendrapāla (C. 890-910 A. D.)	Kṛishṇa II (902 A.D.)	... Nyārāyapapāla (C. 860-915 A.D.)

It will appear from the above scheme that the first encounter took place between the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, the Gurjara king Vatsarāja, and the Pāla king Dharmapāla.[2] But the death of Dhruva, sometime

further held by A. M. T. Jackson (*Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I pp. 466-468), Dr. V. A. Smith (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 255), and Dr. Hoernle (*J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 644) that Vatsarāja also conquered Vaṅga. This view rests upon a passage in l. 39 of the Baroda plates of Karkaraja in which the Gurjaras are said to have defeated the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. But as Nāgabhaṭa is known from the Gwalior inscription to have defeated the lord of Bengal, there is no reason to associate Vatsarāja with the conquest of the province.

[1] For the dates assigned to the Pāla kings *cf.* my article "The chronology of the Pāla kings" in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 1.

[2] Dr. V. A. Smith remarks :—"Dharmapāla, as we shall presently see, was a monarch of great power, and it is unlikely that he should have succumbed to the Gurjara attack" (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 252). But the identifies, on p. 257, the king of Bengal defeated by Nāgabhaṭa with Dharmapāla.

before 794 A. D., ushered in a period of confusion in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. A confederacy of twelve kings in the south was formed against the new king Govinda III, and he had, besides, to cope with the treacherous hostility of the Ganga king.[1] While his own hands were busy in the south the northern possessions seem to have been left in charge of his younger brother Indrarāja. To the northern kings this was a good respite and they were not slow to take advantage of it. Dharmapāla who was probably less affected by the Rāshṭrakūṭa blow, seems to have entered the field first and made his suzerainty acknowledged by almost all the important states in northern India including the Gurjara kingdom of Avanti. In particular, he conquered Kanauj by defeating Indrarāja and others, and thus reached what seems to have been the goal of royal ambition in those days.[2]

The ever-shifting political combination of the time, however, made it difficult, if not impossible, for any king to enjoy undisturbed a long and prosperous reign. The Gurjara power was merely stunned by the Rāshṭrakūṭa

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 395.

[2] *Cf.* verse 12 in Khālimpur copper plate, and verse 3 in the Bhāgalpur copper plate of Nārāyaṇapāla. It has been generally assumed that this Indrarāja is identical with Indrāyudha mentioned in the passage quoted above on p. 23 from Jaina Harivaṁśa. But apart from the close resemblance in the two names, there is no other reason to establish this identity. For, there is absolutely no evidence to show that Indrāyudha ever ruled at Kanauj, the term "in the north," being not merely vague and indefinite, but hardly applicable to Kanauj, when spoken with reference to Waḍhwāṇ in Kāthiāwār. On the other hand we know that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indrarāja, brother of Govinda III was a contemporary of Dharmapāla. The Baroda plates of Karkarāja inform us that Dhruva had conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna and that Indra was appointed by his brother to rule over the Lāṭeśvara-maṇḍala, which seems to mean the northern possessions of the Rāshṭrakūṭas with the province of Lāṭa as the centre. The probability, therefore, is that it was by defeating the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Indrarāja that Dharmapāla regained Kānyakubja and bestowed it upon Chakrāyudha who was probably kept out of his possessions by the Rāshṭrakūṭa power. In any case it seems to me that with the available data it is more reasonable to identify Indrarāja of the Bhāgalpur copper plate with the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince of the same name than with Indrāyudha mentioned in the Harivaṁśa.

blow, not killed, and Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, set himself to the task of retrieving the fortunes of his family. His achievements are described in four eloquent verses in the Gwalior inscription. By a careful examination of these as well as the data supplied by the Baroda plates of Karkarāja it is possible to form a fair idea of the history of his reign.

It appears in the first place that Nāgabhaṭa II succeeded in allying himself with several other states. This follows from the statement in the Baroda plates that "by him (*i.e.*, Indrarāja, the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler of Lāṭa) alone, the leader of the lords of the Gurjaras, who prepared himself to give battle, bravely lifting up his neck, was quickly caused, as if he were a deer, to take to the (distant) regions; and the array of the Mahāsāmantas of the region of the south, terrified and not holding together and having their possessions in course of being taken away from them by Śrīballabha, through (shewing) respect obtained protection from him."[1] The same conclusion also follows from verse 8 of the Gwalior inscription.[2] The poet tells us that kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga succumbed to the power of Nāgabhaṭa as moths do unto fire. Now, moths are attracted by the glare of the fire and approach it of their own accord, although it leads to their ultimate destruction. The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of the four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa but joined him of their own accord in the first instance although ultimately they lost their power thereby. The position of these four countries confirms this view. Joined to Avanti and the Gurjara states of Rājputānā

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 163.

[2] Ādyaḥ pumān puna=rapi sphuṭa-kīrttir=asmāj-jātas-sa eva kila Nāgabhaṭas-tadākhyap, ‖

Yattr-Āndhra-Saindhava-Vidarbha-Kaliṅga-bhūpaiḥ kaumāra-dhāmni pataṅga-samair=apāti, ‖ 8.

they form a central belt right across the country bounded in the north by the empire of the Pālas, and on the south by that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It appears, therefore, to be quite likely that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence.

At the head of the confederacy thus successfully launched by him, Nāgabhaṭa tried his strength with both the rival powers. It is likely that he at first attempted to secure his position in the north by defeating the imperial schemes of the rival lord of Bengal, and like Dharmapāla, he too first turned his attention towards Kanauj; for we are told in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja that Nāgabhaṭa defeated "Chakrāyudha, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others."[1] As we know from the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla that Dharmapāla placed one Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kānyakubja after having conquered the place, it may be held as certain that the Chakrāyudha, defeated by Nāgabhaṭa, was this very ruler of Kānyakubja who owed his throne to the favour of the Pāla emperor. According to this point of view, Nāgabhaṭa's war against Chakrāyudha was but a challenge to the emperor himself. The war between Nāgabhaṭa and the lord of Bengal is described in the tenth verse of the Gwalior inscription. Nāgabhaṭa is said to have achieved the victory, but the way in which the poet describes the array of the mighty hosts of the lord of Bengal[2] contrasts strangely with the "easy capture of the Gauḍa sovereignty" by Vatsarāja, and may be looked

[1] Jitvā-parāśrayakṛita-sphuṭa-nīcha-bhāvaṁ Chakrāyudhaṁ vinaya-namra-vapur=vvyarājat ‖ 9.

[2] Durvvāra-vairī-vāraṇa-vāji-vāra-yān-augha-saṁghaṭana-ghora-ghan-āndhakāraṁ ‖

Nirjitya Vaṅgapatim-āvirabhūd-vivasvān-udyan-niva ttrijagadeka-Vikāsakoyaḥ ‖

upon as an index of the change that had come over Bengal in the intervening period. The battle probably took place at Monghyr, for the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka informs us that his father Kakka "gained renown by fighting with the Gauḍas at Monghyr (Mudgagiri).[1]" As Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown, the inscription of Bāuka is dated in 837 A.D.[2] Kakka may be thus looked upon as a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa, and as it does not appear likely that Kakka could lead an expedition up to Monghyr on his own account, it may be assumed that he accompanied his Gurjara overlord in his Bengal campaign. Another chief that probably accompanied Nāgabhaṭa on the same occasion was Vāhukadhavala, the feudatory chief of Surāshṭra. For we learn from an inscription of his great-grandson Avanivarman II,[3] a feudatory of Mahendrapāladeva, that he defeated king Dharma in battle, and as Kielhorn observes, this king Dharma may be identified with the Pāla emperor of the same name. We can still trace a third chief who joined Nāgabhaṭa in his expedition against Bengal. This is Śaṁkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince, referred to in the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya.[4]

[1] *Cf.* footnote 3, p. 6 above.

[2] *Cf.* verse 24, Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 2 ff. Kielhorn held that Vāhukadhavala lived in the middle of the 9th century A.D., and was a feudatory of Bhoja (*ibid* p. 3). Dr. V. A. Smith (J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 266) and Mr. R. Chanda (Gauda-rāja-mālā p. 28) have supported this view. But as his great-grand-son was a feudatory of Mahendrapāla at the end of the ninth century A.D., it is more reasonable to hold, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has done (*Bāṅglār itihāsa*, p. 167) that Vāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II at the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 10 ff. It contains the following verse with reference to Śaṁkaragaṇa :—

Pratijñāṁ prākkṛitvo-dbhaṭa-karighatā-saṁkaṭa-raṇe bhaṭam jitvā Gauḍa-hshitipaṁ=avanīṁ samgara-hritāṁ, |

Balād-dāsīṁ chakre (pra) bhu-charaṇayor=yah pranayinīṁ tato-bhūpaḥ so-bhuj-jita-bahu-raṇaḥ Saṁkaragaṇaḥ, | ‖ 4.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited this inscription concluded from the above that Śaṁkaragaṇa conquered Bhaṭa, the king of the Gauḍa country, and made a

These scattered notices are sufficient to indicate the extensive preparations of Nāgabhaṭa against his adversary, and the very fact that he could advance as far as Monghyr seems to indicate that the ruler of Bengal was worsted in the fight. The simile by which the poet of the Gwalior inscription describes the triumph of Nāgabhaṭa seems to be a significant one. We are told that after defeating the dark dense array of the lord of Vaṅga, Nāgabhaṭa revealed himself, even as the rising Sun reveals himself by dispelling the dense darkness.[1] This means, in plain language, that the rise of Nāgabhaṭa was possible only if he could defeat the king of Vaṅga and that explains why he first turned his attention in this direction. The Sun of Gurjara glory had set in with Vatsarāja, and the fortunes of his family, crushed by the lord of Vaṅga, lay enveloped in the darkness of night as it were, till a defeat inflicted by Nāgabhaṭa upon his enemy ushered in a new dawn for the Gurjaras. Soon the dawn passed away and the Sun reached its noonday height, for the next verse informs us that Nāgabhaṭa captured the strongholds of Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya countries.[2] The poet leaves his hero at the height of his glory but it is quite clear from other records that the Sun had reclined to the west, and dusk set in, even in the lifetime of Nāgabhaṭa.

present of this kingdom to his overlord. He further suggested that this Bhaṭa might be the same as Śūrapāla. I beg to differ from these views of the learned scholar. The verse seems to me to mean that Śaṁkaragaṇa defeated the king of Gauḍa, a great warrior (Bhaṭa), and made the whole world, gained by warfare, subservient to his overlord. Secondly, Śaṁkaragaṇa was the great-grand-son of Dhanika one of whose known dates is 725 A.D. (*ibid*, p. 11). Śaṁkaragaṇa, should, therefore, be taken as a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The verse thus shows that Śaṁkaragaṇa helped his overlord Nāgabhaṭa to wrest the empire from Dharmapāla by defeating the latter.

[1] *Cf.* Footnote 2, p. 39 above.

[2] Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I, verse 11. For the identification of the localities see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 257-8.

It has been already remarked above that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III had been busy with turmoils in the south from the commencement of his reign, and it is undoubtedly to this fortunate accident that Nāgabhaṭa owed the respite which enabled him to carry on his brilliant military expeditions in the north. But the inevitable war between the two hereditary enemies broke out at last and we can gather some account of it from contemporary records.

According to the Baroda plates of Karkarāja, Govinda III appointed Indrarāja as the Governor of *Lāṭeśvara-maṇḍala*, which in my opinion denotes the whole of the northern possession of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. A passage in this inscription, already quoted above,[1] refers to a defeat inflicted upon the lord of the Gurjaras by Indrarāja (alone). The lord of the Gurjaras seems undoubtedly to refer to Nāgabhaṭa, but the inscription of Avanivarman II, referred to above, puts up a claim on behalf of Vāhukadhavala, a feudatory of the Gurjara king, that he defeated a Karṇāṭa army, meaning apparently the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[2] A comparison of these two statements leads to the inference, that even while Govinda III was engaged in the south,[3] his governor of Lāṭa had to feel the brunt of the Gurjara invasion under Nāgabhaṭa after the latter had strengthend himself by extensive conquests in the north. In the struggle which thus ensued each party claimed the victory, and there was probably no decisive result on either side.

The situation was however completely changed when Govinda III, no doubt after settling his affairs in the south, hastened to the rescue of his brother. Once more

[1] *Cf.* p. 38 above.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 3.

[3] This seems to follow from the statement that Indrarāja *alone* defeated the Gurjara lord *cf.* p. 38 above.

there was a trial of strength between the Gurjaras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, but fortune was no more favourable to Nāgabhaṭa II than to his father.

The result of this struggle is known from different sources. The Rādhanpur plates of Govinda III inform us that when the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch advanced towards the Gurjara king, the latter "in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle."[1] Again, we learn from verse 22 of the Sanjan copper plate that Govinda III "destroyed the valour of Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta while he uprooted many other kings and again re-instated them."[2] According to the Pathārī pillar inscription[3] the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Karkarāja defeated one Nāgāvaloka, and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar perhaps rightly identifies this Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa II and concludes that Karkarāja accompanied Govinda III in his expedition against the Pratīhāra king.[4]

It would thus appear that Nāgabhaṭa II could not stand against the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces, although it is likely that he made good his retreat. But as verse 23 of the Sanjan copper plates imply, Govinda III overran his territory, and proceeded up to the Himālaya mountains.

The Nīlgund inscription[5] informs us that Govinda III also fettered the Gauḍas, and this is easily explained if we recall to mind how Dharmapāla had provoked his hostility by attacking Indrarāja, his younger brother, and governor in the north. The Sanjan plates, which contain much useful historical information not to be found anywhere else, are, however, much more explicit on the

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 250.

[2] Sa Nāgabhaṭa—Candragupta-nṛipayor =yaśauryyaṁ raṇe Svahāryyam= apahāryya dhairyyavikalān = ath=onmūlayat. Sanjan plate, verse 22.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 248.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 239.

[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 102.

point. We learn from these that Govinda III had proceeded up to Himālayas, and Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha waited upon, or humbled themselves, of their own accord, to him.[1] If we remember that both of them were defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II not long ago, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they had made up their differences with the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch by acknowledging his suzerainty in order to make a common cause against their more dangerous rival, *viz.*, Nāgabhaṭa. This satisfactorily explains the advance of the Raṣṭrakūṭa army up to the Himālayas although Nāgabhaṭa had not yet been worsted in an open battle.

The date of this struggle admits of being more or less definitely settled by a comparison of the Waṇī and the Rādhanpur grants of Govinda III. The latter practically contains the same verses as the former with only a few additions and alterations; and as the Gurjara conquest occurs in the additional part it may be assumed to have taken place between the dates of these two grants. Now, the Rādhanpur grant is dated on the 27th July, 808 A. D.[2] and the date of the Waṇī grant,[3] although irregular, cannot be placed earlier than the 25th of April, 807 A. D. Thus Nāgabhaṭa II was defeated by Govinda III some time between 807 and 808 A. D. The victory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, although by no means final and decisive, was no doubt disastrous to the Gurjaras. One of their late conquests, *viz.*, the province of Malwa, passed into the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga also probably shared the same fate. The

[1] Himavat-parvata-nirjjharāmbu turagai=pītañ=cha gādhañ=gajair |
ddhvanitaṁ-majjana-tūryyakair=dviguṇitaṁ bhūyo=pi tat-kandare ||
Svayam-evo=panatau cha yasya mahatas-tau Dharma-Chakrāudhau |
Himavān-kīrtti-sarūpatām-upagatas-tat kīrtti nārāyaṇaḥ ||
(Verse 23, Sanjan copper plate.)
Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 64.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 398.

Pratihāras, however, did not cease to give trouble to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, for we are told in the inscription of the feudatory Karkarāja of Gujarāt, that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king had "caused his arm to become an excellent door bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras."[1]

But ere long the political situation changed. The Rāshṭrakūṭas themselves were torn asunder by internal dissensions. Karkarāja, the son and successor of Indrarāja of Lāṭa, was expelled by his younger brother in 812 A. D., and what was worse still, the revolutionary movement thus set on foot afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amoghavarsha I.[2]

This unexpected embroglio in the Rāshṭrakūṭa affairs left the Pālas and the Gurjaras free to fight among themselves. It is difficult to follow in detail the course of this struggle which continued for more than a century, but a few prominent landmarks may be ascertained by a comparison of the records of the contending powers.

The Bhāgalpur copper plate of Nārayaṇapāla[3] refers to Jayapāla, the nephew of Dharmapāla, in terms which seem to show that he defeated the enemies of Dharmapāla in battles and made Devapāla the supreme ruler of earth. Again the Monghyr copper plate of Devapāla refers to his warlike expeditions up to the Vindhya mountains.[4] This is fully supported by the Garuḍa pillar inscription[5] of Bādal according to which Devapāla made the whole of northern India—from Himālaya to Vindhya, and from the eastern to the western ocean—tributary to him.

As regards the Gurjara Pratīhāra power, we learn from a Jaina book, Parbhāvaka Charita, that king

[1] Baroda plates of Karkarāja, line 40; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 402, 409.

[3] *Cf.* verse 5; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 305.

[4] *Cf.* V. 13 of the Monghyr copper plate *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XXI, pp. 254 ff.

[5] *Cf.* V. 5 of the Garuḍa pillar inscription of Bādal *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 160.

Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja died in 890 V. S., and this Nāgāvaloka has been rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.[1] The Harsha stone inscription of Vigraharāja refers to him in terms which show that he was a very powerful king, and Guvāka I, the founder of the Chāhamāna dynasty was his vassal.[2] Of Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, we know very little, but that the Gurjara power declined during his reign is quite evident from the scattered notices we possess about him. Thus the Gwalior inscription of Vaillabhaṭṭa informs us that he had been the chief of boundaries in the service of Rāmabhadra, and that his son occupied the office after him and was appointed to the guardianship of the fort of Gwalior by Bhoja.[3] This shows that during the reign of Rāmabhadra and the early part of the reign of Bhoja Gwalior was the boundary of the Pratīhāras. Again the twelfth verse of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja[4] seems to imply that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of foreign soldiers who were notorious for their cruel deeds. It seems likely that 'the band of foreign soldiers by driving whom Rāmabhadra got back the fame that was lost, even as Rāmachandra recovered his Sītā,' belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power, *viz.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭas are not known to have advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period. The Daulatpurā plates[5] also lead to the same conclusion. It renews the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā which was originally made by Vatsarāja and continued by Nāgabhaṭa II but had fallen into abeyance in the reign of Bhoja. This seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179, fn. 3.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 239; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 12.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff.
[4] *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1903-4, pp. 277ff.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 208.

and Nāgabhaṭa II but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhoja, sometime before 843 A. D., the date of the inscription.

With the available evidence referred to above we are justified in tracing the course of the history of this period somewhat on the following lines.

About 808 A. D. the Gurjara Pratīhāra power suffered a severe blow in the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Their rivals, the Pālas, took advantage of this to establish their supremacy in northern India. Nāgabhaṭa retained his hold upon Kanauj which he had conquered from Chakrāyudha, transferred his capital there and probably succeeded in offering an effective resistance to the Pālas till his death in 833-34 A. D. His successor Rāmabhadra was a weak monarch and so the Pāla emperor Devapāla established his unquestioned suzerainty over northern India. His army advanced up to the Vindhyas and it was enough for Rāmabhadra to have saved his own dominions. After a short and unsuccessful reign, the latter was succeeded by Bhoja about 840 A.D. Bhoja seems to have inherited the ambition of Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa, and founded an empire for which his illustrious predecessors had tried in vain.

A reminiscence of the struggles by which Bhoja thus regained his power in the north has been preserved in the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya. The Guhilot prince Harsharāja, the son of that Śaṁkaragaṇa who accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II in his expedition against Bengal, is said to have conquered the kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja, who has no doubt been rightly identified with the great Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.[1] As Śaṁkaragaṇa was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, Harsharāja must have lived in the earlier years of Bhoja. It is therefore legitimate

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 12.

to hold that the wars of Harsharāja were fought on behalf of the overlord Bhoja in the early years of the latter and enabled him to make extensive conquests in the north. Among others, as the Daulatpurā copper plates seem to indicate, Gurjaratrā was reconquered before 843 A. D.

There are, however, good grounds for the belief that inspite of these early successes Bhoja's aspirations were at first doomed to failure. The Ghaṭiyāḷā inscriptions of Kakkuka refer to the province of Gurjaratrā as being held by that king of the earlier Pratīhāra dynasty of Jodhpur.[1] As this inscription is dated in 861 A. D. Bhoja must have lost the province between 843 and this date. It has been shown above that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa, but lost by Rāmabhadra, and regained by Bhoja before 843 A. D. This view entirely agrees with the condition of the Gurjara kingdom sketched out above as well as with the inscriptions of the Jodhpur Pratīhāras. We have seen that there was a great decline of the Gurjara Pratīhāra power of Avanti after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II in the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Their difficulty must have offered the requisite opportunity to the Jodhpur Pratīhāras to regain the power that they had lost. We have sketched their history up to the end of Śiluka's reign when the suzerain power was taken from them by Vatsarāja. We have also noted that the two successors of Śiluka are described as practising austerities—an unmistakable proof of their political and military inanity. King Kakka, the third king after Śiluka is however described as a great fighter and his queen consort is called a *mahārājñī*.[2] Their son Bāuka was also a great hero and his military exploits are described at great length in the Jodhpur inscription dated 837 A. D. Bāuka was succeeded by

[1] *Cf.* footnote 8, p. 19 above.

[2] *Cf.* vv. 24-26 of Jodhpur Inscription, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, pp. 1 ff.

his step-brother Kakkuka two of whose inscriptions, dated 861 A. D., besides referring to his great power in general, make specific reference to Gurjaratrā and other provinces as forming part of his dominions. It would thus follow that after the Gurjara power under Nāgabhaṭa II had sustained serious reverses, the dynasty of Harichandra had regained some of its lost territories including Gurjaratrā, and that with the revival of the Pratīhāra power under Bhoja it was reconquered by him before 843 A. D., as is clearly proved by the Daulatpurā plate. But the inscriptions of Kakkuka show that Bhoja had lost it again, and even so far late as 861 A. D., the disputed territory was in the possession of the Pratīhāra family of Jodhpur. This necessarily points out to a decline of the power of Bhoja after some preliminary successes.

The cause of this decline is not far to seek. We learn from the Garuḍa pillar inscription of Bādal[1] that the policy of the minister Darbhapāṇi enabled his master Devapāla to make the whole of Northern India—bounded by the Himālaya and the Vindhya, and the eastern and the western ocean—tributary to him. We are further told that the king of Gauḍa, meaning apparently Devapāla, had curbed the pride of the Gurjara chief by following the advice of his minister Kedāra Miśra, the grandson of Darbhapāṇi, while no glorious exploits are set down to the credit of the second minister, Someśvara, the son of the first and the father of the second. This seems to indicate that Devapāla's unquestioned supremacy over northern India was established during the first part of his reign but that the Gurjaras had raised their head and were put down by him during the last years of his reign. Now as Devapāla ruled between 815 and 850 A. D., the deductions made from the Garuḍa pillar inscription must be held to be in remarkable agreement with the

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 160 ff.

inferences we have already drawn from the Daulatpurā plate and the inscriptions of the Jodhpur Pratīhāras, *viz.*, that the Gurjaras under Rāmabhadra were shorn of their outlying possessions and were confined to their own dominions, that some time before 843 A. D. they had commenced an aggressive campaign under Bhoja with some initial success, but that they had met with serious reverses and their power declined some time before 861 A. D. In other words it appears that Bhoja was defeated by Devapāla some time between 843 and 850 A. D., and thus the 'pride of the Gurjara chief caused by his initial successes was sufficiently curbed.'

But the early activities of Bhoja were not confined to the north and east alone; he also tried his strength with the other rival power, *viz.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭas. As has been noticed above, ever since the northern expedition of Govinda III, the Rāshṭrakūṭas were torn asunder by internal dissensions, and there were rival parties within the kingdom. Bhoja seems to have allied himself with one of these parties and attacked Dhruvarāja II, the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief of Gujarāt. But here, too, he met with reverses. The Bāgumrā plates of Dhruvarāja II which narrate his victory over Bhoja, are dated in 867 A. D.,[1] and as we have got the date 835 A. D.[2] for his grandfather Dhruvarāja I, and the date 867 A. D. for his successor,[3] the defeat of Bhoja in the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief may be placed between 850 and 860 A. D.

The early attempts of Bhoja I to re-establish the glory of his family thus proved a failure. He did not, however, give up all hopes, for as the Gwalior inscription of the year 876 A. D., informs us, he was once more bent

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol., XII, p. 181.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 287.

upon "conquering the three worlds,"[1] apparently some time in the third quarter of the ninth century A. D. It is probable that he first turned his attention towards Bengal, and so far as we can see at present, his renewed attempts towards an aggressive campaign must have been, to a great extent, inspired by the political change that had come over that kingdom.

The change was due to the death of his mighty rival Devapāla. The sudden change in the royal line of the Pālas,[2] and the boast of Amoghavarsha, that the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṇga and Magadha worshipped him,[3] seem to point out to an internal dissension in the Pāla kingdom followed by the disintegration of the Pāla empire, not long after the death of Devapāla. But whether this conjecture be true or not, with Devapāla was removed a powerful rival leaving the mighty empire to a succession of unworthy monarchs that inherited the throne, but not the blood, of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Vigrahapāla, the successor of Devapāla is expressly said to have adopted the life of an ascetic,[4] a sure sign, as we have noted above, of military inanity. His son and successor Nārāyaṇapāla too resembled his father rather than his grand-uncle, for the contemporary records do not, even once, refer to his military achievements. These weaklings inflicted their unfortunate rule upon Bengal for more than half a century and the Gurjaras reaped a full harvest at this golden opportunity.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 156, v. 22.

[2] I accept the views of the late Dr. Kielhorn that Vigrahapāla was the s n of Jayapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 17). The late Dr. Hoernle was of opinion that Vigrahapāla was not a nephew but a son of Devapāla (*Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, App. II, p. 206), and he has been followed by Mr. A. Maitreya, (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 67). Mr. R. D. Banerji has shown cogent reasons against this latter view (*Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, pp. 190-193).

[3] Nīlgund inscription, v. 6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 103.

[4] Bhāgalpur copper plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, v. 17 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 304.

In his expedition against Bengal Bhoja was assisted by one or probably two rulers of the Chedi family that was gradually rising into prominence. These were Guṇāmbhodhi-deva and Kokalladeva. As regards the first, we learn from the Kalhā plates of Soḍhadeva[1] that Guṇāmbhodhi-deva, who flourished during the latter half of the ninth century A. D.,[2] and obtained some territories from Bhojadeva, snatched away the sovereignty of the Gauḍas. As to the second we learn from the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions[3] that he supported Bhojadeva.[4] Now as Kokalla is also described as supporting the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II and entered into a marriage alliance with him, it is not likely that he gave Bhoja any assistance against his southern enemies. A fair presumption therefore arises that his alliance was sought for by Bhoja against the Pāla king, and this gains

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 85.

[2] Kielhorn who edited the above inscription remarks: "In my opinion it (the date of the inscription) shows that the founder of this new branch of the Kalachuri family, Rājaputra, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A. D." "(*Ibid*, p. 88). As Guṇāmbhodhideva was the great-grand-son of Rājaputra he may be referred to the latter half of the ninth century A. D.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 251 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 297.

[4] Kokalladeva's reign must be referred to the latter half of the ninth century A. D. for Gāṅgeyadeva, who was the ninth king after him, and belonged to the seventh generation, died in 1041 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146). King Bhojadeva, supported by Kokalla, may thus be identified with Bhoja I of Kanauj. Mr. R. D. Banerji, however, identifies him with Bhoja II (*Pālas of Bengal*, p. 65) and remarks that "one (referring to Kokalladeva), who is a contemporary of Harsha and Kṛishna II can never be a contemporary of Bhoja I" (*Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 202). It is difficult to appreciate the force of this objection. Kṛishṇa II must have ascended the throne shortly after 877 A. D., the 62nd year of the reign of his father. The Chandella King Harsha also probably flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A. D., as his grandson Dhaṅga was ruling in 954 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 123). The Ratnapur inscription of Jajalladeva I (*Ep., Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 34) informs us that Kokalla had eighteen sons. He must therefore be credited with an unusually long reign and there is therefore no inherent improbability in the assumption that he was the contemporary of the Pratīhāra king Bhoja I, Chandella king Harsharāja, and king Kṛishṇa II. It is of course just possible that he was a contemporary of Bhoja II too, and the statement in the Bilhari inscription that he set up an unprecedented column of fame in the north in the shape of Bhojadeva might after all refer to Bhoja II, as Hoernle contended (*J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 651).

additional strength when we remember that Kokalla was in alliance with one Śaṁkaragaṇa who was probably the father of Gunāmbhodhi-deva.[1] On the whole the available evidence seems to be in favour of the view that Bhoja was assisted by the two Chedi ruling families in his expedition agains Vaṅga. Another chief that probably accompanied Bhoja on the same occasion was the Guhilot king Guhila II. He was the son of that Harsharāja who joined the campaigns of Bhoja in the early part of his reign and claimed to have conquered the kings of the north. He is said to have defeated the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from princes in the east.[2]

Assisted by these powerful chiefs, Bhoja had probably no great difficulty in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the unwarlike king that sat upon the throne of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Nothing succeeds like success, and so the circumstances were gradually turning in favour of Bhoja. In the south the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II was involved in a life and death struggle with the eastern Chālukya prince Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III who occupied and burnt the capital city of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Kṛishṇa II had to beg for the support of Kokalla in order to drive away the mighty foe and re-occupy his capital.[3] Bhoja was thus freed from any fear in this

[1] The list of kings to whom Kokalla is said to have offered protection in v. 7 of the Benares copper plate, includes one Śaṁkaragaṇa. Dr. Kielhorn who edited the inscription identified him with the son of Kokalla himself, bearing that name. This seems to me quite inadmissible, inasmuch as the protection granted by a father to his son would be scarcely thought worthy of being recorded in an inscription. But Śaṁkaragana, the father of Guṇāmbhodhideva may be looked upon as a contemporary of Kokalla, in his early years, and as such may be identified with the king of the same name in the Benares copper plate.

[2] V. 23 of the Chāṭsū inscription; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 15.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 29. The proposed identification of Kheṭaka with Mānyakheta is not accepted by Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 180. But even if we hold with him that Kheṭaka is Kaira in Gujarāt, the severity of the struggle will be quite apparent from the fact that the Eastern Chālukyas had overrun the whole of Rāshṭrakūṭa territory, up to its western border.

quarter, and with the two powerful rival kingdoms thus laid low, he had an ample opportunity of satisfying his imperial ambitions. The Pehevā inscriptions[1] show that the Karnāl district was included within his dominion, and a verse in Rājataraṅgiṇī probably points to a further advance in the same direction.[2] The Unā grants of Balavarman and Avanivarman[3] seem to show that the Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala or the modern peninsula of Kāṭhiāwār also was in the possession of Bhoja. In the west his empire seems to have touched upon the borders of the Mahomedan territory of Sind.[4] The Dighwā-Dubaulī plates of Mahendrapāla[5] show that Śrāvasti-vishaya was included in his dominion and it is likely that it was already added to the Gurjara empire during the time of Bhoja. For the Kalhā plates of Soḍhadeva refer to a Chedi dynasty in Oudh, one of whose kings, Guṇāmbhodhideva, as noticed above, received territory from Bhojadeva. The Chandellas too, must be supposed to have been a feudatory power under Bhoja, for even as late as 954 A. D. the name of Vināyakapāla, as the suzerain king, appears in their copperplate charters.[6] It is impossible to determine whether the kingdom of the Chedis acknowledged his suzerainty ; but with the exception of this as well as of the kingdoms of Sindh, Kāshmīr and

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., I, p. 186.

[2] See below, p. 55 ff.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.

[4] Thus Al Mas'udi says "one of the neighbouring kings of India is the Baüüra, who is lord of the city of Kanauj." Elliot's History, Vol. I, p. 21. Baüüra seems to be a corrupt form of Parihāra, *cf.* also p. 23, and the extracts quoted below.

[5] *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 112.

[6] *Cf*, line 29 of the Khajurāho inscription dated in the Vikrama year 1011 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 129). The name Vināyaka, although put within brackets, is fairly clear in the accompanying plate. My attention was drawn to this point by Prof. Hem Chandra Roy Chaudhury, M.A., who seems to be also right in contending that Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, mentioned in that inscription cannot be identified with the Pratihāra king of the same name, as has hitherto been done.

Magadha, Bhojadeva's empire seems to have included the whole of Northern India. With the imperial city of Kanauj as his capital the great emperor seems to have enjoyed the undisturbed possession of these extensive territories at his old age, till he died at about 890 A. D., leaving a consolidated empire, for which Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa had fought in vain, to his son and successor Mahendrapāladeva.

Under Mahendrapāladeva the Pratīhāra empire reached its greatest extent. The verse 151 of the fifth book of Rājataraṅgiṇī informs us that Śaṁkaravarman "caused the sovereign power, which the superior king Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Thakkiya family who had become his servant in the office of the Chamberlain."[1] Now this passage is a difficult one and has been commented upon by various scholars. In the present state of our knowledge there will probably be no hesitation in identifying the superior king Bhoja in the above passage with the great emperor of Kanauj. We learn, then, from the above verse that something was taken by Bhoja, and this was afterwards restored to the Thakkiyakas by Śaṁkaravarman. The question is, what is this thing. According to the different interpretations of Bühler,[2] Fleet[3] and Stein it was respectively, "the universal sovereignty," "the dominion taken from the Thakkiyaka family," or "the sovereign power." Now the first seems to be out of question altogether; for, in the first place, as Śaṁkaravarman's conquest did not extend beyond the Punjāb, he could hardly speak of universal sovereignty as being in his power to give, and secondly, even if possible, it would be hardly bestowed upon a family which was admittedly

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated by Stein, p. 206.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol I, p. 186.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 110, fn. 31

subordinate to the Kāshmīr king. This latter argument also precludes the third view if it means any independent sovereign power, and on the whole, the only possible interpretation [1] seems to be that of Fleet, according to which some dominions of the Punjāb which were taken by Bhoja were reconquered by Saṁkaravarman. Whether this took place during the lifetime of Bhoja or after his death, we cannot possibly determine with any degree of certainty, for the verse admits of both the interpretations.[2] The probability, however, is, that the event took place in the reign of Mahendrapāladeva. For Śaṁkaravarman ascended the throne in 883 A. D. and had to fight "numerous battles" with the other rival candidates to the throne, before he could consolidate his position at home and set out on foreign expeditions. Besides the Pehevā inscription of Mahendrapāla [3] shows that the Karṇāl district was a part of the Gurjara empire even under that monarch, and if this was the territory taken away by Śaṁkaravarman, the event must be placed in the reign of Mahendrapāladeva.

But although Mahendrapāladeva might have been less successful in the west, he was more fortunate than his father in his eastern conquests. The Guṇeriyā and the Rāmagayā inscriptions, dated respectively in the years 8 and 9 of Mahendrapāla, seem undoubtedly to point out, as Mr. R. D. Banerji contended, that the province of Magadha had at last passed into the hands of the Pratīhāras.[4] Thus the victory over the eastern rival was complete after a struggle of more than a century, and the

[1] It is difficult to follow Dr. Hoernle's interpretation of the passage in *J. R. A. S*, 1904, p. 649.

[2] *Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, p. 186.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 244.

[4] *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 63-4, where other views on the subject are referred to. Also *of, Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 110-111. The force of Mr. R. Chanda's criticism against the view (*Mānasī*, Vol. VII, p. 666) is, I believe, considerably weakened by the publication of the fac-simile of the Rām Gayā image.

Pratīhāra empire reached its highwatermark of success and glory.

We are fortunate in possessing short but interesting accounts of this empire from the pen of contemporary Arab writers. The account written by the merchant Sulaimān about 851 A. D. contains the following note about the king of Jurz, who is of course to be identified with the Gurjara Pratīhāra king Bhoja :

"This king maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers." [1]

It will appear from the above extract that the Gurjara Pratīhāra empire of Kanauj was rich in resources and for a long time stood as a bulwark against the Arab hordes. Their hereditary enemies, the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the south, seem to have allied themselves with the Islamic power of Sind against them, but they successfully resisted further encroachments of the power in the mainland of India, and it is to them, therefore, that the country owes its immunity from the Moslem invasions for well nigh two hundred years. This part of Indian history still remains to be written, but when sufficient materials are available for the purpose, it will probably

inscription of the 8th year of Mahendrapāla (*Palas of Bengal*, pl. XXI). Since this article was written another inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla incised on a Tārā image at Itkhori in the Hazaribagh district of Behar has come to light. (Ann. Progr. Rep. Arch. Survey, Central Circle, for 1920-21, p. 5.)

[1] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 4.

be found that the empire founded by Bhoja and Mahendrapāla conferred inestimable boon upon the whole of India.

At the beginning of the tenth century, then, the Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla ruled over an empire that, to quote the phraseology of the court poet of Devapāla, stretched from the source of the Ganges to that of the Revā, and almost from the Eastern to the Western ocean, the abode of Varuṇa and Lakshmī. The struggle for empire between the three great rival powers of the ninth century A. D. had thus had its logical end. Dhruva and Govinda III, Dharmapāla and Devapāla, Bhojadeva and Mahendrapāladeva, each played in turn the imperial rolê and satisfied to the fullest extent the imperial ambitions of the respective powers. Their empires, however, like waves in sea, rose to the highest point only to break down. So it had proved to be with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pālas, and so it was destined to be in the case of the Pratīhāras. For the later history of the dynasty is but the history of the decline and downfall of the mighty empire.

The emperor Mahendrapāla had several queens and several sons were born of them. We learn from a copper-plate grant[1] that his queen Dehanāgā Devī had a son called Bhojadeva (II) while the son of another queen Mahīdevī Devī[2] was named Vināyakapāla Deva. Another grant[3] mentions Mahīpāla Deva as having meditated on the feet of Mahendrapāla Deva, and a careful consideration of some isolated passages in the writings of poet Rājaśekhara leaves no doubt that Mahīpāla was a son of Mahendrapāla.[4]

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 138.

[2] Mahādevī-devī, according to Pratābgarh Inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 176.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 174.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 170-71.

It has been usually held by scholars that Mahīpāla was but another name of Vināyakapāla. This assumption was first made by Dr. Kielhorn on the strength of two passages of Siyadoni inscriptions[1] and the Khajurāho inscription of the Chandella king Yaśovarman.[2] In the former, king Devapāla (948-9 A. D.) is said to have meditated on the feet of king Kshitipāla, while, in the latter, king Yaśovarman is said to have been a contemporary of king Devapāla, son of Herambapāla. Assuming the identity of the two kings called Devapāla, he had no difficulty in identifying their predecessors, Kshitipāla and Herambapāla. As Kshiti and Mahī mean the same thing he held Kshitipāla, Mahīpāla and Herambapāla to have been the names of one and the same king. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who first correctly interpreted the date of the grant of Vināyakapāla naturally strengthened the theory of Dr. Kielhorn by pointing out that Vināyaka was synonymous with Heramba,[3] and the result has been that all the four names are generally looked upon as having been borne by one and the same king. Quite recently Pandit Gaurisankar Hirāchānd Ojhā has objected to this theory.[4] He accepts the identity of Mahīpāla and Kshitipāla, as both words are synonymous, but demurs to the further identification of this king with Vināyakapāla *alias* Herambapāla. His grounds may be shortly summed up as follows :—

(1) The king Devapāla mentioned in the Khajurāho inscription is called Hayapati, and as this has never been known to be an appellation of the Pratīhāra kings of Kanauj, he cannot be identified with the Kanauj king of that name.

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 170, 177.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 124.
[3] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 406-7.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 180.

(2) The dates of kings Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap, and there are no reasons to justify their identification.

I admit the force of these arguments and hope to be able to adduce other reasons in support of them.

As regards the first point nobody seems to have yet considered one small detail in connection with the Khajurāho inscription of Yaśovarman. The concluding portion of that grant runs as follows :—" While the illustrious Vināyaka (?) Pāla Deva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies who have been annihilated. Adoration to the holy Vāsudeva. Adoration to the sun."

Although Dr. Kielhorn, the editor of the inscription, put a query after Vināyaka, indicating that the reading is not certain, the fac-simile printed along with his paper will probably convince everybody that very little doubt can be entertained on the point. Even Dr. Kielhorn seems to have been of the same opinion, for in his prefatory remarks he observes :—"Finally in the last line the inscription appears to mention a prince Vināyakapāla Deva regarding whose relation to the Chandella princes I am unable at present to offer my conjecture." [1]

The way in which the name of Vināyakapāla is mentioned almost inevitably leads to the conclusion, that his name was invoked as that of the paramount sovereign to whom the Chandella kings owed allegiance, however nominal that might be. It is otherwise difficult to explain why the name of a king who certainly did not belong to the family, and had apparently nothing to do with the subject-matter of the inscription, should be mentioned at the end of a Chandella inscription, and the proud epithet of having successfully ruled over the whole world bestowed upon him. Chronological considerations seem indeed to

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 124.

be against this supposition, for the Chandella inscription is dated in 954 A. D. while Vināyakapāla must have ceased to rule before 946 A. D., the date of the Pratābgarh inscription of his son and successor Mahendrapāla II. But Dr. Kielhorn has rightly pointed out that although the inscription really belongs to the reign of Yaśovarman it was actually set up after his death, during the reign of his son and successor Dhaṅga. For the main portion of the inscription refers to Yaśovarman as the ruling king, while three verses are added at the end to describe the martial exploits of his son Dhaṅga. The date 954 A. D. no doubt denotes the time when the record was actually set up in the reign of Dhaṅga, and, as extensive conquests of this king are mentioned therein, its actual composition in Yaśovarman's reign may not impossibly be placed ten to fifteen years before that date. As Dhaṅga is known to have ruled till at least 999 A. D. it may appear objectionable to push back his accession still further, but as we are expressly told that he lived for more than hundred years [1] a reign of sixty years may not be looked upon as improbable. It may be readily imagined in these circumstances that the name of the suzerain king Vināyakapāla occurred in the original record and was retained in its subsequent modification in the time of Dhaṅgadeva. Now, if we assume that the name of Vināyakapāla occurred in the original record of Yaśovarman, it is impossible to identify the Hayapati Devapāla mentioned therein with the Kanauj king of that name, and there thus remains no ground for the identification proposed by Dr. Kielhorn.

As regards the second point it is certainly remarkable that all the earlier references give the name of the king as Mahīpāla while those of a later period refer to Vināyakapāla. Thus two inscriptions of 914 and 917

[1] Verse 55 of the Khajurāho Ins., No. V, *Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, p. 146.

A.D.[1] refer to Mahīpāla, while an inscription dated 931 A.D. refers to Vināyakapāla.[2] The poet Rājaśekhara, who lived in the court of Mahendrapāla and was his *guru* mentions Mahīpāla, the son and successor of the latter, as his disciple. Again, the contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, who must have died between 916 and 918 A.D., is also called Mahīpāla as will be seen later on. It can hardly be looked upon as accidental that if the son and successor of Mahendrapāla really possessed two such different names as Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla he should have been systematically mentioned by one of these names alone in the earlier period.

It is therefore probable that Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla were the names of different kings, but on the other hand there is one important consideration against this supposition. In the Asiatic Society's grant of Vināyakapāla the king is said to have meditated on the feet of his father and elder step-brother Bhoja II. It is noteworthy that no reference is made to Mahīpāla. It is no doubt true that there are many records in which no mention is made of the royal brothers intervening between the reigning king and his father. But as the grant expressly mentions one such brother, and adopts a somewhat unusual phraseology to indicate the two predecessors of the king whose feet he meditated upon, it is difficult to explain the omission of Mahīpāla's name if he had really been a separate king. It may of course be argued that there was internal dissension among the brothers, that Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla were rival claimants to the throne, and that the latter looked upon the former merely as an usurper and therefore did not include his name in the line of succession. Such a theory is not at all improbable and satisfactorily explains the sudden and complete

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 193 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 174.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 140.

collapse of the Pratīhāra empire in less than a decade after the death of Mahendrapāla. But there are as yet no positive data in support of this, and although the question cannot be finally decided at present, it is better to accept the identity of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla. The identity of Mahīpāla and Kshitipāla we may accept with less hesitation as the two words are synonymous.

The emperor Mahendrapāla had thus at least two sons, Bhoja II and Mahīpāla, *alias* Kshitipāla, *alias* Vināyakapāla. Bhoja II succeeded him probably not long after 908 A.D., the last known date of his father. We know practically nothing about this king who ceased to reign sometime before 914 A.D.

This date is furnished by the Haddala grant of the Chāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha who styles himself a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva. It is thus clear that Mahīpāla ascended the throne in less than six years after the death of his father and that eastern Kathiawar over which Dharaṇīvarāha ruled was still included within the empire. The conquests of Mahīpāla are described in a grandiloquent verse by the poet Rājaśekhara in the Introduction to his Play Bālabhārata or Prachaṇḍa Pāṇḍava. "And in that (lineage of Raghu) there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas; who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kalingas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulutas; who is very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas."

Now Kuluta is represented by the present Kullu district on the upper course of the Bias river and the Ramaṭhas must be a neighbouring people as they are

placed along with the Pānchanadas in the Western Division in the Bṛihat Saṁhitā, and with the Kulindas in the Northern Division in Vāyu Purāṇa. Kaliṅga is of course the Orissan coast probably as far south as Vizagapatam, and the Mekalas inhabited the Mekala hills in the north and west of Chattisgarh district.[1] Kuntala was the ancient name of the western part of the Deccan and the Keralas lived to the south of the Kuntalas.[2] Whatever we may think of the victories claimed for Mahīpāla in the above passage it may not be unreasonably held that the countries mentioned therein bordered on his empire. It would thus cover the greater part of northern India from the upper valley of the Bias in the north-west almost to the northern ranges of the Eastern Ghats in the south-east. The southern boundary was formed by the Kuntala kingdom at first, but was possibly pushed up to the Kerala territory at a later period.

Mahīpāla is further described by Rājaśekhara as the "pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu" and the "Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta." Taking everything into consideration and making due allowance for the usual exaggeration of the court poets, it may be safely laid down that the Pratīhāra empire remained intact and probably its boundaries were extended in Mahīpāla's time.

This conclusion is fully supported by the account of Al Mas'udi, a native of Bagdad, who visited India in the year 303-4 A.H. (915-16 A.D.), *i.e.*, in the early part of Mahipāla's reign.[3] After describing the kingdom of the Rāshṭrakūṭas he remarks:—"One of the neighbouring kings of India who is far from the sea is the Baüüra,

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1897, pp. 99, 110.

[2] I am unable to identify Murala, but in Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 55, reference is made to a river Muralā, in or near Kerala country. Muralā in the above passage might therefore mean a country adjacent to Kerala.

[3] Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 21 ff.; for his date, *cf. ibid*, p. 434.

who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom." There can be no question that the reference here is to the Pratīhāra kingdom under Mahīpāla and I think Baüüra was but an Arabic corruption of the word Pratīhāra or its Prākṛit form Padihāra. According to Al Mas'udi, then, the boundaries of the Kanauj empire extended up to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom in the south. Again Al Mas'udi tells us that "the Mihran of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Baüüra and from Kashmir, etc." This shows that the Pratīhāra empire must have included portions of the Punjab. Further the king of Kanauj is referred to by Al Mas'udi as one of the kings of Sind, by which term the Arab writer probably means the western and south-western parts of India including the Punjab, Kashmir and Sind. We are also told 'that the king of Kanauj maintains an army in the north to fight with the prince of Multan and with the Mussulmans, his subjects on the frontier.' Thus the Pratīhāra empire probably included a part of Sind and its south-western boundary was formed by the principality of Multan. Several remarks of Al Mas'udi, scattered in his account, refer to the power and prestige of the Kanauj kingdom. Thus he says 'that the king has four armies according to the four quarters of the world. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men.' Again, we are told that the 'king of Juzr is rich in horses and camels and has a large army.'

Regarding the political relations of the king of Kanauj we are told by Al Mas'udi that of the four armies maintained by him that of the north wars against the prince of Multan, and that of the south fights against Balharā, *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, while the other two armies march in every direction. Among the other enemies is mentioned

the Rahma king whose "dominions border on those of the Gurjara and the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings with both of whom he is frequently at war."

We have seen above that the poet Rājaśekhara has also referred to the conquests of Mahīpāla over Kuntala. Thus it is clear that at the beginning of Mahīpāla's reign he was at war with the Rāshṭrakūtas. We learn the same thing from the records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas themselves.[1] The Cambay plates of Govinda IV refer to the victory of Indra III over the Gurjara Pratīhāras. We are told that Indra III "crossed the Jumna and devastated the city of Mahodaya." Another passage indicates that he had conquered Ujjayinī on his way to the Jumna. We further learn from the Kanarese poet Pampa that Mahīpāla was pursued by the Rāshṭrakūta army as far as the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna.[2]

It would thus appear that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III had a complete victory over the Pratīhāras and the empire of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla lay prostrate at the feet of their southern rivals. The *Mahodaya-śrī* was ruthlessly destroyed and king Mahīpāla fled from his capital, hotly pursued by his enemies. The date of this catastrophe is not difficult to determine. The records of Indra III dated 915 A.D. contain no reference to his northern conquests unless as some scholars maintain the word Meru occurring therein is to be understood to refer to Mahodaya.[3] This does not however seem very likely and it is therefore probable that the northern conquests were effected after that year. Same conclusions follow from the accounts of the Arab writers quoted above. As Indra III must have died sometime before 918 A.D., the earliest date of his successor, his northern expedition

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 26.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 28.
[3] *J. Bo. Br R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 420.

probably took place sometime between the years 916 and 917 A. D.

The Pratīhāra empire, however, survived the shock. Their restoration to power must have been greatly facilitated by the confusion that almost immediately set in in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. Govinda IV usurped the throne of his elder brother by directly or indirectly causing his death[1] and the vices of the king and their consequences are thus described in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records.

"He, too, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent as the subjects were discontented on account of the aggravation of vices and his innate strength and power becoming neutralised, he met with destruction.....

"Then king Amoghavarsha.....being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas ascended the throne."[2]

The above description of king Govinda IV, who ascended the throne in or before 918 A. D., hardly leaves any doubt that, almost immediately after the brilliant conquests of Indra III, internal circumstances proved extremely unfavourable for their maintenance. The Pratīhāras must have seized this opportunity, and in their endeavour to regain in some degree the prestige and glory they had lost, they seem to have been loyally supported by their feudatory chiefs. We learn from a Khajurāho inscription that the Chandella king Harsha placed Kshitipāla on the throne. If, as it seems likely,

[1] *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VII. p. 34.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 288.

Kshitipāla was but another name of Mahīpāla, we can, without much difficulty, interpret the action of Harsha as loyally assisting the imperial ruler to re-establish his authority over the shattered kingdom. Another feudatory chief of the Gurjara empire that must have substantially contributed to the success of the campaign was the Guhilot chief Bhaṭṭa. He was the grandson of Harsharāja who, as we have seen above, assisted his suzerain, the great Pratīhāra king Bhoja, in times of need, and may thus be looked upon as the contemporary of Mahīpāla. The passage in which his heroic deeds are extolled is unfortunately mutilated, but enough remains to show that in a time of great danger, when the kingdom was invaded by foreign soldiers and everything was in confusion, he defeated in battle the kings of the south at the command of his paramount lord.[1] There seems to be but little doubt that the kings of the south were no other than the chiefs of the Rāshṭrakūṭa army by defeating whom king Mahīpāla regained his territories.

Whether Mahīpāla was able to recover all the territories he had lost it is difficult to determine. But there can be no question that the prestige of the Pratīhāras suffered a severe blow from which they never completely recovered. As is usual in these circumstances, subordinate chiefs began to assert independence and new dynasties rose to power within the empire. Thus set in the decline and downfall of the great Pratīhāra empire and the process of disintegration presents a historic parallel to that which overtook the Moghul empire in the eighteenth century.

The new political outlook is nowhere better displayed than in the changed attitude of the Chandellas. Yaśovarman, the son of that Harshadeva who had assisted Mahīpāla in regaining his throne is described in

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 16, Verse 26 of the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya.

a Khajurāho inscription [1] as a scorching fire to the Gurjaras. Whatever truth this poetical description might contain there can be hardly any doubt that he hurled defiance to the imperial power. The Pratīhāra ruler was indeed still invoked as the suzerain power [2] in official documents, probably very much in the same way as the rulers of Oudh found it convenient to pay a nominal allegiance to the emperors at Delhi, but Yaśovarman carved out a principality which was independent for all practical purposes.

Mahīpāla or Vināyakapāla was the last great ruler of the imperial dynasty. His last recorded date is 931 A. D.[3] So far as epigraphical evidence goes, the Pratīhāra kingdom at the time stretched as far as Benares in the east. The Ganges, the Jumna, the Betwa and the Dasān rivers seem to have formed its boundaries on the south-east while to the south it probably reached the Vindhyas. Thus, on the whole, Mahīpāla must be credited with having restored to a great degree the fallen fortunes of his family.

Vināyakapāla was succeeded by his three sons. The eldest was Mahendrapāla II whose existence has recently been brought to light by the discovery of the Pratābgarh inscription dated 946 A. D.[4] After him came Devapāla who is referred to in a Siyadoni inscription as ruling in 948-49 A. D.[5] He was succeeded by Vijayapāla who is mentioned as the suzerain power in the Rājorgarh inscription of Mathanadeva, dated 960 A. D.[6]

During the reign of these three monarchs the disintegration of the empire was all but complete. The

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 122.
[2] See p. 60 above.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 140.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 176.
[5] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 177.
[6] *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 266.

Chandella power rapidly advanced and an inscription discovered at Mhow tells us that Dhaṅga, the son and successor of Yaśovarman obtained the empire after defeating the Kānyakubja king.[1] This bold claim is fully supported by the verse 45 of the Khajurāho inscription of the year 954 A. D. Dhaṅga's kingdom is therein said to have extended from the river Jumna in the north to the frontiers of the Chedi kingdom in the south and from Kalinjara in the east or north-east to Gopādri, the modern Gwalior in the north-west.[2] The occupation of Gwalior must have been a severe blow to the power and prestige of the Pratīhāras as their powerful rival thereby obtained a secure footing in the very heart of the kingdom. In course of his long reign extending over the latter half of the tenth century A. D. Dhaṅga made further encroachments upon the territory of the Pratīhāras and seems to have extended his power as far as Benares.[3]

The success of the Chandellas was a signal for the disruption of the empire. About the middle of the tenth century A. D. Chaulukya Mūlarāja established the independent kingdom of Anhilwārā in Gujarāt which included parts of southern Rajputana.[4] Between the Chaulukyas and the Chandellas flourished the Chedis. The Chedi king Lakshmaṇarāja who flourished about the middle of the tenth century A. D. is said to have defeated Vaṅga, Lāṭa, Pāṇḍya, Gurjara and Kāshmīra.[5] This shows that a troublesome period ensued after the downfall of the Pratīhāra empire, in course of which the Chedis established a supreme position.

Nearer home the Kachchhapaghātas had established themselves in the territory round Gwalior. This fort, as

[1] *A. S. R.* X., Vol. XII, p. 359.
[2] *Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, pp. 124, 129.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 202.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 76.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p 142.

we have just seen, was conquered by the Chandella king Dhaṅga sometime before 954 A. D., but must have passed into the hands of the Kachchhapaghātas before 977 A. D., and king Vajradāman of this dynasty is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the ruler of Kanauj.[1] In the west the kingdom of Bhātindā gradually aggrandised itself at the expense of the Pratīhāras and ultimately extended as far as the Hakrā, the lost river of the Indian desert. Other powers also arose on the ruins of the empire, the two most prominent of them being the Paramāras of Malwa[2] and the Chāhamānas of Sakambhari.[3]

Thus when Rājyapāla, the son of Vijayapāla ascended the throne of Kanauj in the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., India presented the same political features as inevitably followed the disruption of a mighty empire. The Pratīhāra power was confined to the kingdom of Kanauj while the rest of the Empire was divided among rival independent kingdoms. As so often happened in the past, a political re-adjustment would probably have taken place, sooner or later, if the Indian states were left to themselves. But this was not to be. An Islamic power from the west appeared in the scene just at the psychological moment and changed the whole situation. The states that were fighting for supremacy were all involved in a common ruin.

The Pratīhāras had stood as the bulwark against the aggression of the Mussulmans ever since their first raids into India proper. It will be remembered that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the dynasty, owed his greatness to a successful campaign against them early in the 8th century A. D. when they seemed to carry everything before them. In the following centuries during the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 127.

palmy days of the Pratīhāras they never forgot this noble mission. This is testified to by the Mahomedan writers themselves. Thus Sulaiman who wrote his account of India in 851 A. D. speaks of the contemporary Gurjara king that 'he is unfriendly to the Arabs' and 'among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he.'[1] Again Al Mas'udi says 'that while the Balharā king (Rāshṭrakūṭa) was a great friend of the Mahomedans, the King of Juzr (Gurjara) is at war with them.'[2] With the decline and downfall of the great Pratīhāra empire there was no power strong enough to oppose a successful resistance to the aggressions of Islam. In the meantime a strong Islamic power was established at Ghazni and two of its famous kings Sabuktigin and Mahmud seized the favourable opportunity to push forward the outposts of Islam into the heart of India. The story is well known and need not be repeated here. It will suffice to state that the Pratīhāra king of Kanauj, shorn of dignity and power as he was, remembered the proud day of his family, and when the call of duty came about 991 A.D., he joined the confederacy that Jaipāl formed against the Mahomedan foe. The imperial banner of the Pratīhāras was unfurled in the valley of the Kurram river in far distant Afghanistan in defence of their faith and their country, but all in vain. Nothing undaunted, the Indian kings once more offered a united opposition to Mahmud in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, and Rājyapāl took his due share in the campaign. But fate was against the Indians and even their united efforts failed to stay the onward progress of the Moslems.

The kingdom of Rājyapāla had now been confined practically to the east of the Jumna although it included

[1] Elliott's *History of India*, I, p. 4.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 23, 24.

Mathura. In the south the Chandellas were gradually encroaching upon his territory and had conquered as far as the Fathpur District. While Rājyapāla was busy defending his southern frontier against the Chandellas Mahmud invaded his dominions in December, 1018 A.D.[1] Mahmud first attacked the fort of Baran (Bulandsahar). It was surrendered without a blow by the cowardly Hardat (Haradatta?) who sought safety by conversion to the faith of Islam with ten thousand followers. Kulchand (Kulachandra?) defended the next fortified position with great vigour, and finding no hope of success slew himself and his wife with a dagger. Nearly fifty thousand men were killed in course of this campaign.

After plundering the city of Mathura Mahmud proceeded towards the capital. He left his main army behind and appeared before Kanauj with a comparatively small army. Rājyapāl, unable to defend it with his small following, crossed over to Bari on the other side of the Ganges. Then plunder and massacre were let loose over the imperial city and the centenary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa occupation was performed as it were amid awful spectacles. A few years later Mahmud invaded Kanauj a second time. Rājyapāl made a brave stand on the Rāhib beyond the Ganges, but was defeated, and Bari fell into the hands of the Mahomedan conqueror.[2]

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 47-8.

[2] The account of Rājyapāla differs materially from that given by V. Smith in *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 278. He has assumed, first, that Rājyapāl submitted to Mahmud and was killed by the Indian chiefs for his pusillanimity, and, secondly, that Mahmud's next expedition was undertaken solely with the object of punishing these chiefs. Of this there is no trace in the contemporary account of Al Utbi. Nizamuddin, and following him Ferishta, are responsible for the version adopted by V. Smith, but no great reliance should be placed on these later authorities. How facts were distorted by them may be typically illustrated by one incident in connection with this Kanauj expedition. Al Utbi refers to the heroic defence of Kulchandar mentioned above in the text, but Nizamuddin relates the event in the following words:—"The chief of the place, whose name was Kulchandar, mounted his elephant

The great Pratīhāra empire finally passed away, but its carcase remained and then followed the feast of vultures. The Chandellas and the Kachchhapaghātas fell upon the old unfortunate Rājyapāl and the last of the great

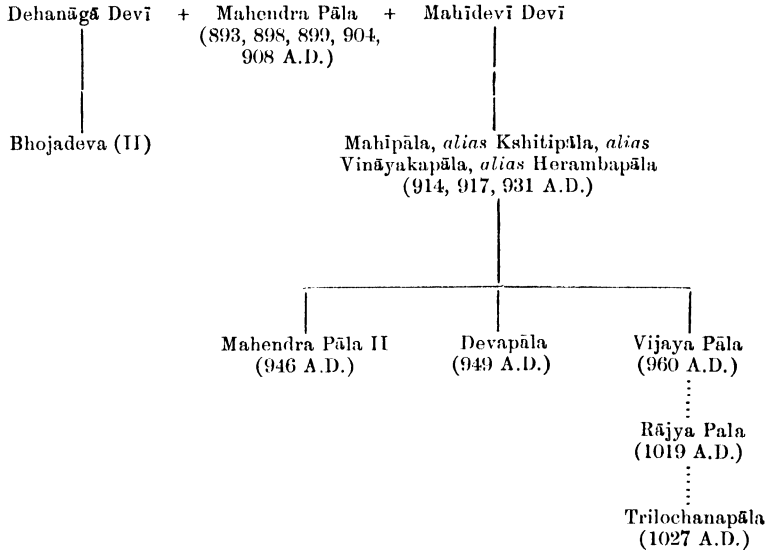
with the intention of crossing over the stream and flying away, but the Sultan's army pursued and when they approached him he killed himself with his dagger." Besides Al Utbi expressly mentions that Pur Jaipal was reigning at the time of the second expedition and opposed Mahmud on the banks of the Rahib. This name has been construed by V. Smith as Trilochanapāla on the strength of a variant reading Taru Jaibal in some manuscripts of Nizamuddin's history. He apparently forgets that Al Utbi gives the same name Pur Jaipal to the king who opposed Mahmud in his first and second expeditions against Kanauj. Besides even Nizamuddin tells us that Pur Jaipal who opposed Mahmud in his second expedition 'had often fled before his troops.' This can hardly apply to the new king Trilochanapāla and V. Smith's view that Trilochanapāla might have opposed Mahmud as a crown prince seems to be a gratuitous assumption. That Nizamuddin's information was defective seems also to clearly follow from the fact that he places the scene of battle on the banks of the Jumna whereas Al Utbi places it on the bank of the Rahib. It should be borne in mind that Al Utbi was secretary to Sultan Mahmud and "enjoyed excellent opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with the operations of that conqueror." (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 14).

There is another circumstance which justifies us in rejecting Nizamuddin's version. According to Dubkund inscription, Rājyapāla was killed by the Kachchhapaghāta chief Arjuna, an ally or feudatory of the Chandella chief Vidyādhara, son of Gaṇḍa. Nizamuddin, however ascribes the death of the Kanauj king to Nanda, who may be, as V. Smith suggests, a corruption for Gaṇḍa. V. Smith explains the discrepancy by supposing that Arjuna joined in a confederacy with Vidyādhara who was then a crown prince and killed Rājyapāla. This is another gratuitous assumption which is disproved by the Mahoba inscription. After describing the exploits of Gaṇḍa, the inscription tells us with reference to his son and successor Vidyādhara, that "he had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja." The achievement would surely have been credited to Gaṇḍa if it was accomplished in his time.

On the whole I have thought it safer to follow the contemporary version of Al Utbi rather than the palpably defective account of Nizamuddin and Ferishta. Besides, in the particular case under consideration, Al Utbi is supported by Indian records. For, according to the two inscriptions noted above, Rājyapāla must have been killed in Vidyādhara's time and was therefore alive at the time of Mahmud's second expedition against Kanauj when Gaṇḍa was still the Chandella king. There is moreover some inherent improbability in the story recorded by Nizamuddin. We are told that the Chandella chief punished the king of Kanauj for his submission to Mahmud, but the Chandella himself had fled before Mahmud's army both before and after this event. Again Nizamuddin would have us believe that immediately after the Chandella chief had killed the king of Kanauj, his son Trilochanapāla (according to V. Smith's account) came to assist the murderer of his father! (*cf.* Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 463 ff.)

Pratīhāras met a heroic death on the battlefield.[1] He was succeeded by Trilochanapāla who is known from an inscription to have been ruling in 1027 A. D.[2] With him ended the line of the Imperial Pratīhāras who had fully justified their designation by defending the gates of India for well nigh three hundred years.

The later kings of the Pratīhāra dynasty, their relation to one another and the known dates we possess of them may be represented by the following table[3] :—



[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 237.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 34.

[3] For the earlier kings, cf the Table on p. 31 above. The date 893 A.D. after Mahendrapāla has been left out there through oversight. A king Yaśaḥpāla of Kauśāmbī is known from the Karra Inscription of 1037 A.D. but his relationship with the Pratīhāra dynasty, if any, is unknown. A complete list of relevant inscriptions, with full references, is given in V. A. Smith's article (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 53 ff., 247 ff.)

[*N.B.* (1) Owing to a different interpretation, proposed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, Editor, Epigraphia Indica, about Verse 19 of the Jodhpur Inscription, the following changes are necessary on p. 28 above. Ll. 6-7—omit all the words between 'Śiluka' and "defeated Devarāja." L. 11. Substitute 'two' for 'three.' Omit lines 18 to 23 altogether.

(2) The suggested location of Ramaṭhas and Muralas on p. 64 (f.n. 2) above is corroborated by the geographical chapter (Chap. XVII) of Kāvya Mīmāṁsā, a work of the poet Rājaśekhara himself. I am indebted to MM. Hara Prasad Sastri for this reference.

(3) Reader's attention is drawn to a number of obvious misprints in footnotes on pp. 40 and 44.

The Contact of Indian Art with the Art of other Civilisations[1]

BY

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I

The process of art has two dimensions. The one is invisible to the eye. It stretches from the object of artistic representation to the artist. This is the main direction of creativeness and all works of art lie on that route. A work of art however exists not only by its expressive form. It is at the same time a means of communication. Primarily, it comprises an individual experience intimately connected with some concrete object; secondarily, it brings into or represents the contact of an æsthetic confession and a receptive mind. By a law which does not belong to the physical world, the two dimensions, the inner and the outer, are inversely proportionate. The deeper the object has sunk into the artistic subject, the smaller their distance has grown, the more intense is the effect the work of art has, the more lasting will be the impression it creates and the greater will be the number of persons who get impressed. Duration and extension of an artistic tradition are thus ultimately dependant upon the vitality of one or a few works of art.

Indian art spread eastwards and westwards. We can follow its expansion as far as France and Ireland in the West, and Japan in the East. From the 2nd century

[1] Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture for 1922 delivered on the 16th and 17th December, 1922.

B.C. onward to the fourteenth century A.D. it was a continuous source of inspiration to the Far East and proved an intermittent stimulus to Western art. India's power of artistic colonisation is equal to that of Greece. Almost simultaneously these two centres of civilisation which stand for the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements sent forth their traditions which mingled without any resistance with the indigenous arts and crafts of any country they came to. Greece, before its fatal end, had extended its artistic dominion over Asia Minor and Italy. After its death Rome became the heir and colonized the whole of Europe, the north of Africa, Minor and Central Asia and the Far East. The Indian and the Hellenistic tradition thus were for sixteen centuries rival missionaries promulgating their artistic creed over the surface of the whole world known to those ages. The equally great success of these antagonistic efforts is striking. The two mother countries India and Greece, both peninsular, both in the south of a continent had independently evolved their art, though their remote Aryan unity left traces in either. From these two roots art grew up in two vigorous stems which got full growth in their own soil and spread their branches heavy with fruits to sunrise and sunset and the twigs crossed each other and formed a bewildering thicket. But wherever their fruits dropped the new seedlings bore the unmistakable features of the mother stem and the profuse crop which thus grew on the ground of the multifarious traditions outside India and outside Greece is called Medieval art in Europe and Asiatic art in the East.

Medieval European and Asiatic art, therefore, are the syncretistic periods and regions of art, while Greece and India and similarly Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Far East are the creative centres. Of these, however, Greece and India had the most far-reaching bearing.

Forms of art do not spread by themselves; they need a vehicle in which they can be carried and various

vehicles run from India into various directions. Religion was the driving force which moved them towards the East. While Central Asia and the Far East were inspired by and became permeated with Buddhistic speculation and the pictorial forms peculiar to Buddhistic art, the south of Asia, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and the Sundia Islands shared Buddhistic and Brahmanic divinities and their corresponding forms of art with India. Indian works of art, however, were brought to the West far less in the service of religion than in that of commerce. The fashionable world in Rome during the days of Augustus paid fancy prices for Indian pearls, brocades and textiles and Indian ivory work was as much in demand by the Christians of Egypt as it was liked by Charles the Great. The currents of Indian art outside India have thus a threefold source and speed. The one which links Indo-China and the islands, especially Java with India, keeps measure with the Indian evolution and its peculiarity is due to the indigenous art of the country which has become fused with Indian tradition from one centre or the other. The invasion of Indian forms into Central Asia on the other hand had to face not only the artistic traditions of every special country but also those currents which came from the extreme East, from China and from the West from the Hellenistic world. Still more currents mingled in the West to the effect that while Indian art to the South-East of Asia means a natural growth and therefore a continuous unity, it becomes an inspiring incitement to Central and Eastern Asia as long as Buddhism maintains the rule, and in the West it occurs sporadically and does not lose the charm of the exotic as long as it is not absorbed by and made into a Western convention.

The transmigration of forms of art proves with accuracy which features of the national spirit of any art can be transplanted—the elements accepted for instance by China will differ widely from those which found favour in Rome. It testifies on

the other hand what features of the mother art resist all transformation so that in the most complex, locally and racially remote combination they still remain distinct. In short, colonial art keeps up the salient features of the mother art; but as these enter new combinations, compelled by merely an outer necessity, that is to serve religion or trade or fashion, it is needless to emphasise that the works thus produced will be interesting documents with regard to the history of form but cannot claim to be works of art. For spontaneous growth, the fundamental condition for creation is replaced there by a clash of traditions and purposes. Indian art comes to an end the moment it leaves India. As long as it can afford to spend it does so. The gain, however, is not on its side and the chapter of Indian art closes when the Eshin Sozu painted his Amida and when the Kathedra of the Bishop Maximian was carved in Ravenna. These masterworks are nothing but Japanese or nothing but early Christian and yet they could not be as they are without that faint scent of Indian tradition which pervades them.

We have to come back to them. But we have to follow the route which Indian art took. At every turning of the way we shall meet it offering an unknown mood.—A Siamese Buddha head, for instance, though obviously derived from the Buddha type familiar to the sculptors of Magadha is yet a new individuality. Its refinement is less spiritual than physical; all the features have grown thin, and sharp accents emphasise them in pointed outlines. The subtle modelling of the Indian prototype has given way to a strained and sensitive definition of the Buddha's features and the calmness of his meditation has given way to a state of trance where all nerves vibrate. This sort of sensitive rigidity, hardened modelling and sharp and pointed outlines are typically Siamese. Expression and body, body and dress have become separate features. An almost imperceptible cruelty lingers for instance round Ardhanarisvara's eyes and mouth

while his male-female body is equally above sex and above life on either side. It stands in heavy stiffness, for all movement has been concentrated into the winglike folds of the garment. They swing to either side sharp like knives.

The Buddha head dates back to the 9th or 10th century and the Ardhanarisvara image to the 14th or 15th. The Siamisation of the Indian form has progressed; sharp outlines joined in narrow angles have overpowered the round modelling of the Indian prototype. The art of the Sukotai Savankolok, of which the bronze Buddha head is one of the finest examples, is the spontaneous Siamese continuation of the art of Magadha. The Ardhanarisvara figure however visualises the effort made to connect the two elements with the result that an Indian body stands on Siamese feet, is clad in Siamese folds and wears a Siamese head. This style is frankly eclectic. The conclusion is that India supplied Siam with its iconography, Buddhistic and Brahmanical and with the iconography, the "icons" were transplanted and translated into Siamese. The one feature of Indian art which remained intact was the modelling in the round, though it had to withdraw from those parts of the figures which received the greatest attention by the Siamese artist. Face and garment were freed from the Indian discipline and only those parts of the body which remained uncovered also remained Indian. It is the plastic element, the modelling in the round which asserted itself against the Siamisation, and was carried along the centuries of Siamese art as dead weight, surrounded by frail and nervous outlines.

The Khmer art of Cambodia contemporary with the period of Sukotai Savankolok let its individuality flow through the channels of Indian tradition and received it back purified and strengthened. There is scarcely any idiom of Indian art with which the Khmer artist was not acquainted. And yet his language is entirely new. Warriors, for instance, defile on some of the relief panels of Angkor Vat. Their crowd is

arranged in a firm row of which foot—and head—line are drawn in straight parallelism. The rhythm of their bodies strained forward in one direction, forms pattern-like segments of the lowest part of the relief. Each of them has a motion of its own. The distorted ejaculations of limbs and faces of the mob come to a sudden stop where the arrow-bearers march in severe dignity. Their arrows, however, reflect and repeat the curves of hands and fingers of the former group; while, on the other hand, their energetic steps become enhanced by a similar movement of the horses. The group of the spear-bearers at last throngs forward without restraint and their rushing bodies are bent by the hurry of their action. Yet in spite of all those contrasting groups and in spite of their arrangement is their procession but a narrow uniform strap at the bottom of the relief. Subtle trees of exuberant growth stretch over the rest of the surface actionless, but moved in peaceful, playful curves. Top and bottom of the relief at last are strewn over with a profuse sculptured ornamentation. The composition of this relief has nothing in common with Indian art of the same period, but it is closely related to compositions met with at the time of Sanchi. There too figures are arranged in rows and are set before a tapestry-like background of vegetation. This similarity is due to the epical spirit of either school. Narration there is the chief purpose. Contemporary Indian art, however, had progressed from narration to a canonized symbolism where such things as a cluster of trees and the like had become superfluous and insignificant. The age of mind therefore in which Khmer sculpture is executed agrees with the Sanchi stage of Indian art, with the difference that while the Sanchi artist had to rely on his own resources, the Khmer sculptor has the whole stock of the Indian inheritance at hand. And this may be seen in the supple modelling of the bare bodies and in the curvature of the branches. But what he had to give of his own exceeded that what he accepted. Again his hand similar to that of the

Siamese artist cannot but chisel in angular outlines, which subdue and surround the fine modulations of the "plastic" and make the whole relief more into a drawing in stone than a sculpture. This way of artistic treatment is the natural expression of the peoples of Further India. Another peculiarity is their sense of proportion which makes the figures of men simply grown over with and buried under an immense vegetation. This way of treatment, however, has its roots in India, though the part which vegetation plays there is far less prominent. As a whole the Indian tradition and the indigenous inspirations of Further India keep the balance and make a strong amalgam because their affinity is close. But it must not be overlooked that the active part is played by the inspiration of Further India while the Indian tradition figures as foundation or background, and shines through the thin atmosphere of Khmer art.

The distribution, however, of creative power and the capacity for absorption is entirely different in Java. Javanese architecture and sculpture of the empire of Mataram are the works of a local school of Indian art which achieved its masterworks on this island, similar to the genius of Greece who at a time of full maturity occasionally found its culmination on Knidos or Lesbos. The Hindu kingdom of Mataram most probably had its artists brought from India. Sometimes however a local hand is traceable even in the sculpture of Middle Java. A relief from Tjandi Prambanan, for instance, maintains the rounded softness of Indian prototypes while a distorting eagerness bends arms and legs in unexpected angles and makes the physiognomies of men and animals alike grin with malicious cruelty. Angular distortion of the Indian limbs and a cunning brutality of facial expression makes Javanese reliefs and especially those of Eastern Java akin to the artistic ideals of Further India. This, however, was not until the eleventh century when middle Java had lost its power. A new flood of Indian art then spread from the South of India to

the East of Java and at this time the Indo-Javanese mixture produced a compromise of which the obverse has all the qualities of Indian form while the reverse exhibits those of Malaya-Polynesian conception and the truth and perfection of either is alike. The figure of Ganesh may stand for one of the purest achievements of an all-round restlessly modelled volume, a treatment so dear to Indian art, yet the back view presents on its flattened surface the mighty grimace of a Kirtimukha dissolved into petty protrusions interspersed with holes full of dark shades ; and this appearance perturbating with its vicissitudes of clumsy shapes and formless holes shews the indigenous style of Eastern Java. Nowhere in India has the head of the Kirtimukha a similar gruesome liveliness and it seems as if this ornamental device were given to India from the store of Polynesian totemistic and frantically phantastic animal heads. But where the grotesque and the gruesome has no right to appear, figures like that of Prajnapara Prajnaparamita or of Durga Mahishasura Mardini attain sublime incarnation in purely Indian form.

Middle and Eastern Java were the leading centres of Indo-Javanese civilisation. The west of the Island remained more aloof from Indian civilisation. And yet its sculpture renders the breathless calm of meditation but does so with means of its own. The squatting figure of the man who holds a lotus bud has been laid into one vertical plan and reminds in its symmetrical simplification of the sitting Buddha from Sarnath. But it would be premature to draw any conclusions. It must suffice for the present to point out where, under what conditions and surrounded by which forms the Indian element rules, influences, or is subdued. The Javanese experience is complex. Java proved an extraordinarily fertile soil for the evolution of the Indian principles of form. In the outstanding works of Mataram it scarcely added anything of its own but it is worthwhile noticing that the ease with which the heavy full round figures in the reliefs of Borobudour move is the

same that gives unapproachable dignity to the Eastern Javanese figures of Durga and Prajnaparamita. No indigenous Javanese trend of form will be found there. The extremes, however, which mingle with and set the limit to Indian form are the dissolution of the plastic volume into small sculptured compartments which rise as an agitated pattern over a plain and dark ground on the one hand, and the geometrical discipline of an abstract scheme on the other hand. But either convention has the two-dimensioned surface for its working field and it is this Malayo-Polynesian symptom which had to offer the strongest resistance to the Indian perception of form, which comprises the three dimensions of space in one plastic volume. Java puts the full-stop to Indian art in its propagation south-eastwards.

Surveying the extension of Indian art in the south-east of Asia it proves to be colonial art in the same sense as Greek art in Asia Minor or Italy. The indigenous traditions of the various centres of artistic production, as the Khmer style of Cambodia or the Malayo-Polynesian style of Java were either subdued or remained untouched. Buddhist, Sivait Visnait ideas and their corresponding images and forms were brought to the colonies. How readily they were accepted there is testified by their local taste, which in the case of Cambodia and Java is far above provincialism. Indian art in Java or as created by the Khmer artists is in a similar position as it is in the southern part of the motherland. There too the Dravidian population had a strong personal way of artistic expression. Yet this was overcome by the æsthetic of Northern India. The contact of South Asia with Indian culture dates back in historical times to the first Christian century for Java or even to the age of Asoka with regard to Further India. Thus the penetration of forms and ideas in the successive centuries had that leisure which is necessary for a productive assimilation.

The propagation of Indian art, however, in north and north-eastern direction, though historically not less fragmentary, has at least one cause in common. It is Indian art in the service of Buddhism which supports the art school of Gandhara during the first five centuries of the Christian era, and migrates to Khotan where it is traceable at the close of this period, and takes its way through the Turpom to the confines of China where it reaches its climax in the caves of Vungkong and Longmen and in the ninth and tenth century in the caves of the thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang, while in Japan at the same time the Buddhist frescoes of the Kondo of Horiuji were painted and Eshin Sorn got inspired by Amida's glory. But the most essential links of this north-eastern chain of Buddhist art are missing. Nepalese art is not known before the ninth century and the earliest Tibetan painting was found in China in the caves of Tun Huang, in the ninth century, brought or painted there when Tun Huang was under Tibetan domination.

We need not fight against the windmills of Gandhara which appear to European eyes so huge because their Greek features are so near to cherished reminiscences. The question for the present moment is: What did Indian art contribute to the International school of Gandhara for such it was, as Indian, Parthian, Scythian and Roman colonial workmen and traditions met there. It gave its plastic conception, not at once yet in the course of time, and in this way the syncretistic Gandhara sculpture became Indianised. Buddhism and local mythology moreover supplied the sculptors with Indian themes. The most ardent problem, however, involved in Gandharan production is whether, as it is held up, the pictorial type of the Buddha originated in Gandhara or not. The question still has to remain open. But it is remarkable that such essential *lakshanas* as the *usnisa* and the short curves of hair turned to the right and the elongated earlobes are met with in Indian sculpture of pre-Gandhara time, when

the representation of the Buddha was still taboo to pious Buddhists. Examples of this type are carved as detached heads single in lotus-medallions which adorn the railings from Bodhi Gaya; there a standing figure of a Dvarapala exhibits the same *lakshanas*. There can be no doubt that these representations did not represent the Buddha and it is difficult to say how far the *lakshanas* of the Mahapurusha were associated with these unidentified heads. In any case Indian sculpture was acquainted with a plastic form which is identical with the latter *uṣnisa* at a time when neither the bodily representation of the Buddha nor the Gandharan productions had come into existence; and so much can be said that these distinctly Indian bodily characteristics were not for the first time translated in stone in the province of Gandhara; on the contrary the undulated hair of early Gandhara Buddhas betrays Hellenism and is against the Indian tradition. Similar as in the case of this iconographic detail is the general behaviour of the Gandhara artisans; they took in every case the iconographic suggestions from India and as they were no longer fettered by any religious or artistic scruples and had the entire tradition of Hellas and India but also of Central Asia at their command, they did their best in illustrating as well as they could the stories and sacred heroes for which there was so much demand amongst the Buddhist devotees. The artistic quality of this market supply naturally cannot be but of the worst sort. The suddenness of the Indo-Hellenistic clash could not cause anything but disturbance on either side. The Hellenistic importation on the other hand got no supply on the spot and its fate was to be overcome and annihilated by the living force of Indian art. Yet there is one scheme of composition which was of greatest consequence in all future arts. This is the symmetrical arrangement of the groups of divine personages for the purpose of worship. The beginning of this frontal symmetry can be found already in Barhut and also in Sanchi.

There of course some symbol or the other takes the place which later on is occupied by the icon. In Gandhara for the first time however those triads as Buddha with Brahma and Sudra are introduced and sometimes the donors represented in an attitude of worship are admitted into their circle. This strictly symmetrical form of composition originated in Gandhara and spread from here in the service of the Buddhist Church to the Far East and reached its height in Central Asia and Japan in the 10th century and is alive in Tibet to the present day. This artistic achievement of Gandhara is of an ecclesiastic type. Though Indian art is religious and at times conventional the business spirit of a clerical institution was needed to invent a way of representation where the donor could enjoy to see himself brought into direct contact with the object of his worship and where on the other hand any number of new gods to be propitiated and any combination possible was easy to be managed. This economical mechanism was set into working order for the first time in Gandhara. This way of representation became the standing type for the representation of Sukhavati, Amitabha's Paradise in the West. The Mandala of Tun Huang are based on Indian painting as far as the representation of human bodies is concerned. Their curved outlines betray Ajantesque tradition.

A drawing on paper gives the key how such compositions were quickly supplied to the market. It was used as pounce; the one half of the pounce is pricked the other drawn in outline. Variety was brought into the symmetrical monotony by a brilliant display of symbolic colours. The mechanisation of Buddhist art lead also to another way of rapid multiplication. Numberless Buddhas were stencilled and formed geometrical pattern; for the greater the number of images consecrated, the greater the merit of the donor. The caves of the thousand Buddhas, the caves of the million Buddhas are in this respect pure works of Buddhist art, for Buddhism in India had no special art of

its own. The forms were Indian and the iconography Buddhistic. But uprooted from the Indian soil, iconography, that is the prescription becomes almighty, for the creative vigour which soaks its strength from the soil of the motherland had to be left at home. Buddhistic art fostered the various techniques of reproduction. Clay models, stencils and pounces were in use and the most ancient wood-cuts known were current amongst the communities of Central Asia, though their origin lay in the East.

No doubt Central Asiatic art grew up in local centres of Buddhist worship. The forms of art we therefore meet with are Central Asiatic conglutinations of the neighbouring zones of art. China and India, Persia and Greece were united there. In this melting pot we find the Indian stuff to be prevalent. The principle of decoration, for instance, peculiar to the caves of Tun Huang is the well-known tapestry-like cover of paintings (*cf.* Ajanta) extended all over the walls and the ceiling. But the exuberant jungle of living forms has been cleared and dried up. Only what is iconographically necessary remained and covered the walls in stereotyped order. The migration of Indian models into these centres of ecclesiastic art is indicated by several paintings and sculptures which, though made on the spot, keep up the Indian convention. These finds represent a provincial museum of Indian art. They mark movements of the Indian artistic evolution separated by thousand years and more. An ink-drawing found at Tun Huang for instance, repeats in free interpretation the design of several reliefs of the Sanchi gateway. The crowded figures which stand in rows and on top of one another according to the Indian conception of space are Indian in spirit and construction in spite of their Chinese features and costumes and exemplify a tradition at least as remote as the Sanchi monument.

A carved and painted wooden slab from Ming-oi Karashar introduces a new and nude type of the Buddha. The two

upper pannels correspond with the style of sculpture in vogue in India under the early Guptas, although the faces of the figures do not try to hide their Mongolian origin of which the lowest pannel is a frank confession. But composition and movement, proportions and modelling, the treatment of cloth and skin coincide with that of early Indian art where no Hellenistic suggestions were accepted.

Some temple banners from Tun Huang painted on silk, cotton or paper represent contemporary Bengal art as understood in Central Asia and China. The Avalokitas show different distances of interpretation from Bengal prototypes. The Bodhisattvas on the banner to the left, apart from the treatment of his toes and from the flower pattern on top, could pass for a mediocre work of that school of Bengal painting of which only examples three centuries later than the Tun Haung banner have come to us.

But the most convincing taste of the archæological and ecclesiastic behaviour of Central Asiatic Buddhism towards India is a large silk painting from Tun Huang; its inscription says that the different painted figures were intended to reproduce sculptured images worshipped at various sites of India. One of the figures is mentioned to represent a statue in the kingdom of Magadha while others are either directly copied from Indian originals as the lowest figure to the left, and interpreted by the local painter. In none of these examples any Hellenistic feature is traceable. Indian art migrated *viâ* Nepal and Tibet and pictorial representation was the most popular way through which Buddhism captured the hearts of simple people of Central Asia. Its rapid success is due to the avalanche-like course it took. Impelled by missionary zeal it carried away within its movement whatever forms came in its way. Whether they were Hellenistic or Persian made no difference. And so we meet not only with provincial but also with hybrid mixtures where a Hellenistic modelling of the body mingles with

the flowing style of Indian garments and Mongolian flatness squeezes the heads into a distorted laughter.

The achievement of the various missionary schools of Buddhist art in Central Asia thus has one artistic merit. Subventioned by the wealth of Indian forms the local craftsman was enabled to meet the demand of devotees, however, so extravagant in their craving for numberless figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. But as the directions to be followed were all more or less alike, symmetry resulted as the most dignified but also as the cheapest and quickest way of satisfying the donor. Thus a specific Buddhist art came into life in Central Asia which established the type of ecclesiastic art. The idiom of these paintings is Buddhistic and derived from Indian art-language. It achieved the refinement of an old pictorial tradition when coming to Japan; for although Indian art brought the type of the Buddha to perfection it was left to Japan to make Buddhism visualised in the myth of a landscape which has for its background the mood of Dhyani.

An inscription on the Hokke Mandala which was added at the occasion of a restoration of that Japanese picture, in the eleventh century does not forget to mention that this Mandala is a real product of India although except the Buddhistic composition in frontal symmetry, every brush stroke is Japanese. Yet the sacredness of the picture was enhanced by that suggestion, which reminded the Japanese worshipper of remote ages, when emperor Ming ti of China had sent for the first time to India to seek the truth about Buddhism and his messengers brought back amongst other religious documents, the first Buddhist image from India. This was in the year sixty-seven.

The earliest trace, however, of Indian art outside India we find, strange to say, in a Greek work of art of the first half in the second century B.C. It is the relief frieze from the altar of Pergammu in Asia Minor, where in the war between gods and giants the threefold goddess Hekate intervenes with many arms. This is the most ancient document of the gods of India

with multiple limbs and it is preserved in Greek surroundings. And from this time onwards we meet with Indian motives here and there and now and then, without any continuity but brought to Europe just as pearls and precious silk, for which the taste of dying Rome had so much fondness. The other factor which eagerly seized the oriental form are the early centuries of Christianity, which were groping for some form adequate to their contents, and Indian or Persian, Syrian and Egyptian forms and symbols were welcome without discrimination for the expression of Christianity, the oriental faith in Western lands which could not be satisfied by Greek illusionism and which could not derive any inspiration from a non-extant Jewish art.

A painted cloth of truly pagan pattern rapt round the mummy of an early Christian lady was found in Egypt. There Bacchus triumphs and Selene dances and all of them wore Buddhist halos and their Greek limbs are curved with the voluptuousness of Indian lines. The product of Egypto-Indo-Hellenistic design has a pagan freshness of vision. The later examples of Europeanised Indian art of the middle ages appear in Egypt and Byzantium, were made in the south of France, in Germany and in Ireland. The Sanchi composition of the war of the relics, which did not miss amongst the treasures of Tun Huang occurs again in an ivory carving from Trier in Germany. The cherished motive of woman and tree, a leading device throughout the centuries of Indian art may be seen on the pulpit of the monastery at Aachen. There however, the female figure is changed into a male and Bacchus plucks the grapes whereas the Lakshmi touched the tree with her foot. The ivory creeper of Indian art which carried there its life movement ornates the Kathedra of Bishop Maximian from Ravenna. But it is needless to enumerate the ivory elephant of Charles the Great or to draw attention towards an ivory carving in Orleans, where Christ and various saints figure in the canonised scene of the great miracle at Cravasti. Most of these medieval reminiscences of Indian art lingered in

ivory reliefs and the material and the form might have come from one source. Under the Karolingian and Ottonian empire the Indianisation of European ecclesiastic book covers carved in ivory was at its height. One illustration may stand for the rest of them. It shows an altar in so-called bird's-eye view according to Indian perspective, an altar-cloth with early Indian lotus pattern, rows of worshippers on top of each other, the lowest row turning their faces inside the relief,—all this being early Indian conventions to visualise the third dimension, that is, the continuity of the assembly round the altar. This scheme belongs to the eighth century in Europe, to the second century B.C. in India. It must have come to the West at an early date and has preserved the memory of India in the seclusion of an ecclesiastic tradition of work carried on by the medieval monks.

A late Mahajanist conception in a fresco from Baraklik gives the scheme of composition to an ivory sculpture in Germany representing Christ under the form of the Armenian Yima. To another period of Indian art belong the frescoes in the palace of the Pope in Avignon. There the proportion of tree and man and their peaceful and decorative harmony is of the same kind as that which accompanied the representation of prince Vessantara in one of the wall paintings of Miran and is akin to the treatment of men and forest in early Mughal landscapes.

The Indian element in European art was always inobtrusive and of no consequence. In the structure of European art it had the function of a loan-word. It remained a name of foreign origin for contents which had become familiar to Western thought. It disappeared completely with the Middle Ages.

Resuming we may state :—Indian form outside India means: full unfoldment of the national genius of South-east Asiatic and Polynesian races; in Central Asia it created the ecclesiastic type of composition for Buddhist art and in Europe the Indian element acted through fourteen centuries as a ferment in the abstract art of the middle ages.

II

In India.

Self-defence is a reaction of the living organism against irritating or destructive intrusions from outside. Without assimilation on the other hand life cannot maintain its existence. The two processes act upon one another and keep the individual vigorous. Their balance depends upon the strength inborn to the individual. Artistic production as a living organism is obedient to these two laws. But the meaning of self-defence and assimilation as applied to art needs explanation. India, for instance, sending out her works and traditions of art to East and West was free from either activity. There it gave itself away to any context it entered and far from assimilating new suggestions it accumulated them and carried them on from country to country and from century to century. For Indian art there was no longer immediate expression of an inner experience, but it lived on its past and used it as store from which convenient formulæ could be drawn. It had become petrified in the service of religion and commerce and needed not the protection so necessary for growing life.

The earliest art we meet with in India is that of the Asokan age. At that time it is already fully matured so that its early history remains veiled by ages and its movements lie hidden under the cover of an unknown past. The science of the creative genius and its work is new. Laws and periodicity are not yet established, yet as far as from a comparative study can be judged it appears that the art of every cultural unit is open to extraneous influence either in its early infancy, when to the groping spirit who wishes to express himself every form wherever it comes from is welcome for that purpose, or again after complete self-expression is reached and fatigue has overcome intuition. At that stage again foreign forms are

appreciated and accepted though they cannot rejuvenate the senile body of art and a fresh impetus from within is needed to start anew the game of self-defence and assimilation. This periodicity may be verified from the evolution of Greek art for instance which affords the best example as its beginning, its height and end are fully known. In the early stage Mediterranean and Asiatic conventions supplied the stock of forms to an imagination which had not yet grown sure of its own trend. But after these external helps were assimilated and digested sufficient strength was gained for self-defence against a repetition of a similar invasion and Greek art from the 6th to the 3rd century B. C. attained its national form which after having exhausted almost all resources looked round to the same funds which it had used centuries ago, but neither freshly imported subjects nor forms could stop its decay.

The case however of Greece is extraordinarily simple, for there one well defined mentality, we may say one creative individual, had lived its life. The evolution of Indian art however contains many artistic individuals and what to the one may have the meaning of death reveals itself with regard to some other as the beginning of new life. But this vicariate of creative unities and personalities is not peculiar to India, and the same rule is valid for Europe in its entire artistic productions. The marks of beginning or end are set in every case by the dynamic power of artistic creation inherent in the single national units. Indian art thus passed through three critical ages, the Asokan and post-Mauryan age, the time of the Moghul Empire and the present moment. It goes without saying that apart from these well marked periods of foreign contact some minor motives linger on and ooze down to the devices of popular art and cottage industry where they remain in the vocabulary of domestic crafts throughout the centuries of its existence. In this way we find for instance some animal patterns as those of the heraldic two-headed bird or fish-tailed human figures as devices known to the textile arts

all over Asia, Egypt and Eastern Europe and this early Asiatic art cannot definitely be traced to one centre only, though the Persian was apparently the most distinct. The immortal Akanthos of Greek origin on the other hand occurs at times as border on late medieval temple banners in Ceylon and the same device is to be seen on semi-Europeanised Bengal village architecture where it seems difficult to decide whether its use is due to a more recent importation or whether it lingered on as one of the hereditary motives of the unwritten grammar of domestic crafts. But we shall leave those unessential details aside, and start from the beginning where mighty stones tell their message in discordant tongues.

The lion capital from a broken pillar at Sarnath is witness of a complex artistic process. Four lions there are united into an all-round pattern round the elongated shaft of the column. They rest on a round plinth where four wheels of the law are circumambulated by various animals, the elephant for instance and the buffalo. This pedestal with its load is superimposed to a bell-shaped flower-like bulb. The structure seems organic because it is powerful enough to overcome two discordant plastic principles. The one is the modelling of the lions' bodies, that is to say, their artistic physiognomy. The other is the way how the bodies are combined in the round and how this all-sided form is linked to the rest of the capital.

The striking feature of head, mane and legs of the lions is their distinct precision. How the face is kept apart in sharp line from the mane and how neatly but also how abruptly the mane ends on the legs. Inside the clear confines of every essential part thus formed an equally precise, sharp and abrupt modelling distinguishes forehead, cheeks and snout while the eyes, moustache, teeth and mane are articulated by minute and independent single shapes. Legs and paws show the leading features of this kind of sculpture in the most convincing way. Muscles and bones are firmly marked by high ridges

and an interjacent channel, and each single tendon and joint of the toes is as boldly represented as the carving of the claws is minute. The effect of this plastic treatment is a vigorous naturalism which perceives the living form as strained by force and effort. No lassitude but also no softness is in these abrupt, strained and firm limbs.

Compared with these lions the animals of the plinth are tame and gentle beasts whose trot is full of swiftness and lyrical tenderness. Yet their modelling is carefully articulated with regard to joints and muscles although it is obvious that the fleshy part is no longer hard and strained, but has that healthy roundness which betrays life at ease. The outlines of these animals in relief though characterising every smallest peculiarity, are as a whole continuous so that they can be followed by our eyes in one uninterrupted gliding movement. If now it has to be decided whether the structure of the entire capital follows the artistic principle as incorporated in the lions on the top or that which acts in the animals of the plinth, the answer can be readily given. For one uninterrupted line glides over the angular profile of each lion and links it with the curvature of the chest bedecked with mane, and curves from there in negative way along legs and pauses in order to embrace in a mighty bow the angle built by the plinth. From there the complete succession of curves is repeated all over the floral capital in a more compressed and more emphasised manner. Thus it is established that the structural conception of the capital coincides in its continuous rounded outline with the plastic treatment of the animals on the plinth—while that of the lions in its abrupt tension stands apart though it is included in the general scheme.

Keeping in mind that this capital belongs to a pillar set up by emperor Asoka and thus represents an official work of art or a work of court-artists, we shall analyse the contemporary sculpture which has a more intimate character. The well known early figure of a Yaksha shall be the starting point.

The minute analysis of these early Indian works may seem tiresome yet in this way only exact knowledge can be gained once for ever whether, how far and in what respect Mauryan art and henceforth the whole of ancient Indian creation was indebted to or dependent upon Persian form. No inscription and no written record can fully reveal this connection. The monuments themselves have to be consulted and they unravel their secrets to the observing eye. The animal representations on the top of the columns excepted we do not hitherto know of any other contemporary sculptured animals for comparison. But this is irrelevant for we are not concerned with the subject represented, but with the way of plastic treatment. Any contemporary sculpture whatever be its subject will throw full light on the actual situation.

The Yaksha figure shows a fully developed modelling in the round. Is it the same as that of the lion capital from Sarnath ? Head and arms and legs obviously are isolated from one another by sharp accents. Necklace and belt are treated as independent plastic bands laid over the modelled body. In so far the two sculptures under consideration fully agree. The naturalism also of the Yaksha figure is not less conspicuous than that of the lions. And yet the effect of the whole figure is entirely different, for every detail of it is shaped by a new kind of life. The treatment of the legs for instance, makes them appear smooth and rounded. Neither the knees nor the ankles are accentuated but one organic movement in the round moulds them into shape. The plastic details on the other hand as for instance ribbons and ornaments are, inspite of being well marked within their confines, subordinated to the main modelling of the body which they accompany and emphasize. They have no value of their own and if taken from the body their curves would lose all sense for they do not belong to them but reflect those of the body. The curves of the lion's mane on the other hand even if imagined apart from

the lion retain their significance for they have a plastic volume and movement of their own. The main difference in the artistic treatment of the two sculptures amounts to an abrupt, isolated and strained modelling on the one hand and a flowing and therefore connecting and relaxed modelling on the other. Either of them however goes in the round with the difference that within the style of the lion-treatment every part whether important or subordinate is treated equally as fully three-dimensional volume while within the style of the Yaksha figure only those parts deserve a modelling in the round towards which chief attention has to be directed. In this way the subordinate parts emphasise those of greatest importance and this principle of subordinating extends equally over accessories as for example hair, dress and ornaments, and the sides from which the figure has to be seen. Thus front and side view give an impression of bulky roundness while—in the case of this Yaksha figure—the back view appears flat. This peculiarity however cannot be generalised into a statement that Indian art within its own resources is unacquainted with sculpture in the round and treats its statue as a kind of two-sided relief. Other early Indian statues, the Yakshini from Patna for sample, exhibit a view as fully rounded as the corresponding front view. In fact hair, back, scarf and *sari* display a plastic animation which by its assymetrical arrangement has more charm than the symmetrical rigidity of the front view. Moreover the slight bend forwards of the back view from the hips onwards suggests the alert movement of a youthful walking body while the front view merely stands in solemn symmetry. In every other respect however the Yakshini figure belong to the same conception of form as that of the Yaksha. The difference between the artistic treatment of those two figures shrinks down to almost naught if the cubic form peculiar to the lion capital is compared with.

Derived from the same source of plastic form are some of Yakshini figures from Barhut. There however they are made to recline against the octagonal post so that only the front view is visible. But even then the plastic treatment remains that of a sculpture in the round.

In sharp contrast to this Yakshini figure stand those of other Yakshas and Yakshinis, Nagas and Naginis from Barhut. The relief pannel representing Kuvera, one of the most accomplished pieces of Barhut sculpture, is governed by that smooth flatness of the modelled form which remains a leading feature of Indian sculpture up to the Gupta age. Still the treatment of the Kuvera figure from Barhut in all its novelty is implicite contained in the Yaksha figure from Parkham and the other statues belonging to that class. The relation of the accessories to the bare body has remained unchanged while the flowing modelling has become emphasized. But now indeed the whole figure appears as if compressed between two plates of glass and that this flattening is achieved with full artistic consciousness is proved by the violent, and from a naturalistic point of view distorting turn, given to the hands joined in adoration and to the right foot turned outwards in the knee, like that of an expert dancer.

The informations with which these early Indian sculptures furnish us are of greatest importance. We learn that Indian art in the moment when we make its first acquaintance passed through an artistic crisis. It had reached the height of one artistic evolution and was just on the way to evolve a new trend.

The old tradition is represented in its best in the Yakshini figure from the Patna museum ; the new trend has found pure expression in the Kuvera figure from Barhut. This critical age through which Indian art passed extends over the rule of the Maurya and Sunga Dynasties. It was the natural evolution of a strong and mature art which changed its form according to the prevalent mood of new generations.

But without going into hazy interpretations, so much can be said that approximately one century brought about an evolution from the full, heavy and stabilised form modelled in the round, to the flattened, supple and flowing plastic. In either of them however continuity of an unbroken outline was the predominant feature.

In this critical moment and just at its opening another mode of artistic expression sets in. Its best representative is the lion capital from Sarnath. There we find a strained and stagnant cubic form as peculiar to the treatment of the lion quartette, while the plastic treatment of the animal frieze in the plinth, though it shares the vigorous tension with the lion capital, yet has become subordinated to a flowing and continuous outline, just as the structure of the whole capital is obedient to that flowing line. The only discordant feature therefore is the abrupt and vigorous modelling of the lions which stands in strong contrast to the smooth and flowing treatment of all other forms whether fully modelled in the round as in the earlier examples or flattened as in the later type, which may be called the Barhut style. This fundamental difference testifies two different kinds of nervous energy of the artist's hand. It also denotes a different attitude towards the outside world; it signifies an altogether different perception of nature. The one, that of the lions is bold and energetic and laden with physical strength; and accordingly those aspects of the visible world attract its greatest interest which are full of nervous vigour, bold, strong and commanding. The other treatment of the following modelling is melodious and without effort and those attitudes and forms of nature therefore are dear to it which suggest a harmonious play of forms at ease. The one means strain and the other repose, the one emphasises flesh and bones and the other suppresses either. The one sees and creates the living form as compressed into the forceful tension of one second of strained energy, the other feels and shapes the living

force as state of an all-pervading movement which is at rest within its own activity. What lies at the root of this difference ?

It is conspicuous that the animal figures which crown the various capitals of Asokan age are treated more or less in the same way. It further deserves notice that where similar animals are introduced in the gateways of the railing at Barhut or at Sanchi they have lost the vigour of brutal bestiality and have turned tame and gentle though clumsy animals. In no other connection however do we meet with this kind of artistic treatment while that of the liquid modelling abounds in all works of this and of the successive periods of Indian art. The Yaksha-treatment thus is entitled to be called purely Indian while the origin of the lion-treatment has its parallels and ancestors in Mesopotamia, and this connection apart from being obvious through the similarity of form of ancient Assyrian sculpture, is also testified by history. The hunting scenes for instance, the animals from the palace of Persepolis exhibit a muscular strength, a tremendous vital vigour in movement even when at rest. The gulf which separates the early Assyrian prototypes from Asokan art in India is bridged over by Asoka's rock inscription which were inspired by Achæmenian rock inscriptions as found in Bahistan and elsewhere. The sculpture therefore of the Asokan pillars is indebted to Mesopotamian art.* These pillars however are works of Court art and this being dependant largely on the will of one person, are freed from the necessity of creative form, as peculiar to national genius. For in this case it is not the subconscious and therefore inevitable intuition of the artist who is brought up in the tradition of his country which is at work but the artist has become a tool in the hands of a potentate who imposes his will on his employee. And it also may be that he calls foreign artists into his country to work according to his wish. The question however as to the nationality of the artists who carved Asoka's pillars and

capitals must be answered thus. Design and outline that is say the structure of the capitals are Indian. With regard the plinth of the Sarnath capital it appears that an Indi hand endeavoured to work à la Persian, though more less freely, while the crowning part, the lions either represen careful attempt of Indian artists to work in the desi fashion or else they are the work of Persian craftsm called to India specially for this purpose. The Persi influence therefore in Asokan art is restricted to the capit of the columns. Forms of art however carry some ger of contagion with them, and so capitals which prete to be more or less after the court fashion, occur in Bark and Sanchi in a somewhat childish and clumsy translati while the various winged monsters and combined anim which assemble so joyfully round sacred altars appear Indian children of Mesopotamian or more likely Pan-Asia parentage. The Persian element in Asokan art thus is bc in and vanishes with Asoka's court. This is the or trace of foreign devices in Indian art of that age a inspite of Alexander's conquest of Bactria, no trace Greek art whatsoever can be discovered in pre-Christi time.

The Persian way of modelling disappeared quickly. T succeeding attempt of Hellenistic provincial art to intru India did not meet with more success. Gandhara as a provir of art represents a local centre, a melting pot so to say Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian forms, and the question whether and how far the Hellenistic element entered the sto of Indian form. We must however assume two entran for the import of Roman Hellenistic forms. The o from the North-west frontier and from there it reached far as Muttra. The other on the sea way from the South-w where the port of Barukacha was a trading centre with t Roman empire. From there Greco-Roman forms reach most probably Amaravati (on the Kistna).

The import of Roman arms was caused by reasons other than those which brought Achæmenian forms. The Greco-Roman forms came along with traffic and commerce and so they were spread over distant monuments. But their effect on Indian art was as ephemeral as that of the Mesopotamian devices in Mauryan art. No praise has to be squandered on the magnificent Akanthos ornaments of Amaravati. The fact that they are of Greek extraction is denoted by the name but their vitality is as Indian as that of any lotus flower. Apart from the Akanthos device no pattern bears any resemblance with Greek form and the so-called honey-suckle is neither an Assyrian palmette nor a Greek floral motive. It is one of those uncounted Indian devices which have not yet received a name from students of Indian art. The modelling of the human body on the other hand derived relatively stronger impetus from the treatment as practised by Greco-Roman artist. But here it is almost edifying to watch how the conventional dullness of the Gandhara academy becomes quivering with the delight of youth and suppleness. The Mathura school of sculpture which is remarkable for its triviality of vision and for its lack of originality is satisfied with and concentrates on the sensuous charm of forms of this world, and so naturally forms of the Greek type had an allurement for this indigenous school. The early work from Mathura stands stilistically in one line with Barhut, with the difference that it consciously exhibits the forms of the human body while in the Barhut School they are accepted as a matter of fact and do not receive special emphasis. Thus the Greek sensitiveness to the softness of skin and elasticity of the flesh were welcome to the school of Mathura which embodies Indian plus Greek sensualism. The proportions of the figures however with long waist and short legs are decidedly non-Greek, and the *softness* of this naturalistic modelling is also a contribution from the Indian side. The Mathura school was a second-rate branch of Indian art; but not because

it admitted Hellenistic connections into its own repertory of form; it did so because it had not a self-reliant imagination.

The whole atmosphere however is changed in Amaravati. There the pliable and intensely moved modelling is Indian, though some faint flavour of Greece might be tasted. The school of Mathura thus stands for a compromise of Hellenistic and Indian form on the basis of an uninspired sensualism, while Amraoti in the 2nd century A. D. by digesting the imported Greek stuff achieves a perfection of its own which may be seen in Indian purity at the early parts of the railing. With these two schools Hellenism in Indian art disappears as thoroughly as did the Persian element in post-Asokan art.

These two factors, the Persian and European, make their appearance once more at the time of the Moghuls. It is however worthwhile noticing that artistic traditions of no other country had any contact with Indian art in India. Egypt is out of question, but China which must have reached its artistic height and stood at this time in close commercial and religious relations with India left no trace in Indian art in early medieval times. For just at that period India was the giving part and was so full in its wealth that no room was left for any for intrusion. The situation changes only from the 16th century onwards when the Moghul rulers desired to establish an international court art. For almost two thousand years Indian art thus maintained its integrity. At the beginning and at the end of that period the admission of foreign forms was due to the desire of the rulers with regard to the Persian element while Western features entered Indian art almost at the same time in the earlier case uninvited yet called for by the Moghuls. The Moghul art painting is an official affair just as were the capitals of Asoka's columns. That sometimes idioms of Moghul painting also occur in Rajput pictures is no wonder as the two schools were so near in time and space.

In order however to realise to what extent and in which combination the Indian, Persian and European tradition of painting got fused in India it will be necessary to define the leading features of the three components. The Chinese factor has to be left aside, for although several Moghul paintings are not only influenced but practically painted à la Chinese and although even Rajput art, for instance the frescoes from Bikhaner, exhibit Chinese elements it was not the Chinese method of painting which was accepted but Chinese motives entered the confines of Indian art and were rendered there in the Indian way. Moghul art on the other hand is conspicuous by the versatility of pictorial methods employed. The European, the Indian and the Persian principles of painting intermingled in the brush of the Moghul Court artist.

Contemporary and pure Indian painting as represented by the various Rajput schools has to be examined first. It relies on the effective contrast of coloured surfaces which are made distinct in bold outlines. Pavilion and men, sky and interior of the houses, action, movements and architecture are laid into one severely observed plan and the eyes of all the figures have to obey the same rule. Colours and outlines are the only means utilized in this kind of painting. The colours are bold in their contrast, the outlines are extremely simple and yet significant and what in the first moment appears to be stiffness reveals itself on closer observation as the unavoidable round lines of Indian painting, which get full scope in the sitting figures while the standing ladies have to match the elongated niches of the pavilion into which they are placed. The thinness of the pavilion moreover is due to its Islamic design. This work of popular art illustrates the tendency of the painter to tell in a clear and dignified way about the subject which he represents, and his simple language is satisfied with a pictorial world which is not more than a surface deep, for all surroundings cease to exist in the presence of the chief actors. This way of surface decoration

is Indian but it is moreover popular Indian. The horizonless field of the picture which is filled by the surface of one vision we meet throughout the world in village art and children's designs. The early Rajput pictures thus represent people's art in India of the 16th century which gets its distinguishing mark by the curved outline of the figures, not to speak of course of costume, features, architecture and the like. A later Rajput painting—and the difference of schools is here where the main features in common to all Rajput painting are concerned out of consideration—though far more elaborate and complex in design relies in its essential effect on the same requisites as the earlier example. Again colour surfaces within minutely defined outlines which embrace with delight the animated figures of the painting. But the plan of action has grown in width and the slanting surfaces of walls and floor surround the actors, while at the back on top of the gate a strap of landscape is inserted, where broad banana leaves and distant hills with shrubs are laid in one plan and form a pattern which repeats in its rounded outline the curves of all the pots which serve Radhika for cooking. Again as in the previous picture the architecture and the arch represented are Moghul, but the way of representation is Indian, that is to say Rajput.

The difference between Moghul and Rajput becomes apparent when similar compositions are compared. Again the story is told in an open courtyard with architecture on the sides. The slanting surfaces have become less slanting and the surfaces less of surfaces but looking more like illusions of real walls which mark the front of the house and you can go up the stairs and enter the hall and sit on one of the benches or look out of the window or you may go to the second story and join the peacocks or leave them and go further on through the long corridor which leads you right into the inner apartments. But it will be best if you imagine yourself sitting next to the two gentlemen, for there is room enough

for you in the spacious hall or else if you do not wish to disturb them, just take your seat on the broad brim of the wall or walk up and down the courtyard. This is what the picture wishes you to do or at least to imagine that you were doing, for otherwise for whom except the spectator would the whole illusion be got up. There was however no room for you in Radhika's little courtyard nor was there room for any house except for the one window from where Krishna's passionate glance was sent forth and cut off by its direction the outside world and kept Radhika enclosed within his longing and her garden and you the spectator through the painter's vision could steal a glance of their feelings and doings. The space therefore in which and the composition with the help of which the Rajput scene takes place are concluded within themselves. They represent an objectified intuition. The Moghul space and composition on the contrary include you, the third person in their scheme and in order to make you feel at home with what they represent, they must give you as complete an illusion of the actuality of the scene as possible. The figures represented in either of these paintings are treated accordingly. Radha and her companion live one sort of life and the rhythm of their action and the beat of their heart is ruled by one fate. The two men of the Moghul picture however show their widely different characters by physiognomy and expression and their dress underlines and actually visualises their different personalities. The figures of Rajput art breathe in the thin and clear atmosphere of lines and only the face has a conventional and faint modelling while Moghul figures create the impression of living bodies dressed in the folds of costly materials.

This fundamental difference of the Moghul and Rajput way of painting is not due to Persian influence on the Moghul side. In fact history alone is not to be held responsible for the obvious distance between the two treatments, and it is wrong to conclude that because the Moghul rulers came to

India from Persia and also brought Persian artists with them, the foreign element in Moghul art must be first of all Persian. The Persian influence was no doubt mighty at the beginning of Moghul art and paintings like that of the Hamzah nameh for instance are truly Indo-Persian art. Later however the Persian element becomes less and less conspicuous in Indian art and it is the European treatment of landscape and architecture, of man and space which prevails. Whether this European style was fostered to a greater extent in India itself or whether it came to India under the cloak of Persian paintings is difficult to decide. In any case is the European element in Persia for instance in the work of Riza Abbasi not so widely used as it is in Moghul court art. We must therefore first extract that what is European in Moghul art in order to find the proportion of Indian and Persian conventions as contained in the rest. We have already seen that the illusion of spacious places, ample halls, massive walls and full round bodies is one distinct feature. Another is the treatment of landscape. If we recall the early Rajput representation, some plain dark blue colour meant landscape, night and vastness and timeless atmosphere of the picture. The latter showed more detailed features of nature as a banana garden and distant hills with shrubs and a pale sky on top. But trees, hills and sky were simply names and design within one surface as calm and broad as that of the blue of the earlier picture. No distance had removed man from nature and all of them shared one plan of existence and so it remained wherever Rajput art was untouched by foreign influences. But we must be aware that Rajput painting is not to be identified with Indian painting as a whole. It is nothing more but also nothing less than popular art, and uses the simplest means possible. The cubistic as well as the way of foreshortening achieved by Ajanta are completely forgotten. Rajput painting is just a vernacular, expression narrow in its expressions but nevertheless deep. The landscape

of a Moghul painting on the other hand is something quite new to India. There an attempt is made actually to surround the human figure so that it can move about and look around, and chains of hills beset with trees denote the distance from the main figure. The trees in fact are made into landmarks denoting distance. The smaller they are made, the greater a distance do they denote and their endeavour is just as absurd as that of their Dutch or Italian prototypes which had not yet solved the problem of perspective and overshot their new awakened observation of nature which taught them that the greater the distance the smaller the objects appear. They made therefore trees or building of minute size as if far away, while the hill which supported them appeared to be quite near. This incongruity of vision and knowledge peculiar to Dutch painting of the late 14th and early 15th century was taken up by Italian painting where it is still to be seen in Raphaels' early work and the Indian artists, if their distance is considered, are not to be blamed for keeping up the same treatment for one or two more centuries. This failure in an attempted illusionism with regard to landscape was brought to India from Europe; in the field of architecture however Western perspective and the Indian conception of space were fused on the spot. Thus the illusionism of Moghul painting whatever be its source was inconsistent *a priori* and remained so to the end and the only escape from a complete artistic fiasco was either personal genius of an artist or else utmost possible Indianisation.

The illusionism suggesting the material out of which our surroundings are built makes Moghul painting heavy and earthbound. It subdues the frail charm of the Persian form just as much as it hampers the melodious flow of the Indian tradition. The treatment of trees illustrates best the interference of Western with Eastern principles. The Ragini for instance stands on a Persian lawn surrounded by flowers Persian in arrangement and conception, under the shade

of a tree of Indian art origin, facing a group of smaller trees of the same artistic family while the top of the hills in further distance is crowned by small specimens of trees of European art extraction. The Persian way of treating plants is to show stems and branches, thin and frail, spread out in a motionless atmosphere and leaves and flowers appear as so many gems and precious stones, cut into minute shapes and stuck on to the branches where they fit in best. The trees of Indian painting simply grow. The sap which circulates through the tree and links its top with the earth is visualised by a solid round stem from which the top branches off in a few but vigorous twigs. They are bent with vigour and elasticity of growth and with the burden of a large and abundant foliage. The European trees at least at a distance wear a top summarised in one outline, as one whole in light and shade. This Ragini picture is a museum of various specimens of art trees. All of them are acclimatised to the atmosphere of eclectic court art and have lost much of their original freshness yet retained enough to denote their origin. The varieties however gained by cross breed are large in number. Persian trees for instance either remain intact in their fragile aloofness or else and next to it they suddenly grow fat and round with European modelling or at last they incorporate the beauty of Persian leaves and flowers and the European substantiality of the wood in the Indian vigour of growing life which makes the branches turn and twist in elastic curves. A painting where all the three factors are assembled to equal parts, sets groups of men and animals in a rocky landscape where tents and trees stand in the Indian convention of space, where rocks derived from Persia are invaded by European mass and Indian agitation and where the single groups remind as much of Rogier van der Weiden's emotionalism as they stand near the scenes of village life familiar to Rajput painting. But apart from that quaint mixture not much is achieved in an artistic respect,

for the decorative, that is to say Persian display of European trees obstructs the construction of the landscape and the agitated story could be told with less expense and in a simpler way.

The only rescue for Moghul painting therefore is the genius of an artist who as in the case of the "Dying Man" achieved a masterwork international in its artistic language and universal in its expressiveness. There all reminiscences are merged into one personal and subtle vision. The other way out of the whirl of imported conventions was Indianisation. A night scene for instance speaks of the intercourse Indian art had with Europe and yet no sound will be heard in the silence of worship and night. Though the form is mixed, the inner experience visualised is one and its nature is Indian. But Moghul painting was spoiled from the beginning. Its combination was artificial and therefore ephemeral. Unless a unique genius found a solution of his own quite personal mode of sentiment the Indian artist even where his vision was Indian could not but translate it into the international court language of Moghul art. It was only outside the circle of Court art that Indian form was found for Indian contents and there even where European allusions—and scarcely any of Persian origin occur—they stand in the background and though they appear as additions they are neither offensive nor of much consequence. The episode of Moghul painting closes and with it the import of Persian and European forms. After centuries, that is, at the present moment Indian art for the third time opens its gates, wider than before, for East and West have come nearer and it means much for modern Indian art to have realised the crisis and knowing all forms by which it is surrounded to go on the eternal path of art in its own way.

Ship-building and Commerce in Ancient Bengal

BY

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From the records, I have come across in course of my researches in the field of old Bengali literature, it shows that ship-building reached a high degree of perfection both in regard to workmanship and efficiency in ancient Bengal when the sea-going ships were actively engaged in promoting the prosperity of the province by conducting commercial intercourse with various countries both within and outside India.

The wood required for the construction of ships were teak, *gāmbhāri*, *tamāl*, *peal*, jackwood, etc. But it seems, the wood of the fabled tree *Manapaban* was, however, best for the purpose. The name itself is poetic, signifying the utmost speed that a vessel would acquire if built with such wood. It was, however, foreign to Bengal and very difficult to be secured as we learn from an elaborate description in Bangsidas (p. 283).

In building a vessel the first work to be done was a ceremony known as 'Dārābindhā' or thrusting of a gold nail (Sonarjal) to the keel (Dārā) with the help of a silver hammer (hātur). It was done by the owner himself. After this ceremony, the actual work of construction was to begin. First a measurement of the vessel was to be taken. Then the keel (Dārā) was to be carefully

constructed with which strong pieces of timber were joined with the help of iron-nails. Next the 'galui' (prow) was to be built. This finished the hold of a vessel. The deck, the *pātātan* (pieces of timber joined to the keel) and the shed were also made. After these, the construction of helm and rudders, and decoration-work made the building of a ship complete. It may be noted that the prow took the appearance of a peacock or a Cuka bird or some other fancy shape specified in the works on art and the ships were accordingly known as "*Maurpankhi*," "*Cukapankhi*," etc. Mention of seven types of prows representing the shapes of a lion, a buffalo, a serpent, an elephant, a tiger and a bird, is found in old Sanskrit literature, such as Juktikalpataru ; see also Viswakosh, Vol. X, p. 461.

A vivid description of the construction of a vessel is found in Bangsidas, p. 286. An idea of this is given below :—

The Lord of Champaka (the merchant Chānd) constructed some vessels for which purpose he himself performed the ceremony of gold nailing (Sonār-jal or jalai). The length of the vessel was fixed at a thousand yards (more than half a mile, evidently exaggerated). From the keel to the central deck the height was six cubits and a half (thirteen tāl) to stabilize the equilibrium of a ship. The bamboo-poles for plying the vessels were also measured with thread. More serious work, however, commenced with the construction of the hold of a ship. The wood ordinarily chosen for the purpose was known as "*Manapaban*," noted for imparting swiftness of the wind to the ship on slightest wish. Very strong pieces of this timber were joined together with the help of iron-nails. Joints were covered by soldering to avoid saline water corroding the iron-nails. In this way the construction of the hold was completed. When it was

finished the metallic sheets (pith-pāt) were fitted and the mat doors (jhāp) fixed up. Then '*Māthākāstha*,' or, '*galui*' (prow) was made, decorated with golden and silver flowers. The principal cabin was built, after the deck composed of wooden planks had been fitted up (*pātātan*). This chief cabin (*Raighar*) was beautifully decorated with rows of artificial flower garlands. On the vessel the mast (*Malum wood*) was duly fitted. The helm (*pāṭwāl*) and its auxiliary piece of timber (*jhokābāri*) were also not forgotten. When these had been finished, a nicely ornamented shed was built on the ship. It had rows of '*chāmar*' (chowri) and festoons of various types which made the vessel look pretty. Finally, the eyes of the figure on the prow of the ship were bedecked with jewels resembling the moon. This completed the building of the ship.

A similar description of ships as found in *Kabikankan* is given below (pp. 221-222):—

"Seven '*dingās*,' or, vessels were built by Biswakarmā and his son Dārubrahmā with the assistance of Hanumān. The mighty hero Hanumān began to saw the wood of various denominations such as '*Sāl*,' '*tāl*,' '*Kāthāl*,' '*peal*,' '*gāmbhāri*,' and, '*tamāl*.' The architect Dārubrahmā in the meantime made the iron nails. They made beautiful vessels each of which were hundred yards in length and twenty yards in breadth. The prow of each resembled the head of a *Makara* fish. It was made of ivory and the eye-balls were made of precious gems. First, the ship '*Madhukara*' was constructed. In its central part there was the '*raighar*' containing *rājāsan* or, the principal cabin for the merchant. A nook was reserved for the helmsman and the back part as the strong room for keeping treasures. There was also the mast on the vessel. Of the jack and the teakwoods *danda-kerwal* or the oars were made and a

helm was fitted to the prow of each vessel. The seven vessels were named :—

(*i*) Madhukarā (the Bee)—the flagship.
(*ii*) Guarekhi (its prow resembled the head of a Lion).
(*iii*) Ranajayā (the Victory).
(*iv*) Ranavima (the Terrible in war).
(*v*) Mahakāya (the Titanic).
(*vi*) Sarvadhara (the All-container).
(*vii*) Nātsālā (the Amusement-hall).

The following were the principal parts of a vessel :—

(*i*) Dārā (helm) or *patwāl*.[1]
(*ii*) Mālumkāstha (the mast).
(*iii*) Talā (hold).
(*iv*) Māthākāstha (prow).
(*v*) Chhaighar (shed).
(*vi*) Pātātan (deck).
(*vii*) Dandakerwāl (Oar).
(*viii*) Bangsakerwāl or Dhavaji (bamboo-pole).
(*ix*) Fāns (chord).
(*x*) Nangar (anchor).
(*xi*) Pāl (sail).
(*xii*) Dārā (Keel).

The above names are still used to convey the meaning they did in ancient Bengal. It would be interesting for the purpose of comparative study to find out if some of these technical words were analogous to those used in other parts of India in the literature of ship-building.

In the description, given above, we find elaborate details of the different parts of a ship built in those days. Exaggerated descriptions are, however, apparent, in the writings of Bijoy Gupta specially, who flourished

[1] Dara in the present dialect of the countryside means an oar, but in our old books it has oftentimes the meaning given above.

in the fifteenth century, when ship-building as an art was practically abandoned in Bengal. But though there is much of legend in the stories, the old traditions were not altogether lost sight of. Ships of considerable tonnage for commercial purposes were surely still being constructed. See Kabikankan, p. 220. "If hundred carpenters work for a whole year, only one vessel is constructed"; see Bangsidas, p. 285, "sixteen hundred carpenters cut the branches of the '*Manpaban*' tree and piled them up in rows"; see also Bangsidas, p. 282, "By the command of the king, the chief engineer Giribar and the admiral Gopal started with sixteen hundred carpenters." The descriptions of voyages often go to show that ships of titanic dimensions used to be constructed in Bengal even if sufficient allowances are made for poetic exaggerations. In Bijoy Gupta we find the following:—

"First was launched the *Madhukara*. On it the millionaire Chand took his residence. It was followed by the ship called '*Biju-siju*.' This ship was so big that it broke the crooked projections of the banks levelling them on its way owing to its very big dimensions. Then sailed the *Guarekhi*. It was so high that the city of Lanka, situated a long way off, was visible from its deck. After it, sailed, "*Bharar-Patua*." All the Tamil people were on board this ship. It was followed by "*Sankha-chur*" (the Shell-crowned). It was so gigantic a ship that its sides seemed to touch two opposite shores of big rivers and its bottom the ground under water. Next started "*Ajayshelpet*" (the Invincible steel-bottomed). There was arrangement for a big fair on it. Then could be seen the ship '*Udaytara*' (the Morning star); its length was so extraordinary that when half the portion suffered from rain, the other half enjoyed sunshine. Then sailed '*Tiathuti*' (the Parrot-beaked). It was full of merchandise, such as jute

and coarse blankets, etc. Then followed *Dhabal* (the white). It was so big that it moved slowly and often stopped owing to its great bulk when it was to be set in motion again by sacrificing a hundred goats to propitiate the sea-god. Then sailed '*Kedar*' (the great God Siva). Before reaching the shore it had to be worshipped with incense and *Panchapradip* as is done in a temple when performing the evening service. Then came "*Pakshiraj*" (the Prince of birds). Many fruit trees of considerable size were there for use of the people on board the ship. Then was launched the ship "*Bhimaksha*" (the fierce-eyed). Upon it was taken conch shells numbering fourteen lacs. It was followed by the vessel *Sankhatali* (the treasure of shells). Its principal parts were made of sandal wood. Behind it sailed the vessel '*Ajlā-kajlā.*' It used to devour a hundred goats at every turn of the river (meaning that its size was so big that at every turn its motion had to be ensured by a sacrifice of hundred goats). Thus one by one the ships sailed with the merchant for *Gangāsāgar.*"

The following description taken from Bangsidas (p. 288) may also be noted :—

"The first vessel which Chand launched on water was '*Madhukara.*' Its deck was filled with earth, so that it took the appearance of land upon which a small town with markets were established. The foredeck was reserved for worship. A tank of fresh water was not wanting in it with aquatic plants on its surface to keep it cool and with fishes of various descriptions. A vegetable and a flower garden completed the outfit of this wonderful ship. The merchant Chand ascertained the cost of this ship to be fourteen lacs of rupees as may be gathered from what he said to his treasurer Govinda. He furthermore said that the merchandise on board this vessel was worth the same amount.

See also Bangsidas, p. 319 :—

First started *Sankhachur* followed by "*Chhatighati*" (the ship of wares) which was filled with earthern wares. Then "*Kajal-rekhi*" (Lined with collyrium), "*Durgabar*" (the Boon of Durga), and "*Manikyamerua*" (the Diamond-crowned) sailed one after another. The last was so big that it had to be driven by sixteen hundred oarsmen. Then sailed '*Rajballav*' (the favourite of the king), '*Hansakhal*' (the Royal Duck), and '*Sagarfena*' (the sea-foam) one behind the other. The last one was full of tamil soldiers. Behind these ships came '*Udaygiri*' (the mountain of the rising sun) followed by "*Lakshi-pashā*" (the abode of the harvest goddess). In the latter ship the priest Subhai took up his residence with all the requisites for worshipping *Hara-Gauri*. The next two vessels were "*Udaytara*" (the Morning Star) and "Gangaprasad" (the Favour of the Ganges) respectively. The last one of the fourteen ships was the flagship termed "*Madhukara*" (the Bee) which was the best of the lot. In it the merchant Chand, the lord of the fleet, established his quarters with his five advisers. During the voyage the crew sang *sari* songs (a kind of chorus) all the while."

Another description is given below from Kabikankan, p. 191 :—

"First was recovered from water the ship "*Madhukara*." Its drawing-room was made of solid gold. Then came the turn of *Durgābar*. It was full of *Gābar* or sailors. Then came to sight the ship "*Guarekhi*." Its mast (*Malumwood*) might be seen from a distance of six miles. Another ship which rose up was named *Sankhachur*. It was so big that it had a breadth of eighty yards. Another ship named *Chandrapal* was also recovered from water. Its breadth was so great that when sailing its sides almost touched the banks of the river. The

seventh and the last vessel was named *Chhatimati* which had a cargo of rice."

Inspite of the exaggerated descriptions of the poets that we ordinarily come across about big vessels it must not be construed that smaller crafts were lost sight of by them. We find in Bangsidas, p. 320, the following, "The admiral Gopal who sailed first had with him forty-two small boats (*hat nāo*). The construction of the river boats and sea-going ships are now precisely of the same type as we find it in the old literature, and the nomenclature adopted in the past was on the whole the same as we use it now. It seems that the sea-going vessels and the rivercrafts were built on the same principle. Even the other day a coasting vessel named *Aminakhatun* and its sister vessels of considerable tonnage were built by a merchant of Chittagong with the help of local carpenters and mechanics and the method of building they adopted, appears to be the same as it was done in the past. The strong build and the high speed of these sailing ships were perhaps not inferior to those of similar ships used in England in the days of Nelson. The coincidence of keeping a flagship in the mercantile marine as we find to-day in the navy of the civilised nations is curious indeed. The numbers of ships, seven and fourteen, which the merchants of old generally adopted in completing a fleet were perhaps duè to the notion that these numbers were auspicious. For a fuller information about the old Bengali vessels reference may be made to the Folk-Literature of Bengal, pp. 65, 75 and 249.

Among the crew the following may be noted:—

(1) Gābar (sailors) who were of two classes.

(*a*) Mānjhi or Oarsmen. (*b*) Dāri or Karnadhār (helmsmen).

(2) Sutradhar (carpenter).

(3) Karmakār (blacksmith).
(4) Pāik (foot soldiers).
(5) Dubāri (Diver).
(6) Mirbahar (admiral).
(7) Kārikar (craftsman of various description).
(8) Kārāri (helmsman and captain).

Gābar.—A sailor. The caste from which boatmen were generally recruited is still known in Bengal as Gābar. They were exceptionally sturdy as the term "*Gaithyār-gābar,*" applied to them, signifies great physical strength. The sailors used to sing a chorus called *sāri* when plying their oars. See History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 396. See also *Satyanarayana Punthi* edited by Abdul Karim and *Manasa Mangal* poems for *Gābar.* The sailors were mainly East Bengal people. See Kabikankan, pp. 198 and 207-208. For plying vessels the *Gābars* used 'Danda' (helm), *Danda kerwāls* (oars), *Bangsakerwāls* (bamboo-poles) and *Fāns* (chords). See p. 195, Kabikankan. See also Kabikankan, pp. 227, 228, 207, 229, 234, 236, 194 for *Gabar, Kerwals,* etc.

Sutradhar (carpenter).—Carpenters were needed for repairs and joining of parts; they supplied the necessary crew corresponding to an Engineering staff maintained on board a modern ship.

Karmakār (Blacksmith).—Blacksmiths were engaged in building a ship and as their services were considered indispensable, they were taken on board the ships.

Pāik (foot-soldiers).—They were taken on board the vessels engaged in mercantile pursuits due perhaps to the insecurity of the age. They were engaged to protect the valuable merchandise against any possible attack of pirates or hostile foreigners. The soldiers engaged belonged to different countries. See Bangsidas, p. 329. Mention is found of the Telegu soldiers employed by

the Bengalis in the Manasā-mangal and the Dharma-mangal poems.

Dubāri, or divers.—They accompanied sea-going merchant vessels to ascertain if there was anything wrong in that part of a vessel which remained under the water. See Bangsidas, p. 329.

Mirbahar (Admiral).—It is an abbreviation of the Arabic term Amir-al-Bahar meaning an admiral of a fleet. The admirals would accompany not only warships but also armed merchantmen as appears from the description of Chand's voyage of trade. In Bangsidās we find the admiral Gopal accompanying the expedition of carpenters in quest of *Manapaban* wood perhaps to protect them from any possible aggression. This precaution was necessary to provide against the insecurity of the age.

Merchandise.—As for merchandise on board the Bengali vessels it may be said that our poets described them as mainly intended for export to *Pātan* and Singhal. A system of barter was generally resorted to and fraud played by the Bengali merchants on foreigners of questionable civilization was a theme of our poets on which all of them wrote in the same strain. We find occasional mention of merchandise, but the prices are sometimes ludicrously exaggerated, as during the time when these Bengali works were written, sea-voyage was reduced to a vague tradition in which facts and fiction were hopelessly blended together. Still we give below two lists which no doubt contain some elements of truth. According to Bangsidās it was the Bengali merchants who introduced cocoanuts and betels in some foreign countries. The stories given seem, however, to be mere legend.

A.

Items of Bengali merchandise.	Articles of foreign countries.
	in exchange of
(1) Betel leaves	... Ten emeralds for each leaf.
(2) Betel-nut	... Ten gems.
(3) Lime	... Quick-silver.
(4) Catechew	... Gorachana (a bright yellow pigment).
(5) Cardamom	... Pearl.
(6) Satabari Kámeswar (*Asparagus racemosus*)	Musk.
(7) Fruits	... Golden bricks, bells, etc.
(8) Vegetable roots	... Diamond.
(9) Pulses	... Corals.
(10) Onions and garlics	... Maces.
(11) Camphor	... "Bakhar."
(12) Water weeds	... Diamond.
(13) *Dolichos gladiatus* (Makhana)	... Ruby.
(14) Goats and sheep	... Golden does.
(15) Radish	... Ivory.
(16) Dry fish	... Sandal wood.
(17) Sugarcane	... Royal maces (Nabadanda —sign of royalty).
(18) Jute	... Chowrie (chāmar).
(19) Wooden utensils	... Golden and silver utensils.
(20) Wooden furniture	... Golden furniture.
(21) Earthenwares	... Bell-metal utensils.
(22) Oil and clarified butter	Quick-silver.
(23) Kumkum	... Jarful of honey.
(24) Puppy	... String of golden bells.
(25) Mosquito curtains, beddings, trousers, etc., all made of gunny cloth	Silken clothes and curtains, etc.

See Bangsidas, p. 314, for the above list.

B.

Items of Bengali merchandise.		Articles of foreign countries.
	in exchange of	
(1) Deer	...	Horse.
(2) "Biranga"	...	Clove.
(3) Suntha	...	Tanka (a kind of wood apple, *Feronia Elephantun*).
(4) Ape	...	Elephant.
(5) Pigeon	...	Suā (A bristly Caterpillar).
(6) Fruits	...	"Jayfal."
(7) Bahara	...	Betel-nut.
(8) Jute	...	White chowrie (chāmar).
(9) Glass	...	Emerald.
(10) Sea salt	...	Rock salt.
(11) Dhuti (cloth)	...	Pots.
(12) Oystershell	...	Pearl.
(13) Harital	...	Diamond.
(14) "Joani."	...	"Jira."
(15) "Chua."	...	Sandal-paste.
(16) Sheep	...	Horse.

See Kabikankan Mukundaram's Chandi Kabya, p. 191—Dhanapati's exchange of merchandise in Ceylon—for the above list. The exchange of commodities here seems to be somewhat more reasonable than that to be found in Bangsidas.

The Bengali merchants carried on trade with Ceylon and Patan in Gujrat and visited the following notable ports:—

1. Puri.
2. Kalinga or Calingapatam.
3. Chilkachuli or Chicacole in Madras Presidency.
4. Banpur.
5. Setubandha Rameswar.

6. City of Lanka (in the site of Lanka Singhal or Ceylon).
7. Nilacca or Laccadives.
8. Patan.

One of the chief places outside India visited by the Bengali merchants was the Laccadives. Mention is made also of *Pralamba, Nakul, Aheelanka Chandrasalya* island and *Abartana* island which we cannot identify but which undoubtedly lay outside our country. Vivid description of the coasting voyage of the Bengali vessels from *Saptagrām* (an inland port of Bengal) to Patan in Gujrat by doubling the Cape of Comorin, is found in the Manasāmangal poem of Bangsidas. In Chandikāvya by Kabikankan Mukundaram we find accounts of mercantile adventurers of Bengal related in glowing terms. The lists of ports, both Indian and foreign, and the condition of sea-voyage tally in both these works.

In Bangsidās we meet with the following description of the voyage of Chand, the merchant. Inspite of fancy and exaggeration a rough idea of the sea-routes and ports may be gleaned from it.

"The merchant started for South Patan. There were great celebrations and festivities at the city of Champaka. All the ships sailed one after another; at the head of the Vanguard was the admiral Gopal with forty-two small vessels. After leaving his own territory Chand passed the following places in succession—*Kāmārhati, Madhyanagar, Pratupgarh, Gopālpur and Rāmnagar.* He then reached *Kālidah* Sāgar which he crossed leaving to the right *Gandharvapur* and to the left *Birnagar.* Then the merchant reached the mouths of the Ganges after passing Kāmeswar, Mandarerthana, Pichalta and Rambishnupuri one after another. At Gangasagar Chand performed worship and sacrificed goats. After leaving Champaknagar the ships were on the voyage for five months. The

merchant passed through many difficult places after having reached the sea. He passed Utkal and Kalinga on his right. Crabs, lobsters, leeches and crocodiles obstructed his passage through the malice of *Manasā Devi*. At last the merchant reached the golden *Lanka* surrounded by golden walls. Chand here saw the *Rakshasa* king and received his pass-port before proceeding further. Then he left Lanka on his right and passed the Malaya mountain near Cape Comorin. He passed also *Bijoynagar* (Ceylonese ?) then ruled by King Ahi. The next important place which the merchant passed was *Parasuramtirtha*. Leaving this place the merchant reached the vast sea known as the "*Nilaccarbunk*" (lit. bend of sea near Nilacca—perhaps Laccadives). Reaching this sea the crew felt giddy at the vast expanse of water and deep sound of the waves, big as mountains. They almost lost their way but through the expert direction of Captain Dulai the vessels were steered rightly. It was by looking to the stars that Dulai could keep the right course. After much trouble the merchant Chand and his companions reached the city of *Pātan* then ruled by King Chandraketu. (See Bangsidas, pp. 318-338.)

On Chand's return from Pātan he passed the Laccadives sea, the Vindya ranges, Lanka, Setubandha Rameswar, the gulfs were infested with crocodiles, leeches, etc., and reached Kalidahsagar where he experienced heavy storm. (See Bansidas, pp. 396-399.) "

The above description leads us to think that Pātan, once a celebrated city in Gujrat, was much frequented by the Bengali merchants who reached the place by sea crossing the Bay of Bengal, part of Indian ocean and the Arabian Sea. The voyage was probably a coasting one and Ceylon which stood mid-way between Bengal and Gujrat by the sea route, was a favourite place of

commerce for the merchants. Pātan is not an inland city similar to that of Tamralipti or Tamluk which was once one of the greatest seaports of Bengal. *Pātan* though means a city such as *Lalitpātan* yet the frequent mention of this particular Pātan and the way leading to it makes us think that it is no other than the Pātan or Somnāth Pātan of Gujrat and not a fanciful creation of our poets.

As for the foreign countries and ports, it seems our merchants frequented the islands and ports of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea as havealready been seen. We see the following in Bijoy Gupta's Manasāmangal:—

"O, merchant, listen. In the north King Mukteswar reigns. It is very difficult to comprehend the ways of his people. They take the seeds of pepper for rice. The king of the east is known as Bidyā-Sanga. The greater the bulk of a person the more respect is shown to him. The people are all degraded and the social customs are in a most pitiable condition. Marriage laws are not at all strict as brothers often exchange their wives. Even a brother marries his sister in that land. The women there enjoy complete freedom and use coloured cloth specially to cover the breast. Caste system is not observed at all. In the west the people are barbarous. They bore their ears, show laxity of caste distinction and use ornaments on the neck. They do not give the girls in marriage unless they are sixteen and even then they put the married girl for some time in priest's house in lieu of his fee. A married girl even keeps the house of her husband's sister's husband. In case of any issue being born it shares the property on both sides.[1]

[1] The peculiar customs regarding inheritance such as inheritance of nephews as found in Bangsidas are still current among the Nairs. Preserving dead bodies mentioned in the same work show the knowledge of Buddhistic conditions. See Type set, p. 234.

Now hear the condition of Patan or the South Patan. Its king is *Bikram Keshari*. The people of this land is very rich. They keep jars full of gems. In their land conch shells, pearls, etc., are abundantly found as sea waves fling them frequently on the shore in particular phases of the moon. Even the poor there owned oysters and pearls."

The above lines though full of grotesque fiction seem to contain some grains of truth in them. By the north the poet perhaps indicates the foreign countries to north-east of Bengal. From Chittagong onwards to China the people are fond of taking excessive quantity of pepper with their meal. By the east the poet perhaps means the Buddhist Burma and the adjoining countries where owing to the influence of Buddhism, caste system is ignored and marriage laws are less rigorous. The Burmese women are very fond of coloured garments. Freedom of women is also to be found in Burma. By the western country the poet possibly means Madras Presidency which lies to the south-west of Bengal. As for Pātan, it may be said that, it was a rich city as otherwise Bengali merchant vessels would not be described as visiting that place for nothing.

See also Kabikankan, pages 195-196, for voyages of the Bengalees :—

"After the performance of the proper ceremonies before sailing, the merchant Dhanapati passed the following places,—Bhowsingerghat, Matiarisafar, Chandigachha, Bolanpur, Purathan, Nabadwip, Mirzapur, Ambna, Santipur, Guptipara, Ula, Khishma, Mahespur, Fulia and Halisahar—all by the side of the Ganges. Then he reached the very celebrated inland port of Bengal known as *Saptagram* by the side of the Tribeni. Here the poet incidentally praised this port and gave it a superior place among the following ports and places (some

of which are Indian and some foreign) known to the poet. They are the ports of Kalinga, Trailanga, Anga, Banga, Carnut, Mahendra, Magadha, Maharastra, Gujrat, Barendra, Vindhya, Pingal, Utkal, Dravir, Rarh, Bijoynagar, Maitra, Dwaraka, Kasi, Kankhal, Kekaya, Purabak, Anayuk, Godabari, Gaya, Sylhet, Kamrup, Koch, Hangar, Trihatta, Manika, Fatika, *Lanka*, *Pralamba*, *Nakulta*, Bagar, *Malay* (Indian), Kurukshetra, Bateswari, *Ahu Lanka*, Sibatatta, Mahanatta and Hastina, etc. According to the poet, the merchants of the above places visit Saptagram but the merchants of Saptagram do never visit those ports and places. (These prove the exaggerated notion of the poet about Saptagram).

At Saptagram the merchant took on board sufficient drinking water for his voyage ; then he passed some other places of note by the river banks such as Nimaitirtha, Betarah, Bagan, Kalighat, Omulinga, Chhatrabhoga, Kalipar, Himai, Hetagarh, Sanketamadhaba, Madanmalla, Birkhana, Kalahati, and Dhuligram. On the way he experienced much storm on the river Magra. It took the merchant twenty days to reach the canal of *Angarpur*. Then his vessels entered the sea adjoining the country of the Dravidas. The first place of note was Puri celebrated for its temple of Jagannath. Then the merchant visited Chilkachuli, or Chicacole. Next ports of note were Balighata and Banpur which were left very soon. Then they reached the land of the Firinghees (Portuguese). They passed this place stealthily at night as they were afraid of these people who were very strong for their fleet of warships which were known as Harmada (Portuguese Armada, the Portuguese being very strong in ships in these parts). Dhanapati then passed some seas infested with crabs, snakes and crocodiles, etc., like Chand. After much difficulty he reached *Lanka*. Before reaching Lanka Dhanapati's vessels touched

Setubandha-Rameswar and crossed *Kalidaha* or Black Sea."

It is peculiar that *Kalidaha* which Bangsidas mentions to be near Bengal, Kabikankan places near Ceylon. It may be that any expanse of blue sea was taken by them to be Kalidaha. As for the mention of the Harmadas it may safely be said that they are matters of history. The Portuguese pirate vessels were for some time the curse of the eastern sea.

In the voyage of Srimanta, son of Dhanapati, we come across two islands namely, Chandrasalya and Abartana, both lying on the way to Ceylon. We cannot locate these two islands as we cannot locate Banpur "en route" to Chand's voyage for obvious reasons. Though there is evidently much exaggeration about the size of the ships, it is quite probable that the ships of the Bengali merchants were often of enormous size, for enormity of size was the fashion of the time. The Bengali poets had some traditions of the past, to which they added much that they derived from their imaginations.

The Religion of Asoka Buddha

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Foreword

In this article we shall confine ourselves mainly to the testimony of the Edicts of Asoka and try to find out what that great king speaks about himself and his religion in his inscriptions on rocks, pillars and caves. For this purpose it is necessary that we should banish from our imagination all preconceived ideas about Asoka in order to keep our mind always open for new light and truth. We, therefore, forget that Asoka was a Buddhist, or that he was converted to Buddhism in this year or that year of his reign. We expect our readers should do the same in order to approach the subject with an unprejudiced mind.

Main tenets of the religion.

What we know is that Asoka preached his religion under the name of the Doctrine of Dharmma, which, when analysed, is found to consist of a set of rules on moral virtues, such as—

1. Father and mother must be hearkened to.
2. Teachers must be reverenced by the pupil.
3. Fitting courtesy must be shown to the relatives, friends, acquaintances, Brahmins and ascetics.
4. Respect for living creatures must be firmly established. (M. R. E. II, P. E. III, etc.)

5. It is desirable that compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness, and saintliness, may grow among mankind. (P. E. VII.)

6. There must be intense love of the Law of Piety, intense self-examination, intense obedience, intense dread and intense effort. (P. E. I.)

7. Mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steady devotion are altogether indispensable. (R. E. VII.)

8. Brutality, cruelty, anger, pride, and jealousy lead to impiety. (P. E. III.)

And so forth.

Chief characteristics of the Doctrine.

What we can assert at this stage is that we find nothing particularly Buddhistic in these rules of conduct. Asoka has repeatedly expressed in the Edicts that his doctrine was meant for men of all denominations and miscellaneous sects, and for the benefit of mankind in general. In the Pillar Edict IV he says—"My desire is that ...among the people various pious practices may increase."[1] In the Pillar Edict VI it is stated—"I caused a scripture of the Law of Piety to be written for the welfare and happiness of mankind."[2] Again in the Pillar Edict VII it occurs—"Whatsoever meritorious deeds have been done by me, those deeds mankind will conform to and imitate."[3] Declarations of this nature are abundant in the Edicts of Asoka. We can thus see that the aim of Asoka was to effect the moral improvement of all men irrespective of castes and creeds. Moreover, even the most casual reader of the Edicts cannot but be impressed with the purely non-sectarian character of the doctrine promulgated by this great man.

[1] Janasa-cha vadhati-vividhe dhaṁmachalane.
[3] Me dhaṁmalipi likhapita lokasa hitasukhāye.
[2] Yāṁi-hi-kani-chi mamiyā sādhavāni katāni tam-loke anupatipamne tam-cha anuvidhiyaṁiti.

Asoka's Law of Piety comprises, as will be evident from the few rules we have quoted above, certain works of practical morality which are not the characteristic features of any particular religion, but are based upon the choicest moral principles which form the very essence of all the religions of the world. This is the only reason which enabled Asoka to assume the position of a religious dictator both at home and abroad without disturbing the faith of other people. We can thus observe, as some scholars maintain, the following peculiarities of this universal religion—

I. It was based upon works of practical morality.

II. It was entirely non-sectarian.

III. It was meant for the benefit of mankind in general.

We shall now try to find out how and when did Asoka conceive the idea of this new religion.

How Asoka conceived the idea of this unique faith.

The first religious impulse of Asoka is recorded in the Rock Edict XIII, which deals with his conquest of Kalinga. That country was conquered when Asoka "had been consecrated eight years." During the campaign "one-hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number died."[1] It was, indeed, a terrible affair, and we can easily picture in our imagination the awful miseries that overtook the inhabitants of that unfortunate country. This incident produced deep impression on the mind of Asoka, for it is recorded in the Edict that after the Kalingas had been annexed began his love of the Law of Dharmma. Herein we find recorded in unmistakable terms that Asoka first conceived the idea of Dharmma after the annexation of the Kalingas. How this idea got into his

[1] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 185.

mind has also been clearly set forth in this Edict. We find that it was grief and repentance which fostered the growth of this doctrine of practical morality. The Edict says that Asoka felt "remorse" (anusochanaṁ) and "profound sorrow and regret"[1] (badhaṁ veda-ñiya mataṁ gurumataṁ) for reasons which have been classified by him under two heads—

(*i*) Firstly. "Because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people."[2]

(*ii*) Secondly. "There is, however, another reason for His Sacred Majesty feeling still more regret, inasmuch as the Brahmins and ascetics, or men of other denominations, or householders who dwell there, and among whom these duties are practised, (to wit), hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or elders), and proper treatment (or courtesy to) of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves and servants, with steadfastness of devotion—to these befalls violence (or injury), or slaughter, or separation from their loved ones, etc."[3]

Now, it will be seen from above that the doctrine of Dharmma which Asoka preached was the natural outcome of a repentant mind. In details it also exactly resembles the causes from which it originated. The first cause of his remorse, as described above, was that the conquest of a country by the force of arms was the cause of endless sufferings to the people, and hence he preached that "the conquest thereby (by the Law of Piety) won everywhere is everywhere a conquest full of delight"[4] without giving any cause of anguish to the people. In this way he clearly pointed out the difference between the two kinds of conquests, and established the superiority of one over

[1] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 185.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Dr. Smith's Asoka p. 187.

the other. But the main outlines of his doctrine he culled from the second cause in which he has stated the effect of violence on people of various denominations. Herein we find that he thought over the evils of conquest in this light that when the people are carried away captive or slain they cannot perform their duty of hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers or elders, and so forth. In this way his attention was directed to the domestic peace and comfort of the people, and he, therefore, laid the foundation of his Law of Piety on works calculated to impress upon the mind of the people the necessity of observing domestic relations. Accordingly, he prescribed—

I. Father and mother must be hearkened to.

II. Teachers must be reverenced by the pupil.

III. Fitting courtesy must be shown to relations, friends, acquaintances, Brahmins and ascetics.

IV. Respect for living creatures must be firmly established.

It should be observed that Asoka has described the evils of conquest with reference to the sufferings of father, mother, teachers, elders, friends, acquaintances, Brahmins and ascetics. In prescribing the Law of Piety he has scrupulously used the same terms, as if to clearly point out how the tenets of his religion originated. It is thus quite clear that Asoka's conception of domestic duties was the outcome of impulses he received from the horrors of war. If anybody did ever convert Asoka it was the people of Kalinga whose sufferings inspired him to inculcate the new doctrine for the benefit of humanity. We, therefore, find no justification of the legend that Asoka began his religious career after being converted by a Buddhist monk, at least Asoka does not acknowledge this in any of his Edicts.

Thus far about the origin of the conception of domestic duties included within the Law of Piety. There are also proofs in the Edicts themselves how the conception of abstract spiritual truths of the doctrine dawned upon Asoka. We shall now go down to the Pillar Edict VII. It says—"This thought occurred to me..... By what means, then, can men be induced to conform? By what means can men grow with the growth of the Law of Piety in due proportion? By what means can I lift up at least some of them through the growth of that Law?"[1] And again—"This thought occurred to me—Proclamation of the Law of Piety will I proclaim with instruction in that Law will I instruct; so that men hearkening thereto may conform, lift themselves up, and mightily grow with the growth of the Law of Piety. For this my purpose proclamations of the Law of Piety have been proclaimed, instructions in that Law of many kinds have been disseminated."[2] This clearly indicates that Asoka was not indebted to any other person for the promulgation of the Law of Piety. He thought how the people could grow in Piety, and he himself effected a solution of the problem by self-exertion. The Pillar Edict VII, further says—"The practice of the Law of Piety and the conformity referred to are those whereby compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness and saintliness will thus grow among mankind."[3] This shows how the idea of abstract spiritual truth grew in Asoka.

When did Asoka definitely form the idea of the Law of Piety.

The Rock Edict XIII says that after the conquest of the Kalingas, which took place in his eighth regnal year, began Asoka's ardent love for the Law of Piety (dhammakāmatā).[4] The next stage of his spiritual

[1] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 209.
[2] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 209.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 211.
[4] The text is—Tatā pachhā adhunā ladheshu Kaligyeshu tive dhammavāye dhammakāmatā dhammānushathi cha devānam piyashā." Dr. Smith has translated

advancement is met with in the Rock Edict VIII. It says that after he had been consecrated ten years he went towards supreme knowledge (ayāya sambodhiṁ). This is a significant assertion which proves that the knowledge of Dharmma began to dawn upon him after the tenth year of his coronation. This is also supported by the text of the Minor Rock Edict I. It is there recorded that for more than two-and-a-half years he had been a Upāsaka, without attaining much success, then more than one year passed away, afterwards he joined the Saṁgha and attained much success within a period of one year.[1] Now, it follows from the texts of these three Edicts that—

I. Asoka became religiously disposed in the eighth year of his coronation.

II. Since then two years and a half passed off, perhaps in thinking how best he could attain his object, but he could not make much progress.

III. Towards the end of this period, say, after the expiry of his tenth regnal year (according to the R. E. VIII), or more properly when six months had elapsed after the tenth regnal year (according to the M. R. E. I.), the supreme knowledge began to dawn upon him. Herein we find that Asoka got the glimpse of the Law of Piety within a period intervening between the tenth and the eleventh year of his coronation.

IV. Then, after the expiry of more than one year, *i.e.*, about the twelfth year of his coronation (for, $8+2\frac{1}{2}+$ more than one=about 12), he joined the Saṁgha and made much progress within a period of one year. We can thus see that the time between the

the passage thus—"Directly after the Kalingas had been annexed began, etc., etc. (p. 185). Here we take objection to the word "directly." There is nothing in the text which can justify the use of this word in the translation.

[1] See below.

twelfth and the thirteenth year of his coronation is the period of Asoka's greatest activities. Here we owe an explanation for this interpretation of the Minor Rock Edict I. The text of the Edict is this—" Ekaṁ savachharaṁ sātireke tu kho saṁvachharaṁ yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayite bādhaṁ cha me pakaṁte." Dr. Vincent Smith has adopted the following explanation of this passage—" But a year—in fact, more than a year ago—I entered the Order, and since then have exerted myself strenuously.'[1]

In making this calculation start has been taken from the thirteenth regnal year backwards. But in the previous sentence wherein occurs ' two years and a half," calculation has been made from the ninth regnal year forward in order to make the total period referred to somewhere about four years. This way of calculation from two opposite ends is wholly unwarranted. The text of the Edict clearly shows that chronologically " more than one year " must come after " two years and a half," and the calculation should logically begin from the same starting point. But if you do so, one period overlaps another and the text becomes meaningless. In order to avoid this discomfiture recourse has been taken to the makeshift policy of meeting half way from the two ends. But the real meaning seems to be what we have stated above—" For more than two-and-a-half years I had been an Upāsaka without attaining much success, then more than one year passed away, afterwards I joined the Saṁgha and attained much success within one year." The use of the word Savachharaṁ twice in the same sentence can be more satisfactorily explained in this way. This shows that Asoka differentiated between the two periods one of " more than one year " and the other of " one year," otherwise he could have mentioned " more than two years " collectively. We can, therefore,

[1] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 149.

assume that Asoka joined the Saṁgha in the twelfth year of his coronation. But whatever may be the interpretations, it is admitted on all hands that Asoka "attained to a high standard of zeal"[1] about the period intervening between the twelfth and thirteenth year of his coronation. Let us now see what he actually did in this period. In the Rock Edict IV it is stated that he caused that Edict to be written when he had been consecrated twelve years. In the Pillar Edict VI it occurs—"when I had been consecrated twelve years I caused a scripture of the Law of Piety to be written for the welfare and happiness of mankind."[2] There are also records of the gradual development of the pious efforts of Asoka. The Rock Edict III says—"When I had been consecrated twelve years this command was issued by me :—"Everywhere in my dominions the subordinate officials, the Governor, and the District Officer must every five years proceed in succession on transfer, as well for their other business, as for this special purpose, the inculcation of the Law of Piety."[3] This shows that the executive officers of the state were at this stage ordained to include within their ordinary duties, the duty of preaching the new doctrine, which was thus an additional task thrust upon them. This was simply the crude beginning of a great work. Either the officers did not care to faithfully perform this work of religious preachers, or Asoka increased in zeal, he was obliged within a year to create a new department under the Dharmmamahāmātras for the effective propagation of the Law of Piety. The Rock Edict V says that this step was taken when Asoka was consecrated thirteen years. This will show why he declared that within one year he made great exertions.

[1] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 207.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 163.

Comments.—We shall now make our humble attempts to interpret a few words and phrases of the Edicts which have hitherto been the cause of much speculation. We have already seen that there is nothing particularly Buddhistic in the Laws of Dharmma which were preached by Asoka. As he himself did not preach these moral virtues under the garb of Buddhism, we are not justified (I beg your pardon) in interpreting the Edicts in the light that he was a Buddhist or that he was preaching for Buddhism. Attempts have hitherto been made to explain even the most unequivocal passages of the Edicts with the help of Buddhistic texts, but there are still many dark points to be cleared up, which will ever remain obscure so long as the pre-conceived idea of Asoka's adoption of Buddhism is not given up. With these preliminary remarks we set about a task, which, inspite of our firm conviction, we tremble to proceed with.

I. We take up the word Saṁgha of the Minor Rock Edict I. It has been interpreted to mean the Buddhist Order of Monks, but to us it appears that the word here means a corporate body, something like a council or Parliament, in which was vested the highest executive powers, on religious matters at least, under the government of Asoka. We are also of opinion that the words "Vyuthena" of the M. R. E. I., "Samāja" (second) of the R. E. I., "Parisā" of the R. E. III and "Parisāyaṁ" of the R. E. VI, all refer to the same council.

The word Saṁgha has been adopted from Sanskrit stock without any phonetic change in the Buddhist Scriptures. In Panini (3.3.86) we find that Saṁgha is used to mean an assemblage of persons. In Amarakosha, among the synonyms of this word, we find "Anyesāṁ Samājaḥ," which has been interpreted by the commentator Bhānujidikṣhita to mean "Anyesāṁ Saṁgha." We can thus find that the words Saṁgha and Samāja are

synonymous. The word Samāja has been used in the sense of a council even by Kāsirāmdāsa in his Mahābhārata—"Arjjuna samāja kaila mane peye pṛita." (*Vide* the edition of Mr. Charu Chandra Banerjee, p. 1074.) That the words Vyutha and Praisā also mean an assemblage of persons is too evident to require any justification. We thus find that the original sense of Saṁgha was an association and in this sense it was used to mean the association of monks (Bhikkhu Saṁgha). Though the meaning of the term became afterwards limited by application in the Buddhist scriptures, yet that is no reason why it should be interpreted only in that sense anywhere and everywhere without any reference to the context. Joining the Saṁgha means going to the hermitage of monks after forsaking all worldly ties. As the texts of the Edicts show that Asoka never did anything of the kind, it is unreasonable to take the word Saṁgha in the sense of Buddhist monastic order. "That Asoka was both monk and monarch at the same time"[1] or "that he had abdicated before he assumed the monastic robe"[2] or that he made over his son and daughter to the Saṁgha in order to acquire the qualification of a monk, are merely imaginary explanations for the purpose of proving him a Buddhist king. Dr. V. A. Smith has rightly observed—"How did he manage to reconcile the vows and practices of a Buddhist monk with the duties and responsibilities of the sovereign of an enormous empire? It is not possible to give a complete answer, but fairly satisfactory explanations can be presented."[3] This point will never clear up so long as the word Saṁgha is interpreted in the sense of Buddhist monastic order. Now, look at the other side of the shield. We have seen that Asoka became religiously disposed after the eighth year of his coronation, and that since then he

[1] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 35. [2] Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 35.
[3] *Ibid*, p 36.

passed two years and a half without making much progress. Then more than one year also passed away, after which he joined the Saṁgha and made much exertions.

We can here chalk out a period of two years and a half of inactivity, followed by a period of more than one year of less activity. What Asoka actually did within this period of four years, seems to be this—The mind of Asoka changed during the conquest of Kalinga. He then passed about four years perhaps in silent meditation (as can be guessed from the mention of the period of inactivity in the M. R. E. I.), even without attending the council of ministers, as can be guessed from the statement that he joined the Saṁgha at about the twelfth year of his coronation. Then followed a period of one year in which Asoka caused Dharmmalipi to be written, began to issue Edicts, entrusted executive officers with the duties of religious preachers, and created a new department under the Dharmma-mahāmātras. Surely, then, this one year was, as has been asserted, a period of great activity. In order to make the point more clear we shall here take up the interpretation of the phrase " Ayāya Sambodhiṁ " of the Rock Edict VIII.

II. *Ayāya Sambodhiṁ.*—The real meaning of the phrase seems to be that Asoka himself became a Buddha after he had been consecrated ten years. We have already pointed out that this is also supported by the text of the M. R. E. I. The conquest of Kalinga gave Asoka a religious turn of mind. He then passed two years and a half in meditation, when, after the tenth year of his coronation, more properly six months later, he solved the problem, and passed more than one year more in maturing the knowledge, and then he joined the Saṁgha or council of ministers and issued commands. Let us also see what was the difference between the ideals of Asoka

Buddha and Sākya Buddha. Sākya Buddha was engaged in the task of solving the highly philosophical problem of the birth and death of man, by holding out Nirvāna to be the only means of avoiding the miseries of life. But Asoka was more practical. He preached the Law of Piety for ensuring the social and domestic peace and comfort of the people of the world. In such a doctrine the speculation about Nirvāna is quite out of place. It is for this reason that there is not the slightest reference to Nirvāna in the Edicts of Asoka. He, however, speaks of happiness in after-life, and this idea he has adopted from the Hindu Shastras. Moreover, there is another characteristic feature of the doctrine of the Law of Piety. We find that it does not at all contemplate the organisation of monks and nuns. Hearkening to father and mother, reverence to the elders, courtesy to friends and acquaintances, liberality to Brahmins and ascetics, abstention from the slaughter of living creatures, small expense and small accumulation, all refer to the householders but not to the monks. The ideals of the two saints were thus quite different, so one cannot be said to be the follower of the other. During the conquest of Kalinga, the attention of Asoka was directed towards the peace and comfort of the people. He effected a solution of the problem by his own exertions after he had been consecrated ten years. This is the meaning of the phrase Ayāya Sambodhiṁ.

III. *Samāja of the Rock Edict I.*—We have already pointed out that the words Samāja and Saṁgha are synonymous. Samāja may also mean 'festival,' 'merry-making,' 'gathering,' 'association,' etc., etc., but we are to find out the significance of the term as used in this Edict. The text is—"Asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumatā Devānaṁ priyasa Priyadasino rāno." Dr. V. A. Smith has adopted the following rendering of the sentence —"Although certain merry-makings are excellent in the

sight of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King." To us, however, the sense appears to be—" But the king Priyadasi has one Samāja (referring to his Saṁgha) which is admitted to be excellent by all good men."

Here is recorded in unmistakable terms that Asoka had one Samāja or Saṁgha which commanded the respect of all good men. Here we go back to the statement that Asoka joined the Saṁgha about the twelfth year of his coronation. Does it mean that this council was also formed by Asoka at his twelfth regnal year, which is so clearly expressed in the Minor Rock Edict I?

In the clause "na cha samājo kātayyo" we find a prohibition for the holding of any association. Idha, *i. e.*, in some particular place (most probably at the capital, as has been suggested) Asoka prohibited the slaughter of animals for sacrifices, thereby restricting the activities of the Hindus, on one hand, and also prohibited the formation of any association on the other (perhaps putting a bar on the formation of Buddhist Saṁghas), for he found much offence in such gatherings. We shall take up this matter again when we deal with the Bhabru Edict.

IV. Vyuthena of M. R. E. I, Parisā of R. E. III, and Parisāyaṁ of R. E. VI. That these three words refer to a corporate body has already been proved beyond doubt, but we are of opinion that they refer not to 'the body of missioners' but to the Assembly of Ministers which was formed by Asoka. The texts of these three Edicts show how this council worked under the guidance of Asoka. The concluding sentence of the M. R. E. I. states that that proclamation was issued by the Council announcing the instructions which Devānampiya gave them. In the Rock Edict III we find that Asoka instructs the Council to inculcate on the officials in the "Accounts Department" the benefit of "small expense with small accumulation." The Rock Edict VI proves that the

Council was an executive body, which worked under the instruction of Asoka. It further provides for any emergency that might arise owing to a difference of opinion among the councillors with regard to some particular order communicated to them.

V. *The Bhabru Edict.*—This Edict has been interpreted as a sure proof of Asoka's adoption of Buddhism, but we find here nothing but the formal utterance of a great monarch who proclaimed himself as the defender of all faiths. We have seen that Asoka preached a religion which originated with him. He also prohibited the formation of any association at his capital, for he observed much offence in such institution. This shows that corruptions had already crept in the Buddhist Saṁghas. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that a time soon came when the people began to lose faith in Buddhism. The matter was perhaps referred to Asoka by the Buddhist monks, who then made this proclamation in defence of Buddhism. Or, it might have been the occasion of a sacred festival when Asoka made this declaration. We are accustomed to this sort of speech in India when a Christian Governor is invited to take part in the sacred functions of other sects. "You know, Reverend Sirs, how far extend my respect for and faith in the Buddha, the Sacred Law, and the Church." This is undoubtedly a mere formal utterance. Had Asoka been a Buddhist, what necessity had he to make this remark? Does it not, then, sound somewhat like the speech of Mr. Bottom in the Play of Mid-Summer Nights Dream? The concluding sentence is very interesting. We find therein that the Edict was written so that the people might know his intentions. Inspite of that it can be asserted that the Edict was not at all meant for wide publicity. There is only one copy of the Edict now extant, and that was also recovered from the site of

an old monastery. Dr. Smith has written—"That edict was recorded on a boulder within the precincts of a monastery on the top of a hill in Rajputana, and the presumption is that the sovereign was residing in the monastery when he issued the orders which are on record there only." (Dr. Smith's Asoka, pp. 35-36.) We cannot understand why such a so-called important edict was located only in one place, while the Rock and the Pillar Edicts were given wide publicity. Asoka might have resided in the monastery at that time, but when the orders were meant for the people in general, they should have been engraved in other places also, if the real intention was the teaching of the people. We can therefore, safely conclude that this was simply a formal utterance and no special importance can be attached to it.

The Edicts of Sarnath, Kausambi and Sanchi prove that so great were the corruptions in the Buddhist Saṁghas that royal proclamation was found necessary to weed them out. The inscriptions of Rummindei and Nigliva and the Cave dedications to the Ajivikas, when read together, prove that neither of them shows any attachment of Asoka towards any particular faith. They simply prove that Asoka was a magnanimous monarch entirely free from the sectarian view of any kind. He adopted what was good in any religion, and discarded the evils, declaring, "I devote my attention to all communities, because all denominations are reverenced by me with various forms of reverence. Nevertheless, personal adherence to one's own creed is the chief thing in my opinion."[1] A convert can never make such an announcement.

[1] Pillar Edict VI, Dr. Smith's Asoka, p. 208.

On an Accumulation Droll from Eastern Bengal.

BY

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A.

In my paper on "*An Accumulation Droll and Rhyme from Bihār with Remarks on Accumulation Drolls*," which has been published in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXX, Part III, No. 2, for 1901, pp. 99-104, I classified the Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales of "*The Old Woman and Pig Type*," under two groups or varieties and fixed the story-radical of the first group or variety as follows :—

(1) The hero asks assistance from a human being, an animal or an object ; but he or it *refuses positively* to aid him.

(2) He, then, appeals successively to other human beings, animals or objects to punish the preceding human being, animal or object; but every one of them *refuses* to do so.

(3) Finally, some animal or object *consents* to punish the preceding animal or object, and, *by so consenting*, sets the whole train in motion, that is to say, causes each of the preceding human beings, animals or objects to give the required aid to the hero.

[1] The text, in Devanāgrī script, of this Hindi Cumulative Folk-tale has been published by me at pp 228-232 of *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VI.

Under the first group, I classified nine Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales of the foregoing variety which were known to folklorists up till then (1901).

As an additional specimen of this variety, I published, in that paper, a new Cumulative Folk-tale which I had collected in Bihār and which may be named "*The Story of the Parrot and the Chick-pea.*"

The leading incidents of this Bihāri Accumulation Droll may be briefly stated as follows :—

(1) A parrot put a chick-pea into a hand-mill for getting it split up. One-half of the pea came out of the mill. But the other half stuck to the wooden pivot thereof.

(2) Thereupon the parrot asked the wooden pivot to give him back the pea. But it refused to do so.

(3) Thereupon the parrot asked a carpenter to split open the pivot. But he refused to do so.

(4) Thereupon the parrot went to the king and requested him to punish the carpenter. But he refused to do so.

(5) Thereupon the parrot went to the queen and requested her to persuade the king to punish the carpenter. But she refused to do so.

(6) Thereupon the parrot went to a snake and asked it to bite the queen to death. But it refused to do so.

(7) Thereupon the parrot went to a stick and asked it to kill the snake. But it refused to do so.

(8) Thereupon the parrot went to the fire and asked it to burn up the stick. But it refused to do so.

(9) Thereupon the parrot went to a river and asked it to quench the fire. But it refused to do so.

(10) Thereupon the parrot went to the sea and asked it to dry up the river. *The sea agreed to do so.*

(11) Thereupon every one of the preceding objects, animal and human beings *agreed to render to the parrot*

the asked-for aid whereby the latter got back the other half of the chick-pea.

To the aforementioned 10 specimens of the Accumulation Drolls of the first variety, I would add the undermentioned Cumulative Folk-tale from Eastern Bengal, which I have recently come across and of which the English translation (given below) is being published for the first time. The Bengali version of this interesting folk-tale is to be found in a Bengali book of nursery-stories from Eastern Bengal, which has been printed in Calcutta under the title of *Ṭuntunir Bai* or "*The Book of the Ṭuntuni Bird*" (pages 4-10).[1] This folk-tale is as follows:—

THE STORY OF THE ṬUNṬUNI BIRD AND THE BARBER.

(1) A *ṭuntuni* bird [or the Indian Tailor-bird (*Orthotomus sutorius*)] had gone to dance upon the leaves of a brinjal or egg-fruit plant. While dancing thereupon, a thorn of this plant stuck into his body. The wound caused by the pricking of the thorn developed into a big boil.

(2) Thereupon the bird went to a barber and requested him to open up his boil.

But the barber refused to do it, saying: "I am the Rājā's barber. Therefore I shall not open up your boil."

(3) Thereupon the bird went to the Rājā and complained to him of his barber's refusal to open up his boil, and requested him to punish his barber.

Hearing the bird's complaint against his barber, the Rājā burst out into a loud guffaw and, thinking the complaint to be a frivolous one, did not punish the barber.

(4) Getting very much angry at the Rājā's refusal to punish his barber, the bird went to a rat and said: "O brother rat! O brother rat! are you at home?"

[1] By Śrī Upendra Kiśora Rāyachaudhurī.

The rat replied: "Who are you? Are you brother *ṭunṭuni*? O brother! come. O brother! sit down. Let me bring out a bedstead for you to sit upon, and serve you with a dishful of cooked rice to eat. O brother! will you eat it?"

The bird rejoined: "I shall partake of your rice, if you will only do one thing for me."

The rat enquired: "What sort of job is it?"

The bird replied: "When the Rājā will remain fast asleep, you should go and gnaw a hole in his fat round belly."

Hearing of this almost sacrilegious request, the rat bit his own tongue, touched his own ears with the hands, and replied, saying that he would not be able to do such a nasty job.

(5) Getting very much angry at the rat's refusal to gnaw a hole in the Rājā's fat round belly, the bird went to a cat and said: "O brother cat! O brother cat! are you at home?"

The cat welcomed the bird in the same way as the rat had done, and offered him a bedstead to sit upon, and a dishful of cooked rice to eat.

The bird replied: "I shall partake of your rice, if you only kill the rat."

The cat refused to comply with his request, saying that he was feeling too sleepy to be able to do it.

(6) Getting very much angry at the cat's refusal to kill the rat, the bird went to a *lāṭhi* (or club) and said: "O brother *lāṭhi*! O brother *lāṭhi*! are you at home?"

The *lāṭhi* welcomed the bird in the same way as the cat had done, and offered him a bedstead to sit upon, and a dishful of cooked rice to eat.

The bird replied: "I shall partake of your rice, if you will only give the cat a good drubbing."

The *lāṭhi* refused to comply with his request, saying that the cat had not done him any wrong for which he deserved such a castigation at his hands.

(7) Getting very much angry at the *lāṭhi's* refusal to give the cat a good drubbing, the bird went to the fire and said :

" O brother fire ! O brother fire ! are you at home ? "

The fire welcomed the bird in the same way as the *lāṭhi* had done, and offered him a bedstead to sit upon, and a dishful of cooked rice to eat.

The bird replied : " I shall partake of your rice, if you will only burn the *lāṭhi*."

The fire refused to comply with his request, saying : "I have burnt up so many things to-day that I am unable to burn up any more just now."

(8) Getting very much angry at the fire's refusal to burn up the *lāṭhi* (or club), the bird went to the sea and said :

" O brother sea ! O brother sea ! are you at home ? "

The sea welcomed him in the same way as the fire had done, and offered him a bedstead to sit upon, and a dishful of cooked rice to eat.

The bird replied : " I shall partake of your rice, if you will only extinguish the fire."

But the sea refused to comply with his request.

(9) Getting very much angry at the sea's refusal to extinguish the fire, the bird went to an elephant and said : "O brother elephant! O brother elephant! are you at home?"

The elephant welcomed him in the same way as the sea had done, and offered him a bedstead to sit upon, and a dishful of cooked rice to eat.

The bird replied : " I shall partake of your rice, if you will only drink up the water of the sea."

The elephant rejoined : " I shan't be able to drink up so much water as is contained in the sea ; for, if I do so, my belly will burst."

(10) Getting very much angry at the elephant's refusal to drink up the water of the sea, the bird went to a mosquito and said: "O brother mosquito! O brother mosquito! are you at home?"

The mosquito welcomed the *ṭuṇṭuni* bird in the same way as the elephant had done, and offered him a bedstead to sit upon, and a dishful of cooked rice to eat.

The bird replied: "I shall partake of your rice, if you will only sting the elephant."

Thereupon the mosquito very gladly agreed to perform this job and, summoning all the mosquitoes in the land to his assistance, went in a dense swarm to sting the elephant.

(11) Hearing the blood-curdling buzzing of this enormous swarm of mosquitoes, the elephant got frightened and agreed to drink up the water of the sea.

Thereupon the sea agreed to extinguish the fire.

Thereupon the fire agreed to burn up the *lāṭhi*.

Thereupon the *lāṭhi* agreed to give the cat a good drubbing.

Thereupon the cat agreed to kill the rat.

Thereupon the rat agreed to gnaw a hole in the Rājā's fat round belly.

Thereupon the Rājā agreed to punish the barber.

Thereupon the barber opened up the bird *Ṭuṇṭuni's* boil.

Thereupon the bird *Ṭuṇṭuni's* boil healed up.

Thereupon the bird *Ṭuṇṭuni* [or the Indian Tailor-bird (*Orthotomus sutorius*)] became very glad and went to dance and sing as before.

*

Remarks.

On comparing the two foregoing Accumulation Drolls from Bihār and Eastern Bengal, we find that the following incidents occur in both of them :—

No. of incident in the Bihāri tale.	No. of the corresponding incident in the tale from Eastern Bengal.
4 (Appeal to the king)	3 (Appeal to the Rājā).
7 (Appeal to the stick)	6 (Appeal to the *lāṭhi* or club).
8 (Appeal to the fire)	7 (Appeal to the fire).
9 (Appeal to the river)	8 (Appeal to the sea).

The foregoing statement shows that 4 out of 11 incidents in the Bihāri Cumulative Folk-tale are identical with 4 out of 11 incidents in the Accumulation Droll from Eastern Bengal.

This similarity of one-third of the incidents of both the folk-tales gives rise to a presumption that, in the remote past, either the people of Bihār borrowed the tale from the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal, or *vice versâ*.

But, from what I shall presently say, it would appear that this presumption is quite untenable.

From a comparison of the various Cumulative Folk-tales of the aforementioned first group or variety, we find that some of the incidents thereof, namely, the appeals to the stick, fire and water occur in some of them. In the version from the Hebrew *Talmud*, the stick beats the dog, the fire burns up the stick, and the water extinguishes the fire. The same incidents also occur in the Accumulation Droll of "*The Old Woman and the Crooked Sixpence*," and in the Sicilian variant entitled: "*Pitidda and Her Mother*." But there is no evidence to show

that the people of England and Sicily ever came into close contact with the people of Bihār and Eastern Bengal and borrowed the tales from the latter.

For these reasons, we are of opinion that the aforementioned Accumulation Drolls were independently evolved; for similar conditions of mind, feeling the same sort of necessity, evolve similar practices and customs and similar kinds of tales and stories quite independently of the identity of race, or of the desire to borrow other people's practices and ideas.

The foregoing folk-tale of "*The Ṭunṭuni Bird and the Barber*" affords us an interesting glimpse of the village-community of rural Bengal in the olden times. Now, we find from it that, among the members of the village-community, the barber was an important personage. He not only carried on the profession of shaving his co-villagers, but also acted as the village-surgeon by opening up and otherwise treating boils and abscesses. It is just possible that, in villages situated in the remotest interior of the countryside in Bengal, this personage plays the *rôle* of the village-surgeon even at the present day, just as his Bihāri *confrere*—the *Jarrhā* or the native surgeon—does in the villages of Bihār even up to the present time. All this will be evident from the fact that, when the *ṭunṭuni* bird was pricked by a thorn of the brinjal plant and the prick developed into a big boil, he went to a barber to have it opened up by him. It is also borne out by the evidence deducible from another well-known Bengali nursery-story which has been published and discussed by me elsewhere.[1] It is narrated in this folk-tale that a jackal went to eat brinjals or egg-fruits in a field cultivated with that luscious

[1] *Vide* my article "*On Coincidences between Some Bengali Nursery Stories and South Indian Folk-tales*" in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, Part III, No. 2, for 1898, pp. 87-92.

vegetable. While eating these fruits, a thorn thereof entered into his nose and pained him very much. Thereupon he went to the barber to have the thorn extracted by him.

Since writing the foregoing remarks about the function discharged by the barber as a village-surgeon in Bengal and Bihār, I have come across the following passage in Baines's *Ethnography* which has been written on the basis of the results of the Census (carried on during 1901) of India :—

"The *Nāī*, *Nāpit*, *Ambaṭṭan*, *Maṅgala*, or *Hajām*, moreover, *is usually the only person, in an average village, with any knowledge of surgery*, though other castes can come to the rescue of a person afflicted by such ailments as are known to yield to charms or spells. It is this practice of surgery, it is to be feared, which relegates the barber to a social position much below the esteem he enjoys as an individual."[1]

From the foregoing description of the 'Barber Caste' as it existed throughout India during 1901, *we find that this member of the village-community discharges the function of a village-surgeon throughout the length and breadth of this land, most likely even up to the present day.*

[1] *Ethnography.* By Sir Athelstane Baines. Strassburg : Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner. 1912. Page 66.

On a Musalmāni Legend about the Sylvan Saint Bana-Bibī and the Tiger-deity Dakshiṇa Rāya.

BY

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A.

In my paper "*On Some Curious Cults of Southern and Western Bengal*" which has been published elsewhere,[1] I have published a folk-song[2] which is sung by the *faqirs* of the Sundarban who accompany parties of wood-cutters going into that forest for cutting fuel. This song is, most likely, sung by them in order to scare away wild beasts. In this folk-song, two female deities, namely, (1) the "Mother-goddess" (मा) and (2) the "Dame of the Forest" (बनो-बिबि) are mentioned.

I stated, in that paper, that the aforementioned two epithets had been used in that folk-song with reference to some "Sylvan Goddess" who presided over the gloomy and impenetrable jungles of the Sundarban and whose function was to protect the wood-cutters and the *Bāoyālis* or traders in fuel from the depredations of tigers and other wild beasts. I further stated therein that this deity must be an incarnation of the terrible goddess Kālī.

I shall show, in this paper, that the aforementioned "Dame of the Forest" (बनो-बिबि) is not a goddess of the Hindu Pantheon, but is a female saint of the Musalmāns of Lower Bengal, and that the aforementioned two epithets refer to her alone.

[1] *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, pp. 438-454.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 440-441.

Now, Bano-Bibi (बनो-बिबि) or Bona-Bibī (बोनबिबी) or, correctly speaking, Bana-Bibī (बनबिबी) is a female saint who is revered and prayed to by the lower orders of Musalmāns living in the Twenty-four Parganas and, very likely, in other parts of Lower Bengal. Her devotees erect *dargās* or small mounds of earth in her honour and sacrifice fowls thereupon in fulfilment of vows made by them. They also set free fowls in honour of this saint. These fowls are known as "*Bana Bibī's fowls*" (बनबिबीर मुरगी). It is just possible that, like other Mahomedan saints such as Pīr Gorāchānd (पीर गोराचांद), Mānik Pīr (मानिक पीर) and Olā Bibī (ओला बिबी),[1] this female saint is also revered and worshipped by the Bengali Hindus of the Twenty-four Parganas and, possibly, of other parts of Lower Bengal.[2]

It would further appear from the legend, which forms the subject-matter of this paper and is published below, that this female saint Bana Bibī also "keeps watch and ward over the forest at the command of Āllaāh," that she is "the mother (or protectress) of destitute persons and lives in the forest, and also relieves the sorrows and miseries of all those who invoke her assistance by calling her as their mother," and that she is "the mother of all creatures living within the 18 divisions of Lower Bengal."

This legend is widely current among the Musalmāns of the Twenty-four Parganas. It is possible that it is also prevalent among the Mahomedans living in the other districts of Lower Bengal, as would appear from the fact that a proverb (येन धना चाचा) or "Like unto uncle Dhonā or Dhonāi," in which a cruel uncle is likened to uncle Dhonāi—the hero of this legend, is widely current in other parts of this province.

[1] Olā Bibī (or "the Lady of the Flux") is believed by the Bengali Hindus to preside over cholera.

[2] For the information contained in this para. I am indebted to Mr. Mahammad Sahidullah, M.A., Lecturer in Bengali, Dacca University.

A metrical version, in Musalmāni Bengali, of this legend has been composed by Munshī Bayanaddīn Sāheb, under the title of "*Bono Bibī Zahurānāmā.*" It was written by him at Sivādaha (? Sealdah) on the 12th Bhādra 1284 B.S. It may also be the date when it was first printed. A revised edition of this brochure was printed in Calcutta in 1327 B.S.[1] It is from this revised edition that the abstract of this legend, which is published below, has been made :—

A boatman named Dhonāi lived in a town called Kāliṅgā. He made preparations for undertaking an expedition to the forest for the purpose of collecting honey and wax,[2] and desired to take with him, as his companion, a young nephew named Dukhe who lived with his widowed mother.

With this object in view, Dhonāi went to Dukhe's house and broached to him the subject that was uppermost in his mind. Thereupon Dukhe enquired : "O uncle Dhonā ! where will you go to ?" The latter replied : "O Dukhe ! I have made up my mind to go on an expedition to the forest for gathering honey and wax. I want to take you with me as my companion. I have, therefore, come to you to obtain your assent to my proposal. You will have only to sit in the boat, beat a kettle-drum, and thus to spend your time happily."

Dukhe rejoined : "I shall always stay in the boat, but shall never go into the forest."

Dukhe's mother, who was present while the foregoing conversation was proceeding, said to Dhonāi : "Dukhe is a widow's only son. He is the sole hope and stay of my life. How shall I send him away with you?"

[1] Printed and published by Āfāzaddin Āhāmmad from No. 337-2, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

[2] The words used in the printed version of this legend are মহল কারনে. The word মহল (*mahal*) means 'the place where honey and wax are found.'

Hearing these words, Dhonāi gave Rs. 2 to Dukhe's mother and, addressing her, said : " Don't be anxious."

Thereafter Dhonāi and Dukhe went away.

Seeing both of them go away, Dukhe's mother cried out, saying :—

" १————कोथा रैले वोनविवी माय ।
२ अभागिर पुत्र दुखे मह्लेते जाय ॥
३ काङ्गालेर माता तुमि विपदनाशिनी ।
४ आमार दुखेरे मागो तरावे आपनि ॥
५ तोमार कदमे माता सुपिनु उह्मारे ।
६ रने वने वोनविवी तरावे वाछारे ॥ "

Translation.

1 and 2. " O mother Bona Bibî ! where art thou ? Dukhe, who is the (only) son of an unfortunate woman (like myself), is going on an expedition for gathering honey and wax.

3 and 4. Thou art the mother of the destitute (and) the expeller (*lit.*, destroyer) of (all) dangers. Thou shouldst protect my (son) Dukhe (from all dangers).

5 and 6. O mother ! I have delivered him to thy care (*lit.*, placed him at thy feet). O Bona Bibî ! (thou) shouldst protect (my) son (from all dangers) wherever he may be (*lit.*, whether he be in the battle or in the forest)."

Having reached home, Dhonāi got ready seven boats and filled them with provisions sufficient to last the whole period of the expedition. Then, accompanied by Dukhe and the boats' crew, he set sail from Kāliṅgā (or Kaliṅgā), *after invoking the aid of Rāya Mani.*

Having rowed past various places, Dhonāi and his party arrived at a place called Natākhāli where they spent the whole night in singing and dancing to the accompaniment of Dukhe's playing on the kettle-drum.

When the day dawned, Dhonāi told his servants and retainers : " Let us go into the forest in search of honey and wax." At the same time, he ordered Dukhe to stay in the boat and play on the kettle-drum while he and his men were away in the forest. Then, devoutly invoking the aid of (the godling) Dakshiṇera Rāya (or Dakshiṇa Rāya or Rāya Mani), he and his retainers landed from the boats and went inside the forest for the purpose of gathering honey.

Dhonāi and his men wandered through the forest all the day long in search of honey, but could not find a single honeycomb, as the godling Rāya Mani had become displeased with him and miraculously concealed all the honeycombs in the forest. After this wild-goose chase, they got depressed in spirit and returned to their boats in the evening.

Dhonāi lay down in the boat without taking any food and drink and began to complain of his hard lot. He regretted all the expense of money that had been uselessly thrown away, and said to himself: " Why has the godling Dakshiṇera Rāya (or Dakshiṇā Rāya) become displeased with me ? "

While Dhonāi lay asleep in this disturbed state of mind, he dreamt a dream, in the small hours of the morning, wherein he saw that the godling Rāya Mani had come to him and was sitting near his head. In this vision, he heard that the deity was enquiring of him as to whither he would go with his boats. He replied to the godling as follows :—

१ "————राय मनि निवेदि चरने ।
२ डिङ्गा लये आसियाछि महल कारने ॥
३ धुप धुना आयोजने पुजा वलि लओ ।
४ सात डिंगा पुरा मोके मोम मधु दाओ ॥

५ तोमा भावि आसियाछि लइया तरणि ।
६ तोमार चरण विना अन्य नाहि जानि ॥
७ मोम मधु दिया मोर राखह वचन ।
८ नतुवा तोमार आगे तेजिव जीवन ॥"

Translation.

1 and 2. "O (deity) Rāya Mani (or Dakshiṇa Rāya)! (I) submit (the following words) for your kind consideration [*lit.*, at (your) feet]. I have come with the boats for gatherng honey and wax.

3 and 4. Accept (my) worship (and) offerings (*lit.*, sacrifices) of incense. Give me seven boatloads of wax and honey.

5 and 6. Having invoked your aid (*lit.*, having thought of you), I have come with the boats. I know of no other (patron-deity) except yourself (*lit.*, your feet).

7 and 8. Grant (my) prayers [*lit.*, keep (my) words] by giving (me) wax and honey. Otherwise (I) shall die [*lit.*, give up (my) life] before you."

Hearing these words, Rāya Mani felt compassion for Dhonāi and said: "I do not want any other offering except the sacrifice of the widow's son Dukhe. If you offer him to me, I shall give you a whole marketful of honey [1] which I have kept reserved for you in the forest of Madhukhāli. After offering Dukhe to me, you may lade your seven boats with wax and honey and go away."

In reply, Dhonāi said: "How can I offer you Dukhe as he is the only son of a widowed mother? I shall propitiate you with the offering of sheep and buffaloes. (Do be good enough to) grant Dukhe, who is the treasure of a destitute widow, as alms-offering to me."

[1] The words used in the printed version of this legend are हाट मधु बसायेछि ।

By way of rejoinder, the godling Rāya Mani (or Dakshiṇa Rāya) said:

१ "रायमनि मकाम करिल सेइ वने।
२ पुजिल रायेर पद नाना आयोजने॥
३ चिनि फेनि मलाम सन्देस कत आर।
४ धुप दिया गन्ध पुजा नाना उपहार॥
५ सनिवारे रायेर पुजा दिल धना नाइया।
६ एक खानि चाक शेषे लइल काटिया॥
७ मने मने वले दुखे दिलाम तोमारे।
८ सात लाय मोम मधु लइ भरा पुरे॥"

Translation.

1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. "(As) Rāya Mani (or Dakshiṇā Rāya) took up (his) residence in that forest, (Dhonāi) worshipped him (*lit.*, Rāya's feet) with various offerings, (namely), sugar, large sugar-wafers, soft sweetmeats (called *sandeśa*), various other kinds (of sweetstuffs), incense and perfumes. (In this way), the boatman Dhonāi worshipped (the godling) Rāya Mani (or Dakshiṇa Rāya) on a Saturday.

6, 7 and 8. (After the pūjā had been finished), Dhonāi gathered one honeycomb and said to himself (*lit.*, within his mind): "I am offering Dukhe to you. (Now, be good enough to grant me permission to) lade my seven boats with wax and honey to overflowing."

In response to Dhonāi's prayer, the godling Dakshiṇā Rāya, by means of a voice from the sky, permitted him to gather wax and honey from the forest. Having received this permission, he, accompanied by his men, went into the forest to collect wax and honey; while Dukhe stayed back in the boat and played on a kettle-drum.

By the grace of Dakshiṇa Rāya, Dhonāi gathered seven boatloads of wax and honey and, then, set sail for Kedokhāli

(or Kendokhāli). Having arrived there, he moored his boats on a sandbank, and spent the night in sound sleep.

The next morning, Dhonāi ordered Dukhe to go into the forest for the purpose of cutting and bringing fuel. But the latter refused to carry out the former's order, saying that one of the boatmen should be sent for the purpose. Thereupon Dhonāi got angry and, with the assistance of his men, threw Dhukhe overboard. Thereafter he set sail with his boats homewards and arrived near his native village.

As soon as Dukhe had been thrown from the boat on to the sandbank, Dakshiṇa Rāya (or Nārāyani), assuming the form of a gigantic tiger, whose mouth extended from the sky to the nether regions, whose teeth were as big as the rice-husking pedal and were gnashing with fury, whose breath was blowing through his nostrils like a violent tempest, whose eyes were brighter than the sun and the moon and were emitting flames of fire like so many lightning-flashes, appeared before him. Seeing this terrible beast, he began to quake with fear in all his limbs, and, thinking that his last moments had arrived, wept bitterly and cried out: "O mother Bana Bibī! come, come and save me from death at the hands of the tiger-shaped Dakshiṇa Rāya. You promised to me before that you would do this for me." Saying this, he became unconscious and fell down upon the ground.

Hearing Dukhe's piteous cries for help, the Sylvan Saint Bona Bibī (Bana Bibī) appeared before him and, finding him lying insensible on the ground, —

१ "एकम आजम पड़िया माता गायेते फुकिल।
२ सामलिया दुखे जखन उठिये वसिल॥"

or

1 and 2. "Pronounced the Powerful Name (of the Almighty) (and) breathed upon his (Dukhe's) body, which

having been done, he (Dukhe) recovered his consciousness, rose up and sat (upon the ground)."

Thereafter, the female saint, who was the "mother of the 18 divisions" (भाटिर जननी), took him up on to her lap, and, seating herself on the sandbank at Kedokhāli, said to him: "O my dearest child! do not fear anybody. Nobody within the 18 divisions, over which I have jurisdiction, will dare kill you." Saying this, she summoned her brother Jaṅgali to come to her.

Hearing her summons, Jaṅgali, who lived within the 18 divisions over which she had jurisdiction, armed himself with a club and arrived at a place where his sister Bana Bibī was seated with Dukhe on her lap. Addressing her brother, she said: "O brother! why are you staring at me? This tiger has come to kill and eat Dukhe. Do be good enough to expel this beast."

Hearing her command, Jaṅgali, who was the son of Ibrāhim, took up the club in his hands and dealt the tiger-shaped godling Dakshiṇa Rāya several blows on the latter's head which split it open into two pieces. Getting frightened at this savage attack and fearing that he would lose his life at Jaṅgali's hands, he turned tail and fled as fast as his legs could carry him. His assailant also gave him chase and ran after him till both of them arrived at Kumārkhāli.

१ "डरेते अस्थिर राय कापिते लागिल।
२ गाजि जेन्दार हुजुरेते हाजेर हइल॥
३ वसे आछिन वड़खागाजि कालु दस्त जोड़ा।
४ क्षामनेते सात वाघ रहियाछे खाड़ा॥
५ हिङ्गुल वरन तनु सोनार सामियाना।
६ नुरेर पुतुल मत सरिर काचा सोना॥
७ साहा सेकन्दर व दमा आल्ला जारि राजि।
८ ताहार वेटा चान्देर कुटा साहा वड़खा गाजि॥

৯ दुनिया वेड़िया ताम्बू दिल जेइ जन ।
१० मानिक परेस आदि वेशुमार धन ॥
११ वसियाछे गाजि जेन्दा रूपेर मुरारि ।
१२ चौदा हाजार वाघ आछे जाहार प्रहरि ॥
१३ मउर मृणाले कालु वाय करे गाय ।
१४ हेनकाले उपनित दक्षिणेर राय ॥ ”

Translation.

1 and 2. Being very much frightened, Dakshiṇa Rāya began to quake in all his limbs, and made his appearance before Zendā Ghāzi.

3. Baḍakhā Ghāzi Kālu, with the palms of his hands joined together, was (also) seated (there).

4. In front of him were standing seven tigers.

5, 6, 7 and 8. Shāh Baḍakhā Zendā Ghāzi is the son of Shāh Sekandar Bādshāh who is a favourite of God. (Zendā Ghāzi) was seated beneath a golden canopy. The complexion of his body was like the colour of vermilion or unalloyed gold. (He was) like an image made of light (and emitted an effulgence like) the moon's rays.

9, 10, 11 and 12. Zendā Ghāzi, who gave a tent which extended over the whole universe and who gave countless treasure consisting of diamonds and various other gems, was seated (there) like an image (*lit.*, Murāri or Krishṇa) of beauty. *He had fourteen thousand tigers as his guards.*

13 and 14. (While) Kālu was fanning him (*i.e.* Zendā Ghāzi) with a fan made of peacock's feathers and lotus (-leaves), Dakshiṇa Rāya appeared before him.

After arriving there, Dakshiṇa Rāya fell down senseless at Zendā Ghāzi's feet. Seeing the wounds on his person, the Ghāzi uttered the Powerful Name of the Almighty and lightly rubbed his body with the palms

of his hands,[1] whereupon the tiger-shaped deity's wounds healed up at the command of God, and his head became flat and extended like a piece of plank.

Thereafter the Ghāzi enquired of Dakshiṇa Rāya about the person who had insulted and injured him thus. On this, the godling informed the former of the circumstances under which the boatman Dhonāi had offered his nephew Dukhe as sacrifice to him and, as reward therefor, had obtained seven boatloads of wax and honey; how, assuming the form of a tiger, he had gone to eat Dukhe; how, hearing the would-be victim's piteous cries for help, the Sylvan Saint Bana Bibī had come and rescued him from his clutches; and how, at the Saint's command, her brother Jaṅgali had broken his head and chased him thither with a view to kill him.

The godling further told the Ghāzi: "I fear that Jaṅgali would kill me. I have, therefore, come to you for protection. Do be good enough to save me from death at Jaṅgali's hands." The Ghāzi replied: "O Dakshiṇa Rāya! Do not fear. I shall certainly save you from death at Jaṅgali's hands." Hearing these words, Rāya Mani became comforted in mind.

At this time, Bana Bibi's brother Jaṅgali arrived there. Zendā Ghāzi enquired of him as to why he had come thither. The former replied that he had been sent thither by his sister Bana Bibī to arrest Dakshiṇa Rāya and take him to her.

At first, the godling refused to accompany Jaṅgali to Bana Bibī's place of residence. But the messenger said that, in case of non-compliance with her order, the deity would be visited with more condign punishment.

[1] The words used in the printed version of this legend are .—

১ "পঞ্চহস্ত বুলাইল একম পড়িয়া।
২ ঝারি ঘাখী ভাল হৈল হুকুমি আল্লার॥"

Hearing this threat, Dakshiṇa Rāya consented to go to Bana Bibī on condition that the Ghāzi should accompany him thither. Zendā Ghāzi having agreed to do so, all the three set out for the place where the female Saint was staying with Dukhe. When they arrived before Bana Bibī, Dakshiṇa Rāya made salaam to her.

Then, addressing Bana Bibī, Zendā Ghāzi said :—

१ "———शुन नेक माइ ।
२ तोमार हुजुरे मागो एइ भिक्षा चाइ ॥
३ दक्षिण रायेर परे कोप कर दुर ।
४ एखातेरे आइलाम तोमार हुजुर ॥"

or

1, 2, 3, 4. "O benevolent mother ! hear (what I say). O mother ! I crave this boon from your honoured self. Do away with your anger against Dakshiṇa Rāya. It is for this purpose that I have come to your honoured self."

Hearing these words, Bana Bibī felt compassion for Dakshiṇa Rāya, and said :—

१ "आठार भाटिर मध्ये आमि सवार मा ।
२ मा वले जे डाके तार दुख थाकेना ॥
३ सङ्कटे पड़िया जेवा मा वले डाकिवे ।
४ कदाचित हिंसा ताय कभु ना करिवे ॥"

or

1, 2, 3, 4. "I am the mother of all (who live) in the 18 divisions (of Lower Bengal). Whoever invokes me as (his) mother, (all) his sorrows (and) miseries are

removed. Do not, under any circumstances, show any ill-feeling whatever to whomsoever, having fallen into a difficulty, will call (me) as (his) mother."

Hearing these words, Dākshiṇa Rāya replied :—

१ "————शुन माता आरज आमार ।
२ सत्य सत्य तिन सत्य सत्य अङ्गिकार ॥
३ वनेते आसिया जेवा मा वले डाकिवे ।
४ आमा हैते हिंसा तार कदाच ना हवे ॥"

or

1, 2, 3 and 4. "O mother ! hear what I am saying. (I) am solemnly vowing thrice (before you) that whoever will come to the forest (and) invoke (you) as (his) mother, no harm whatever will be done to him by me."

Having made this solemn promise *which satisfied Bana Bibī*, Dakshiṇa Rāya and Zendā Ghāzi departed from her presence.

[With the remaining portion of the legend, I am not concerned.]

In the foregoing legend, we find the mention of the undermentioned Mahomedan saints and Hindu godling :—

(1) The Musalmāni female saint Bana Bibī ;

(2) the Musalmāni saints Baḍakhā Zendā Ghāzi and Baḍakhā Kālu Ghāzi ; and (3) the Hindu tiger-deity or godling Dakshiṇa Rāya or Rāya Mani.

(1) As regards the female Sylvan Saint Bana Bibī, I have already stated before what is known to me about her. But, in the present state of my knowledge, it is impossible to say whether she was a pious Mahomedan lady who, by reason of her piety and devotion to Islam, has been canonized by being raised to the hierarchy of Mahomedan saints. Further researches will have to be

made in this direction before any definite conclusion can be arrived at.

In this connection, I may state that, in many other parts of Northern India, "Sylvan Goddesses," similar to the Musalmāni female saint Bana Bibī, are believed to preside over the forests and jungles. Among these may be mentioned the Hindu Diana—Champāvatī—and the Banaspati Mā—"the Mistress of the Wood." It is believed that these goddesses protect the herdsmen and the huntsmen who carry on their respective avocations within the gloomy recesses of their sylvan domains.[1]

Further researches made by me, since the foregoing remarks were written, have shown that Dakshiṇa Rāya was the relative and commander-in-chief of Mukuṭa Rāya, Rājā of Brāhmaṇnagara in the district of Jessore, and was, therefore, entrusted by the latter with the administration of the southern portion of his kingdom. For this reason, the former was otherwise called the *Bhāṭīśvara* or "the Lord of the 18 *Bhāṭis*."

Dakshiṇa Rāya is believed to have been a very powerful man and is reported to have slain many tigers and crocodiles by means of his bow and arrows, and of other weapons. It is further stated that, on some occasions, he carried on a hand-to-hand struggle with tigers and killed the latter. It is for this reason that he is worshipped to the present day as a godling who can grant his votaries immunity from the ravages of the tigers of the Sundarban.

Some scholars are of opinion that the foregoing Musalmāni legend describes, under the garb of an allegory, the wars of Bana Bibī with Dakshiṇa Rāya, "the Lord of the 18 *Bhāṭis*." It is stated that this lady Bana Bibī was the daughter of one Ibrāhim, resident

[1] *Vide* my article entitled: "*The Worship of the Sylvan Goddess*" in *The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) for March 1917, pp. 185-186.

of Mecca, and that she, with her brother Shāh Jaṅgali, came to live in the *Bhāṭideśa*, for the purpose of protecting the peasantry from the oppressions committed upon them by the "*Bhāṭīśvara*" Dakshiṇa Rāya. It is further stated that the latter was ultimately defeated in these wars and was obliged to acknowledge himself as a vassal of Bana Bibī.[1]

(2) In the account of Zendā Ghāzi, as given in the foregoing legend, he is stated to be the son of Shāh Sekandar Bādshāh. But it is impossible to say who this Sekandar Bādshāh or Emperor Sekandar was.

No relationship between Zendā Ghāzi and Kālu Ghāzi is mentioned in the preceding legend. But, from what I shall presently say, it would appear that Kālu Ghāzi is Zendā Ghāzi's brother.

Zendā Ghāzi or Zindāh Ghāzi is otherwise known as Ghāzi Sāheb. In the foregoing legend, he is stated to have 14,000 tigers as his guards. He is described therein as being a person of vermilion complexion and as seated under a golden canopy. His brother Kālu is described as fanning him with a fan made of peacock's feathers and lotus-leaves. The Hindu tiger-deity or godling Dakshiṇa Rāya appears to be one of his subordinate officers, as would appear from the fact that he sought Zendā or Zindāh Ghāzi's protection when he was assaulted and pursued by Bana Bibī's brother Jaṅgali.

I shall now try to find out whether any other account of this Mahomedan saint is contained in the published literature on the Ethnography of Bengal. I find that, in paragraph 524 of Mr. (afterwards, Sir Edward) Gait's report on the Bengal Census of 1901,

[1] For a fuller account of these further researches, see my article on "*The Cult of Dakshiṇa Rāya in Southern Bengal*" in *The Hindustan Review* (Calcutta) for January 1923, pp. 167-171.

the following further information is given about Zendā or Zindāh Ghāzi:—

"*Zindāh Ghāzi, from Zindik-i-Ghāzi, 'Conqueror of Infidels,' rides on a tiger in the Sunderban, and is the patron-saint of wood-cutters, whom he is supposed to protect from tigers and crocodiles.* He is sometimes identified with Ghāzi Miān and sometimes with Ghāzi Mādār. One Muhammadan gentleman tells me he is Badiruddin Shāh Mādār, who died in A. H. 840 fighting against the infidels. Songs are sung in his honour and offerings are made after a safe return from a journey. Hindu women often make vows to have songs sung to him if their children reach a certain age. His shrine is believed to be on a mountain called Madaria in the Himalayas."

Then again, it is said that Ghāzi Sāheb (who is identified with Zendā or Zindāh Ghāzi) and his brother Kālu are Musalmān *pīrs* or saints who exercised absolute power over all living things, and possessed the ability to encompass whatever they desired, and that *they could command tigers to come to them or to go away. It is further alleged that they used to ride on the backs of tigers and rove about in the jungles. Hence tigers are called "Ghāzi's horses."*

In an incantation which is recited by the *faqirs* of the Sundarban in order to exorcise away wild beasts, occur the two undermentioned prayers to Ghāzi Sāheb (or Zendā Ghāzi) and Kālu:—

(I) "Ghāzi Sāheb.—Thou hast become a *faqir*. As a *faqir*, I fall at thy feet and plead. *Thou hast come to these jungles with 300 tigers. I beg thee to shut the mouths of the tigers.*"

(II) "Kālu —— Thou art brother of Ghāzi, and I salute thee in his name, and ask for thy help. If thou

[1] *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXXII (Part III) for 1903, p. 48.

shouldst injure me after this salutation, thou shalt die and burn in hell.[1]"

These two *pīrs* are so much revered by all the Musalmāns and Hindus living in that part of the country that, whenever any one of them wishes to go inside any jungle, he, first of all, bows down to the earth, and, joining together the palms of his hands before his face, mumbles the words: "In the name of the Ghāzi Sāheb." After performing the little act of adoration, he enters the forest, fully believing that this saint will protect him thoroughly.

(3) Then, we come to the Hindu tiger-deity or godling Dakshiṇā Rāya or Rāya Mani. From the preceding legend, it would appear that he also presides over the forest and has some control over the supply of honey and wax to traders. It would further appear therefrom that traders, who come to the forest to gather honey and wax, propitiate him by worshipping him on a Saturday with offerings of sweets, incense and perfumes. He has tigers as his myrmidons, for, in his threat to the boatman Dhonāi, he says that, if the latter will not offer his nephew Dukhe as sacrifice to him, he would sink his seven boats and *cause him to be eaten by tigers*. He can also assume the shape of a tiger, and his head is stated to be flat and extended like a piece of plank. This Hindu godling appears to be a subordinate officer of the Mahomedan Saint Zendā or Zindāh Ghāzi or Ghāzi Sāheb.

In this connection, I may further state that this godling Dakshiṇa Rāya or Dakshiṇa Ṭhākura is also worshipped in the villages situated on the outskirts of the Sundarban, under the belief that, by doing so, the villagers will obtain immunity from the havoc committed by tigers among human beings and cattle. An illustration of the image of this godling has been published at page 105 of Vol. III

of *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.*

Further researches made by me, since the preceding remarks were written, have led me to the conclusion that the godling Dakshiṇa Rāya is the embodiment or impersonation of that impersonal "power, element and tendency" which is believed by the low-caste Bengalis inhabiting the districts adjoining the Sundarban to rule over tigers and control their movements and activities.[1]

The preceding legend is also interesting by reason of the fact that it discloses to us a curious admixture of the Mahomedan and Hindu cults. It shows to us how a Musalmān (the boatman Dhonāi) worships a Hindu godling (Dakshiṇa Rāya) with Hindu rites and ceremonies, how this Hindu godling, having been punished and maltreated by a Mahomedan female Saint (Bana Bibī), seeks protection under a Mahomedan Saint (Zendā Ghāzi), and ultimately acknowledges his own subordination to her.

From the foregoing legend, we also get glimpses of the Mahomedan method of exorcism by either blowing over the patient's body or by lightly rubbing his body with the exorciser's hands, after uttering the Powerful Name of Āllāh. This will appear from the two undernoted instances thereof which have been mentioned therein. When Dukhe falls down senseless, Bana Bibī utters the Powerful Name of God and restores him to consciousness by blowing over his body. When, after being seriously wounded by Jaṅgali, Dakshiṇa Rāya goes for protection to Zendā Ghāzi, the latter cures him of his wounds by lightly rubbing his body with his hands, after pronouncing the Powerful Name of Āllāh.

[1] *Vide* my article on "*The Cult of Dakshiṇa Rāya in Southern Bengal*" in *The Hindustan Review* (Calcutta) for January 1923, pp. 167-171.

In Hindu exorcism, the *mantra* or the text of the cure-charm also contains invocations to Hindu gods, as will appear from the cure-charm No. III (for exorcising away the venom of a scorpion) which has been published by me at pp. 225-226 of *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*N. S.*), Vol. XI, for 1915. The recital of the *mantra* is accompanied by the exorciser's blowing upon the affected limb.

*

The Art of Writing in Ancient India

BY

ABINASCHANDRA DAS, M.A., PH.D.

Writing relates either to secular or religious matters. The earliest literature of the Aryans is religious, the Rig-Vedic hymns forming the oldest specimens of this literature. Did the Aryans know the art of writing when these hymns were composed? The question is very difficult to answer, as there is no direct evidence to prove its existence in Rig-Vedic times. No inscription on stones or metals, nor any writing on palm-leaves or barks of the birch-tree as old as the Rig-Vedic hymns is available anywhere, the last two materials of writing being perishable. Inscription on stones and metals also was not in vogue in India in very ancient times, and, even if it were, apart from the fact that the process is very cumbrous and tedious, there was a general prejudice against inscribing on stones and metals religious hymns which were considered mystic and sacred, and which the composers thereof felt extremely reluctant to give a wide publicity to. Admitting for the sake of argument that the Rig-Vedic Aryans knew the art of writing, the *Ṛṣis* or Seers who composed the hymns may have first jotted them down on birch-barks or palm-leaves for the sake of their personal convenience, and for committing them to memory which they trusted more for their permanent preservation than either barks or leaves. Hence the utmost care was taken to cultivate the memory in ancient times, and to store therein everything

worth remembering. *Ṛṣis* and men of learning in ancient India were like so many moving libraries, and they could reproduce the entire hymns of the Ten Mandalas of the Rig-Veda without the omission of a single word, or even a syllable. No wonder that they attached very little importance to leaf or bark manuscripts.

But the cultivation of the memory was not a peculiar and unique trait of the ancient Indo-Aryans alone. The ancient Egyptians also assiduously cultivated it, although they had a system of writing in hieroglyphics. The mysteries of their religion could not be divulged to the lay public by the Egyptian priests who stored them in their memory, and handed them to their disciples or descendants from generation to generation. Says Herodotus: "Those Egyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country are of all whom I have seen the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of memory beyond the rest of mankind." If Herodotus had also known the ancient Indo-Aryans, he would doubtless have modified his remarks about the ancient Egyptians.

The *Patesis* or Chaldean priests of yore also were accustomed to transmit their learning orally to their descendants. Writing about them Diodorus says: "They attain not to their Knowledge in the same manner as the Grecians do; for the Chaldeans learn it by Tradition from their Ancestors, the Son from the Father, who are all in the meantime free from all other publick offices and Attendances; and because their Parents are the Tutors, they both learn everything without envy, and rely with more confidence upon the truth of what is taught them; and being trained up in their Learning from their childhood, they become most famous Philosophers."[1] And yet the Chaldeans and the Assyrians had a system of

[1] Booth's *Translation*, 1700.

writing which was inscribed on stones, clay-cylinders and brick-tablets.

Writing was undoubtedly in vogue in ancient India when the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana were composed. Rāma's name was inscribed on the ring that he sent to Sitā through Hanumān, when the latter went to Lankā in search of her[1]; and all the arrows that were discharged from the bows of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bore the inscriptions of their names.[2] And yet Vālmiki took care that his favourite disciples, Kuça and Lava, committed the whole of the epic to memory so that they might recite it freely before large assemblies of learned men to the accompaniment of their lyre.

It would thus appear that the mere fact of an entire poem having been committed to memory does not necessarily and absolutely prove the non-existence of the art of writing. It may have existed in Rig-Vedic times, though it has not been possible to preserve any old manuscripts of the Rig-Vedic hymns on account of the perishable nature of the materials on which they were written. "For this very reason," says Professor Macdonell, "Sanskrit MSS. older than the fourteenth century A. D. are rare. The two ancient materials used in India were strips of birch bark and palm leaves. The employment of the former beginning in the North-West of India, where extensive birch forests clothe the slopes of the Himalaya, gradually spread to Central, Eastern and Western India The oldest known Sanskrit MS. written

[1] *Rámáyana*, Bk. V, 36. 2 :

रामनामाङ्कितं चेदं पश्य दैव्यङ्गुलीयकम् ।

Râma., Bk. V, 21. 25 :

इह शीघ्रं सुपर्व्वाणो ज्वलिताग्रा इवोरगाः ।
इषवो निपतिष्यन्ति रामलक्ष्मणलक्षिताः ॥

Râmánuja explains the last word as तन्नामाङ्काः ।

on birch bark dates from the fifth century A. D., and a Pali MS. in Kharousthi which became known in 1897 is still older, but the use of this material doubtless goes back to far earlier days. Thus we have the statement of Quintus Curtius that the Indians employed it for writing on at the time of Alexander. The testimony of classical Sanskrit authors, as well as of Alberuni, shows that leaves of birch bark (*bhurja pattra*) were also regularly used for letter-writing in early mediæval India." [1]

"The first example of a palm-leaf Sanskrit MS.," says Professor Macdonell, "belongs to the sixth century A. D. It is preserved in Japan, but there is a facsimile of it in the Bodleian Library. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Thsang, the use of the palm leaf was common all over India in the seventh century; but that it was known many centuries earlier is proved by the fact that an inscribed copper-plate, dating from the first century A. D. at the latest, imitates a palm leaf in shape." [2]

From the abundance of birch-barks available in the Himālaya, my surmise is that this material was most probably used for writing in Rig-Vedic times, if, of course, the art of writing existed in those days. The palm tree originally belongs to Southern India which was separated from the Punjab or Sapta Sindhu (as it used to be called) by a sea and a desert in the Pleistocene period when probably some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed.[3] It should further be noted that there is no

[1] Macdonell's *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, p. 18.

[2] Macdonell's *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, p. 18.

[3] Mr. V. B. Ketkar of Poona has proved by astronomical calculations that the Gangetic Sea and the Sea covering a large part of Rājputana lasted down to 7,500 B.C. Hence no migration of any plant of Southern India into the Punjab was possible before this date.

mention of the palm tree in the Rig-Veda. Hence it is extremely probable that the ancient Aryans were not acquainted with it, nor did they use its leaves as material for writing. The only material available was the birch-bark which would, therefore, be used for writing. From the fact that even to this day, any *mantra* intended for a *Kavaca* or amulet has got to be written on birch-bark in red ink, or ink made from saffron or musk, it can be safely inferred that these were in all probability the original materials for writing down the Vedic *mantras* in ancient times. The custom of writing on palm-leaf may have been borrowed in comparatively recent times from Southern India where the leaf is still in extensive use for writing both manuscripts and letters (*pattra*, leaf). As is well known, the characters are scratched in on the leaves with a stilus, and "subsequently blackened by soot or charcoal being rubbed into them."

"The actual use of ink (the oldest name of which is *mashi*)," says Professor Macdonnel, "is proved for the second century B. C. by an inscription from a Buddhist relic mound, and is rendered very probable for the fourth century B. C. by the statement of Nearchos and Quintus Curtius."[1] The word *kalama* (reed-pen) was borrowed from the Greek *kalamos*, the Sanskrit equivalent being *lekhani*. As the birch-bark and palm-leaf MSS. were held together (as they are still done) by a cord drawn through a hole in the middle, they were known by the name of *grantha* (knot), which is used in the sense of "book."

The rock and pillar inscriptions of Açoka are the earliest records of Indian writing; but writing had certainly existed long before the time of Açoka.

[1] Macdonell's *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, p. 19.

It was in vogue at the time of Chandra Gupta and Alexander's invasion of India, as distinctly stated by Quintus Curtius. It is true that Megasthenes speaks about the ignorance of the art of writing among the Hindus. But Mr. Vincent Smith rightly says that this statement is erroneous, as many of the apparent discrepancies in the Greek accounts of India are due to the fact that different authors refer to different parts of the country, and general statements about India are always misleading. According to him, the middle of the seventh century B. C. was "a period of progress, marked by the development of maritime commerce and a diffusion of a knowledge of the art of writing."[1] Like Dr. Bühler, he ventures the opinion that the art of writing was probably introduced by merchants on the south-western coast as early as the eighth century B. C., and that the knowledge of the art seems to have gradually spread to the north where it became generally known in the seventh century B. C. I, however, beg to differ from this view. The merchants in question were undoubtedly the Phœnicians, but, as I have elsewhere proved,[2] they were the descendants of the Paṇis of the Rig-Veda, who had been the merchants *par excellence* in ancient India, and had left Sapta-Sindhu or the Punjab in post-Rig-Vedic times for the Malabar and Coromondal coasts of Southern India whence they emigrated to Mesopotamia and afterwards to Phœnicia on the Syrian coast, founding there a flourishing colony of their own. As merchants, they must have used a script in India, which was probably an abbreviated and practical form of the script then current among the Indo-Aryans, and this script of the Phœnicians afterwards furnished the basis of the Greek alphabet and writing. Dr. Bühler has shown that of the two kinds of

[1] Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (1914).

[2] *Rig-Vedic India*, Vol. I, Chap. XI.

script known in ancient India, the one called *Kharousthi*, which was employed in Gândhâra from the fourth century B.C. to 200 A.D., was borrowed from Aramaic type of Semitic writing in use during the fifth century B.C., and used to be written from right to left like its original; while the other ancient Indian script, called *Brâhmi*, which is written from left to right, is "*the true national writing of India*, because all later Indian alphabets are descended from it, however dissimilar many of them may appear at the present day."[1] So far, Dr. Bühler's opinion is undoubtedly correct. But he seems to indulge in fancy when he surmises that this script was introduced into India about 800 B.C. by traders coming by way of Mesopotamia, simply because it is "based on the oldest Northern Semitic or Phœnician type, represented on Assyrian weights and on the Moabite stone, which dates from 890 B.C." This wrong surmise is undoubtedly based on the wrong theory that the Phœnicians were originally a Semitic people, which, however, they were not, though their amalgamation with the Semitic races among whom they lived was so complete as to obliterate all traces of the original Aryan type to which they had belonged. They retained, however, much of Aryan culture, and some of the Aryan Gods, *viz.*, Ouranus and Baal (*Varuṇa* and *Vala*). Is it not, therefore, more likely that in their migrations from Sapta-Sindhu to the south-western coasts of India, to Mesopotamia and Syria, the ancestors of the Phœnicians, *i. e.*, the Paṇis of the Rig-Veda, took with them a practical and abbreviated form of the Brâhmi script which was the original national script of the ancient Indo-Aryans, and left relics of it in all their colonies than that they brought the script to India from Mesopotamia and Phœnicia about 800 B.C.? The

[1] Macdonnel's *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, p. 15.

very etymology of the word *Brāhmi* proves that the script was so called, because it was employed at first in writing down the Vedic verses or the Vedas, which were known as *Brahma*. The sacred character of the script is also proved by the appellation, *Deva Nāgari*, applied to its later developed form. Whatever may be the views of European scholars on the subject, we cannot certainly admit that the Brāhmi script was brought to India from abroad. The probability, as I have just pointed out, rather lies all the other way, *viz.*, that it was taken out by the Paṇis in a modified and practical form to far-off Mesopotamia and Phœnicia. It should be noted here that while the Semitic symbols are only twenty-two in number, the full Brāhmi alphabet consists of forty-six letters. This is the alphabet which is recognised in the great Sanskrit Grammar of Pāṇini who flourished prior to Buddha about the seventh century B.C., and not in the fourth century B.C., as is wrongly held by Max Müller, Dr. Bühler and Prof. Macdonnel. As Prof. Macdonell says: "It (the Brāhmi alphabet) not only represents all the sounds of the Sanskrit language, but is arranged on a thoroughly scientific method, the simple vowels (short and long) coming first, then the diphthongs, and lastly the consonants in uniform groups according to the organs of speech with which they are pronounced. Thus the dental consonants appear together as *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, and the labials as *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *m*. We, Europeans, on the other hand, 2,500 years after, and in a scientific age, still employ an alphabet which is not only inadequate to represent all the sounds of our languages, but even preserves the random order in which vowels and consonants are jumbled up as they were in the Greek adaptation of the primitive Semitic arrangement of 3,000 years ago." [1]

[1] Macdonnel's *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, p. 17.

Max Müller wrongly maintained that "before the time of Pāṇini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown." (*Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit.*) He further held that writing was also unknown to Pāṇini himself, and that "there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing." Goldstücker has completely demolished this view, and proved that the great Grammarian not only knew the art of writing himself, but also used several words in his Grammar which go to show that writing was in general vogue in his time. Even Max Müller himself elsewhere admitted the existence in Pāṇini's Grammar of such a word as *lipikāra* which he said "is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini which can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pāṇini was acquainted with the art of writing." This however is not the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, for there are other words like *lipi*, *libi*, *patala*, *grantha*, *varṇa*, *akṣara*, etc., which clearly prove the existence of the art of writing and books in his time.

The perfect alphabet of the Brāhmi script must have been in existence from early Vedic times. A correct pronunciation of the *mantras* with proper accent and emphasis was insisted upon to ensure their efficacy. The Rig-Vedic *mantras* which were composed in recognised metres had to be recited, and the *Sāmans* had to be chanted according to recognised phonetic rules at the time of performing the Soma sacrifice. This would not have been possible unless the alphabet was perfect. The alphabet consists of vowels, consonants and diphthongs, generally known in Sanskrit by the name of *akṣaras*. This word occurs in the Rig-Veda in the sense of "imperishable," but there are also verses, as pointed out by Prof. Aufrecht, wherein the word means "measuring of

speech," in other words, syllables.[1] Now a syllable is either a vowel or a combination of vowel and consonant, which implies the existence of letters or characters. These must have different *forms* to distinguish them from one another, which implies the existence of the art of writing. Weber says that the connecting link between the primary significance (*i. e.*, "imperishable") and the meaning "syllable" which is first met with in the Samhita of the Yajus might perhaps be the idea of writing, the latter being the making imperishable, as it were, of otherwise fleeting and evanescent words and syllables.[2] We may, therefore, infer that the art of writing by means of characters, *i. e.*, vowels and consonants, existed in Vedic times. In many *richas* we find the prefixes of verbs separated from the latter by intervening words as for instance in the following verse:[3]

Ā no yāhi parābato haribhyām haryatābhyām.

Here we find the prefix *ā* of the verb *yāhi* separated from the latter by the word *no*. This goes to show the use of a syllable represented by a single vowel *ā*, and implies a knowledge of the characters. What their original forms were it is very difficult to say, but they must have supplied the models from which the later *Devanāgari* characters were developed.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmana* (1.1.5) occurs the following passage:

अनुष्टुभौ स्वर्गकामः कुर्व्वीत द्वयोर्वा अनुष्टुभोश्चतुषष्टिरक्षराणि।

Again in 5.25.7 occurs the following passage:

तेभोऽभित स्तेभ्यत्रयोवर्णा अजायन्त अकारः उकारः मकारः इति अनेकधा समभवत् तदेतत् ओमिति।

[1] R. V. I. 164. 24; X. 13.3.

[2] Weber's *History of Ind. Lit*, pp. 15-16 (foot note).

[3] R. V. VIII, 6. 36.

In the first passage it is clearly stated that one who desires to attain heaven should use two *mantras* composed in *anuṣṭup* metre, and these two *anuṣṭups* contain between them 64 *akṣaras*, *i.e.*, syllables or letters. In the second passage we are told how the word *Aum* is made up of three letters अ, उ and म. Hence there can be no doubt that when the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* was composed, there was a complete alphabet, and the art of writing also existed.

In the *Çukla Yajurveda* (XV. 4) occur the names of the following chandas among others: **अक्षरपंक्तिश्छन्दः पदपङ्क्तिश्छन्दो विष्टारपङ्क्तिश्छन्दः क्षुरश्छन्दो भ्राजश्छन्दः।** The commentator Mahīdhara explains **क्षुरश्छन्दः** as follows: **क्षुरविलेखनखननयोः क्षुरति विलेखति व्याप्नोति सर्व्वमिति**, which means that the word **क्षुरः** is used in the sense of writing or inscribing; and he explains **भ्राजश्छन्दः** as **भ्राजते दीप्यते इति भ्राजः**, *i.e.*, that which shines or becomes visible to the naked eye. There can be no doubt that in ancient times there was a mode of writing or inscribing with a stilus on birch-bark or palm-leaf as is still adopted in some parts of India, and then rubbing (**लिप्यते**) the scratching with a coloured liquid, either red or yellow, so as to make the letters visible to the naked eye. This was the origin of the word *varṇa* or *letters written in colour*.

That the Vedas were preserved in writing at Pāṇini's time does not admit of a doubt, for he mentions having *seen* the augment *ā* also in the Veda (in other instances than those mentioned in a former rule) in the Sūtras VI. 4.73 and VII. 1.76 (**छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते**). Goldstücker quotes the following passage from Yajnavalkya (III.191) to prove that the first three castes were distinctly recommended to possess written Vaidik texts: **स ह्याश्रमैर्विजिज्ञास्यः समस्तैरेवमेवतु। द्रष्टव्यश्चथ मन्तव्यः श्रोतव्यश्चद्विजातिभिः॥** which means: "All the religious orders must certainly have the desire of knowing the Veda: therefore the first three classes, the twice-born, should *see* it, think on it, and hear

it;" and he pertinently asks: "How could Yajnavalkya order them to see the Veda, unless it could be obtained in writing?"

In the *Atharva-Veda* occurs a verse[1] which goes to show that the Veda was there in the form of a *book* which used to be kept in a box, from which it was taken out at the beginning of studies, and into which it was put back again, when they were finished. The translation of the verse is as follows: "Within the chest wherefrom *we before took out the Veda*, this we do now deposit. Wrought is the sacrifice by the power of Brahma. Through this fervour assist me here, Ye Gods." Unless the art of writing was in vogue at the time of the composition of the Atharva-Veda, the Veda (by which should be understood the Rik, Yajus and Sāma) could never assume the material form of a book and be deposited in a box, to be taken out and put back again as necessity arose. Verse XIX. 68 was used, according to *Kauçika Sūtra* during *Upanayanam* at the beginning of studies (139.10), and verse XIX—72, above referred to, during the *Snātaka* rite, at the end of studies (139.25). The "Veda" in these passages has been interpreted by some as the broom made of a bunch of grass; "but," as Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar remarks, "it is absurd to imagine that the broom, of all things, would be deposited in a chest and taken out when wanted."[2]

There is a verse in the Rigveda also, which goes to prove the existence of the Veda as a book containing written *mantras*. The verse (X. 71. 4) is as follows:

उत त्वः पश्यन्नददर्श वाचमुतः त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं ऽवि सस्रेजायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

[1] A. V. XIX. 72: यस्मात् कोशादुदभराम वेदं तस्मिन्नन्तरव दध्म एनं। कृतं मिष्टं ब्रह्मणो वीर्येण तेन मा देवाःपसावतेह ॥

[2] *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, p. 41.

which literally means "one (man) indeed *seeing speech* has not seen her; another (man) hearing her has not heard her; but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife, well attired, presents herself to her husband" (Wilson). Sāyaṇa thus interprets the last sentence: "He understands thoroughly the meaning of the Veda."

Now what can be the meaning of "seeing speech" except "seeing written words?" The word पश्यन् cannot be said to possess a metaphorical meaning in the sense of "seeing with the mental eye," which may be ascribed to ददर्श. It simply means "seeing with the physical eye." The idea of the poet seems to be clear: "There are men who see written speech, and yet do not understand a single word of it, because they do not know how to read, or cannot grasp the meaning of words even if they are able to read, as there are men who hear words uttered, and yet cannot comprehend their meaning on account of their ignorance."

It is, therefore, quite probable, nay certain, that the art of writing existed from Rig-Vedic times in ancient India, along with a perfect alphabet. The composition of thousands of *mantras*, and grouping them under distinct heads in a recognised order necessitate the art of writing. It is easier to commit to memory a group of composed verses in writing, than to compose new verses, and remember them succinctly without any extraneous help. Vyāsa required the help of an eminent scribe like Gaṇeça to take down simultaneously what was turned out from his creative brain. Otherwise there would have been no *Mahābhārata*. It is, however, true that the Rig-Vedic verses were not composed at any particular time by any particular Ṛṣi, and that their composition was extended over a long period, consisting of three ages, and ascribed to a number of Ṛṣis belonging to different families. It is, therefore, just possible

that the composition of any single hymn, ascribed to a particular family, did not necessarily require the help of writing, for a single hymn could be easily composed and remembered. Other hymns also could be composed from time to time, and added to the family group and remembered. But when these different groups came to be collected into *Samhitās* and arranged in particular orders, when prose formulas, as found in the Yajur-Veda, had to be composed, and when the *pada*-texts came to be divided, accented and counted, then arose the absolute necessity of writing. Though the Samhitās came thus to be written, they were nevertheless committed to memory by a class of men who were called Brahmāṇas or reciters, and, as I have already said, human memory was more trusted to preserve the hymns from perishing than writing on birch-bark or palm-leaf. And so the memory was cultivated in a manner and to an extent which are regarded as truly marvellous. We can understand why writing was not much in vogue in ancient India, not only on account of the paucity of suitable materials and their perishable character, but also because priests who could recite the *mantras* off-hand from memory at the performance of a sacrifice were held in greater esteem and more readily requisitioned than those who could not assist at a sacrifice without the help of a book.

If the *Lalita Vistara* is to be credited, many scripts had been in existence in India before Buddha was born. It is said that Buddha learnt 64 kinds of *lipis* or scripts then current in India, among which are mentioned the *Brāhmi*, the *Kharousthi*, the *Anga*, the *Banga*, the *Mahoraga* (probably serpent-like characters like those of Persian), the *Garuda* (probably hieroglyphic characters) and others. If there were 64 kinds of developed scripts at that time, their origin must be

traced back to far earlier times. In the Dhātupātha of Pāṇini occurs the root *likh*, which undoubtedly goes to show that writing existed in and from before the time of the great Grammarian.

To sum up: From the above discussion, there can be no doubt that a perfect alphabet, known as Brāhmi existed in India from very early, and probably Rig-Vedic times, and that it was not brought to India by the Phœnicians or any foreign merchants at about 800 B. C. On the other hand, it is most probable that the Phœnicians whose origin can be traced to the Paṇis of the Rig-Veda, took with them from India a modified and practical form of the Brāhmi script to the different places which they colonized. Any resemblance, therefore, that can be traced between the Phœnician and the old Brāhmi alphabets must not be attributed to the latter having been introduced into India by Phœnician or other foreign merchants. The Brāhmi script, having first originated in India, was naturally more fully developed in the land of its birth than the Phœnician or so-called Semitic alphabet. Though the word *akṣara* means a syllable in the Vedas, it probably also implied letters, and the different metres in which the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed presuppose a knowledge of the vowels, both long and short, and of diphthongs. The existence of a perfect alphabet implies a knowledge of the art of writing which gave the letters particular *forms* to distinguish them from one another. The Vedic hymns may or may not have been originally written down on birch barks or palm-leaves, the only materials of writing in ancient times; but when all of them were collected and divided into Samhitās, recourse was certainly had to writing which could only make the task easy and feasible. Though verses could be easily remembered, it was very difficult to remember, word for word, any large amount

of prose-composition as we meet with in the Yajur-Veda and the Brāhmaṇas, unless there was some means of jotting it down. Hence it may be supposed that writing was in full vogue when these works were composed. With regard to the Prātisākhya Sūtras it may be mentioned here that Goldstücker, Bohtlingk, Whitney and Roth hold the opinion that the authors of these Sūtras must have had written texts before them, in as much as they give the general regulations as to the nature of the sounds employed, the euphonic rules observed, the accent and its modifications, the modulation of the voice and so forth. All these facts being considered, we are led to the conclusion that the art of writing existed in India from Vedic times, though the Vedic *mantras* were committed to memory for the sake of convenience. The absence of very old MSS. in India can be accounted for by the fact that the materials for writing were perishable, but this certainly does not prove the non-existence of the very art itself. The mention of the Veda as a *book* in the Atharva-Veda and of visible words in the Rig-Veda, and of written *chandas* in the Yajur-Veda goes strongly to corroborate our view that the art of writing did exist in Vedic times.

The Vinayapitakam

and

Early Buddhist Monasticism in its Growth and Development

BY

SUKUMAR DUTT, M.A., B.L.

INTRODUCTION

It is not yet time to dilate on the importance of the subject of the present thesis in ancient Indian history. The history of ancient India is still in the making: it is yet "in a temporary vagueness of outline, as of things half-seen and processes half-realised." Yet the assertion may be confidently made that, as the whole economy of ancient Indian life and culture is more intimately realised by us, the important place of Buddhist monasticism in it will appear with increasing clearness. Its external relations, its influences on society at large, its contributions to cultural history—all these topics are yet in the dreamland of theory. Buddhist monasticism itself has been, like all other historic institutions, a gradual process, changing under pressure of its sociological environments and its own inner principle of evolution. Buddhist monastic life in India as pictured to us in the records of the Chinese travellers is far different from the monastic life that is reflected in the Vinayapitaka. The monasteries in the Chinese accounts have developed a new type: some of them are far-famed centres of learning. It is in this

latter part of their history that we actually feel their importance and influence in ancient Indian life. We observe the monasteries gathering into themselves the rich and varied intellectual life of the period. The monasteries at Amarāvatī, Nālandā, Odantapura, Vikramasilā and Jagatdala appear like so many universities with their full complement of libraries, schools of studies, lecture-halls, professors and students flocking from all parts of Asia, far and near. No student of ancient Indian culture can fail to be struck with one feature which stands out in its later period, *viz.*, the continual interpenetration of Brahmanical and Buddhistic elements. There is reason to think that the great Buddhist universities were the channels for the commingling of different elements in the intellectual life of ancient India.

The growth of these universities however seems to have been arrested mainly by the violence of Mahomedan invasions. The storming of Behar and the wholesale massacre of monks at the place in or about 1197 A. D. by Kutubuddin's general, Mahammad, which one of the survivors of the attacking party related so graphically to the historian Minhaz,[1] was probably a typical act of brute fanaticism. It seems at any rate that Buddhist monasticism, after the Mahomedan violence, disappeared below the surface of Indian life. But though 'passing through untold varieties of being,' it seems never to have lost the secret of its vitality in the place of its birth. Recent researches have brought to light the existence of living Buddhism in Bengal and Orissa even at the present day.[2] Whether Buddhist monachism, as distinct from the Buddhist religion, has similarly lived on among us in disguise is another question, though by no means an

[1] See Raverty, p. 552—Tabakat-i-Nasiri.

[2] See H. P. Sastri's Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal (1897); N. N. Vasu's Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa (1911); Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanja (1911), pp. civ-cclxiii.

impossible one. For a Buddhist Order was founded in Orissa within living memory by one Bhima-Bhoi Araksitadāsa, and some of the regulations of this Order, preserved in some little-known Oriyan manuscripts, seem to echo faintly and distantly the monastic laws of the Vinayapitaka.[1] It is one of a few indications to show that ancient Buddhist Monasticism, though submerged since the establishment of Mahomedan rule, did not die out at any time and the old monastic life never completely passed out of men's memory.

The splendid isolation of Ceylon has served to safeguard the old type of monastic life in that island. Being cut off from the multiple currents and cross-currents of thought and influence which largely transformed Buddhism in India itself, Ceylon has been able to preserve to a great extent its primitive character of the pre-Mahāyāna type. But Ceylonese monachism has an independent history of its own which is recorded in the Mahāvansa and the Dīpavansa. Although the ancient type remains fixed in Ceylon, its present monastic life cannot of course be regarded as a replica of North Indian monasticism of two thousand years ago—for account must be taken of the long process of time.[2] Even in changeless Asia, the nimble Time-spirit makes slow and imperceptible variations and Matthew Arnold's picture of the East in the oft-quoted stanza of *Obermann once More* is fading away before the 'gladsome light' of modern researches.

[1] Bhima-Bhoi Araksitadāsa founded the Mahima Dharma in 1875. The *maths* of this sect are scattered in several villages of Mayurbhanja and round about. Vasu says in his Modern Buddhism (pp. 174-5) : "Of the twelve or thirteen ascetic rules mentioned in the Buddhistic Scriptures, the Mahimadharmin monk has even up till now been observing the rules of *Pindapātika, Sapadanacarika, Ekāsanika, Pattapindika* and *Khalu-pacchādbhaktika*; but these are never found to be observed by Vaishnava monks or ascetics or those of any other sect."

[2] Dr. Copleston says about Ceylonese monachism in his book on *Buddhism, Primitive and Modern*—"In short there is little or no idea of even aiming at the

It seems to me that Spence Hardy, writing in 1850, did not fully realise this point. He has too often identified *Eastern Monachism* with the monachism of modern Ceylon. This indefatigable Wesleyan missionary who landed in the 'beautiful island,' as he affectionately calls it, of Ceylon in 1825, gathered a vast and miscellaneous knowledge of Buddhism from Singhalese manuscripts ; he learnt from personal observation the habits and practices of modern Ceylonese monks ; he observed many remarkable parallelisms between them and medieval monastic institutions of Europe, and when he brought out his work on *Eastern Monachism* in 1850, it was with all the justifiable enthusiasm of a new discovery. But Spence Hardy's information was derived from books current among Ceylonese monks which included promiscuously many ancient Pali books in Singhalese versions, as well as many Buddhist manuals in Elu, an ancient Ceylonese dialect, and of evident Ceylonese origin, and many works in Singhalese of the same origin of a comparatively modern date. These books were supplemented by stories and legends rehearsed to him by the monks. He treated all the works as being of the same value and never attempted to discriminate between the fundamental ancient rules of the Vinayapitaka and the later accretions that have been added to them in Ceylon. In each chapter of his work this shortcoming will be observed,—the Rules of Novitiate, for example, which he quotes from the manual of *Dina-Cariyāwa* are not of the Vinayapitaka and are of no historical antiquity. Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism* in fact does not reflect at all the

standard of monastic life which the Vinayapitaka exhibits. In certain points the rule is observed, for instance, in the ritual of admission, of full profession (*Upasampada*) and of confession. But the substance of the rule is ignored, not only in technical details, but in almost all that concerns the practical objects and the higher aims for which the community professes to exist." (p. 267.) Allowance must of course be made for the prejudice of the writer who was Lord Bishop of Calcutta,

monastic life that prevailed in Northern India two thousand years ago. But Hardy himself was not slow to recognise the second-hand character of the miscellaneous and, one may be pardoned for saying, ill-sorted information embodied in his work. "I am," says he with commendable humility, "like one who has met with individuals who have visited some Terra Incognita, and are able to describe it; they have placed before me their stores of information, and I have sifted them with all the acumen I possess; and the result of my searches are embodied in these pages. But they who study the original canon may be regarded as actually entering the land, and winning here and there a portion of territory, more or less extensive; and by and bye the whole region will be gained, when the initiatory labours I am now pursuing will be forgotten, as they will have been succeeded by more authoritative investigations." [1] The basis of such authoritative investigations was laid by Oldenberg by the publication in 1879-83 of the five volumes of the Vinayapitaka, the codex of Buddhist monastic laws, and one who wanted to investigate the subject before the publication of Oldenberg's monumental work had to rely on unsifted and unclassified manuscripts, often misleading and unreliable. Yet Spence Hardy's 'preliminary survey' is a work of signal merit. He has clearly brought out the main features of Buddhist monastic life from study and personal observation, though it was not within the range of his resources to co-ordinate them, to exhibit their internal and external relations, and to throw them into the right perspective of history. It is only here and there and by rare flashes that Spence Hardy is able to introduce the all-important historical point of view.

After Spence Hardy's 'initiatory labours' many popular works on Buddhism have come into the field.

[1] See Preface to Hardy's *Eastern Monachism* (1860), p viii.

Our journey through Hardy's *Terra Incognita* has been made easy and familiar. In the company of pleasant and luminous writers like Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Kern and others, one need not make the pilgrimage to the shrine of Buddhistic knowledge with peas in the boots and a hair-shirt on the back. But the extensive territory that has only been opened up needs to be explored inch by inch. The important historical materials in which Buddhist canonical literature is so extraordinarily rich must be carefully sifted, and for this purpose 'comprehensive views' are often worse than useless. Unfortunately however a certain backwardness is kept up by the authors of hand-books and treatises by their habit of threading together, as it were, all the three Jewels of the Buddhist Triad. But this comprehensive treatment of Buddhism by broad compartments, giving first a legendary biography of Buddha, then a rapid sketch of Buddhist doctrines, and lastly a static account of the Buddhist Order is by no means scientific history.

Sir Alfred Lyall has pointed out in one of his addresses[1] that "the tendency of the twentieth century is unfavourable to the artistic historian." The change from the artistic to the scientific school of historians, though Lyall regrets it, is accepted by him as a fact. The scientific writing of history, as he says, "based upon exhaustive research, accumulation and minute sifting of all available details, relentless verification of every statement," is destined to "gradually discourage and supersede the art of picturesque composition." "What," asks Lyall, "has been the effect of the altered situation upon the writer of history at the present time?" And his answer is—a narrowing of each historian's scope of

[1] Lyall's *Remarks on the Reading of History* (Inaugural Address to the Students of King's College for Women, University of London, October 8, 1909)—See *Studies in Literature and History* by Sir Alfred Lyall.

operations. The modern historian must now "peg out his small holding and keep within its bounds." Those writers who aspire to traverse the whole vast area of Buddhism, even of the Pre-Mahāyāna period of it, have become an anachronism to-day. Lord Acton in his published papers has a note of 'Advice to Persons about to write History,' of which the first word is *Don't.*[1] The advice of Lord Acton, echoing as it does the advice of *Punch* with regard to a quite different matter, is specially recommended to those who attempt at comprehensive treatment of Buddhism.

Another besetting vice of the current treatises on Buddhism is the straying away from the historian's strict point of view. The genuine historian must seek for the origins of historic institutions in the material environments of life and society, and the operation of ideas is significant to him in as much as it animates, accelerates or retards the material process of growth, development and decay of institutions. But Buddhism has too often been approached not from this historical standpoint, but rather from the philosopher's point of view, exaggerating the evolution of ideas and minimizing the material factors that made that evolution possible and determined its character. Hence it is that the ancient Buddhist Sangha through which Buddhism actually developed has received far less than its due share of attention. But it is in the growth and development of the Buddhist Sangha that the history of Buddhism remains embodied, and apart from the organisation of monastic life and community, ancient Buddhism is at best an abstraction, interesting more to the philosopher than to the scientific historian.

The tendency to comprehensive treatment and the bias for the philosopher's standpoint which prevail among

[1] See *Historical Essays and Studies* by Lord Acton, p. 505.

writers on Buddhism have resulted in the static view of early (Pre-Mahāyāna) Buddhist Dhamma and Sangha. On reading, for instance, the meagre accounts of the Buddhist Sangha, out of all proportion to the importance of the subject, in the popular pages of Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Kern and other writers, one is easily led to think that it was of a fixed type from the beginning; that most, if not all, of its laws came into existence at one birth, completely laid down by Buddha (?) as the canonical writers, committed to a theory which will be explained in Chapter I, would have us believe; and that its origanisation was essentially of the same fixed character for five hundred years till the rise of the Mahāyāna. Nothing can be more erroneous than this static conception of early Buddhist community. The following pages of this thesis will show that neither was the Sangha in a perpetual state of arrested progress nor were its laws like 'the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.' The early Buddhist communities on the other hand had a remarkable capacity for growth, development, variation, adjustment and progress. A necessary corrective to the current static view has been supplied in the following pages by adhering to the strict historic method. So the Pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist communities in their gradual evolution, which will be shown to be clearly traceable in ancient Pali literature, has been the subject of my enquiry in the present thesis.

Chronology has been truly called 'the eye of history.' In studying the ancient history of India, however, in any of its aspects, we have to proceed without its help by feeling our way cautiously through a mass of disordered materials. The clue that we must steadily follow is the succession of social conditions—that 'inner chronology' which the method of sociology adheres to. It is still possible for the historian to unravel from the tangled skein of our

ancient literature the long threads of succession and evolution. Facts, legends and ideas which lie in them in a confused heap together may be thrown, with greater or less completeness, into evolutionary series which would point to a regular process of development. This method of study will necessarily admit certain elements of hypothesis and conjecture. But these elements cannot be excluded from the study of ancient Indian history in the absence of definite datable events. I have therefore attempted in the present thesis to trace only the process of development of the early Buddhist monastic communities instead of trying vainly to settle a time-succession of events. The history of Buddhist monasticism, which is indeed a subject of vast proportions, may be broadly divided into two periods corresponding to the accepted division of the history of Buddhism, *viz.*, Hīnayāna (600 B.C.—100 B.C. ?) and Mahāyāna (100 B.C.—1200 A.D.). The division of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, it must be understood, is always a tentative one and does not indicate any succession of stages of development. The original Hīnayāna form of Buddhism and the later Mahāyāna existed in India, for long centuries, side by side, reacting no doubt on one another, coming in contact at many points and also possibly amalgamating in parts. The inter-relation between the two is one of the vexed and unsolved problems of Buddhist history. But the distinction, so far as it goes, is clear enough for practical purposes and may be accepted for what it is worth. Now, recognising this distinction, we may set the limits of the period dealt with here as 600 B.C.—100 B.C., *i.e.*, the period of Buddhism before the rise of the Mahāyāna.

For this period our materials for the reconstruction of Buddhist monastic history, which are contained in the Vinayapitaka, are fairly complete. Further researches will no doubt throw light on this remarkable codex and

its laws will become more and more clear to us as our knowledge of ancient Indian history increases. In Chapter I, I have sought to explain how the Vinayapitaka and its laws should be interpreted. Under the method of interpretation which I have suggested the Vinayapitaka will clearly reflect to us a process of development in early Buddhist monasticism. The static view of it will be found to dissolve into a truer conception of the dynamic process of its growth and development.

Some of the topics that have come up in the course of the present dissertation have a wider bearing and deeper significance. Within the limits of my subject and treatment, it has not been possible for me to deal with them in an exhaustive manner as I should wish to. They are eminently worthy of further researches. I enumerate below some of these topics :

(*i*) The analogy between the Vinaya rules and the Greek Themistes as they are interpreted by Sir Henry Maine. (Chapter I.)

(*ii*) The possible non-Aryan origin of the Paribrajaka institution. (Chapter II.)

(*iii*) The constitution of non-Buddhist Sanghas and Ganas in ancient times. (Chapter VI.)

(*iv*) The origins of the institutions of polity of the early Buddhist Sanghas. (Chapter VI.)

(*v*) The positive state-enforced character of the laws contained in the Vinayapitaka. (Chap. VI.)

The Chapter on *The Internal Polity of a Buddhist Sangha* may throw some side-light on the ideas of law and legal procedure in ancient India—a subject which has been approached up till now from the Brahmanical point of view of the Smritis.

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3. B. S. Sastri's Pātimokkham (with Bengali translation).
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12. Fausböll's Dhammapada.
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55. Maine's Ancient Law.

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CHAPTER I

The Laws of the Vinayapitaka and their Interpretation

The only clue to the chronology of the Vinayapitaka is afforded by the account of the Council of Vesali in the 12th Khandaka of Cullavagga. If we accept the arguments of Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, the Council of Vesali must be dated about the middle of the 4th century B. C., and the compilation of a complete codex of Vinaya rules not much earlier than that date.[1] But though the Vinayapitaka, in the form in which it has been preserved to us, shows a more or less symmetrical plan and design, and points unmistakably to a final diaskeuasis a little earlier than the Council of Vesali, its contents are by no means the work of an age. They consist in fact, as I expect to show presently, of earlier and later materials welded together by a theory. When these are rightly interpreted and thrown into their proper sequence, they afford us in their evident process of growth and development the key to the evolution of Buddhist monachism itself.

It is well-known that the history of religious mendicancy in India may be traced to remote antiquity. The religious mendicants formed a wide-spread, populous and

[1] "If, as justified by Asoka's inscriptions, we assume the year 265 B. C. as the approximate date of his coronation, and we calculate 118 years back from this to the Council at Vesali in accordance with the chronological system of the Mahavaṁsa and Dipavaṁsa—we shall find the date of this council to fall somewhere about 383 B. C. From what has been said above, the revision of the Vinaya must have been somewhere before that time, but not much earlier."—Oldenberg's *Vinayapitakam*, Intro., pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX. "It is sufficient for our present purpose to be able to fix the Council of Vesali, even after making allowance for all possibilities, at within thirty years of 350 B.C."—*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., Pt. I, Intro., p. xxiii.

influential community in northern India even in the 6th century B.C. They lived outside social and communal organisations, but they constituted by themselves a well-defined community. They had internal relations among themselves,—communal customs, recognised manners and usages, and distinctive ideas and practices. There were also numerous sectarian parties among them called Saṅghas or Gaṇas, and one of them which afterwards became most influential in history was led by the world-famous Prince of the Sakya clan. Now this Saṅgha which recognised Buddha as their leader partook no doubt of the general characteristics of all Paribrajakas and followed generally their common customs and usages. Many features of Buddhist monachism therefore point back to earlier times than the foundation of the Buddhist Saṅgha itself. Such are the Vassa, the Uposatha, many eleemosynary and domiciliary rules, and numerous minor regulations of Buddhist monastic life which however it is next to impossible for us to pick out and assort with any degree of certainty. It is obvious that the only way of doing it would be to compare them with the usages, manners, rites and practices recorded of the Jaina, Hindu and other Paribrajakas in their respective ancient literatures. But the records of the non-Buddhist Paribrajaka sects are unfortunately far less exhaustive and satisfactory than those of the Buddhists. The Buddhist Saṅgha however gradually differentiated itself from the others and their communal character became more and more distinctive with the lapse of time.[2] The first step in this process of differentiation was the drawing up of a special body of rules, the Pātimokkha, which supplied an external bond of union for the Buddhist Saṅgha which had rested hitherto mainly on a community of

[2] See Ch. V of the present thesis, foot-note 82.

distinct religious faith.[3] From this starting-point Buddhist monachism followed its own course. But at the earliest stages the individualistic and eremitical ideal of the primitive Paribrajakas predominated in it and like the other Paribrajakas, the Buddhist Bhikkhus led a wandering life, without any fixed local habitation, cohesion or cenobium.[4] But the observance of the Rain-retreat was a custom observed by Paribrajakas of all classes. This custom among the Buddhist Bhikkhus led afterwards to the staking out of Āvāsas. These āvāsas, being originally intended for sojournment during the Vassa period, became later on places of domicile for the Bhikkhus. Each Bhikkhu came to belong to a particular domicile, was member of the Saṅgha resident there and derived his personal rights and privileges therefrom. The word, Saṅgha, signified later on not the whole body of Buddhist 'Bhikkhus of the four quarters,' but only a particular cenobitical society resident at an āvāsa. This state of things, as I shall have occasion to explain later on,[5] was one of the causes of the growth of those Buddhist sects which bear place-names, pointing to their origin and growth at different seats of canonical culture. In the following pages I shall trace in detail these various stages of the development of Buddhist monachism before the growth of the Mahāyāna. Now at all these different stages rules were made for the guidance of the life and conduct of the Buddhist Bhikkhus—some of which had simply been inherited by the Saṅgha, others might have been borrowed from other sects, while the rest were peculiar to the Bhikkhus,—though it is a matter of the most delicate difficulty to separate and assign them to the different heads. The rules of the Vinayapiṭaka have thus

[3] See Ch. III of the present thesis.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See Ch. V of the present thesis.

followed the course of evolution of Buddhist monachism itself and as such may be truly said to have an 'inner chronology.'

We need not presume that the compilation of the laws of the Vinayapiṭaka was carried out at one time. From the beginning we hear of persons in the Buddhist Saṅgha, called Vinayadharas, who concerned themselves with the study and exposition of the rules of Vinaya. The existence of such professors was the surest guarantee for the conservation and consolidation of monastic laws from generation to generation among the Buddhist Bhikkhus. A final diaskeuasis was no doubt made shortly before the Council of Vesali, for the lawyer-like manner, in which the moot-points were sought to be decided there, presupposed the existence of a complete codex no longer susceptible of additions or alterations. The result of this gradual process of consolidation was that in the final redaction earlier materials were jumbled up with the later. Laws which had grown obsolete were retained in the process, those which had become partially unsuitable were amplified and extended in their application, new ones came into existence, either through long-standing custom becoming self-conscious or through adoption by common consent, being necessitated by new conditions of monastic life. Thus the laws of the Vinayapitaka partake of a most varied character, as the following illustrations will show.

A good illustration of the obsolescence of monastic laws is found in a short series of rules in the Pātimokkha called *Saṅghādisesa Dhammā.* In this section certain offences are enumerated over which the Saṅgha has ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is said that the Saṅgha in these cases can inflict the prescribed penalty of Parivāsa and Mānatta *even against the will of the guilty Bhikkhu* (Jesam bhikkhu annataram vā annataram vā apajjitva

yāvatiham janam paticchadeti tāvatiham tena bhikkhunā *akāmā* parivatthabbam, etc., etc.). We know that in later times the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Sangha extended not only over the Sanghādisesa, but also over all other offences, for the trial and punishment of which different forms of Sanghakammas were resorted to.[6] At this stage, it will appear that many of the Sanghādisesa Dhammā became obsolete. It will appear for example from Sanghā, 10, that the attempt to bring about a schism used to be considered an offence. If any Bhikkhu persisted in trying to create a schism inspite of repeated admonitions by the Sangha he made himself liable to the discipline of Parivāsa and Mānatta.[7] The same attitude towards schismatics is observed in Mahavagga, I, 67, where it is said that a schismatic must be expelled if he has been already ordained. As I shall point out later on, it was on this law that the Sarnath, Kosambi and Sanchi edicts of Asoka were based.[8] But the law relating to schismatics seems to have been very much relaxed later on. Accordingly we find that in Cullavagga, VII, 5.6, the intention to produce a schism is held to be not blameworthy, but only such intention as was positively dishonest (*Ibid*, 5).[9] Evidently a wider latitude for extreme differences of opinion was given in the later democratic Sanghas than in the earlier. In the 13th Sanghādisesa again we find the penalties of Parivāsa and Mānatta provided for those sinful Bhikkhus who corrupt lay men, but later on the *Pabbajaniya Kamma* is substituted for them.[10] This latter form of penalty is recognised

[6] See Ch. VI of the present thesis.

[7] Jo pana bhikkhu samaggassa sanghassa bhedāya parakkameyya bhedanasamvattanikam vā adhikaranam samādāya paggyya titteyya * * * * Sanghādisesa.

[8] See Ch. VII of the present thesis, foot-note 50.

[9] See Ch. VII of the present thesis at the end.

[10] See Cullavagga, I, 13 *et seq*. The translators say, "The whole of this chapter (setting out the offences for which the Pabbajaniya Kamma should be inflicted)

even in the Vibhanga commentary on that rule. Again in a list of transgressions enumerated in Cullavagga, I, 1. 1, for which the *Tajjaniya Kamma* should be carried out, we find certain offences which came specifically under the head of the Sanghādisesa Dhammā and for which, according to the older practice, Parivāsa and Mānatta should have been carried out. The offending Bhikkhus are described *inter alia* as *Vivādakāraka* (for which there is provision in Sanghā, 10 and 11) and *Sanghe Adhikaranakāraka* (for which there is provision in Sanghā, 8 and 9). Yet it is said in Cullavagga, I, 2. 1, that the *Tajjaniya Kamma* is not intended for Parajika and Sanghādisesa offences. It is natural to think that many of the Sanghādisesa Dhammā lost their force and application at a later stage when the various Sanghakammas were devised. These illustrations from the Sanghādisesa Dhammā are sufficient to indicate that in the Vinayapitaka there are many laws which had become wholly or partially obsolete when the codex was finally put together. All the rules were not of the same operative force.

While on the one hand obsolete rules were thus retained, many of the old rules were recast and rehandled—either they were clearly defined or amplified as necessary or even refined away by a process well-known to lawyers as legal fiction. We have already referred to Sanghādisesa, 13. It is laid down in that rule that the Bhikkhus should ask one who, living near a village or a town, corrupts lay people and whose evil practices are overt, to depart from the āvāsa to which he belongs. Should he refuse to do so, on this adjuration being repeated thrice, he becomes

recurs in the Sutta Vibhanga on the 13th Sanghādisesa. The proceeding here laid down is really a later method of acting under the circumstances similar to those for which that rule had previously been the authorised dealing."—*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., Part II, p. 347, foot-note 1.

guilty of Sanghādisesa and is consequently liable to Parivāsa and Mānatta. In Cullavagga, I. 13, *et seq.*, this rule is more precisely defined and amplified. The adjuration mentioned in Sanghā. 13 is developed into a regular Sanghakamma and the penalties of Parivāsa and Mānatta are replaced by the penalty of banishment, pronounced in a solemn form. In Nissaggiya Pācittiya, 1, it is said that an extra robe might be kept by a Bhikkhu for a period of ten days after the settlement of the robes and the taking up of Kanthina. This period of limitation is more clearly defined later on in the light of the well-known legal distinction between custody and possession. The period of limitation, it is said in Mahavagga, V. 13, 13 (end), will begin to run not from the time when the Bhikkhu may have the robe in the custody of another, but when he has it in his personal possession. Numerous other instances may be cited where the old rules of the Pātimokkha are merely defined, amplified and illustrated in the Mahavagga and the Cullavagga, which shows clearly that the Vinayadharas in the Buddhist Sangha were no mean lawyers. Another mode was the suspension of the old Pātimokkha rules either as a temporary measure (as in Mahavagga, VI, 32. 1-2) or permanently during a prescribed period (as in Mahavagga, VII, 1. 3). By admitting numerous exceptions, many old rules were also amplified and their scope extended of which illustrations are too numerous to mention. Lastly, that most remarkable agency by which old laws are everywhere brought into harmony with existing conditions of society, *viz.*, Legal Fiction, also came into play in the development of monastic laws. In Ch. VII of the present thesis will be explained one of the most curious instances of legal fiction in the Vinayapitaka by which the old Pātimokkha rules of mendicancy were ameliorated to suit the conditions of the Buddhist cenobitical societies of later days.

Other minor instances will also occur in the course of the present dissertation. So much about the development of the old Pātimokkha rules.

But side by side with this manipulation of old rules, we have the growth of new laws and regulations necessitated by the progressive development of the Buddhist Sangha. Some of these new rules, not found at all in the Pātimokkha, were no doubt the expression of old custom in the sense that the rule had been followed unconsciously and as a general practice till at a certain time, owing to some flagrant deviation from it or some other reason, it attracted notice and was formally enjoined. The minor rules about dress, manner of begging, etiquette, etc., seem to belong to me to this category and they occupy a considerable space in the Vinayapitaka. Many of these rules seem to have been intended only to preserve the outward distinctive signs of the Buddhist Bhikkhus and to prevent them from being mixed up with other Paribrājaka sects, such as the prohibition against making a begging-bowl out of a skull like the Pisācillikas,[11] or going naked like the Acelakas, or clad in garments of grass, of bark, etc., like (probably-) the Brahmanical and other Paribrājakas.[12] These rules and regulations would make up a formidable catalogue and they were evolved along with the development of a distinct character of the Buddhist Bhikkhus, who came to be separated later on altogether from the Paribrājakas.[13] But the more important of these new rules were those which were developed in the process of growth of the Buddhist cenobium, relating to domicile, communal organisation, consitutional

[11] Cullavagga, V, 10. 2 [The *Pisācā* are mentioned as a Sect (*Gana*) in *Milinda*, Teuckner, p. 191].

[12] Mahavagga, VIII, 28. 1-3.

[13] See Ch. V of the present thesis, foot-note 82.

rights, congregational religious ceremonies, etc. Now, it must be clearly borne in mind that after the decease of the first Satthā, the Buddhist Sangha adopted no such principle of hagiology as for instance the Jainas.[14] There was therefore properly speaking no vested law-making authority anywhere in the Buddhist Sangha and any rule which might somehow obtain currency was likely to be adopted as a law of monastic life. The compilation of a complete codex of monastic laws was probably urged on by this among other considerations. The Pitaka was set up as a recognised standard of reference. But before this authoritative compilation, what were the sources of new laws? The dicta of Buddha as the only source of monastic laws was, as I shall presently show, an orthodox theory developed later.

A flood of light is thrown on the solution of the question raised above by a passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*. In IV. 7, are mentioned four Māhapadesas. They are spoken of as the probable sources of Dhamma and Vinaya, and it is said in the following sections that any doctrine or rule (Dhamma or Vinaya) emanating from any of these four Mahāpadesas should be carefully checked by comparison with the Sutta and the Vinaya.[15] These standards of reference can signify only the *Suttapitaka* and the *Vinayapitaka*, which, superseded, in the middle of the 4th century B.C., all the material sources of monastic laws which are called in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* the Mahāpadesas. These are:—(*i*) Direct promulgation by Buddha, when the Bhikkhu proposing the rule is able to say—Sammukhā me tam āvuso Bhagavato sutam, etc.[16] That this source of law was a recognised one is attested by a curious

[14] See Ch. VI of the present thesis (at the beginning).

[15] *Cf.* Sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni.

[16] See *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, IV. 8 (*Digha-Nikāya*, P.T.S., Vol. II, p. 124).

instance. After the Council of Rajagaha where, according to tradition, the canon was settled, the Thera Bhikkhus approached Purāna and asked him to accept the Sangiti settled by them. Purāna refused them politely saying : Susangīt' āvuso therehi dhammo ca vinayo ca, api ca yath' eva mayā bhagavato sammukhā sutam sammukhā patiggahitam tath' evaham dhāressāmīti.[17] This saying of Purāna, by the way, is one of a few indications to show that the canon was not finally settled at the Council of Rajagaha. It will be observed that the words of Purāna are almost the same as are used in defining the first Mahāpadesa in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*. (*ii*) Promulgation of a rule by a Sangha containing elderly and leading men at an āvāsa. Thus for instance we hear of a rule being promulgated by the Sāvatthiya Sangha that Pabbajjā should not be conferred during the period of Vassa (Mahavagga, III, 13.1).

(*iii*) Promulgation of a rule by a number of elderly and learned Bhikkhus versed in canonical lore at an āvāsa. It was in this way, it will be observed, that five hundred Bhikkhus promulgated the complete body of Vinaya rules at the Council of Rajagaha. Their legislative authority had evidently no other basis than the third Mahāpadesa.

(*iv*) Promulgation of a rule by some learned professor of the canon at an āvāsa.

All these sources of monastic laws, called by the technical name of Mahāpadesas or Great Authorities, were superseded later on by the settled texts of the Pitakas which were necessitated by the fact that these material sources of law had become gradually obsolete. It is not difficult to understand how they became obsolete when we look into the matter a little closely. The

[17] See *Cullavagga*, XI, 1. 11.

first Mahāpadesa, for instance, could not be a living source of law after the decease of Buddha and his immediate disciples. The second one became more or less inoperative with the growth of the idea of the distinctness of each āvāsa which has been explained in the present thesis in Chapter V. Each Sangha was regarded later on as a separate and self-contained community and each āvāsa a distinct self-governing colony of Bhikkhus. The rules promulgated at one āvāsa for the Sangha resident there could therefore have no comprehensive operation. As regards the third, it will readily be seen that with the diffusion of Buddhist monasticism over larger and larger parts of the country, separated by long distances, with no modern facilities which annihilate time and space for us, the calling of such paramount synods as had been called once at Rajagaha became a matter of extreme practical difficulty. A Council of Rajagaha was possible only in a short time after the death of Buddha when Buddhist Bhikkhus were spread over a comparatively small area. The fourth could have only a precarious existence in conjunction with the idea of the equality of all Buddhist Bhikkhus at an āvāsa, which, as we shall have occasion to explain in Chapter VI, was one of the most dominant notes of early Buddhist monasticism. It was mainly by way of a Sanghakamma, following on a Vivādādhikarana, that a rule of law could be made binding on a Sangha, unless a Vinayadhara propounded a rule and the Sangha accepted it implicitly. These old sources of law were ultimately set at rest by the final compilation of the Vinayapitaka. If a question arose afterwards, *e.g.*, whether the 'horn-salt license'[18] was allowable?—it could not be urged, "From the mouth of Buddha, I have heard it," or "It has been

[18] Singilonakappo—which was raised at the Council of Vesali. See *Cullavagga*, XII, 2. 8.

promulgated by such and such a Sangha," or " It has been decided by such and such a company of Theras," or " It has been allowed by such and such a professor of law," but the chapter and verse of the Vinayapitaka must be quoted, as is done throughout at the Council of Vesali. When a new rule was proposed which had nothing corresponding to it in the Vinayapitaka, its legitimacy, as is said in Mahavagga, VI, 40. 1, would depend on the question as to whether it was Kappiya (proper) or not. This might give rise to a Vivādādhikarana in the Sangha where the rule had been proposed and the resolution upon it could bind only the particular Sangha itself. In the light of this fact, the existence of various redactions of Vinaya rules, emanating from different schools, becomes easily explicable. They were settled at different āvāsas which had latterly become distinct and separate seats of canonical culture and the nurseries of Buddhist sects.

In his book on *Jurisprudence*, Salmond says, " The expression, source of law (*fons juris*) has several meanings which it is necessary to distinguish clearly. We must distinguish in the first place between the formal and the material sources of the law. A formal source is that from which a rule of law derives its force and validity. It is that from which the authority of the law proceeds. The material sources, on the other hand, are those from which is derived the matter, not the validity of the law. The material source supplies the substance of the rule to which the formal source gives the force and nature of law."[19] Bearing this distinction in mind, we may call the Mahāpadesas the material sources of Buddhist monastic laws, and that they were accepted and recognised as such is proved by the instances I have adduced above. The laws emanating from them would probably be accepted *ipso iure* as

[19] Salmond's *Jurisprudence* (Fourth Edition), p. 117.

binding laws. But the authority and validity of these sources, as I have said, was gradually impaired by historical circumstances, though the laws coming from them had been conserved and consolidated by the Vinayadharas at many an āvāsa. A formal source of these extant laws, giving to them their force and validity, therefore became necessary and gained prominence. Just as the formal source of all civil law is its promulgation by the state, so the formal source of Buddhist monastic law was found in the theory of its promulgation by Buddha himself. It must be clearly realised that in the one case as in the other this formal source is only a theoretic notion. The rules of the Vinayapitaka were in point of fact derived from various material sources, but on each rule the theory was superimposed that it had been promulgated by Buddha on a certain occasion. To this theory all the canonical writers are piously committed: it is in fact the setting in which nearly all Buddhist rules and doctrines are cast in early Pali literature. The consequence of the systematic application of this theory has been that the evolved character of the laws of the Vinayapitaka has been transparently veiled by an orthodox theory of their origin. Rules which are inconsistent with each other and which clearly belong to different stages in the evolution of Buddhist monachism are thus placed on the same chronological level by putting them into the mouth of Buddha. This Buddha, the promulgator of monastic laws, is not any historical personage but only the embodiment of a theory, representing the formal source of all Buddhist laws and doctrines. An inadequate appreciation of this point is responsible for much of the confusion of thought which underlies many current histories of Buddhism.

Yet the theory, explained above, which dominates the entire corpus of Buddhist literature does not suffice to

explain the form of a rule in the Vinayapitaka. Let us take an instance at haphazard to illustrate the form of a Vinaya rule. In Cullavagga, V, 33.3, a rule is laid down against the sneezing superstition. When a Bhikkhu has sneezed, the other Bhikkhus should not say to him 'Jīva' (Live). He who does so is guilty of a Dukkata. But it is permitted to say, 'Long Live,' to a house-holder on his sneezing. Now this rule is not simply laid down and attributed to Buddha. But the facts, real or supposed, and the reason on which the promulgation of this rule is based, are set out in detail. Many of such facts from which these rules follow are obviously inventions, as I shall indicate by a few illustrations later on. But what is important for us to consider in this connection is the stereotyped form of each rule—first, certain facts arise, then they are pressed on the attention of Buddha (this may be in any way—certain Bhikkhus do something and other Bhikkhus protest, or lay men protest, or certain facts come under Buddha's personal observation, or certain facts are reported to him, etc.), then follows the judgment of Buddha, embodying a rule, exactly covering the facts of the case. It will be observed that this form of laying down a rule of law has nothing analogous to it in Brahmanical legal literature: *it is in fact a form which precedes the era of codes.*

Sir Henry Maine, in his epoch-making work on *Ancient Law*, which has opened a new department of legal study, has said, "The conception of the Deity dictating an entire code or body of laws as in the case of the Hindu Laws of Manu, seems to belong to a range of ideas more recent and more advanced." [20] "The earliest notions," he says, "connected with the conception, now so fully

[20] Maine's *Ancient Law* (Edited by Pollock, 1909), p. 5. But Maine's characterisation of the Laws of Manu is not quite accurate, as every student of Hindu Law is aware.

developed, of a law or rule of life, are those contained in the Homeric words 'Themis' and 'Themistes.'" [21] Now the Greek Themis, as Maine explains it, was in effect nothing but "an authoritative statement of right and wrong in a judicial sentence after the facts, not one presupposing a law which has been violated." Themistes were thus "simply ADJUDICATIONS ON INSULATED STATES OF FACTS and did not necessarily follow each other in orderly sequence." [22] Maine regards the Greek Themistes, mentioned by Homer, as the most primitive form of enunciating any rule of life, and the fact is most remarkable that it is in this form that the rules of the Vinayapitaka are cast. Each rule purports to be a statement of right and wrong in a solemn judgment pronounced by Buddha after certain facts have arisen. He is therefore more a judge than a professed legislator. He pronounces on the validity of acts done by the Bhikkhus and does not profess to prescribe general courses of conduct for them.

We may take for example the following rules about foot-covering for the Bhikkhus in Mahavagga, V, of which there are fourteen :

(*i*) The use of shoes with one lining is enjoined. Shoes with double, treble or many linings are not to be worn on pain of *Dukkata* (1. 30 at the end).

(*ii*) Shoes that are all of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange or yellowish colour are not to be worn on pain of *Dukkata* (2. 1).

(*iii*) Shoes that have edges of a blue, etc., colour are not to be worn on pain of *Dukkata* (2. 2).

(*iv*) Many luxurious kinds of shoes which are enumerated are prohibited on pain of *Dukkata* (2. 3).

(*v*) Shoes adorned with skins of different animals which are enumerated are prohibited on pain of *Dukkata* (2. 4).

[21] *Ibid*, p. 3. [22] *Ibid*, p. 8.

(*vi*) New shoes with linings are prohibited on pain of *Dukkata*, but cast-off shoes with linings are allowed (3. 2).

(*vii*) The wearing of shoes in the presence of unshod teachers and superiors is prohibited on pain of *Dukkata*. So is the wearing of shoes in the open ārāma (4. 2).

(*viii*) The wearing of shoes in cases of disease is enjoined (5. 2).

(*ix*) The use of foot-coverings is enjoined for one who wishes to get up on a couch or a chair (6. 1).

(*x*) The use of foot-coverings is enjoined in the open ārāma and also of a torch, a lamp and a walking-stick (6. 2).

(*xi*) The use of wooden shoes is prohibited on pain of *Dukkata* (6. 4).

(*xii*) The use of shoes made of talipat leaves is prohibited on pain of *Dukkata* (7. 2).

(*xiii*) Ditto of bamboo leaves (7. 3).

(*xiv*) The use of shoes made of *Tina*-grass, etc. (all enumerated) is prohibited on pain of *Dukkata* (8. 3).

Each one of these fourteen rules is said to have arisen *ex post facto*. To rule (*vi*), for instance, the following typical story is appended :—

Buddha, once on a time, went into Rajagaha accompanied by a Bhikkhu who walked limping. On seeing his condition a lay man took off his own shoes which had many linings and, approaching him, asked : (Mahavagga, 3. 1-2) :

'Why does your reverence limp ?'

'My feet, friend, are blistered.'

'But here, Sir, are shoes.'

'Enough, good friend ! shoes with many linings have been forbidden by the Blessed One.' (-*Vide* No. 1.)

On hearing this conversation, Buddha called upon the Bhikkhu to accept the shoes and having delivered a religious discourse, laid down the above rule [No. (*vi*)] for

the Bhikkhus. The rule is properly an adjudication, a pronouncement on certain facts, prescribing a single act, *viz.*, the wearing of shoes of a certain kind when they are cast-off. Now all the fourteen rules, containing injunctions, prohibitions and permissions, might have been gathered up, as in a modern rule of law, into one comprehensive formula laying down the kinds of shoes allowable and the occasions for their use and thus prescribing a general course of conduct. But this is not done. Instead we have many distinct rules, each embodying an adjudication on the facts as they arise on a particular occasion. The form is curious : the old Greek form of Themistes, which, according to Sir Henry Maine, is the most primitive form of laying down any rule of life.

If the analogy that I have pointed out between a Greek Themis and a Vinaya rule be true, it may help us a good deal in understanding the Vinayapitaka. It becomes abundantly clear why the codex of Buddhist canon law is not in the form of a code. It enshrines in fact a fossilised relic of the mode of law-making prevalent in primitive societies. We understand also why a story was thought to be necessary to append to every law. In primitive conception every law being an adjudication and command, the 'state of facts' on which the adjudication was made could not be dispensed with in laying down the law. From this point of view, the Vinayapitaka is of immense value in the history of law, preserving, as it does, the most primitive jural notion, found only as a trace in Homer, which has worn out completely in later legal literature of Greece, Rome and India.

Now these 'states of facts' out of which the rules arise show a bewilderingly varied character. Some of the stories may have a kernel of historical truth which was borne down to later times on the current of persistent tradition. For some of the rules are so curious and

unthinkable in character and arise so naturally out of the stories that one is tempted to attribute some truth to the fundamental stories. Others were only legendary stories to which the rules were artificially fitted in later times. Thus the whole legendary life-story of Jivaka is given at the beginning of Mahavagga, VIII, and a rule only indirectly and incidentally connected with the story, is laid down at the end in Mahavagga, VIII, 2. 36. Of the other rules again it is extremely difficult to say whether the stories appended to them have any historical or legendary value. Thus for instance in Mahavagga, VI, 17.7, certain rules of mendicancy are relaxed and the story says that this was necessitated by scarcity of food prevailing at Rajagaha. These relaxations are expressly removed in 32.2, and the old rules of mendicancy are re-inforced, on the ground that no scarcity was then prevailing at Vesali, where the rules were re-inforced, 'the city being well-stocked with food, the harvest good, alms easy to obtain, and a living procurable, even by gleanings in the fields.' The two sets of rules, one abrogating the other, read together, might suggest that the Bhikkhus actually used to relax a little the rigour of the rules of mendicancy by storing up food during times of scarcity, but afterwards this was felt to be not proper and the practice was generally given up. But this is purely conjectural and the stories might point to certain actual incidents. We next come to the stories which are obvious inventions made in order to base the rules upon them. Sometimes on the basis of the same story two different rules are grounded as in Mahavagga, VI, 9 and VIII, 17, and also in Cullavagga, V, 20. 1-2 and IV, 4. 8-9. Again the rule sometimes does not arise out of the story at all or is very remotely connected with it, and numerous instances of this may be cited. Sometimes the inventive genius of the author seems to fail him and on the basis

of very slender, featureless and commonplace stories whole manuals of conduct are given as in Mahavagga, VIII, I and V. Lastly we light upon stories which are the barest and the most commonplace possible, the narrative tending to the irreducible minimum, as in Cullavagga, V, 6, where the rule does not arise out of the story at all (which is simply this, that a Bhikkhu was bitten by a snake), and is given only to introduce a recipe for snake-bite. As a matter of fact there is a great variety in the degree of adjustment between the rule and the story in the Vinayapitaka. But the stories, however slight and commonplace, were thought to be necessary, for the primitive jural notion was that a rule of conduct must needs be an adjudication on a certain state of facts.

But the stories, apart from the rules and by themselves, possess a value of their own to the historical student. Apart from worthless invention, even those stories which are obviously legendary are valuable as letting us into the social, moral and mental atmosphere of the times in which they originated. Victor Hugo has well said, " History has its truth ; legend has its truth. Legendary truth is of a different kind from historic truth. Legendary truth is invention with reality for result." These legendary stories of the Vinayapitaka therefore may well be received in illustration, though not in proof. But the character of each story must be cautiously sifted before it may be evaluated by the historian. Some of them have such a strong appearance of reality that they easily delude us into mistaking them for genuine history. An illustration may be taken from the story appended to the rule against the sneezing superstition which we have already referred to.

It is said that on a certain occasion when Buddha was delivering a sermon, he happened to sneeze, whereon

there was such a mighty shout of "Jīvatu bhante bhagavā Jīvatu sugato," that the discourse was interrupted. Buddha then explained to the simple-minded audience the futility of this benediction and laid down the rule against saying 'Jīva' after a sneeze by a Bhikkhu. But the rule was relaxed in favour of a householder the saying of 'Jīva' to whom by a Bhikkhu after a sneeze was allowed. The superstition condemned here is, as Tylor has pointed out [23], one of the most persistent 'survivals in culture.' It exists in all countries in all ages. The lucky sneeze of Telemachos in the *Odyssey* called forth a shout of adoration to the gods along the ranks of warriors. Tiberius Cæsar, 'the saddest of men,'—so Pliny the historian tells us,—exacted a salute after a sneeze. The story of the sneezing of the king of Monomotapa and the shouts of blessings, passing from mouth to mouth in the city, is quaintly told by that philosophic observer of human errors, Sir Thomas Browne, in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*. Whether among the civilized Greeks and Romans or the savage tribes of the Zulus,the Polynesians, the New Zealanders and the Samoans, whether in the east among the Indians or in the west among the Europeans, the sneezing superstition, descended from the primitive conception of 'soul' as *Anima* or Breath, flourishes in an equal degree. Now considering the world-wide and extraordinary prevalence of this superstition and its condemnation in the Vinayapitaka, one is naturally led to think that it was the work of a bold rational thinker who deprecated a popular and wide-spread superstition. We seem almost to come in touch with a personality behind the rule—a strong rational personality. But when we consider the rule in the light of the ideas prevalent among

[23] See Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1891), Vol. I, pp. 97-104

the Indian Sannyasis and Paribrajakas in ancient times, we observe that it is only one form of a prevalent idea among them. The Buddhist rule allows that 'Jīva' may be said to a householder after a sneeze, and it is clearly implied that there is a certain difference in the ideas of the Sannyasis and Paribrajakas on which the exception is grounded.[24] We know that one of the fundamental ideas among the Paribrajakas was they should regard their bodies as carcases.[25] Even among the Sannyasis of the present time the idea in many forms and implications prevails. I have seen many Sannyasis who do not accept a salute on the ground "that a corpse may not be saluted."[26] I am reliably informed that the Sannyasis of any denomination do not say 'Jīva' after a sneeze. The idea may derive some of its strength also from the ancient Doctrine of Sorrow which is reflected in post-vedic Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina literatures and which dominates the Indian mind even to-day. An attachment to and longing for life such as is implied in the benediction of Jīva is inconsistent with the principles of Sannyasi life. The Buddhist rules about the sneezing superstition may well be one of the many protean forms of a prevalent idea among the Paribrajakas and Sannyasis, the story and the reason being of later invention in support of a well-recognised practice. Thus the supposed personal authorship of the rule vanishes and our search after its origin ends not in a rational personality, but in a certain group of ideas.

The illustration given above serves as a much-needed caution against the hasty interpretation of any rule in

[24] Cf. Gihī bhikkhave mangalikā (Cullavagga, V, 33. 3). But this reason suggests nothing. It is only an after-thought to supply a reason for an already existing practice.

[25] See Deussen's *Upanishads*, p. 382.

[26] This was what certain Sannyasis actually told me when I was going to salute them. They gave no authority for this reason on which they refused a salute.

the Vinayapitaka. In interpreting any Vinaya rule, the following points must be carefully considered and allowance made therefor :

(*i*) The orthodox theory which covers the diverse origins of the rules.

(*ii*) The common, primitive form in which all the rules are cast.

(*iii*) The place of any rule in question in the order of evolution of monasticism among the Bhikkhus.

(*iv*) The value of the story in relation to the rule which is ostensibly based upon it.

Unless we are prepared to take into consideration all these points, we cannot presume to understand in their true light and bearing the laws of Vinayapitaka. Through an inadequate appreciation of the complexities of the problem, even many learned writers on Buddhism have been betrayed into fathering on the historic Buddha rules and regulations of his Order for which he could not possibly have been responsible.

CHAPTER II

The Primitive Paribrajakas—A Theory of their Origin

It is generally admitted that much of the earliest canonical literature of the Buddhists and the Jainas, whatever their actual chronology, reflect to us in faithful traditions the life and society of northern India in 6th century, B. C. It is not necessary for us to enter here into the elaborate arguments on which this view is based. But students of ancient literature know with what persistency traditions survive long centuries after the historical facts in which they originated have passed into oblivion. It is even possible in some cases to discover the original historical facts hidden in them by the search-light of historical criticism. This 'harking back' in ancient literature, once clearly perceived and intimately realised by the historian, helps to guide his steps beyond the chronological limits where written records come to a stop. Thus the Udāna seems to be a comparatively late Pali work in the Sutta-pitaka. Yet the description of the Paribrajakas in the Jaccandhavagga (4, 5, 6) of the Udāna clearly points back to the teeming life of the Paribrajaka community in the lifetime of Buddha. They are described thus: "sambahulā nānātitthiyā samanabrāhmanā paribbajakā * * nānāditthikā nānākhantikā nānārucikā nānāditthinissayanissitā."[1] They enter Sāvatthi in a miscellaneous crowd for alms, putting forth many speculative doctrines of the same character, though not exactly the same, as those discussed in the Brahmajāla-suttanta, wounding one another with 'mouth-weapons' (mukhasatthihi). The whole passage is purely reminiscent

[1] Steinthal's *Udānam* (P. T. S.), pp, 66-67.

and bears the stamp of an earlier age than the time when the Udāna itself was compiled, for there is reason to think that the Paribrajaka community did not contain so many sectarian varieties later on.

If then we take the Buddhist Pitakas and the Jaina Angas as representing North Indian life of the 6th century, B. C., one notable feature of it stands out in relief. It is the existence of a populous community of men who live outside the organisation of society. They are called by various names,—Paribbajaka, Bhikkhu, Samana, Yati, Sannyasi, etc.,—the last name however being seldom used in Buddhist and Jaina literature. They have one essential characteristic in common, *viz.*, that they are all professed religieux, homeless and nomadic. The standing phrase in the Pali scriptures for one who embraces this mode of life is—Agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajati. Hence in the following pages we have called all sorts of this wandering religious community by the general name of Paribrajaka. The character of this community is so varied and miscellaneous that it is extremely difficult to generalise upon it. They live by begging, have no settled dwelling (except during the rains when the observance of the Rain-retreat is a common custom among them),[2] move about from place to place, and are either ascetics, practising austerities,[3] or are, to quote the words of Rudyard Kipling, 'dreamers and babblers of strange gospels.' No other common characteristics can be attributed to the community as a whole.

In this community of wandering religious men, a superior place is assigned to one class, called the Samanas. Thus in the Kāssapa-sīhanāda-sutta, the burden of

[2] See Chapter V of the present thesis.

[3] See the description of the practices of the Samanas and Brahmanas in *Kassapa-sihanada-sutta* in Digha Nikaya. There was at first no clear line of division between the Vānaprastha or Tāpasa and the Sannyasin.—See Deussen's *Upanishads*, p. 372.

the paragraphs, 15-17, setting out the higher ideal of religious life, is " From that time, O Kāssapa, is it that the Bhikkhu is called a Samana, is called a Brahmana." The superiority of the Samana is implied in Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, 62, when Buddha says, in reply to Ananda, that there is no Samana in a dhamma wherein the ' Noble Eightfold Path ' is not found. It is only the Samana moreover that is mentioned in the Pali works, in Jaina literature, in the Inscriptions of Asoka, etc., in juxtaposition with the Brahmana—a class of the Aryan society held always in the highest honour since the dawn of Indian history. The Samanas are represented as enjoying the same intellectual pre-eminence as the Brahmanas. The intellectual activities of both the Samanas and the Brahmanas are described, criticised and commented on in Buddhist and Jaina literature. In the Brahmajāla Suttanta, a number of philosophic speculations agitated among the Brahmanas and the Samanas are discussed and refuted. (The Jaina counterpart of this Buddhist suttanta is found in the short section, entitled Freedom from Errors, in the Sutrakritanga in which a number of heretical theses are catalogued.[4]) In the Jaina Angas also samples of the speculative ideas of the Brahmanas and Samanas are given *passim*. In the Kāssapa-sīhanāda Sutta, the Samanas and Brahmanas are classified together as—Sila-vādā, Tapo-jigucchāvādā, Pannā-vādā, Vimutti-vādā,[5] and an account of their various ascetic practices is given. Instances may be easily multiplied from Buddhist and Jaina literature to show that the Samanas equally with the Brahmanas enjoyed intellectual pre-eminence with the people, being regarded as the chosen exponents of philosophic ideas and speculations current in that age.

[4] See *Jaina Sutras* (S. B. E.), Pt. II, pp. 405-409.

[5] See *Kassapa-sihanada-sutta*, 21 (D N.—P. T. S., Vol. I, p. 174).

The distinguished place that the Samanas held in the Paribrajaka community is recognised by outsiders also. People keep up gifts of piety to Samanas and Brahmanas alike.[6] The feeding of the Samanas and Brahmanas is recognised as a meritorious act ;[7] they are feasted and entertained on auspicious days.[8] They are together mentioned as being worthy of respect and gifts in the Inscriptions of Asoka.[9] They are piously invoked along with other tutelary spirits for protection.[10] Both the Brahmanas and the Samanas go to the assembly convoked by the king and, being professors of religion, gain proselytes, who pay high honour to them, by explaining and teaching their religions.[11] Even a slave, it is said, when he becomes a 'pabbajito samano' is worthy of reverence by the King himself,[12] and Avantiputta, King of Madhurā, says to Mahākaccayana that he would extend to the Sudra the same honourable treatment as to a Kshatriya if both are Samanas, for the simple reason that in the life of the Samana caste distinctions do not subsist—yā hi'ssa bho kaccāna pubbe suddo ti samannā sā'ssa antarahitā, samano t'eva sankham gacchatīti.[13] The Buddhist scriptures represent kings as respectfully consulting not only

[6] See *Samanna-phala-sutta*, 14,—Samana-brahmanesu uddhaggikam dakkhinam patitthapenti sovaggikam sukha-vipakam sagga-samvattanika.

[7] See *Jaina Sutras*, Pt. II, p. 39—In the *Pravrajya of King Nami*, Sakra in the guise of a Brahmana tries to dissuade King Nami from the life of the Sramana and calls upon him to assume his kingly duties at Mithila. Among other things, Sakra says, "Offer great sacrifices, *feed Sramanas and Brahmanas*, give alms, enjoy yourself and offer sacrifices : thus you will be a true Kshattriya."

[8] On auspicious days many Sramanas and Brahmanas, guests, paupers and beggars are entertained with food—*Jaina Sutras*, Pt. I, p. 92.

[9] See *Girnir Inscriptions*, *Sahabajgar Inscriptions*, etc.

[10] *E. g.*, अष्टयनषा ब्राह्मणा अष्ट जनपदेषु चतिया।
अष्ट स इन्द्रका देवा सदा रचां करोन्तु वः॥
Senart's *Mahāvastu*, III, 310, 5.

[11] See *Sutrakritānga* (*Jaina Sutras*, pt. II, pp. 339 ff).

[12] See *Samanna-phala-sutta*, 35, 36.

[13] See *Madhurā Sutta* in Majjhima Nikaya (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 356, Text and Translation by Robert Chalmers).

Buddha but also other leading Samanas,[14]—though among them there were recruits from the untouchable classes and though we frequently hear of Sudras and Candālas becoming samanas.[15]

From all this evidence, it is quite apparent that the Sramanas enjoyed the highest status among the wandering community of religious mendicants. Among the Sramanas, there were leaders of sects and parties (*e. g.*, Nigrodha,[16] Sanjaya,[17] Uruvela[18] and others) and six of them are constantly referred to in Pali literature as 'sanghī ganī ganacāriyo.'[19] Many of these sects and parties are enumerated in Buddhist and Jaina literature, but these enumerations are difficult to understand and more difficult to reconcile with one another. One list occurs in a passage in the Anguttara to which Rhys Davids has drawn prominent attention.[20] It mentions ten sects—Ajivaka, Nigantha, Mundasavaka, Jatilaka, Paribbajaka, Magandika, Tedandika, Aviruddhaka, Gotamaka, and Devadhammika. We fall into hopeless difficulties in defining these sects, as they cross and overlap one another. A different enumeration is found later on in the Milindapanho[21]—Malla, Atona, Pabbata, Dhammagiriya, Brahmagiriya, Nataka, Naccaka, Langhaka, Pisāca,

[14] See for example the opening sections of *Samanna-phala Sutta.*

[15] Rhys Davids says (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, p. 103): "We have seen how in the Sāmanna-phala-Sutta, it is taken for granted that a slave would join an Order (that is any Order, not the Buddhist ?). And in the Aganna Sutta of the Digha and the Madhurā Sutta of the Majjhima, there is express mention of the Sudras becoming Samanas *as if it were a recognised and common occurrence long before the time of the rise of Buddhism.* So in the Jataka (III, 381) we hear of a potter, and at IV, 392 of a Candala, who became Samanas (not Buddhist Samanas)."

[16] *C. f.* Tena kho pana Nigrodha paribbajako samayena Udambarikaya paribbajakarame pativasati mahatiya paribbajakaparisaya saddhim timsa-mattehi paribbajaka-satehi—*Udumbarika sihanada-sutt ant a* (Digha Nikaya, P. T. S., III, p. 36).

[17] See Chapter II, of the present thesis.

[18] See Mahavagga, I, 22.

[19] See Chapter III, footnote 1.

[20] *Buddhist India*, pp. 144-46; *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, pp. 220-222.

[21] See Tenckner's *Milindapanho*, p. 191.

Manivadda, Punnavadda, Candima-suriya, Siridevata, Kalidevata, Siva, Vasudeva, Ghanika, Asipasa, Bhaddiputta. They are said to be so many Ganas (sects) and of them the Pisācā (under the name of Pisācillikā) are referred to in Cullavagga, V. 10, 2, and they certainly were a sect of religious mendicants as they are said to have carried begging-bowls made of skulls. As regards the other sects in the Milindapanho enumeration, we know nothing except what their names seem to import to us. The Jaina commentator Sīlānka (9th century, A.D.) quotes a very old hemistich in one of his glosses in which Samanas are classified as five—Nirgrantha, Sākya, Tāpasa, Gairika and Ājīvaka.[22] In the corpus of early epigraphical records of Northern India, we find mention only of the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Ājīvakas. (No mention is found of the last after the 2nd century, B. C.)[23] Now these enumerations of the mendicant sects that we may discover belong to different times and cannot be reconciled with one another. The confusion which underlies them is due to various causes—to partial and defective knowledge, inadequate appreciation of the distinction between genus and species, and confusion between tradition and personal knowledge. It is also extremely difficult to say how many of the sects enumerated by later writers go back to the 6th century, B.C.

Among these sects and parties there seems to have existed in primitive times a good deal of mutual intercourse. In the course of their constant peregrinations they frequently met together at rest-houses and also at common meeting-places specially built for them, one of which is even called a Debating Hall-samayappavādakasālā).[24]

[22] See *Jaina Sutras*, Pt. I, p. 128, foot-note 1.

[23] See the Cave Dedications of Dasaratha in the Nāgārjuni Hills—Smith's *Asoka*, p. 201.

[24] See *Buddhist India*, p. 142. See also *Potthapada Sutta*, 1 (Digha Nikaya, P. T. S., Vol. I, p. 178).

The effects of such mutual intercourse must have been considerable and are perceptible at any rate in the early history of Jainism in the borrowing of the rules of one sect by another and in the growth of new sects by fission. Jacobi[25] and Hoernle[26] have traced in Jainism borrowings from the Acelakas and the Ājīvakas and similar borrowings may no doubt be discovered in Buddhism also. Instances occur of the members of one sect going over to another or a secessionist party founding a new sect, as the Jatilakas become Buddhists, the followers of Sanjaya accept Buddha as their Satthā, Mahāvīra breaks with Mokkhali Gosāla,[27] as Devadatta with Buddha, founding a new sect. The primitive Paribrajaka sects were of a proselytising character and must have considerably influenced and modified one another with such facilities of mutual intercourse. Each of these sects had a clearly defined Dhamma of its own, but whether it had an equally clearly defined Vinaya, a special body of external rules, is another question which I have dealt with in Chapter III of the present thesis. Among all sects, as has already been said, it was the Sramanas who were entitled to the highest reverence.[28] The above is the general picture revealed to us of the Paribrajaka community of the 6th century, B. C. in the earliest Buddhist and Jaina canonical literature. This remarkable mendicant community have lasted down to our day and remained a constant factor in Indian history through all its chances and changes. They have excited the liveliest interest of all

[25] See *Jaina Sutras*, Pt. II, Intro. pp. xxxi-xxxii.

[26] See *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bibliotheca Indica), pp. 108-111 (foot-note 253).

[27] See *ibid.* The story of Mahavira's discipleship of and subsequent breach with Gosāla is told in *Bhagavati Sutta*. The passage is translated by Hoernle: *Uvā.*, Appendix.

[28] The name 'Sramana' is not usually applied to a Brahmanical Paribrajaka in the Dharmasutras and Dharmasastras. Medhatithi however refers to a *Sramanaka Sutra* as an authority on certain practices of the Hindu Paribrajaka in his commentary on Manu, VI, 25. (See Bühler's *Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., p. 203, Note).

foreigners who came out to India at different times from 'Philip's warlike son' to Professor Campbell Oman in our day.[29]

The origin of this community of itinerant religious mendicants, of such hoary antiquity in India, is wrapped in obscurity. But European writers on Buddhism have sometimes put forward theories of their own which it will be necessary for us to examine carefully before propounding any other theory. We may take as typical the theories suggested by Rhys Davids, Max Müller, Deussen and Oldenberg.

1. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* says with characteristic bias—"The intellectual movement before the rise of Buddhism was in a large measure a lay movement, not a priestly one.[30]" The result of this 'lay movement,' he seems to think, was the growth of these wandering bodies of religieux, the Paribbajakas of Pali literature. This is a wide, vague, *à priori* theory, resting really on very slender foundation. In the first place, to speak of a general intellectual movement in Northern India immediately before the rise of Buddhism is one of the many misleading commonplaces of ancient Indian history. There is nothing except the accounts of the intellectual activities of the Samanas in Buddhist and Jaina literature to prove that there was any intellectual movement, properly so called, in the immediate pre-Buddhistic age. Thoughts, ideas, philosophic speculations had no doubt broadened down from century to century among the intellectual section of the people, but whether there was any general 'acceleration' of intellectual life, giving birth to these wandering bodies of sophists and teachers among whom religious and philosophical questions were so earnestly and

[29] See Oman's *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India* (Ch. VI on *Sadhus as described by some European Visitors to India*).

[30] *Buddhist India*, p. 159.

restlessly agitated, is an open question. To infer an intellectual movement from the abundance of religious wanderers and philosophic speculators in the 6th century, B. C., and then to account for their growth by the intellectual movement involves a '*petitio principii*.' In the second place, to point to an intellectual movement in any age necessarily implies a comparison with the preceding ages and such comparisons are impossible in ancient Indian history where we have no continuous records to build upon. If the same amount of materials which we have for the reconstruction of social life in the immediate pre-Buddhistic age were available for the age preceding it, we might possibly have come to a different conclusion. There is therefore no sufficient warrant for propounding such facile theories as that of a pre-Buddhistic intellectual movement, and to do so would be, to adopt Rhys Davids' own metaphor, like playing chess '*sans voir*,' without seeing the pieces. The theory which is born of the notion that in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., there was a world-wide intellectual movement[31], is thus a fruitless one for our purpose.

2. Paul Deussen sets great store by the practical results of the Upanisad theories of Tapas and Nyāsa.[32] But Deussen's argument may be applicable to only one section of the primitive Paribrajaka community, but not to the whole body, for many Paribrajaka sects, whose doctrines are known to us, did not recognise at all the very fundamentals of such theories, and were admitted on all hands to be openly anti-Brahmanical. In the

[31] "Then suddenly and almost simultaneously, and almost certainly independently, there is evidence, about the sixth century, B. C., in each of these widely separated centres of civilization (China, Persia, Egypt, Italy, Greece), of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take the place of the old religion of custom and magic."—*Buddhist India*, p. 239.

[32] See Deussen's *The Upanisads*, pp. 361, ff.

Kāssapa-Sīhanāda-Sutta, a class of Sramanas and Brahmanas are called *Vimutti-vādā*. In this class probably are to be included the Brahmanical Yogis and Sannyasis whose religious activities were explicitly grounded on the theory of Vimutti (Vimukti) or Emancipation from which, as Paul Deussen has shown, the practical results of Yoga and Nyāsa logically follow.[33] But the Vimutti-vādā among the Samanas constituted one class only and the Upanishad theories cannot account for the other classes of Paribrajakas who did not consider the Upanishad idea of Emancipation to be the *raison d'etre* of religious mendicancy. In Buddhist canonical literature for example the object and purpose of religious mendicancy is said to be nothing more than *Brahmacariya* (religiosity),[34] and the ideas of Tapas and Nyāsa are not at all suggested. The attachment to household life must be discarded, not because there is any special virtue in the mere rejection of it, but because worldly attachments are hindrances to religious living[35].

[33] The following is Deussen's argument (*ibid*, p. 411-12) :—"The clothing of the doctrine of emancipation in empirical forms involved as a consequence the conceiving of emancipation, as though it were an event in an empirical sense, from the point of view of causality, as an effect that might be brought about or accelerated by appropriate means. Now emancipation consisted in its external phenomenal side :—

(*i*) In the removal of the consciousness of plurality.

(*ii*) In the removal of all desire, the necessary consequence and accompaniment of that consciousness.

"To produce these two states artificially was the aim of two characteristic manifestations of Indian culture :

(*i*) Of the 'Yoga,' which by withdrawing the organs from the objects of sense and concentrating them on the inner self endeavoured to shake itself free from the world of plurality and to secure union with the 'Atma.'

(*ii*) Of the 'Sannyāsa,' which by casting off from oneself of home, possessions, family, and all that stimulates desire seeks laboriously to realise that freedom from all the ties of the earth."

(The passage is somewhat abridged.)

[34] See Ch. II of the present thesis, foot-note 4.

[35] *E.g.*, Sambādho gharāvāso rajo-patho abbhokāso pabbajjā. Naidam sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipunnam ekantaparisuddham sankha-likhitam brahmacariyam caritum—See *Samanna-phala-sutta*, V. 41 (D. N., P. T. S., Vol. I, p. 63). This passage is repeated in *Tevigga Sutta*. See also *Muni Sutta*, 14, 15, in Sutta-nipata (*Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E, pp. 35-36).

The Buddhist and Jaina religious mendicants never described themselves as Sannyāsin—the name which more frequently than any other describes this mode of life in the Upanishads. It cannot in fact be said that any one philosophic idea presided over the growth of the Paribrajaka institution,—for the speculative ideas which the Paribrajakas themselves profess are as widely various as the gnostic heresies of early Christian Church which Charles Kingsley described as "a strange brood of theoretic monsters, begotten by effete Greek philosophy on Egyptian symbolism, Chaldean astrology, Parsee dualism, and Brahmanic spiritualism."[36] Religious mendicancy in India cannot in fact be traced to the materialisation of any one philosophic idea.

3. If there is any force in the arguments we have put forward above, the theory of the Brahmanical ascetic being the original of the Buddhist and Jaina religious mendicant would be no longer tenable. Max Müller in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 351, Bühler in his translation of the *Baudhayana Sutra*, S. B. E. (*passim*), Kern in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* and Jacobi in his Introduction to the *Jaina Sutras*, S. B. E. (Pt. I, pp. xxiv-xxxii)—all contend that the Brahmanical ascetic was the model of the Buddhist and the Jaina. This may be true only in the sense that some of the rules of the Buddhist and Jaina Paribrajakas were probably borrowed from the Brahmanical Paribrajakas, which again is only a presumption raised by the fact, we have already referred to, of the mutual intercourse that existed among the Paribrajakas of different sects. But which of these rules were borrowed we can never ascertain. There existed a Paribrajaka community from remote antiquity in India and customs and practices among them were the common property of all sects. It is probable that the Buddhist

[36] See Kingsley's *Hypatia*.

Sangha among them was founded later than the sect of Brahmanical Paribrajakas. But the Brahmanical Sannyasis, the Buddhist Bhikkhus and the Jaina Srāvakas all belonged to the same ancient society of wandering religious mendicants, and it is obvious that among all the sects there should subsist a certain community of ideas and practices. The question of the origin of the institution of wandering religious mendicancy remains unsolved.

4. Oldenberg seems to find the solution in the popularising of philosophic speculations in the process of spreading from the Western schools among the simple and earnest people of the Eastern tracts.[37] This is also a wide and vague theory which however will appear to contain a certain element of truth.

It seems to me that the question has never been squarely faced in the proper historical spirit by any western scholar and hence the obscurity of *a priori* theories hangs heavily over it. An unbiassed enquiry however may tend somewhat to dissipate this obscurity and such an enquiry we propose in the following pages of this chapter. The manifestations of the 'other-worldly spirit' have been bewildering in their variety in ancient India and the idea which underlies this particular institution should first of all be dissociated from the other forms, like *Tapas* for instance, of this 'other-worldly spirit,'—and this basic idea is found in the stereotyped words, which describe one embracing the life of the religious mendicant and wanderer in Pali literature—*Agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajati* : it is homelessness for the sake of a higher spiritual life. This is the common attribute of all the Paribrajakas, whatever their sects, denominations, ideals and practices may be.

[37] See Oldenberg's *The Buddha*, pp. 63-64 (Hoey's Translation).

In the Rig-Veda, X, 136, certain Munis are described in the following verses :

केश्यग्निं केशी विषं केशी बिभर्त्ति रोदसी ।
केशी विश्वं स्वर्दृशे केशीदं ज्योतिरुच्यते ॥ (1)

Sāyana—केशा: केशस्थानीया रश्मय: तद्वन्त: केशिन: अग्निर्वायु: सूर्य्यश्च एते त्रय: स्तूयन्ते ।

मुनयो वातरशना: पिशंगावसते मला ।
वातस्यानुध्राजिं यन्ति यद्देवासो अविक्षत: ॥ (2)
उन्मदिता मौनेयेन वाताञ्आतस्थिमावयम् ।
शरीरेदमस्माकं यूयं मर्तासो अभिपश्यथ ॥ (3)

Sāyana—उन्मदिता उन्मत्तवदाचरन्त: यद्वा उत्कृष्टं मदं हर्षं प्राप्ता: ।

अन्तरिक्षेण पतति विश्वारूपावचाकशत् ।
मुनिर्देवस्य देवस्य सौकृत्याय सखाहित: ॥ (4)
वातस्याश्वो वायोःसखाऽथो देवेषितो मुनि: ।
उभौ समुद्रावाक्षेति यश्च पूर्व्व उतापर: ॥ (5)
अप्सरसां गन्धर्वानां मृगानां चरणे चरन् ।
केशी केतस्य विद्वान् सखा स्वादुर्मदिन्तम: ॥ (6)
वायुरस्मा उपामन्थत् पिनष्टि स्माकुनंनमा ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्रुद्रेणापिवत् सह ॥ (7)

Sāyana—केशी = सूर्य्य: ।

N.B.—It will be observed that the Muni is mentioned only in 2, 3 (*Mauneya*) , 4 and 5. In the other hymns the word is *Kesi*. Macdonell and Keith, rejecting Sāyana's interpretation, take this word as descriptive of the Muni, meaning 'long-haired' (see *Index to Vedic Names*, under Muni, foot-note 1). Iyenger also takes the word *Kesi* in the same sense. But I am inclined to follow Sāyana in this matter. If *Kesi* really refers to the Muni, the 7th hymn becomes nonsense ; if on the other hand it is taken to mean the sun, it yields very good sense.

From the orthodox commentary of Sāyana, it is difficult to determine the exact character of the Munis. But in the Aitareya Brāhmana, vi, 33, Aitasa, who is called a Muni, is a character far different from a wandering religious mendicant. The legend is told about him that he commenced to recite some meaningless *mantras* to his sons, one of whom, Abhyagni, fearing for his father's sanity, stopped his mouth and thereby incurred his curse which descended from him to his progeny. The character of Aitasa answers to the words उन्मदिता मौनेयेन (X. 136. 3) of which the first alternative interpretation by Sāyana is उन्मत्तवदाचरन्तः। If Aitasa is the type of the Rig-vedic Muni, he is surely not a homeless Sannyasi, Yati or Paribrajaka. The Muni described in the Upanishads however approaches more and more to the latter ideal till he is identified with the Paribrājaka[38]. But the danger of taking the later developed signification of a word to interpret its original sense is known to the merest tyro in philology. The question as to the character of the Rig-vedic Muni is thus involved in great doubt : Mr. Srinivas Iyengar identifies the Rig-vedic Muni with the Sannyasin[39], while Macdonell and Keith regard him as "more of a 'medicine man' (a character well-known among savage tribes) than a sage "—"an ascetic of magic powers with divine afflatus."[40]

[38] The fourth Āsrama is called by Āpastamba that of Mauna.
Cf. Dhammapada (Fausböll, no. 49)

Yathapi bhamaro puppham vanna gandham ahethayam
Paleti rasamādāya evam gāme muni care.

This is the description of a Paribrajaka—a character different from one who is "maddened with divine afflatus" (unmaditā mauneyena). Here the Muni and the Paribrajaka are completely identified.

[39] See Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, p. 77—"As Brahmacaryam, studentship, the first of the stages in the life of a Brahman, was invented in the age of the Mantras, so too, the fourth and last stage, that of the Sannyasi, called Muni, in the hymns."

[40] See Macdonell and Keith's *Index to Vedic Names*, loc. cit.

In the Atharva-Veda, xv, we have the glorified description of a roving spirit who is called a Vrātya. The Vrātya in this description is a mystic figure, "who appears at one time to be a supernatural being endowed with all the attributes of all-pervading Deity, and at another as a human wanderer in need of food and lodging." (Griffith's *Translation of the Atharva Veda*, p. 199). We quote below those expressions in Bk. xv which may be said to relate to the human attributes of the Vrātya :—

व्रात्य आसीदीयमानः। (1)

स विशोऽनुव्यचलत्। तं सभा च समितिश्च सेना च सुरा चानुव्यचलन्। (9)

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् व्रात्यो राज्ञोऽतिथिर्गृहानागच्छेत् श्रेयांसमनमात्मनो मानयेत् तथा क्षत्राय ना ह्वश्वते तथा राष्ट्राय न ह्वश्वते। (10)

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् व्रात्योऽतिथिर्गृहानागच्छेत् स्वयमेनमभ्युदेत्य ब्रूयाद् व्रात्य क्वावात्सी व्रात्योदकं व्रात्य तर्पयन्तु व्रात्य यथा ते प्रियं तथास्तु व्रात्य यथा ते वशस्तथास्तु व्रात्य यथा ते निकामस्तथास्तु। (11)

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् व्रात्य उद्धृतेष्वग्निष्वधिश्रितेऽग्निहोत्रे अतिथिर्गृहानागच्छेत्। स्वयमेनमभ्युदेत्य ब्रूयाद् व्रात्यातिसृज होष्यामीति। स चातिसृजेज्जुहुयान्नचातिसृजेन्नजुहुयात्। (12)

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् व्रात्य एकां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ये पृथिव्यां पुण्यालोकास्तान् तेनावरुन्धे। (13)

N.B.—The following attributes of the Vrātya are mentioned here :

(*a*) He wanders about.

(*b*) He goes among the people and is extremely popular and held in high regard.

(*c*) He is honoured by the king when he comes as a guest to his house.

(*d*) When he is a guest with a fire-worshipper, it is with his permission that sacrificial oblations should be made.

Except the expressions we have extracted above, the rest of the book is devoted to a grotesque idealisation of the Vrātya.

From this description it has been inferred by Roth (in *St. Petersburg Dictionary*) that the Vrātya idealised in the Atharva-Veda is a Paribrajaka. But this identification rests on very slender basis and there is nothing in the description, except the fact that he wanders about and is honoured both by the king and the people when he becomes their guest, which lends colour to Roth's interpretation. Besides as pointed out by Macdonell and Keith,[41] Roth's identification is not borne out by other passages descriptive of the Vrātya. It is beside our purpose to enter here into the much vexed question as to whether the Vrātya is a non-Aryan or an Aryanised non-Aryan or a degenerate Aryan. But the Vrātya in Bk. xv of the Atharva-veda can by no means be called a Paribrajaka.

Except the two passages, quoted above from the Rig-veda and the Atharva-veda respectively, I do not know of any other passage suggesting the existence of the Paribrajaka in that age which has been called by Iyenger "the age of the Mantras." The condition of the Brahmacārin being the origin of that of the Paribrajaka may be left out of the question, for although the Brahmacārin is sometimes described as "roaming as far as the land of the Madras," it is always in search of a teacher or in order to learn sacrifice.[42] The Brahmacārin is a pupil and learner, while the Paribrajaka is a wandering religious man, a teacher and sage. The later Āsrama theory keeps these two conditions of life clearly apart. The Vedic hymns, therefore, which may be said to constitute the earliest and purest Aryan elements in Indian culture, do not mention clearly the condition of the religious mendicant. Now, among the non-Indian branches of the

[41] See *Index to Vedic Names* under Vrātya.

[42] See *Index to Vedic Names* under Brahmacarya; also Deussen's *The Upanishads*, p. 370.

Indo-Europeans, although institutions analogous to Brahmanism are found, we do not find any trace of the existence of religious mendicancy in the earliest monuments of their literature. The Druids of Britain, the Brehons of Ireland, the Pontiffs of Rome and the Magi of Persia strongly resemble the Brahmanas of Aryan India.[43] But except in India, we do not know of the existence of Sramanism in primitive times in any country occupied by the Aryan race. The Macedonians who accompanied Alexander were struck with wonder at the Indian Gymnosophists. If they had seen anything similar to it in the Hellenic world, they would have surely made at least a passing reference to it in their lengthy accounts of the Gymnosophists.

References to the religious mendicant are found in Brahmanical literature after the 'Mantra period' (*e.g.*, Panini,[44] Brihadāranyakopanishad,[45] etc.), but the recognition of religious mendicancy as an institution of Aryan Brahmanical society seems to have been somewhat later.[46] This is proved by the gradual development of Āsrama theory in the Upanishads. The earlier Upanishads like the *Cchāndagya* and *Brihadāranyaka* do not recognise the condition of religious mendicancy as the Fourth Stage of a man's life, but they assume rather only three stages, and, as Deussen has pointed out, it is to the later period of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmasāstras that the fully developed theory of the Four Āsramas belongs. It may be legitimately assumed that if religious mendicancy had been an institution as old as the Mantras, it would have

[43] Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta in his *Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India* (Calcutta University Publication) pp. 15, ff. has dealt with this point.

[44] Panini mentions '*Bhikkhu Sutra*' in IV, 3. 100.

पाराशर्य्य शिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयो : ।

[45] See *Brihadāranyaka*, IV, 3.22—श्रमणोऽश्रमणस्तापसोऽतापस : ।

[46] This has been clearly pointed out by Deussen. His arguments and authoritie will be found at pp. 367-369 of *The Upanishads*.

found recognition in the earliest Upanishads. The greater likelihood is that it was not a primitive institution of Aryan Brahmanical society, although the religious mendicant existed in India and was held in great regard. It seems therefore perfectly reasonable to think that the condition of religious mendicancy developed on the Indian soil and was not introduced into the country by the early Aryan settlers whose life and society are reflected to us from the Vedic Mantras.

It may be taken for granted that the Brahmanical Dharmasāstras, although they betray the intrusion into them of diverse cultural elements, carry on the traditions of ancient Aryan life and society in those ideals which they consistently approve and exalt. Now, from the Cchāndogyopanishad down to the latest Samhitās, we observe the preference, consistently held, for the householder's state, the Second Āsrama. All the passages bearing on this point are cited in the *Appendix* to this chapter. The Upanishad doctrine of 'Emancipation through knowledge of Ātman' seems to have enfeebled only for a time the emphasis in Brahmanism on household life, by bringing to the foreground the idea of Nyāsa. Otherwise the Second Āsrama is extolled and exalted, regarded as the root and mainstay of the others, and for salvation, it is said, one need not go further. Other conditions of life which tend to prevent or postpone it, *e.g.*, persistence in Brahmacarya, etc., are deliberately ruled out.[47] The striking contrast that these passages offer to the Buddhist and Jaina ideas on household life is

[47] "दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्य्यं, *etc.*, एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः। निवर्त्तितानि कर्म्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्व्वकं बुधैः"—पराशरभाष्यधृतमादिपुराणम्।

In *Vrihan-Nāradiya-Purana*, xxii, 12-16, among practices avoidable in the Kaliyuga, though permitted by the sacred books, are mentioned वाणप्रस्थाश्रमः and दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्य्यं। *Vide* also क्रमाद्देपायनस्य गृहीतनैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्य्यस्य, etc., etc.... per Kumarila Bhatta, quoted in Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, (Panini Office Ed.), p. 25, foot-note 3.

eminently suggestive—a contrast which is well illustrated by the place and importance of the *Grihya Sūtras* in Brahmanism, the nidus out of which the whole Ācāra of the later Smritis has sprung, and the insignificant place held by the *Gahapati Vaggas* in Buddhism.[48] Over against the two dubious passages of the Rig-veda and the Atharva-veda, we may cite the whole trend of Brahmanical literature (with the exception of some of the later Upanishads) to show that Aryan life and society did not favour religious mendicancy. What is more interesting, —the rooted antagonism to it, though never clearly professed, comes out in many curious forms—in the idea for instance that the presence of a Munda is inauspicious and vitiates sacred rites. This belief is not due to any lately developed anti-Buddhistic bias, for we find an instance of it even in the Sutta-nipāta. In Vasala Sutta, the Brahmana Aggika Bharadvāja is engaged in sacrificing to the fire when he observes Buddha approaching him and calls out to him in anger to stay where he is—Tatr'eva mundaka tatr'eva samanaka tatr'eva vasakala titthahīti.[49] More than fifteen hundred years after, the same spirit dictates Mandana Misra when he rails at Sankara for intruding on his sacrificial oblations, although Sankara is a Brahmana Sannyasin—

तदानीं मण्डनमिश्रो विश्वेदेवान् सङ्कल्प्य शालग्राम स्वागतमिति दर्भाक्षतप्रक्षणकाले शङ्कराचार्य्यपादद्वयं मण्डलस्थं ददर्श। ततः सर्व्वाङ्गानि

[48] It will be observed that the *Gahapati Vaggas* lack any distinctive Buddhist character. Sometimes, as Kern has pointed out (*Man. of Ind. Bud.*, p. 68), they are borrowed from the Brahmanical scriptures and are at variance with Buddhistic doctrines. Kern observes that Buddhism is properly a monastic institution, and the laity is but accessory (*ibid*, p. 72). Dr. Archibald Scott finds the broadest distinction between the Christian Church and the Buddhist Church in the fact that the work of the former lay outside the limits of the Church. Of Buddhism, he says, "Its lay associates, however numerous, were but the fringes of religious communities. When, therefore, deterioration in the Order set in, reformation of it by the people was hopeless." (*Buddhism and Christianity*, p. 272.)

[49] See Fausböll's *Sutta-Nipāta*, P. T. S., p. 21.

वोच्य क्षणेन किलायं सन्यासीति ज्ञात्वा कोपकोलाहलचित्तः कुतो मुण्डीत्यवादीत्। इति प्रथमवाक्यं मिश्रस्य।[50]

If the mystic figure in Book XV of the Atharva-veda is really a Paribrajaka, it is significant that he is only a Vrātya and not a genuine or out-and-out Aryan.

Another highly significant point to be noticed is that one who wishes to embrace the life of a religious mendicant has to discard all the marks of Aryan birth and breeding, *e.g.*,

तं होवाच प्रजापतिस्तव पुत्रान् भ्रातॄन् वन्धादींश्छिखां यज्ञोपवीतञ्च यागञ्च सूत्रञ्च स्वाध्यायञ्च भूर्लोकभुवर्लोकस्वर्लोकमिहलोकजनलोकतपोलोकसत्यलोकञ्च अतलपातालवितलसुतलरसातलमहातलतलातलं ब्रह्माण्डञ्चविसर्जयेत् दण्डमाच्छादनञ्च परियहेत्। शेषं विसृजेत्।[51]

Now the factum of this rejection of the distinctive marks of Aryan birth, breeding and culture is glozed over in the Upanishads by fanciful interpretations. The Sannyasi does not offer **याग** but still he may be said to be doing **प्राणाग्निहोत्र**[52]; "the sacrificial fire he takes up into the fire of his belly; the Gāyatri into the fire of his speech"; the **यज्ञोपवीत** and **शिखा**, the twin symbols of Aryan ritualism, are discarded indeed, but "henceforth meditation alone is to serve as sacrificial cord and knowledge as the lock of hair—timeless Ātman is to be both sacred thread and 'lock or hair' for him who has renounced the world."[53] Observe the attempt made in these passages to Aryanise, as it were, the Sannyasin,—to show that although he has outwardly discarded the marks and symbols of Aryan culture, he still retains them in mind and spirit, possessing indeed all these signs, though it be in a

[50] See Anandagiri's *Sankara-Vijaya* (Jivananda Vidyasagar's Ed., p. 284)

[51] See *Āruneyopanishad, I.*

[52] See Deussen on *Prānāgnihotra* (*The Upanishads*, pp. 124 ff).

[53] See Deussen's *The Upanishads*, pp. 376, 377, where all the authorities are referred to.

spiritual sense. The glosses were necessary because the anomaly of recommending a somewhat non-Aryan mode of life was felt. Further, that this mode of life implies a definite break with the Vedas and the culture based on their authority seems to be implied in some of the preliminaries, recommended in the Upanishads, to be gone through by an intending Sannyasin. One of these is a simple offering to fire or water (Jāvāla, 4) with the words—ॐ सर्व्वाभ्यो देवताभ्यो जुहोमि स्वाहेति। Here, ॐ, it is said, implies the three Vedas (मोक्षमन्त्रस्त्रय्येवं विन्देत्—*ibid*). Perhaps it signifies that the Vedas are first to be sacrificed to the Gods by the intending Sannyasin.

In conclusion we must note the fact that the position of the Sramana was regarded by the people as being on a level of equality with the Brahmana: yet the Sramana is sharply distinguished from the latter,—and the Greek accounts, which have an inestimable value as being based on the observation, however defective, of real life, unbiased by theories, bear ample testimony to the fact that between these two classes there was a spirit of rivalry and competition.[54] The expression *Sramana-Brāhmanam* is taken by Patanjali in illustration of the rule येषाञ्च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः,[55] and the word, Sramana, in the expression need not necessarily be taken in the sense of a Buddhist Bhikkhu, for a Sramana might possibly mean even a Brahmanical Paribrajaka or Sannyasi.[56] How the casteless Sramanas,[57] not recognising the authority of the Vedas,[58] attacking the superiority of the Brahmanas,[59] sharply

[54] See Chapter V of the present thesis (Kleitarchos quoted by Strabo).

[55] See *Mahābhāsya*, loc. cit.

[56] See foot-note, 27 of this Chapter.

[57] See *Madhurā-Sutta* of Majjhima Nikaya and elsewhere to the effect that al castes are merged in the life of Sramana.

[58] See *Tevijja Sutta* of Digha Nikaya (D. N., Vol. I) and elsewhere in the Sutta pitaka.

[59] See *Ambattha Sutta* in Digha Nikaya (see also Rhys Davids' *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 103 ff); *Madhurā Sutta* in *ibid*; see also the famou

distinguished from them, attained an equal level with the highest caste of Aryan society in India appears like a standing puzzle. The result could not possibly have been brought about by the inner forces of Aryan society itself in which so far as we can trace the Brahmana class occupies the highest and most honourable place, though a trace of Kshatriya antagonism to their superiority appears in the Upanishads as well as in Jaina and Buddhist literature. The clue is probably to be found in the fact that the culture which is represented by Vedic literature and its derivatives was only one strand—it might be the predominant one—in the highly mixed warp and woof of ancient Indian life and civilization.

Since the time of Max Müller and 'the Philologists,' the theory of the Aryan occupation of India has been considerably modified by researches into Indian ethnology and sociology. The theory is being gradually narrowed to the conclusion that the Aryans (whether they came in one immigration or more) were "a small body of foreign immigrants," who, without producing great racial disturbances, acted as a strong leaven in the vast population of Dravidian and Munda races that occupied India.[60] The rich and virile culture of this small minority slowly infiltrated the life and civilization of the native non-Aryan populations till even their Aryan language was adopted by the natives in whose mouths it broke up into various dialects, in the same manner as rustic Latin fermented into the Romance

comparison of Buddhist *Dhamma-Vinaya* to the ocean having 8 qualities in which the four castes are likened to four rivers which lose themselves in the ocean (Culla, IX. 1, 4). Similar ideas are found elsewhere in Buddhist literature. In the Jaina *Kalpa-Sutra* (in Bhadravahu's *Lives of the Jinas*), it is said that Arhats, etc., are not born in low families, mean families, degraded families, poor families, indigent families, beggar's families or Brahmanical families. (Jai. Su. 1, p. 225.)

[60] See Oppert's *The Original Inhabitants of Bharatvarsa* and Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India*.

Languages in Southern Europe. The process of the Aryanisation of northern India was not the forced super-imposition but the gradual infiltration of a dominant culture which slowly but surely settled into a distinct Indian type. This process, having started from its original source in a definitely circumscribed circle of peoples in the West, seems to have gradually advanced towards the East along the valley of the Ganges. The Brāhmana literature points indeed to this circle of peoples as the radiating centre of Aryan culture; they correspond with those who are celebrated by Manu as upright in life; and they go back to the most prominent Aryan stocks mentioned in the Rig-Veda.[61] The Aryans and the Aryanised succeeded in assimilating to themselves large bodies of native population, converting them to their cult,[62] taking them as serfs or slaves, or elevating them to a recognised social standing by such ceremonies as the *Vrātya-stomas* described in the Pancavimsa-Brāhmana.[63] We cannot trace the successive stages of this eastward progress of Aryanisation, but the antique legend in the Satapatha-Brāhmana of the progress of Agni Vaiswanara marks a stage at which the Aryan influence stopped at the 'sundering stream' of Sadānīrā, near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna. The legend of the Satapatha-Brāhmana may be safely taken to be much older than the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. Beyond the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna are located many of the most prominent tribes and clans mentioned in Pali literature—Vacchas, Cetis, Mallas, Vijjis, Licchavis, Videhas, Kosalas, Kasis, Sakyas, Magadhas and Angas.[64] Three

[61] See Oldenberg's *The Buddha*, Excursus I.

[62] Ragozin in his *Vedic India* (Story of the Nations Series) has hazarded the conjecture that the *Gāyatri Mantra* was the formula of conversion of the non-Aryans by the Aryan priests.

[63] See Macdonnel and Keith's *Index to Vedic Names* under Vrātya.

[64] A list of these tribes and clans occurs in *Buddhist India*, p. 23.

of the eastern tribes, *viz.*, Bangas, Magadhas (Bagadhas?) and Ceras are, curiously enough, referred to in the Aitareya Āranyaka as species of birds.[65] These tribes and clans seem to have been out of the pale of the Aryan communities, but between the time of the Satapatha legend and the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, they must have been strongly leavened with Aryan thought and civilization. The conclusions formulated above are however still of a somewhat hypothetical character, but it is not possible for us within the limits of the present thesis to deal exhaustively with all the arguments that may be adduced in support of them—arguments turning on various aspects of Indian proto-history and pre-history.

But if we make the perfectly legitimate presumption that from age to age a process of Aryanisation was going on in northern India before the rise of Buddhism, profoundly influencing tribe after tribe and clan after clan, we have to observe further that the Aryan leaven must have worked in two converging lines—(*i*) in the spread of Aryan thoughts, ideas and beliefs, and (*ii*) in the much slower process of the modification and replacement of non-Aryan institutions by the Aryan. We know how rapidly mind influences mind and how slowly the settled habits of social life are changed and modified. Historical instances may be taken at random from almost anywhere —even from modern India itself under European influence. The process of Aryanisation on the mere intellectual side must have gone on in the east at a more rapid rate than that in social customs and institutions, and from this fact most interesting results would emerge. The divergence between the twofold process of Aryanisation, on the intellectual side and the social, would tend to increase more and more, as we receded further and

[65] Ai. Ār. II, 1, 1.—*But the expression is of doubtful import and cannot be insisted on.*

further east from the homeland of Aryan culture, the Āryāvarta, and the result of this divergence would naturally be more palpable and pronounced at the eastern borderland of Aryan civilization, exactly where in the 6th century B. C. Buddhism and Jainism arose.

Now the distinctive mental culture of the Aryans had, by the 8th and 7th centuries, various means of conservation, various modes of expression. First, there was the priestly class, the Brahmanas, the repositories of traditional learning, by whom philosophic speculations were carried on and developed. Secondly, there were the clannish academies like the Parishad of the Pancālas to which Svetaketu, in the Brihadāranyakopanishad, went for instruction.[66] Thirdly, there were the domestic centres of learning, the residences of Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and Gurus. Fourthly, there was at least one University of Asiatic fame that flourished at Takkasila with the traditions of which the Buddhist Jatakas are replete. Did analogous institutions exist among the peoples of the east—the non-Aryan or imperfectly Aryanised tribes and clans?

If the answer be in the negative, it is reasonable to suppose that when Aryan thought and culture invaded their society, it was diffused and dispersed among the populace. Who among them would be professors of the new learning? There were probably no Brahmanas in their social economy, no class of men who were traditionary repositories of learning. Nor could this new learning produce among them complete systems of philosophy, as

[66] श्वेतकेतुर्ह वा आरुणेयः पञ्चालानां परिषदमाजगाम।—VI. 2-1.

It appears from this reference that the Parishad was an academic institution attached to a clan, to which learners after the completion of preliminary studies used to resort. The descendants of the Vedic Parishads may be traced on the one hand to the King's *Sabhā*, mentioned by Manu, VIII, 1; Jajnavalkya, II, 1, *ets eq*, Narada, I, 15, etc., and on the other hand to the *Parishads* mentioned by Vasistha, III, 20; Gautama, XXVIII, 49 and other Smriti writers.

they had probably no conservative and corporate centres of learning,—academics or universities,—where speculative ideas are moulded into philosophic systems. The impact of Aryan thoughts, ideas, speculations of philosophy on the imperfectly Aryanised communities, without the characteristic Aryan institutions, seems to have given birth, even some three centuries before the birth of Buddhism (if an approximate chronology were needed), to this class of men, answering to the Brahmanas in Aryan society, who went about in a missionary spirit, dealing in philosophic speculations, teaching the uninstructed, and gaining honour and reputation thereby wherever they went. They were really the torch-bearers of a new Aryan learning like the *Scholastici Vagantes* of Renaissance Europe. This, it seems to me, to have been the true origin of the Sramanas. Even in the 6th century, B. C. they were much more in evidence in the eastern regions, for reasons suggested above, and they therefore occupy a more distinguished place in the literature that originated in the east—in the Buddhist Pitakas and the Jaina Angas. "It is in the East," says an ancient Buddhist tradition, "that the Buddhas are born."[67]

If this theory of the origin of the Sramana institution be accepted, it helps us a good deal in understanding several points about the Sramanas. The Sramana is a religious teacher, seeking convertities; he wanders about, most likely because the institution of the residential teacher is not established among the imperfectly Aryanised communities; his speculations are fragmentary and unsystematic as, in the absence of such consolidating agencies as academies and universities, we may naturally expect them to be; he is honoured as much as the Brahmanas because his function with regard to society is the same, namely, to instruct; he is a more important personage in the

[67] See Cullavagga, XII, 2, 3.

literature which reflects the life and society of the east more than that of the west, and lastly we must read the significance of the most striking feature of his character, his extreme earnestness, betokening the zeal of the professor of a comparatively new learning. The institution of Sramanism seems thus to have grown up among the imperfectly Aryanised communities of the east, spread, flourished and become highly popular, and with the remarkable elasticity which is characteristic of Brahmanism, it was later on affiliated to the Aryan system and theory of life, becoming the Fourth Āsrama. Along the upper reaches of the Ganges, where we find residential teachers, clannish academics and the Brahmana class, the place and function of the wandering philosophers was neither noteworthy nor important,—hence their scanty recognition in Brahmanical literature. But lower down they grew in number and importance and their religio-intellectual activities affected more deeply and widely the life of the people. Hence their abundance and pre-eminence in Buddhist and Jaina literature that had grown up in the east.

APPENDIX

CHAPTER II.

(The Exaltation of the Second Āsrama in Brāhmanical Literature. See p. 53)

Literature. See p. 53).

I

(Chāndagyopanishad, VIII, 15)

तद्वैद् ब्रह्मा प्रजापत उवाच प्रजातिर्मनवे मनुः प्रजाभ्यः आचार्य्यकुलाद् वेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं गुरोः कर्म्मातिशेषेणाभिसमाकृत्य कुटुम्बे शुचौ देशे स्वाध्यायमधीयानो धार्म्मिकान् विदधदात्मनि सर्व्वेन्द्रियाणि संप्रतिष्ठाप्याहिंसन् सर्व्वभूतान्यन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः स खल्वेवं वर्त्तयन् यावदायुषं ब्रह्मलोकमभिसम्पद्यते न च पुनरावर्त्तते न च पुनरावर्त्तते ।

II

(Gautama, Ch. III)

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो भिक्षुर्वैखानस इति तेषां गृहस्थो योनिरप्रजनत्वादितरेषाम् ।

III

Manu, Ch. III, 77-80 ; ibid, Ch. VI. 87. 89, 90)

यथा वायुं समाश्रित्य वर्त्तन्ते सर्व्वजन्तवः ।
तथा गृहस्थमाश्रित्य वर्त्तन्ते सर्व्व आश्रमाः ॥
यस्मात् त्रयोऽप्याश्रमिणो ज्ञानेनान्नेनचान्वहम् ।
गृहस्थेनैव धार्य्यन्ते तस्माज्ज्येष्ठाश्रमो गृही ॥ *et seq.*

IV

(Vasistha, Ch. III)

गृहस्थ एव यजते गृहस्थस्तप्यते तपः ।
चतुर्णामाश्रमानान्तु गृहस्थस्तु विशिष्यते ॥
यथा नदीनदाः सर्व्वे समुद्रे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ।
एवमाश्रमिणः सर्व्वे गृहस्थे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ॥

यथा मातरमाश्रित्य सर्व्वे जीवन्ति जन्तवः ।
एवं गृहस्थमाश्रित्य सर्व्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षुकाः ॥ *et seq.*

V

(*Sankha, Ch. V, 5, 6*)

वाणप्रस्थो ब्रह्मचारी यतिश्चैव तथाद्विजः ।
गृहस्थस्य प्रसादेन जीवन्त्येते यथाविधि ॥
गृहस्थ एव यजते गृहस्थस्तप्यते तपः ।
दाताचैव गृहस्थः स्यात् तस्माज्ज्येष्ठो गृहाश्रमी ॥

VI

(*Vasistha, Ch. VIII—Cchāndogya., 8.15*)

नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीतो ।
नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतितान्नवर्जी ॥
ऋतीगच्छन् विधिवच्चजुह्वन् ।
न ब्राह्मणश्च्यते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥

VII

(*Visnu. Ch. LIX, 28, 29*)

गृहस्थ एव यजते गृहस्थस्तप्यते तपः ।
ददाति च गृहस्थस्तु तस्माज्ज्येष्ठो गृहाश्रमी ॥
ऋषयः पितरो देवा भूतान्यतिथयस्तथा ।
आशासते कुटुम्बिभ्यस्तस्माज्ज्येष्ठो गृहाश्रमी ॥

VIII

(*Vyāsa, Ch. IV, 2*)

गृहाश्रमात् परो धर्म्म नास्ति नास्ति पुनः पुनः ।
सर्व्वतीर्थफलं तस्य यथोक्तं यस्तु पालयेत् ॥

CHAPTER III

The Sangha and the Pātimokkha: Development of the Latter

The Paribrājaka, by the necessity of his manner of life, had to live outside the pale of organised society: he was absolved from all social and domestic ties. But even for a professed recluse and solitary the deep-seated gregarious instinct of man is difficult to abjure. Thus among the primitive Paribrājakas, sects and parties appear to have abounded. We find Sanghas and Ganas among them each recognising the leadership of a spiritual head. The famous story of Sanjaya in Mahavagga, I, 23, is an illustration in point. Sanjaya was at the head of two hundred and fifty Paribrajakas and among them, two who were afterwards destined to be the foremost of Buddha's disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna. When these two communicated to Sanjaya their desire of transferring their spiritual allegiance to Buddha, Sanjaya offered to divide the leadership of the Gana with them—Sabbeva tayo imam ganam pariharissāmā ti. In the same story the relation between a Paribrajaka leader, called elsewhere a Ganācariyo, and his body of followers is set out in the following dialogue between Sāriputta and Assaji. Sāriputtta asks: Kam si tvam āvuso uddissa pabbajito, ko vā te satthā, kassa vā tvam dhammam rocesīti? (The same question, it will be observed, is put by Upaka to Buddha in Mahavagga, I, 6. 7). Assaji answers: Atth' āvuso mahāsamano sakyaputto sakyakulā pabbajito, tāham bhagavantam uddissa pabbajito, so ca me bhagavā satthā, tassa cāham bhagavato dhammam recemīti. Sāriputta next puts the question:

Kimbādī panāyasmato satthā. Kimakkā yīti. To which Assaji replies: Aham kho āvuso navo acirapabbajito adhunāgato imam dhammavinayam na t'āham sakkomi vitthārena dhammam desetum, api ca te samkhittena attham vakkhāmīti. This brief conversation between Sāriputta and Assaji is highly significant. Among the Paribrajakas, it appears from this, there were founders and leaders of sects, who had organised bodies of followers recognising their headship. Six of them are frequently referred to in the Pali books as 'sanghī ganī ganācariyo.'[1] One who had left the household state would often be a convert to a sect-leader, a Ganācariyo (uddissa pabbajito) recognising him as his master (Satthā) and accepting his doctrines (Dhammam). He would thereby be admitted to the membership of a certain Gana or Sangha, though he would be free to back out of it and affiliate himself to another.[2] The Brahmanical books however in the rules which they lay down for the regulation of the Paribrājaka contain no allusion to such associations among the Paribrājakas. Rhys Davids however finds some obscure indications of the existence of associations of this kind among the Brahmanical Paribrājakas too.[3] It is curious to observe how in the fourth Āsrama there grew up a

[1] See *Sāmannaphala Sutta* (Digha Nikaya), 2-7. The names are—Purāno Kassapo, Mokkhali-Gosālo, Ajito Kesā-Kambalī, Pakudho Kaccāyano, Sanjayo Belaṭṭhiputto, Nigantho Nātha-putto. They are all described as Sanghī Ganī Ganācariyo, and brief accounts are given of the doctrines held by them. The names occur in many places besides, *e. g.*, Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. V. 26 ; Cullavagga V. 8, 1 ; etc.

[2] Thus in the sequel to the story of Sanjaya, Maha., 1. 23, Sariputta and Moggallana and with them probably the whole body of Sanjaya's followers receive the *Ehi Bhikkhu Upasampadā* from Buddha (*ibid*, 1. 24. 4, 5).

[3] See Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p. 145 : "In a note on Panini, IV. 3. 110, there are mentioned two Brahmin Orders, the Karmandinas and the Parasarinas. Now in the Majjhima (3. 298), the opinions of a certain Parasariya, a Brahmin teacher, are discussed by Buddha. It is very probable that he was either the founder or an adherent of the second of these schools. In any case the Order still existed at the time when the note to Panini was made, and it is probably referred to in an inscription mentioned by Cunningham (Arch. Re. XX. 105)."

type of association resembling the association of a teacher and his pupils as in the first Āsrama, and in Pali literature the relation between a Satthā and his followers is often and often indicated by the word, Brahmacariya.[4] Like the other great teachers of his time, Buddha was the founder of a sect of Paribrajakas. Many religious mendicants were initiated into this sect, recognising Buddha as their Satthā and accepting his Dhamma. The Pali scriptures represent him as being accompanied in his peregrinations with a great multitude of followers (mahatā bhikkhusanghena saddham) and this body of Buddha's followers came to be known as Cātuddiso Bhikkhusangho, the significance of which phrase we shall examine later on.

In the Vinayapitaka the followers of Buddha are also called Sakyaputta-Samanas. Buddha himself is frequently called Sakyaputta. But in what relation Buddha stood to the Sakyaputta-Samanas, the original body of his followers, is somewhat difficult to make out. We are confronted with the inevitable question, whether the Sakyaputta-Samanas constituted a mere *Sect*,[5] a gana or sangha (in its original sense), or an *Order*.[6] In other words, the question is—Was there merely a community of faith and belief among them or was there any *external* bond of union, *e.g.*, a distinguishing sign, common observance of

[4] *E.g.*, Sanjaye paribbājake brahmacariyam caranti—Maha, 1. 23. 1. "Thus in the standing phrase used to state that so and so has become an Arhat, it is said he has realised the aim of the higher life (*Brahmacariya-Pariyosanam*)"—Rhys Davids's *Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. II, p. 192. Oldenberg seems to have noticed this curious resemblance. He says : "The order of Buddhists presents, as long as the master is alive, a union of teachers and scholars after the Brahmanical model." (*Buddha*, translated by Hoey, 1882).

[5] The *Oxford New English Dictionary* explains a Sect as a religious following ; adherence to a particular teacher or faith. (4th meaning.)

[6] This word is explained in the *Oxford New English Dictionary* as signifying 'a body or society of persons living by common consent under the same religious, moral or social regulation or discipline ; a monastic society or fraternity.' (7th meaning.)

distinctive rites, any special code of conduct, etc. ? The distinction between a Sect and an Order is of the broadest and the loose use of these two terms has often led to a confusion of ideas as regards the true character of the original body of Buddha's followers.

The Sakyaputta-Samanas undoubtedly constituted one of the several Sanghas or Ganas into which the vast Paribrajaka community of India of 6th century, B.C. was divided. Among the Buddhist Sangha, there was no doubt the bond of a common dhamma which is represented by that body of cardinal doctrines which are repeated again and again in the Nikāyas, summed up in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta and included by later writers in their category of the Bodhapakkhiyā dhammā.[7] But this dhamma, that bound together the Sangha of which Buddha was the Satthā, was not mere philosophy or creed, but had a practical ethical bearing which we find clearly exhibited in Sāmannaphala Sutta and elsewhere. There were certain rules of moral conduct associated with the primitive Buddhistic faith. But what was the general character of these rules ? Even a rapid review of them would leave no room for doubt that they could not be intended to serve as the distinctive rules of any religious Order. They relate to right conduct generally as understood by the Paribrājakas and one may find many of them even in St. Benedict's *Instruments of Good Works*.[8] We cannot find in these rules any distinctive Buddhistic stamp, such as strongly marks and individualises the statement of Buddhist faith in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. In the primitive Buddhist community, while the Dhamma was the special

[7] They are enumerated in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta as—Satipatthana, Sammappadhana, Iddhipada, Indriya, Bala, Bhojjhanga, Ariyo Atthangiko Maggo. Rhys Davids has given an analysis of them in *Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. III, pp. 129-130. See also Hardy's *Netti-Pakarana* (P. T. S.)—Intro., pp. xxx-xxxii.

[8] See Ch. IV of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, translated by Gasquet in the King's Classics Series, Chatto and Windus.

dhamma of a particular Sangha, the Vinaya was not of this character ; it was not the vinaya of any particular Sangha, but was of broad and general application. An episode in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta throws a flood of light on this point.[9] Ananda expresses to Buddha the hope—" na tāva Bhagavā parinibbāyissati na yāva Bhagavā bhikkhu-sangham ārabbha kincid eva udāharatīti." Buddha repudiates the idea saying, " Kim Ānanda Tathāgato bhikkhu-sangam ārabbha kincid eva udāharissīti," and refuses to lay down any rules for the Sangha, saying, " Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evam hoti aham bhikkhu-sangham parihārissamīti vā mam' uddesiko bhikkhu-sangho'ti vā,"—a curious inconsistency with what Assaji says, " tāham bhagavantam uddissa pabbajito " —an inconsistency in which we may discover the beginning of a change of character of the Buddhist Sangha.[10] Now considering this episode " in the only way in which any such record can be considered authentic, that is, as evidence of beliefs held at the date at which it was composed,"[11] the conclusion is irresistible that the idea of the primitive Buddhist community was that Buddha himself had laid down no distinctive rules for the regulation of the Sangha which must therefore have been of later growth. There may seem to be an apparent inconsistency in Buddha's saying later on in the same Suttanta," Yo vo Ananda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito, etc.,"[12] but the inconsistency vanishes if we regard 'vinayo' in the present context as not signifying the rules of an Order, but only the general rules of right conduct. We find however in the Dhammika Sutta in Suttanipāta an approach to the formulation of a distinctive body of

[9] See Ch. II, 24, 25 (*Digha Nikaya*, P. T. S., Vol. II, pp 99-100).

[10] See Chapter VI of the present thesis.

[11] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. III, p 77.

[12] VI, 1 (D. N., p, 154).

rules designed for a particular religious Order.[13] The rules given in this Sutta do not betray the character of a redaction from the Vinayapitaka, and we find no hard and fast elaboration of details, but only broad and general rules which however apply specifically to a Buddhist Bhikkhu. The next step must have been to give a new character and authority to the rules by constituting them into the special rules of the Buddhist Order, and I am inclined to think that this step was taken at the First Buddhist Council, about the historicity (though not the date) of which no reasonable doubts can be entertained. The whole corpus of Buddhist canon law has been moulded to conform to the theory that it proceeded bodily from the lips of Buddha, which is curiously analogous to the well-known theory of the Vedic origin of Hindu law adhered to by Hindu lawyers.[14] No true historical view of either is possible unless we are prepared to lift the obscuring veil of such traditionary origins. Among the Paribrajakas of the 6th century, B.C. certain rules of right conduct such as the Sīlas were generally recognised. The condition of religious mendicancy naturally connoted certain practices and abstinences. There is no reason to suppose that the primitive Buddhist Paribrajakas did not abide by them. It seems on the other hand, as the story of Subhadda would seem to signify,[15] that Buddha himself had enjoined strictness with regard to many of them. The followers of the great

[13] See vv. 10-22.

[14] धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वाद्शब्दमनपेक्ष्यं स्यात्। ऋषिष कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात्। विरोधित्वनपेक्षा स्यादसति ह्यनुमानं हेतुदर्शनाच्च।

—Jaimini's Purva-Mimansa, 1, 3, 1-4.

[15] *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta*, VI, 20, *e.g.*, Uppadutā ca homa 'Idam vo kappati,' etc., idāni pana mayam yam icchissāma tam karissāma, yam na icchissāma tam na karissāmāti.

Teacher obeyed these rules of Paribrajaka life as presumably the other Paribrajakas also did. But afterwards the most important of such general and universal rules of right conduct for the Paribrajakas were modified and transformed into the specific rules of a *Buddhist Order*. To take an example, we find the Cattāri Akaranīyāni (Maha., 1.78) which are nothing but general rules of conduct involved in the acceptance of the religious life of the Paribrajaka, enacted into the four Pārājika Dhammā, becoming thereby part of the canon law of the Buddhist Order. A settlement of the Buddhist Vinaya seems to have been made in this way at the First Buddhist Council. The character of the First Council however has been much obscured by later traditions. The account of the proceedings has little historical value and no conclusion can be based upon it. Yet certain indisputable points stand out in the legendary account that we find in the 11th khandaka of the Cullavagga. In the first place, though both Dhamma and Vinaya are said to have been rehearsed here, the council is called Vinaya-Sangīti.[16] In the second place, we observe the more important place that is assigned throughout both in the statement of the reason and occasion for the holding of the Council and in the proceedings themselves to Vinaya than to Dhamma. In fact, reading the whole account between the lines, it appears clearly that though the historical story of Subhadda might not have been, as has been shown by Oldenberg,[17] the immediate occasion for the holding of the Council, it was initiated primarily for the purpose of settling what Buddha had permitted and what not. In other words, the main object of the Council was to gather up the rules of right conduct which had been mentioned by Buddha at various times, and by

[16] Cullavagga, XI, 1. 16. (V.P., II, p. 292).

[17] Oldenberg's *Vinayapitakam*, Vol. I, Intro., pp. xxvi-xxviii.

giving these rules an authoritative Buddhistic stamp to raise them into the special rules of a particular religious Order. In speaking therefore of the original Buddhist community we must not speak of a religious *Order*, for this implies some external bond of union other than a common dhamma. The Ganas and Sanghas among the primitive Paribrajakas of 6th century, B.C. were probably none of them religious Orders—they were simply different sects of a heterogeneous community of religious mendicants.

The primitive Buddhist Sangha in Pali literature is often called the Cātuddisa Bhikkhu-Sangha. The phrase is of pretty frequent occurrence not only in the Buddhist scriptures [18], but also in many donatory inscriptions,[19] some of which date back to the time of Asoka. The persistency with which the expression is used in reference to the primitive Buddhist Sangha seems to indicate that it was used originally not merely as a descriptive phrase, but as a distinguishing name. In the inscriptions alluded to, the donors make endowments on a body of monks resident at a particular monastery to the use of the Sangha of the Four Quarters. In the Pali scriptures also the gift of a monastery is always made to Cātuddisa Bhikkhu-Sangha,[20] and this form of donation is adhered to in the inscriptions, though, as I shall show, in the former case the expression is the name of a real, existing body of men, in the latter it is the expression of an ideal entity. M. Senart

[18] Mahavagga, VIII, 27.5 ; Cullavagga, VI, 1.4 ; *Ibid*, VI, 9. 1 ; *Kutadanta Sutta*, 24 (D.N., Vol. I, p. 145), etc., etc.

[19] Inscription at Dambulla Temple in Ceylon (Asoka's time)—*Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 139.
Karle Cave Inscriptions—Ep. Ind., VII, No. 7, pp. 58, 88.
Nasik Cave Inscriptions—Ep. Ind., VIII, No. 8, pp. 62, 75, 76, 82, 90, etc.
Mathura Lion-Capital Inscription—Ep. Ind., IX, No. 17 (Circa. 120 B.C.).

[20] *E.g. Kutadanta Sutta*, 24 (D.N., Vol. I, p. 145).—Cullavagga, VI. 1.4 ; *Ibid.*, VI. 9.1.

however has given a different interpretation of the phrase, Cātuddisa Sangha, occurring in the donatory inscriptions [21] and it is necessary to examine his views. "Monastic communities," says Senart, "may be classified in two respects, *viz.*, according to their residence and according to the sect to which they belong. This double restriction is excluded in principle by the mention of Cātuddisa Sangha, though in some cases and according to the disposition of the donor, it may mean specially one or the other." He instances a Nasik cave-inscription (No. 15, l. 7), चिरश्मिपर्व्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य चातुर्दिशमिक्षुसंङ्घस्य गिलानभेषजार्थम् and says that the endowments were made not for the use of the specific body of monks at a particular monastery, but for all monks from whatever quarter of the globe they might come, taking up their lodgings at that monastery during the rains. Now Senart's argument is ingenious but not convincing. The phrase, *Sangha of the Four Quarters*, had been in use long before the date of the inscriptions and long before the later Buddhist sects and separate congregational organisations had come into existence. We find it frequently in the Vinayapitaka and in Ceylonese inscriptions dating back to the time of Asoka used in contexts where no special signification of universality is intended. The phrase in fact was an historical one. Besides, the custom in later times was for monks belonging to a particular monastery to spend the Vassa in that monastery.[22] If so, the phrase in the donatory inscriptions becomes an idl one and not of any practical significance as M. Senart suggests. The real interpretation of the phrase is in fact different from that put upon it by Senart. In the lifetime of Buddha there had grown up a community of his followers, a Sangha founded by Buddha

[21] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp. 59-60.

[22] See Chhapter V of this thesis.

himself, who were described as the *Sangha of the Four Quarters*, because they recognised no limitations of caste (as the Tedandins or Brahmanical Sannyasis did) or of locality. With the lapse of time, the original Sangha underwent divisions and subdivisions, but it began at the same time to be idealised. The Sangha of the Four Quarters meant latterly an ideal confederation which had at one time an historical reality. A Sangha in later times simply meant a body of resident monks at a particular monastery, but Cātuddissa Bhikkhu-Sangha meant an ideal body, and it was to this ideal entity that donations were formally made. The two different meanings are obvious in one Nasik inscription wherein the donor gives a cave to the Sangha of the Four Quarters and gives as a perpetual endowment 100 *Kahapanas* in the hand of the Sangha (data cha nena akhayanivi kahapanasata sanghasa hathe).[23] Here the first Sangha refers to the ideal confederation of the followers of Buddha to which donations were made according to custom and form, and the second to the real Sangha, the resident body of monks, who were capable of receiving and holding property.

The idealisation of the Buddhist Sangha is a well-known phenomenon in the history of Buddhism. In the Cetokhilo Sutta, a Bhikkhu is enjoined to have faith in Satthā, Dhamma, Sangha and Sikkhā.[24] This is only a stage removed from the later creed of Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, in which formula, Saṇgha must be considered as an ideal entity which may be equiparated with Buddha and Dhamma. The complete idealisation of the Sangha is to be found in the views held by the docetic school of the Mahāsunnatāvādins[25] in the age of Asoka

[23] See Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, No. 8, p. 90.

[24] See *Cetokhila Sutta* (Majjhima Nikaya)—3·6; 15·18. (Translated by Rhys Davids in *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., XI, pp. 224, 228-229).

[25] See *Kathavatthu*, Bk. XVII, 6, 7, 8, 9 (Aung and Davids's *Points of Controversy*, P. T. S., 1915, pp. 318-320).

who held that the Sangha could not accept gifts or purify them or enjoy, eat and drink, or that gift given to it brought great reward. Here indeed we have an explanation of the curious wording of the donation referred to above. The formal dedication is made to the Cātuddissa Bhikkhu-Sangha, but the pecuniary endowment is made on the real Sangha which is capable of accepting and enjoying gifts.

The Buddhist Sangha existed then originally as a sect of the Paribrajaka community of the 6th century B. C. It rested on the basis of a common Dhamma and had at first no special Vinaya of its own. It is impossible to say at what point of time, but certainly very early in its history, the sect of Buddha, the Cātuddisa Bhikkhu-Sangha, devised an external bond of union which was called Pātimokkha. This Pātimokkha seems to have been something quite different in form and significance from what the tem imports to us now. In the Mahā-padāna Sutta, the idea occurs to Vipassi, while staying at Bandhumati, of asking the Bhikkhus living there to go abroad on preaching mission and come back to Bandhumati after every six years in order to recite the Pātimokkha. The Pātimokkha rehearsed by Vipassi is curiously enough something totally different from the Pātimokkha we know of. It consists only of a few hymnal verses which we find incorporated in the Dhammapada. The following are the verses that constitute the Pātimokkha [26] :—

Khanti paramam tapo titikkhā
Nibbānam paramam vadanti Buddhā
Na hi pabbajito parupaghāti
Samano hoti param vihethayanto.
Sabba-pāpassa akaranam, kusalassa upasampadā
Sacitta-pariyodapanam, etam Buddhāna sāsanam.

[26] See *Mahāpadana Sutta* (Digha Nikaya), 3. 28. (D. N., Vol. II, p. 49); *Dhammapada*, 184-6. The last two lines of the verses quoted are not in the *Dhammapada*.

These verses ending with, 'etam Buddhāna sāsanam,' are, it will be observed, nothing more than a confession of faith and this confession of faith constituted the Pātimokkha of Vipassi and his followers at Bandhumati. What was then the original connotation and significance of the term, Pātimokkha? What was the original idea of the Buddhist community which it sought to represent? Some light might be thrown on these questions by the etymology of the word, if only we could definitely settle it. "The etymological meaning of a word," says Max Müller, "is always extremely important both psychologically and historically because it indicates the point from which certain ideas started."[27] From this point of view the etymology of the word, Pātimokkha, may be carefully considered, as it might indicate to us the starting point of the later development of the institution of Pātimokkha among the Buddhists.

But here unfortunately we are on slippery ground. Various etymologies have been suggested for the word, Pātimokkha.[28] But in these conjectural etymologies sufficient attention has not been paid to the fact that "the word is older than the present shape of the formulary, now so called."[29] It is futile to foist on a word an etymology which suits only its later developed meaning.

[27] Max Müller's *Origin of Religion*, p. 10.

[28] *E. g.* (*i*) Patimokkhan ti adim etam mukham etam pamukham etam kusalanam dhammanam, tena vuccati patimokkhan ti—Mahavagga, II. 3. 4.

(*ii*) Yo tam pati rakkhati tam mokkhati mocoti apayikadidukkhehi tasma patimokkhan ti vuccati (an old gloss quoted by Subhuti)—See Childer's *Pali Dictionary*, p. 363.

(*iii*) Patimokkhan ti etimokkham patippamokkham atisettham atiuttamam —Gloss from *Samantapasādika* quoted by Spiegel (See *Ibid.* p. 363).

(*iv*) Patimokkha, Disburdening, getting free: Davids and Oldenberg. (*Vinaya Texts*, S. B. E, Pt. I, Intro. xxviii).

(*v*) Pratimoksa-Cuirass, something serving as a spiritual cuirass: Kern (see *Man. of Ind. Buddhism*, p. 74, footnote 5).

[29] See Vinaya Texts, Pt. 1, S. B. E., Intro. p. xxviii.

Its true etymology however has been indicated by Kern, although his own derivation is fantastic to a degree.

He takes Pātimokkha in the sense of cuirass or something serving as a (spiritual) cuirass and cites as his authority a certain phrase in Anguttara Nikāya and its tīkā.[30] In the original passage in the Anguttara however the phrase, *pātimokkha-samvara-samvuta,* on which Kern relies is a descriptive phrase applying to a good Bhikkhu and can be interpreted only as 'controlled by the restraints imposed by the Pātimokkha.' There is absolutely no suggestion of any metaphorical or secondary meaning or pun in the word Pātimokkha, and no such suggestion in the other descriptive phrases occurring in the passage in question.[31] Then the comment of Subhuti taken from an old tīkā suggests nothing.[32] The old commentator was only trying to bring out some hidden significance from the etymology of the word and his ignorance of etymology and grammar can afford us more of amusement than of instruction. But there is really nothing in the tīkā to suggest a cuirass. There is however a cognate word in Pali, *viz.*, Pātimokkho,[33] which means something that is bound on or fixed and hence accoutrement (*c.f.*, Sans. प्रतिमुक्त = परिहितवस्त्रादिरित्यमरः) with which Kern evidently identifies the word; but it is only a cognate and not a synonymous word. Pātimokkha has been equated to Sans. प्रातिमोक्ष which from its etymological parts may be easily and naturally interpreted as something serving as a bond, the prefix प्रति meaning "against" and the root मोक्ष meaning "scattering" (क्षेपणे इति कविकल्पद्रुम), though I have not been able to discover any instance of the use of the word precisely

[30] See Kern's *Man. of Ind, Buddhism*, p. 74, footnote 5.

[31] *Anguttara*, II. 4. 5. (P. T. S., Pt, I, p. 63) Idhāvuso bhikkhu sīlavā hoti pātimokkha-samvara-sambhuto viharati ācāra-gocara-sampanna anumatthesu vijjesu bhaddaassāiva samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu.

[32] See *supra*, Footnote, 28 (ii).

[33] See Childers's *Dictionary of the Pali Language, ad loc.*

in this sense in Sanskrit. It seems to me that the right etymological interpretation of the word, Pātimokkha, is 'Bond,' and it is presumably in this sense that the word is used in the passage in the Mahāpadana Sutta referred to above. The Buddhist Sangha had rested originally on a community of faith and belief, but an external bond of union, a Pātimokkha, was afterwards devised which served to convert this *Sect* into a religious *Order*, and this Pātimokkha originally consisted in periodical meetings for the purpose of holding a communal confession of faith made by means of hymn-singing. This custom is clearly indicated by the story of Vipassi.

The work of the First Council seems to have brought the development of the Pātimokkha a step further. The most important function of the Council was, as I have shown, the development of the rules of the Order, a special Vinaya for the Buddhist Sangha, and the form of the Vinaya settled by it was the original form of the Pātimokkha, a bare code of canon law, a mere enumeration and classification of ecclesiastical offences. In the legendary account of the proceedings of the council as given in the 11th khandaka of the Cullavagga, the word, Pātimokkha, is nowhere mentioned, though all the heads of offences are given except the *Sekhiya* and the *Adhikarana Samattha.*[34] The reason for the studied omission of the word Pātimokkha is not far to seek when we consider that at the time when the proceedings were put into the present narrative shape, people understood by Pātimokkha something quite different from a code of Vinaya rules. It may be for the same reason, as Rhys Davids and Oldenberg suggest,[35] that in Bhabrā

[34] See Cullavagga, XI, 1. 9.

[35] See *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. I, S. B. E., Intro., p. xxvi.

edict the Pātimokkha is named by Asoka *Vinaya-Samukasa.* The code of Vinaya rules, after the First Council, became the bond of association of the Buddhist Bhikkhus and it came to be called Pātimokkha (Bond).

Now the existence of Pātimokkha originally as a mere code and not a ritual is beyond all legitimate doubt. In the Ākankheyya Sutta, Buddha is represented as enjoining on the Bhikkhus continuance in the practice of Sīla, adhering to the Pātimokkhā (in the plural) and becoming *pātimokkha-samvara-samvuto*, etc.[36] Here the plural, Pātimokkhā, cannot but mean the rules of canon law contained in the code. The phrase, *pātimokkha-samvara-samvuta*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Suttas, has been variously translated, but its obvious meaning is ' controlled by the restraints imposed by the Pātimokkha,' where Pātimokkha is regarded as a code. Besides the most important and convincing piece of evidence that the Pātimokkha was originally in the bare form of a code is the fact that the Sutta-Vibhanga contemplates it as such. In the Sutta-Vibhanga there is not the usual word-for-word commentary on the introductory formular of the Pātimokkha as we now have it. This however is found in the Mahavagga as an incongruous inset.[37] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg regard this inset commentary as belonging to what they call the *Old Commentary of the Pātimokkha.*[38] The learned scholars however put forward no arguments at all in support of this view. I suggest on the other hand that this formular with its commentary was a later invention and the commentary was devised on the lines of the old commentary embedded in the Sutta-Vibhanga only for the sake of completeness.[39] The

[36] See *Akankheyya Sutta*, (translated in *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., see p. 210).

[37] See Mahavagga, II. 3. 4-8

[38] See *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. I, S. B. E., Intro., pp. xv-xvi.

[39] It will be observed that in the inset commentary (Mahavagga, II, 3. 5) in the note on the phrase, 'yassa siya apatti,' offences are divided into two groups—the

Sutta-Vibhanga in fact regards the Pātimokkha as a mere *code*, while the Mahavagga regards it as a *liturgy*.

Let us now turn to the contents of the code. The original code appears to have included only 150 rules. Even after it had become a liturgy, the number was the same. In the Samana-vagga of Anguttara, the Vijji-puttaka Bhikkhu says, " Sadhikam idam bhante diyaddhasikkhāpadasatam anvaddhamasam uddesam āgaccheti,"[40] referring no doubt to the rules of the Pātimokkha after it had assumed a liturgical form. In the Milindapanho also, we find the number 150. A good Bhikkhu is described as "diyaddhesu sikkhāpadasatesu samādāya vattanto."[41] But in the Pali Pātimokkha that we possess the number of rules is 227. Various suggestions have been made to account for this discrepancy. A comparison of the Pali version of the Pātimokkha with the Chinese and the Thibetan shows differences, both numerical and substantial, in the Pācittiya and the Sekhiya rules, the greater discrepancy being with regard to the latter head.[42] Besides the total number of Sekhiyas is not mentioned as is usual in the Pali version, indicating, as some scholars suggest, that they were not strictly a part and parcel of the code, being mere matters of detail, and might be added to or taken away from.[43] But even if we exclude the Sekhiyas,

group of five and the group of seven. This grouping is found in Cullavagga, IX, 3. 3, but not in the Pātimokkha itself. Neither of these two groups coincides with the original classification of offences in the Pātimokkha. Some of the offences included in either of the two groups are unknown to it, *e. g.*, *Dukkata*, *Thullaccaya*, *Dubbhasita*, while others found in it are omitted, *e. g.*, *Aniyata*, *Nissaggiya*, *Pacittiya and Sekhiya*. This re-arrangement of the Pātimokkha classification of offences seems to have been made much later when the whole Vinaya was developed and its adoption in the inset commentary seems to me to point to the later formation of this portion of the commentary.

[40] See *Samana-vagga*, III. 83. 1 (Anguttara Nikaya, P. T. S., Pt. I, p. 230).

[41] See Tenckner's *Milindapanho*, p. 243. The number 150 occurs also at p. 272, *ibid.*

[42] See पातिमोक्ष by Bidhusekhar Sastri, pp., 4-5. of *Nivedana*.

[43] See *ibid*, p. 233.

the number comes up to 152 and no calculation can make it exactly 150. The fact probably is that the original code was an elastic one, and before reaching a standard text it underwent various and complicated interpolations which it is now well-nigh impossible for us to detect. A few instances will serve to illustrate this.

It is admitted in the Vinayapitaka[44] that the rehearsal of the Sikkhāpadas was adopted as a congregational liturgy at a later stage in imitation of the rites of the non-Buddhist Paribrajakas. Yet we find Sikkhāpadas in which the liturgical form of the Pātimokkha is clearly recognised (*Pācittiya*, 72, 73). Then the seven Adhikaranasamatthas seem to stand apart from the rest of the work and have all the appearance of being of later growth. In the First Council there was some dispute as to what were the minor and lesser precepts (khuddānu-khuddakāni sikkhāpadāni). Some said that these referred to all the rules, except the *Pārājikas*, others the *Sanghādiṣesas*, others *Aniyatas*, others *Nissaggiyas*, others *Pācittiyas* and others *Pātidesaniyas*.[45] It will be observed that no one mentioned the *Sekhiyas* and the *Adhikaranasamatthas* and claimed authenticity and primacy for them. Evidently they were considered to be of a somewhat different character from the rest. The Adhikaranasamatthas lay down adjective or procedural law while the rest of the Pātimokkha contains substantive law. Take for instance the case of the 13 rules called *Sanghādisesas*. Certain offences are described in these rules, and the penalties also are prescribed. But nothing is said about the mode of adjudication, though some offences are such as cannot be dealt with without formal and elaborate trial (*e. g.*, Sanghādisesa, 8, which

[44] See Mahavagga, II, 1.

[45] See Cullavagga, XI, 1. 9.

would amount to an Āpattadhikarana and in which the complaint must be proved to be groundless.[46]) The difficulty must have been experienced later on and the need felt for codifying procedural law which is done in the Adhikaranasamatthas. Then again the usual interrogatory part does not fit in with this section, for no substantive offences are mentioned here as in the other sections. The forms of procedure also clearly point to the development of separate congregations, within settled boundaries of residence, exercising definite ecclesiastical jurisdiction over individual members belonging to each. As I shall show in Chapter V, this is a much later stage in the growth of the Buddhist Sangha—much later than the time when the code of Pātimokkha was drawn up.

Some rules of the Pātimokkha (*e. g.*, Pācittiya, 69 and 73) assume the existence of forms of procedure which are nowhere found in the Pātimokkha itself but in Cullavagga, I. In Pāc., 69, occurs the phrase *Akatānudhammena* ('not dealt with according to form'). The Vibhanga says that the form contemplated here is Ukkhepaniya-kamma, but the Pātimokkha knows nothing of such a form. In Pāc., 73, we have the expression, *Janca tattham āpattim āpanno tanca jathādhammo kāretabbo* (the offence arising therefrom is to be dealt with according to the proper form), which seems to contemplate a Tajjaniya kamma for stupidity.[47] Such expressions as above point to the intrusion into the Pātimokkha of the later elements of developed Vinaya.

Sometimes a rule is introduced into the Pātimokkha in the form in which the Mahavagga and the Cullavagga are

[46] Jo pana bhikkhu bhikkhum dutto doso appatito amulakena pārājikena dhammena anuddhamseyya appevanāma nam imamhā brahmacariyā cābeyyanti tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno vā amulakam ceva tam adhikaranam hoti bhikkhu ca dosam patittāti samghādiseso. This would be an *Āpattadhikarana*; See Cullavagga, IV, 14. 10.

[47] See Cullavagga, I, 4. 1 (*Tajjaniya-kamma* is for a 'bāla' among others).

cast, representing as if Buddha himself were laying down the rule to the Bhikkhus assembled. The story-part is indeed cut out, but the form of address is maintained perhaps through inadvertence. In Pācittiya, 71, occurs the expression—*Sikkhamānena Bhikkhave bhikkhunā anjātabbam paripucchitabbam paripanhitabbam, ayam tattha samīci*—which reads just like a rule in the Mahavagga. In Nissaggiya Pācittiya, 10 also, the form of address, *Bhikkhave*,[48] occurs in a similar recommendatory rule (*e.g.*, cīvaratthikena *Bhikkhave* bhikkhunā veyyāvaccakaro niddisitabbo, etc.).

Then again the classification of offences does not appear to have been made on any initially recognised principle, but is more or less haphazard and promiscuous suggesting,[49] if not actually later additions and

[48] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg say: "This word of address is most noteworthy as standing quite isolated in the Pātimokkha. It must be meant as an address by the Buddha himself to the Brethren; for, if it were the address of the Bhikkhu reciting the Pātimokkha, the expression used would necessarily be 'ayasmanto,' as in the closing word[8] of each chapter, or words to that effect." The learned translators go on to say: "That it should have been left in is a striking proof of the faithfulness with which the Pātimokkha has been preserved. Is it a survival of some form of word older even than the Pātimokkha? Or is it merely an ancient blunder?" (*Vinaya Texts*, S. B. E., Pt. I, p. 23, footnote.) If by faithfulness, the learned translators mean the faithfulness of Ceylonese scribes, I have nothing to say. In the Thibetan *So-sar-thar-pa*, the form of address which was probably felt to be anomalous is deleted. (See J. and P. A. S. B., Vol. XI, Nos. 3 and 4, March and April, 1915—pp. 47-48 and p 59, *Pāc.* 75, which corresponds to Pali *Pāc.* 71.) But my point is that the standard text of the Pātimokkha code did not come into existence at once self-complete. Before reaching a standard text, the rules were surely not regarded with any exclusive sanctity, and there were many additions and alterations at different stages. I do not understand the questions raised by the translators. The form of address, anomalously maintained, seems to me to point to later interpolations.

[49] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg say:—"Inside each class (of offences), the sequence of the clauses follows no invariable rule. Sometimes offences of a related character are placed together in groups, but sometimes those which would naturally come together are found scattered in quite different parts of the same class. It is perhaps worthy of notice that there sometimes seems, as in the two cases first mentioned in the last note, to be an effort to arrange the offences in groups (Vagga) of ten: and in three cases we find regulations formulated with the utmost brevity

alterations, at least the elasticity of the code which offered opportunities for them. Kindred offences are sometimes grouped together and sometimes scattered in different parts under the same head. There are in fact so many irregularities and discrepancies throughout that it is clear that the original code could not have been characterised by rigidity and self-completeness. Take the *Pācittiya* rules for instance. It will be observed that rules 83–92 (except one) hang together and are designated in the Pali book as Ratnavagga, but rule 85 does not fit into it. There is no reason why rule 82[50] of Pācittiya should be placed under that category while rule 30[51] of Nissagiya Pācittiya under another category. The second seems to be only a special application of the first and in the Thibetan version of the Pātimokkha the second rule is excluded.[52] Rules 67 and 45[53] also of Pācittiya are comprehensive enough to cover rules 27 and 30[54] of the same section. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg have uttered a warning against the attempt to trace in such irregularities in arrangement which may very well be due to want of literary clearness in the compilers, any historical argument.[55] But these irregularities show in the first

(the offences being merely expressed by a locative case dependent on *Pācittiyam*) at the commencement of such a vagga."—*Vinaya Texts*, Pt. I (S.B.E., Vol. XIII), Intro. p. xiv.

[50] Jo pana bhikkhu jānam sanghikam lābham parinatam puggalassa parināmeyya pācittiyam.

[51] Jo pana bhikkhu jānam sanghikam lābham parinatam attano parināmeyya nissaggiyam pācittiyam.

[52] See *So-sor-thar-pa* (J. A. S. B, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 and 4, March and April, 1915), edited by S. C. Vidyabhusan, p. 32.

[53] Jo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena saddhim sambidhāya ekaddha namaggam patipajjeyya antamaso gamantarampi pācittiyam *Pāc.* 67: Jo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena saddhim eko ekaya raho nisajjam kappeyya Pacittiyam, *Pāc.* 45.

[54] Jo pana bhikkhu bhikkhuniya saddhim sambidhaya eka ddhanameggam patipajjeyya antamaso gamantarampi anntra samaya pacittiyam— *Pac.* 27; Jo pana bhikkhu bhikkhuniya saddhim eko ekaya raho nisajjam kappeyya pacittiyam *Pac.* 30.

[55] "The irregularities in arrangement may very well be due to want of literary clearness in the compilers of the present Form of Confession, and it would be

place the original elasticity of the code, and in the second place, they become circumstantial evidence, taken together with other facts, of later manipulations of the code. But the Pātimokkha, curiously enough, outgrew the form of a code and developed into a form of confessional service.

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hazardous to trace in it any historical argument". *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. I (S. B. E., Vol. XIII), Intro. p. xiv.

CHAPTER IV

The Pātimokkha as a Ritual

In the previous chapter we have observed that the Buddhist Sangha originated as a mere sect of the Paribrajaka community of the 6th century B.C. Its unity lay in adherence to a common Dhamma, but it had originally no special external bond of union. The Vinaya which it recognised was not a special Buddhist Vinaya. This latter kind of Vinaya in its earliest form was probably settled at the First Buddhist Council which is called the Vinayasangiti in the 11th khandaka of the Cullavagga. It has also been shown that the earliest form of the Vinaya was the code of Pātimokkha. The codified body of rules which was intended specially for the Buddhist Sangha was advisedly called by this name (Pātimokkha—Bond) because it supplied for the Buddhist Bhikkhus an external bond of union. The present ritual form of the Pātimokkha was not its original form—the original was a mere code. It was only subsequently that it became the ground of a Buddhist ritual and was re-edited for that purpose. The *Introductory Formular* at the beginning and the *Interrogatory Portions* appended to each section were obviously later additions.

The Buddhist rite of Uposatha, of which the recital of the Pātimokkha forms the essential part, is at least as old as the Vinayapitaka. But it is certainly not as old as the foundation of the Buddhist Sangha itself. An earlier communal rite is referred to in the story of Vipassi in the Mahāpadāna Sutta, and the later introduction of the Uposatha is also clearly admitted in Mahavagga, II, 1. But the Uposatha ceremony was by no means a Buddhist innovation, for its germs may be traced in a

well-known Vedic institution, which strikingly exemplifies the dictum of Edward Clodd, stated as it is in an extreme form, that "in religions there are no inventions, only survivals."[1]

The rudimentary idea in the Buddhist Uposatha service seems to be the observance of sacred days. Round about this, certain peculiarly Buddhist ideas have gathered together, *e. g.*, the Buddhist Doctrine of Confession. But the rite itself which is, as I shall show, a curious combination of certain distinct ideas, has passed through two principal stages. At first it was of a practical character, being one of the main regulations of monastic life, perhaps the chief instrument of communal self-government in the Buddhist Sangha. But this practical character and purpose of the Uposatha service afterwards evaporated. It became a mere ceremonial observance, serving the same purpose among the Buddhist Bhikkhus as the Holy Communion amongst the Christians, being nothing but the formal embodiment of the corporate life of a cenobitical society resident at an avāsa.

The observance of the sacred days is found in the Vedic times in close and inseparable connection with certain Vedic sacrifices. The days of the Full Moon and the New Moon were from the earliest times in India regarded as sacred for sacrificial purposes. The Full Moon and the New Moon are effusively greeted in two hymns of the Atharvaveda.[2] The Vedic sacrifices of Paurnamāsa and Darsa used to be offered on these days. As preliminary to these sacrifices the preceding days had to be kept holy by the intending sacrificer by fasting or partial abstention from food, as well as by retirement at night into the house in which the sacrificial fire

[1] See *The Story of the Primitive Man*, p. 185.

[2] A. V. VII, 79, 80.

was kept.[3] There is a legend in the Satapatha Brāhmana, by no means peculiar or original, that on these days the gods come to dwell with the intending sacrificer.[4] Hence these days, on which the Vrata ceremonies of fasting, etc., were observed were called Upavasatha days ('upa' near and 'vas' to dwell).[5] Tylor has pointed out the world-wide belief existing at all stages of civilization in the close connection between fasting and intercourse with gods.[6] So the Puritan poet of England speaks of "Spare Fast that with the gods doth diet," spiritualising perhaps what was an essentially material conception.[7] Since primitive times the belief in ceremonial observances on these sacred Vrata days must have been one of the basic elements of Indian culture. One is tempted to think that this primitive belief embodied itself in a settled institution first among the adherents of Brahmanical culture and then the institution spread among all classes, even those who never fully abode by the Aryan cult of ritualism and sacrifice. This is suggested by the fact that ceremonial observances on the Vrata days are very intimately connected with the Vedic sacrifices, but among those who are no ritualists and sacrificers, the Jainas for instance, the custom prevails with equal persistence. It is curious to observe how close the resemblance is between the Vrata ceremonies of the Vedic ritualist and the Posadha ceremonies of the Jaina, though the reason for such observances, as stated in the Satapatha-Brāhmana[8] would not apply in the case of the latter.

[3] See *Satapatha-brāhmana*, 1. 1. 1. 8 (fasting), 9 (partial fasting), 11 (retirement at night into the fire-room).

[4] *Satapatha-brāhmana*, 1. 1. 1. 7 [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1891), Vol. II, Ch. XVIII, pp. 410 ff.

[7] Milton: *Il Penseroso*, l. 46.

[8] *Vide* 1. 1. 1. 8. 11. (The intending sacrificer ought to fast because the gods are not yet feasted and he should lie in the fire-house to keep the gods, who come to dwell, in company).

The Jaina retires on these sacred days into the *Posadha-sālā* just as the sacrificer would go into the *Agnyāgāra*, and he takes upon himself the vow of th efour abstinences (upavāsa), *viz.*, from food (Āhāra), from luxuries (Sarīra-satkāra), from sexual intercourse (Abrahma) and daily work (Vyāpāra).[8] Similar abstinences are prescribed also for Buddhist laymen who celebrate the occasion by the observance of the Eight Sīlas. But among the religious mendicants the custom seems to have been different from what prevailed among the laity. Another form of sacred-day observance is related of them in Mahavagga, II. 1. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. The 'abstinences' were already implied in the assumption of a life of religious mendicancy and some substitute had to be found among them for these ceremonial abstinences which prevailed among the laity. Such substitute probably was found in religious discourses.

In the Āruneyopanishad, the rehearsal of the Āranyaka and Upanishad 'among all the Vedas' is enjoined on the Sannyasin.[9] It is also said in Mahavagga, II. 1, that the non-Buddhist Paribrajakas would meet together and hold religious discourses on the sacred days of the month—annatitthiyā paribbājakā cātuddase pannarase atthamiyā ca pakkhassa sannipatitvā dhammam bhāsanti. This points to a custom among the Paribrajakas of observing the sacred days, though not in the manner of lay people, yet in their own characteristic fashion. On these days the Brahmanical Sannyasis would discourse on the Āranyaka and the Upanishad, while the other classes of Paribrajakas would expound their own canonical literature, transmitted by their teachers most probably by word of mouth. In this way religious discourses among the

[8] See Hoernle's *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bibliotheca Indica), note 87.

[9] सर्व्वेषु वेदेष्वारण्यकमावर्त्तयेदुपनिषदमावर्त्तयेत्—

Paribrajakas took the place of the Vrata ceremonies among the sacrificers. But it seems that the custom was but loosely followed among them, as the free, wandering, unsocial life of the Paribrajakas would not tend to the rigid establishment of any custom, and that is perhaps the reason why it is not mentioned more frequently as a rule of Paribrajaka life. The Buddhist Bhikkhus at any rate did not originally follow the custom of ceremonially observing the sacred days by religious discourses.[10] In the Mahāpadāna Sutta, the Bhikkhus meet together once in six years to recite a hymn which constitutes their Uposatha service.[11] But the Bhikkhus afterwards adopted the custom from other sects of Paribrajakas,[12] and its later introduction into Buddhism is further evidenced by the fact that we hear of "ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who neither know Uposatha nor the recital of Pātimokkha."[13]

But though the custom of observing the Uposatha days was a common one from the most primitive times, the form which it assumed among the Buddhist Bhikkhus seems to have been peculiar to them. The Mahavagga story tells us that the non-Buddhist Paribrajakas would meet together and merely discourse on their dhamma (sannipatitvā dhammam bhāsanti). The Buddhists were at first enjoined to observe the Uposatha in this very manner[14] and the form of confessional service was developed subsequently. The frame of the Pātimokkha, as it now stands, unmistakably shows that it was intended that during its recitation a guilty Bhikkhu should confess

[10] See quotation, *Supra*.

[11] See Chapter III.

[12] Anujānāmi bhikkhave cātuddase pannarase atthamiyā ca pakkhassa sannipatitun ti—Maha., II, 1. 4.

[13] Mahavagga, II,—17 ; 21. 2, 3, 4.

[14] Anujānāmi bhikkhave cātuddase pannarase atthamiyā pakkhassa sannipatitvā dhammam bhāsitun ti—Maha., II, 2. 1.

his offence if he had not done so before. The preliminary Nidāna and the interrogatory portion after each section of the code carry this significance, and the addition of these parts to the code has completely changed, almost beyond recognition, the original character of the Pātimokkha. It is necessary to enquire into this doctrine of Confession which came to be incorporated with the code, transforming its character and investing it with a new purpose altogether.

Now the doctrine of Confession has two branches—a religious and a legal one, the first leading to absolution and the second to the assumption of penal proceedings. The religious confession called *Exomologesis* was an old institution of Christianity. In Buddhism also it is well recognised. In the Pātimokkha four offences of a light nature, called Pātidesaniyas, are described and a form of confession is prescribed on following which the guilty person obtains absolution from them. The scope of the doctrine of absolution on confession seems to have been afterwards widened and in Cullavagga, IV. 14, 30-31, any light offence (lahuka āpatti) is said to be set at rest on confession by the guilty Bhikkhu. The principle is clearly recognised in Cullavagga, V. 20. 5, where it is said, "Ariyassa vinaye yo accayam accayato disvā yathādhammam patikaroti āyatim samvaram āpajjatīti," as well as in the Nidāna of the Pātimokkha: "āpatti āvikātabbā āvikatā hi 'ss phāsu hoti." [15] But there were graver offences for which confession would be no atonement at all. It is difficult to ascertain how these offences would be dealt with before Buddhist monachism had attained to that stage when each Bhikkhu was regarded as the member of a particular Sangha, subject to its disciplinary jurisdiction.[16] This was, as I shall show in the next chapter, a later stage

[15] See Mahavagga, II. 3. 3.

[16] See Chapter V of the present thesis.

of development and the procedure codified in the section on the Adhikarana-samatthas could not possibly be taken when eremitical habits prevailed among the Bhikkhus. The original codal form of the Pātimokkha belonged to the earlier stage and it is significant that only one group of offences, *viz.*, the Sanghādisesa, is mentioned as coming within the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Sangha and it is in the case of this group only that certain penalties to be imposed upon the Bhikkhu even against his will (mark the word, *Akāmā*, in "tāvatiham tena bhikkhunā akāmā parivatthabbam," etc.), *viz.*, Parivāsa and Mānatta, are laid down. In the case of the other offences, it is nowhere stated or suggested in the Pātimokkha itself that the Sangha should have jurisdiction over them and no mode of exercising such jurisdiction is defined as in the case of the Sanghādisesas. In the following chapters, I shall trace in broad outline how settled cenobitical societies were evolved out of the original eremitical ideal with which Buddhism had started and how these societies or Sanghas came later on to exercise jurisdiction over each individual member. From one group of offences, the Sangha extended its jurisdiction over all the others, and not only the Sanghādisesas but all offences were brought within the range of its disciplinary proceedings. Alongside of it, the procedural law of the Adhikaranasamatthas was gradually developed, and it was at this stage when the jurisdiction of the Sangha was extended over all offences that the idea of *legal* confession was evolved. It led to the adoption by the Sangha of disciplinary proceedings with regard to the guilty member as apart from mere religious confession which led to absolution from the guilt confessed. Confession was the necessary pre-condition of almost all disciplinary proceedings,[17] and on failure to confess

[17] Na bhikkhave apatinnāya bhikkūnam kammam kātabbam (Here follows the enumeration of the different forms of discipline) Yo kareyya āpatti dukkatassa—Cullavagga, IV. 7.

(āpattiyā adassane) the guilty member would be punished with suspension from the Sangha (*Ukkhepaniya Kamma*).[18] The incorporation of the doctrine of legal confession with the code was a real necessity as without it the whole code would be mere dead letter and no disciplinary proceedings could be taken upon it. Hence emphasis was laid on the duty of confession, which was indeed the centre-point of monastic discipline, and an adventitious solemnity was given to it by prescribing the performance of this duty on the ceremonially sacred days. We are thus in a position to understand not only how the Uposatha became a confessional service, but also why it seems to be peculiar to the Buddhists. It was the distinct outgrowth of Buddhist monastic life. Among those who followed the eremitical ideal of an unsocial wandering life, such a form of religious service would have little utility or significance. But curiously enough this practical character of the confessional service afterwards evaporated and the original idea of a mere ceremonial observance re-asserted itself.

It has been already remarked that "the whole form of the Pātimokkha shows that it was at first intended that a guilty Bhikkhu should confess his offence during the recitation if he had not done so before."[19] But in Cullavagga IX. 2, 1, the Pātimokkha is interdicted for one who has been guilty of any offence; the violation of this interdiction amounting to a *Dukkata*. In Cullavagga, IX. 1, 1, Buddha refuses to recite the Pātimokkha because the assembly is not pure. This interdiction is implied in the custom of Parisuddhi before the Uposatha which is elaborated with several illustrations in Mahavagga, II. 27. This was the very negation of the practical character

[18] Cullavagga, I. 25. 1 (*āpattiyā adassane ukkhepaniya-kamma*).

[19] *Per* Rhys Davids and Oldenberg—See *Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E.), Pt. III, p. 306, footnote.

of the Uposatha and the admission of its purely ceremonial character. From being an instrument of monastic discipline, it came to be nothing more than the organised expression of the communal life of the Buddhist community. The unity of the resident monks at an āvāsa was expressed in the common observance of the Uposatha service which could not be validly performed with an incomplete fraternity.[20] The variations which were made on this rule of complete observance were rejected afterwards at the Council of Vesali. [21] If a new community was formed through a schism, the members of it performed independently three kinds of acts—Uposatha, Pavāranā and Kammavācā. [22] If on the other hand the schismatic parties afterwards coalesced, they celebrated their re-union by holding what was called a Sāmaggi-Uposatha.[23] Thus the Uposatha became, though never in form yet in essence, only the outward expression of the religious fellowship of a community of Bhikkhus resident at an āvāsa. It thus ultimately became among the Buddhists a ceremony closely resembling the Holy Communion of the Christians minus of course those rites in the nature of a mysterium which have grown into the latter from a range of primitive ideas with which Buddhism owns no contact. It is interesting to observe that even the Buddhist idea of Parisuddhi before the Uposatha service is paralleled by a similar idea in early Christianity. Certain offences were held to exclude the guilty person from sharing in the Eucharist : these were three groups classified as (*i*) idolatry (including

[20] *Cf*, the distinction between *Bagga Uposatha* and *Samagga Uposatha*—Maha, II, 14. 2. Read this with II, 2. 4. where the Uposatha cannot be held in the absence of a single Bhikkhu—unless (*i*) he has declared his Parisuddi or (*ii*) he has been taken outside the boundary of the āvāsa. It is laid down, "na tveva vaggena sanghena uposatha kātabbo". (See *Digha Nikaya*, P. T. S., Vol. I, p. 122.).

[21] *Cf*, *Āvāsakappa* (Culla., XII, 2.8)—which is interdicted in Maha., II, 8 3.

[22] Cullavagga, VII, 5. 2.

[23] Maha., II, 36. 4 and X, 5. 14.

apostacy), (*ii*) adultery and (*iii*) murder.[24] There is this difference however that the exclusion in Christianity was not revocable as in Buddhism. Even in the modern service of the Holy Communion, the following provision is observed: [25] "If any one of those (intending partakers of the Holy Communion) be an open and notorious evil liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbours, by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended; the curate, having knowledge thereof, shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented, and amended his former naughty life, that the congregation may thereby be satisfied, which before was offended; and that he hath recompensed the parties, to whom he hath done wrong; or at least declared himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may."

[24] See *Encyclopædia Britannica* on *Confession* (11th Ed.).

[25] See *The Communion Service* (from *Book of Common Prayer*), edited by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Lord Bishop of Natal (Macmillan and Co., London, 1886), pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER V

The Growth of the Buddhist Cœnobium

Saint Benedict divides monks into four classes—Cenobites, Anchorites, Sarabites and Gyrovagi.[1] Among the early Paribrājakas of India, though we find the other three classes, no Cenobites are found. The Paribrājakas are mostly of Anchorite *cum* Gyrovagus character. In the Buddhist sect of the Paribrājakas too the cenobitical ideal seems to have been originally unknown. We find it expressly ruled out in a number of passages cited below which belong to an earlier range of Buddhistic ideas. But with the lapse of time and the growth of the Buddhist Sangha, the communal life of the Bhikkhus came to gravitate more and more towards a cœnobium. The contrast between the earlier eremitical and the latter cenobitical ideal struck Milinda and forms the subject of his enquiry in the 41st dilemma propounded to Nāgasena. Milinda asks :—[2]

"Bhante Nāgasena, bhāsitam p'etam Bhagavatā;
Santhavāto bhayam jātam, niketā jāyatī rajo,

[1] See the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Ch. 1, translated by Gasquet in the King's Classics Series, Chatto and Windus. The following summary will suffice: The cenobites are those who live in a monastery under a rule or an Abbot. The Anchorites are in effect those who do not belong to any cenobitical society. The Sarabites are unschooled and undisciplined monks who 'lie to God by their tonsure.' The Gyrovagi are those who move about all their lives through various countries, 'who are always on the move and never settle down.' By anchorites, Saint Benedict specially alluded to the Syrian monks who passed from the monastery into eremitical life. Among the Indian Paribrājakas, Sarabites were by no means uncommon. They were those, who according to Nāgasena, "joined the Order in terror at the tyranny of Kings, or through fear of robbers, or harassment of debts or hope of gaining a livelihood."—See Teneckner's *Milindapanho*, p. 32.

[2] See Teneckner's *Milindapanho*, p. 211.

Aniketam asanthavam, etam ve munidassanamti.
Puna ca bhanitam :
Vihāre kāraye ramme, vāsay'ettha bahussute ti.
* * * *
Ayam pi ubhayokotiko panho
tavānuppatto, so tayā nibbāhitabbo ti."

For the solution of such problems, it is only the historical method of enquiry, which a learned English writer has aptly called 'a key to unlock ancient riddles, a solvent of apparent contradictions, a touch-stone of sophistries' [3] that can be really helpful. But of this, of course, neither the simple-minded King nor his eloquent preceptor knew anything whatever. The fact is that the Munisutta [4] from which Milinda quotes belongs to a stage in the evolution of Buddhist communal life which had already passed away when the second gāthā was composed. Between the two intervenes a considerable period of evolution, of modification, development and growth.

In numerous passages of Buddhist canonical literature, settled life in a monastery is not contemplated at all and the ideal life for a Bhikkhu is set out to be a free, unsocial, eremitical one. In Mahavagga, I. 11, we find Buddha insisting on unsocial life in its extreme form—Mā ekena dve agamittha (Let not two of you go the same way), and in Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, I. 6, we find him declaring, "Yāvakīvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ārannakesu senāsanesu sāpekhā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnam pātikankhā no parihāni" (as long as the Bhikkhus delight in forest-seats, so long they may be expected not to decline, but to prosper). The eremitical ideal indicated here—a life of solitude and hardship—is that set forth in the so-called four Nissayas [5] which constitute a curious formal

[3] See Sir Frederick Pollock's *Oxford Lectures and Other Discourses*, p. 42.
[4] In *Suttanipāta*.
[5] Mahavagga I, 30.4 and 77.

survival in the Ordination ceremony of modern Buddhism from a stratum of primitive ideas which has long since worn away. In these are recommended to the Buddhist neophyte four ascetic and eremitical practices, *viz.*, *Pindiyālopa bhojanam* (mendicancy), *Pamsukūlacīvaram* (clothing in cast-off rags), *Rukkhamūlasenāsanam* (sitting and lying at the foot of a tree) and *Pūtimuttabhesajjam* (using urine as medicine). Exceptions to these practices are admitted, but not recommended.[6] The same eremitical ideal is insistently harped upon in the Sutta-nipāta which certainly contains some of the oldest passages of primitive Buddhism.[7] Thus the whole Khaggavisāna Sutta[8] with its refrain, Eko care khaggavisānakappo (Let him wander alone like a rhinoceros), is devoted to the exaltation of it. The same ideal is to be found also in the Sāriputta Sutta[9] in which the Bhikkhu who is loath of the world and affects an isolated seat or the root of a tree or a cemetery or who lives in the caves of the mountains is extolled.[10] In many hymns of the Dhammapada and the Theragāthā

[6] These are called *Atirekalābho* (translated as extra allowances).

[7] About the primitive character of *Sutta-nipāta*, see Fausböll's Introduction to the Translation of *Sutta-nipāta* in S. B. E., Vol. X, Fausböll says : "The collection of discourses, *Sutta-nipāta* * * * * is very remarkable, as there can be no doubt that it contains some remnants of primitive Buddhism. I consider the greater part of the Mahavagga and nearly the whole of Atthakavagga as very old. I have arrived at this conclusion from two reasons, first from the language and secondly from the contents." The learned translator says further, "We see here a picture not of life in monasteries, but of the life of hermits in its first stage."—Intro, p. xii.

In the preface to the *Sutta-nipāta* (P. T. S.), Fausböll adds the Parāyanavagga to Mahāvagga and Atthakavagga. (See p. IV.) The whole subject of the character of *Sutta-nipāta* is discussed by Rhys Davids in *Buddhist India*, pp. 177-79.

[8] Included in the Uragavagga.

[9] Included in the Atthakavagga which Fausböll considers to be very old—see *supra*.

[10] See Fausböll's *Sutta-Nipāta* (P. T. S.), 958 :

Bhikkhuno vijigucchato
Bhajato rittam āsanam
Rukkhamūlam susanam vā
Pabbatanam guhāsu vā,

this praise of eremitical life is repeatedly echoed. The following hymn for instance recommends aloofness from the society not only of house-holders, but also of homeless Bhikkhus :

Asamsattham gahatthehi anāgārehi c'ūbhayam
Anokasārim apiccham tamaham brūmi brāhmanam.[11]

Again, the ideal extolled in the following hymn has nothing to differentiate it from the ideal of a Brahmanical ascetic or Sannyāsi :

Pamsukūladharam jantum kisam dhamanisanthatan
Ekamvanasmin jhāyantam tamaham brūmi
brāhmanam.[12]

Unsocial life is again emphasised in the following :

Ekassa caritam seyyo n'atthi bāle sahāyitā
Eko care na ca pāpāni kariyā
Appossukko mātang' aranne vā nāgo.[13]

And,

Ekāsanam ekaseyyam ekocaramatandito
Eko damayamattānam vanante ramito siyā.[14]

In the Milindapanho an old gāthā is quoted the antiquity of which is indicated by the curious legend that it was uttered by Brahma Sampati in the presence of the Tathāgata, as also by the fact that it occurs both in the Theragāthā and the Samyutta Nikāya :

Sevetha pantāni senāsanāni
Careyya samyojanavippamokkhā
Sace ratim nādhigacchayya tattha
Samghe vase rakkhitatto satīmā ti.[15]

[11] See Fausböll's *Dhammapada*, No. 404. [13] *Ibid*, No. 395.
[13] *Ibid*, No. 330. [14] *Ibid*, No. 305.
[15] See Tenckner's *Milindapanho*, p. 402. See also *The Questions of Milinda*, Pt. II, p. 343, footnote 3.

The shelter of the Sangha, as is said here, is to be sought only by those who find no peace in solitude: the unsocial life is preferred to cenobitical society. The ascetic eremitical practices mentioned above were classified in later literature as the 13 Dhutangas.[16] The practice of them was supposed to bring exceeding great reward and Nāgasena grows ecstatic over them.[17]

This ideal of life, it will be observed, is in perfect keeping with the rules of a wandering mendicant's life as set forth in the Upanishads. The Āruneya says: "वर्षासु ध्रुवशीलोऽष्टौ मासानेकाकी यतिश्चरेद् द्वावेव वा."[18] The Yati or Sannyasi "as a rule is to make his home by the side of water, on sandbanks in a river or before the doors of a temple or to sit or lie on the bare earth. According to Jābāla, 6, he should remain homeless in a deserted house, or a temple of the gods, on a heap of grass, or an ant-heap or among the roots of a tree, in a potter's shed, by a sacrificial fire, on an island in a river, in a cave in the mountains, a glen, or a hollow tree, by a waterfall or on the bare earth."[19] There can be no doubt that such unsocial, ascetic and eremitical life was originally contemplated by the Buddhists too. Afterwards it remained only as an ideal while the actual practices of the Buddhist Bhikkhus diverged more and more from it. As the āvāsas were staked out, vihāras constructed, and cenobitical societies gradually developed and organised, the ideal of eremitical life was thrust more and more into the background. Observe how the Four Nissayas—one of the cardinal parts of primitive Buddhism—were substantially modified later on in practice. Mendicancy was at first

[16] See *Parivāra*, passim, and elsewhere.

For a list of Dhutangas, see Kern's *Manual*, pp. 75-76.

[17] The whole of the Navamavagga (pp. 348-362) is devoted to an exaltation of them. Notice specially the 28 advantages that are supposed to accrue from their observance.

[18] See *Āruneyopanishad*, 4.

[19] Deussen's *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 380-381.

the rule. But the piety of lay devotees often alleviated the rigours of mendicant life. We hear of house-holders' giving *perpetual alms* to the Sangha[20] or making generous gifts of robes[21] or keeping up at Vesali a regular service of sweet food[22] or a high official at Court, a follower of the Ājīvakas, providing the day's meal for the Sangha.[23] It was indeed suggested by Devadatta that accepting invitations was inconsistent with the principle of mendicancy.[24] When monasteries came into existence, the resident monks would receive endowments from pious Upāsakas,[25] and sometimes Buddhist kings patronised monastic communities by remitting the revenues of a number of villages which was indeed a long established custom when Chinese pilgrims began to come to India. Thus mendicancy became optional, provision being otherwise made for the support of the Bhikkhus. To be an avowed Pamsukūla (sabbapamsukūlika), instead of being a point of merit, was held to constitute a Dukkata.[26] The rule about living at the foot of a tree was modified, if not completely negatived, by the habits of monastic life. Medicaments also were liberally allowed and the whole 6th khandaka of the Mahavagga is a treatise on them. Thus the Nissayas, which are still recommended to a Buddhist neophyte, came to be virtually mere matters of taste and option : Devadatta got no credit for enjoining strictness with regard to some of them.[27]

[20] Cullavagga, IV. 4, 6.

[21] Mahavagga, VIII, 32. 1 ; 1. 35.

[22] Cullavagga, V, 14. 1.

[23] Cullavagga, VI, 10. 1.

[24] The suggestion is made in the 2nd. proposal made by Devadatta, *viz.*, yāvajīvam pindapātikā assu, yo nimantanam sādiyeyya vajjam nam phuseyya (Cullavagga, VII, 3. 14). The proposal of Devadatta about a stricter rule of mendicancy is in accordance with the eleemosynary rules of the Jainas (see *Acārānga Sutra*, Bk. II, Lecture 1, Lesson, *et seq.*—in Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*, S. B. E., Pt. 1, p. 92 ff.).

[25] This is attested by numerous donative inscriptions, too numerous to mention in detail here. See for example the Nasik and Karle cave inscriptions in Vols. VII and VIII of *Epigraphia Indica*.

[26] Cullavagga, V, 10. 2.

[27] See the story of Devadatta in Cullavagga, VII, 3, *et seq.*

But all these significant changes notwithstanding it seems that the eremitical principle contended with and perhaps dominated over the cenobitical principle for a long time and it may be that the earliest episode of a conflict between the two principles is contained in the story of Devadatta, who appears to have attempted unsuccessfully at a revival of the older ideal. Even after the institution of monasteries, numerous Bhikkhus retained their eremitical habits living in forests, feeding solely on alms, dressing in cast-off rags, and possessing only three pieces of cloth. (ārannakā, pindapātikā, pamsukūlikā, tecīvarikā).[28] In Cullavagga, VIII, 6, certain rules are laid down expressly for Āranaka Bhikkhus. The story of Dabbo (Culla. IV. 4, 4) is an illustration in point. Dabbo is appointed chamberlain (senāsanagāhāpaka) of the āvāsa and he is approached by many Bhikkhus asking for seats (senāsana). We should ordinarily expect the Bhikkhus to lodge together at a monastery. But in the story, the Bhikkhus ask for senāsanas at different parts of Rajagaha lying wide apart, which betrays clearly the survival of the old preference for individualistic and eremitical habits of life.

In the all too meagre accounts that have been left to us of the Sramanas by the Macedonians and the Greeks, we come across no reference to monasteries till we reach Bardesanes in the latter half of the second or the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. Bardesanes is reported to have said of the Shamans, that 'they have houses and temples of a royal foundation and in them stewards who receive from the king a certain allowance of food.'[29]

[28] Mahavagga, VII, 1. 1; Cullavagga, XII, 1. 8; and elsewhere.

[29] See McCrindle's *Ancient India : Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 169. The following note is given by McCrindle : "According to Stobaeus (who flourished probably at the beginning of the 6th century), an Indian embassy came to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa (Elagabalus) who reigned from A. D. 218-222. The chief of this embassy Dandamis or Sandanes, having in Mesopotamia met with

The origin of Bardesanes's information may be safely put a few centuries back—for what was known of India by the Hellenistic world in the second century, A. D. was nothing but the echo of an echo. But a reference to monasteries like this is not to be found in earlier literature, mostly composed though it is of cloying legends conveyed from book to book. For instance, Clemens Alexandrinus (200 A. D.) whose account of the Indian Gymnosophists is obviously a citation from Megasthenes's lost work, *Ta Indika*, refers to the Buddhists as 'philosophers who follow the precepts of Boutta and worship a kind of pyramid beneath which they think the bones of some divinity lie buried.'[30] Here the Chaitya is referred to, but no Vihāra. Going back a little earlier, we find Kleitarchos (quoted by Strabo) saying: "The Pramnai (corruption of Sramana) are philosophers opposed to the Brachmanes and are contentious and fond of argument. They ridicule the Brachmanes who study physiology and astronomy as fools and imposters."[31] Some of these are called the Pramnai of the mountains, others the Gymnetai (which might refer to the Acelakas or the Jaina Digambaras or the Munis,[32] nakedness being common to different classes of ascetics and paribrajakas) and

Bardesanes (flourished in the later half of the 2nd century and perhaps the earlier half of the third), communicated to him information regarding the Indian Gymnosophists whic' Bardesanes embodied in a work now lost, but of which the following fragment has been preserved by Stobaeus from Porphyry." The story told by Stobaeus, though full of circumstantial details, seems to be somewhat legendary.

[30] McCrindle's *Ancient India : Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 71.

[31] *Ibid*, pp. 61, 171. According to the Jainas, one who professed 'angavidyā' was not to be called a Brahmana (*Uttaradhyayana*, Lec. xi—Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*, ii, S. B. E., p. 341). The practice of medicine is condemned as one of the low arts by the Buddhists (*Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, 27). Knowledge of astronomy is essentially necessary for a Brahmin. In the Jaina *Uttaradhyayana*, Lec. xxv, 7, 8, the knowledge of Jyotishānga is included among the necessary qualifications of a sacrificial priest. (*Jai. Su.*, ii, p. 137). But astronomical observations are included in the low arts in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, 24.

[32] Munis are described as Vātarasanāh or wind-clad in *Rig-Veda*, X. 136, 2,

others again as the Pramnai of the city or the Pramnai of the country. Kleitarchos must have jumbled together here different sects and conditions of religious wanderers, but he does not allude to any habitation of any of these sects. We look in vain through all the contemporary Greek accounts, 'obscured and blemished with fables,' for a single reference to a monastery such as we find in the report of Bardesanes, though it conveys information to us not at second but fourth hand. The evidence of the Greek accounts however is purely negative and the sum-total of information that can be gathered from them is that for a long time after the Macedonian invasion Buddhist monasteries were neither numerous nor striking enough to attract the notice of foreigners. The view of vihāras taken by Nāgasena in the 2nd century B. C., as his second argument in defence of monasteries,[33] is significant and suggestive. Nāgasena says that the Sangha becomes easily accessible (sulabhadassana) by having a localised centre. His idea evidently was that the Vihāras were serviceable as head-quarters, so to speak, of the Sangha, the real communal life of which lay outside. In the Milindapanho in fact the eremitical ideal is upheld,[34] though monastic life is admitted as a fact. There is little occasion for doubt that the eremitical principle held sway for a long time even after cœnobium had been developed among the Buddhist Bhikkhus.

At first the Vihāras served as mere lodging-places of individual Bhikkhus. They were no monasteries, no Sanghārāmas, properly so called, but were rather like the *lauras* organised by St. Sabas in the Holy Land 'wherein

[33] Vihāre vijjamāne * * * sulabha-dassanam dassanakāmānam anikete duddassanā bhavissantī ti (Tenckner's *Milindapanho*, p. 212).

[34] *E. g.*, Yathā mahārāja dīpika aranne tinagahanam vā vanagahanam vā nissāya nilīyitvā mige gamhāti, evam eva kho mahārāja yoginā yogāvacarena vivekam sevitabbam, etc. ..... vasībhāvam pāpunāti—*Ibid*, p. 369. This is quoted only as a typical passage.

a semi-eremitical life was followed, the monks living in separate huts within the enclosure.' The vihāras likewise were generally located in the pleasure-grounds (ārāmas) of kings or of wealthy persons which were often marked off by bamboo-fences or thorn-fences or ditches [35] and were kept in order by a superintendent, employed by the donor, called Ārāmika.[36] But some vihāras were also built in the clearings of forests.[37] In these vihāras the Bhikkhus could take refuge from the inclemencies of weather and climate, and that this was their original purpose is indicated by the gāthās in whioh Buddha thanked the Setthi of Rajagaha who was the first to build lodging-places for the Bhikkhus.[38] The word, Vihāra, 'in later times almost always was used to designate the whole of a building where many Bhikkhus resided; in older literature, the dwelling-place, the private apartments of a single Bhikkhu.' [39] That the first vihāras were of this character, the separate lodging-places of individual Bhikkhus, is borne out by the evidence of archæology. "The oldest Vihāras," says Fergusson,[40] "consist of one cell only; little hermitages in fact for the residence of a single ascetic. In the next class they were extended to a long verandah with one cell behind it, as in the

[35] See Cullavagga, VI, 3.10.

[36] See Mahavagga, VI, 15.2.

[37] See Mahavagga, I, 73 4. See also description of the stately Viharo built by Udayi in the forest--*Suttavibhanga*, Sangh. II, 1.1 : also Vihāra built for Palita in a forest—Commentary on *Dhammapada* (P. T. S.), p. 85, 1.13.

[38] Sītam unham patihanti tato vālamigāni ca
Sirimsape ca makase ca sisire cāpi vutthiyo,
Tato vātātapo ghoro sanjāto patihannati
Lenatthan ca sukhatthan ca jhāyitum ca vipassitum,
Vihāradānam samghassa aggam buddhen vannitam
Tasmā hi pandito poso sampassam attham attano
Vihāra kāraye ramme vāsayettha bahussute.
Cullavagga, VI, 1.5.

[39] *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 386, footnote.

[40] *The Rock-cut Temples of India* (1864), Intro., pp. xv-xvi.

example, Fig. I. As these had however several doors opening outwards, they probably were divided by partitions internally. In the third class, and by far the most numerous class, Fig II, the cell expands into a hall, generally with pillars in the centre; and around this the cells of the monks are arranged, the abbot or prior generally occupying cells at either end of the verandah." These three types of monasteries represent with curious exactness the modification of the individualistic eremitical life and the corresponding growth of collective cœnobium among the Bhikkhus. The sixty vihāras built by the Setthi of Rajagaha in one day must have been vihāras of the first type.[41] But vihāras of the second type also are frequently referred to in older Pali literature: the entire monastery consisting of the whole rectangular structure being called Vihāra and the separate cells into which it is divided called Parivenas.[42] In older Pali literature, the word, Vihāra, is used promiscuously to signify either the first type or the second. A vihāra may thus mean the cell of a single Bhikkhu (*e. g.*, the vihāra of the Upajjhāya)[43] or an entire dwelling-place with several cells. Thus it is said, that a vihāra might be built for a number of Bhikkhus or for a single Bhikkhu.[44] But the third type of monasteries is not alluded to in early Pali literature, and the Bhikkhus are put to curious shifts for want of it. The inconvenience of the absence of a hall where the whole body of resident monks could be gathered together was very much felt in connection with the Uposatha service. The service used to be held at

[41] Cullavagga, VI, 1.4.

[42] *E. g.*, 'Vihārena vihāram parivenena parivenam upasamkamitvā Bhikkhū pucchati' (Mahavagga, VI, 36.4); 'mama vihāro mama parivenam' (Fausböll's *Dhammapada*, p. 281). See other examples given by Childers under Parivenam in his *Dictionary of the Pali Language*.

[43] See Mahavagga, I, 25.14, *et seq.*

[44] See Mahavagga, III, 5 8, etc.

first in successive cells ; [45] then a whole vihāra was set apart for the purpose which was called Uposathaghara (wrongly translated as the 'Uposatha-hall').[46] Yet a large part of the assembly had to sit outside and the limits, within which all the assembled Bhikkhus would be regarded as constituting the Uposatha assembly called Uposatha-pamukha, were artificially devised by landmarks.[47]

The transition from the eremitical to the cenobitical manner of life was brought about by the institution of Vassa. Paribrajakas of all denominations, it seems, used to observe the rain-retreat. The rule for the Brahmanical Paribrajaka simply lays down that he should be ध्रुवशील during the rains.[48] The period is stated in the Āruneya to be four months. The Jainas have more elaborate rules about the observance of the Pajjusan.[49] The period commences when one month and 20 nights of the rainy season have elapsed, but it is allowable to commence the Pajjusan earlier, though not later.[50] The Buddhist Bhikkhus also followed the custom of all paribrajakas and they had two periods for Vassa, the earlier commencing from the day after the full moon of Āsālha and the later a month after that date, the double period being probably of very ancient origin.[51] This custom of observing the rain-retreat was in its origin presumably nothing but an enforced necessity in the tropical rains of northern

[45] Mahavagga, II, 8.1.

[46] *Ibid*, II, 8.2.

[47] *Ibid*, II, 9.1.

[48] *Gautama*, III, 13; *Baudhāyana*, II, 6, 11, 20. Haradatta explains ध्रुवशीलो वर्षासु in *Gautama*, as ध्रुवशीलःस्यादेकत्र तिष्ठेदिति। We are not told whether the Bhikkhu was to live alone or in company during this period.

[49] See *Jaina Sutras*, Pt. I, pp. 296-311 (Rules for Yatis).

[50] *Ibid*, pp. 296-97.

[51] Mahavagga III, 2.2. See Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's note thereon in *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. I, p. 300, footnote 1.

India when wandering about was a physical impossibility.[52] But it seems to have assumed with lapse of time some sort of ceremonial significance. It is observed by anthropologists that "when the original purpose of a thing is forgotten or mystified or when the use of it is restricted to a class, time and authority combine to invest it with sanctity." [53] The rain-retreat of the Paribrajakas is a very good illustration in point. In its origin it had a practical purpose. Regularly at a certain season of the year the religious wanderer was forced to take up a local habitation. As the habit emerged into self-concsiousness, it hardened into a custom. The original purpose came to be lost sight of more and more and the custom gained a corresponding accession of sanctity. It thus came to be formally enjoined as an indispensable observance for a Sannyasi, Yati or Bhikkhu. The details of the custom however as it obtained among the Brahmanical Paribrajakas are obscure, and we are not privileged to know whether they lived during the rain-retreat separately or collectively. But the Jainas and the Buddhists at any rate spent the rain-retreat in collective bodies. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, for instance, Buddha calls upon the Bhikkhus to spend the Vassa "each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances and inmates may live" round about Vesali (samantā vesālim yathā-mittam yathā-sandittham yathā-sambhattam vassam upetha).[54]

Out of this institution of rain-retreat which must have existed among the Buddhists from the very beginning, the Āvāsas afterwards originated. The āvāsas were originally colonies staked out for the purpose of sojournment by the Bhikkhus during the rain-retreat. It was

[52] The tropical rains may have been more formidable in the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries, B. C. in Northern India when large tracts were covered with jungles.

[53] Per Edward Clodd in the *Story of the Primitive Man*, p. 36.

[54] II, 22.

only during the period of the vassa that the Bhikkhu had right to a Senāsana (seat) at an āvāsa.[55] To these āvāsas flocked from all quarters Buddhist wandering mendicants during the months from the middle of Āsādha or Srāvana to the middle of Kārtika. During these months therefore the Buddhist Paribrajakas were split up into separate bodies residing at different āvāsas, and it was thus that the āvāsa came gradually to be the unit of Buddhist communal life, the residents in an āvāsa constituting together one complete communion. The limits of the communion were definitely circumscribed.

The limits (sīmā) had to be fixed by a formal Resolution (natti) and would generally coincide with natural boundaries such as a mountain, a rock, a wood, a tree, a path, an ant-hill, a river or a piece of water,[56] but they must not extend beyond three yojanas, nor to the opposite side of a river unless there were facilities for crossing.[57] Where no such boundaries could be fixed, the boundaries of the village or of the market-town (gāmasīmā or nigamasīmā) would serve the purpose.[58] In a forest the community of residence would extend to a distance of seven *abbhantaras*. A river, sea or natural lake could not be a boundary. (Observe an inconsistency here.) In a river, sea or natural lake the limits extended as far as an average man could spurt water all around.[59] Two boundaries must not overlap and one must not encompass the other: an interstice must be left between them.[60] An āvāsa was in this way converted into a definitely circumscribed colony of Bhikkhus. Its corporate communal life was

[55] Cullavagga, VI, 11. 3 : anujānāmi bhikkhave vassānam temāsam patibāhitum utukālam no patibāhitum ti.

[56] Mahavagga, II, 6.

[57] *Ibid* II, 7. 1. and 2.

[58] *Ibid*, II, 12.7.

[59] *Ibid*, *supra*.

[60] *Ibid*, II, 13. 1-2.

expressed in the congregational Uposatha service, in which *all* the residents of the āvāsa were bound to join either by personal attendance or by a proxy to whom the Chanda or consent of the absentee member had been declared.[61] If one could not join in the congregational service, he must for the time being remain outside the boundary.[62] Emphasis is laid on the completeness of the fraternity present at the congregational service the holding of which with an incomplete communion would amount to a Dukkata.[63] If robes were given to a boundary (sīmā), they must be distributed among all Bhikkhus resident within it.[64] There existed however some āvāsas which shared all profits in common (samānalābhā) and when a gift of robes was made to one of them, it was divided among all[65]—a custom which reminds us of the grouping of monasteries into congregations or orders among the Black Monks of the 13th century. But this idea was not fully carried out in Buddhist monachism. At the periodical distribution of robes again common residence in an āvāsa as well as the condition of the Bhikkhu's clothes was laid down as a necessary condition (Palibodha of Kanthina).[66] The āvāsas thus came to be definite congregational organisations, each self-contained within its own boundary. In later times each congregation began to develop a distinct and separate individuality of its own, but in the beginning the āvāsas must have fully shared in the entire, undivided life of the whole Buddhist community.

[61] *Ibid*, II. 23.

[62] *Ibid*, II, 24. 2.

[63] *Ibid*, II, 24. 2., *e.g.*, ' na tu eva vaggena samghena uposatha kātabbo. Kāreyya ce, āpatti dukkatassa.'

[64] Mahavagga, VIII, 32.

[65] See Mahavagga, VIII, 32. 1. (mātikā, No. 2.)

[66] See Mahavagga, VII, 13. (The two *Palibodhas* are Cīvara and Āvāsa).

It was in these primitive āvāsas that early Pali literature had its origin and growth. In Buddhist canonical literature one comes across among legendary materials realistic descriptions of the sort of life lived at an āvāsa. The night is far spent in one āvāsa in earnest, many-sided debate—some Bhikkhus reciting the dhamma, the Suttantikas propounding the suttantas, the Vinayadharas discussing the vinaya and the Dhamma-kathikas conversing about the dhamma.[67] At the time when āvāsas began to develop, the Bhikkhus had already come into a rich heritage of ecclesiastical laws, legal commentaries, hymns, fables and philosophic speculations which provided for them a none too inconsiderable intellectual pabulum. This cloistral learning went on being modified, developed and systematised at the āvāsas by the Suttantikas, the Vinayadharas, the Dhammakathikas and other professors of monastic learning. The Pitakas were not yet closed and there was still ample scope for the play of original thought and speculation. "It is evident," says Rhys Davids, [68] "that at the time when the suttantas were put together as we have them the legendary material current among the community was still in a fluid, unstable condition, so that it was not only possible, it was considered quite the proper thing to add to or to alter it." The origins of the titles, Suttantika, Vinayadhara, Dhammakathika, Agatāgama, Dhammadhara, Mātikādhara, are obscure, but that they indicated different offices and functions and were not mere honorary titles is evidenced by the occurrence of these names in several inscriptions,[69]

[67] See Mahavagga, IV, 15. 4.

[68] See *Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. III, p. 255.

[69] The following inscriptions for instance which are all taken from the Stupas of Amaravati (Report of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I, 1883) :

(*i*) *Vinayadhirasa* Aya-Punavasusa atevasiniya—

Of the female disciple of Aya-p., the Vinayadhara or Professor of Vinaya—p. 37 (No. 8).

and there is little room for doubt that among the Bhikkhus there were professors and specialists who were regarded as the repositories of different branches of traditionary lore. Some of the leading features and ideas of early Buddhism may be presumed to have been evolved at the āvāsas at a time when they shared the communal life of the entire Buddhist community in common. The old commentary on the Pātimokkha, the formulation of Buddhist tenets (*e.g.*, Sattatimsa bodhapakkiyā dhammā), the development of the idea of the eternity of Buddha's religion by connecting it with Brahmanical mythological materials,[70] the didactic refashioning of current folklore (found often in the Pitakas, without the Jātaka setting, to point a moral only) [71] in the light of the world-wide theory of metempsychosis,[72] the invention of anecdotal stories and reshaping of traditions about Buddha for the purpose of using the authority of his name to support new rules or old practices, which led ultimately to the remoulding of the legendary setting of the whole of Buddhist literature, the hymns of the Theras and the Theris, of *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, etc.,—all these were the work of the primitive āvāsas. It should be remembered that the āvāsas, when all these many-sided literary

(*ii*) Sidha Odiparivenena vasikasa *dhamakathikasa* Budhi—

Of Budhi the Dhammakathaka, etc., p. 94 (No. 3).

(*iii*).....liyanam *mahavinayadharasa* Aya-Budhisa pavachi (ta)—Of the pupil of Aya-Budhi, the Mahavinayadhara, p. 102 (No. 25).

Of them, (*ii*) is in Maurya characters and must be very, very ancient. The other titles also may be found elsewhere. Of such names Rhys Davids says : "They specify an occupation (as we might say, John the Carpenter or John the Clerk)." *Buddhist India*, p. 167.

[70] *E. g.*, the 'mythological Suttas' (*e.g.*, *Janavasabha Suttanta*) translated in the *Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. III. In the Suttanta just named, in the last paragraph of 28 and in 29, emphasis is laid on the eternity of Buddha's religion which is derived in 29 thus: Brahma Sanatkumara > Vessavana > Janavasabha > Tathāgata > Ānanda > Buddhist monks and laymen > Mankind in general.

[71] *E. g.*, the story of Dighāvū in Mahāvagga, X, 2. 2-20; the beast-fable in Cullavagga, VI, 6. 3. No identification with a previous incarnation of Buddha is made in these fables.

[72] See Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II (1891), pp. 11 ff.

activities were going on in them, had not yet become distinct, self-centred organisations. The Bhikkhus at the time lived a semi-eremitical life, the āvāsas being resorted to as convenient shelters during rain-retreat. For the best part of the year the Bhikkhus wandered about, constantly meeting together at common meeting places and wayside rest-houses [73] where there was free interchange of thoughts and ideas. There were at that time no sectarian divisions rooted to the soil like the Jetavaniyas, Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas, Rājagiriyas, etc. Hence the intellectual and academic work of the āvāsas was the common property of the whole Buddhist community and, when later on sects began to arise among them, this old learning was recognised as the common basis of them all.

The rules laid down in Cullavagga, VI. 11. 3-4, about the allotment of senāsanas at an āvāsa throw some light on the later growth of the āvāsas. It is said that the Senāsanas are to be retained only during the period of the Vassa. In accordance with this rule there are two regular occasions for the allotment of seats, *viz.*, the commencement of the earlier and that of the later Vassa. But curiously enough a third, *viz.*, the day after the Pavāranā, called Antarāmuttaka (which is translated as 'that which involves giving up for the intervening period') is recognised when seats are allotted for the next rain-retreat in anticipation. This antaramuttaka allotment would be quite superfluous if residence at a monastery were really limited to the period of the rain-retreat. The āvāsas from being shelters during the rain-retreat had become places of domicile and hence seats had to be allotted not only for the three or four months of the year, but also for the remaining months. The modification of the wandering habit of the monks necessitated the second rule. The fiction, however, *viz.*,

[73] See Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*, p. 142.

that the āvāsas were intended only for rain-retreat and nothing more and that the Bhikkhus should be homeless beyond that period is piously kept up. The allotment which is really made for the non-vassa period is said to be made in advance for the next vassa period, which is unintelligible considering that for that period another allotment is provided for.

With the gradual modification of the itinerant and eremitical character of the Buddhist Bhikkhus, the āvāsas came to be more and more distinct from each other, each having a self-contained and separate communal life. The original Cātuddisa Sangha was permanently broken up into many *sanghas* belonging to different āvāsas and marked off from one another. Thus we find the corporate limits of each sangha carefully demarcated by a variety of rules and regulations. Among the 24 disqualifications which would disentitle a Bhikkhu to become the member of a sangha proceeding to perform an ecclesiastical act are two, *viz.*, 'being of another communion' (nānāsamvāsaka) and 'living outside the boundary' (nānāsīmāya thita).[74] The protest of such a Bhikkhu at an ecclesiastical act is ineffectual.[75] On the eve of the rain-retreat no allotment of Senāsana was made for a Bhikkhu residing outside the boundary of the āvāsa (nissīme thitassa).[76]

Among the rules for the proper observance of the Uposatha, it is enjoined that a Bhikkhu on the Uposatha day must not change to an āvāsa (except under certain conditions) where there are Bhikkhus belonging to a different communion from his own (nānāvāsaka)[77] apparently for the reason that the Uposatha must be held with the Samānavāsakas only which follows from

[74] Mahavagga, IX, 4. 2.
[75] *Ibid*, IX, 4. 7.
[76] Cullavagga, VI, 11. 3.
[77] Mahavagga, II, 35. 4.

Mahavagga, II, 34. 10, *et seq.* On a similar principle it is laid down that a Bhikkhu on his Parivāsa should not go away from one āvāsa to another where Bhikkhus are living, but where there might be Bhikkhus of other communities (nānāvāsaka). But the injunction is modified in the case of a change to a residence of Bhikkhus of the same community (samānavāsaka) under certain circumstances (*viz.*, if the journey took no more than a day).[78] The fact implied in such rules that a Bhikkhu, wherever for the time being he might choose to be, was recognised as belonging to that āvāsa where he was bound to spend the rain-retreat (a senāsana would not be provided for him elsewhere) is interesting as throwing light on the process of growth of later Buddhist sects bearing place-names. Each āvāsa became a distinct centre of monastic life and canonical culture. We hear for instance of the Sāvatthiya Sangha (Mahavagga, III, 13. 1), the Vesālika Vijjiputtaka Bhikkhus (Cullavagga, XII, 1), etc. These separate Sanghas were in fact the cradles of the later sects bearing place-names. It should be noted here in passing that the limits of an āvāsa did not always or necessarily coincide with the limits of the Sangha. In Mahavagga, X, 1. 9, the question is raised as to what would happen if two schismatic factions wanted to hold Uposatha and perform ecclesiastical acts within the same boundary. It is held there that they are at liberty to do so, as they belong to different communions, though living in the same āvāsa. Hence a distinction is sometimes drawn between 'residence within the common boundary' and 'membership of the same communion.' The case discussed in Mahavagga, X, 1. 9, became however one of the ten theses (*viz.*, āvāsakappa) at the council of Vesali and it was dismissed in a somewhat cavalier fashion and in tacit contravention

[78] Cullavagga, II, 1. 3.

of the above text,[79] on the authority of another text, *viz.*, II, 8.3.

The growth of the early pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist sects is a subject that still awaits investigation by a competent scholar. The genesis of these sects will probably be found to break up into a net-work of various causes. The process of their growth was certainly not unilinear. In Chapter V of the Mahāvamsa are enumerated 18 sects, including the orthodox Theravada, which came into existence within two hundred years of Buddha's decease. Of them, the following sects derive their names from the places where they were to be originally found :—

Gokulika, Cetiya, Himavata, Rājagiriya, Pubbaseliya, Aparaseliya, Vajiriya. Some fresh local sect-names occur in the familiar standardised classification, *viz.*,[80] Avantika, Mahāvihāra, Jetavaniya, Abhayagirivāsin.

Some of these sects are of Ceylonese origin, *e.g.*, Cetiya, Abhayagirivāsin ; others evidently originated in northern India[81] ; others again are difficult to localise. The origin of such sects must needs be traced in the centralisation of communal life at different āvāsas, which were self-contained and self-governing, and developed later on distinct

[79] See Cullavagga, XII, 2.8.

[80] See *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta*, Vol. I, Pt. III, p. 18 ; Rhys Davids's article on the *Buddhist Sects* in J. R. A. S., 1891, pp. 411 ff. and 1892, pp. 1-37, and Takakasu's *I—Tsiang*, Intro., pp. xxiii-xxv.

[81] Some light is thrown on the two sects, Pubbaseliya and Aparaseliya, by the Amaravati inscriptions. The two sects originated in the two famous cave-vihāras of Dhanakataka. Not far from Dhanakataka was Sanchi, the old name of which was Cetiyagiri. It was even in the pre-Asokan age a flourishing seat of Buddhism (see Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*, p. 286). It seems that a sect was formed here called Cetiyavāda. In the Amarāvati inscriptions, the Cetiyavāda school is frequently mentioned. See *Report of the Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I, 1883, pp. 100-101). Rhys Davids says : " The Cetiyavada school was very probably the source of the schools of the Eastern and Western caves at Dhanakataka, as its name occurs once on the Amaravati tope in the description of one of the donors, a member of the order, resident in one or other of these mountain vihāras " (*Sects of the Buddhists*, J. A. S. B., 1891, footnote).

corporate character. We have seen how completely the Buddhists went back on the original eremitical and gyrovagic ideal. It is further attested by the fact that in later times the Bhikkhus came to be differentiated from the Paribrajakas.[82] The Bhikkhus developed a cenobitical way of life which became their distinguishing feature marking them off from the other Paribrajakas who retained their nomadic, itinerant habits.

In the prolific and wide-spread legends of Barlaam and Josaphat there is a curious passage in which the Indian monastic system is declared to be an imitation from Egypt.[83] The story of Barlaam and Josaphat is an Indian story put into shape by some early Christian writer. It is well-known that the out-look on history of the early Christians was narrowly circumscribed by religious prepossessions and prejudices. Every event in the world's history was by them sought to be brought into connection with the central fact of Christianity. Anachronism was no bar to their systematic Christian interpretation of universal history. There is therefore nothing surprising in the fact that the inventor of the myth of the Egyptian origin of Indian monachism gaily ignored the long period of nearly eight hundred years that intervened between its founder and Antony and Pachomius. Such tempting myths however though doomed to death are fated not to die, and we find even Sir William Jones speculating on the Egyptian relations of Indian

[82] Nāyyo ete bhikkhū paribbājakā ' ti—Cullavagga, V, 23. 2 ; *cf.* also Pācittiya, 41 : Yo pana bhikkhu acelakassa vā paribbājakassa vā paribbājikāya vā sahatthā khādanīyam vā bhojanīyam vā dadeyya, pācittiyam. In the *Suttavibhanga*, loc passim, ' paribbajaka' is said to be any person other than a Bhikkhu or Sramanera.

[83] See Boissonade's Text of *Barlaam and Josaphat* in *Anecdota Graeca*, translated in part by Robert Chalmers in the ' *Parables of Barlaam and Josaphat* in J. R. A. S., 1891 : " When monasteries commenced to spring up in Egypt and monks to assemble in great numbers and when the report of their virtue and angelic life * * * came to the Indians, it aroused these latter also to a like zeal, so that many of them leaving all took to the wilderness."

monasteries. It is nevertheless exceedingly interesting to notice the parallel developments of Egyptian and Indian monachism.[84] In Egypt as in India the institution of monachism was at first of a purely eremitical character. The life led by the earliest Egyptian monks in the deserts of Nitria, Cellia and Scete is known to us from *Historia Monachorum* and the writings of Rufinus and St. Jerome. In Cellia, the cells of the hermits "stood out of sight and out of earshot of one another; only on Saturday and Sunday did the monks assemble for the services; all the other time was spent in complete solitude, no one ever visiting another except in case of sickness or for some spiritual need."[85] Here we have a resemblance to the individualistic habits of the early Buddhist eremites and the earliest form of the Uposatha service such as is described in the Mahāpadāna Sutta where the Bhikkhus having little touch with one another assemble from distant parts to hold the Uposatha together. But Egyptian monachism did not rest in this eremitical ideal. In Mount Nitria there existed a monastic colony closely resembling a Buddhist āvāsa, but here also the eremitical principle was predominant. In the Pachomian institutions the next stage in the development of monastic life in Egypt is reached. Under St. Pachomius the Egyptian monks became a true religious order, living under a Rule analogous to the Pātimokkha code of the Buddhists. In the description of the Pachomian monastery at Banopolis, which has been left to us by Palladius, we observe 'fully constituted and indeed highly organised cenobitical life,'[86] such as existed no doubt in the later stages of the Buddhist āvāsas, each being an organised self-contained

[84] For a summary account of Egyptian monachism, see *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I, Chapter on *Monasticism* (pp. 521-26).

[85] See *ibid*, p. 522.

[86] See *ibid*, p. 524.

and self-governing colony. Thus the natural transition from the eremitical to the cenobitical life among the early Buddhists in India is exactly paralleled by the process of evolution followed by the Christian monachism of Egypt.

CHAPTER VI

The Internal Polity of a Buddhist Sangha.

The laws of polity by which the early Buddhist Sanghas were governed betray a remarkable maturity of development. They must have passed through many stages before reaching that completeness and perfection which characterise them in the Vinayapitaka. Many of these legal institutions did not surely originate and develop in the Buddhist Sangha itself. There must have been borrowing and adaptation, for, as Humboldt has truly said, 'Man ever connects on from what lies at hand.' A detached study of Buddhist institutions of monastic government apart from their external connections would therefore necessarily lead to an imperfect unhistorical view. As Tylor has said, "It is always unsafe to detach a custom from its hold on past events treating it as an isolated fact to be simply disposed of by some plausible explanation."[1] The general background of primitive Paribrajaka life together with the state-polities of the ancient Indians should therefore be explored in order to discover, if possible, the origins of these institutions. But the inadequacy of materials for this line of research is a great handicap, as will be explained in the next two paragraphs.

The leading note of early Buddhist polity, as we shall see, was that of republican Church Government. If it could be ascertained how far it was characteristic of the other contemporary Paribrajaka sects it would give us a clearer insight into this peculiarity of the constitution

[1] *Primitive Culture* (1891), Vol. I, p. 20.

of a Buddhist Sangha. It has been observed in a previous chapter that each Sangha or Gana of paribrajakas in the 6th century B. C., had a recognised leader or Satthā, as he was called. Whether a line of succession would inevitably follow or some other kind of organisation would come into existence on the death of the first Satthā is an obscure question, the complete and satisfactory solution of which is impossible in the absence of more abundant materials than we now possess. We have indeed brief and scrappy sketches of the doctrines of some Paribrajaka sects in the Sāmanna-phala Sutta.[2] Of these sects, our knowledge of the Ājīvakas is supplemented by other sources. They are many scattered references to them in Buddhist and Jaina literatures, supplying for the most part little useful information. Besides there are two systematic treatments of the Ājīvaka doctrines from the Buddhist and the Jaina points of view respectively in the Sumangala-Vilāsini by Buddhaghosa[3] and in the 6th Ajjayana of Uvāsagadasāo.[4] In the 15th Sataka of the Bhagavati Sutta[5] again we have a legendary account of the life of the founder of the Ājīvaka sect, much garbled though it is by religious prejudice. But the Jaina and Buddhist writers are naturally more intent on refuting their doctrines than giving anything like an historical account of them, and the result is that though we know something about the peculiar 'dhamma' of Gosāla, we are totally in the dark about the character or organisation of the Sangha or Gana which he founded. The subsequent history of the Ājīvakas tempts but baffles enquiry, though their existence in the 3rd century, B. C.

[1] In the Digha Nikāya ; see 17-33.

[2] See *Sāmanna-phala Sutta-vannanā*. (See *Sumangala-vilāsini*, P. T. S., pp. 60-165.)

[3] This is translated in Hoernle's *Uvāsaga-Dasāo* in Bibliotheca Indica Series.

[4] See *Bhagavati Sutta* in Bibliotheca Indica Series.

is indicated by the mention of them in a few well-known inscriptions.[6]

The records of the Jainas give us a better, though by no means satisfactory, view of the early organisation of their Order. The enumeration of the Ganas, Kulas and Sākhās in the Sthavirāvalī cannot of course be regarded as historical in the absence of other evidence. But it is important and significant as showing that the 'republican idea' did not prevail among the early Jaina community. "It is not quite clear," says Jacobi, "what is meant by Gana, Kula and Sākhā. Gana designates the school which is derived from one teacher; Kula the succession of teachers in one line; Sākhā the line which branched off from one teacher. These terms seem to be disused in modern times, for the four principal divisions called after Nagendra, Chandra, Nivritti, and Vidyādhara are generally called Kulas, but also occasionally Sākhās. They go back to Vajra, according to some, to Vajrasena, according to others. The modern Gaccha appears equivalent with the ancient Gana."[7] In the organisation of the Buddhist community, however, as reflected in the Pitakas, this principle of ruling hegemony is conspicuous by its absence. In the Jaina *Rules for Yatis*, it is said, for instance, "As the venerable ascetic, Mahāvīra, commenced the Pajjusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed, so the Ganadharas commenced the Pajjusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed. As the Ganadharas have done, so the disciples of the Ganadharas have done. As they have done, so the Sthaviras have done. As they have done, so do the Nirgrantha Sramanas of the present time."[8] It would be difficult to cite a parallel passage

[6] See the Cave Dedications of Dasaratha.

[7] Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*, S. B. E., Pt. I, p. 288, footnote 2.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 296.

from the Vinayapitaka. In early Buddhism in fact, the idea of a succession of teachers is definitely rejected, though it managed to edge itself into it later on. In the Introduction to the Samantapāsādikā, Buddhagosha names a succession of teachers (ācariya-paramparā) from Upali to Tisso, who handed down the Vinaya to the third Synod,[9] *viz.*,

> Upāli Dāsako c' eva Sonaka Siggavo tathā
> Tisso Moggaliputto ca panc' ete vijitāvino
> Paramparāya Vinayam dīpe Jambusirivhaye
> Acchijjamānam ānesum tatiyo yāva samgaho'ti.

The sense in which Buddhaghosha uses the word, ācariya, here is unknown to the Vinayapitaka.[10] Upali who stands at the head of the list is nowhere represented in early Buddhist literature as occupying any permanent official position as the Vinaya-teacher of the Sangha; he was selected only for the occasion at the first Council to recite the Vinaya, being most learned in it, being a Vinayadhara. Buddhaghosa's Ācariya-paramparā (which is elaborated in later Buddhist literature), even if it may be regarded as analogous to the Jaina Sthavirāvalī, is a much later idea, absent in early Buddhist literature and evolved most probably by Buddhaghosa himself in the 5th century, A. D.[11] It can throw no light on the ideas of polity of the early Buddhist Sanghas.

The transition of the Sangha, after the death of the first Satthā 'from a monarchical to a republican

[9] See Oldenberg's *Vinayapitakam*, Vol. III, p. 313.

[10] An 'ācariya' in the Vinayapitaka is the instructor of an individual Bhikkhu or a limited number of Bhikkhus. He does not preside over a wide circle of pupils. He stands not in relation to the Sangha, but to individual Bhikkhus whom he watches over. By 'ācariya' in the passage referred to, Buddhaghosa means something quite different from this. Buddhaghosa attributes to the position of an 'ācariya' something of a public character.

[11] For an interesting note on Buddhaghosa's native place by the late Prof. Harinath De, see Copleston's *Buddhism, Primitive and Modern*, p. 201, footnote.

type'[12] as Oldenberg felicitously puts it, seems therefore to be rather peculiar—no analogous idea being found in Jainism and none surely in Hinduism. Of the Ājīvakas and other sects, we know next to nothing on this point. On the idea of a succession of masters the canonical literature of the Buddhists is far from being silent. It is likely that the question was agitated among the Bhikkhus in early times and the emphasis with which it is answered may have been due to its having been seriously propounded at some time. In Cullavagga, VII, 3.1, Devadatta proposes to Buddha that as he has grown old and is near the end of his life, he (Buddha) should hand over the leadership of the Sangha to him (Jinno dāni bhante bhagavā, * * * mama bhikkhusangham nissajjatu, aham bhikkhusangham pariharissāmīti). But Buddha retorts with the reply that he would not hand over the leadership of the Sangha even to Sariputta or Moggallana, much less to an evil person like him. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,[13] Ananda expresses the hope that the Tathāgata will before his decease leave some instructions regarding the Sangha (na tāva bhagavā parinibbāyissati na yāva bhagavā bhikkhusangham ārabbha kincid eva udāharatīti). Buddha in his reply strongly repudiates the idea of a successor to him leading the Sangha and his words are intensely emphatic—Atta-dīpā viharatha atta-saranā ananna-saranā dhamma-dīpā dhamma-saranā aranna-saranā. Buddha even goes so far as to say—"Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda

[12] "The Order of Buddhist presents, so long as the Master is alive, a union of teacher and scholars after the Brahmanical model. The transition of such a community, so to speak, from a monarchical type to a republican, its passing somehow, when the teacher dies, into a confederacy of independent members existing side by side, is wholly unknown to the religious systems of the Brahmans. This very transition has completed itself in Buddhism."—Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translated by Hoey, 1882).

[13] See II, 24-26.

na evam hoti 'Aham bhikkhu-sangham pariharissāmīti' vā 'Mam uddesiko bhikkhusangho' ti vā." The inconsistency of this with another statement made by Assaji has already been noticed. The obvious explanation is that the idea that there was no leader of the Sangha, no one on whom the Sangha was dependent, came to the fore after the death of the first master (Satthā), and this later idea is put into the mouth of the Buddha in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. No successor to the original Satthā was recognised. This is made more clear in Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, VI, 1. 1: "Siyā kho pan Ānanda tumhākam evam assa: atītasatthukam pāvacanam, n'athi no satthā ti. Na kho pan' etam Ānanda evam datthabbam, yo vo Ānanda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito pannatto so vo mam' accayena satthā." This is further elucidated in the Gopaka-Moggallāna Suttanta in the Majjhima Nikaya [14] where Vassakara asks Ananda whether Gotama has marked out any particular Bhikkhu who should be the refuge of the Sangha after his death. Ananda answers in the negative. Vassakara then asks whether any one has been subsequently nominated in that behalf. Being answered in the negative, he asks how unity can exist among the followers of Gotama. Ananda answers, "There is no want to us of a refuge, O Brahmana! we have a refuge, the Dhamma." Evidently the republican organisation of the Buddhist Sangha was somewhat incomprehensible to outsiders.

When, in course of time, the original Cātuddisa Bhikkhusangha had broken up into several monastic communities (sanghas) belonging to different āvāsas, the 'republican idea' was consistently maintained. In an early Buddhist Sangha there was no one answering to an 'abbot.' One who aspired to such a position in an āvāsa

[14] Cited by Oldenberg—See *The Buddha*, p. 341, footnote.

was condemned as a fool.[15] For the conduct of the affairs of the Sangha—its trials, deliberations and other business—a learned and virtuous person among the community would be appointed president. But his character was strictly representative. "If he is charged with a mission, he takes it upon himself properly, and in the business of the Sangha, he does what they tell him;—when a number of Bhikkhus despatches him somewhere he obeys their command, but he does not think thereupon, 'It is I who do this'" (Dūteyyakammesu alam samuggaho sanghassa kiccesu ca āhunam yathā, Karamavaco bhikkhuganena pesito aham karomīti na tena mannati).[16] It is said of Lanfranc that he used to read 'e' in 'Docēre' short at the bidding of his ignorant superior.[17] Such an incident would be inconceivable in a Buddhist Sangha. The point as to whether the Upajjhāya or Ācariya should be unquestioningly followed was raised at the Council of Vesali and was ruled out. (Cullavagga, XII, 1.10—Acinnakappa). There is no place for such obedience as is insisted on, say, in the *Regula Benediciti*[18] in the whole of the Vinayapitaka.

Deference is limited to respectful attention to seniors, apportioning of the best seats, water and food according to seniority, not taking the same seat with a senior, etc.[19]

[15] Asatam bhāvan icchoyya purekkhāran ca bhikkhusu, *Āvāsesu ca issaryam* pūjā parakulesu ca.—Fausböll's *Dhammapada*, No. 73 (Bāla-vagga).

[16] Mahavagga, X, 6.3.

[17] For this well-known incident of monastic history, see Maitland's *Dark Ages*, p. 178.

[18] See Ch. V of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* (Gasquet's translation). See Gibbon on obedience of the Monks in Ch. XXXVII of *Decline and Fall*. "A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd or even criminal they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials."—See *Decline and Fall* (The World's Classics), Vol. IV, pp. 77-78.

[19] See Cullavagga, VI, 6 4.—"Anujānāmi bhikkave yathāvuddham abhivādanam paccutthānam anjalikammam sāmīcikammam aggāsanam aggodakam aggapindam," and *ibid*, 13. 2.

It is this kind of courteous and attentive deference to superiors and elders that is recommended in the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta, 1, 6., *e.g.*, Yāvakīvan ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te bhikkhū therā ratannū cirapabbajitā sangha-pitaro sangha-parināyakā te sakkarissanti gurukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti tesan ca sotabbam mannissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnam pātikankhā no parihāni.

The idea of the paramount authority of a person—a recognised head, a spiritual dictator, an abbot or a *ganadhara*—was foreign to the republican constitution of an early Buddhist Sangha. The republican church government of the early Buddhists seems to be somewhat striking in its originality. But the fact must not be forgotten that the political constitution of many tribes of north-eastern India in early times whence Buddhist Bhikkhus were largely recruited was of a republican type.[20] People were quite familiar and conversant with free institutions like voting, committee, popular tribunal and collective legislation, and if many of them were readily transplanted in the constitution of the Buddhist Sangha, there would be nothing surprising or unnatural in the fact. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has hazarded the conjecture that "the Buddhist brotherhood, the Sangha, was copied out from the political Sangha, the republic, in its constitution."[21] But this remains a conjecture only, though by no means an improbable one, in the present state of our knowledge. As we have said above, our knowledge of the constitution and organisation of other contemporary sects of Paribrajakas, which might probably

[20] Rhys Davids says: "The earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence."—*Buddhist India*, p. 2. See also pp. 19, 22. "Republics are mentioned in various Sanskrit works."—K. P. Jayaswal's *An Introduction to Hindu Polity* (Modern Review, May, 1913, p. 537). See *ibid*, pp. 537-541.

[21] *An Introduction to Hindu Polity*, (Modern Review, June, 1913), p. 664.

have influenced the Buddhist Sangha, is extremely defective.

A primitive āvāsa was a republican colony of Buddhist Bhikkhus as directly democratic in its constitution as any city-state of ancient Greece. The Government was based on universal suffrage and every duly qualified member had an equal right of participating in it. Any transaction of the monastic community which might affect the Sangha in any way was called a Sanghakamma. There were various forms of Sanghakamma, a classified list of the more important of which is given below :—

SANGHAKAMMA.

I. Disciplinary and Disputatious.	II. Non-disciplinary and Non-disputatious	III. Anomalous
(1) Parivāsa ... (a) Apatichanna. (b) Patic' inna. (c) Suddhanta or Mulāya Patikassanā. (d) Samodhāna.	(1) Upasampadā.	(1) Tassa-pāpiyyasikā.
(2) Mānatta.	(2) Uposatha.	(2) Tina-vitthāraka.
(3) Tajjaniya.	(3) Settlement of Sīmā.	
(4) Nissaya.	(4) Pavāranā.	
(5) Pabbājaniya.	(5) Kanthina.	
(6) Patisāraniya ... Patta-Nikkujana (its counter-part)	(6) Appointment of all officers.	
(7) Ukkhepaniya ... (a) Āpattiyā Adassane. (b) Āpattiyā Appatikamme. (c) Papikāya Ditthiyā Appatinissagge.	(7) Dedication of any part of the building establishment for any special purpose.	
(8) Pakāsaniya.	(8) Settlement of succession to the personal belongings of any deceased Bhikkhu.	
(9) Brahmadanda.	(9) Abbhāna.	
	Et cetera.	

In Class I, Nos. (1), (2) and (9) were probably older than the rest. The first two forms of discipline to be imposed by the Sangha are the only ones mentioned and described in the Pātimokkha. No. (9) is described only in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. Nos. (3)—(7) seem to have been the regular and ordinary forms. They could not be resorted to without previous confession on the part of the guilty Bhikkhu (Cullavagga, IV, 7.1). They are explained and elaborated in Cullavagga, I. No. (8) seems to have been an exceptional form and there is no reference to it except in the story of Devadatta on whom it was imposed. It is likely that other forms of discipline besides those enumerated in the above list could be invented to suit occasions. In Class II, No. (1) became a Sanghakamma only later on. It passed through three formal stages—Ehi Bhikkhu, Saranāgama and Kammavācā. (See Chapter VII.) In Class III, Nos. (1) and (2) are called Forms of Procedure (Adhikaranasamattha), but they have all the characteristics of Sanghakamma proper. Vijesinha expresses this opinion with regard to No. (1). (See Childers's *Pali Dictionary, loc. cit.*)

I am solely responsible for the above classified list. The division of Sanghakammas into these three classes is not based on any orthodox authority. But it seems to me to be the only reasonable classification possible. The significance of the three heads of Sanghakammas will, I believe, be clearer on a perusal of the whole of this chapter.

For the transaction of a Sanghakamma, it would be necessary to assemble together the *whole* Sangha. Any one not able to join in it must either remain outside the boundary of the āvāsa or send his consent through another which was called Chanda.[22] The completeness of the assembly is insisted on, and in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta one of the safeguards against the degeneration of the Sangha is said to be the holding of *complete* assemblies for the purpose of transacting Sanghakammas.[23] A complete assembly for the purpose of the various Sanghakammas is defined as one consisting of :—[24]

(*i*) Four—for all acts except Upasampadā, Pavāranā and Abbhāna.

(*ii*) Five—for all acts except Upasampadā in border countries, and Abbhāna. ("In such Border Countries, I allow, O Bhikkhus, the Upasampadā to be held in a meeting of only four Bhikkhus besides the Chairman who must be a Vinayadhara"—Mahavagga, V, 13.12 ; For the boundaries, see *ibid*).

(*iii*) Ten—for all acts except Abbhāna.

(*iv*) Twenty and upwards for all acts.

It is to be understood that these minima would constitute quorums, but not committees. The boundaries for example of an āvāsa have got to be settled. Three Bhikkhus are present. They may not transact business unless another Bhikkhu turns up and helps to form the quorum. Suppose now only four Bhikkhus are present. They may validly transact the business. Suppose again seven Bhikkhus are present. They may transact business

[22] For the rules of Chanda which coincide with the rules of Parisuddhi, see Mahavagga, II, 23-25.

[23] Yāvakīvan ca bhikkhave bhikkhū samaggā sannipatissanti samaggā vutthahissanti *samaggā sanghakaraniyāni karissanti* vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnam pātikankhā no parihāni—*Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, i, 6.

[24] See Mahavagga, IX, 4. 2.

only if *all* of them join in it : it would not be competent for four of them to transact the business apart from the remaining three, that is, by a committee. A committee is recognised only in one case, *viz.*, the Ubbāhikā form of procedure. The right of direct participation in the Sanghakamma inheres in each duly qualified member of an āvāsa and is very jealously guarded.

Again, the minimum number must not be made up by any person under any of the twenty-four disabilities mentioned in Mahavagga, IX, 4. 2. Two of them deserve special mention, *viz.*, (*i*) living outside the boundary (nānāsimāya thita) and (*ii*) belonging to a different āvāsa (nānāsamvāsaka). That these two conditions were of later imposition is suggested by the following significant inconsistency. In Mahavagga, III, 6-9, certain exceptional cases are contemplated regarding Vassa residence. During the sojournment of the rain-retreat, a Bhikkhu at an āvāsa, for instance, desires Parivāsa, Mānatta or Abbhāna, but owing to the shortage of the minimum number, according to the rules stated above, the Sanghakamma cannot be transacted. He invites a Bhikkhu to come from outside and become a Ganapūraka, *i. e.*, help to make up the requisite number. The outsider is permitted, as an exceptional case, to leave his own place of residence during the Vassa and go to the place where he is wanted. Now such an outsider would be either under disability, No. 21 (nānāsamvāsaka) or No. 22 (nānāsīmāya thita). How could he act as a Ganapūraka without contravening the provision of Mahavagga, IX, 4. 2, *et seq.* ? The fact is that the idea of the distinctness of each āvāsa developed gradually as pointed out in the previous chapter and the rules, Nos. 21 and 22, must be read in the light of the history of the growth of the āvāsas.

The form of a Sanghakamma consisted of two parts—first, Natti (Resolution) and then, Anussāvanā (Proclamation of the proposed act or Kammavācā).[25] The inversion of this order would invalidate the whole proceedings *ab initio*.[26] The matter for decision by Sanghakamma was defined by a Bhikkhu in the form of a Resolution placed before the whole assembly—'Let this (the matter defined) be done.' Then followed the Proclamation. Those who were against the Resolution were called upon to speak and those who were for it to remain silent. This Proclamation might be made only once when the act was called a Nattidutiya Kamma or thrice when it was a Natticatuttha Kamma. Some Sanghakammas belonged to the first order and some to the second and the observance of this distinction was essential for the validity of an act.

To sum up, the following would be the essential conditions of a valid act: [27]

(1) The presence of the minimum number competent to perform the act. This was a condition precedent. In other words ratification (anumati) by a member who was not actually present at the Sanghakamma given after it had been performed was invalid. This was decided at the Council of Vesali (Cullavagga, XII, 1. 10).

(*ii*) The consent of all the absentees conveyed by Chanda.

[25] Mahavagga, IX, 3. 2.

[26] Observe that the distinction, noticed also by the learned translators, between the six cases given in Mahavagga, IX, 3. 7 and those in 3. 5 consists in the inversion of the Natti and the Kammavācā. Compare also 3. 9 which sets out all the elements of a valid Sanghakamma.

[27] The enumeration is based on Mahavagga, IX, 3. 9..... "Nattidutiye ce bhikkhave kamme pathamam nattim thapeti, pacchā ekāya kammavācāya kammam karoti, yāvatikā bhikkhū kammapattā te āgatā honti, chandarahānam chando āhato hoti, sammukhībhūtā na patikkosanti, dhammena samaggakammam." The same *utatis mutandis* for a Natticatuttha Kamma.

(*iii*) The proposal of the Resolution (Natti).

(*iv*) The proclamation of Kammavācā (Anussāvana), once or thrice, according as the act was of the Nattidutiya or of the Natticatuttha class.

(*v*) Consent to the proposal given by silence of all duly qualified members of the assembly. When there was a division of opinion, it became a case of Adhikarana (Dispute) which must be settled as *per* rules explained below.

The failure to satisfy any of these conditions would invalidate the act. When the act was invalid it might be impugned at another assembly by way of a Kiccādhikarana, and the matter opened afresh. But when the matter was decided by a valid act, it became *res judicata* and the reopening of it would amount to Pācittiya offence, No. 63.[28]

Now a Sanghakamma might arise in either of the two following ways—(*i*) by a general requisition and (*ii*) through a dispute. Non-disciplinary Sanghakammas would generally arise in the first way. When the sense of the whole Sangha was understood to be in favour of a particular measure, it was brought formally before the Sangha and carried through by regular proposal and proclamation. When on the other hand the sense of the Sangha was divided, it became a case of (*ii*). It is obvious that all disciplinary Sanghakammas would belong to this latter class, for in them the rest of the Bhikkhus acted against a single or a number of Bhikkhus. But nevertheless with a few specified exceptions there might be a division on almost any matter. With regard to this latter class of Sanghakammas, arising by way of dispute, the proceedings were somewhat special, consisting of the following stages:

(*i*) The *Dispute* (Preliminary to the trial):

[28] Jo pana bhikkhu jānam jathādhammam nihatādhikaranam punakammāya ukkoteyya pācittiyam.

(*a*) Accusation and denial; or
(*b*) Confession of guilt; or
(*c*) Difference of opinion on any of the specified matters. *N. B.*—The denial in (*a*), if false, would be a fresh offence leading to Ukkhepaniyakamma (Act of suspension).

(*ii*) The *Procedure* (the trial proper):
(*a*) Proposal of the Resolution (Natti), and
(*b*) Proclamation of Kammavācā, both in accordance with
(*c*) the rules of Adhikaranasamattha.

(*iii*) The *Decision* of the Sangha (Judgment).

Now the difference between the form and procedure of a non-disciplinary and non-disputatious action and that of a disciplinary and disputatious one is this—in the former, the first stage is absent and there are no special rules, as in *ii* (*c*), governing the Natti.

The brief outline sketched above appears to be simple enough, but when we proceed to details, we are confronted with elaborate complications. The whole process of conducting a disputatious Sanghakamma grows into such a tangled labyrinth that unless we thread our way through it with the greatest care and caution we are likely to be 'in wandering mazes lost.' I shall however try to set out the details of the process as clearly and simply as accuracy of presentment would allow.

To commence from the first stage. Disputes or Adhikaranas are divided into 4 classes according to the subject-matter of the dispute, *viz.*,[29]

[29] The above classification and description of Adhikaranas is based on Cullavagga, IV, 14. The following summary is given by Buddhaghosa in the *Kankhāvittarani*:

Adhikaranesu tava dhammoti va adhammoti va attarasahi vatthuhi vivadantanam bhikkunam jo vivado idam vivadadhikaranam nama. Silavipattiya va acara-ditthi-

(*i*) *Vivādādhikarena.*—Dispute on certain specified matters which may be summarised as (*a*) Dhamma, (*b*) Vinaya, (*c*) the teachings, practices or ordainments of the Tathāgata, (*d*) the nature of an ecclesiastical offence. Disputes on these matters would tend to give rise to schisms (see Cullavagga, VII, 5. 2).

Exceptions.—Friendly and family disputes are excepted.[30]

(*ii*) *Anuvādādhikarana.*—Dispute regarding the state of a Bhikkhu's opinion, morals, character, conduct or manner of life.

Exceptions.—Friendly and family disputes are excepted.[30]

(*iii*) *Āpattādhikarana.*—Dispute regarding the following kinds of offences, *viz.*, Pārājika, Sanghādisesa, Pācittiya, Pātidesaniya, Dukkata, Thullaccaya and Dubbāsita, alleged against any Bhikkhu.

Exceptions.—Anything whatever called an Āpatti (*e. g.*, sot-āpatti, sam-āpatti, etc.) is not necessarily the subject of an āpattādhikarana.

N. B.—It will be observed that when the Bhikkhu had been guilty of an offence, which could not be brought under any of the above heads, the allegation of it against him would not give rise to an Āpattādhikarana, but an Anuvādādhikarana which is much more comprehensive in its scope.

ajiva-vipattiya va anuvadantanam jo anuvado upavadana ceva codana ca idam anuvadadhikarana Nama. matikaya agata panca vibhange dveti sattapi appatikkhanda apattadhikaranam nama. Jam sanghassa apalokanadinam catunnam kammanam karanam idam kiccadhikaranam nama.

[30] As regards these exceptions, compare the rule of Vrihaspati, cited by Jīmūtavāhana in the *Vyavahāramātrikā* (edited by Sir A. T. Mookerjee in Memoirs of A. S. B., Vol. III, No. 5, 1912), p. 285:

गुरुशिष्यौ पितापुत्रौ दम्पती स्वामिभृत्यकौ।
एतेषां समवेतानां व्यवहारो न सिध्यति॥

(*iv*) *Kiccādhikarana*.—Dispute regarding the procedure of a Sanghakamma or the duties and obligations of the Sangha.

Exceptions.—The duties of an ācariya, an upajjhāya or a fellow-pupil could not be the subject of a Kiccādhikarana.

The following illustrations may be taken of the above four classes :—

(*i*) At an āvāsa in Vesali, some Bhikkhus invite laymen to offer money to the Sangha : Yasa says that it is against the Dhamma—this is a Vivādādhikarana which must be formally brought before the Sangha. (See account of the Council of Vesali in Cullavagga, XII, 1.)

(*ii*) At an āvāsa in Vesali, some Bhikkhus allege that Yasa has propounded a false doctrine to laymen—this is an Anuvādādhikarana which must be formally brought before the Sangha (see *ibid*).

(*iii*) At an āvāsa in Rajagaha, a Bhikkhuni named Mettiyā complains that Dabba has committed the 6th Pācittiya offence against her—this is an Āpattādhikarana which must be formally brought before the Sangha. (See the story of Dabba in Cullavagga, IV, 4 8.)

(*iv*) At an āvāsa, X alleges that a certain Sanghakamma has not been attended with the necessary conditions, *e. g.*, the minimum number was not made up—this is a Kiccādhikarana which must be formally brought before the Sangha.

So much about the dispute itself.

At the second stage, the Adhikarana has been brought before the full assembly. In a non-disciplinary and non-disputatious Sanghakamma, the Natti at this stage would be put without further preliminaries. But not so in the other Sanghakammas. The person concerned—the prisoner at the bar, as modern lawyers would say—must submit to certain interrogatories on the result of which

the Natti—whether of acquittal or of conviction—would be put. The accused would be called upon to remember his offence or warned or made to confess, etc. There are various technical terms, *e.g.*, codetabba (as in Sammukhavinaya), āpattim āropetabba (as in Amulhavinaya), etc., to signify different forms of interrogatories. When the result of the interrogatories had been known, it would be time to put the Natti which would be governed by the rules of the Adhikaranasamattha.[31] These rules, governing the Natti, are seven in number of which the last two, as I have already remarked, are somewhat different in character from the rest, *viz.*,—(*i*) Sammukhavinaya, (*ii*) Sativinaya, (*iii*) Patinnātakarana, (*iv*) Amulhavinaya, (*v*) Jebhuyyasikā, (*vi*) Tassa-pāpiyasikā, (*vii*) Tinavitthāraka. Of these rules one or two combined would apply under different sets of circumstances to be explained below, No. (*i*) being common to all. We now proceed to consider these circumstances under which the rules would apply.[32]

(*i*) Sammukhavinaya—This means the presence (*a*) of the particular individual concerned, (*b*) of the Sangha or the full assembly, (*c*) of the Vinaya (which means the observance of the proper rules of procedure), and (*d*) of the Dhamma (which means the application of the law relating to the case). This 'fourfold presence' applies to *all* adhikaranas. It safeguards the proper conduct of the trial. There are two exceptional forms of Sammukhavinaya—(*a*) Reference to the members of another āvāsa and (*b*) Reference to a committee of the same āvāsa duly appointed. In the case of (*a*), if the referees were unable to decide the question, the custody of the case was returned

[31] An enumeration of them occurs in the last section of the Pātimokkha. They are explained and elaborated with illustrations in Cullavagga, IV, 14.

[32] The above account of the Adhikaransamatthas is based on Cullavagga, IV, 14. Every statement made by me here is authorised by some passage or other of the afore-mentioned chapter of Cullavagga. It would be tedious as well as unprofitable to quote all the references.

by them. The following rules would govern (*b*) : A committee (Ubbāhikā) would be appointed when in the course of the proceedings confusion arose and the assembly found it impossible to come to a decision. The members of the committee would be appointed in the usual Natti-form by which all office-bearers of the Sangha were appointed. The rules according to which the committee itself would proceed to consider the business before it are not laid down. But in the account of the Council at Vesali where such a committee was appointed, the procedure of the committee is represented as follows [33] : The committee consists of 8 members. One of them, Sabbakāmi, acts like a Chairman and another, Revata, acts like a Secretary. The points referred to the Committee are put one by one by the Secretary to the Chairman, and as each point is decided by the latter, the Secretary announces it to the other members of the Committee and casts the ballot accordingly (*cf.* Idam pathamam salākam nikkhipāmi—Cullavagga, XII, 2. 8). When all the points are decided the Chairman tells the Secretary that the matter is settled and concluded once for all, but that he (Secretary) should nevertheless interrogate him (Chairman) in the midst of the whole Sangha on all the points over again. This is accordingly done which brings the whole proceedings relative to the case to a termination. If however the committee found it impossible to decide the matter delegated to it, the custody of the case was re-transferred to the Sangha and it was then settled by the Sangha according to the Jebhuyyasikā form of Adhikaranasamattha, *i. e.*, by the vote of the majority.

(*ii*) Sativinaya—When a person had been accused of any misconduct and he, being clearly conscious of his innocence, repudiated the charge, this form was observed. The

[33] See Cullavagga, XII, 2. 8.

accused appeared before the Sangha in an attitude of supplication and asked for a discharge in accordance with the Sativinaya form. Then followed the usual Natti in terms of the request preferred, and so on. There must be five requisite conditions for a Sativinaya—(*a*) The accused Bhikkhu must be innocent, (*b*) he must notwithstanding have been charged with the offence of which he pleads not guilty, (*c*) he must have asked the Sangha for a discharge, (*d*) the Sangha must be prepared to grant it, and (*e*) the Sangha must be duly constituted.

(*iii*) Patinnātakarana—When a Bhikkhu, guilty of a slight offence (lahuka āpatti), pleaded guilty of it, this form was observed. Here the case need not necessarily be carried to the Natti-stage. The guilty Bhikkhu might approach another Bhikkhu or a number of Bhikkhus in the usual attitude of supplication and obtain a valid absolution on confession. If not, he had to appear before the Sangha and make a confession on which the usual Natti, etc., followed and the confessing Bhikkhu was let off with a warning. It should be noted here that the granting of absolution was an act for an individual and not for the collective body. It was not the Sangha that granted absolution, but the person who proposed the Natti. It was only in the form called Tina-vitthāraka that absolution was sought from and granted by the Sangha itself. The principle seems to be that an individual's offence is absolved by an individual or a number of individuals while the offence of the whole Sangha can be absolved by the Sangha itself.

(*iv*) Amulhavinaya—When a person had been accused of an offence committed during insanity, and either (*a*) he fully confessed it, or (*b*) he could not remember it owing to lapse of memory, or (*c*) he continued in an insane state of mind, this form was observed. The procedure was exactly as in Sativinaya.

(*v*) Jebhuyyasikā—This form was adopted only in a Vivādādhikaraṇa and only when the matter in issue was of a grave character (Cullavagga, IV, 10. 1) and the assembly got out of hand and a unanimous decision was found to be impossible of achievement. This decision was arrived at by the vote of the majority. The voting was done by means of the distribution of marked pieces of wood called Salāka which were subsequently counted and the majority ascertained thereby. The polling officer was therefore called Salākagāhāpaka. He was appointed in the usual Ñatti-form like all other office-bearers of the Sangha. A person of unimpeachable honesty and impartiality who was conversant with the rules of procedure would be appointed to this post, for it carried with it a heavy responsibility—the Salākagāhāpaka having power to reject the whole voting if in his view the opinion of the majority was contrary to the Dhamma. When the Salākagāhāpaka had been appointed, he proceeded to his work in either of the three following ways : he might call upon the Bhikkhus to take away the marked Salākas, telling each one as he came up the significance of the marks and asking him to keep his ballot secret (this was the Gulhaka or secret method) ; or he might whisper the same thing into the ear of each Bhikkhu, probably going round the assembly (this was the Sakaṇṇajappaka or whispering method) ; or, lastly, he might dispense with all secrecy in voting (this was the Vivataka or open method). This last method was adopted when it was known to the Salākagāhāpaka that the vote of the majority would be on the side of the Dhamma. Further details, which may be accepted for all they are worth coming as they do from a late source, are supplied by Buddhaghosa.[34]

[34] The whole passage, which is too long to be given here, is quoted by Oldenberg in *Vinayapiṭakam*, Vol. II, p. 315.

He says that the first method was adopted when the assembly grew unruly (alajjussanna); the second, when the assembly was composed of ignorant or unintelligent members (bālussanna); and the third, when it was orderly and inclined to observe propriety (lajjussanna). The point to be specially noted in the Jebhuyyasikā form is the large discretionary power left to the polling officer, which was probably intended as a safeguard against possible abuses. Buddhaghosa describes in a quaint and somewhat confused manner how the discretionary power of the polling officer was to be exercised.[35] "When (the vote) is improperly taken," says the learned commentator, "it should be taken till a third time (the polling officer), declaring, 'This improperly taken ballot should be taken again.' If even at the third time those against the Dhamma are in a majority, he (the polling officer) should rise (saying), 'To-day is inauspicious; I shall announce it to-morrow.' The ballot should be taken the next day with (lit. looking for) those who were in the right, with a view to discomfiting the unrighteous members. This is secret balloting. In following the whispering method, on the other hand, if any elderly member of the Sangha voted on the side of the unrighteous ones (lit. took the Salāka of the unrighteous ones), this should be said and made known to him, 'Venerable Sir, you are great and aged; this does not become you. The ballot of the righteous ones is the other. The ballot should then be shown to him. If he values it, it should be made over to him. But let him not misunderstand it. (Therefore) he should be told, 'Do not make it known to anybody.' The rest (of the procedure) is as laid down." This näive commentary of Buddhaghosa unpleasantly reminds us of modern electioneering tactics, but perhaps even in an American state,

[35] The translation is mine.

the polling-officer would not stoop to wire-pulling and canvassing in the manner that Buddhaghosa innocently recommends.

The two remaining Adhikaranasamatthas are essentially Sanghakammas, with this difference only that in an ordinary Sanghakamma the offence would arise before the trial, while in these two cases the offence would arise in the course of the trial.

(*vi*) Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma—When a Bhikkhu in the course of interrogatories at a trial was guilty of obstinacy or prevarication, this form was adopted as a disciplinary measure. After the commission of the offence as above, the usual Natti was proposed and the Bhikkhu sentenced accordingly. It could arise out of an Anuvādādhikarana and perhaps also an Āpattādhikarana.[36] (Cullavagga, IV, 12. 1.—The text says that the Bhikkhu must be 'sānuvādo.' This does not necessarily exclude imputation of āpatti. A too narrow interpretation of the word would be somewhat unreasonble, and the translators also seem to realise this when they write, 'when a censure has been set on foot against him.' The circumstances which would lead to T.-Pāp. might conceivably arise in both kinds of Adhikarana). Confession, as in other disciplinary Sangha-kammas, is a necessary pre-condition. The Tassa-pāp. form is in fact exactly analogous to Tajjaniya-kamma, the only distinction being, as I have pointed out, that in the former the offence arises in the course of the trial while in the latter it arises before the trial.

(*vii*) Tina-vitthāraka—This is a curious form devised probably for the purpose of avoiding multiplicity of trials.

[36] This is what reason would suggest. But it will be noticed that in the forms of procedure applicable to an Āpattādhikarana, Tassa-papiyyasikā does not occur. One naturally feels diffident in stretching a rule of law by reasoning when one remembers the famous dictum of Lord Halsbury in the case of Quinn *vs.* Leathem about the logical character of the law. Lord Halsbury's dictum is applicable not only to civil law but to canon law as well, for both are historic growths.

It might so happen that during the sitting of the judicial assembly, quarrels and disputes took place among the assembled Bhikhhus with the result that numerous grounds of complaint sprang up. It would be obviously inconvenient, if not impossible, to take action on each and all of them. Under such circumstances, the Tina-vitthāraka form was adopted. Serious offences (Pārājika and Sanghādisesa *per* Buddhaghosa) and those which concerned the laity however were beyond its province. Confession, as usual, was a necessary pre-condition. The usual Natti was first proposed. Then one representative from each factious party would make a confession of offences in general terms. When this was finished, each representative again brought forward the confession by way of Natti and asked for absolution which was granted according to the terms of the prayer.

The following chart will show how the Adhikarana-samatthas were applied in the four kinds of Adhikarana. The Sammukhavinaya, as said already, was common to all four of them :[37]

(*i*)	Vivādādhikarana	Sammukha.
		Sammukha. + Jebhuyyasikā.
(*ii*)	Anuvādādhikarana	Sammukha. + Sati.
		Sammukha. + Tassa-pāp.
		Sammukha. + Amulha.
(*iii*)	Āpattādhikarana	Sammukha. + Patinnātakarana.
		Sammukha. + Tina-vitthāraka.
(*vi*)	Kiccādhikarana	Sammukha.

So much about the second stage of the trial.

To proceed to the third and last stage. The decision might be (*i*) by the whole Sangha, or (*ii*) by a committee of the Sangha, or (*iii*) by a number of referees belonging to another Sangha, or lastly, (*iv*) by the vote of the majority of the Sangha. One kind of tribunal could not

[37] I am solely responsible for the above chart.

be substituted for another except under specified circumstances. To take an illustration. Suppose the Sangha failed to come to a unanimous decision. It would not be proper—except in the case of a Vivādādhikarana—to proceed at once to a decision by vote of majority. The case, as it is said, must have run its course (gatigatam hoti—Cullavagga IV, 10. 1). The point at issue must first be referred either to a committee of the same āvāsa or a number of referees belonging to another āvāsa. If they gave their decision, the Sangha was bound by it. If they did not, the case was returned to the Sangha to be decided (*i*) by the vote of the majority when it had been returned by the committee, or (*ii*) otherwise, probably by reference to a committee, when it had been returned by referees belonging to another āvāsa. (There is no provision for Jebhuyyasikā when the case is returned by referees.)

But the Jebhuyyasikā mode of decision was hedged in with certain restrictions. Trivial matters could not be submitted to it. The polling officer was invested with plenary powers and, after taking the ballot, he might refuse to ratify the result of the voting if he considered that it would necessarily lead or was likely to lead to a schism, or to the victory of the party manifestly in the wrong, or that the votes had not been sincerely given. Under such circumstances he would arrange for another balloting.

Then again the decision must be in the terms of the Natti. The Natti, as we have observed, might be a natti of acquittal or of discharge, as in Sativinaya, Amulhavinaya, Patinnātakarana and Tinavitthāraka, or one of conviction as in the several forms of disciplinary Sanghakammas. The trial must be for the offence of which the guilty Bhikkhu is formally accused before the Sangha and not for an offence of which he may have confessed himself to be guilty. For example, a Bhikkhu is charged

with a Pārājika, but he confesses to a Sanghādisesa; he must be tried for the former and not for the latter offence (Cullavagga, IV. 8).

Let us now illustrate the legal processes described above by citing two hypothetical cases:

(*A*) *Disciplinary Sanghakamma.*

A, a Bhikkhu belonging to an āvāsa at Rajagaha, is detected in the act of kissing a woman. The offence will come under rule 2 of Sanghādisesa—Jo pana bhikkhu otinno viparinatena cittena mātugāmena saddhim kāya-samsaggam samapajjāyya hatthagaham vā benigaham vā annatarassa vā angassa parāmasanam sanghādisesa. The Bhikkhu, A, is accused of the offence by another Bhikkhu, B. This is an Āpattādhikarana, and it is duly brought before a full assembly of the Sangha. The accused, A, is now interrogated by another Bhikkhu, C, before the whole assembly. Now it is clear that as the offence is not a light one (lahuka āpatti), the accused cannot obtain absolution by confession, and so the form, Sammukha + Patinnātakarana, will not apply. A Natti, either of acquittal or of conviction, will have to be put on the result of the interrogatories. The accused may at this stage take any of the following pleas:—

(*i*) I was out of mind at the time when I committed the offence (plea of insanity).

(*ii*) I do not remember to have committed the offence.

(*iii*) I refuse to make any confession.

(*iv*) I confess to having committed the offence.

(*v*) (The accused confesses and denies, makes a plea and retracts it and so on.)

(*vi*) I have committed no Sanghādisesa offence, but a Pācittiya one (*e.g.*, I did not kiss the woman, Sanghā. 2, but only sat together with her in a solitary place, Pāc. 45).

Suppose he takes the first plea. The assembly may be satisfied with it or not. If satisfied, the accused must request the Sangha to adopt with regard to him the Amulhavinaya form. A Natti will then be put by another Bhikkhu in terms of the request made and the Anussāvana will follow. The Sangha will then signify by its silence that the accused is discharged according to Amulhavinaya. If however the Sangha is not satisfied with the plea, there are two courses open to it. Either it may suspend the accused for not atoning for a fault (āpattiyā appatikamme ukkhepaniyakamma), or it may straightway proceed to sentence him to the discipline of Parivāsa and Mānatta according to the Pātimokkha. (For this disciplinary measure confession is not a necessary precondition). In both cases the proper Natti and Anussāvana must be gone through.

The second plea can only be taken by one whose memory may be trusted.[38] The steps are the same as above.

Suppose the accused takes the third plea. There are two courses open to the Sangha—either to suspend the accused for not confessing an offence (āpattiyā adassane ukkhepaniyakamma) or to sentence him according to law. It is obvious that in this case the accused cannot be discharged or acquitted.

Suppose the accused takes the fourth plea. He will then have to approach the assembly in an attitude of humility and, after making the confession, request the Sangha to inflict upon him the Mānatta discipline. A Natti will then be put in terms of the request and Anussāvana will follow, these being repeated three times. The Sangha will signify by its silence that it sentences

[38] This is implied by the expressions occurring in Cullavagga, IV, 4.10, 'āyasmā Dabbo Mallaputto sativepullappatto sangham sativinayam yācati' and 'āyasmato Dabbassa Mallaputtassa sativepullappattassa sativinayo.'

the accused to the Mānatta discipline of six days' duration. (When the offence is not concealed, the Parivāsa part of the penalty is remitted—Cullavagga, III, 1).

Suppose the accused takes the fifth plea. The plea, if it can be so called at all, may be taken, as I have said already, not only in an Anuvādādhikarana for which it is specially mentioned, but also possibly in an Āpattādhikarana. A Bhikkhu will then put a Natti that owing to his obstinate conduct, the Tassa-pāpiyyasikā Kamma should be carried out against him and Anussāvanā will follow. The Sangha will then signify by its silence that the accused is sentenced accordingly.

Suppose the accused takes the sixth plea. He cannot in that case be dealt with on the basis of his confession. He must either be suspended or be sentenced for the offence of which he is accused and not for that of which he pleads guilty. Under the circumstances, the most prudent thing for the accused to do would be to take the second plea and get a discharge. He may of course be tried afterwards on a proper charge made on the basis of his confession.

(*B*) *Non-Disciplinary Sanghakamma.*

Suppose in the case taken above the Bhikkhu has worked out the sentence and has expressed a desire to be re-instated and the Sangha is ready to comply. Then in order to re-habilitate him, the Sangha has to perform the act of Abbhāna. An assembly must be constituted consisting of not less than 20 duly qualified members. The person concerned must present himself before it, and, after stating all the circumstances of his case, prefer a request for Abbhāna. The request must be preferred three times. Then another Bhikkhu will put a Natti in terms of the request on which Anussāvana will follow, these being repeated three times (the act being of the

Natticatuttha class). The Sangha will then signify by its silence that the Bhikkhu has been re-habilitated.

I give below an account of the different forms of disciplinary Sanghakammas :—[39]

(*i*) *Parivāsa and Mānatta.*—These are the only two disciplinary measures mentioned in the Pātimokkha which may be inflicted by the Sangha on a Bhikkhu who has been guilty of any of the 13 Saṅghādisesa offences. The penalty consists in the imposition of certain disabilities. The two measures are inflicted together in case of non-confession; only Mānatta is inflicted in case of confession. Mānatta must always follow Parivāsa. The broad distinction between the two is that Mānatta continues for a determinate period (6 days), while Parivāsa for an indeterminate period. The following are the rules for the determination of the Parivāsa period :

(*a*) *Apaticchanna.*—When the offence is confessed without any delay, the Parivāsa period is reduced to nil, that is, the guilty Bhikkhu is sentenced to Mānatta only.

(*b*) *Paticchanna.*—When the offence is concealed *willingly* the Parivāsa period extends over as many days from the date of the sentence as he has allowed to elapse without confession. The period, it should be remembered, begins to run after the 6 days of Mānatta. If the concealment is unwilling, the sentence is one of Mānatta only (Cullavagga, III, 23. 5).

(*c*) *Suddhanta.*—When it is found impossible to determine the date or dates of the commission of an offence or a number of offences or the nature thereof, the Parivāsa period extends over as many days as intervene between the date of the sentence and the date of the ordination of the guilty Bhikkhu.

[39] The above account is based on Cullavagga, I—III.

(*d*) *Samodhāna.*—When another offence is committed during the continuance of the Parivāsa period, a fresh period begins to run from the date of the commission of the second offence and extends over as many days as were covered by the Parivāsa period prescribed for the first offence or the Parivāsa period prescribed for the second offence, whichever period may be longer.

A general Parivāsa of four months is prescribed for a convert coming from another sect or for a convert who had previously turned renegade. Butthis can hardly be called a disciplinary measure.

(*ii*) *Tajjaniya Kamma.*—This measure could be carried out for any transgression whatsoever, except Pārājika and Sanghādisesa offences, even for living 'in lay society, in unlawful association with the world' which is not an offence at all under the Pātimokkha. The penalty consists in the imposition of certain disabilities. These penal disabilities continue for an indeterminate period till the request for Abbhāna is made by the Bhikkhu under sentence and is granted by the Sangha.

(*iii*) *Nissaya Kamma.*—This measure could be carried out against a Bhikkhu who had been repeatedly guilty of Sanghādisesa offences and undergone sentences therefor. The penalty consists in subjecting the guilty Bhikkhu to surveillance. The period is as above.

(*iv*) *Pabbājaniya Kamma.*—This measure could be carried out against a number of Bhikkhus who by their overt and blamable conduct had created a scandal at a certain place. The penalty consists in banishment from that place. The Sangha which pronounces the sentence of banishment has to proceed in a body to the place where the disciplinary act is to be performed. (Cullavagga, I, 16. 1). The period is as above.

(*v*) *Patisāraniya Kamma.*—This measure could be carried out against a Bhikkhu who had given offence to a

house-holder. The guilty Bhikkhu is enjoined to ask and obtain pardon of the house-holder whom he has offended. A companion may be appointed by the usual Natti to accompany him. The guilty Bhikkhu must first ask pardon of the offended house-holder. In case he does not obtain pardon, the companion should intercede on his behalf. If he is not pardoned even then, the companion should personally ask the house-holder to pardon the guilty Bhikkhu. If not pardoned even then, the companion should ask pardon for him in the name of the Sangha. If the pardon be not obtained even after that, the companion should make the guilty Bhikkhu confess his guilt in the presence of the offended house-holder in an attitude of humility. The period of sentence is as above.

The counterpart to Patisāraniya-kamma is an act called Patta-nikkujjana (lit. turning down of the begging-bowl). When a Bhikkhu gives offence to a householder, he has to submit to the former penalty ; in the converse case the house-holder is subjected to the penalty of having the privilege of giving alms to Bhikkhus and thereby acquiring merit withdrawn.[40]

(*vi*) *Ukkhepaniya Kamma.*—This measure could be carried out against a Bhikkhu for three causes, *viz.*, (*a*) for not acknowledging a fault, (*b*) for not atoning for a fault, and (*c*) for not renouncing a false or sinful doctrine. The penalty consists in the imposition of certain disabilities. With regard to (*c*), it is laid down that the Bhikkhus should first exhort the guilty Bhikkhu to give up the false doctrine (so that his refusal to do so would amount to Pācittiya, No. 68).[41] Now in Pācittiya, No. 69, it is

[40] Cullavagga. V, 20.6-7.

[41] The example of a 'pāpaka ditthi' given in Cullavagga, I, 32. 1 is, as the learned translators have pointed out, word for word the same as that given in Pācittiya, 68.

suggested that a Bhikkhu, guilty of Pācittiya No. 68, should be subjected to a social boycott by the Bhikkhus.[42] The present Sanghakamma is based on this old rule. The sentence in an Ukkhepaniyakamma must be proclaimed against the guilty Bhikkhu in all āvāsas.[43] In case the sentenced Bhikkhu left the Order, the sentence was withdrawn because in that case it became inoperative.[44]

(*vii*) *Pakāsaniya Kamma.*—This seems to have been an exceptional measure being referred to only once in the Vinayapitaka, in Cullavagga, VII, 3. 2. It was carried out against Devadatta who without leaving the Order had openly rebelled against it. It consisted in issuing a general proclamation from the Sangha to the effect that it renounced all responsibility for the words and action of the sentenced Bhikkhu. A Bhikkhu was appointed in the usual Natti-form to issue the proclamation.

(*viii*) *Brahmadanda.*[45]—This is referred to onlyonce, in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, VI, 4. The penalty consists in subjecting the guilty Bhikkhu to a social boycott.[46] No details are given as to what offences would entail this punishment nor as to the manner in which it was to be imposed. It seems to have become obsolete later on, being replaced by other forms of disciplinary Sanghakammas.

[42] Jo pana bhikkhu jānam tathāvādinā (referring to Pāc, 68) bhikkhunā akatānudhammena tam ditthim appatinissatthena saddhim sambhujjeyya vā samvaseyya vā saha vā seyyam kappeyya Pācittiyam.

[43] See Cullavagga, I,25--āvāsaparamparam ca bhikkhave samsatha: Channo bhikkhu āpattiyā adassane ukkhepaniyakammakato asambhogam sanghenā' ti. In the other cases of Ukkhepaniyakamma, the same proclamation is to be made *mutatis mutandis.*

[44] See Cullavagga, I, 34. *This withdrawal of the sentence applied only in the case of an Ukkhepaniyakamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine.*

[45] Not mentioned in Cullavagga, I.

[46] Channasso Ānanda bhikkhuno mamaccayena brahmadando kātabbo ti. Katamo pana bhante brahmadando ti. Channo Ānanda bhikkhu yam iccheyya tam vadeyya, so bhikkhūhi n'eva vattabbo na ovaditabbo na anusāsitabbo'ti.

An interesting line of investigation is opened up by the question as to how far the Brahmanical Dharmasāstras recognise the laws of the Vinayapitaka and what place they assign to these laws. Such an enquiry will help us to understand whether the laws of the Buddhist Sanghas were really of a positive state-enforced character. We have observed that the Bhikkhus were at first a dispersed body of wandering hermits who would naturally have little relation with the political organisation of society. But this could hardly be said of the Bhikkhus of later times —say, a hundred years after the death of Buddha. At that time they constituted a well-organised community, grouped into āvāsas scattered over different parts of the country, each Sangha governed by its monastic laws, owning and possessing property, coming frequently as bodies corporate into legal relations with outsiders, and exercising executive, legislative and judicial functions over each individual member. The communal life of the Bhikkhus thus necessitated the development of a well-organised body of what is known in jurisprudence as *conventional law.*[47] Now there is clear proof in Sanskrit legal literature that conventional law, called Samaya, was fully recognised and given effect to by ancient Indian states. The system of Government however which is contemplated in the legal literature of the Hindus is of a purely monarchical type, tempered by constitutional restraints. Our information about the ancient republican states of India, which existed side by side with the monarchies, is meagre in the extreme, but it may be safely presumed that in these states also conventional law was as much respected as in the Hindu monarchies.

[47] "By conventional law is meant any rule or system of rules agreed upon by persons for the regulation of their conduct towards each other. * * * In many cases conventional law is also civil law; for the rules which persons by mutual agreement lay down for themselves are often enforced by the state."—Salmond's *Jurisprudence* (Fourth Edition), pp. 54-55.

In the Arthasāstra of Kautilya it is definitely laid down that it is the duty of a monarch to punish infringements of Samayas or conventional laws (samayavyatikrama). By Samayas, Kautilya means those of Desha, Jāti, Kula and Sangha.[48] In the Sārnath inscription, we find Asoka laying down a penal law for those who seek to bring about schisms in the Buddhist Sangha.[49] In doing so, Asoka only acted in accordance with a well-established principle of the constitution and did not pretend to exercise any authority as the head of the Sangha, as Vincent Smith would have us believe.[50] The idea of the king being the head of the Church, though acceptable to a Protestant Englishman like Vincent Smith, would be quite incomprehensible to an Indian Buddhist of Asoka's time. Similarly Jājnavalkya mentions Sreni, Naigama, Pākhandi and Gana, and says that their old customary laws must be maintained.[51] In the Mitāksarā, Pākhandi is explained as those who do not subscribe to the authority of the Vedas such as the Nagnas (which may refer to the Ājīvakas or the Digambara Jainas), Saugatas (Buddhists), etc.[52] Nārada mentions Pākhandi, Naigama,

[48] तेन देशजातिकुलसङ्घानां समयस्थानपाकर्म्म व्याख्यातम्—

Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (Mysore Government Publication), p. 173.

[49] See Smith's *Asoka*, 2nd Ed., p. 195; *cf.*, Kausambi and Sanchi Edicts on the same subject.

[50] The penal law laid down in the Sarnath, Kausambi and Sanchi edicts relating to the unfrocking and expulsion of schismatics is based clearly on Mahavagga, I, 67—Sanghabhedako bhikkhave anupasampanno na upasampādetabbo *upasāmpanno nāsetabbo*. The king only upholds the conventional law of the Buddhist Sanghas n accordance with the immemorial constitutional practice of a Hindu Monarch. But Vincent Smith says of the Sarnath Edict: "This edict exhibits Asoka in his latter years acting as both emperor and Head of the Church. His position, as observed elsewhere, much resembled that of Charlemagne." (Smith's *Asoka*, p. 195, footnote 3.) This statement is a remarkable instance of an historian's mental bias perverting his view of history.

[51] See Yājnavalkya, II, 192.

[52] पाखण्डिनो ये वेदस्य प्रामाण्यमेव नेक्षन्ति नग्राःसौगतादयः

Sreni, Pūga, Vrāta and Gana.[53] Manu mentions Grāma, Desha and Sangha.[54] Medhātithi explains Sangha as follows :—

एकधर्म्मानुगतानां नानादेशवासिनां नानाजातीयानामपि प्राणिनां समूहः यथा भिक्षूणांसङ्घो वणिजां सङ्घश्चतुर्व्विदानां सङ्घ इति।

Here the Bhikkhu-sangha is clearly mentioned. It is thus evident that the laws of the Vinayapitaka enjoyed some sort of state-recognition and were to that extent part of the civil law of the land the infringement whereof was punishable by sovereign authority.

It is necessary to bear this fact in mind in order to understand some passages in the conventional laws of Buddhist Sangha. Two illustrations will suffice. In Mahavagga, VI, 39. 1, a certain rule is laid down for the settlement of agricultural rights between the Sangha and outsiders. Now this rule would be meaningless and inoperative, if it had not the sanction of the state at its back: an outsider *ipso facto* would not be bound by a rule laid down by the unsupported authority of the Buddhist Sangha. In a Pabbājaniya-kamma again, the Sangha passes a sentence of banishment against a number of Bhikkhus residing in a locality. This sentence would have little terror and no effect if it was not backed by the executive authority of the state. It may be presumed that if a sentence of banishment was passed against a number of Bhikkhus who had made themselves a nuisance at a certain place, they would be compelled by the executive officer of the state to leave the place if a case were brought against them before the king's tribunal. In all cases in fact where there was a chance of the Sangha failing to enforce its decrees, the executive

[53] See Nārada, Tit. X, 1-3.

[54] See Manu, VIII, 219.

authority of the sovereign power might be invoked. The sovereign under such circumstances would probably act on the instructions of a Vinayadhara, for as Jīmūtavāhana says in the Vyavahāra-Mātrikā on the authority of old texts [55]—

येषान्तु समयादेव वहुगोव्यवस्था तेषां समयज्ञैरेव व्यवहारस्य निर्णयः कर्त्तव्यः।

[55] See *Vyavahāra-Mātrikā*, edited by Sir A. T. Mukherjee in *Memoirs* of A. S. B., Vol. III, No. 5, p. 281.

CHAPTER VII

Communal Life at an Āvāsa

We have observed in Chapter III that it was usual for a person after he had renounced the household for the sake of religious life to seek admittance to a Gana or Sangha of Paribrajakas, acknowledging its leader as his spiritual master (Satthā). The admittance into the Buddhist Sangha was called Upasampadā. Upasampadā might be sought by one who had previously been a Paribrājaka, belonging to a different sect or one who wanted straightway to pass into the Buddhist Sangha from household life.

The earliest formula for admission into the Buddhist Sangha was that of Ehi Bhikkhu[1] which was in all probability the very formula used by Buddha himself—the leader formally inviting the candidate for admission to join his Sangha. Afterwards when the dispersed body of Buddha's followers had organised themselves into an Order which acknowledged no one living person as leader, the formula of invitation was changed into one of confession of faith—the Saranāgama. At a later stage when the āvāsas and resident Sanghas had come into

[1] Ehi bhikkhū svākkhāto dhammo caratha brahmacariyam sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāyā' ti. It is said in Mahavagga, I. 12, that Saranāgama was substituted for it because the Bhikkhus wanted to confer Pabbajjā and Upasampadā. The distinction between the earlier and the later formulæ is interesting. In the one case the formula is uttered by the person who ordains which is always Buddha himself; in the other case by the person who is ordained. The one is an invitation, the other is a confession of faith. An invitation could be made only by the leader of the Sangha, and, as we have seen, after the death of Buddha, the Buddhist Sangha had never a recognised leader.

being, the ordination became an act of the Sangha—a Sanghakamma with all the features of Natti, etc., pertaining thereto.[2] The minimum number competent to perform it was as a general rule laid down as ten.[3] A distinction which did not formerly exist was now drawn between Pabbajjā and Upasampadā.[4] The Upasampadā could not be conferred on a youth of less than twenty and Pabbajjā on a youth of less than fifteen.[5] A candidate for Upasampadā who had previously been of a different religious persuasion (annatitthiyapubbo) had to go through a period of preliminary discipline called Parivāsa extending over four months.[6] Certain exceptions, the significance of which it is difficult for us to understand, were admitted in favour of the Jatilakas and the Sākyas as regards the Parivāsa period.[7] The exception in favour of the latter, it is said, was made by Buddha

[2] *Cf.*, Mahavagga I. 12, 28 *et seq.*, 36 *et seq.*, 76. The ordination ceremony of the Buddhists remains substantially the same as it was in the earliest days.

[3] In Mahavagga V, 13 5, Sona is enjoined by Mahakaccayana to obtain Buddha's permission to relax this rule in favour of the inhabitants of the Southern Country and Avanti. The permission was obtained and for those localities the minimum of four Bhikkhus and a Vinayadhara was prescribed.

[4] Kern says: "The broad distinction between the first admission, Pravrajyā, and the Ordination, Upasampadā, is clear enough, but if we descend into details, the matter becomes embarrassing."—*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 77. Later on he says: "The passages and testimonies adduced seem to warrant the conclusion that the real ordination or consecration takes place by the Upasampadā, whereas Pravrajyā is the act by which the candidate formally declares his intention to take the vows."—p. 78. Kern seems to think that the distinction had existed from the beginning, but it is not so. It will be observed from the opening sections of Mahavagga, up to I, 24. 4 that all who are ordained under Ehi Bhikkhu Upasampadā ask for Pabbajjā and Upasampadā and get the Upasampadā at once, and not Pabbajjā first, Upasampadā afterwards as was the custom later on.

[5] Mahavagga I, 50; I, 49.6.

[6] Mahavagga, I, 38.1.

[7] Mahavagga, I, 38.11. The translators render 'aggikā jatilakā' as 'fire-worshippers and Jatilas' which is misleading. It should be 'fire-worshipping Jatilakas,' as the Pali expression clearly refers to one class of men only and not to two classes. Such also seems to be the view of Kern when he speaks of only two classes of persons, etc.,...*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 78.

himself as a concession to his kinsmen.[8] This might have been so. But the exception in favour of the former is said to have been made on the ground that they were Kiriyavādins.[9] Now this ground appears to be rather insufficient. The Kiriyavādins constituted, as we gather from Jaina literature, one of the four schools of philosophy current at that time.[10] It must have included several religious sects and orders besides the Jatilakas. The Jainas, for instance, considered themselves as Kiriyavādins.[11] The ground made out in favour of the Jatilakas can therefore be no valid or sufficient ground for exception. It would rather seem that there was something in the very character of the Jatilakas which entitled them to accept the life of the Buddhist Bhikkhu without passing through a period of probation. The Jatilakas, as their name implies, were a class of persons who wore matted hair which they are said to have shorn off on receiving Upasampadā.[12] They lived outside society, did penances (for which their leader Uruvela was specially renowned),[13] performed sacrifices and kept up the sacred fire.[14] From this description it appears that they were Brahmanical Hindus in the Vānaprastha or Tāpasa stage of life.[15] Now according to the Brahmanical rule, the fourth stage of Paribrajaka comes immediately after the third

[8] 'Imāham bhikkhave nātīnam āveniyam parihāram dammīti.'

[9] 'Kammavādino ete bhikkhave kiriyavādino.'

[10] "Jainas enumerate four principal schools of philosophy—Kriyāvāda, Akriyāvāda, Ajnānavāda and Vainayikavāda."—Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*, S. B. E., Pt. II, Intro. xxvi. The Ājīvakas, as their doctrines clearly testify, were Akriyāvāda. The Buddhists were often misconstrued as belonging to the same school, *e.g.*, Mahavagga, VI, 34.12 and also 31 5.

[11] "It is evident that the Jainas considered themselves Kiriyavādins."—Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*, Pt. II, p. 319, foot-note 2.

[12] Mahavagga, I, 20.19.

[13] *Ibid*, 22.4.

[14] *Ibid*, 15.2 ; 19.1 ; 20.19.

[15] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg regard the Jatilakas as Brahmanical Vanaprasthas—See *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., Pt. I, p. 118, foot-note 1.

stage of Vānaprastha, and the conjecture may be hazarded that the exemption of the Parivāsa period in favour of the Jatilakas was a concession to the Brahmanical rule according to which a person who had gone through the penances of the Vānaprastha stage was entitled to embrace at once the life of the religious mendicant. But the conjecture is put forward with some diffidence.

When a person had been admitted into the Sangha by the formal Kammavācā, he became a member thereof with full rights and privileges. As I have said in the previous chapter, the constitution of a Buddhist Sangha was perfectly democratic and as regards constitutional rights and privileges all were on the same footing. But it was usual for a newly-admitted member to live in Nissaya or spiritual tutelage with a senior of at least ten years' standing called Upajjhāya or Ācariya.[16] The rules of Nissaya however were not at all hard and fast. The usual period was ten years. But it is said that a learned competent Bhikkhu might live in Nissaya for five years only, while an unlearned one all his life.[17] Nissaya was remitted in several exceptional cases.[18] The Nissaya rules regulating conduct between a Upajjhāya (he was the person formally chosen by the neophyte as his instructor at the Ordination) and Saddhāvihārika and an Ācariya and Antevāsika are an exact replica of the Brahmacarya rules of the Hindus.[19] The very word Brahmacarya is used to describe the condition of a Bhikkhu who lives in Nissaya. It also appears that the Acariya was the actual instructor and the Upajjhāya who was formally elected at the Upasampadā was instructor only in name. The latter

[16] Mahavagga, I, 32.1.

[17] *Ibid*, 53.4.

[18] *Ibid*, 73.

[19] *Ibid*, 1, 32 and 33 = Cullavagga, VIII, 13.4 and Mahavagga, I, 25 and 26 = Cullavagga, VIII, 11.12.

however enjoyed a higher status, for it is said that when the Upajjhāya and Ācariya come together, nissaya towards the latter ceases.[20] There was however absolutely no difference between the duties and obligations of an Ācariya and those of a Upajjhāya.[21]

When a Bhikkhu was duly ordained, he became member of a Sangha resident at an Āvāsa. The Āvāsa was a colony of Buddhist Bhikkhus, consisting of many Vihāras, located generally in an Ārāma or park donated by some wealthy lay-devotee.[22] The ārāma was fenced round, having a bathing tank at the entrance.[23] Inside this enclosure, scattered over the whole park, were rectangular buildings (Vihāras) with many cells (Parivenas) for the Bhikkhus to live in. The cells were provided with casements.[24] Inside each cell the furniture was of the simplest kind fitted to the simple needs and small comforts of a homeless religieux. The floor was spread at night with a cover (Bhûmmattharana) which was rolled up in the morning. There was a bedstead resting on movable supporters (Mancapatipādakā) which were put aside in the morning. The bed consisted of a mattress, a mat and a pillow. By the side of it, stood a spittoon (Khelamallaka). A board against which the Bhikkhu could recline (Apassenaphalaka) and a seat (Pīṭha), probably resting on jointed legs (for it is said—pīṭham nīcam katvā, turning down the seat), completed the furniture.[25] The alms-bowl, the

[20] Mahavagga, I, 36.1 at the end.

[21] See *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. I, p. 178, foot-note 2.

[22] See Mahavagga, VI, 23.1. [23] Cullavagga, V, 17.1.

[24] See Mahavagga, I, 25.15 (where one of the duties of a pupil is said to be rubbing the casement and corners of the master's vihāra—āloka-sandhikannabhāgā pamajjitabbā) ; 63.3 (where the window is called 'vātapāna'). Also Mahavagga, I, 25-18 (where the pupil must shut or open the windows for the convenience of the master), Cullavagga, VI, 2.2.

[25] For the mention of these articles of furniture, see the list of the duties of a pupil in Mahavagga, I, 25.15-16. See also Cullavagga, VI, 2.3. *et seq.*

clothes, the tooth-brush and a few other most necessary articles made up the whole personal belongings of a Bhikkhu.

Though the vihāras stood separately all over the ārāma, all property was joint and intended for the common use of the whole ārāma. There were a store-room (Kotthaka), a refectory (Upatthānasālā), a fire-room or kitchen (Aggisālā), a ware-house (Kappiyakutī), a privy (Vaccakutī), a common room (Cankama), an arcade for walking exercises (Cankamanasālā), a common bath (Jantāghara), bath-rooms (Jantāgharasālā), a pavilion (Mandapa) probably for holding assemblies in, and a well (Udapāna), walled round and covered (Udapāna-sālā).[26] The right of property in these things was vested in the corporate body and not in any individual.

On the decease of a Bhikkhu, the succession to all the property which had been appropriated by him for personal use was governed by the following law: the Sangha became owner (sāmi) of his bowl and robes; but these were usually assigned by the Sangha to those who had waited upon the Bhikkhu in his last illness perhaps as a sort of perquisite; small utensils and light furniture (lahubhandam lahuparikkhāram) were divided among members of the Sangha present there, but heavy utensils and heavy furniture (garubhandam garuparikkhāram) were not to be thus apportioned and distributed, for they belonged not to the particular Sangha of which the deceased was a member, but to the whole Bhikkhu community present or future (āgatānāgatassa cātuddisassa sanghassa).[27]

The most important part of the Sangha-property was the Kappiyakutī in which provisions for the whole

[26] These adjuncts are mentioned in Mahavagga, III, 5.6 and also in Cullavagga, VI, 4.10 in the description of the Vihāra built by Anathapindada in Jetavana.

[27] Mahavagga, VIII, 27.5.

Sangha were stored. The institution of it has a curious history which betrays the gradual modification of eremitical life which we have already described. When the Bhikkhus were a dispersed body of wandering mendicants, there could be no question of the joint storage of provisions. Pācittiyas 35 and 38, which lay down the original rule of mendicancy, exclude the storage of provisions—the first rule being that the given quantity of food must be consumed at one meal (although things left over might be taken).[28] These rules are amplified and emphasised in Mahavagga, VI, 17. 1-6. At a time of scarcity at Rajagaha, it is said, the rules were relaxed for a time (*ibid*, 7), but were reinforced as soon as the necessity was over (*ibid*, VI, 32-2). When, however, cenobitical societies grew up and the Bhikkhus began to live at āvāsas in collective bodies, it became necessary to keep up storage of food. But this could not be done without contravening the old rule of mendicancy that had been inherited from the individualistic and eremitical stage which the Sangha had completely out-grown in later times. The difficulty was got round by a legal fiction, by assigning for storage of provisions (Kappiyabhumi) a vihāra lying *out-side* (paccantima vihāra—Mahavagga, VI, 33.2). It had to be fixed by the usual Natti. If not, the store might be kept in an ox-stall (gonisādika) or in a lay man's premises (Mahavagga, VI, 33.4). Drugs might be kept in any duly appointed place besides these (*ibid*, 5). The place was in charge of an officer called Kappiyakāraka the most important of whose functions was to determine what provisions were allowable and what not[29]; and a

[28] Jo pana bhikkhu sannidhikārakam khādanīyam vā bhojanīyam vā khādeyya vā bhunjeyya vā Pācittiyam—No. 38 Jo pana bhikkhu bhuttāvī pavārito anatirittam (translated as 'not left over') khādaniyam vā bhojanīyam vā khādeyya vā bhunjeyya vā Pācittiyam—No. 35.

[29] See Mahavagga, VI, 17.8.

lay man wishing to give money to the Sangha had to make it over to the Kappiyakāraka to be converted into suitable provisions.[30]

According to Pācittiya, 82, property given to the Sangha could not be appropriated by an individual.[31] An individual thus might claim the right of user, but not the right of property in anything. If a person wished to make a gift, even of food, to an individual Bhikkhu, he had to send it to the Sangha saying, "This is to be given to the Sangha with special reference to so-and-so" (*cf.* ayyassa Upanandassa dassetvā sanghassa dātabban ti—Mahavagga, VI, 19.1).[32] This idea of communal ownership of property is emphasised in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, I, 11, where it is said: "Yāvakīvan ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te lābhā dhammikā dhammaladdhā antamaso pattapariyāpanna-mattam pi tathārupehi lābhehi appativibhattabhojī bhavissanti sīlavantehi sabrahmacārīhi sādhārana-bhogī vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnam patikankhā no parihāni." The reader will remember an exactly similar rule which obtained in medieval Christian monasteries.[33] The old rule is more definitely laid down in Cullavagga, VI, 15.2 and 16.2, where the following five descriptions of things are said to be non-transferable and non-apportionable, *viz.*, (*a*) Ārāma or its site, (*b*) Vihāra or its site, (*c*) Bed, chair, bolster and pillow, (*d*) Brass vessel, brass jar, brass pot, brass vase, razor, axe, hatchet, hoe and spade, and (*e*) creepers, bamboos, *Munja* or *Babbaja* grass, common grass, clay, wooden things and

[30] See *ibid*, VI, 34.21.

[31] Jo pana bhikkhu jānam sanghikam lābham parinatam puggalassa parināmeyya pācittiyam.

[32] This does not apply to gift of Cīvara, perhaps because it was included in a Bhikkhu's personal belongings.

[33] "The candidate who aspired to the virtue of evangelical poverty abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate and exclusive possession."—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Ch. XXXVII.

crockery. Now suppose a number of Bhikkhus built a vihāra for themselves. It would not thereby become the property of those Bhikkhus, but of the whole Sangha and any Bhikkhu coming there might claim a Senāsana (seat) as of right. On this principle that a vihāra was always a *sanghika vihāra*, the notorious six Bhikkhus sought to oust a number of Bhikkhus who had built a vihāra for themselves by their own labour.[34] It was laid down, following the same principle on this occasion, that the in-coming Bhikkhus must not turn out the Bhikkhus already in possession of the vihāra. This illustration is taken in Cullavagga, VI, 11. 1. Difficulties would sometimes arise about agricultural rights between the Sangha which was a body corporate and out-siders. A rule for the determination of such rights is laid down in Mahavagga, VI, 39. 1. If seedlings belonging to out-siders grew up on the grounds of the Sangha, the Sangha might appropriate the crops after giving a part (Buddhaghosa makes it $\frac{1}{12}$)[35] to the other. If on the other hand seedlings belonging to the Sangha grew up on the grounds of an out-sider, the Sangha might likewise take the crops after giving the same portion to the out-sider.

For the conduct of the multifarious business of the Sangha, there existed several officers in an āvāsa, all appointed by the usual Natti. The following is a classified list of Sangha Officers :—

(A) Connected with commissariat[36] —

(*i*) Bhandāgārika.—Overseer of stores.

(*ii*) Kappiyakāraka.—It was the duty of this officer to ascertain what provisions were allowable and what

[34] Nanu āvuso sanghiko vihāro'ti. Āmāvuso sanghiko viharo'ti. Utthethāvuso, amhakam vihāro pāpunātīti.

[35] This is clearly iniquitous. Buddhaghosa says it is in accordance with the ancient custom of India. What he means is far from clear. The translators render, bhāgam, as ' half.'

[36] All these, except (*ii*), are mentioned in Cullavagga, VI, 21.1-2.

not. He would receive gifts of money from laymen and convert them into proper commodities.

(*iii*) Sanghabhatta.—Apportioner of rations. His function was to dole out rations by ticketing each person's share.

(*iv*) Cīvabhājaka.—Distributor of congey.

(*v*) Yāgubhājaka.—Distributor of Yāgu (a kind of rice-pulp).

(*vi*) Phalabhājaka.—Distributor of fruits.

(*vii*) Khajjakabhājaka.—Distributor of dry food (what the Bengalis call Khājā).

(B) Connected with chambers, wardrobe, etc.[37]—

(*viii*) Senāsana-pannāpaka.—Chamberlain. His business was to arrange seats for the Bhikkhus. The seats were arranged three times a year, *viz.*, on the day of the commencement of earlier Vassa, on the day of commencement of later Vassa, and on the day after the Pavāranā.

(*ix*) Cīvarapatiggāhaka.—Receiver of robes. Laymen used to make gifts of robes to the Sangha, specially at the close of the vassa which it was the business of this officer to receive.

(*x*) Sātiyagāhāpaka.—Distributor of under-garments.

(*xi*) Pattagāhāpaka.—Distributor of alms-bowls.

(*xii*) Appamattaka-vissajjaka.—Disposer of trifles. His business was to distribute among the members of the Sangha such small articles as needles, scissors, sandals, girdles, butter, honey, etc., according to their wants.[38]

(C) Superintendents.—

(*xiii*) Navakammika.—Superintendent of new buildings

[37] Nos. (*viii*) and (*ix*) are mentioned in Cullavagga, VI, 21.2. The rest in Cullavagga, VI, 21.3.

[38] Nos. (*xiv*) and (*xv*) are mentioned in Cullavagga, (VI), 21.3. No. (*xiii*) is mentioned in (VI), 5.2 and elsewhere.

(*xiv*) Ārāmikapesaka.—Overseer of the Arāmikas. The Ārāmika was a servant employed by the donor of an Ārāma to keep the grounds in order. This officer's business was to supervise the work of such servants.

(*xv*) Samanerapesaka.—Superintendent of the Samaneras. His function was to look after the novices who had not yet obtained Upasampadā.

The above with the exception perhaps of the Navakammika were permanent officers. Temporary officers, like the Kanthina-vitthāraka, Salāka-gāhāpaka, etc., might be appointed for any purpose. Designations of other officers also occur elsewhere than in the Vinayapitaka, *e.g.*[39]

(*xvi*) Paniyavārika.—Officer in charge of drinks.

(*xvii*) Bhajanavārika.—Officer in charge of utensils.

(*xviii*) Upadhivāra.—Probably a Steward.

(*xix*) Parisandavārika.—Officer in charge of the groves.

(*xx*) Mundasayanāsana-vārika.—Officer in charge of lodgings temporarily not in use.

The āvāsas, as we have already remarked, were primarily intended for the customary rain-retreat, which was brought to a close by two characteristic ceremonies, *viz.*, Pavāranā and Kanthina. The Pavāranā[40] was a solemn conference at which each Bhikkhu requested the assembly to call him to account if they had seen or heard or suspected him to be guilty of any transgression during the period of Vassa. The 'invitation' was made in a set, elliptical formula[41] though it had no practical significance at all, because the matter one was to be charged with had to be previously brought to an issue just as in Parisuddi before Uposatha. For minor offences, this would be done

[39] See Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 83.

[40] The above account of Pavāranā is based on Mahavagga, IV.

[41] Sangham āvuso pavāremi ditthena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā, etc.,—Mahavagga, IV, 1.14.

in the following way: A for example was aware that B had committed an offence. A would ask leave of B to reprove him for the offence.[42] If B gave leave and A reproved him accordingly, he was entitled to join the Pavāranā. But omission of this preliminary step would entail inhibition of the Pavāranā by formal resolution for the guilty Bhikkhu. For major offences, *viz.*, Pārājika, Sanghādisesa, Thullaccaya, Pācittiya, Pātidesaniya, Dukkata and Dubbāsita, of which the guilty Bhikkhu stood confessed, mere friendly reproof would not suffice. The guilty Bhikkhu must first be dealt with according to law. In case of a doubt as to the nature of the offence, the Bhikkhu should be dealt with for the lighter offence.[43] The inhibition of the Pavāranā however was hedged in with strict conditions. Only an intelligent Bhikkhu of pure character was entitled to inhibit the Pavāranā of a Bhikkhu.[44] And then he was liable to be sharply cross-examined by the assembly with regard to the charge that he brought forward,[45] and if the cross-examination disclosed a false or mistaken charge, the Bhikkhu who wanted to inhibit another's Pavāranā was himself subjected to legal proceedings for bringing a false or mistaken charge.[46] The Pavāranā ceremony might be postponed (Pavāranā samgaha) till the next Komudi Cātumāsi day if the Bhikkhus at an āvāsa wanted to prolong their Vassa residence.[47]

The Kanthina[48] was the ceremony of the distribution of robes. The details of this ceremony are rather obscure

[42] Asking leave of a Bhikkhu before reproving him for an offence was in accordance with a rule laid down in Mahavagga, II, 16.1.

[43] Mahavagga, IV, 19-22.

[44] *Ibid*, 16 6-9.

[45] *Ibid*, 10-15.

[46] *Ibid*, 16-17.

[47] *Ibid*, 18.1-6.

[48] The above account of the Kanthina is based on Mahavagga, VII and the illuminating notes of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg on the Chapter in *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II.

and confusing and would be tedious to recount. But the general features are clear enough. Each Sangha possessed a store of robes (Kanthina-dussa). This consisted of raw cotton, cloth or rags.[49] An officer was appointed by the usual Natti to whom this store was made over before the Kanthina ceremony. He caused suitable robes to be made out of it. When the new robes had been prepared, he performed a symbolical act, called Atthāra (spreading), putting aside his own old robe and spreading out a new one for himself in its place. After this, he specified which of the robes were suitable for the Theras (older members) and which for the Navakas (younger members). Then the Sangha tacitly ratified the act. It was now time 'when each of the Bhikkhus could transmute his claim to an undivided share into the actual possession of a divided share.'[50] This claim which it was not necessary to enforce immediately, continued to subsist on two conditions (Palibodha), *viz.*, Āvāsa (the Bhikkhu's domicile) and Cīvara (the condition of his clothes). There was no need for immediately taking possession of a robe, if these conditions were satisfied, that is, if the Bhikkhu did not leave the āvāsa and if his clothes were really worn out and he stood in need of a new set of robes, he could get one within the prescribed time after the ceremony of Atthāra. Meantime the Bhikkhu might get a new robe as a gift from a lay man or his old robe might not have got quite worn out. During the period that the Kanthina robe was not appropriated by a Bhikkhu, certain privileges were granted to him chiefly with a view to enabling him to satisfy his needs from other sources. If however he found that there was no chance for it, he proceeded to participate in the store of

[49] Not raw cotton merely—See *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 151, foot-note 4 and Mahavagga, VII, 1.6.

[50] *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 152, foot-note 1.

robes with the formal permission of (perhaps) the Kanthina-vitthāraka.[51]

In the last chapter we have given an account of the communistic and republican government of a Buddhist Āvāsa. This government was in its truest sense 'Government by discussion.' There was no superimposed authority to act as a clog on the utmost freedom of discussion, and it is curious to observe how in many cases the standard of the rightness of any proposal is said to be the Dhamma. We who have drifted far from the mentality of our forefathers of so many centuries ago shall probably never be able to realise the full significance of this term. But one thing is clear, *viz.*, that the standard of Dhamma was not an objective but a subjective one.[52] In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Buddha calls upon the Bhikkhus to be 'atta-dīpā atta-saranā dhamma-dīpā dhamma saranā,' which gives us the key-note to the aggressive individualism of life at a Buddhist āvāsa with which no reader of the Vinayapitaka can fail to be struck. Where everybody had full right to think for himself and to publish his thoughts, differences of opinion could not but arise. In Cullavagga, VII, 5. 2, it is said that a schism (Sanghabheda) could arise on any of the eighteen matters

[51] See *ibid*, foot-note 2.

[52] An entire thesis may be written on the significance of this all-important word, Dhamma, in Indian literature, and it is absurd to attempt to dispose of it in a foot-note. Its sense too is so kaleidoscopic that it is extremely difficult to fix it.

Observe for instance the use of the word Dhamma in Mahavagga, X, 5.8. Two Bhikkhus contend over some point of doctrine; how is an outsider to judge? Buddha says: Ubhayatha dhammam sutvā ye tattha dhammavādino tesam ditthin ca khantin ca rucin ca ādāyan ca rocehi, etc. The outsider must judge according to his own subjective standard. The Salakagāhāpaka may reject the voting if it goes against the Dhamma in a case where two parties contend over some point of doctrine. Here also we have a subjective standard recognised. Compare also the use of the word in Cullavagga, IV, 2-3; 14. 2 (where some Bhikkhus say, 'This is Dhamma,' while others say, 'This is not Dhamma') and elsewhere. The meaning of Dhamma in every passage where it occurs must be settled relatively to the context and import of the whole passage.

which may be summarised as relating to (*i*) Dhamma (1-2), (*ii*) Vinaya (3-4), (*iii*) Teachings, practices and ordainments of the Tathāgata (5-10), (*iv*) Offences and rules relating to them (11-18). The same points substantially are mentioned in Cullavagga, IV, 14.2, as giving rise to Vivādādhikarana. It is important to note the distinction between the two. In a Vivādādhikarana, the difference was honest and was not intended to bring about a permanent cleavage. It was duly placed before the Sangha and decided by voting and after the decision it was not to be reopened on penalty of a Pācittiya. But such a difference might also be dishonest or intentional, brought about on purpose to cause a schism. There was no power except the terror of curses invoked in Cullavagga, VII, 5. 5 (and the terror of expulsion by the king—*vide* Asoka's Sarnath Pillar edict) which could check a dishonest difference when there was no outside standard to which it could be referred. This the Vivāda or ground of difference might be put forward *dishonestly* with knowledge of its falsity or dubious character *together with* an intention to cause a division,[53] or *honestly*, with belief of its rightness, its accordance with Dhamma, *together with* intention to cause a division believed to be right and proper.[54] In both cases intention to bring about a schism is essential which is absent in an ordinary Vivāda which would lead to a Vivādādhikarana. It is clear that a Vivādā which was intentional could not be set at rest by a Vivādādhikarana, and its result would inevitably be a Sanghabheda, —just as the doctrines put forward by the Vijjians were not set at rest by the decision of the Ubbāhikā at Vesali, as we are told by the author of the Dīpawamsa.[55]

When a Sanghabheda did actually take place, the original Sangha was split up into two Sanghas, holding

[53] This is the case contemplated in Cullavagga, VII, 5. 5.

[54] This is the case contemplated in Cullavagga, VII, 5. 6.

[55] *Dipaw.*, V.

Kammavācā, Uposatha and Pavāranā separately.[56] It was at first considered allowable for them to live within the limits of the same āvāsa,[57] but this was afterwards negatived.[58] The schismatic parties might subsequently coalesce performing a Sāmaggi-uposatha.[59] But in such a case, the ground of difference must entirely disappear and must not be merely covered up. (The *Sangha-sāmaggi* or reunion, as is said in Mahavagga, X, 6.2, might be 'atthapeta,' in spirit, or 'vyanjanupeta,' in letter only. It was only when the reunion was both in spirit and in letter that it was a true re-union.—*Ibid.*) Schisms gave rise to some of the Buddhist sects the earliest of which was the Mahāsanghika.

There were however certain safe-guards against a Sanghabheda. A schism could be brought about (*i.e.*, the Vivāda could be brought to an issue) only by a member of the Sangha who was *Pakatatta* (under no disability), *Samānasamvāsaka* (belonging to the same community) and *Samānasīmāya thita* (residing within the same boundary).[60] The Vivāda must be formally placed before an assembly which must not consist of less than nine members—four on one side and four on another side *plus* the Salāka-gāhāpaka.[61] (It will be remembered that Jebhuyyasikā was applicable to a Vivādādhikarana.) When the Vivāda was considered by an assembly consisting of less number, it could give rise only to what was called Sangha-rāji (disunion), but not Sangha-bheda (schism).[62] The effect of all the rules is that in order to produce a schism, four competent Bhikkhus must come forward and place a disputed point before an assembly of nine with purpose prepense to cause a division, either knowing that the point was wrong or doubtful (Cullavagga, VII, 5.5) or believing it without due deliberation to be right (*ibid*, 5.6),

[56] Cullavagga, VII, 5 2.
[57] Mahavagga, X, 1.9.
[58] Cullavagga, XII, 2.1 (āvāsakappo).
[59] Mahavagga, II, 36.4 and X, 5.14.
[60] Cullavagga, VII, 5.1 at the end.
[61] Cullavagga, VII, 5.1.
[62] *Ibid.*

and knowing also that schism would result from their action—a schism which to their belief was either wrong, as in the first case, or right as in the second. In all cases, it will be observed, there must be an intention to bring about a schism and this, as we have pointed out, differentiates a Sanghabheda from an ordinary Vivādādhikarana. Let us take two concrete examples : Four Bhikkhus at an āvāsa might say : "Well, this is a point of doctrine which we believe to be right. We shall place it before an assembly. If it is ratified, well and good. If not, we must secede"; or they might say : "Well, etc., etc. If not, we shall as in duty bound acquiesce." In the former case there would arise a Sanghabheda, in the latter case a mere Vivādādhikarana. It will be observed from Cullavagga, VII, 5.6, that if one took up the first attitude he was not liable to condemnation. The intention to produce a schism was not condemnible *per se*. There are surely certain beliefs regarding which a conscientious man would admit no compromise and nobody would hold such a person blameworthy for seceding from a society that did not approve of his faith. Those who are obsessed with the parallelism between monastic communities of the west and those of the east will do well to remember that in the ancient Buddhist Sangha at any rate, the liberty which the organ-voiced author of the *Areopagitica* proclaimed to be 'above all other liberties, *viz.*, to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience,' was guarded with a strict jealousy which would appear strange and almost shocking to medieval Christian monasteries. But this feature of ancient Buddhist monastic life was of a piece with that unfettered freedom of thought in ancient India which was the 'grand invention,' not surely of the Greeks, as European historians aver,[63] but of the Indians long before the Greeks.

[63] "Feeedom of thought was their (*i.e.*, of the Greeks) grand invention"—Sanderson's *History of Greece and Rome*, p. 86.