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HISTORY OF INDIAN BUDDHISM

FROM THE ORIGINS TO THE ŚAKA ERA

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FOREWORD

It is unanimously agreed that Professor Etienne Lamotte’s mastery of Buddhist Scriptures is displayed on every page of his impressive Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien. Hence, it is not surprising that as soon as this epoch-making book was published, it quickly became so famous and renowned that introducing such a masterpiece seems to be pointless.

His friends, colleagues and disciples, have spoken at length about the scholar and his work, and in much better terms than I would ever be able to do. Therefore, my task being easier, I feel that the best way of paying tribute to Professor E. Lamotte’s memory is to depict briefly the attitude that we have deliberately adopted, from the very moment we undertook the responsibility of revising the English translation of one of the finest pieces of scholarship among his huge scientific production.

From the start, all the contributors were deeply convinced that their primary task was to preserve the essence of the original and try to render the flavour of Professor E. Lamotte’s vivid and brilliant style, even if this sometimes meant clashing with the new trends that characterize present day Buddhist scholarship. From the beginning, the dilemma proved to be very crucial indeed, namely when we were confronted with the problem of translating accurately the Buddhist technical terms: it soon became obvious that the main difficulty was due to the majority of the basic terms being given different meanings throughout the book, in order to fit the context within which they were used. I was one of the happy few who had the privilege of knowing Professor E. Lamotte, and I believe the only likely explanation is the assumption that the Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien is entirely the product of the phenomenal memory with which the famous scholar was endowed.

To quote briefly even a few examples would be beyond the scope of this foreword, and would be bound to degenerate into a barren debate between specialists. The form of the index of technical terms illustrates clearly the kind of preoccupations we
had to cope with, and, at the same time, exemplifies the compromise we have finally decided to adopt.

The broad outline of the project was initiated by Professor Suzanne Van Riet of the Université catholique de Louvain, director of the Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (P.I.O.L.) in July 1985, and, for the main part, was carried out and achieved by Mrs Sarah Webb-Boin, whose English translations of Professor E. Lamotte's other works enjoy a very high reputation. Thanks to her outstanding ability as a translator, she produced, in a relatively short time, a high-standard, fluent English translation, very close to the French original. We are all glad to have the opportunity to express openly our deepest gratitude for her painstaking efforts, which have greatly contributed to the successful completion of the whole enterprise. In the course of the revision process, Mrs S. Webb-Boin constantly made many valuable suggestions that considerably facilitated the task of the revision team, while enabling us to concentrate on a close scrutiny of particularly controversial doctrinal matters.

It is plain to everyone that Buddhist scholarship is becoming more and more prolific: new archaeological remains come to light, new inscriptions are discovered, texts in Buddhist Sanskrit or Prākrits, unearthed from ruined stūpas, are deciphered and published. All those elements open up new prospects to a deeper knowledge of certain aspects of Indian Buddhism, and contribute to a better approach to the history of Buddhist doctrine. Those factors have been taken into account for compiling a bibliographical supplement which lists the titles of the leading works and essential articles which can shed new light on specific topics. Far from being exhaustive, we have deliberately preferred to be selective by focusing on carefully selected fields of interest, such as: the personality and the religious policy of king Aśoka, the newly discovered Aśokan inscriptions, the irritating, unsolved problem of the origin of Mahāyāna. We decided not to mention the numerous Japanese works dealing with those subjects, bearing in mind that these publications, irrespective of their intrinsic value, are accessible only to a limited number of Buddhist scholars capable of mastering the Japanese language.

The index has been thoroughly revised, completed and, in
some respects, improved. The transcriptions of the Chinese terms have been converted into the Wade-Giles system of transcription, which is more familiar to English-speaking readers and still widely used, though considerably rivalled by the *pinyin* system.

As already mentioned, the Sanskrit technical terms have been extracted from the (general) index, and have been regrouped into a separate index; according to the order of the *devanāgarī* alphabet. It should be pointed out that for some important terms, the English renderings of the different meanings used by Professor E. Lamotte are followed, in brackets, by one or several English equivalents which we feel are better suited to the commonly accepted norms of contemporary Buddhist terminology.

The table of contents has been amended accordingly. Concerning geographical maps, the locations of all important sites have been carefully checked against those on bigger scale maps; while some new localities, where important new discoveries have taken place, have been added.

Finally, as the French edition is the "root-text" to be consulted whenever doubts arise, reference has been made throughout to the pagination of this edition.

* * *

Needless to say a project of such amplitude could never have been successfully carried out without close co-operation between Mrs S. Webb-Boin and the members of the revision team who, in addition to their respective specialist contributions in their own spheres of responsibility, gave me their full support at a high level, by making invaluable suggestions.

All of us feel greatly indebted to Professor S. Van Riet for having provided the financial support at top level, with funds supplied by the P.I.O.L., and for having found adequate solutions to intricate and apparently insolvable administrative problems to everybody's satisfaction.

My warmest thanks go to my friend and collaborator Jean-Marie Verpoorten (Ph.D.) for having efficiently prepared, co-ordinated and put the finishing touches to the multiple activities of the revision team, composed of Miss Sophie Jacques, Miss Carmen
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Every year, the number of publications devoted to the life of Śākyamuni and to Buddhist philosophy increases but, in contrast, histories of Buddhism are rare and show signs of being outdated.*

The Introduction à l’histoire du bouddhisme indien by Eugène Burnouf dates from 1845, the Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië by J.A. Kern goes back to 1882-84, while the manuals of Indian studies such as L’Inde classique by L. Renou and J. Filliozat (1947-53), the histories of religions such as Die Religionen Indiens by H. von Glasenapp (1943) and the histories of philosophy such as Die Philosophie der Inden by H. von Glasenapp (1949) and the Geschichte der indischen Philosophie by E. Frauwallner (1953-56) contain, it is true, excellent historical summaries but inevitably limited to generalities.

Since the time of Burnouf and Kern, the discovery of new Indian manuscripts, the analysis of Chinese and Tibetan sources, epigraphical findings and archaeological discoveries have increased the information available and the time has come to re-write the history of Buddhism from these new data.

In response to a kind invitation by Alfred Foucher, a few days before his death, the author has attempted here to retrace the history of the first centuries of Buddhism from the very beginning (sixth century B.C.) to the start of the Śaka era (end of the first century A.D.). The period concerned practically embraces the history of early, or to use the traditional expression, Sthavirian Buddhism.

Whatever al-Bīrūnī may have said, India had her historians. Without speaking of the genealogies (vanśāvalī) compiled by the royal houses, the chronicles such as the Dīpa- and Mahāvamsa, the Rājatarañī, the Gośṛngavyākaraṇa, the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, even the Aśokāvadāna, demonstrate clearly enough the existence of an historical or pseudohistorical literature. Nevertheless, the Buddhist sources tend, in general, to move on an abstract level of ideas and, if they explain the doctrine of Śākyamuni and the great scholars in detail, if they give a detailed description of the
functioning of the order of bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs, they are almost completely devoid of historical or chronological indications. The *philosophia perennis* willingly disregards time and space.

However, the relationship between political and spiritual history is very close. Without the favours of an Aśoka, how would the disciples of the Śākya have ever been distinguished from the Muṇḍasāvakas, Jāṭilakas, Magaṇḍikas, Tedaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas and other obscure sects only the names of which are known to us today? If accidents of history had not brought the Buddhists into contact with the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kuśāṇas, Serindians and the Chinese, would they, still today, constitute the most widespread of universal religions?

Our first concern was to replace Buddhism within the historical framework it lacked, to extract it from the world of ideas where it deliberately confined itself in order to bring it back to earth. It is hoped that we have succeeded, at least to a certain degree, by means of a constant recourse to inscriptions, the systematic analysis of the chronicles and the correct arrangement of the geographical information supplied by Chinese pilgrims and which are largely confirmed by archaeological discoveries. Nevertheless, too many dates remain approximate and purely conjectural if they are not confirmed by the writings of Greek and Latin historians or Chinese annalists.

The first five chapters begin with a description of Indian history in which Buddhist facts are enclosed.

During the sixth century B.C. this history was dominated by the Republican States and the smaller kingdoms which made up the sixteen “Great Countries” of northern India. It was in the area of the Middle Ganges, especially in Magadha, that the Buddha Śākyamuni preached his four noble Truths and founded a religious order of mendicant monks who were supported materially by a lay community.

As its name indicates, the Magadhan period (546-324 B.C.) was marked by the constant growth of the kingdom of Magadha under the dynasties of the Haryankas, Śiśunāgas and Nandas, and the settlement of Aryan colonizers in the island of Ceylon. However, North-West India, conquered by Alexander the Great, became the theatre of battles between the Diadochi. During this
troubled period, Buddhism was undergoing a difficult birth. Nevertheless, the monks were able to lay the foundations of their canonical writings and to organize themselves under the direction of their disciplinary leaders and Dharma masters.

Completely dominated by the great figure of the Emperor Aśoka, the Mauryan period (324-187 B.C.) saw the expansion of Buddhism throughout India as a whole and its implantation in the island of Ceylon. Even more than the texts, the archaeological discoveries enable us to follow this progress step by step. The council of Pāṭaliputra was marked by dissensions between the monks; then, Mahādeva’s heresy widened the gap and, finally, the schism of the Mahāsāṃghikas split the Buddhist monks into two rival parties.

The period of the Śuṅgas and Yavanas (187-30 B.C.) constituted a critical period during which Buddhism, while making some progress, had to face many difficulties. In the Ganges Basin, King Puṣyamitra and his successors adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the monks, and the devout, monotheistic movement which was inaugurated by the Viśnuite sects counterbalanced the influence of the Good Law. In contrast, in the North-West, certain Indo-Greek kings, especially Menander, relied on Buddhism to assert their authority. In Ceylon, the kings Duṭṭhagāmana and Vaṭṭagāmana set up an increasing number of religious foundations and the latter favoured the writing down of the canonical texts. The Śuṅga period also witnessed the inception and efflorescence of the early school of sculpture in central India, the main centres of which were Bhārhut, Bodh-Gaya and Sāncī.

The Sakas and Pahlavas (100 B.C.-75 A.D.), who succeeded the Greeks in the north-west and soon seized the western coast, also ended by showing favour to Buddhism, and several Scythian satraps set themselves up as benefactors of the Community. In order to reach those simple souls, Buddhist propaganda had to simplify its methods and adapt its teachings somewhat. Supported by these new masters and with the goodwill of the first kings of the Dekkhan, the disciples of Sākyamuni got into the habit of carving their temples and dwellings out of bare rock. This rock-carved architecture, which was inaugurated during the Scythian era in the western Ghāts, was to continue for many centuries.
The chronological account of the first six centuries of Buddhism is followed by two chapters, one of which is devoted to the sects and the other to the Buddhist religion.

Sthavirian Buddhism or the Hinayāna consists in the main of eighteen sects the nature and formation of which pose some critical problems. The origin and doctrinal position of these schools needed to be clarified, their geographical distribution defined, and the various contradictory lists compiled from age to age by the early authors subjected to a comparative study. These sects contributed greatly to the philosophical elaboration of the truths that were taught by Śākyamuni and led to noteworthy progress in the Abhidharma, i.e. philosophical speculation. However, their main work was to have popularized the Word of the Buddha by transposing it into as many languages as was necessary to ensure its greatest propagation.

Therefore, the chapter devoted to the sects deals with the formation of the Buddhist languages: early Māgadhī, Pāli, Prākrit of the North-West, hybrid Sanskrit and, finally, Buddhist Sanskrit. We do not claim that we have found the solution to all the problems posed, but we hope we have provided the data.

At the beginning of the new era, Buddhism, from the philo-


phico- mystical message that it had been at the outset, became
transformed into a true religion, with a deified Buddha, a myth-


ology, an hagiography, and a cult deeply interwoven with a
messianic expectation. The study of this evolution forms the
subject of chapter 7. It contains a detailed account of the legend
of the Buddha, a legend in which the influence of the popular and
lay sphere on the evolution of religious ideas can be assessed.

Throughout this work, an attempt has been made to adhere as
closely as possible to the sources by referring to them, as it were,
on every line. Nevertheless, the fact that there is much that is
legendary and contradictory about them cannot be hidden.

The Buddhist tradition is steeped in the marvellous. Belittled by
some schools and exaggerated by others, the marvellous is ubiqui-
tous. We have accepted it as such without attempting to eliminate
it in the name of western rationalism. To disregard it would be to
offer the reader a caricature of Buddhism and still not attain
historical truth. It is not enough to discard the legend in order to
discern the reality of the facts. By leaving the marvellous the place it has always occupied in the sources, we believe we have given a more faithful image of the mentality of the Buddha's disciples. And it is this mentality which is the true object of our research and not a fleeting and elusive historical certainty. Moreover, comparing the sources and checking the texts against iconographical documents is often enough to disperse the most obvious fictions and to present the tradition in the most favourable light.

More delicate is the attitude to be adopted with regard to the contradictions with which the texts teem. The Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist sources rarely agree and, inside Buddhism, the Sinhalese chronicle often deviates from the written or oral traditions which prevailed on the Indian continent, and adopts a different chronological computation. Completely opposed versions of one and the same fact circulated. There are no less than six different dates proposed for the schism of the Mahāsāṃghikas (pp. 286-289) and the disappearance of the Good Law is foreseen at a date which varies between the year 500 and the year 12,000 after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa (pp. 192-198).

We could reconcile and attempt to harmonize the sources, and it would be enough to disregard such and such a textual variation, to say that a particular passage is interpolated or to identify people with different names, such as Upagupta and Moggaliputta-tissa (p. 254). Such a method is, if not justified, at least ingenious when it is a matter of a point of detail which could be dealt with in a few pages. However, adopted as a working method and applied throughout a whole book, it would be bordering on farce.

We have not been afraid here to emphasize viewpoints or point out contradictions, but we have been careful to classify them chronologically in order to draw out the lines of a revealing evolution of the mentality and intentions of the early authors. Thanks to this method, we will see how, for example, the tradition concerning the first two Buddhist councils was exploited in the course of time for very different purposes (pp. 132-139).

With regard to the problem of foreign influences exerted on Buddhism, we have been very cautious. If Buddhism, which voluntarily opened itself to all beings, can legitimately claim the title of a universal religion, if in the course of time it conquered
the major part of the Asiatic continent, it nevertheless remains a
fact that, for the first centuries of its history, it was an Indian
phenomenon, to be interpreted as such. The truth, said Fustel de
Coulanges is “to have no other masters over Greece than the
Greeks, over Rome than the Romans”. However, their Indian
nationality was in no way to prevent the propagandists from
becoming Greeks with the Yavanas, Scythians with the Šakas and
Taoists with the Chinese.

We have not lacked advice and encouragement, and once again,
the most efficient assistance has come from France. Mademoiselle
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CHAPTER ONE

INDIA AT THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA

I. — HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1 VEDIC ANTECEDENTS. — When, in the sixth century before the Christian era, the man who was one day to become the Buddha Śākyamuni was born, India had a long past behind her.

In the second half of the third millennium, the Indus basin had seen the seat of an important urban civilization which was eneolithic in nature. Its two principal centres, Harappa (in the Punjab) and Mohen jo-Dāro (in the Sindh), have brought to light, among other monuments, some inscribed seals covered with pictographic writing, the interpretation of which still remains uncertain but which enables us to establish synchronisms between the Indus civilization and the Sumero-Akkadian Ancient World of Mesopotamia. Despite some religious features which are Indian in appearance, this civilization seems to have been imported. It collapsed under the blow of cataclysms, traces of which have been uncovered by excavations*, and its disappearance preceded the occupation of India by the Āryans, possibly by several centuries.

According to traditional opinion¹, it was about the thirteenth century B.C. that the Indo-Europeans, or more precisely the Āryans representing the eastern branch of the Indo-Iranians, invaded North-West India in successive waves. They spoke Vedic Sanskrit, a language which was closely connected to that of the Medes and Persians who remained on the Iranian plateau.

The Āryan language first served as a literary expression for the Vedas, sacred texts compiled roughly from the fifteenth to sixth centuries B.C. and which constitute the śruti “Revelation”, in contrast to the smṛti human “Tradition”.

2 In the strict meaning of the word, the Veda includes four classes of literary compositions:

1. The Mantra “Sacred formula”, distributed into four samhitā “collections”: Rk, Sāma, Yajuh and Atharva Samhitā. The first three, which

¹ Other conceptions can be found in R. SCHAFER, Ethnography of Ancient India, Wiesbaden, 1954.
constitute the *trayī vidyā* “Threefold knowledge”, were from the very beginning considered as canonical texts. The *Rk* is a collection of verses composed in honour of the gods of the Vedic pantheon, Indra, Varuna, Sūrya the Sun, Uṣas the Dawn, Agni the Fire, Rudra the storm, etc., for the most part, atmospheric deities of a somewhat hazy nature. The *Sāman* is a book of melodies taken from the *Rk*. The *Yajur* contains versified formulas also taken from the *Rk*, and formulas in prose which should be recited by the sacrificer.

The *Atharvaveda* is a collection of texts on magic which was not considered as canonical until much later. Nevertheless, part of its material is ancient. It includes, alongside songs and incantations for use by magicians, some hymns of great mental elevation.

2. The *Brāhmaṇa* “Interpretations of the Brahman” are treatises concerned with prayers and sacrificial ceremonies. Their main purpose is to interpret the cult practices, but they also contain cosmological myths, old legends and verses celebrating the exploits of kings who were famous in the priestly tradition.

3 and 4. The *Āranyaka* “Forest books” and the *Upaniṣad* “Connections or Correlations” appear to be a prolongation of the *Brāhmaṇa* of which they often call themselves the appendices. The latter mark, if not the beginning, at least the intensification of philosophical speculation in which participate not only the priests but also and especially the laity of the royal and warrior classes.

The Vedic śruti as constituted by the texts listed up to here is completed by the *smṛti* or human tradition which is responsible for the compilation of the *Vedāṅga* “Auxiliary treatise of the Veda”. They are six in number: phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy. These complementary sciences led, in the course of time, to the compiling of manuals, the most notable of which from the linguistic point of view is the grammar in eight books (*Āṣṭādhyāyī*) by Pāṇini, which fixes the form of the Sanskrit language at the end of the Vedic age (fourth century B.C.).

Because they are documents of a purely religious nature, the Vedas supply us with very imperfect information on the early Vedic age, and it would be equally futile to attempt to reconstruct the political and religious history of the Āryans on the basis of the Indian epics of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. However, one fact can be deduced: the slow progression of the Āryans from the Indus basin to the borders of Bengal during the ten centuries of the Vedic age (fifteenth to sixth cent. B.C.).

The *Saṃhitā* have preserved the memory of the settlement of the
Aryas in the land of the Seven Rivers. Emerging from the passes of Kābul and Kandahār, they took possession of the Higher and Middle Indus and, in order to hold their ground, had to engage in fierce battles with the non-Āryan tribes of the Dāsa or Dasyu, who were black or dark-skinned, and whose strongholds had to be reduced. They also had to fight against the Pāni, a people who refused to support the Vedic cult and who stole the Āryans' cattle.

There was internal warfare as well as external battles. In the Rgveda there is a reference to the "War of the ten kings", which, on the banks of the Parusṇi (present-day Rāvi), brought the Bharatas into conflict with a confederation of ten Āryan tribes, among which were the Pūrus. This ended in victory for ten Āryan tribes, among which were the Pūrus. This ended in victory for Sudās, the Bharata king, who killed Purukutsa, the Pūru leader.

The last Samhitā show that, at the beginning of the last millennium, the Āryans had proceeded eastward and occupied the western part of the Ganges basin. A confederation of Bharatas and Pūrus established the kingdom of the Kūrus on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and Kurukṣetra (present-day Rohilkhand) became the major centre of the brahmanical culture, the Brahmāvarta. The wars had not ceased for all that and the subject of the Mahābhārata is precisely the epic battle which broke out, towards the beginning of the ninth century B.C., between two lines of Bharata descendants: on the one hand, the hundred Kauravas commanded by Duryodhana, on the other, their cousins, the five Pāṇḍavas. The Kūrus occupied the northern part of Doāb, the capital of which was Hastināpura or Āsandivant. They allied themselves with the Paṇcālas who were settled in Southern Doāb around Kāmpīla or Kāmpilya. Some of the Kuru kings are mentioned in the Atharvaveda, the Brāhmaṇa and Purāṇa: Parikṣit, the founder of the dynasty of the same name; Janamejaya, who celebrated the horse sacrifice and bore arms as far as Takṣasālā; Nicaksus who, after the destruction of Hastināpura when the Ganges overflowed, transferred his capital to Kauśāmbara on the lower course of the Yamunā.

Continuing their move eastwards, the Āryans also founded the kingdoms of Kosala (Oudh), Kāśī (region of Vārānasī) and Videha (Southern Bihār) all in the region of the middle Ganges.

The main towns in Kosala were Ayodhyā (which has sometimes been identified with Sāketa) and Śrāvasti. Its princes belonged to the solar dynasty of the Vedic hero Ikṣvāku, the son of Manu. King Daśaratha, who ruled over Ayodhyā, had as his son and successor the epic hero Rāma, whose romantic and martial adventures are celebrated in the
Romāyana. Nevertheless, in the oldest version of the legend, Rāma was the king of Vārānasī.

Kosala was continually at war with the rival kingdom of Kaśī, the capital of which was Vārānasī or Benares. Kaśī was at first the winner, which led to the glorious reign of King Brahmadatta whose great deeds are celebrated in the Buddhist Jātaka. The situation was reversed when Kaṃsa, the king of Kosala, conquered and annexed the land of Kaśī once and for all.

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (IX, 4) preserves the memory of the Āryan conquest of the region of Northern Bihār, and the foundation of the kingdom of Videha in roughly the eighth-seventh centuries B.C. Fire, followed by the king Māthava the Videgha, departed from Sarasvatī towards the east, crossed all the rivers, but then stopped before the Sadānirā (Gandak?) because “Fire had never burnt beyond there”. King Māthava crossed the river and, with the assistance of the brāhmins, made the conquered territory submit to Fire. Henceforward, that barren land with its marshy soil became extremely fertile. The capital of the kingdom of Videha was Mithilā, present-day Tirhut.

Videha reached its peak under King Janaka who gave his name to the town of Janakpur in the district of Darbhanga. The epic makes him the father of Sītā, the wife of Rāma, whose name lives on in the locality of Sītāmārhi. Janaka, king of Videha, is presented in the Upaniṣad as the patron of the metaphysicians Yajñavalkya and Śvetaketu. The Brāhadrānyakā (II, 1, 1) makes him a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kaśī who has been compared to Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, who played an important part in the life of Śākyamuni. If this identification is correct, the Upaniṣadic speculation, as it appears in one of its earliest documents, the Brāhadrānyakā, would coincide chronologically with the origins of Buddhism.

However, in the biography of the Buddha, no further mention is made of the kingdom of Videha. It has been replaced by the confederation of the Vṛjīs whose most important tribe was the Licchavis, capital Vaiśālī, present-day Besarh in the district of Muzaffarpur. As for Magadha, an area in Southern Bihār, it was only at the time of the Buddha that it was organized into a kingdom. Before that, it played only a secondary part in Gangetic India: it was not completely Āryanized, but simply crossed by bands of renegade Āryans named vrātya who did not follow the Vedic rites.

Vedic literature almost exclusively reflects the Āryan progression to the north of the Ganges, along the foot-hills of the Himalayas. However, towards the end of the Vedic age, the Āryan expansion had
considerably extended beyond the southern bank of the holy river. On the banks of the Yamunā, a tributary of the Ganges, the tribe of the Yādavas had colonized the land of the Śūrasenas around Mathurā; further to the east, the Vatsas occupied the region of Kauśāmbī. Following the course of the Chambal upstream, the Āryans had settled in Avanti and reached Narmadā. According to the epic tradition, a branch of the Yādavas, under the leadership of Kṛṣṇa, is supposed to have gone to Kāthiāwār and founded a new capital in Dvāraka. Although the historical rôle of Kṛṣṇa does not correspond in any way to reality, there is no doubt about the Āryan expansion towards the south. Its effect was to drive the Dravidians into Southern Deccan where they retained their language, but were not unaffected by the cultural influence of the alien invaders.

When the Āryans settled in the Ganges basin, the religion was transformed. Vedism became Brāhmaṇism, a collection of religious and social concepts which were defined and directed by the brāhmins who constituted a priestly body.

The work of the brāhmins was threefold: to define the law (dharma) or Indian status which was applicable to the different classes of society; to assimilate the popular religions; finally, to establish the main features of religious beliefs.

The dharma is that set of norms which direct the Aryan’s religious and social conduct. It applies with certain variations, to the different classes of Indian society: “To the brāhmins”, says Manu I, 88 sq.), “the Lord assigned the teaching and study of the Veda, the performing of sacrifices for oneself and for others, the giving and receiving of gifts; the kṣatriya (warriors) he ordered to protect the people, to give, sacrifice and study; the vaiśya (cultivators), to raise cattle, give, sacrifice, study, trade, lend money, and cultivate the ground; finally, the śūdra, to serve the other three classes”. The Dharma directly concerned the Āryan groups, to whom it granted similar religious privileges and assigned separate occupations. It only indirectly affected the Śūdras, the lower class into which were relegated, besides Āryans who had regressed, the mass of natives who were reduced to the rank of slaves and servants.

It was the task of the brāhmins to make a synthesis between the ancient Vedic tradition of which they were the upholders, and the “primitive” ideas of the native inhabitants. This task was far from easy. On the one hand, a wholly ritualistic religion in which sacrifice, raised to the level of a cosmic power, overshadowed the divinities to which it was offered; on the other, a profusion of regional cults the roots of which were steeped in animism and magic. From among the mass of major and
minor deities there stand out the great figures of Viṣṇu and Śiva to whom their worshippers paid mystical and impassioned homage. Viṣṇu is a benevolent deity, the “preserver” of the universe and master of human destiny. He is surrounded by a rich legend which retraces his avatāra, that is, the descents of the god upon the earth, and his intervention in human affairs at different periods. Śiva is even more complex in that his many manifestations make him appear sometimes under the aspect of the “destroyer” or Death, of “restorer” or divine ascetic, or as a procreator symbolized by the phallic emblem of the liṅga. The greatest step made by the brāhmans was to identify these popular divinities with the (neutral) “supreme principle” of the Veda: Brahma, the sacred word elevated to the rank of creator. This introduced the indigenous cults into the Vedic tradition and granted them official investiture.

However, the local cults represent only one aspect of the primitive mentality of the local inhabitants, a mentality completely imbued with animism and magic. The animist believes in reincarnations, in the gandharva, a desincarnate being seeking a womb in the world of animals, mankind, spirits or gods in order to continue an existence which cannot, normally, be interrupted. He also believes in the efficiency of acts which condition that existence: rituals, solemnly expressed vows, austerities, actions which are morally good or bad. The Indian sage, who identifies life with suffering, seeks to free himself of it. Without being pessimistic, but resolutely, he aims for deliverance which will enable him to reach an unconditioned way of being transcending the human condition. This deliverance is to be found in yoga, effort, technique of asceticism applied to the most varied goals, disinterested activity, the winning of knowledge, union with God, etc., but which all lead to the same results: access to immortality. These ideas or rather these tendencies are practically alien to the Vedic tradition. The doctrine of re-death (punarmrtyu) of non-deified men, which is found in the Brāhmaṇa, does not contain even a suspicion of animistic belief in universal transmigration (samsāra). The Vedic sacrifice, which is aimed at maintaining cosmic order, cannot be unparadoxically considered as some form of yoga.

Nevertheless, the brāhmans’ prolonged contact with the local inhabitants made them accept and sanction views and practices which had originally been alien to them. They incorporated them into their traditional concepts and expressed them in the ideology-nomenclature which was peculiar to the Brāhmaṇa. The result of this was an extension of the religious horizon which is the very nature of Hinduism. The Upaniṣad
which are to be considered as the culminating point of the Veda point out the essential doctrines of Hindu Brähmanism: the belief in transmigration due to acts; the doctrine of non-duality (advaita) which identifies the brahman, the neutral and unknowable absolute, with the individual soul (ātman), the immediate assumption of consciousness; the aspiration for deliverance (mokṣa) conceived sometimes as absorption into the brahman, the isolation of the individual (pudgala) or union with a personal form of the divinity; finally, the legitimacy and efficacy of the practices of yoga in order to achieve that goal.

This movement of ideas, a compromise between two civilizations, developed during the seventh-sixth centuries in the region of the Middle Ganges. Being situated more to the east, the lands which were to be the cradle of Buddhism escaped it for the most part. This explains why the preoccupations of early Buddhism are relatively remote from the speculations originated by the Hinduized brahmins. It can be said, as did L. de La Vallée Poussin, that the "brähmanism from which Buddhism sprang is not the brähmanism of the BrahmliJa and the Upaniṣad", but represents, even better than the latter, the ancient Indian yoga.

8 THE SIXTEEN GREAT COUNTRIES OF THE SIXTH CENTURY. — In the sixth century B.C. the Āryan domain in India extended from the Punjab to Bengal and overflowed into part of the Deccan. The Buddhist, Jaina and epic sources record the existence at the time of sixteen Great Countries (śoḍaśa mahājanapada) which were subjected to the Āryan element but inhabited, particularly in the east, by populations of autochthonous origin, and still not completely brahmanized. Below is a list of them with an indication of the modern districts which these countries covered and an enumeration of the main towns:

2 Buddhist lists of the Great Countries are found in Dīgha, II, p. 200; Ch'ang-a-han, T 1, ch. 5, p. 34b; Jên hsien ching, T 9, p. 213c; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 55, p. 772b; Aṇguttara, I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260; Mahāvastu, I, p. 34; Yu p'o i to shé chia ching, T 88, p. 912c; Pan jo po lo mi ching, T 245, ch. 2, p. 833a; T 246, ch. 2, p. 844a; P'i p'u sha, T 1545, ch. 124, p. 648b. — Jaina lists in W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn, 1920, pp. 225-6. — Mahābhārata, VIII, 40.29; 45.14-16; 28, 34, 40.

On Buddhist geography in general, see, Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, new ed. by S.N. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924; N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, Calcutta, 1927; B.C. Law, Geography of early Buddhism, London, 1932; India as described in early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, London, 1941; Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954.
In some of the lists, the last two countries have been replaced by the land of the Śibis, between Jhelum and Chenāb, capital Sivapura (Skorbòt), and Dasārṇa in Bundelkhand.

Among all these countries, the Buddhists distinguished between two kinds of territories: the Middle Region (madhyadeśa) where the Buddhist discipline was rigorously applied, and the Frontier Regions (pratyāntajanapada) which benefited from some indulgences. The Middle Country, which roughly corresponds to the ancient Āryāvarta, was border-
ed to the east by Pundravardhana (North Bengal) and the town of Kacangalā, to the south by the River Saravatī, to the west by the villages of the Stūnopathiṇaka brāhmīns, and to the north by the Uśiragirī. The Middle Region, which included fourteen mahājanapada out of sixteen, measured 300 leagues in length, according to the ancient estimates, 250 in width and 900 in perimeter; its inhabitants were virtuous, and noble persons, including the Buddhas, willingly chose it as their cradle. It included seven principal towns: Śrāvasti, Sāketa, Campā, Vāraṇasī, Vaisāli, Rājagrha and Kauśāṃbī.

The Routes.* — We possess only fragmentary information about the road networks connecting the urban centres of India in the sixth century.

The imperial highway of the Maurya period, of which Pliny the Elder was later to give a description based on precise information supplied by Megasthenes, existed only as a rough track. Starting out from Takṣaśilā, the chief town of Gandhāra, it passed through Varaṇāsī and then followed the banks of the great rivers, the Yamunā and Ganges. It then continued through Mathurā in the land of Śūrasena, Kauśāṃbī in the land of Vatsa, Vāraṇasī in the land of Kāśī and finally reached Rājagrha, the capital of Magadha; from there, it continued eastwards as far as the mouths of the Ganges. However, in the ancient period travellers preferred to use a more difficult but also more direct route which connected Varaṇāśī with Vāraṇasī: it seems that it passed through Soreyya, Sāmkāsyā, Kanyakubja, Udumbara, Aggalapura, Sahajāti and, finally, Prayāga at the confluence of the Yamunā and Ganges.

A central track, leaving Pratiṣṭhāna (present-day Paithan, on the upper Godāvari), led northwards and, crossing the two great cities of Avanti, Māhiṣmati and Ujjayinī, reached, via Gonaddha, Vidiśā and Vanaśavhyā, Kauśāṃbī on the Yamunā. From there, it described an immense curve around the region of the middle Ganges. It connected Sāketa, Śrāvasti and Setavyā in Kosala, Kapilavastu among the Śākyas,

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5 Dīgha, II, p. 146; E. WALDSCHMIDT, MPS, p. 304; Ch'ang a han, T 1, ch. 3, p. 21b; T 5, ch. 2, p. 169c; T 6, ch. 2, p. 185b; T 7, ch. 2, p. 200c.


7 Vinaya, II, pp. 299-300; III, p. 11.
Pāpā and Kuśinagarī in the land of Malla, and terminated in Vaiśāli, the capital of the confederated Vṛjīs. Continuing southward, the route traversed Nādiṅā and Kuñigṛāmaka where it reached the Ganges. This last was crossed in Pāṭaligrāmaka at the place where later the great city of Pāṭaliputra was to be built. Rājagṛha was five leagues from the Ganges, and was reached most often by passing through Nālandā, present-day Bargaon.

Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti, communicated overland with the great ports of the western coast: Bharukaccha (Broach) and Śūrpāraka (Sopāra).

The Republican States. — At the end of the seventh century of the ancient era, part of the population which inhabited the sixteen regions was organized into republics (gana): they had no monarchs and the affairs of state were settled by a council of elders and popular assemblies.

The republic of the Vṛjīs, built on the ruins of the ancient kingdom of Videha, consisted of a confederacy of eight clans the principal ones of which were the Licchavis and the Videhas. A wise administration had made it a happy and prosperous state. It also fulfilled the conditions of progress defined by the Buddha, and the latter drew his inspiration from it in the organization of his order.

Alongside the Vṛjīs, mention should also be made of the small republics of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Krauṇyas of Rāmagrāma, the Mallas of Pāpā and Kuśinagarī, the Bhargas of Mount Śūlsumāra, the Mauryas of Pipphalivana, etc.

The Four Kingdoms. — At the same period, four great kingdoms, which never ceased growing to the detriment of the neighbouring republics, were preparing to face each other before being united by the most powerful among them. These were the kingdoms of Avanti, Vatsa, Kosala and Magadha.

Avanti was subdivided into Northern and Southern Avanti, the capitals being Ujjayini and Māhiṣmati. Its king Canda Pradyota, who was violent by nature, had designs on the neighbouring kingdoms of Kauśāmbi and Aśmaka; unable to win them with arms, he gave his daughter

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8 Suttanipāta, vv. 1011-18; Dīgha, II, p. 81.
10 Details and references in Raychaudhuri, Political History, pp. 199-209.
Vasuladatta to the king of Kausambi and concluded an alliance with Asmaka. Among his subjects were two disciples of the Buddha, Mahā Kātyāyana and Śrōṇa Koṭikarna, who obtained from Śākyamuni a relaxation in the disciplinary rules for the region of Avanti.

Further to the north was situated the territory of Vatsa over which ruled Udayana, the son of Parantapa. He was noted for his conquests and practised a policy of matrimonial alliances by successively marrying, nearly always under romantic circumstances, Vasuladatta or Vāsavadatta of Avanti, Padmāvatī of Magadha and Āranyakā of Bengal. He also had as wives Māgandiyā, the daughter of a Kuru brāhmin, whose hand had been refused by the Buddha, and Sāmāvatī, the adopted daughter of the banker Ghosaka. His sympathies for Buddhism were very mitigated: he received Ānanda coldly and nearly had the Arhat Pindola Bharadvāja devoured by red ants. His supremacy extended over the neighbouring territory of the Bhargas where his son, Bodhi, was governor.

Kosala, which corresponds to the present-day province of Oudh, had expanded to the district of Vārāṇasi in the south and, to the north, the Nepalese terai which was occupied by the Śākyas. The son and successor of the eponymous king, Mahā Kosala, was Prasenajit, a contemporary and friend of the Buddha; his daughter Kosaladevi married Bimbisāra of Magadha. The first queen of Prasenajit was Mallika, the daughter of a garland maker and a pious Buddhist; he also took to wife a Magadhian princess, sister of Prasenajit. The friendship he felt for the Buddha led him to ask for a Śākyya girl in marriage, but the Śākyas, jealous of their nobility, sent him, instead of an authentic princess, a Śākyya girl of mixed blood, Vṛṣabhakṣatriyā, daughter of Prince Mahānāman and a slave. For a long time Bimbisāra was unaware of the fraud, and Vṛṣabhakṣatriyā bore him two children, Virūḍhaka and Vajrā. However, Ajātaśatru, the crown prince of Magadha, had his father Bimbisāra killed, in order to accede to the throne; this, caused Kosaladevi, the wife of the victim and sister of Prasenajit, to die of grief. In reprisal Prasenajit retook a small village in the Magadhian district of Vārāṇasi which had formed part of his sister’s dowry. Ajātaśatru declared war on him but, after some victorious campaigns, he was defeated and taken prisoner. Prasenajit demanded his abdication, but as soon as Ajātaśatru had agreed to his terms, he returned his states to him and also gave him the hand of his daughter Vajrā.

Prasenajit frequently visited the Buddha and the canonical texts have preserved the tenor of the many conversations he had with the Master. However, taking advantage of one of his absences, his son Virūḍhaka, supported by the general Dirghakārāyaṇa, seized the throne of Kosala.
by surprise. As soon as he heard of the revolt, Prasenajit went to Magadha to ask the aid and support of his nephew and son-in-law Ajātaśatru. He reached Rājagṛha at nightfall; since the gates were closed, he had to remain outside and, overcome by exhaustion and anxiety, he died under the walls of the town. Ajātaśatru held a splendid funeral for him, but forewent a punitive expedition against Kosala.

Virūḍhaka, the new king, had sworn to take vengeance on the Śākyas who had deceived his father by causing him to marry the daughter of a slave instead of an authentic princess. Since he was the fruit of that misalliance, he considered himself to be dishonoured. Hardly had he mounted the throne than he advanced on the republic of the Śākyas. Three times the Buddha succeeded in making him turn back, but in the end the spirit of vengeance prevailed. Since they were prevented by their upāsaka vows from shedding blood, the Śākyas offered the invader only a symbolic resistance and were massacred until practically the last man. Later legends claim that those who escaped founded towns and kingdoms in the Himalayas, on the bank of the Ganges, or again in North-West India. In the sixth century A.D., the monk Vimokṣaprajña or Vimokṣasena claimed to be a descendant of a Śākyaputra who had been saved from the massacre. Back from his expedition, Virūḍhaka set up camp in the dried-up bed of the river Aciravati; however, during the night, a sudden swelling of the waters submerged him and a large part of his army.

The fourth Gangetic kingdom, that of Magadha, was destined to supplant all its neighbours. At the time of the Buddha, it was ruled over by the house of the Haryaṅkas, and Bimbisāra reigned over Rājagṛha-Girivraja from 546 to 494. He carried out a policy of matrimonial alliances and contracted unions with the ruling families of the Madras, in Kosala and Vaiśālī. His marriage to Kosaladevi ensured him of the possession of part of the district of Vārśasī, and he annexed Anga (Bengal) to his crown after having defeated King Brahmadatta. After 52 years of rule, he was overthrown by his son Ajātaśatru and thrown into prison, where he died of starvation. Like his neighbour and brother-in-law, Prasenajit of Kosala, Bimbisāra maintained relations of close friendship with the Buddha, and the texts have preserved the memory of the two meetings he had with the Master, in 537 when he embraced the life of a religious wanderer, and in 531, shortly after the Enlightenment of the Buddha.
II. — THE DATE AND LIFE OF THE BUDDHA ŚAKYAMUNI

THE DATE OF THE BUDDHA. — According to unanimous tradition, the Buddha lived for eighty years, but the date of his Nirvāṇa, that is, his decease, has still not been established with certainty. Nowadays, the Buddhists of Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma and Kampuchea place the Nirvāṇa in 543 B.C. However, this date is rejected by the great majority of western and Indian historians, because the year of the Nirvāṇa is closely linked to that of the consecration of Aśoka, an event which, for reasons that will be explained in chapter 3, occurred about the years 268-267 B.C.

Two chronologies are attested in the ancient documents: the long chronology which places the Nirvāṇa 218 years before the consecration of Aśoka (c. 486 B.C.), and the short chronology which locates the same event 100 years before the consecration (c. 368 B.C.).

1. The long chronology, which is adopted by the Sinhalese tradition, therefore locates the consecration of Aśoka in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (Dīpavaṃsa, VI, 1, 19-20; Mahāvaṃsa, V, 21; Pāli version of the Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 41, 1.25), and the council of Pātaliputra 18 years later, i.e., in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (Dīpavaṃsa, VII, 37, 44; Mahāvaṃsa, V, 280).

However, this calculation calls for some reservations.

First of all, the same tradition, during the interval of 278 years between the accession of Bimbisāra (in 60 before the Nirvāṇa) and the consecration of Aśoka (in 218 after), counts thirteen sovereigns — which is to be expected —, but only five masters of the Vinaya, which is too few.

In the second place, the Sinhalese chronicles and commentaries are not absolutely faithful to their own calculations. Thus, Aśoka's consecration, instead of being located 218 years after the Nirvāṇa, is dated the year 118 after the Nirvāṇa by the Chinese version of the Samantapāsādikā (T 1462, ch. 1, p. 679c 13). The council of Pātaliputra, instead of being located in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa, is sometimes placed in 118 (Dīpavaṃsa, I, 24-5; V, 55-9), and sometimes in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (Aṭṭhasālinī, p. 3, 1.26-7; p. 4, 1.25-6).

2. The short chronology, represented by nearly all the Sanskrit and Chinese sources, situates the accession of Aśoka in the year 100 of the

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11 On the date of the Nirvāṇa, see the bibliography in Winternitz, Literature, II, p. 597, and more recently, A. Béreau, La date du Nirvāṇa, JA, 1953, pp. 27-62. For astronomical calculations, see P. C. Sengupta, Ancient Indian Chronology, Calcutta, 1947; Dates of the principal Events in the Buddha's Life, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 124-8*.
Nirvāṇa. However it also counts twelve sovereigns and five patriarchs between Bimbisāra and Asoka. Many of the sources locate Asoka and his chaplain Upagupta in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa: Aśokāvadāna (Divya, p. 368; T 99, ch. 23, p. 162a 6; T 2042, ch. 1, p. 99c 6; T 2043, ch. 1, p. 132a 29); Compilation by Saṃgharākṣa (T 194, ch. 2, p. 144c 13); Kalpanāmanḍitikā (T 201, ch. 10, p. 309c 7); Hsien yü ching (T 202, ch. 3, p. 368c 19; ch. 13, p. 442b 19); Ts'a p'i yü ching (T 205, ch. 1, p. 503b 17); Chung ching (T 208, ch. 2, 539 b 22; 541 c 21); Miñasaśa. Vin. (Gilgit Man., III, 1, p. 3; T 1448, ch. 9, p. 41c 27); Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70a 8; ch. 10, p. 129b 29); Avadānasataka, II, p. 200; Manjuśrīkalpa, V, 353.

The modern historian can opt for either the long chronology or the short, but should take the dual calculation into account according to whether he is using a Sinhalese or a Sanskrit source. Hence, Mahādeva's heresy, which is mentioned only in the Sanskrit sources, should be placed in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, that is, interpreted according to the short chronology, in the reign of the Great Asoka.

3. If only for the record, it is appropriate to mention yet other calculations:

The recensions of the Treatise on the Sects by Vasumitra locates the consecration of Asoka in the era of the Nirvāṇa: 100 years and more (T 2031, p. 15a 15), 116 years (T 2032, p. 18a 9; T 2033, p. 20a 16), or even 160 years (Chinese editions of the Sung, Yüan and Ming).

The Khotanese chronicle, Li yul gyi lo rgyus, places the reign of Asoka in 234 after the Nirvāṇa.12

The evidence supplied by Hsüan-tsang somewhere around 635 in his Hsi yü chi (T 2087, ch. 6, p. 903b) proves that the Chinese were not able to attribute an exact date to the Nirvāṇa. However, the tradition of the "dotted record"13 referred to for the first time by Tao-hsüan in his Ta t'ang nei tien lu (T 2149, ch. 4, p. 262b) claims that when Upāli, collated the Vinaya after the decease of the Buddha, he marked a dot in the manuscript. His successors, Dāsaka, Soṇaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa, Cāṇḍavajji, etc., marked a new dot each year. During a visit to Canton about 489, Saṃghabhadra inscribed the 975th dot on the manuscript, which locates the Nirvāṇa in 486 B.C.

This is the date which will be followed here as a working hypothesis. It is adopted in the History and Culture of the Indian People (II, p. 36), while the Cambridge History of India (I, p. 171) prefers 483 B.C., and the editors of Inde classique (I, p. 220) opt for 478.

THE LIFE OF ŚAKYAMUNI. — To write about the life of Śakyamuni is a desperately difficult task. As will be seen in a later chapter, it took the Indian Buddhists nearly ten centuries to compose a complete biography of their Master and to represent it in full on their monuments. The legend thus elaborated was transplanted throughout the whole of the Far East where it underwent constant alterations in order to make it correspond to the expectations of the new believers. The various interpretations given to it by our religionist schools have obscured a problem already complicated enough in itself. It remains nonetheless a fact that Buddhism could not be explained if it were not based on a personality powerful enough to give it the necessary impetus and to have marked it with its essential features which will persist throughout all history.

Reduced to its main events, the life of Śakyamuni can be presented as follows. The proper name of the future Buddha was Siddhartha and his family name Gautama. He belonged to the sub-Himalayan clan of the Śakyas, a clan of uncertain origin but which had to a certain degree been subjected to brāhmanical influence: hence the term Śakyamuni "the Sage of the Śakya clan" by which the Buddha is known even in the West. His father was the kṣatriya Śuddhodana and his mother was Māyā. He was born about the year 566 in the Lumbinī park near Kapilavastu, the chief town of the Nepalese terai. He spent his youth in comfort and pleasure; he contracted a marriage when he was about sixteen years old (550) and had a son whose name was Rāhula. The revelation of the great mysteries of old age, disease and death inspired him with disgust for the world and, like many young people of his time, he resolved to win the Immortal, an undefined abode but which is


situated beyond suffering and death. In the year 537, at the age of 29, he left the town of Kapilavastu and took up the life of a religious wanderer.*

Making his way southward, he crossed the river Anoma and, after a brief stop in Anupiya, he reached Rājagrha, the capital of Magadha. There he made acquaintance of King Bimbisāra and promised to visit him immediately after his Enlightenment. Continuing on his way, he joined the Yoga masters, Ālāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra; under their direction, he devoted himself to ecstatic practices and entered into possession of the supradivine and mystical spheres of the attainments (samāpatti).

However, doubting the efficacy of this method since, on withdrawing from the ecstasy, he found himself exactly as before, he decided to apply himself to the “strenuous effort” (mahāpādana) and retreated to Uruvilvā where five mendicants, the Pañcavargikas, Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, etc., came and joined him. For six years (536-532), he devoted himself to the most severe austerities, stopping his breathing and undergoing fasts so prolonged that they endangered his life. However, these efforts were fruitless, for those mortifications did not even enable him to obtain supernormal powers. He therefore renounced such penances; on seeing which his companions deserted him in order to go to the Deer Park (Mrgadāva) near Vārānasī.

Now alone, Śākyamuni was close to triumph. He regathered his strength by accepting food offered to him by a young girl, and then bathed in the Nairanjana, at a place known as Supratisṭha. In the evening, he reached the Tree of Enlightenment, a ficus religiosa, located in Bodh-Gayā, and sat at its foot in order to meditate.** He directed his thoughts, not to the supradivine and unconscious spheres which his masters had taught him, but to the mystery of death and rebirth and the elimination of rebirth in the world of appearances. During that memorable night, he attained supreme and perfect Enlightenment (bodhi) which made him a Buddha (531 B.C.).

During the watches of the night, he won the threefold knowledge: the recollection of his previous existences, the knowledge of the death and birth of beings — a knowledge which is also called the “divine eye” — and, finally, the certainty of having destroyed in himself the desires which are the basis of successive rebirths in the world of becoming. This conviction included the discovery of the mechanism of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda): Śākyamuni mentally examined in direct and reverse order the twelve causes (nidāna) which condition that
origination, and he thus acquired the certainty of living his last existence.

Having continued his meditations in Bodh-Gaya for four or seven weeks, the Buddha went to the Deer Park in Vāraṇasī; before the five companions who had witnessed his austerities, he preached the discourse on *Turning the Wheel of the Dharma* in which are explained the four noble Truths, which was soon followed by a homily on the *Characteristics of the Not-self*.

The discourse at Vāraṇasī inaugurated the public ministry which the Buddha carried out for forty-five years (531-486). He travelled throughout the region of the Middle Ganges in all directions, expounding the Law, making conversions and recruiting those inclined into the religious order of mendicants (*bhikṣu*) which he had created in addition to the many orders which already existed, the Nirgranthas, Ājīvikas, etc.

Vāraṇasī or Banaras, the chief town in the country of Kāśī and located on the banks of the Ganges between the rivers Barṇā and Asī, was an ancient city the origins of which went far back into the distant past. The Buddha set the Wheel of the Law in motion and preached several important discourses there. He generally stayed in the Deer Park (*mrgadāva*), which was also known as the Rṣivadana or Rṣipatana, a pleasure garden situated in the present-day market-town of Sārnāth six kilometres to the north of the town itself. It was in Vāraṇasī that the Buddha made his first conversions and recruited his first disciples: the Group of Five (*pañcavargika*) consisting of Ājñāta Kaundinya, Vāspha, Bhadrika, Mahānāman and Aśvajit; five sons of noble families, Yaśas and his four friends Vimala, Subhā, Pūrṇajit and Gavāmpati; finally, fifty other young people. Immediately after having ordained them, the Buddha sent them out on missions to teach his doctrine everywhere.

In Uruvilvā, a small locality situated on the banks of the Nairanjana, not far from Bodh-Gaya, the three Kāśyapa brothers and their thousand disciples, the Jaṭilas, wearing topknots and, until that time, devotees of the Vedic sacrifices, were converted and swelled the ranks of the small community.

Rājagrha, formerly Girivraja, was, at the time of the Buddha, the capital of Magadha and one of the seven most important towns in India. Situated five leagues from the Ganges, it was protected by five mountains and watered by the rivers Tapodā and Sarpini. Śākyamuni was on the best of terms with King Bimbisāra with whom he had two famous meetings: one on the Pāṇḍavaparvata immediately after the Great Departure, the other in the Supratīsthacaitya shortly after the Enlightenment. The Buddhists soon had at their disposal in Rājagrha eighteen vast
monasteries, the main ones of which were erected in the Venuvana, a gift from Bimbisāra, on the Grdhrañaparvatā, in the Vaibhāravana, in the caves of the Saptaparṇaguhā and the Indraśailaguhā, and finally, on the slopes of the Sarpaśāṇḍikapragbhāra. Two young men, Upatiṣya and Kolita, pupils of the heretical master Sañjaya, were introduced to the faith by the disciple Aśvajit who, having met them in Rājagrha, summarized the whole of the doctrine of Śākyamuni in one famous stanza: “of all Dharmas which have arisen from a cause, the Tathāgata has told the cause; and he has also revealed its cessation, he, the great monk”. Upatiṣya and Kolita were converted and rapidly attained holiness. The Buddha raised them to the rank of principal disciples with the names of Śāriputra “the foremost of the wise” and Maudgalyāyana “the foremost of those who possess the supernormal powers”. Another important person who was converted in Rājagrha was the brāhmin Pippali, better known by the name of Mahākāśyapa. He had been married in his youth to a certain Bhadrā Kāpilāni, but never went near his wife and soon left her to renounce the world. On meeting the Buddha in the Venuvana, he spontaneously prostrated himself before him and received religious teaching from him. The Master conferred the ordination on him and, as a mark of particular benevolence, exchanged cloaks with him. After the decease of the Buddha, Kāśyapa “the foremost of those who observe the austere discipline” assumed a leading role in the order. In the course of the many visits which he paid to Rājagrha, the Buddha also had the opportunity to convert Queen Kṣemā, the proud wife of Bimbisāra; she took up the religious life and attained holiness. Towards the end of Bimbisāra’s reign, Śākyamuni was the victim of a plot hatched against him by his cousin and rival Devadatta, supported by the crown prince Ajātaśatru. Devadatta, who had entered the order, attempted to supplant the Master at the head of the community. When his manoeuvres failed, he tried to kill the Buddha, but the hired assassins he had commissioned became converted; the rock which he had thrown from the top of a mountain only gave the Buddha an insignificant wound, and the maddened elephant which he sent in pursuit of the Master prostrated itself before the latter. Devadatta provoked a schism in the community and, having won 500 Vṛjī monks from Vaiśālī to his cause, formed a separate congregation. The intervention of the disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana brought the misled monks back into the fold, and Devadatta, who was abandoned by one and all, underwent the punishment for offences. Ajātaśatru, who had supported him, recognized the error of his ways as soon as he ascended
the throne of Magadha: on the advice of Jivaka, the court physician, he asked forgiveness of the Buddha and this was granted.*

The Buddha frequently visited his native land, Kapilavastu at the foot of the Himalayas, sometimes residing in the Nyagrodhārāma, and sometimes in the forest of the Mahāvana. During his first visit, his father Sudhodana and his former wife, the mother of Rāhula, became converted to the Dharma; his half-brother, Nanda the handsome, abandoned his betrothed and took up the religious life, and little Rāhula himself was received as a novice by Śāriputra. The Buddha had only just left the town to return to Rājagṛha when the Sākyas became converted en masse. A group of young noblemen, led by the barber Upāli, caught up with the Buddha in Anupiya, in the country of Malla, and sought admittance into the community. Among them were several cousins of the Buddha, Aniruddha, Mahānāman, Devadatta and Ānanda. Devadatta, as we have just seen, was to betray his vows and tried to kill the Buddha. Ānanda on the other hand, was a model monk: through his docility and zeal, he became the favourite disciple of the Master who made him his personal assistant (upasthāyaka). For twenty-five years, Ānanda gave the Buddha his best attention, noting his slightest words in his infallible memory: he was the foremost of "those who have heard and remembered much". It was upon the intercession of Ānanda that Sākyamuni accepted women into his community: the first nuns (bhikṣunī) were Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, the Buddha’s aunt, and her ladies-in-waiting; they were subjected to particularly strict monastic rules. Other occasions also brought the Buddha back to his native town: he had to settle a quarrel which broke out between the Sākyas and the Krauḍyas over a question of irrigation, to help his father in his last moments and to inflict a punishment on his father-in-law Suprabuddha who had insulted him. When Virudhaka seized the throne of Kosala and resolved to have vengeance on the Sākyas for having formerly offended his father, the Buddha's intercession only succeeded in delaying the catastrophe for a few days: his family clan was almost completely exterminated and the few survivors had to leave the country.

The Buddha, who had a high regard for the Licchavis, often stopped in Vaiśāli, the capital of the Vṛjī confederation. He had saved the inhabitants from the plague and was always given a warm welcome there. Two stopping-places were at his disposal: the Mahāvana where the Belvedere Hall (kuṭāgāraśālā) stood on the banks of the Monkey Pool (markatahradatīra) and the monastery in the Āmrapāliśvana which had been built for him by a courtesan from the town.

However, it was in Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala, that the Buddha
spent most of his time. The town contained at least three monasteries: the Jetavana which had been laid out thanks to the generosity of the rich banker Anāthapindāda; the Mrgāramatprāsāda which had been built in the Pūrvārāma by the pious Viśākhā, the daughter-in-law of Mrgāra but his "mother" in the Buddhahadharma; finally, the Rājakārāma which had been erected through the good offices of Prasenajit. In Śrāvastī, the Buddha had to face the hostility of six heretical masters whom a literary contrivance always presents together: Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarin Gosaliputra, Ajita Keśakambala, Kakuda Kātyāyana, Nirgrantha Jñātiputra and Sañjayin Vaiṛṣṭiputra. Nirgrantha Jñātiputra was none other than Mahāvīra, the founder and reformer of the powerful Jaina order which nowadays still numbers several million adherents in India; Maskarin Gosaliputra was the leader of the Ājīvikas, a sect that had a considerable influence for a long time; the others were determinists, materialists or sceptics. The Buddha triumphed over all these opponents in a public debate in the presence of Prasenajit. Legend has it that on that occasion he emphasized his triumph by various prodigies: the twin wonders with jets of water and rays of light, the miraculous growth of an enormous mango-tree, the multiplication of imaginary Buddhas, or again a walk in the sky; after which, having gone to the heaven of the Trāyastriṃśa gods, the Buddha came down again accompanied by Brahmā and Indra on three precious ladders, the feet of which rested in Śāmkāśya, present-day Sankissa-Vasantapura. Welcomed by a splendid company in which could be noted the nun Utpalavarnā disguised as a Cakravartin king, the Buddha returned to Śrāvastī. However, his detractors did not give up and successively accused him of having had illicit relations with a heretical woman, Cīcā-māṇavikā, and even to have assassinated the nun Sundari; events themselves belied these slanders. In the forests near the town, the Buddha carried out some memorable conversions: he welcomed into his order the brigand Angulimala who had held to ransom and mutilated travellers in the woods of Jālinī; he tamed and appeased the cannibalistic Yakṣa who devoured young children in the Ālavī forest.

In Kausāmbī, in the country of Vatsa, the Buddha had at least four establishments at his disposal: the Ghositārāma, Kukkutārāma, Pāvārikambavana and Badarikārāma. He owed the first three to the generosity of some eminent citizens, among whom was the rich banker Ghosita. Near Kausāmbī, in the village of Kalmāṣadamya, the Buddha made the acquaintance of a brāhmin who offered him the hand of his daughter Māgandikā; the proposal was rejected but the girl, who later became one of the wives of King Udayana, attempted to avenge the affront by
persecuting the pious Sāmāvatī, another of the king's wives. While the Buddha was staying in Kauśāmbi, a schism occurred among his monks over a minor detail of discipline; the Master, unable to restore harmony, withdrew for some time to the Pārīleyyaka forest where he lived in the company of wild animals. The relations between Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbi, and the Buddha were somewhat distant: the king gave a suspicious greeting to the disciple Ānanda who had been sent to his court and whom he considered his wives had given too warm a welcome; he tried to have another missionary, Pīṇḍola Bhāradvāja, devoured by red ants. However, his son Bodhi, who governed the land of the Bhargas, reserved a splendid reception for the Buddha. It was also in the land of the Bhargas, in Sumśumāragiri, that the Buddha met the mother and father of Nakula with whom he acknowledged kinship.

The Buddha declined an invitation from King Cāṇḍa Pradyota who asked him to go to Avanti, but was represented by two eminent disciples, Mahākātyāyana and Śrōṇa Koṭikarna. At the request of these last, he consented to some relaxation in the Buddhist discipline in favour of the small communities in Avanti.

Whatever the later legend may say, it is doubtful whether the Buddha ever visited the western coast inhabited by the Śrōṇaparāntakas. Nevertheless, the region was converted to Buddhism by the merchant Pūrṇa, who himself had been converted by the Master in Śrāvasti. The new disciple returned to Śūrpāraka, his native land, where he founded a small community and built a sandalwood monastery which became famous.

The Buddha once went to Mathurā, in the country of Śūrasena, but that city which was later to become one of the strongholds of Buddhism did not leave a good impression on him. Still further to the west, he made his way as far as Verañjā (in Sanskrit Vairantī), a town situated on the great route from Mathurā to Takṣaśilā; but the brāhmin Agnidatta who had invited him for the rainy season did not receive him and, famine having broken out, the Buddha and his disciples were compelled to eat barley or, according to the Chinese versions, "horse corn". The furthest east the Buddha reached seems to have been the country of Aṅga (Bengal) where Sumāgadhā, the daughter of Anātha-piṇḍada, lived. Her father-in-law, who was a heretic, tried to make her pay homage to the naked ascetics but, far from consenting to do so, she appealed to the Buddha. The Master, accompanied by 500 disciples, went to Bengal and carried out conversions there.

Later sources which attribute to Śākyamuni voyages to distant lands
North-West India, Kaśmīr, Lake Anavatapta and the island of Ceylon — should be considered as apocryphal.

The last days and decease of the Buddha are narrated in detail by the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra of which we possess several relatively concordant versions. When he was in Rājagṛha, the Buddha received a visit from Varṣākāra, a minister of Ājātaśatru, at the moment when the latter was contemplating a campaign against the Vṛjī confederacy; in the presence of the minister, the Buddha explained the conditions necessary for the prosperity of states and monastic orders. The following day, he set out in the direction of the Ganges: in Veṇuyāṣṭikā (in Pāli, Ambalaṭṭhikā), he once again preached the four noble truths; in Nālandā, he received the homages of Śāriputra and recommended discipline to his monks. He thus reached the banks of the Ganges in Pātaligrāma, a village which the Magadhans were fortifying because of the campaign against the Vṛjīs; the Buddha predicted the building and future grandeur of Pātaliputra and, after a flattering reception from the population, he crossed the river with great solemnity.

Teaching as he went, the Master passed through the villages of Kuṭigrāmaka and Nādikā and reached Vaiśālī, where he was received by the courtesan Āmrapāli, and then went on to Veṇugrāmaka in order to spend the rainy season there. It was there that he first had an attack of illness and predicted his coming death.

When the retreat was at an end, the Master wished to proceed to Kuśinagara. After casting a last glance at Vaiśālī, he passed through Bhoganagaraka and reached Pāpā in Malla country; when invited to a meal by the smith Cunda, he ate a "tasty dish of pork" which caused him to have bloody diarrhoea.* Notwithstanding, he set out again and, despite his weakness, still found the strength to convert the Malla Putkasa and put on the golden tunic with which the latter had presented him. After having bathed in the River Hiranyavati (Kakutthā), he was again overcome by weakness; it was only with great difficulty that he reached the approaches of Kuśinagara, where he conversed for a long time with the Mallas who had come out to welcome him.

The Buddha had his death-bed prepared in the Śāla Grove in Upavartana, in the outlying part of the town. There he lay down, with his head pointing towards the north. He made his final arrangements, comforted Ānanda who was overcome with grief, and converted the heretic Subhadra, then addressed his last exhortations to the monks. During the third watch of the night, after having gone in direct and reverse order through all the meditational stages, he entered Nirvāṇa "like a flame which goes out through lack of fuel". He was 80 years of age.
When Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, and the Mallas of Kuśinagara learned of the decease of the Buddha, they gave themselves over to violent manifestations of grief. The Mallas went in a crowd to the Śāla Grove, and the body was transported to the Makutabandhana-Caitya where it lay exposed for seven days, before being placed in a coffin and set down on the funeral-pyre. Mahākāśyapa, who had not been present at the decease of the Buddha, arrived in Kuśinagara; he paid his last respects to the Master’s remains and he alone was able to set fire to the pyre. After the cremation, the relics were collected by the Mallas of Kuśinagara. However, the neighbouring countries, as well as King Ajātaśatru, demanded their share and, when the Mallas refused, prepared for war. The adversaries eventually came to an agreement and the relics were shared out between eight states: the Mallas of Kuśinagara, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśāli, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulakas of Calakalpā, the Krauṇyas of Rāmagrāma, the brāhmīns of Viṣṇudvīpa and the Mallas of Pāpā. The brāhmin Dhūmrasagotra, or Drona, who had initiated the distribution, kept for himself the urn which had enclosed the relics. Finally, the Mauryas of Pippalivana, who had arrived too late, received the ashes from the pyre. Each of them returned home and erected a stūpa over the precious remains which they had obtained. There were therefore ten stūpas: eight contained relics; the ninth was raised over the urn, and the tenth was erected over the ashes of the pyre.*

III. — THE EARLY BUDDHIST DOCTRINE

THE DHARMA AND THE BUDDHA — What Buddhists mean by Law or dharma is the truth discovered by the Buddhas during their Enlightenment and preached by them or their disciples during their public ministry. The word of the Buddha is good at the beginning, in the

middle and at the end, perfect as to the meaning and the letter, homogenous, complete and pure. From the night of the Enlightenment until the night of the Nirvāṇa, all that the Buddha declared and taught is true and not false. The sky will fall down with the moon and stars, the ground will rise up to the heavens together with the mountains and forests, the oceans will dry up, but the great sages do not speak falsely. The good word of the Buddhas has four features: it is well-spoken, agreeable and pleasant, and conforms to what is beneficial and truthful.

What place does the Buddha occupy in relation to the Law which he discovered and preached and what are the main points of his teaching?


Apart from the canonical writings which have come down to us in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions, certain authors postulate the existence of a "primitive" or "precanonical" Buddhism which they attempt to reconstruct: S. Schayer, Precanonical Buddhism, Archiv Orientální, VII, 1935, pp. 121-32; Zagadnienie elementów nieraryjckiej buddyjzmy indyjskim [Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Buddhism], Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Fasc. 1-3, 1934, pp. 55-65; New Contributions to the Problem of Pre-hinayanistic Buddhism, Polish Bulletin of Or. Studies, I, 1937, pp. 8-17; A.B. Keith, Pre-Canonical Buddhism, IHQ, XII, 1936, pp. 1-20; C. Régamey, Bibl. des travaux relatifs aux éléments aryens, BEFEO, 1934, pp. 429-566; Der Buddhismus Indiens, (Christus und die Religionen der Erde), III, Freiberg, 1951, pp. 248-64.

Nearly all the Buddhist writings in Pāli have been edited by the Pāli Text Society and translated into English in large collections: Sacred Books of the East, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Translation Series of the Pāli Text Society, etc.

The Buddha voluntarily stood aside before the Law which he discovered and preached. He did not claim to be a god, but a seer. He destroyed within himself all the impurities which, if they had not been eliminated, could have made him a god, a heavenly spirit (gandharva), a demon or even a man: "Just as a lotus, born in the water and grown up in the water rises above the water without being stained by it, so the Buddha, born and grown up in the world, has triumphed over the world and remains in it without being stained by it." The vanquisher of enemies, pure of any stain, freed from desires, the Buddha has acquired knowledge; he has no Master; no-one is like him; he alone is an accomplished seer; he is appeased and in Nirvāṇa: he is the Victorious One.

The Buddha did not keep jealously to himself the truth which he had discovered. His teaching was public and not secret. He was the best of all lights. He guided beings to deliverance by means of the appropriate indications. He taught his disciples where Nirvāṇa is to be found, and showed them the path which led to it. Nevertheless, it did not depend on him as to whether or not the traveller followed his indications. Among the disciples whom he advised only some were to attain the supreme goal, Nirvāṇa. The Buddha could do nothing about it: he was merely "He who shows the Way".

The truth discovered by the Buddha — the origin of things and their cessation — remained external to him, independent of any findings of which it could be the object. The dependent origination of all the phenomena of existence, as well as their gradual elimination, is ruled by a strict law which the Buddha was the first to recognize, but "it was not he who created the Law of twelve causes, and neither did another create it". It functions independently of the presence or absence of the Buddhas: "Whether or not the Holy Ones appear in the world, the essential nature of things pertaining to things (dharmānām dharmatā)* remains stable. Furthermore, the Buddha honoured the Law he had discovered.

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20 Āṅguttara, II, pp. 38-9; Saṃyutta, III, p. 140.
21 Āṅguttara, I, p. 283.
22 Samyutta, I, pp. 15, 47.
23 Majjhima, III, p. 6.
24 Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 12, p. 85b-c; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 2, p. 75a; ch. 32, p. 298a.
25 Samyutta, II, p. 25; Āṅguttara, I, p. 286; Visuddhimagga, p. 518; Śālistambasūtra, ed. La Vallée Poussin, p. 73; Pañcavimsati, p. 198; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, p. 274; Lankāvatāra, p. 143; Kośavyākhya, p. 293; Madh. vṛtti, p. 40; Pañjikā, p. 588; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 14; Daśabhūmika, p. 65.
Sākyamuni, when he was meditating under the goatherd’s Banyan-tree some weeks after his Enlightenment, sought throughout the world to discover a monk or brāhmin whom he could revere and serve. Not having discovered anyone superior to himself, he resolved “to commit himself to the Law which he had himself discovered, in order to honour, respect and serve it” 26.

Finally, when the Buddha, having shed the psycho-physical aggregates of existence and eliminated all individual feeling, entered stillness like a flame blown out by a breath of wind, he escaped from every one’s sight and could do no more for his disciples. However, the latter were not abandoned entirely: they were still to have a refuge, for the Law was to be their refuge: “Let the Law”, Sākyamuni told them, “be your island and your refuge; seek no other refuge” 27.

The Discourse at Vārānasi. — The essence of the Buddhist Doctrine is contained in the Discourse of Vārānasi, also called the “Discourse setting in motion the Wheel of the Law” (Dharmacakrapravartanāsūtra) in which the Buddha revealed the four noble Truths (āryasatya) to those who were to be his first disciples 28.

After having advised his listeners to avoid the two extremes which consist of a life of pleasure and a life of mortification, the Buddha proposed to them a middle way which would lead to Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa.

“This, O monks, is the noble truth of suffering: birth is suffering, old-age is suffering, disease is suffering, death is suffering, union with what one dislikes is suffering, separation from what one likes is suffering, not obtaining one’s wish is suffering, in brief, the five kinds of objects of attachment (upādānaskandha) are suffering.

“This, O monks, is the noble truth of the origin of suffering: it is the thirst which leads from rebirth to rebirth, accompanied by pleasure and covetousness, which finds its pleasure here and there: the thirst for pleasure, the thirst for existence, the thirst for impermanence.

“This, O monks, is the noble truth of the cessation of suffering: the extinction of that thirst by means of the complete annihilation of desire, by banishing desire, by renouncing it, by being delivered from it, by leaving it no place.

26 Samyutta, I, pp. 138-40; Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 44, p. 321c; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 10, p. 131c.
27 Dīgha, II, p. 100.
28 The Pāli version can be found in Vinaya, I, p. 10; the Sanskrit, in Mahāvastu, III, pp. 331-3. For an explanation of it, see NyanatiloKA, Fundamentals of Buddhism, Colombo, 1949; Buddhist Dictionary, Colombo, 1950; The Word of the Buddha, Colombo, 1952; the articles by W. Rahula and others in IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 249-64.*
"This, O monks, is the noble truth of the path which leads to the cessation of suffering: it is the noble path, with eight branches, which is called right faith, right will, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration".  

The meaning and import of these four truths should be explained briefly.

The Truth of Suffering. — The truth of suffering raises the question of universality of suffering. Suffering does not result only from painful feelings, whether bodily or mental, which can affect us. It is inherent in all "formations" (sāṃskāra), that is, in all the psycho-physical phenomena of existence, whatever the form taken by this last.* These formations, which are continually appearing and disappearing, are transitory; being transitory, they are tainted by suffering which results from their instability; being suffering, they assert themselves beyond any control of the endurer and do not constitute a self, or pertain to a self:

"Whether there is an appearance of a Tathāgata (or Buddha), whether there is no appearance of a Tathāgata, the causal law of nature, the orderly fixing of things prevails: all formations are impermanent (anītya), all formations are suffering (duḥkha), all things are selfless (anātmaka)".  

These three characteristics are interdependent: "What do you think, O monks, is corporeality [or other psycho-physical phenomena]: permanent or impermanent?" "Impermanent, Lord". "But is what is impermanent suffering or joy?" "Suffering, Lord". "So therefore, whatever is impermanent, full of suffering, subject to change, can one, when one considers it, say: That is mine, I am that, that is my self?" "One cannot, Lord". "Consequently, O monks, with regard to corporeality [and other phenomena] everything that has ever been, will be or is, be it inside us or in the world outside, be it strong or weak, low or high, distant or near, all that is not-mine, I am not it, it is not my self: this is what should be seen in truth by whomever possesses true knowledge".  

Two questions arise: what exactly are the psycho-physical phenomena? Why are they selfless?***

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30 Aṅguttara, I, p. 286.  
The early texts provide three classes of phenomena: 1. the five aggregates (skandha), 2. the twelve bases (āyatana) of consciousness; 3. the eighteen elements (dhātu).

I. The five aggregates (skandha) are:

1. corporeality (rupa): the four great elements (mahābhūta) — earth, water, fire and wind — and matter derived (upādāyarūpa) from the four great elements.

2. feeling (vedanā): feelings resulting from contact with the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

3. perception (samjña): perceptions of colours, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles and mental images.

4. volition (samskāra): volitions concerning colours, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles and mental objects.

5. consciousness (vijñāna): consciousness of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

The five aggregates are inseparable. The texts show that the passage from one existence to another and the development of consciousness cannot be explained independently of corporeality, perception, feeling and volitions: “Any feeling, perception and consciousness are associated and not dissociated, it is impossible to separate one from the other and to show their difference, since what one feels, one perceives, and what one perceives, one knows.”

The transitory and impersonal nature of the five aggregates is revealed under scrutiny.

Let us suppose that the Ganges carries along a mass of foam and that a man with keen eyesight perceives it, observes it and examines it closely. He will find that that ball of foam is empty, insubstantial, and without any true essence. Equally, if one examines corporeality in all its aspects, it appears as empty, insubstantial and without any true essence; and it is the same for the other four aggregates: “Matter is like a ball of foam, feeling is like a bubble of water, consciousness is like a mirage, volition is like the trunk of a banana tree and consciousness is like a phantom.”

When she was questioned about the origin and destiny of a being (sattva), the nun Vajirā replied: “What do you mean by saying ‘being’? Your doctrine is false. This is merely an accumulation of changing formations (samskāra): there is no being here. Just as wherever parts of the chariot get together, the word “chariot” is used, so equally, wherever

32 Saṁyutta, III, pp. 59-61; also see III, pp. 47, 86-7.
33 Majjhima, I, p. 293.
34 Saṁyutta, III, pp. 140-2. This famous stanza is quoted in Madh. vṛtti, p. 41.
there are the five aggregates, there is the being; such is common opinion. Everything that is born is just suffering, suffering what remains and what disappears; nothing else arises but suffering, no other thing than suffering ceases to be.\textsuperscript{35}

However, one might say, comparison is not reason. Nevertheless, in the teaching on the Not-self which followed the Discourse at Vārānasī, the Buddha explained that the five aggregates are not the Self since if corporeality, feeling, perception, volition and consciousness were the Self, they could be subject to disease, and one should be able to say, with regard to corporeality, etc.: Be my body so, be not my body so\textsuperscript{36}. In other words, if psycho-physical phenomena were the self or pertained to the Self, they could be controlled and directed, but such is not the case.

Can one also say that, even if corporeality eludes us, at least thought belongs to us individually? The Buddha would immediately reply: "It would be even better, O disciples, if a child of our times, who has not learned of the Doctrine, were to take as the Self this body formed of the four elements, rather than take the mind. And why is that so? It is because, O disciples, the body formed of the four elements seems to last one or two years... or it seems to last a hundred years or more. But that which, O disciples, is called the mind, thought or consciousness, arises and disappears in an endless changing of day and night. Just as, O disciples, a monkey gambolling in a forest or a wood, grasps a branch then lets it go and grasps another one, so, O disciples, what is called the mind, thought or consciousness arises and disappears in an endless changing of day and night."\textsuperscript{37}

II. The second classification of phenomena concerns the twelve bases (āyatana) of consciousness\textsuperscript{38}.

1. The six internal (ādhyātmika) bases are those of the eye (cakṣus), ear (śrōtra), nose (ghrāṇa), tongue (jihvā), body (kāya) and mind (manas).

2. The six external (bāhya) bases are the visible (rūpa), sound (śabda), odour (gandha), taste (rasa), the touchable (spraṣṭāvya) and the object of thought (dharma).

This table explains their relationship:

\textsuperscript{35} Samyutta, I, p. 135. See Oldenberg-Foucher (quoted above n. 29), p. 263.
\textsuperscript{36} Vinaya, I, p. 13; Samyutta, III, pp. 66-8.
\textsuperscript{37} Samyutta, II, pp. 94-5.
\textsuperscript{38} Dīgha, II, p. 302, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ādhyātmika āyatana</th>
<th>Bāhyya āyatana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. cakṣus</td>
<td>7. rūpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. śrotra</td>
<td>8. śabda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ghrāṇa</td>
<td>9. gandha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. jihvā</td>
<td>10. rasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. kāya</td>
<td>11. spraṣṭavya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. manas</td>
<td>12. dharma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bases 1 to 5 and 7 to 11 are physical; bases 1 to 5 are organs (*indriya*) made of subtle matter (*rūpaprasāda*) derived from the four great elements (*upādāyarūpa*); bases 7 to 11 are objects (*viṣaya*) made of rough matter.

Base 6, the *manaāyatana*, is of a mental order: it is a collective term designating all forms of consciousness.

Base 12, the *dharma* *āyatana*, can be of a physical or mental order. It designates every object of thought, whether past, present or future, real or imaginary.

The eye perceives only the visible, the ear only sound, while the *manas* grasps, as well as its own object, the objects of the other five senses and those senses themselves. This is expressed in the formula: “The five organs each have their own object, their own domain and do not experience the object-domain of their neighbour, but the *manas* is their resort and experiences the object-domain of them all”.

III. Depending on the previous one, the third classification, in eighteen elements (*dhātu*), explains the workings of the consciousness. In fact, the organ (*indriya*) as a substrate (*āśraya*) and the object (*viṣaya*) as a seized-object (*ālambana*), give rise to consciousness (*vijñāna*). This is expressed by the formula: “Because of the eye and the visible, visual consciousness (*cakṣurviṣṇāna*) arises...; because of the mind (*manas*) and the object of thought (*dharma*), mental consciousness (*manoviṣṇāna*) arises; the conjunction of the three is contact (*sparśa*); there arise together (*sahajāta*) feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*) and volition (*cetanā*).
The eighteen dhātus should therefore be set out in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organs</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Consciousnesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. cakṣus</td>
<td>7. rūpa</td>
<td>13. cakṣurvijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. śrotra</td>
<td>8. śabda</td>
<td>14. śrotravijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ghrāna</td>
<td>9. gandha</td>
<td>15. ghrānavijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. jihvā</td>
<td>10. rasa</td>
<td>16. jihvāvijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. kāya</td>
<td>11. spraṣṭavaya</td>
<td>17. kāyavijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. manas</td>
<td>12. dharma</td>
<td>18. manovijñāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dhātus 1 to 5 and 7 to 11 are physical; dhātus 6 and 13 to 18 are mental; dhātu 12 can be physical or mental.

Unlike the manaḍāyatana, which was a factor in the previous classification, the manodhātu (No. 6) is formed by one of the six consciousnesses. While the first five consciousnesses (dhātus 13 to 17) have the five material organs, eye, etc (dhātus 1 to 5) as their substrate (āśraya), the sixth consciousness, mental consciousness (dhātu 18), has no such substrate. Consequently, in order to attribute a substrate to it, the term manas or manodhātu (dhātu 6) is given to what is used as substrate as a “contiguous and immediate antecedent” (samanantarāpratyaya), i.e., any of the six consciousnesses which have just passed (yad anantarātītāṃ vijñānam)\(^{42}\).

Just like the five skandha, the twelve āyatana, and the eighteen dhātu are “impermanent, painful, impersonal and changing” (anitya, duḥkha, anātmaka, viparināmadharma)\(^{43}\).

If all the psycho-physical phenomena of existence are stamped by impermanence and marked by suffering, it ensues that all existences in which they occur share the same defects.

Samsāra, or the round of rebirths, has its origin in eternity: “It is impossible to find any beginning from which beings steeped in ignorance and bound by the thirst for existence wander aimlessly from rebirth to rebirth”\(^{44}\).

According to Buddhist tradition, this occurs throughout the five destinies (pañcagati) and the threefold world (traiḍhātuka).

The five destinies\(^{45}\) are those of the hells (naraka), animals (tirya-
gyoni), ghosts (preta), men (manusya) and gods (deva). The first three are qualified as unhappy (durgati, apāya) and the last two as happy (sugati).

The threefold world\(^{46}\) includes:

1. The Kāmadhātu, world of desire, or of the five senses, which includes the destinies of the hells, animals, ghosts, men and some of the gods: the six classes of the gods of the world of desire\(^{47}\).

2. The Rūpadhātu, world of subtle matter, which includes heavenly beings who have been reborn into the world of Brahma and who are distributed throughout the spheres of the four ecstasies (dhyāna).

3. The Ārūpyadhātu, world of formlessness, which includes heavenly beings who have been reborn in the shape of a “mental series”, in the spheres of the four attainments (samāpatti). These spheres consist of:

1. the sphere of unlimited space (ākāśānantyāyatana),
2. the sphere of unlimited consciousness (vijñānānantyāyatana),
3. the sphere of nothingness (ākīṃcanyāyatana),
4. the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (naivasaṃyānāśasaṃyāyatana) also called the Summit of Existence (bhavagra).

Here, according to the Sanskrit list, is the distribution of the gati and dhātu:

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I. Kāmadhātu
  1. Naraka
  2. Tiryagyoni
  3. Preta
  4. Manuṣya

  5. Kāmadeva
     1. Caturmahārājakāyika
     2. Trāyastrimśa
     3. Yāma
     4. Tuṣita
     5. Nirmānarati
     6. Paranirmítavásaśavartin

     Devaloka

II. Rūpadhātu
    1st Dhyāna
       1. Brahmakāyika
       2. Brahmapurohita
       3. Mahābrahma

    2nd Dhyāna
       1. Parittabha
       2. Apramāṇabha
       3. Ābhāsvara

    3rd Dhyāna
       1. Parittasubha
       2. Apramāṇasubha
       3. Śubhakṛtsna

    Brahmaloka
```
In the first three destinies there is more suffering than joy; in the human destiny, the two balance; in the divine destinies joy prevails over suffering. However, whatever the blisses they may entail, all existences are basically painful since they are transitory, and joys which are doomed to disappear are sufferings. Vitiated by impermanence, existences are only an infinitesimal point in the long night of suffering: "While, on this long voyage, you wandered aimlessly from birth to birth, and you groaned and you wept because you had a share in what you hated and you did not have a share in what you liked, there have flowed, there have been shed by you more tears than there is water in the four oceans." 48.

The Truth of the Origin of Suffering 49. — The subject of the second noble truth is the origin of suffering (duḥkhasamudaya). Transitory, painful and impersonal though they may be, the phenomena of existence do not, for all that, arise by chance: their appearance and disappearance are ruled by the fixed law of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda) which, in the first case, functions in direct order, and in the second, in reverse order. It amounts to the fact that birth (janman) is caused by action (karman) and that action itself is conditioned by passion (kleśa).*

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49 In our opinion, the most lucid description remains that of L. de La Vallée Poussin, Théorie des douze causes, Ghent, 1916. Also see B.C. Law, Formulations of the Pratītyasamutpāda, JRAS, 1937, pp. 287-92; B.M. Barua, Pratītyasamutpāda as a Basic Concept of Buddhist Thought, Law Comm. Volume, Poona, 1946, pp. 574-89. The most searching Indian treatise is the Pratītyasamutpādasāstra of Ullāṅgha, ed. V. Gokhale, Bonn, 1930. Two particularly noteworthy western interpretations are: P. Oltramare, La formule bouddhique des douze causes, Geneva, 1909; A. Foucher, La Vie du Bouddha, Paris, 1949, pp. 163-70.
Action is a volition (cetanā), whether good or bad (kusala, akusala), which is manifested in good or bad actions of body, speech and mind. The essence of action is in the mind, and action is not truly action unless it is samcetaniya, that is, "conscious, reflected, willed", and when it is performed samcintiya, consciously, with reflection and willingly.

This action necessarily yields a fruit of maturation (vipakaphala). This is different from its cause because since the latter is always a morally qualified action, good or bad, the fruit of maturation is always indeterminate (avyākṛta) from the moral point of view and consequently does not yield any further maturation.**

The fruit of maturation is, in the first place, an agreeable or painful feeling and, in the second place, an organism which makes that feeling possible. In a word, any existence, or more precisely any birth (janman) with the feelings it entails is fruit of maturation.

Action does not always incur immediate maturation: there are actions which incur maturation in this life, others immediately after death, in the next rebirth and, finally, others even later.

All this has been well summarized in the Anguttara (III, p. 415):

"What is action? — I assert that action is volition, since it is by willing that one performs an action with the body, speech or mind.

"What is the origin of actions? — Contact is the origin of actions.

"What is the variety of actions? — There are actions which mature in feeling in the hells, among animals, among ghosts, in the world of men and in the world of the gods.

"What is the maturation of action? — I say that the maturation of action is of three kinds: action matures in the present existence, in the future existence or in the course of successive births".

There are ten varieties of actions called "Wrong ways of action" (akuśala karmapatha) which mature in the three unhappy destinies (hells, animal realm and realm of ghosts): 1. murder (prāṇātipāta), 2. theft (adattādana), 3. sexual misconduct (kāmamithyācāra), 4. false speech (ṛṣṭavāda), 5. slander (paiśunyavāda), 6. harsh speech (puruṣyavāda), 7. frivolous talk (sambhinnapralāpa), 8. covetousness (abhidyā), 9. ill-will (vyāpāda), 10. false views (mithyādṛṣṭi). — In contrast, the ten "Good ways of action" (kusala karmapatha) mature in the happy destinies (the realms of mankind and of the gods).

All the happy or unhappy destinies which constitute the fruit of action will disappear when that fruit is exhausted; they constitute only one step on the path of painful rebirth. So therefore, the intentional actions

50 Digha, III, p. 269.
which determine the destiny of beings constitute their welfare and inheritance, an inheritance which no one can renounce:

"Deeds are the welfare of beings, deeds are their inheritance, deeds are the womb that bears them, deeds are the race to which they are related, deeds are their resort" 51.

"Neither in the kingdom of the air, nor in the middle of the sea, nor if you hide in a mountain cave, nowhere on earth will you find a place where you can escape the fruit of your bad actions" 52.

They are strictly personal and incommunicable: "Those bad actions which are yours were not done by your mother, or your father, or your brother, or your sister, or your friends and advisers, or your kinsmen and blood relatives, or by ascetics, or by brāhmīns, or by gods. It is you alone who have done those bad actions: you alone must experience the fruit" 53.

Action which matures in suffering draws its virulent efficacy from the passion (klesa) which inspires it. That is why the second noble truth asserts that suffering — the fruit of action — originates in thirst (ṭṛṣṇā), that is, desire.

However, here desire is taken in its wider sense, and there are three kinds: 1. the thirst for pleasures (kāmatrṣṇā): a desire which is roused and takes root when confronted with agreeable objects and pleasant ideas; 2. the thirst for existence (bhavatrṣṇā), a desire associated with the belief in the lasting duration of existence; 3. the thirst for non-existence (vibhavatrṣṇā), a desire associated with the belief that everything ends when death comes. According to this concept, it is pernicious to delight in sense-objects, and even more pernicious to entertain in oneself an impossible ideal of eternal survival or utter annihilation. Buddhism constitutes the outright condemnation of personalism and materialism.

Desire taints the action of the threefold poison of craving (rāga), hatred (dveṣa) and delusion (moha). It is the profound cause of action: "O monks, there are three causes (nidāna) from which actions originate: greed, hatred and delusion" 55, and, even more poetically: "Delighted by craving, maddened by hatred, blinded by delusion, dominated and perturbed, man ponders his own downfall, that of others and both together; in his mind, he experiences suffering and sorrow" 56.

We should now examine the complex mechanism which indissolubly

51 Majjhima, III, p. 203; Aṅguttara, III, p. 186.
52 Dhammapada, st. 127.
53 Majjhima, III, p. 181.
54 Vinaya, I, p. 10.
55 Aṅguttara, I, p. 263.
56 Aṅguttara, I, pp. 156-7.
links desire to action and action to painful rebirth. This is the system of dependent origination \((\text{pratītyasamutpāda})\) discovered by the Buddha and given by him as the corner stone of his doctrine.

While the theory of the Not-self reduces all the phenomena of existence to entities which are transitory, painful and insubstantial, the system of dependent origination demonstrates that the appearance and disappearance of such phenomena, far from being left to chance, are ruled by a strict determinism. This origination forms a chain of twelve links \((\text{dvādāsāṅga})\) each of which conditions the next, and this conditioning is expressed by the formula: “This being, that is; from the arising of this, that arises”; and in reverse: “This not being, that is not; on the cessation of this, that ceases”\(^{58}\).

1st *Avidyāpratyayāḥ samśkārāḥ* “Conditioned by ignorance are the karmic formations”.

Ignorance consists of ignorance of the four noble truths\(^{59}\), ignorance of the origin and disappearance of the *skandha*\(^{60}\), the fourfold error \((\text{viparyāsa})\) which consists of taking for eternal what is transitory, for pleasant what is unpleasant, for pure what is impure, for a Self what has no “self” \((\text{the five skandha})\)\(^{61}\).

The beginning of the causal chain, ignorance is nevertheless not without causes: it has as its nutriment (1) the five hindrances \((\text{nīvarana})\), covetousness, ill-will, sloth and torpor, pride, doubt or scepticism, which in turn are nurtured by (2) misdeeds of body, speech and mind, which spring from (3) non-restraint of the senses, (4) a lack of precise awareness of disagreeable feelings, (5) superficial reflection \((\text{ayoniśo manasikāra})\), (6) unbelief, (7) not listening to the Dharma. (8) not frequenting the holy ones\(^{62}\).

One thing is certain: ignorance is a psychological state and, contrary to some western explanations, has nothing cosmic or metaphysical.

It is the condition of the karmic formations \((\text{samskāra})\), namely, actions of body, speech and mind: intentional actions, morally good or bad.

2nd *Samskārapratyayam vijñānam* “Conditioned by the karmic formations is consciousness”.

After death, because of actions, there appears in the mother’s womb

\(^{57}\) Vinaya, I, p. 1; Majjhima, III, p. 63; Saṃyutta, II, pp. 1-4, etc.

\(^{58}\) Saṃyutta, II, pp. 28, 65.

\(^{59}\) Saṃyutta, II, p. 4.

\(^{60}\) Saṃyutta, III, pp. 162, 171.

\(^{61}\) Aṅguttara, II, p. 52.

\(^{62}\) Aṅguttara, V, pp. 113, 116.
the consciousness aggregate (six groups of consciousnesses) which is inseparable from the other four aggregates. This is a consciousness which is a fruit of maturation (vipākaphala) and, as such, indeterminate from the moral point of view (avyākṛta). It is the explanation of the new existence since “if consciousness, after having entered the mother’s womb, were to go away, the embryo would not be born” 63.

3rd Vijñānapratyayānāmarūpam “Conditioned by consciousness is mentality-corporeality”.

Mentality should be understood as the three mental skandha excluding vijñāna: feeling (vedanā), perception (saṃjñā) and volitions (saṃskāra). By corporeality is meant form: the four great elements and derived form.

From the mental consciousness that has entered the mother’s womb, proceeds the living psycho-physical complex consisting of the five skandha. This complex is also a fruit of maturation.

4th Nāmarūpapratyayānāsadāyatanam “Conditioned by mentality-corporeality are the six bases of consciousness”.

These are the six internal (ādhyātmika) bases of consciousness: eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

The normal functioning of the five skandha requires a sensorial and mental organism, internal bases of consciousness, which can perceive and grasp the six external (bāhya) bases of consciousness: material objects (viṣaya) and objects of thought (dharma).

5th Sadāyatanapratyayānāsparśaḥ “Conditioned by the six bases is contact”.

The existence of the six bases gives rise to sensorial and mental impression: the making of contact between the six organs and their respective objects. The texts say: “Due to the eye and the visible..., the mind and the object of thought, there respectively arise visual consciousness..., mental consciousness. The conjunction of the three (trikāmantipātā) is contact” 64.

6th Sparśapratyayāvedanā “Conditioned by contact is feeling”.

From the contact between the organ, object and consciousness there results agreeable, disagreeable or neutral feeling, feeling which is inevitably accompanied by perception (saṃjñā) and volition (cetanā).

Like the four previous links, feeling is always the fruit of action, the morally undefined result of good or bad actions performed in the previous life. However, this feeling will cause an awakening of passion.

63 Dīgha, II, p. 63.
64 Samyutta, II, p. 72; IV, pp. 67, 86.
7th *Vedanāpratayā* trṣnā “Conditioned by feeling is thirst”.

The feeling experienced by one organ or another immediately arouses an impassioned reaction for one object or another: colour, sound, odour, taste, tangibility or object of thought.

8th *Trṣnāpratayam upādānam* “Conditioned by thirst is grasping”.

Grasping is exasperated desire, excess or passion which is expressed by (1) sensual grasping (*kāmopādāna*), (2) grasping false views (*drṣṭyupādāna*), (3) blind belief in the efficacy of vows and rites (*śilavratopādāna*), (4) blind belief in personalist ideas (*ātmavādopādāna*) \(^{65}\).

9th *Upādānapratayo bhavaḥ* “Conditioned by grasping is [action which gives rise to] re-existence”.

*Bhava*, literally “existence” should here be taken to mean *punarbhavajanakam karma* “action which gives rise to re-existence”. Exasperated grasping (*upādāna*) causes a process of activity (*karmabhava*) — good or bad intentional actions — which will determine a process of rebirth (*utpattibhava*): a new existence, a fruit of maturation, in the realms of the Kāma-, Rūpa- or Ārūpyadhatu.

10th *Bhavapratyayā jātiḥ* “Conditioned by the action which gives rise to re-existence is birth”.

As we have just seen, the process of activity culminates in a new birth: “the coming into the world, the descent, the realization of such-and-such beings (*sattva*) in one category (*nikāya*) of beings or another, the appearance of the *skandha*, the acquiring of the organs” \(^{66}\).

In that definition, the word being (*sattva*) should not be taken literally, since Buddhism is essentially a denial of the individual or person. Birth is merely the appearance of new *skandha*: the *skandha* of a new existence.

11th *Jātipratyayān jarāmaraṇam* “Conditioned by birth is old-age-and-death”.

Birth leads to all the miseries of life: old-age-and-death, but also “sorrow, lamentation, suffering, grief and despair.

The causal chain, the functioning of which has just been described, therefore includes twelve links the nature and function of which are:

\(^{65}\) Samyutta, II, p. 3.

\(^{66}\) Samyutta, II, p. 3.
This table shows that the twelve-linked Pratītyasamutpāda is both double and triple:

It is double because it involves a process of activity (karmabhava), i.e. links 1 to 2, 8 to 10, and a process of birth (utpattibhava), i.e. links 3 to 7 and 11 to 12. In other words, it is both cause and fruit.

It is triple because three links (1, 8 and 9) are passion (kleśa), two links (2 and 10) are action (karman), and seven links (3 to 7 and 11 to 12) are fruit of maturation (vipākaphala) or birth (janman). This shows that the circle of existence (bhavacakra) has no beginning; birth is due to passions and actions; passions and actions are due to birth; birth is due to passions and actions.

The table drawn up here refers to an artificially divided group of three existences in the infinite succession of existences integrated into a beginningless Samsāra; links 1 and 2 represent the past existence, links 3 to 10 represent the present existence and links 11 and 12, the future existence.

The system of dependent origination has often been misunderstood and, what is even more serious, misinterpreted. The Buddha had foreseen this since, while meditating on the truth he had just discovered under the tree of Enlightenment, he reflected as follows: "I have

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On all these points, see Kośa, III, pp. 59-61, 68.
discovered this profound truth, which is difficult to perceive difficult to
understand, appeasing, sublime, transcending all thought, abstruse,
which only the wise can grasp... For humanity which bustles about in
the whirlwind of this world, it will be a difficult matter for the mind to
embrace, this doctrine of causality, the chain of causes and effects”68.

It nevertheless remains true that this theory constitutes the corner
stone of the Buddhist doctrine: “Whoever understands it understands
the Dharma and whoever understands the Dharma understands it”69. It
alone enables one to grasp how, in the absence of any substantial entity,
the phenomena of existence are governed by a strict determinism; in
other words, how “suffering exists, but no one is afflicted; there is no
agent, but activity is a fact”70.

The Truth of Nirvāṇa71. — The law of causality, the chain of
causes and effects is a difficult thing for humanity to grasp. Just as
difficult to grasp is the entry into stillness of all formations, the
detachment from earthly things, the extinction of craving, the cessation
of desire, the end, Nirvāṇa72. Nirvāṇa is the subject of the third noble
truth, the truth of the cessation of suffering (duḥkhaṃnirodha).

If desire arouses action, and if action in turn gives rise to existence, it
is enough to eliminate desire in order to neutralize action, and action
thus neutralized would no longer mature in new existences. Through the
cessation of birth, old-age-and-death, sorrow and lamentation, suffering,
grief and despair cease: such is the cessation of the whole realm of
suffering73.

Nirvāṇa is twofold in aspect: it is the cessation (a) of desire, (b) of
suffering or of existence.

a. Nirvāṇa in this world is no different from holiness (arhattva):

68 Vinaya, I, pp. 4-5.
69 Majjhima, I, pp. 190-1.
71 Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, The Way to Nirvāṇa, Cambridge, 1917; Remarques sur
le Nirvāṇa, Studia Catholica, I, 1924, p. 25; Nirvāṇa, Paris, 1925; Les deux Nirvāṇa d’après
la Vibhāṣā, Ac. de Belgique, Bulletin, 2 Dec. 1929; Le Nirvāṇa d’après Āryadeva, MCB, I
1932, p. 127; Une dernière note sur le Nirvāṇa, MéI. Linossier, II, 1932, p. 329; Documents
d’Abhidharma, BEFEO, 1930, p. 1; Musila et Nārada, le chemin du Nirvāṇa, MCB, V,
1937, p. 189; Th. Stcherbatsky, The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, Leningrad, 1927; E.
Obermiller, Nirvāṇa according to the Tibetan tradition, IHQ, V, pp. 211-57; B. C. Law,
Aspects of Nirvāṇa IC, II, p. 327; E. J. Thomas, Nirvāṇa and Parinirvāṇa, India Antiqua,
Leiden, 1947, p. 294; H. Von Glasenapp, Unsterblichkeit und Erlösung in den indischen
Religionen, Halle, 1938.
72 Vinaya, I, p. 5.
73 Vinaya, I, pp. 1-2.
"The destruction of desire, the destruction of hatred, the destruction of delusion, that is what is called Nirvāṇa and holiness"\textsuperscript{74}. The holy one in possession of Nirvāṇa has destroyed desire and dispelled any cause of rebirth, but the destruction of desire still leaves intact all the elements of existence called skandha, corporeality, feelings, perceptions, volitions and consciousnesses. The Nirvāṇa-in-this-world of a person who wins deliverance while alive is called Nirvāṇa "with residual conditioning" (sopadhiśeṣa).

b. After the death of someone who has obtained Nirvāṇa in this world or of a holy one, there is no longer a new existence. In fact, "the body of the holy one continues to exist even though the thirst which produces a new existence has been cut off. As long as his body lasts, so long will gods and men see him. But, when his body is broken and his life gone away, gods and men will no longer see him"\textsuperscript{75}. This is what is called Nirvāṇa "without residual conditioning" (nirupadhiśeṣa). Just as a flame disturbed by a blast of wind grows dim and disappears from sight, so the holy one released from the nāma-rūpa (physical and mental aggregates of existence) enters into appeasement thus disappears from all sight. No one can measure him; to speak of him, there are no words; what the mind might conceive vanishes and all ways of speaking vanish\textsuperscript{76}.

45 In the world of becoming, all the elements of existence, subject to dependent origination, are both causes and caused: they are, it is said, "conditioned" (samskṛta). Nirvāṇa, which is beyond becoming, escapes the causal chain: it is "unconditioned" (asamskṛta). This absolute is asserted by several texts which say: "There is an unborn, unarisen, uncreated, unconditioned; if there was not an unborn, there would be issue for what is born, but as there is an unborn, there is an issue for what is born, arisen, created, conditioned"\textsuperscript{77}. When considered from that point of view, Nirvāṇa is cessation (niruddha), calm (śānta), excellent (prāṇīta) and escape or salvation (nīḥsarāṇa)\textsuperscript{78}.

Buddhist schools and historians of religions have endlessly discussed the true nature of Nirvāṇa, advocating in turn and according to their personal tendencies, for Nirvāṇa-Existence or Nirvāṇa-Annihilation.\* However, in order to enter the debate with a full knowledge of the facts,

\textsuperscript{74} Saṃyutta, IV, pp. 251-2.
\textsuperscript{75} Dīgha, I, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{76} Suttanipāta, v. 1074.
\textsuperscript{77} Udāna, VIII, 3, p. 80; Itivuttaka, p. 37; Udānavarga, ed. BECKH, XXVI, 21-4.
\textsuperscript{78} Kośa, VII, p. 31 sq.
one must first be convinced of the impersonality and the emptiness of all forms of existence of which not one is a Self or pertains to a Self. In such conditions, if, in regard to becoming, suffering and activity are explained as having no subject or agent, in regard to the absolute, Nirvāṇa in no way implies the existence of someone who has entered Nirvāṇa:

Suffering exists, but no one is afflicted,
There is no agent, but activity is a fact,
Nirvāṇa is, but whoever has entered Nirvāṇa is not,
The Path exists, but no-one treads it.

THE TRUTH OF THE PATH. — That quotation leads us to the fourth noble truth the subject of which is the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering (duḥkhanirodhaṃ upādhi). The noble eightfold Path defined in the Discourse of Vāraṇāsi consists of three elements: morality, concentration and wisdom.

I. Morality (śīla) consists of conscious and intentional abstention from all misdeeds of body and speech and also sometimes — but not always — of mind: 1. murder, 2. theft, 3. sexual misconduct, 4. falsehood, 5. slander, 6. harsh talk, 7. frivolous talk, 8. covetousness, 9. ill-will, 10. false views. It is aimed at avoiding anything which could cause another person harm. The observance of morality increases in value when it is the result of a vow or commitment: it is then called the moral restraint (saṁvarasīla). Obligations vary with the states of life. As will be seen further on, the lay Buddhist conforms to the fivefold morality (pāṇīcaśīla) and, when fasting, to the eightfold morality (aśṭamāsīla); a probationer or ṣikṣāmāṇa is bound by six laws (saṭṭhadharma) and the novice of both sexes by ten rules (daśasikṣāpada), the bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs are kept subject to the articles of their Discipline, approximately 250 for the monk and 500 for the nun. Although it is an indispensable condition for spiritual progress, morality is only the first step. What is the use of avoiding misdeeds if the heart and mind react to every appeal of passion? The second element of the Path will therefore be aimed at purifying thought.

II. Concentration (samādhi)* is the fixing of the mind on one point. It is basically the same as the absence of distraction (avikṣepa) and mental quietude (samatha). In preference, it is practised during the nine successive mental abodes (navāṇupūrvavivaha) which consist of the four ecstasies (dhyāna) of the world of subtle form, the four attainments (samā-
patti) of the formless world and the attainment of the cessation of perception and felling (samājñāvedayitanirodha)\textsuperscript{81}.

By rejecting the five sense-objects and dispelling the five hindrances to meditation (covetousness, ill-will, sloth and torpor, regret and doubt), the ascetic enters the first ecstasy, endowed with reasoning (vitarka) and discursive thought (vicāra), born of detachment and which is joy and happiness. — By discarding reasoning and discursive thought, he enters the second ecstasy, inward peace, fixing of the mind on one point, free of reasoning and discursive thought, born of concentration, and which is joy and happiness. — By renouncing joy (prīti), he dwells in equanimity (upeksa), mindful and fully aware; he experiences happiness (sukha) in his body; he enters the third ecstasy which is defined by the holy ones as being equanimity, mindfulness, dwelling in happiness. — By destroying happiness and suffering, through the previous discarding of joy and sorrow, he dwells in the fourth ecstasy which is free of suffering and happiness, and purified in renouncement and mindfulness. — Having gone beyond any notion of matter, discarding any notion of resistance and regarding any notion of plurality, he cries: "Infinite is space" and enters the sphere of unlimited space (ākāśānantyāyatana). — Having gone beyond the sphere of unlimited space, he successively enters the sphere of unlimited consciousness (vijñānānantyāyatana), the sphere of nothingness (ākīnčanyāyatana) and the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (naivasamājñānasamājñāyatana). — Finally, going beyond all that, he enters the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (samājñāvedayitanirodhasamāpatti); when he has reached that stage, his passions are destroyed by knowledge and he has won what, strictly speaking, is termed Nirvāṇa-in-this-world\textsuperscript{82}.*

The practice of concentration, contingently completed by insight (vipaśyanā), endows the ascetic with six higher spiritual powers (abhijñā), five of which are mundane and one of which is supramundane: the magic powers, the divine eye which is extremely far-reaching, the penetration of the thoughts of other people, divine hearing, the recollection of previous existences and, finally, the destruction of the impurities which, from this life onwards, ensures mental deliverance\textsuperscript{83}.

\textsuperscript{81} Dīgha, II, p. 156; II, pp. 165, 290; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 410.
\textsuperscript{82} Vinaya, III, p. 4; Dīgha, I, pp. 37, 73, 172; Majjhima, I, pp. 21, 40, 89, 117, 159; Samyutta, II, pp. 210, 216, 221; Aṅguttara, I, pp. 53, 163, 182, 242; Lalitavistara, p. 129; Pañcavimśati, p. 167. — For a rational explanation of this Yoga technique, see M. ELIADÉ, Le Yoga, Immortalité et Liberté, Paris, 1954, pp. 174-9.
The practice of the nine successive mental abodes is far from exhausting the list of mental practices invented or adopted by Buddhism. In order not to be too incomplete, we should also point out the three concentrations which have as their object Emptiness (śūnyatā), Signlessness (ānimitta) and Wishlessness (apraṇihita) which exhaust the examination of the Buddhist truths in all their aspects.

Finally, four mental exercises, the Brahmavihāra, which have been known to and practised by Indian yogins at all time, are particularly recommended even though, in the economy of the Path, they are somewhat incidental; they consist of projecting in all directions a mind entirely filled with benevolence (maïtrī), compassion (karuṇā), altruistic joy (muditā) and perfect equanimity (upeksā), and embracing the whole world in those infinite feelings.

The observance of morality and the systematic purification of the mind are not enough in themselves to ensure repose, calming, Nirvāṇa to which the ascetic aspires. The intervention of a third element will lead to that end.

III. wisdom (prajñā) or insight (vipaśyanā) produces the four fruits of the Path and attains Nirvāṇa. Wisdom as it was conceived by Śākyamuni is not a gnosis, some intuition of vague and imprecise content which might satisfy superficial minds. It is indeed clear and precise insight, the object of which consists of the three general characteristics (sāmānyalaksana) of things: “All dharmas, notably the physical and mental phenomena of existence (matter, feelings, notions, volitions and consciousnesses) are transitory (anitya), painful (duḥkha) and devoid of a Self or substantial reality (anātman)”. These phenomena succeeding each other in series according to an invariable mechanism last only for a moment; doomed to disappear, they are painful; as such, they are devoid of all autonomy, they do not constitute a Self and do not depend on a Self. It is by mistake that we consider them as me or mine. How is it possible to be attached to those fleeting entities, which are characterized by suffering and do not concern us at all? To turn away from them by making a lucid judgement is ipso facto to eliminate desire, neutralize action and escape painful existence.

Not everyone who wishes attains wisdom. Left to his own forces, the ordinary man finds it difficult to accept that pleasures are vain, joys are suffering and the Self is illusory. If a wise man attempts to enlighten him, he can turn away from the light. If he allows himself to be

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84 Vinaya, III, p. 93; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 360; Aṅguttara, I, p. 299.
convinced, his adherence, of a purely intellectual nature, is very far from that direct insight which constitutes true wisdom and which is necessary for salvation. The Buddha therefore distinguished between three and even four kinds of wisdom depending on whether they originate from a teaching (śrūta), reflection (cintā) or contemplation (bhāvanā).

1. The Buddha, being omniscient and the "instructor of gods and men", has discovered and taught the noble truths. His word is truthful, perfect with regard to the meaning and the letter. It was collected and memorized by the auditors (śrāvaka) who repeated it "just as they had heard it". The good disciple "listens to it carefully, gives ear, seeks to understand and relies on the teaching of the Master". If he is unable to verify the truth of the teaching, he must say: "That I accept through faith" or again "The Buddha knows, but I do not know".

The teaching is a precious gift. The appearance of Buddhas in this world is as rare as the blossoming of the Udumbara tree, or ficus glomerata, which bears fruits but which has no visible flower. Of 91 cosmic periods, only three had a Buddha. Even so, when the Buddhas appear in the world and preach the doctrine, not all men are able to see and hear them. One day, Śākyamuni and Ānanda met a wretched old woman at the entrance to Śrāvastī. Moved by pity, Ānanda suggested to the Master that he approach and deliver her: "May the Buddha approach her", he said; "when she sees the Buddha with his marks, minor marks and luminous rays, she will have a thought of joy and find deliverance". The Buddha replied: "That woman does not fulfil the requisite conditions for deliverance". Nevertheless, in response to Ānanda's request, he attempted to appear before her. He approached her from the front, from behind and from the side, from above and from below, but each time, the old woman turned her back to him, lifted her head when she should have lowered it, lowered her head when she should have lifted it, and, finally, covered her face with her hands. She did not even perceive the presence of the Buddha, and the Master concluded: "What else can I do? Everything is useless: there are those people who do not fulfil the requisite conditions for deliverance and who are unable to see the Buddha". Privileged people to whom it is given to hear the word of the Buddha and who give him their adhesion do not

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86 Digha, III, p. 219.
87 Digha, I, p. 230; Majjhima, II, p. 253; III, pp. 117, 133, 221; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 82.
88 Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 5.
89 WALDSCHMIDT, MPS, pp. 356, 372, 394, 430; Lalitavistara, p. 105; Sukhāvatīvyūha, §2; Saddharmapundarīka, p. 39.
90 Upādesa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 125c.
find deliverance for all that. Faith is not enough to ensure them true wisdom upon which final deliverance depends.

2. Wisdom which originates from the teaching must be completed by wisdom which arises from reflection. The latter enables one to grasp the meaning by means of the letter and to interpret the letter through the meaning. This provokes a particular and personal reaction with regard to a teaching which is purely external. Nevertheless, a purely intellectual conviction is still not true wisdom.

3. This last is wisdom resulting from contemplation. It goes straight to the thing, disregarding the letter. It is a direct and autonomous grasping of the Buddhist truth, independent of any external adjunct. As a free thinker, Śākyamuni considered personal conviction alone to be of value. "And now", he sometimes asked his monks, "that you know and think thus, will you say : We honour the Master and, through respect for the Master, we say this or that?" — "We will not do that, Lord". "What you assert, is it not what you yourselves have recognized, you yourselves seen, you yourselves grasped?" "That is exactly so, Lord" 91.

4. Direct wisdom, the only one finally to be of value, does not always move on the same plane: it can be of lower or higher nature. "There is a right but impure view, of solely meritorious value and bearing fruit solely in this world: it is the right view of wordlings who see the truth but keep away from the path laid out by the Buddha". Conversely, "there is a right view which is noble, pure, supramundane and linked to the Path; it is found in the mind which is noble, purified, joined to the Path and following the noble Path; it is wisdom, the faculty, the power of wisdom, a constituent element of enlightenment which consists of the elucidation of the doctrine, a right view which forms part of the Path" 92. It is this direct, supramundane wisdom which gives rise to holiness and by means of which the ascetic, raised to the level of holy one or Arhat, can solemnly affirm: "I have understood the noble truths, destroyed rebirth, lived the pure life, done what had to be done; henceforth, there will be no further births for me" 93.

Early scholasticism fixed the stages of the Buddhist Path, the three essential elements of which we have just studied. They are four in number, each consisting of the acquisition, then enjoyment, of the fruits of the religious life: Srotāpatti, Sakāgāmin, Anāgāmin and Arhattva 94.

91 Majjhima, I, p. 265.
92 Majjhima, III, p. 72.
93 Vin., I, pp. 14, 35, 183; Dīgha, I, pp. 84, 177, 203; Majjhima, I, p. 139; Saṃyutta, I, p. 140; Aṅguttara, I, p. 165, etc.
94 Saṃyutta, V, p. 25; Dīgha, III, pp. 227, 277.
The wordling (*prthagjana*) who has not entered the Path is bound by ten fetters (*samyojana*) which chain him to the round of rebirths: 1. belief in individuality (*satkāyadrśti*), 2. doubt (*vicikitsā*), 3. trust in the value of vows and rites (*śīlavrataparāmarśa*), 4. sensual desire (*kāmarāga*), 5. ill-will (*vyāpāda*), 6. craving for existence consisting of subtle form (*rūparāga*), 7. craving for formless existence (*arūparāga*), 8. pride (*māna*), 9. restlessness (*auddhatya*) and 10. ignorance (*avidyā*). The first five fetters which tie a man to the world of desire are termed lower (*avarabhāgiya*), while the last five which tie him to the world of subtle form and the formless world are higher (*urdhvbhāgiya*). In contrast to the wordling, the noble disciple (*ārya*) enters and progresses along the Path by means of the successive elimination of these ten fetters.

Through the destruction of fetters 1 to 3, he "enters the stream" (*srotāpanna*), and is no longer subject to rebirth in the lower destinies (hells, animal realm and realm of ghosts); he is sure to be delivered and will obtain supreme knowledge.

Through the destruction of fetters 1 to 3 and the lessening of craving, desire and hatred, he becomes a "once returner" (*sakrdāgāmin*); after having returned once more to this world, he will attain the end of suffering.

Through the destruction of fetters 1 to 5, he becomes a "non-returner" (*anāgāmin*); without coming back here, he will appear in the world of the gods and from there he will attain Nirvāṇa.

Through the destruction of all impurities (*āsravakṣaya*), he already obtains in this life mental deliverance, deliverance through knowledge, which is free from impurities and which he himself has understood and realized. In one word, he becomes a holy one or Arhat and possesses a twofold knowledge: that his impurities are destroyed and that they will not arise again (*āsravakṣaya* and *anutpādajñāna*).*

**Buddhist Moralism.** — The Buddhist Law as conceived by Śākyamuni pertains to morality and ethics rather than philosophy and metaphysics. It does not seek to solve the enigmas which arise in the human mind, but is merely intended to make man cross the ocean of suffering. As we have been able to ascertain, accession to the truth is no easy matter: it requires a long sequence of efforts in order to rectify conduct, purify the mind and attain wisdom. Man lacks time to tackle the great metaphysical problems the solution of which already preoccupied the Indians of the sixth century B.C.: are the world and the self eternal or

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95 Aṅguttara, V, p. 17.
96 Dīgha, II, p. 92; Majjhima, I, p. 465 sq.
transitory, finite or infinite? Does the holy one still exist after death or does he disappear with it? Is the vital principle identical to the body or different from it? 97.

The Buddha has classed all these questions among the indeterminate points (avyākṛtavastu) concerning which he would not give an opinion. It is not because he does not know the solution, but because he considers any discussion regarding them to be useless for deliverance, dangerous to good understanding and likely to perturb minds.

A well-known passage in the Majjhima 98 records that Venerable Māluṇkyāputta who was bothered by the metaphysical enigma, came to the master and demanded an explanation. The Buddha received him with gentle irony: "At the time you entered my order, did I say to you: Come, Māluṇkyāputta, and be my disciple; I wish to teach you whether the world is or is not eternal, whether it is limited or finite, whether the vital principle is identical to the body or separate from it, whether the Perfect One survives or does not survive after death?" "You did not say that to me, Lord". "A man", continued the Buddha, "was struck by a poisoned arrow; his friends and relations immediately summoned a skilful physician. What would happen if the sick man were to say: I do not want my wound to be dressed until I know of the man who struck me, whether he is a nobleman or a brāhmin, a vaiśya or a śūdra? Or were he to say: I do not want my wound to be dressed until I know the name of the man who struck me and to what family he belongs, whether he is tall or short or of medium height, and what the weapon that struck me is like? — How would that end? The man would die of his wound". The Buddha then concluded: "I have not explained those great problems because knowledge of such things does not lead to progress in the way of holiness, and because it would not lead to peace and Enlightenment. What leads to peace and Enlightenment is what the Buddha taught his followers: the truth of suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering. That is why, Māluṇkyāputta, what has not been revealed by me shall remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed by me is revealed".

On another occasion, while staying in the Śīmśapa Grove in Kauśām-
bi, the Master took some śimśapa leaves in his hands and said to the monks: "What do you think? Are these few leaves more numerous or are all the leaves of all the trees in the grove more numerous?" "Few are the leaves the Lord holds in his hand; very numerous are all the leaves of all the trees in the grove". "Equally, O monks, much have I learned; very little have I taught. Nevertheless, I have not acted like those teachers who are close-fisted and keep their secrets to themselves: for I have taught you what was useful to you, I have taught you the four truths; but I did not teach you what was not useful to you".

Discussions of a metaphysical nature are, moreover, ferments of discord. On such problems, thinkers have the unpleasant habit of adopting definitive positions and go about repeating: "This alone is true, all the rest is false", and such intransigence provokes endless arguments. For his part, Śākyamuni refused to join issue with his adversaries. He did not give his allegiance to one school, neither did he fight against any system: Whatever opinions are current in the world, he said, "the wise man does not agree with them since he is independent. How could he who is not drawn to what he sees or hears become submissive?". However, independance presupposes tolerance: "It is not I who quarrel with the world, it is the world which quarrels with me. What is accepted in the world is also accepted by me; what is rejected by the world is also rejected by me". The scholar Nāgārjuna, summarizing the doctrine of the Master, concluded: "Everything is true, everything is false; everything is both true and false, both false and true: such is the teaching of the Buddha".

The Middle Way and the Intentional Teaching. — It is not enough to brush aside philosophy in order to remove its dangers. Subdued minds are subject to metaphysical vertigo and, in their despair, turn to extreme solutions which are prejudicial to their welfare. The latter, as we have seen, lies in the eradication of desire in all its forms: the thirst for pleasures (kāmatrṣṇā), but especially the thirst for existence (bhavatrṣṇā) and the thirst for non-existence (vibhavatrṣṇā).

The man who aspires after non-existence willingly believes that everything ends at death; he claims to be a nihilist and falls into the false view of non-existence (vibhavadrṣṭi): "Here below, there is no gift, no sacrifice, no oblation; good and bad actions do not incur maturation the

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99 Samyutta, V, p. 437.
100 Digha, I, pp. 187-8.
101 Suttanipāta, v. 897; Bodh. bhumi, pp. 48-9.
103 Madh. vṛtti, p. 368.
future world does not exist; there is no mother or father; nowhere can there be found any enlightened monk or brähmin who has truly understood the present or future world and who can explain them to others”\textsuperscript{104}. Such a man, being a denier of moral law, will necessarily be a prey to all desires.

In contrast, the man who aspires after existence willingly believes that the soul survives the body; he calls himself a personalist and falls into the false view of existence (bhavadrṣṭi), in the erroneous belief in an eternal and permanent Self. However, as long as he believes in a Self, that man cannot escape the love of pleasure or the hatred of others and, even more certainly, he can but cherish his Self, or be preoccupied with his past and his future. Like the nihilist, but in a different way, the personalist will also be a slave to desire\textsuperscript{105}.

Wishing to eliminate desire, the Buddha rejected both the false view of existence (bhavadrṣṭi) and the false view of non-existence (vibhavadrṣṭi), or again the belief in the extremes (antagṛhadrṣṭi) of eternalism (sāsvata) and nihilism (uccheda) : “To say that everything exists is an extreme, to say nothing exists is another extreme; rejecting both extremes, the Blessed One teaches a middle position”\textsuperscript{106}. On the one hand, physical and mental phenomena (skandha) — body, feelings, perceptions, volitions and consciousnesses — which the personalist considers as a person (pudgala), a living being (jīva), do not belong to me, I am not that, that is not my Self; therefore, the personalist view is precluded. On the other hand, those same phenomena, conditioned by action and passion, reproduce themselves indefinitely according to the immutable laws of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda) which governs their appearance and disappearance; therefore, the materialist nihilistic point of view is to be rejected.

However, the doctrine of the middle as conceived by Sākyamuni cannot be taught without caution to unprepared minds. As a healer of universal suffering, rather than a teacher of philosophy, the Buddha adapted his instructions to the mental dispositions of his listeners and, although some of his teachings should be taken as having a precise and defined meaning (nītārtha), others only have provisional value and need

\textsuperscript{104} Majjhima, III, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{105} The belief in a Self is not a defiled view (kliṣṭā drṣṭi) which would lead directly to offence, for he who believes in the permanence of the soul will, in contrast, be induced to avoid bad actions punishable in hell... However, that belief is incompatible with the Buddhist spiritual life which consists of the eradication of desire.

\textsuperscript{106} Samyutta, II, p. 17.
to be interpreted *neyārtha*, since Śākyamuni often placed himself in the point of view of beings to be converted, seeking to cure rather than instruct them. In order to interpret certain texts, it is necessary, along with scholasticism, to take into account the intentional teaching (*saṃdāḥābhasya*) of the Buddha. To Phālōguna, who believed in the existence of the soul and the person and who asked which is the being that touches, feels, desires and grasps, the Buddha replied: “A stupid question! I deny that there is a being that touches, feels, desires or grasps.” Nevertheless, when Vatsagotra who, having believed in the existence of the Self, no longer did so and asked if it was indeed true that the Self did not exist, the Buddha refused to answer in the negative “in order not to confirm the doctrine of monks and brāhmīns who believed in annihilation”. Having thus corrected such hasty and peremptory opinions, the Master taught the dependent origination of phenomena, an origination in which no eternal or spiritual principle — God or soul — intervenes, but the mechanism of which is strictly ruled by the play of causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*).

Although, in order to reform minds, the Buddha did not disdain the use of skilful means, in principle he did not resort to wonders and miracles to establish the cogency of his doctrines. Preaching alone had to suffice. The good word should germinate in the minds of the listeners and lead them to comprehension of the truths. The Master addressed himself to the minds and had no intention of striking the imaginations by means of the marvellous. The biographies of him, it is true, attribute several miracles to him: prodigies which marked his birth, Enlightenment, preaching and Nirvāṇa; and the holy towns of Śrāvasti, Saṃkāśya, Vaiśāli and Rājagṛha — to mention only the oldest — were the setting for extraordinary events. However, although the Buddha, like his fellows, performed miracles, he had no intention of establishing thaumaturgy as a means of propaganda. During a tournament of magic organized by a rich merchant in Rājagṛha, in which the stake was a cup of carved wood, the disciple Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja rose into the air and made three circuits of the town. Śākyamuni reprimanded him sharply:

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107 On the distinction between *nītārtha* and *neyārtha* sūtras, see the *Catukpratisaranasūtra*, Kośa, IX, p. 246; Kośavyākhya, p. 704; Mahāvyutpattī, Nos. 1546-9; Madh. vṛtti, p. 43; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 125a; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 256; Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 138.


110 Samyutta, IV, p. 400.
"That is not the thing to do. How could you, Bhāradvāja, for a wretched wooden cup, display your extraordinary magic power before the laity? Just as a courtesan agrees to exhibit herself for a vulgar coin, so you displayed your magic powers to the laity for a wretched wooden cup. Such behaviour does not result in attracting non-believers to the faith nor does it confirm believers in their belief. Henceforth, the monks will no longer display their magic powers to the laity"¹¹¹.

We have described here the doctrine of Śākyamuni according to the evidence of the canonical writings. One could point out in these early sources this or that passage which seems to deviate from the traditional positions of Buddhism. Such as, for example, the Bhārahārasūtra¹¹² in which it is said that the bearer of the burden of existence is such-and-such a venerable one, with such-and-such a name, such-and-such a family, such-an-such a clan, etc., or an pericope from the Dīgha and the Samyutta¹¹³ in which one is advised to take oneself as an island and refuge. Certain Buddhist schools such as those of the Vātsiputriyas and the Saṃmatiyas quoted them as their authority in order to introduce doctrinal deviations into Buddhism and go so far as to posit an inexpressible Pudgala which would be neither the same as the skandha nor different from them. However, these seemingly aberrant passages, which should be interpreted in the light of the Buddha’s intentional teaching, are drowned in the mass of others in which the non-existence of the Ātman is formally affirmed.

The noble truths preached by Śākyamuni were to resist the ravages of time and progress in scholastics. They are again to be found, modified and interpreted but always categorical, in the writings of the great scholars of both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, as well as Buddhaghosa, continued to explain the doctrine of the Not-self and the intricacies of dependent origination.

The persistance of the doctrinal kernel across the centuries is all the more remarkable as the era of the Buddhist revelation never came to a close. If, for some people, it ended at the time of Śākyamuni and his immediate disciples, for others it is prolonged in time and space. According to the Vinayas of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Dharma or Buddhist Law is what was uttered by the Buddha and his disciples¹¹⁴; to these two essential sources other Vinayas add

¹¹¹ Vinaya, II, pp. 112-13.*
¹¹² Samyutta, III, p. 25; Kośa, IX, p. 256; Tattvasamgraha, p. 130.
¹¹³ Dīgha, II, p. 100-1; III, pp. 58, 77; Samyutta, III, p. 42; V, pp. 154, 163-5.
¹¹⁴ T 1425, ch. 13, p. 336a 21; T 1442, ch. 26, p. 771b 22.
THE FOURFOLD COMMUNITY

The scope of the Dharma thus grew in extent, for if the king Asoka still proclaimed that "everything that was spoken by the blessed Lord Buddha is well-spoken"¹¹⁶, others, reversing the terms of the proposition, ended by admitting that "everything that was well-spoken was spoken by the Buddha"¹¹⁷.

IV. — THE BUDDHIST COMMUNITY

1. — THE MONASTIC ORDER

The fourfold community. — Not only was Śākyamuni the discoverer of a doctrine of deliverance, he was also the founder of a religious order¹¹⁸ and an assembly of lay persons which, in the widest sense of the word, constituted the Saṅgha, the last of the Three Jewels (ratna) in which Buddhists take their refuge.

India of the sixth century B.C. was riddled with religious of every stamp, going about alone or in groups: śramaṇas, brāhmins, parivrājakas and brahmacārins. There were quite large congregations, the names of which are hardly known to us: Munḍaśrāvakas, Jāṭilakas, Māgaṇḍikas, Tredaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas, Devadharmikas, etc.¹¹⁹ Some of them were constituted into true orders which played their part in religious history: the Ājīvikas, followers of Maskarin Gośāliputra, the Nirgranthas or Jainas, a sect founded or reformed by the Mahāvīra Nirgrantha Jñātiputra, long disputed with the Sakyaputriyas or Buddhists for the favour of the princes and the sympathies of the population¹²⁰.

¹¹⁵ Pāli Vinaya, IV, p. 15; Dharmagupta Vin., T 1428, ch. 11, p. 639a 16; Sarvāstivādin Vin., T 1435, ch. 9, p. 71b 1-2; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 2, p. 66b.
¹¹⁶ Bloch, p. 154.
¹¹⁷ Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 15; Pañjikā, pp. 431-2; Upadeśa, ch. 2, p. 66b: "Good and truthful words all come from the Buddha".
¹¹⁹ List in Aṅguttara, III, p. 276.
The Samgha or Buddhist community consists of four assemblies (pariṣad): mendicant monks (bhikṣu), nuns (bhikṣunī), laymen (upāsaka) and laywomen (upāsikā). The religious are distinguishable from the lay followers through their robes, discipline, ideal and religious prerogatives. At the risk of being misunderstood, the existence could be posited of two distinct and often opposed Buddhisms: that of the religious and that of the laity whose intervention, not to say rivalry, has conditioned the whole history of Indian Buddhism. Although both sons of the Śākya, the monk and the layman represent divergent tendencies which, without coming into direct opposition, were to be asserted with increasing explicitness: on the one hand, the ideal of renunciation and personal holiness and, on the other, active virtues and altruistic preoccupations. The formation of the Mahāyāna at the heart of the community sanctioned the triumph of the humanity of the upāsaka over the rigorism of the bhikṣu.

THE DUTIES OF A MONK. — By founding a community of the religious, Śākyamuni intended his disciple to leave the world, tread the eightfold Path wearing the yellow robe of the monk and attain deliverance and Nirvāṇa. He called upon him to lead a life of renunciation and personal sanctification from which all altruistic preoccupation is practically excluded.

The discipline to which the monk voluntarily commits himself is motivated by ten rules (daśaśīksāpada)* which prohibit: 1. murder, 2. theft**, 3. impurity, 4. falsehood, 5. fermented liquor, 6. a meal after midday, 7. dancing, music and entertainments, 8. garlands, perfumes and unguents, 9. luxurious bedding, 10. the use of gold and silver121. It should be noted that the prohibition of impurity requires complete chastity on the part of the monk.***

All possible and imaginable violations of these ten rules are detailed in the ruling of the Pātimokṣa122. This includes approximately 250 articles

References:

121 Vinaya, I, pp. 83-4; Aṅguttara, I, p. 211.

— the exact number varies depending on the schools — classified in eight sections:

1. Violations entailing definitive expulsion (pārājīka) which are 4 in number: sexual intercourse, murder, theft, unjustified claims to supernormal powers.

2. Violations entailing temporary expulsion from the community (saṃghāvaśeṣa) which are 13 in number.

3. Undetermined offences (aniyata) to be judged according to the circumstances, and which are 2 in number.

4. Violations entailing the rejection of objects unduly obtained (naih-sargīka), which are 30 in number.

5. Violations requiring penance (pātayanika or pāyantika), which are 90 or 92 in number.

6. Faults to be confessed (pratidesaniya), which are 4 in number.

7. Rules of training (ṣaikṣa), which vary between 75 and 106 articles.

8. Rules for settling legal questions (adhiKaranaśamatha), which are 7 in number.

**DISCIPLINARY ACTS.** — In order to reinforce the prescriptions of the ruling, the community had recourse to a series of means of coercion. Through a procedural act determined in advance, a chapter of a larger or smaller number of monks inflicted punishments on the guilty which varied according to the gravity of the offence and the nature of the circumstances: a reproach (tarjaniya), placing under guidance (niśraya), temporary expulsion (pravāsaniya), reconciliation (pratisamharaṇīya), suspension (utkṣepaniya), definitive expulsion (naśana).

As if the ruling thus sanctioned was not severe enough, the monk could also agree to even stricter ascetic practices which are known by the name of dhūtāṅga\(^{123}\) and which can be as many as twelve or thirteen: to use rags collected in the dust as clothing, to sleep in the open air at night, etc. He was not compelled to observe them all at the same time.

**LEAVING THE WORLD AND ORDINATION.** — The order is open to all those who dispose freely of their person and who are not subject to any deleterious impediment: a crime or contagious disease. No distinctions of caste are made, although Śākyamuni preferred to recruit his monks among the "noble young people who give up the household life for that of a mendicant"\(^{124}\). The obligations assumed by the monk are not


\(^{124}\) Vinaya, I, p. 9.
binding for all his life; he is not forbidden to leave the monastic state and return to lay life.  

Entry into the order is achieved by means of two separate ceremonies which were often confused in the early period: leaving the world (pravrajyā) and ordination (upasampadā).  

A candidate cannot be admitted to the Pravrajyā before the age of eight. He acquires two patrons, a preceptor (upādhyāya) and a teacher (ācārya) whose co-resident (sārdhavihārin) and pupil (antevāsin) respectively he will become. Once he has put on the yellow robe and shaved off his beard and hair, he prostrates himself before the upādhyāya and proclaims three times that he takes his refuge in the Buddha, the Law and the Community. After that purely unilateral act, the ācārya teaches him the ten rules (daśaśikṣāpada) which were described above and which are the basis of the monastic life. After he has left the world, the candidate is still only a novice (sīramanera), and he will not become a regular member of the Community, a bhikṣu, until after his ordination, which cannot be conferred before the age of twenty.  

The ordination (upasampadā) is fixed down to the smallest detail by the ritual of the Karmavācanās, and is conferred by a chapter of a minimum of ten monks (daśavarga). The applicant, equipped with an alms-bowl and three robes, requests ordination three times. The celebrant makes sure he is free from any impediments and enquires details of his name, age and upādhyāya. Then follows the ordination proper: it is a jñapticaturthakarman, an ecclesiastic act in which the motion is fourfold. It in fact consists of a motion (jñapti) followed by three propositions (karmavācanā) concerning the admission of the motion by the chapter.  

First, the motion. — The celebrant requests the chapter: “May the community hear me: So-and-so, here present, desires, as the pupil of the venerable so-and-so, to receive ordination. If that pleases the community, may it confer ordination on him: such is the motion”.  

Then follow the three propositions. — The celebrant continues: “May the community hear me: So-and-so, here present, desires, as the pupil of the venerable so-and-so, to receive ordination. The community confers ordination on so-and-so, with so-and-so as preceptor. He who is of the  

125 Vinaya, III, pp. 23-7.  
opinion that ordination should be conferred..., may he remain silent. He who is of the contrary opinion, may he speak". This proposition is repeated three times. After the third proposition, if the chapter remains silent, the ordination is accepted and the celebrant declares: "So-and-so has received ordination from the community with so-and-so as preceptor. The community is of this opinion, that is why it remains silent: it is thus that I hear it". 

After which, in order to determine the new monk's rank, the day and the hour of his ordination are noted. He is informed of the four rules of monastic austerity (niśraya) which he should observe in his outward life, and he is told of the four great prohibitions (akaraṇīya) the violation of which would in itself exclude him from the community: sexual misconduct, theft, murder and false or self-interested usurpation of the spiritual perfections.

The career of the nun is closely modelled on that of the bhikṣu. However, before being accepted for ordination, girls aged under twenty and women with more than twelve years of married life are subjected to a probationary stage which lasts for two years. During that period the female probationer (śikṣamāṇā) must observe six rules (saññīdharma) which correspond to the first six śikṣāpadas of the śrāmaṇera: to abstain from murder, theft, impurity, falsehood, fermented liquors and meals outside the right time.

At the time of her ordination, the future nun, supplied with an alms-bowl and the fivefold robe, presents herself, with her preceptress (upādhyāyikā) and her instructress (ācārini), first before the chapter of nuns and then before the chapter of monks, and receives ordination from this twofold assembly. The discipline to which the bhikṣunī is subjected is much stricter than that of the monks. Her rules consist in principle of 500 articles, twice those of the bhikṣus, but in practice their number varies between 290 and 355. Eight severe canonical provisions (gurudharma) place the nun in complete dependence on the monks: she cannot go into retreat in a place where there is no monk; every fortnight she must go to the community of monks and receive instruction there, but she herself can never instruct a monk nor admonish him; the ceremonies of ordination, the ending of the retreat and penance are repeated before the community of monks.

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127 Vinaya, I, pp. 22, 56, 95.
EQUIPMENT AND LIFE OF THE MONKS.* — The Buddhist Sāmaṅgha is a mendicant order. The bhikṣu renounces all possessions, cannot practise any lucrative career nor receive gold or silver. He expects lay generosity to provide the supplies necessary for his subsistence: clothing, food, shelter and medicines.

The bhikṣu has at his disposal three robes (tricīvara): an undergarment (antaravāsaka), an outer garment (uttarāsaṅga) and a cloak (saṃghāṭi); in addition to those three robes, the bhikṣunī also wears a belt (saṃkaksikā) and a skirt (kusūlaka). These clothes are yellow or reddish (kāśāya) in colour. The monk is permitted to wear clothing given by the laity or made of rags which he has collected. Shoes are considered a luxury, but the use of fans is allowed. The monk’s equipment also includes an alms-bowl (pātra), a belt, a razor (vāsī), a needle (sūcī), a strainer (parisrāvana), a staff (khakkhara) and a tooth-pick (dantakāśītha).

The monk lives on the food which he begs daily on his morning alms-round. In silence and with lowered eyes, he goes from house to house and places in his bowl the food which is held out to him, usually balls of rice. Towards midday, his meal time, the only one of the day, he withdraws in solitude and eats his food: bread, rice with water to drink. The use of spirituous drinks is strictly forbidden; that of flesh or fish is only permitted if the monk has not seen, heard or suspected that the animal was killed on his behalf. Ghee, butter, oil, honey and sugar are reserved for the sick and can be taken as medicine. A meal eaten at the wrong time, that is, between midday and the morning of the following day, entails a penance. Monks are permitted to accept invitations and have their meal in the homes of the laity.

As to lodging (sāyaṇāsana), the monks had no fixed residence: some lived in the open air in mountains and forests, finding shelter under a tree; others, more numerous, set up their residence (vihāra) near a village or a town: a hut of leaves (parnasālā), a tower (prāsāda), a mansion (harmya) or a cave (guhā). In principle, a vihāra housed only a single monk; it was used in turn, then simultaneously, either as the house of a monk or the temple of a deity. The vihāra could be grouped in greater or lesser numbers and could shelter some tens of monks. When the

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130 Vinaya, I, pp. 94, 289.
131 Vinaya, II, p. 272.
132 Vinaya, I, p. 238.
133 Vinaya, I, p. 199.
134 Regarding the matter of food, see Vinaya, IV, pp. 70-4.
complex took on importance, it was called a "convent" or "monastery" (sāmghārāma) and could be built of stone, bricks or wood.

During the three or four months of the rainy season (varṣa), generally from the full moon of the month of Āśāḍha (June-July) to the full moon of the month of Kārttika (October-November), the Buddhist monk, like the adherents of other non-Brahmanical sects, was compelled to go into retreat (vaṃpanāyikā) and to remain in a set place. Once the retreat was over, he could continue his peregrinations, but was not forced to do so. Monastic life must have been organized early on, since the buildings put at the disposal of the community by kings and wealthy merchants needed to be administered all the year round. Each monastery of any importance had its own officer, its cellarer and its own gardener; other monks superintended the storerooms, wardrobe, water supplies, alms-bowls, voting tickets (saliikā) etc.; a master of novices was responsible for the śramaṇeras.

The daily life of the monk was regulated in every detail. He rose very early and devoted himself to meditation. At the appropriate time, he dressed to go out, carrying his wooden bowl in his hands, he would go to the nearest village to beg for his food. Once he had returned to the monastery, he washed his feet and, a little before midday, ate his only meal of the day. After which, he settled on the threshold of his cell and gave instruction to his spiritual sons. Once that was over, he withdrew in seclusion, often to the foot of a tree, there to pass the hot hours of the day in meditation or semi-somnolence. Sunset signalled the hour for the public audience, open to all comers, to which flocked sympathizers as well as the merely curious. Nightfall brought calm to the hermitage once again. The monk took his bath, then again received his disciples and engaged in an edifying conversation with them which continued well into the first watch of the night.

Twice a fortnight, on the 8th and the 14th (or 15th), at the time of the full and new moon, the monks who resided in the same parish (sīmā), as well as visiting monks, were obliged to assemble and together celebrate the uposatha (Skt. poṣadha, poṣatha) : a day of fasting and of particularly strict respect of the observances. The Buddhists borrowed this custom from heretical sects. Every alternate celebration of the

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130 Vinaya, I, p. 137.
137 For details, see Kern, Manual, p. 83; Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, I, pp. 321-3; S. Levi and Chavannes, Quelques titres énigmatiques..., JA, 1915, pp. 194-223.
138 Cf. Fouc her, Vie du Bouddha, p. 246, taking its inspiration from Buddhaghosa.
139 On the demarcation of a parish, see Vinaya, I, p. 106.
uposatha concluded in a public confession between the monks. In torchlight, the monks took their places on low seats which had been reserved for them in the assembly area. The senior monk chanted an opening formula and invited his brethren to acknowledge their faults: "Whoever has committed an offence may he confess it; whoever is free of offences, may he remain silent".

He then proceeded to enumerate the 250 articles of the Prātimokṣa. After each group of faults, he questioned the monks and asked them three times if they were pure of such faults. If everyone remained silent, he proclaimed: "Pure of those faults are the Venerable Ones, that is why they remain silent; thus have I heard it". Anyone who was guilty and kept quiet would be perpetrating a voluntary falsehood and would violate his solemn commitments.

Some festivities broke the monotony of the days; they varied according to the regions. However, a festivity celebrated by all the communities was that of the Pravāraṇā, at the end of the rainy season and the conclusion of the retreat. This was the occasion for offering gifts to the monks, inviting them to a meal and organizing processions. After the ceremony, the laity distributed raw cotton cloth (kathina) to the members of the community: the monks immediately made garments out of it which they dyed yellow or reddish.

The kings who accepted Buddhism, such as Asoka, Harsha and the sovereigns of Central Asia, sometimes summoned the community to an assembly called the quinquennial (pañcavarṣa) and spent on acts of liberality the state revenue which had accumulated over a period of five years.

THE IDEAL OF THE MONK. — The rule which imprisons the monk in a network of detailed prescriptions tends to make him a complete renouncer: gentle and inoffensive, poor and humble, continent and perfectly trained.

He cannot take the life of any living being, and refuses to use water in which there might be the tiniest creature. Since he is unable to practise any lucrative profession, he depends on the generosity of the laity for his food and clothing. He cannot accept any gold or silver from them and, if he happens to find a jewel or some precious object, he can only touch it in order to return it to its owner.

The Buddha put him on guard against the wiles and guiles of woman,

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140 The ceremonies of the uposatha are described in Vinaya, I, pp. 102-4.
141 Vinaya, I, p. 159.
142 See an example of the Pañcavarṣa in Divya, p. 405.
that being "whose intelligence can be held by two fingers and for whom falsehood is like the truth, and truth like falsehood". When Ānanda asked him how one should behave towards a woman, the Buddha replied: "You should keep out of her sight, O Ānanda". "And yet, if we should see her, Master, what should we do then?" "Do not speak to her, O Ānanda". "And yet, if we speak to her?"... "Then, take extreme care, O Ānanda." 

It is in this spirit that the Prātimokṣa forbids the monk to be alone with a woman, to share her roof, to walk in her company, to take her by the hand, to tease her, or even exchange more than five or six sentences with her. The monk cannot accept food or clothing from a nun who is not related to him. He should, in all circumstances, adopt a correct, humble and vigilant attitude.

However, the obligations imposed on the monk, the responsibilities with which he is entrusted, are never so heavy or absorbing that they deprive him of the faculty of thought and turn him into a mere machine. Each preserves his own personality and aims towards the supreme goal according to the method of his choice. He can, like Musīla, apply himself to the discernment of things (dharma-pra-vicaya) or, like Nārada, devote himself to the ascetic and ecstatic disciplines of Yoga.

The monks who experiment ecstasy (dhyāyin) and those who are attached to study should respect each other: "Few, indeed, are men who spend their time in bodily touching the Immortal Element (i.e. Nirvāṇa). Few also are those who see profound reality by penetrating it through prajñā, intelligence." 

It is possible that the exclusive search for personal holiness is not always conducive to endowing the monk with a charitable heart, making him benevolent towards his brothers and devoted to the unfortunate. Nevertheless, in the mass of disciplinary prescriptions, here and there an article with a truly human resonance can be discerned. Once when Śākyamuni was going the rounds of the monastery, he found a monk who was suffering from an internal disorder, lying in his own urine and excrement. Since he was no longer of any use, his colleagues took no further care of him. The Buddha washed him with his own hands, changed his bedding and placed him on the bed. Then, addressing the monks, he said: "O mendicant monks, you no longer have a father or

143 Digha, II, p. 141.


mother who can take care of you; if you do not take care of each other yourselves, who else will? Whoever wishes to take care of me should take care of the sick".  

For whoever wishes to eliminate desire down to its root, brotherly charity itself is not without danger. It is up to each to work for his own sanctification without attending or paying attention to his neighbour. It is not by any means through love for his brothers that the bhikṣu finds his joy and happiness, but rather in the observance of vows and rules, in study, meditation and the penetration of the Buddhist truths:

"So when will I live in a mountain cave, alone, whithout companions, with an intuition of the instability of all existence? When will that be my fate? When is it, wise one, that in my clothing made of rags, my yellow robe, not calling anything my property and free of desires, annihilating craving and hatred and delusion, I will joyfully live on the mountain? So when is it that, perceiving the instability of my body which is a nest of murder and disease, tormented by old-age-and-death, when, free from fear, will I dwell alone in the forest? When will that be my share? The lovely places, the mountains and rocks fill me with ease. It is there that it is good for me, the friend of meditation, who strive towards deliverance. It is there that it is good for me, the monk, who aspire to true benefits, who strive towards deliverance".

Not without some disdain, the monk leaves to the laity the practice of the active virtues, which are just advantageous enough to ensure wealth and long life during future rebirths. Personally, he confines himself to the passive virtues of renunciation and imperturbability, which alone lead him to holiness in this world and, beyond this world, to the cessation of suffering, to the end of samsāra and to Nirvāṇa.

**The Absence of an Authority.** — Such were the holy ones whom the Buddha had trained when he entered repose. We should add, since it was to affect the whole history of Buddhism, that he left them without a master or hierarchy. He believed that man cannot constitute a refuge for man, that no human authority can be usefully exerted over minds, and that adherence to the doctrine should be exclusively based on personal reasoning, on what one has oneself acknowledged, seen and grasped.

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146 This episode, which is one of the most famous, appears in many sources: Vinaya, I, pp. 301-2; Dhammapada Comm., I, pp. 319-322; Gilgit Man., III, part 2, pp. 128-30; T 125, ch. 40, p. 766b; T 154, ch. 3, p. 89b; T 160, ch. 4, p. 342b; T 211. Ch. 2, p. 591b; T 1421, ch. 20, p. 139c; T 1425, ch. 28, p. 455a; T 1428, ch. 41, p. 861b; T 1435, ch. 28, p. 205a; T 1451, ch. 17, p. 283b; T 1509, ch. 8, p. 119c; T 2087, ch. 6, p. 899b; T 2127, ch. 3, p. 306a; T 2122, ch. 95, p. 985c.

fact, says a Buddhist text, when one relies on reasoning and not on the authority of a man, one does not stray from the meaning of reality because one is autonomous, independent of others, when faced with rationally examined truths.

In the Buddhist monasteries, particular duties were entrusted to the monks who were capable of fulfilling them, but this did not confer on them any authority over their brothers. The only precedence allowed was that of seniority calculated from the date of ordination. Some monks, it is true, did indeed make claims and asserted their rights to the best seat, the best water and the best food. Some quoted as their authority the caste to which they had belonged before entering the order, others pleaded their knowledge of the writings and their talent as preacher; yet others believed they had rights because of their supernormal powers or because of their advance along the spiritual paths. The Buddha refused to entertain their views and, in order to curb the ambitions of those childish men, narrated the apologue of the Tittirabrahmacarya to them:

Three animals inhabiting a fig-tree on the slopes of the Himalaya, a pheasant, a monkey and an elephant, lived in anarchy. They cast back their memories to see which among them was the oldest, and it was the pheasant. The other two animals immediately decided to show deference, respect and veneration to him and to conform to his advice. The elephant placed the monkey on its head, the monkey took the pheasant on its shoulder, and they went from village to village preaching the respect due to great age. The Master invited his monks to conform to the pious conduct of those animals and not to make claims among themselves except that in the case of respect for seniority.

If the Buddha refused to establish a functional hierarchy in the monasteries, still less did he intend to give the whole community a spiritual leader. Seeing him old and aged, his cousin Devadatta offered to replace him at the head of the Samgha: “Lord”, he said, “attend calmly, to the delightful meditation of the Law and entrust the congregation to my keeping; I will care for it”. Śākyamuni rejected this self-interested offer: “I would not even entrust the congregation to Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Even less to you, Devadatta, who are of no account and so contemptible.”

Shortly before his Master’s decease, gentle Ānanda expressed the hope

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150 Vinaya, II, p. 188.
that the Blessed One would not leave this world before giving his instructions to the community and having designated a successor. The Buddha answered him in substance: What does the community expect of me, O Ānanda? Never having wished to direct it or subject it to my teachings, I have no such instructions for it. I am reaching my end. After my decease, may each of you be your own island, your own refuge; have no other refuge. By acting in that way you will set yourselves on the summit of the Immortal.

Left alone by their Master, the disciples had to continue the work already begun by themselves and devote to the doctrine alone all the attention they had paid to the Buddha. Sākyamuni, on his death-bed, still found the strength to sum up his thought: "It may happen", he said to Ānanda, "that this thought occurs to you: The word of the Master will no longer be heard; we no longer have a Master. Things should not be seen in this way: The Law which I expounded and the discipline which I established for you will be your master after I am gone."

Ānanda had grasped the wish of the Buddha for, after the latter's decease, he explained to the Brāhmin Gopaka: "No monk has been especially designated by the Venerable Gautama or chosen by the congregation and named by the elders and monks to be our refuge after the disappearance of the Buddha and the authority to which we could henceforth resort.... Nevertheless, we are not without a refuge: we have the Law as a refuge".

In fact, after the Buddha's decease, the community was a flock without a shepherd: no legitimate authority presided over the destinies of the order. Subsequently, certain schools did indeed draw up lists of patriarchs who legitimately transmitted the Law they claimed to guard. However, this is an apocryphal tradition which the community as a whole never accepted. The Law and discipline being the only inheritance left by the Buddha to his disciples, the only way of exerting an effective influence over the order was to annex them and monopolize their teaching. Attempts of this kind were made: the main and most successful one was that of Mahākāśyapa who, after the decease of the Master, claimed to have recorded the words and prescriptions of the Buddha. Nonetheless, as will be seen further on, his work of codification was not accepted by all the brethren and some continued to preserve the

151 Digha, II, p. 100.
152 Digha, II, p. 154.
153 Majjhima, III, p. 9.
Law in their memories, not as Kāśyapa and his cohorts had recorded it, but as they themselves had heard and obtained it from the lips of the Blessed One. Kāśyapa and people like him had no spiritual weapon at their disposal to bring the recalcitrant ones round to their views. Indeed no one had forgotten that the Master had categorically refused to endow the Saṃgha with an authority and, during the long history of Buddhism, nobody thought of forcing himself upon the congregation as a spiritual leader. When disputes arose among the brethren over points of doctrine or discipline, attempts at reconciliation were resorted to. If these failed, the brethren separated and each party held to its own position. Hence, at the heart of early Buddhism, a number of separate schools or sects were created. In the course of time, the dispersion of the Saṃgha across vast spaces merely accentuated the fragmentation of the Community. Nevertheless, the wisdom of the monks as well as their tolerance prevented rivalries from taking on a bitter nature and ending in religious warfare. Disputes never went further than an academic stage. No matter what their particular adherence may have been, the bhikṣus continued to associate with each other and to offer each other the greatest hospitality.

2. — THE LAY FELLOWSHIP

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAITY. — The order of monks occupies the first place in the Buddhist writings, but the pious lay fellowship, upāsaka and upāśikā, played at least important a part in its history. It was not that they benefited from any special solicitude on the part of the Buddha. On the contrary: since he was devoted to a very pure ideal of renunciation, the Blessed One reserved his favours for those who gave up family life in order to embrace the condition of a religious mendicant and he felt only moderate esteem for those who remained in the world and led the life of a householder (grhin, grhapati) clothed in the white robe (avadātavasana) of the layman. It has rightly been remarked that in other religious orders, such as that of the Jainas, the lay frequently associated much more closely with the monks than was the case among the Buddhists: the weakness of the links between bhikṣu and upāsaka is one of the reasons which contributed to the final disappearance of Buddhism in India, while Jainism is still alive there.

154 On this subject, see H. Oldenberg, Bouddha, pp. 419-425; L. de la Vallée Poussin, Les fidèles laïcs ou Upāsaka, Ac. de Belgique, Bulletin, 1925, pp. 15-34; La Morale bouddhique, Paris, 1927, pp. 58-60; N. Law, Early Buddhism and Laity, Studies in Indian History and Culture; N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, II, pp. 207-38, 275-313.
INSTITUTION OF THE FELLOWSHIP. — The institution of the fellowship of the upāsaka is due to a chance occurrence. According to tradition, it preceded the establishment of the Saṁgha in time. Śākyamuni had just attained Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā, when two merchants, Trapuṣa and Bhallika, passed nearby. A deity informed them that Śākyamuni had just become a Buddha and suggested that they went to pay their homage to him. The merchants complied and offered Śākyamuni some cakes of rice and honey. The Buddha took the food which was presented to him, making use of a wooden bowl made out of the four bowls which had been brought to him by the four World Guardians. Once the meal was over, the merchants prostrated themselves at the Buddha’s feet and said to him: “Lord, we take refuge in the Buddha and in the Dharma; consider us henceforth as upāsakas who, until their life’s end, have taken refuge”. The Master acquiesced and gave the merchants some relics of hair and nails, saying to them: “Make a stūpa over this hair and these nails. Stones will appear of which you can make use”\textsuperscript{155}. Having returned to Bactria, the merchants built, at some distance from the capital, two reliquaries which are reputed to be the first two stūpas\textsuperscript{156}.

The Buddha had his reasons for accepting the allegiance of Trapuṣa and Bhallika. The Buddhist religious, like their colleagues in the non-Brahmanical sects, could not survive without the willing assistance of the Indian population. By definition the monk is a mendicant (bhikṣu): he cannot possess anything and the practice of a lucrative activity is forbidden to him. He must live on the charity of the laity which, in India, was never refused him. For an Indian, indeed, the śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa, the pravrajita, whatever his beliefs and practices, is an excellent “field of merit” (punyakṣetra), causing the alms which are sown in it to fructify an hundredfold. On the other hand, the monk responds to the generosity shown him by consenting benevolently to give religious instruction; the “gift of the Law” (dharmadāna) compensates for the “material gift” (amiṣadāna).

“They render you great services, O bhikṣu, the brāhmins and householders who give you clothing, alms, seats, beds and remedies. You also render them great services when you teach them the Good Law and the

\textsuperscript{155} Vinaya, I, p. 4; Aṅguttara, I, p. 26; Udāna Comm., p. 34; Jātaka, I, p. 80; Manorathapūraṇi, I, p. 382; Mahāvastu, III, p. 303; Lalitavistara, p. 381 sq.; Divyādāna, p. 393; Buddhacarita, XIV, 105; Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 32, p. 801a; Mahiśāsaka Vin., T 1421, ch. 15, p. 103a; Dharmaguptaka Vin., T 1428, ch. 31, p. 781c; Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 5, p. 125a.

\textsuperscript{156} Hsi yū chi, T 2087, ch. 1, p. 873a.
pure life (brahmacarya). Thus, through your mutual help, it is possible to practise the religious life, which causes one to cross the transmigration and puts and end to suffering. By relying on each other, householders and those who live the homeless life can cause the prospering of the Good Law. The latter men are sheltered from need, since they receive clothing and the rest; the former, having practised the Law in this world, the path which leads to the happy destinies, delight in the world of the gods who are possessed of the pleasures".

**THE IDEAL AND VIRTUES OF THE LAITY.** — The ideal pursued by the upasaka is inferior to that of the bhikṣu. The monk aims at Nirvāṇa and, in order to attain it, wearing the yellow robe, cultivates the noble eightfold Path (ārya āśāṅgikamārga) the essential elements of which are morality (śīla), mental concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (prajñā). He works actively at his personal sanctification and his own deliverance, without having to worry about his neighbour. The upāsaka, however, aspires for the heavens, for a good rebirth in the world of the gods or that of mankind. The way which leads to this is not the noble eightfold Path which leads to Nirvāṇa, but the practice of the virtues which enabled the deities (devatā) to leave this world below in order to go and be reborn in their respective heavens. The virtues are demanded not only of the bhikṣu in particular but of the “noble disciple” (ārya śrāvaka) in general, and are described in several sūtras, notably in the discourse on the three kinds of uposatha. They are five in number: faith (śraddhā), morality (śīla), generosity (tyāga), learning (śruta) and wisdom (prajñā).

1. The faith (śraddhā) required from the laity is not a more or less forced mental adherence to a group of given truths, it is an inward disposition by virtue of which “the mind is calmed, joy arises and mental defilements vanish”.

Its object consists of the Three Jewels: the Buddha, his Law and his Community, and also the high value of the discipline imposed on the laity.

The creed of the upāsaka therefore consists of four points: “Possessed of unflagging faith in the Buddha will I be: he, the Blessed One, is the holy one, the supreme Buddha, the knower, the learned one, the blessed one, he who knows the worlds, the supreme one who tames and guides those who are not tamed, the preceptor of gods and mankind, the Blessed Lord Buddha. — Possessed of unflagging faith in the Law will I

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157 Itivuttaka, p. 111.
158 These are the five virtues of the noble disciple, whether religious or lay: Majjhima, I, p. 465; III, p. 99; Samyutta, IV, p. 250; Āṅguttara, I, p. 210; IV, p. 270.
159 Āṅguttara, I, p. 207.
be: well proclaimed by the Blessed One is the Law. It is a thing that is completely obvious; it does not need time; it says to itself 'Come and see'; it leads to welfare in their heart of hearts it is recognized by the wise. — Possessed of unaltering faith in the Community will I be: in accordance with good conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One; in accordance with right conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One, in accordance with true conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One; in accordance with fair conduct lives the Community of the Blessed One, the four pairs, the eight classes of believers such is the Community of the Blessed One, worthy of respect, worthy of offerings, worthy of alms, worthy of being saluted with joined hands, the best field of merit in the world” 160.

To this admiration for the Three Jewels should be added the highest esteem for the obligations incumbent on the laity: “Obligations which are undamaged and intact, free from any blemish or defilement, liberating, praised by the wise, which do not dull the desire for future life nor the belief in the efficacity of rituals, which generate contemplation”.

Adherence to the Buddhist faith in no way compels the adept to reject his ancestral beliefs or repudiate the religious practices customarily performed in his circle. By means of one of those compromises of which India supplies so many examples, each person is allowed to venerate, in addition to the Three Jewels, the deities of his own region, caste or choice and to worship them in the appropriate way. Therefore we will see, in the course of history, some excellent Buddhists continuing their adoration of spirits, Nāgas and Suparnas, Yakṣas, Vajrapāṇi, Females and Fairies. Householders, the benefactors of the Community, were to remain faithful to the divinities of their class: Kuvera, the deity of wealth; Hāritī, the goddess of fecundity; the tutelary Couple, etc. The higher castes were always to call upon the great Vedic and Brahmanic gods: Indra, Brahmā, Māra, etc. 161. The advent of Buddhism did not lead to the "twilight of the gods". Śākyamuni did not combat the deities of pagan Hinduism. He admitted that "revered and honoured by man, the divinities in turn revere and honour him” 162. He refused to condemn the practices of paganism as a whole: bloody sacrifices which led to the death of living beings are to be deprecated, but peaceful offerings which do not involve cruelty are to be recommended; certain rites originating in pure superstition, ritual baths, etc., are practically valueless 163. What


161 For details, see A. FOUCHER, Art gréco-bouddhique, II, pp. 7-210.

162 Vinaya, I, p. 229; Dīgha, II, p. 88; Udāna, p. 89.

163 Aṅguttara, II, pp. 42-3; Samyutta, I, p. 76; Dhammapada, v. 141; Suttanipāta, v. 249.
is most important is to put each thing in its place: alms given to pious monks are superior to worship to the devas; the taking of refuge in the Three Jewels is superior to alms-giving; the supreme achievement of sacrifice is the taking up of the religious life. Just as the Buddha condemns a monk’s exclusive attachment to vows and rites (śilavrataparāmarśa), so he also forbids the lay person plain superstition (kotahun-maṅgala). Obviously, funerary rites cannot guarantee heaven for an assassin, since “the bad deeds that man has committed bear their fruit: they attach themselves to the feet of the foolish”, and rites can do nothing in such a case.

It remains nonetheless true that the upāsaka, whose religious instruction leaves much to be desired, will rarely break away from the popular circle into which his roots are plunged and establish a kind of compromise between the Buddhist Dharma and the superstitions of paganism. This was the main cause of the absorption of Buddhism into the ambient Hinduism.

2. The second virtue of the upāsaka is morality (śīla), the observance of natural laws or the avoidance of offence.

Originally, it seems that one became an upāsaka merely by taking refuge in the Three Jewels, by a solemn act of faith in the Buddha, the Law and the Community. When asked how one becomes an upāsaka, the Buddha replied: “Mahānāman, one becomes an upāsaka by the mere fact of taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sā̄rgha”. In the oldest texts, we can see that the candidate takes his refuge in the Three Jewels and asks that in future he be considered as an upāsaka who has taken refuge.

Soon, however, besides taking refuge, the upāsaka also commits himself to observe certain rules of morality, most often the fivefold morality. This caused the scholar Haribhadra to say: “One is an upāsaka because one has taken the threefold refuge, or because one also observes the five rules (pañca śīkasāpa)”. Hence, there are two kinds of upāsaka according to the two readings in the Vinaya: “May the master consider me as an upāsaka who has taken the threefold refuge”, or else:

166 Dhammapada, v. 71.
168 Vinaya, II, p. 157; Dīgha, I, p. 85; Samyutta, IV, p. 113; Aṅguttara, I, p. 56; Kośavyākhya, p. 376, 11.31-2.
"May the master consider me as an upāsaka who has taken the threefold refuge and the five rules".\(^{169}\)

The lay person has the free choice of committing himself to observe the five rules of morality (pañcaśīla) or only one of them, the eightfold morality (asthāṅgaśīla) or even the ten rules (dāsa śiksāpada).

The five rules of the lay person correspond to the first five of the ten rules of morality of the religious: to abstain from taking life (prāṇati-pāta), theft (adattādāna), sexual misconduct (kāmamithyācāra), false speech (mṛṣāvāda), the use of fermented drinks (surāmaireya)\(^ {170}\). It should be noted that the third rule forbidding sexual misconduct is to be understood in a different way depending on whether it applies to the religious or to the layman. Complete chastity is expected of the former, while the latter only renounces sexual misconduct particularly adultery.

It sometimes happened that upāsakas made a choice among these five rules: the ekadesakārin observed one; the pradesakārin, two or three; the yadbhūyaskārin, four; the paripūrṇakārin, five\(^ {171}\). It also happened that certain laymen considered the third rule as an obligation to complete chastity and they abstained from any relation with their own wives: they were called samucchhinna-rāga.

The upāsaka could also take the eightfold morality\(^ {172}\). He then committed himself to remain for a day and a night under the discipline of fasting (upavāsa). This consisted of eating only one meal a day before noon and of observing eight complementary precepts forbidding murder, theft, incontinence, falsehood, the use of intoxicants, luxurious furnishing, flowers and perfumes, singing, dancing and entertainments. The fast was traditionally fixed on six specific days a month (the 8\(^{th}\), 14\(^{th}\), 15\(^{th}\), 23\(^{rd}\), 29\(^{th}\), 30\(^{th}\))\(^ {173}\). Popular in origin, it went far back into the past and was observed by the great majority of Indian orders before being adopted by the Buddhists\(^ {174}\). In imitation of the heretics, the Buddha

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\(^{169}\) Abhisamaya Āloka, ed. WOGIHARA, p. 331: Triśarana:pannatā pañcaśīkṣāpadaparigrahaḥ copāsakah tathopāsitī dvidhi bhedaḥ: triśarana:parigṛhitam upāsakaṃ māṃ ācāryo dhārayatu, tathā triśarangatam pañcaśīkṣāpadagṛhitam upāsakaṃ māṃ ācāryo dhārayatv iti Vinaye dvidhāpāṭhāt.

\(^{170}\) Mahānāmasūtra quoted in Kośavyākhya, p. 377; Mahāvyutpatti, Nos. 1609-13; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 158c.

\(^{171}\) Mahānāmasūtra quoted in Kośavyākhya, p. 377; Mahāvyutpatti, Nos. 1609-13; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 158c.

\(^{172}\) Mahānyāpannā: śīla, četā: pāpa, āsīpaka, ājīvika, pārascrto.\(^ {173}\)

\(^{173}\) WATTERS, I, p. 302; CHAVANNÉS, Contes, I, p. 26, n. 2; P. DEMÉVILLE, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, p. 77; Nowadays in Sri Lanka, the atā-sil (asthāṅgaśīla) is observed on pōya (uposatha) days, on four days a month; cf. W. RĀHULA, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo, 1956, p. 265.

\(^{174}\) On the origin of this, see the Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 160a-c which refers to the Caturdevarājasutta of the Aṅguttara, I, pp. 142-5, and a cosmogonical sūtra.
ordered his monks to devote those same days to the joint recitation of the rules, the reading of texts and preaching.

Finally, there were upāsakas who lived in the world as if they were not doing so. They remained celibate and added to the obligations of fasting the rule not to touch either gold or silver. In practice, they observed the ten rules of the novice and the monk: they were therefore called upāsakas “observing the ten rules” (daśaśiṣṭāpadika).

The morality of the lay person does not consist in the sole fact of avoiding offence, but in the formal decision to avoid it. As with the religious, it is a question of a “morality of commitment” (sāmādānāśīla) which confers on him a “restraint” (sāmvara) and creates within him the quality of upāsaka. This will endure until his death provided he does not lose it through bodily and vocal actions contrary to its nature.

The disciplinary texts have fixed the ceremonial of Taking Refuge (Dīgha, I, p. 85; Samyutta, IV, p. 113; Aṇguttara, I, p. 56; Vinaya, II, p. 157), Taking the five rules (Shih sung lü, T 1435, ch. 21, p. 149c; Shih sung chieh mo, T 1439, p. 496a; Ta chih tu lun, T 1509, ch. 13, p. 159c), and Taking the eightfold morality (Aṇguttara, I, pp. 211-12; IV, pp. 251, 255-6; Shih sung chieh mo, T 1439, p. 496b). Despite its solemnity, it simply consists of a unilateral act through which the candidate commits himself, in the presence of the Buddha, a monk, or even another upāsaka, to observe a particular discipline until the end of his life (yāvajīvam). The Community does not participate, unlike the ordination (upasampadā) of the bhikṣu and bhikṣunī which takes place in the presence of the chapter and which the community sanctions by means of the legal procedure of the jñāpaticaturthakarman.

Yet another point distinguishes the layman from the monk. Each fortnight, during the celebration of the uposatha, the bhikṣu is expected to confess his violations of the Prātimokṣa ruling and to accept the penalty imposed upon him. No obligation of this type is incumbent on the upāsaka. Nevertheless, the rule which maintains that “an offence confessed becomes slighter” is valid about for him as well as for the religious. If questioned about fault the guilty one must avow it: to deny it would be violating the fourth rule of morality which forbids falsehood. The Licchavi Vaḍḍha, having falsely accused the bhikṣu Dabba Mallaputta of having seduced his wife, acknowledged his offence as an offence and vowed not to repeat it. The Buddha “removed his

175 Vinaya, I, pp. 101-2.
177 Kośa, IV, p. 82.
offence" (atyaya' pratigrhl') and congratulated him: "He is a gain for the Law who acknowledges his offence, confesses it and commits himself not to do it again." However, as far as we know, there is no example of an upāsaka being questioned about his general faults. He is merely reproached for offences or losses he might have caused the Community. Only eight faults are taken into account: preventing monks from obtaining alms, causing them harm, depriving them of lodgings, insulting them, causing dissension among them, slandering the Buddha, the Law or the Community. If the upāsaka acknowledges his fault and promises to mend his ways, he is granted pardon; if not, the monks "turn the alms-bowl" upside down (pattam nikkujjanti), that is, refuse to accept any gift from him: a punishment to which no Indian remains insensible.

3. The faith and morality demanded of the lay person are eclipsed by the third virtue, which is in some way his justification: generosity (tyāga): "It is good continually to distribute rice-gruel for whomever desires joy, whether he aspires for heavenly joys or sighs after human happiness." The texts have compiled a list of meritorious material deeds (punyakriyāvastu) which are recommended to the laity. They are seven in number: 1. giving land to the congregation, 2. building a monastery on it, 3. furnishing it, 4. allocating revenue to it, 5. assisting strangers and travellers, 6. tending the sick, 7. in cold weather or at times of famine, giving the congregation food and sweetmeats.

Rising above purely self-interested preoccupations, the Buddhists congratulate sovereigns who carry out great works of public utility: providing water supplies in the desert, planting trees to provide fruit and coolness, providing bridges and ferries, giving alms. Through such pious works, merit increases day and night and one is certain to be reborn always among gods and mankind.

Theoreticians have elaborated a whole ethics of giving. Its value varies depending on the importance of the thing given, the donor's intention, the circumstances of the gesture, but also and in particular the moral quality of the beneficiary. A son of the Śākya, an Arhat in particular, is

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179 Vinaya, II, p. 125.
180 Vinaya, I, p. 21.
181 Chung a han. T 26, No. 7, ch. 2, p. 427c; Tseng i a han, T 125. ch. 35, p. 741c; Mahācundasūtra in Kosāvyākhyā, pp. 353-4.
182 Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 4, p. 261a; Chu tê fu t'ien ching, T 683, p. 777b; compare the second Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, BLOCH, pp. 94, 170.
the best field of merit, the supreme recipient of alms. Nevertheless, it is not forbidden to be charitable to the non-Buddhist religious, to criminals or even to animals. However, it should not be forgotten that, in poor soil, a good seed bears little fruit or none at all.\textsuperscript{183}

The upāsaka cannot disregard the spiritual welfare of his brothers. In imitation of the bhikṣu who, through his preaching, dispenses the best of all gifts, the gift of the Law, the lay person is expected to inspire good thoughts in those who are in pain or suffering. His help will go especially to the sick and dying. Buddhists, like Indians in general, attach great importance to the last thought, the “thought (at the time) of dying” (maranacittā), since that is what will determine the “thought (at the time) of conception” (upapacittā) and consequently the new existence of the deceased. Thus, we see the mother of Nakula comforting her dying husband and inspiring him with feelings of joy and peace:

“Do not die anxious in mind”, she said to him, “the Blessed One does not approve of such a death. Do you fear that after you are gone I will not be able to feed our children? I am a skilled spinner of cotton and it will not be difficult for me to ensure the running of the household. Or, do you believe that I will go to another house after your death? You know as well as I do that for sixteen years we have practised chastity at home. Or that I will have no further desire to see the Bhagavat, to see the monks? After your death, more than ever, I will desire to see them. Do not think that, after your death, I will no longer observe the rules of Buddhist morality perfectly, that I will lose inward calmness of mind. With regard to the religion, I am possessed of penetration, confidence, absence of doubt, absence of scepticism and perfect serenity.”\textsuperscript{184}

The Buddha taught his cousin the upāsaka Mahānāma the way to prepare the faithful for death. First, they should be reassured and consoled: “You possess intelligent faith in the Buddha, the Law and the Community and the moral rules dear to the holy ones”. Then he is requested to renounce his parents, wife and sons, sense-pleasures and even the blisses of the lower and higher paradises: “You must leave your family, so reject all concern regarding them; human pleasures are fleeting, so do not be attached to them; the joys of the paradises including the Brahmā heaven are transitory and linked to the idea of the Self, raise your thoughts higher: apply them to the destruction of the Self.”\textsuperscript{185}

Worship (pūjā) and devotion (bhakti)*, which are particular forms of

\textsuperscript{183} On this hierarchy of punyakṣetra, see Majjhima, III, pp. 254-5.*
\textsuperscript{184} Āṅguttara, III, pp. 295-8.
\textsuperscript{185} Samyutta, V, pp. 408-10.
giving, are especially incumbent on the laity. When Ānanda asked him what should be done with regard to his mortal remains, the Buddha replied: "Do not concern yourself, Ānanda, with the honours to be paid to the mortal remains of the Tathāgata. Please attend only to your own salvation. There exist, Ānanda, among the nobles, brāhmīns and, among householders, wise men who have faith in the Tathāgata and who will pay suitable homage to the remains of the Tathāgata". The objection that worship is deprived of all merit under the pretext that there is no one to receive it is untenable. Indeed, at the time of his Parinirvāṇa, the Buddha accepted in advance all the gifts presented to stupas, caityas and places of pilgrimage. Furthermore, if a gift engenders merit when someone receives it, there is no reason why it should not be fruitful when no one receives it. Nevertheless, the question gives rise to controversy, and the sects were to debate the respective value of gifts presented to the Buddha, to stupas and caityas and, finally, to the Samgha.

4-5. The texts do not especially emphasize the other two virtues required of the lay person: learning (śrūta) and wisdom (prajñā).

A householder, involved in the troubles of his time, cannot be expected to grasp "the profound truth, which is difficult to perceive, difficult to understand, sublime, abstruse and which only the wise can grasp". A monk can aspire to be a great scholar (bahuśrūta), but a lay person will never be more than a petty scholar, a śrūta.

He will acquire this learning from well educated monks and by following carefully the sermons. We can cite the example of the householder named Ugga who, when serving a monk, served him perfectly and, when listening to his words, listened attentively and not absentmindedly.

While not emphatic over details, the wisdom (prajñā) required of the laity nevertheless relates to the most important aspects of the Buddhist truths: an at least theoretical knowledge of the rise and fall of things (udayatthagāminī paññā) and the noble penetration (ariyā nibbedhikā) concerning the complete destruction of suffering (samnādukkhakhaya).

THE INSTRUCTION OF THE LAITY. — That faith, morality and generosity are indeed the cardinal virtues of the Buddhist laity is evident from the

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186 Dīgha, II, p. 141.
187 Kośa, IV, p. 156.
188 Kośa, IV, p. 245.
189 A. BAREAU, Les sectes bouddhiques, p. 269.
190 Aṅguttara, IV, p. 211.
191 Aṅguttara, IV, p. 271.
disciplinary code which the Buddha composed for the benefit of householders and which is known by the name of the *Śīṅgālovādasuttanta*\(^{192}\).

On the advice of his father and in accordance with the Vedic prescriptions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Grhyasūtra*, the young Śīṅgāla revered the cardinal points and the deities appointed to guard them: Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Viṣṇu and Brhaspati. While not condemning those superstitious practices outright, Sākyamuni enjoined him to revere and respect his immediate entourage and the persons who, in the present life, served to orientate the activity of every well-born man: parents, teachers, wife and children, friends and companions, servants and craftsman and, finally, religious leaders and brāhmins. Natural law itself defines the duties which man owes those various categories of persons.

The pious layman will also abstain from any immoral action, particularly murder, theft, sexual misconduct and falsehood. He will combat inwardly bad tendencies which are the bases of misconduct: craving, hatred, delusion and fear.

Finally and above all, he will watch over his material interests in such a way as to keep intact his means of providing for the needs of his family, friends and the noble community of the religious. He will carefully avoid any corruption or imprudence which might threaten his fortune and lead him to ruin: intoxication, nocturnal excursions, visits to fairs, a passion for gambling, the company of bad friends and, finally, idleness.

The observance of natural virtues, most especially the virtue of almsgiving will lead the lay person, not to the destruction of suffering and to Nirvāṇa, but “to victory (vījaya) and success (āraddha) in this world and in the other”: after his death, he will be reborn into a happy but not final destiny.

The teaching imparted to the laity was in keeping with that ideal. The bhikṣus who aspired to tranquillity, knowledge, Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa will be instructed in the noble truths in three articles and twelve parts; the upāsakas, who are content with the blisses of this world and the heavens of the other world, will be taught the rudiments of faith and the principles of natural law or of lay morality.

It seems that from the outset Sākyamuni and the great disciples refrained from revealing the whole of the Buddhist Law to the upāsakas,

\(^{192}\) *Śīṅgālovādasuttanta*, in Digha, III, pp. 180-93; Ch'ang a han, T 1, ch. 11, p. 70; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 33, p. 638; Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 48, p. 353a; T 16 and 17.
or at least it was only to the bhikṣus that they expounded it “to the best of their ability” (sakkaccam).

When he was ill, the rich banker Anāthapindada, one of the greatest benefactors of the church, called the wise Śāriputra to him and the latter, in order to comfort him, expounded on disgust for sense-objects. At the end of the sermon, the banker broke into tears and remarked: “I have revered the Master for a long time, and this is the first time that I have heard this religious discourse (dhamma kathā)”. Śāriputra replied: “That is because such expositions are not explained to the laity, to those dressed in white, but only to the religious”. Anāthapindada then asked that complete teaching of the Law be imparted to the laity too, for “there are sons of good family who, through not having heard the Law, are lost, and who could become full (aññātāro) understanders of the Law”.193

The reticent attitude taken by the Buddha cannot be explained by a wish to reserve the truth for a privileged few. He had no pretensions to esoterism for he was not like those heretical masters who practise the acāryamuṣṭi, close their fists and refuse to teach. On the contrary, he opened to all the doors to immortality. Nevertheless, he learned from experience that not all men are capable of grasping the minutest subtleties of the Law and that to teach it indiscriminately to all classes of society was not worthwhile. The Master explained himself on this point. One day Asibandhakaputta asked him the reason why the Buddha, who has pity on all beings, teaches the Law to the best of his ability only to some and not to others. The Master replied: “There are good, mediocre and bad fields. The farmer who wishes to sow, sows in the good field; after having sown in the good field, he sows in the mediocre one; he may or may not sow in the bad field, since that field at least provides nourishment for animals. Likewise, I teach my Law and the perfect religious life to the bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs, who constitute a good field, to the upāsakas and upāsikās who are a mediocre field: they all have their island, their resting-place, their protection and their refuge in me. Similarly, I also teach my Law and the religious life to members of heretical ascetic sects, which constitute a bad field; and why? If they understand at least one word, that will be of great use to them”. Making use of another comparison, the Master compared the religious to an uncracked and non-porous pitcher; the lay person to an uncracked but porous pitcher; and the heretic to a cracked and porous pitcher.194

194 Samyutta, IV, pp. 314-17.
However, for the use of the laity eager to learn all the truths of the faith, a complete and progressive summary was instituted and received the name of gradual teaching (anupūrviṇikathā). It began with three discourses concerned respectively with giving, morality and heaven: the first emphasized the advantages of renunciation, the second revealed the harm, vanity and defilement of desires; the third mellowed, liberated, exalted and appeased the mind of the listener. Then followed the teaching of the Law proper (dharmaśeṣanā) which is the culminating point for the Buddhas: suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path to its cessation; it led the listener to the very centre of the doctrine, namely, that “everything that has arising as its law also has perishing as its law”\(^{195}\). When required and in order to illustrate their lessons, the monks painted images of the “wheel of rebirths” (saṃsāramāṇḍala) in the entrance-halls of the monasteries. Within the wheel, divided into six sections, were representations of the six destinies of the beings of this world: the hell-born, animals, pretas, mankind, asuras and gods. All round were the twelve nidāna shown by symbols. At the centre of the wheel, craving, hatred and delusion were depicted — represented by a dove, a snake and a pig — the driving power of the round of rebirths. The whole was enveloped in the claws of a grimacing demon which is “impermanence” (anityatā). Two stanzas were inscribed below:

“Start now, make an effort, apply yourselves to the Law of the Buddha...”\(^{196}\). A monk who was specially appointed to this task was entrusted with explaining to the faithful this vivid representation of the holy doctrine, placed at the entrances to monasteries.

All the same, the gradual teaching was never imposed on all upāsakas indiscriminately and in fact affected only a minority of the laity. Religious propaganda at the time of Aśoka was not focused on the noble truths, but on the general principles of natural law. In vain would one look in Aśoka’s inscriptions for the profound ideas and basic theories of Buddhism: they neither mention the four noble truths, nor the eightfold Path, nor the doctrine of dependent origination, nor even the supernormal attributes of the Buddha. They merely describe the

\(^{195}\) It could be said that the gradual teaching (anupūrviṇikathā) was to the laity what the Dharmaṣacropravarṇitasūtra was to the religious. Its text was fully fixed, as it appears from several sources: Vinaya, I, pp. 15, 18; II, pp. 156, 192; Dīgha, I, p. 110, II, p. 41; Majhima, I, p. 379; II, p. 145; Udāna, p. 49; Milinda, p. 228; Sūmaṇgala, I, p. 277, 308; Divya, pp. 616-17.

precepts of universal morality as they had already been formulated for
the use of the laity in the canonical writings: *Lakkhana* and *Śingālovāda*
of the Digha and the various *Gahapativagga* of the Majjhima, Samyutta
and Aṅguttara. The Buddhist missionaries themselves, when setting
out on the spiritual conquest of India, sought less to instruct their
listeners in the truths of the faith than to attract their adherence by
means of homilies, with little dogmatic scope, but suitable for terrifying
the minds and striking the imagination: descriptions of the pangs of
death and the torments of the hells, stories of ghosts, edifying tales and
fables. The principal aim of these missions was not to tear the Indian
population away from its ancestral beliefs and superstitious practices,
but to secure for the congregation of the Sons of the Śākya a growing
number of dedicated sympathizers (*prasadīta*) and generous donors
(*dānapati*).

Householders who adhered to Buddhism did not forswear their
former convictions as such. Few sought to penetrate the mysteries of a
doctrine formulated by monks for other monks. As long as they had
taken refuge in the Three Jewels and generously presented the congrega-
tion with clothing, alms, seats, beds and medicines, they considered they
had completely fulfilled their duties. Secular life made it, if not impos-
sible, at least very difficult to practise the virtues required of a monk:
mortification, chastity, poverty, composure and meditation. They had to
bring up a family, give orders to servants, manage and enlarge their
fortunes. They gained in active virtues what they lost in passive ones
and, in their opinion, the former were equivalent to the latter. Admir-
able as the monk devoted to working at his personal sanctification may
be, he is nonetheless a socially unproductive being, a sublime egoist. The
layman who makes sacrifices for his family, succours his fellows, erects
temples, builds monasteries and renders to the Buddha, to his relics and
to his spiritual sons the worship which is due to them, redeems, through
his pity and devotion (*bhakti*), the meagre satisfactions which he legiti-
mately allows his senses and heart. If the monk who strives for holiness
(*arhattva*) conforms to the Buddhas’s law (*dhammānucārin*), is not the
layman, through his generosity, patience and vigour, even closer to
Śākyamuni who, in the course of his former lives, carried charity to its
perfection (*pāramitā*)? Is it legitimate to reserve for the monk alone the

197 *Lakkhanasuttanta* in Digha, III, pp. 142-72; *Śingālovāda*, ibid., III, pp. 180-93;
*Gahapativaggas* in Majjhima, I, pp. 339-413; Samyutta, II, pp. 68-80; Aṅguttara, IV,
pp. 208-35.

198 See the titles of the sermons preached by the missionaries of Moggaliputtatissa:
Dpv., Ch. VIII; Mhv., Ch. XII: Samantapāśādikā, I, pp. 66-7.
right to definitive deliverance, Nirvāṇa, and only to promise the layman a good rebirth in the world of the gods and of mankind?

Respective Rights of the Religious and the Laity.* — This question arose early on for the theoreticians of Buddhism. The monks wanted to reserve for themselves at least a part of the fruits of the religious life (śrāmanyaaphala), particularly that of holiness (arhattva) and Nirvāṇa. Conversely, the laity fought to ensure themselves rights equal to those of the religious.

It was accepted from the beginning that the attainment of Nirvāṇa constitutes the ideal, close or distant, of all Buddhists indiscriminately: "Just as the river Ganges slopes, slants and proceeds towards the ocean, so the congregation of Gautama, the laity as well as the religious, slopes, slants and proceeds towards Nirvāṇa" 199.

It was furthermore accepted without controversy that the layman living at home can reap the first three fruits of the religious life and accede to the state of srotāpañña, sakṛdāgāmin and anāgāmin:

"By means of the severing of the three fetters (false view of the self, doubt and superstition), the upāsaka is a srotāpañña, is not subject to rebirth in the lower destinies, is sure of deliverance and destined to win supreme enlightenment. By means of the severing of the three fetters and the lessening of craving, hatred and delusion, the upāsaka is a sakṛdāgāmin: after having returned once to this world, he will attain the end of suffering. — By means of the severing of the five gross fetters (false view of the Self, doubt, superstition, covetousness and ill-will), he is an anāgāmin, born spontaneously (into the world of the gods) and there attaining Nirvāṇa: he is not destined to come back from that world" 200.

However, the crucial point is to know whether the upāsaka can accede to Arhatship, the fourth and last fruit of the religious life. The Buddha refused to adopt a definite position: "Regarding that matter", he said to Todeyaputta, "I make distinctions (vibhajyavāda), I am not categorical (ekāṃśavāda) : in a lay person as in the religious, I blame bad conduct" 201. Two things should be remembered: holiness is the same for everyone, but it is difficult to attain by those who remain in the world.

That holiness is the same for all appears from various scriptural passages: "The layman as well as the monk, if he is of good conduct (samyakpratipatti), i.e., possessed of the eight branches of the Path,

199 Majjhima, I, p. 493; Samyutta, V, pp. 134, 244.
200 Majjhima, I, pp. 467, 490-1.
201 Majjhima, II, p. 197.
precisely because of that good conduct, achieves great success as to method, law and good (ārādhako hoti nāyaṃ dhammān kusalam)\(^{202}\). Furthermore, “there is no difference in the matter of deliverance (vimukti) between an upāsaka and a bhikṣu whose mind is freed from impurities”\(^{203}\). The Āṅguttara knows of some twenty lay people, Trapuṣa and Bhallika at their head, who attained the End (nīthā), the Immortal (amṛta) without ever having taken up the religious life\(^{204}\). The Saṃyutta admits that respect for worthy people, hearing the Good Law, correct reflection and conformity with the precepts of the Law — qualities which are within reach of the laity as well as the religious — suffice to ensure the winning of the four fruits of the Path, including Arhatship\(^{205}\). A curious sutta in the Majjhima seems to make comprehension of the noble truths, the destruction of the impurities and the attainment of Nirvāṇa depend solely on the practice of the brahmavihāra which, as we know, are not of Buddhist invention\(^{206}\).

If, however, a few upāsakas placed in particularly favourable conditions reached holiness and deliverance, it should not be concluded from this that there was no need to take up the religious life. By the very fact that he remains in the world, the disciple of the Buddha proves that he is not free from corruption since, were he so, “he would not remain at home and eat as he pleases”\(^{207}\). The householder who has heard the Law and has faith in the Tathāgata should say to himself: “Household life is a hindrance and the path of passions; life outside is liberty. It is not easy for whoever remains at home to observe the brāhma life in its absolute fullness, in its absolute purity, polished like a conch. Now then, I wish to have my hair and beard shaved off, put on the yellow robe and leave the family, passing from the home to the homeless life”\(^{208}\). The wise man, says the Suttanipāta, should renounce the world: “May he, leaving son and wife, father and mother, wealth and harvest, friends and objects of desire, wander alone like a rhinoceros. May he say to himself: Family life is a bond; there is little happiness, little enjoyment, much pain, in it; it is a fish-hook. May he wander alone like a rhinoceros”\(^{209}\).

\(^{202}\) Majjhima, II, p. 197; Saṃyutta, V, p. 19.
\(^{203}\) Saṃyutta, V, p. 410.
\(^{204}\) Āṅguttara, III, p. 451.
\(^{205}\) Saṃyutta, V, pp. 410-11.
\(^{206}\) Majjhima, I, pp. 36-9.
\(^{207}\) Majjhima, I, p. 91.
\(^{208}\) Dīgha, I, p. 63.
\(^{209}\) Suttanipāta, v. 60 sq.
Indeed, the religious life offers immense advantages to those who aspire after salvation: full details are given in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*\(^{210}\).

Such a moderate and, let us admit it, wise attitude adopted by the Buddha and the early writings regarding the problem of the condition of life could not entirely satisfy the laity who wanted equal rights with the religious. Their aspirations were supported by certain schools. The northern school of the Uttarāpathakas asserted without any restriction or reservation that there was holiness (*arhatten*) for the laity: one could become a holy one while remaining bound to lay condition and by retaining lay characteristics\(^{211}\). This proposition was disputed by the Theravādins of Ceylon.

Not content with asserting their equality, the laity passed to the offensive by claiming that the Arhat, of whom the religious wanted to retain the monopoly, was subject to regressing from holiness. This thesis was adopted by five known schools: the Saṃmatiyas, Vātsiputriyas, Sarvāstivādins, Mahāsāṃghikas and Pūrvaśāilas\(^{212}\).

More than a hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa, a certain Mahādeva put forward five heterodox propositions which were the origin of the Mahāsāṃghika schism: There are Arhats, he said, who are led astray by others, subject to ignorance, exposed to doubt, saved by others and for whom the Path occurs because of speech. These theses aimed directly against the holiness of the religious were immediately adopted by the Mahāsāṃghikas, Pūrvaśāilas, Bahuśrutiyas, Cetiyas and Haimavatas. They were disputed by the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, Saṃmatiyas, Vātsiputriyas and Mahīśāsakas\(^{213}\). The rejoinder of the Theravādins can be found in the *Kathavatthu* (I, pp. 163-95), and that of the Sarvāstivādins in the *Jñānaprasthāna* (T 1543, ch. 10, p. 819b; T 1544, ch. 7, p. 956b).

The emergence of the Mahāyāna established the triumph of lay aspirations*. The Mahāyānists substituted for the old ideal of personal holiness followed, after death, by entry into Nirvāṇa, a new ideal wholly imbued with altruism: the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) associated with the wish for supreme and perfect Enlightenment (*anuttarasa-myaksambodhi*) and having as its object the welfare and happiness of all creatures. In order to attain this goal, the Mahāyānist commits himself to the bodhisattva path: for three, seven or thirty-three countless

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\(^{210}\) Digha, I, pp. 47-86.

\(^{211}\) Kathavatthu, I, p. 267.

\(^{212}\) BAREAU, *Sectes*, p. 291.

\(^{213}\) ID., *ibid.*
periods, he passes through the stages (bhūmi) of a long career during which he practises in an ever more lucid and benefactory manner the six or ten perfections (pāramitā) required of his state: giving, morality, patience, vigour, ecstasy and wisdom. It is no longer a question for him of destroying his own passions, for such a purification would have the disadvantage of his attaining Nirvāṇa prematurely, but of ensuring, by means of the practice of the perfections, the happiness of all beings. So it is voluntarily that the bodhisattva delays his entry into Nirvāṇa or, to be more exact, establishes himself in Nirvāṇa “as if he does not dwell there” (apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa) in order to continue his liberating activity.

The bodhisattva career is open to all: as much to the laity and even more so to the religious. Unlike the old sūtras of the Tripitaka compiled mainly for the edification of the bhikṣus, the Vaipulya-sūtra of the Mahāyāna are addressed to “sons and daughters of good family” (kula-putra and kula-putriyā).

In the field of religious discipline, the distinction between the monk and the lay person tends to disappear. What is of importance for the bodhisattva — whether he lives at home (grhastha) or has left the world (pravrajita) — is less the strict observance of the rules than this altruistic intention in applying them. Thus, while in the Hinayāna, capital offences (murder, theft, etc) entail excommunication whatever the motive, in the Mahāyāna they do not entail it if they have been committed for the benefit of others. The Bodhisattvabhūmi submits that the bodhisattva who, through skilful means, perpetrates a transgression against nature (prakṛti-sāvadya) is not only free of offence, but also wins great merit.

Success in the bodhisattva career is not linked to the condition of life. The sūtras of the Mahāyāna often begin by enumerating particularly venerable great bodhisattvas: the list generally exceeds twenty. If we are to believe the Upadeśa, among those twenty-two bodhisattvas, the first sixteen, beginning with Bhadrapāla, were laymen, only the other four, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, etc., were monks.

The theoreticians of the Mahāyāna ended by denying any importance to morality (śīla) as such and to restraint (sāmvarā) in life which is basically morality of commitment (sāmādāna-śīla).

“The bodhisattva should fulfil, the perfection of morality by basing himself on the non-existence of sin and good action” (śilapāramitā paripūrayitavyā āpatty-anāpatty-anadhyāpattitām upādāya).

214 Bodh. bhūmi, pp. 165-6: asti ca kimcit prakṛti-sāvadyam api yad bodhisattvas tadrūpeṇopāyakausālena samudācarati yenānāpattikāś ca bhavati bahu ca punyam prasūyate.


216 Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, ed. N. DUTT, p. 18, l.110.
juna justifies this concept: To speak of the non-existence of sin and good action", he explains, "is not a false view. If one examines carefully the nature of things and one practises concentration on emptiness (śūnya-tāsamādhi), one sees, with the eye of wisdom, that sin does not exist; if sin does not exist, its opposite, good action, does not exist either. This higher vision is not an incentive to wrongdoing, quite the opposite! It is the door to deliverance. To quote Nāgārjuna again: "The bodhisattva who knows the true significance of all Dharmas (sarvadharmabhūtanayapratisamvedin) does not perceive morality (śīla) and even less so, immorality (dauḥśīlya). Even though, for various reasons, he does not trangress against morality, he attaches even more importance to entering the Door to deliverance named Emptiness (śūnyatāvimokṣamukha)."

In such conditions, the choice of a condition of life destined to protect morality has no more than a minimal importance. The superiority of the religious life which is extolled so much in the Hinayāna is a prejudice from which the bodhisattva should free himself. This is evident from the Bhūmisambhāra, an important section of the Prajñāpāramitā which has often been translated into Chinese and is commented upon at length in the Upadeśa.

The bodhisattva who is in the first stage should practise the preparation for the ten stages (daśabhūmiparikarma), particularly the constant leaving of the world (abhikṣṇam naiskramya): "In all his existences, without changing his mind, he leaves home and enters the religion of the Tathāgata, without anyone being able to prevent him."

However, when he reaches the fifth stage, the bodhisattva shuns the company of the laity (gṛhīsamstava): "Passing from Buddha-field to Buddha-field, in his life as a religious, he always leaves home, shaves his head and wears the kāṣāya."
Finally, in the seventh stage, the bodhisattva, fully realizing the twofold emptiness of beings and things, eliminates twenty prejudices among which figures attachment to false views concerning the Community (saṃghaniśrayadrṣṭyabhinniveśa), because the specific nature of the Samgha is unconditioned (asaṃskṛta) and invisible (adṛṣṭa)²²². From this higher point of view, there is no longer any difference between the religious and the laity for the very good reason that they are both non-existent.

From the higher point of view which is that of the Mahāyāna, every contradiction disappears.

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²²² Ibid., p. 222, 11.11-12 (corrected text): Saṃghaniśrayadrṣṭyabhinniveśo na kartavyah saṃghanimittasyaasaṃskṛtatvād adṛṣṭatvāc ca.
CHAPTER TWO

THE MAGADHAN PERIOD

General features of the period. — The term Magadhan can be applied to the period which extended from 546 to 324 B.C. and which is characterized by the constant growth of the kingdom of Magadha under the successive dynasties of the Haryāṇkas (546-414), Śiśunāgas (414-346) and the Nine Nadas (346-324). Despite the palace dramas which regularly bathed the throne in blood, the princes had the interests of the state at heart and built up piecemeal an extensive kingdom which included the territories of the Vṛjīs and Kosala in the north, Kuru-Pañcāla and the Mathurā region in the west, the territories of the Avantī (Mālāvā), Haihaya on the Narmadā and of Aśmaka on the Upper Godāvari in the centre and south-west, Bengal and Kaliṅga in the east.

The religious zeal of the princes was not as great as was their political consciousness; however, some of them showed sympathy for the Buddhist Order and favoured its development: Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru (after his accession to the throne), Udāyin, Muṇḍa and Kālāśoka.

Religious history cannot overlook two regions which had not yet been touched by Buddhist propaganda at the Magadhan period, but which were later to become two important holy lands: Uttarāpatha and the island of Ceylon.

Uttarāpatha, a region in the north-west, and its capital Taxaśilā, the seat of an ancient university, formed, at an early date, an influential centre of Indian culture. According to a late and probably apocryphal tradition, its king Pukkusāti had known the Buddha in the sixth century and been converted. However, if this fact is true, the royal example was not followed by the mass of the population, and three more centuries were required for the Good Law to be implanted in the region. In the meantime, the north-west was drawn into a rapid succession of events: the Achaemenid conquest and occupation (559-336); a lightning raid by Alexander (327-324), and quarrels among the Diadochi (325-305). It was only in 305, after the failure of Seleucus’ campaign against Candragupta, that the north-west returned to the mother-country and again entered the orbit of the Indian empire.

Towards the end of the sixth century, the island of Ceylon was occupied by an Āryan colony, which originated in Lāṭa (Gulf of Cambay), and superimposed itself on the primitive population of the
Veḷḷas. These Siṃhala, as they were called, were governed from 486 to 250 by five successive kings who organized the island, gave it a capital, Anurādhapura, and prepared it to receive the message of Śākyamuni which the missionary Mahinda was to bring to it.

During the Magadhan period, the Buddhist Community, of which the main centre was still the region of the Middle Ganges, settled down slowly but surely. Its first successes were far from spectacular and hardly surpassed those of the rival orders of the Nirgranthas, Ājīvakas, Jayilakas, Tedaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas or Devadhārmikas.

The first concern of the nascent community was to codify the teaching of the Buddha and to give the Order a well-defined doctrine and discipline. Tradition attributes this undertaking to two Buddhist councils which followed each other at a century’s interval: the Council of Rājagrha, which convened the very year of the Buddha’s decease (486), compiled the Dharma and Vinaya; that of Vaiśāli, which was held in 386 or 376, condemned the laxist tendencies which had permeated some of the parishes. However, the records devoted to these councils are riddled with improbabilities, anachronisms and contradictions; in the course of history, they were exploited to very different ends. It remains nonetheless a fact that the work done by the early disciples (sthavira) during the two centuries which followed the Nirvāṇa supplied the original community with a law (dharma) and a set of rules (prātimokṣa) which were more or less definitive: a sacred trust which constituted the common heritage of the schools which were to develop later.

It was on this basis that the canonical writings were elaborated, but their compilation required many centuries and was still not completed in the fifth century of the Christian era. Each sect claimed to possess its own code of writings and attempted, without always succeeding, to institute it by exploiting the common doctrinal fund, while enriching it with more or less authentic new compositions. This work was not carried out systematically, but with much classifying and reclassifying of the texts.

A history of Buddhism should also take into account the predictions which circulated very early on in the Community regarding the future disappearance of the Good Law, for it was accepted by the disciples of Śākyamuni that after a greater or lesser period the Buddha’s Doctrine would finally deteriorate and disappear, only to be rediscovered and expounded again by the Buddhas of the future. These pessimistic forecasts concerning the vanishing of the Dharma and the circumstances which might accompany it are lacking in coherence. Nevertheless, they
arose in the minds of believers and, because of that, deserve to be recorded and analyzed.

Sākyamuni had refused to designate a successor to preside over the destinies of the order he had founded. Indeed, Buddhists never acknowledged the authority of a single infallible leader.

Each community, however, had its own masters, preceptors (upādhyāya) and instructors (ācārya) who were entrusted with conferring ordination on young recruits and guiding them along the paths of religious perfection. The monks of Ceylon have preserved, or compiled, a list of the “Vinaya Chiefs” (vinayapāmokkha) and “Masters of scholastics” (abhidhammācārya) who succeeded one another in Magadha from the time of the Nirvāṇa until that of Aśoka, but they make no mention of “Masters of the Law” (dharmācārya), who were supposed to have received and transmitted the sacred trust of the doctrine. This list was to be compiled later, by the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins from the north-west, about the second century A.D. It was widely distributed, particularly in Kaśmīr and China, but did not however compel recognition from all the sects of the continent.

I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

I. — MAGADHA, FROM 546 to 324 B.C.

(Ch. II, IV and V) and *Samantapāśādikā* (I, pp. 72-3) count 218 years between the Buddha’s decease and the consecration of Aśoka (486-268 B.C.), 316 years between Bimbisāra’s accession and the death of Aśoka (546-230 B.C.). During the period, it is thought that four royal houses and thirteen sovereigns succeeded one another on the throne of Magadha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sovereigns</th>
<th>Years of rule</th>
<th>Era of the Nirvāṇa</th>
<th>Anc. Era (B.C.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. 1. Bimbisāra</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>60 before – 8 before</td>
<td>546-494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ajātasattu</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8 before – 24 after</td>
<td>494-462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Udayabhadda</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24-40</td>
<td>462-446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Anuruddha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Munda</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40-48</td>
<td>438-414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nāgadāsaka</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48-72</td>
<td>414-396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. 7. Susunāga</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72-90</td>
<td>396-368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kālāsoka</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>90-118</td>
<td>368-346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ten sons of 8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>118-140</td>
<td>346-324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. 10. Nine Nandas</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>140-162</td>
<td>324-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. 11. Candagutta</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>162-186</td>
<td>300-272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Bindusāra</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>186-214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coronation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after coronation</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>218-255</td>
<td>268-231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in the genealogy of the *Samantapāśādikā* (I, p. 73) and its Chinese recension (T 1462, ch. 2, p. 687b 2), the eighth sovereign

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Other works, limited to given periods, will be referred to in the following pages.


Kālāsoka is merely given as “Asoka, son of Susunāga”; he appears under the name of Kālāsoka only on pages 33 and 72 of the Pāli text, and on page 687a 24 of the Chinese. Since Kālāsoka appears only in the Sinhalese sources, we can, as did P. Demiéville, have doubts about his existence.

Although the Sinhalese tradition was adopted by Burmese Buddhists, it was not so firmly established as has generally been believed. Thus Buddhaghosa, who subscribed to it in his Samantapāsādikā, discarded it in the Sumāṅgalavilāsini (I, p. 153). Indeed, in that work the order of succession of the first six sovereigns is as follows: Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Udaya, Mahāmunḍa, Anuruddha and Nāgadāsa.

2. Buddhist sources in Sanskrit which as we have seen claim that Asoka reigned in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, nevertheless count twelve sovereigns within the short space of a century, i.e., from 368 to 268 B.C. This is notably the case for The Legend of Asoka (Divya, p. 369; T 2042, ch. 1, p. 99c. Also cf. T 99, ch. 23, p. 162a; T 2043, ch. 1, p. 132b):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sovereign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bimbisāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ajātasatru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Udayabhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Muṇḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kākavarnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sahālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tulakucin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mahāmaṇḍala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Prasenajit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bindusāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Susīma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This genealogy contains errors and omissions: it classifies Prasenajit, king of Kosala, among the sovereigns of Magadha, and does not mention the Maurya Candragupta. Its fifth sovereign Kākavarnin is known to the Purāṇa by the name of Kākavarna, which is an epithet meaning “crow-coloured” and one might wonder whether the Sinhalese chroniclers were not referring to him by placing a Kālāsoka “Aśoka the Black” beside the great Aśoka, the Maurya.

Another Sanskrit source, which also places Aśoka in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, supplies a series of badly classified facts and chronological indications which are quite different from the Sinhalese chronicles. This is the Maṅjuśrīmālakalpa (vv. 321-6; 353-79; 413-39):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sovereign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bimbisāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ajātasatru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Udāyin (reigned 20 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Asoka Mukhya (acceded to the throne 100 years after the Buddha, lived for 100 years and ruled for 87 years)
5. Visoka (succeeded the last-named and ruled for 76 years)
6. Sūrasena (reigned 17 years)
7. Nanda (lived for 67 years)
8. Candragupta
9. Bindusāra (reigned until he was 70 years old).

This source mixes all the given facts: the first three sovereigns belong to the house of the Haryatikas (546-414 B.C.); numbers 5 and 6, to the house of the Sisunagas (414-346 B.C.) if Visoka and Sūrasena are respectively identified with Kālāsoka and his eldest son Bhadrasena of the Pāli sources; number 7 represents the Nanda dynasty (346-324 B.C.); numbers 8, 9 and 4 represent the first three Mauryas.

3. Neither the Jaina nor brahmanical tradition confirm the Buddhist sources, whether Pāli or Sanskrit.

In his Pariśiṣṭaparvan, the Jaina historian Hemacandra, from the end of the eleventh century A.D., lists only seven sovereigns:

1. Śrenika
2. Kūnika
3. Udāyin
4. Nine Nandas
5. Candragupta
6. Bindusāra
7. Aśoka

Śrenika is the forename of Bimbisāra, and Kūnika, that of Ajātaśatru. The same author dates the accession of Candragupta in the year 155 after the death of Mahāvīra which occurred, it is believed, in 468 B.C. Therefore, according to this datum, which confirms the Kahavali of Bhadreśvara, Candragupta would have mounted the throne of Magadha in 313 B.C. However, another Jaina author, Merutuṅga, in his Vicāraśreni, situates the accession sixty years later, i.e., in 253 B.C.

According to the Purāṇa (P., pp. 21-2, 24-5, 28), fourteen sovereigns mounted the throne of Magadha, but over a period of 517 years.

1. Śisunāga (40 years)
2. Kākavarga (36)
3. Kṣemadharmar (20)
4. Kṣatraujas (40)
5. Bimbisāra (28)
6. Ajātaśatru (25)
7. Darśaka (25)
8. Udāyin (33)
9. Nandivardhana (42)
10. Mahānandin (43)
11. Mahāpadma and his 8 sons (100)
12. Candragupta (24)
13. Bindusāra (25)
14. Aśoka (36)

3 Ed. JACOBI (Bibl. Ind.), I, 22 sq.; VI, 22 sq.; 231 sq.; VIII, 1 sq.; 297 sq., IX, 14 sq.
4 Pariśiṣṭaparvan, VIII, 339.
5 Ed. JACOBI, p. XX.
6 Id., ibid.
Since it is impossible to reach a decision about these contradictory attestations, we will follow here the Sinhalese chronology, but with distinct reservations concerning the existence of a Kalāśoka and the 218 years which supposedly separated the Nirvāṇa from the consecration of Aśoka.

The Haryāṇkas (546-414 B.C.). — According to the Buddhacarita (XI, 2), the first kings of Magadha belonged to the illustrious Haryāṇka family. It achieved the unity of the Gangetic empire, but tarnished its reputation by numerous crimes: in order to accede to power more quickly, the crown princes regularly put their fathers to death: an uncontrollable but well established tradition.

1. Śrenīka Bimbisāra (60-8 before the Nirvāṇa; 546-494 B.C.) was the contemporary of the Buddha and of Mahāvīra. He came to the throne when aged 15 and had his residence in Rājagrha-Girivraja where he founded a new town, as the earlier one had constantly been destroyed by fire. He contracted marriages with the ruling families of the Madras, Kosala and Vaiśāli. His Kosalan wife brought him as dowry a village in the district of Vārānasī which produced a revenue of one hundred thousand pieces of money. He defeated King Brahmadatta and annexed Aṅga (Bengal) to his crown. He was on friendly terms with King Pukkusāti of Taxila, whom he instructed in the doctrine of the Buddha. His son Ajātaśatru threw him into prison where he died of starvation; Queen Kosaladevi's death followed soon afterwards.

2. Kuśika Ajātaśatru (during the period covering 8 years before to 24 years after the Nirvāṇa; 493-462 B.C.) in his youth patronised Devadatta, the schismatic cousin of the Buddha, built the monastery of Gayaśīrṣa for him and took part in his plots against the Buddha's life. Later, however, seized with remorse, he sought out the Blessed One and apologized to him: the Master expounded the Sāmaññaphalasutta to him and pardoned him. From then on, Ajātaśatru showed himself sympathetic towards Buddhism.

As a result of the odious murder of his own father Bimbisāra, Kosala and the Vṛjīs leagued together against him. Battle was first engaged against Kosala. After initial successes, Ajātaśatru was beaten and taken prisoner but his uncle Prasenajit, king of Kosala, freed him, gave him the hand of his daughter Vajrā in marriage and acknowledged his possession of the village in the district of Kāśi which had served as a

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7 E. Matsumoto, On a Narrative of King Ajātaśatru in the Kucha Frescoes, Kokka, No. 566, Jan. 1938.
pretext for the war. Dethroned by his son Virūḍhaka, Prasenajit sought refuge with Ajātaśatru, but died of exhaustion before he was able to reach him. Ajātaśatru arranged a fine funeral for his uncle, but did not disturb his cousin Virūḍhaka who had just ascended the throne of Kosala.

The war waged by Ajātaśatru against the Vṛjī confederation, which included in particular the Licchavis of Vaiśāli and the Mallas of Kuśinagara and Pāvā, continued for many years. The pretext for it was either the refusal of Cetaka, king of Vaiśāli, to restore to Ajātaśatru a necklet which had once belonged to Bimbisāra, or a dispute which had arisen between the Licchavis and Ajātaśatru over the joint exploitation of a diamond mine on the banks of the Ganges. The very year of the Buddha’s decease, Ajātaśatru’s ministers, Varṣakāra and Sunidha, had, on the right bank of the river, fortified the village of Pātaligrāma which was later to become the capital of the kingdom under the name of Pātaliputra. Varṣakāra warned the Buddha of the aggressive intentions of his king. In order to resist the attack of his neighbour from the south, King Cetaka of Vaiśāli called to arms the eighteen Gaṇarajas of Kāsi and Kosala together with the Licchavis and Mallas. However, dissension was sown among his troops by the minister Varṣakāra who, like a new Coriolanus, had pretended to pass to the enemy. Finally, Vaiśāli was taken by means of the catapults and heavy chariots of the Magadhans, and the Vṛjī territory was attached to Ajātaśatru’s possessions.

From the time of his conversion the king increased his marks of attachment to the Buddha and his disciples. His ministers had to take the greatest precautions when informing him of the Blessed One’s decease. On pretext of protecting the king from the fatal effects of a bad dream, they placed him in a tank “filled with the four sweetliness”, then told him the sad news. The king fainted, and had to be plunged into a further two tanks and the announcement repeated before the king realized the extent of the misfortune. His despair was extreme; in tears he recalled the virtues of the Buddha and visited the places which the Buddha had sanctified by his presence. Not without difficulty, he obtained a portion of the Buddha’s relics from the Mallas of Kuśinagara, and took them back to his capital Rājagrha where he had them enclosed in a stone stūpa. Two months later, during the Buddhist council held in Rājagrha, he gave his royal support to the Elders and ensured their subsistence.

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8 Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, Appendix, p. 7; Sumanagara, II, p. 516.
9 Vinaya, I, p. 228; Udāna, p. 87; Dīgha, II, p. 72 sq.
10 On this episode, see E. WALDSCHMIDT, Lebensende des B., pp. 252-4.
The death of the first two masters of the Law, Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda, which took place during his reign, was a further cause of sorrow for Ajātaśatru. Despite his keen desire to do so, he was unable to be present at their last moments, but he visited the Kukkuṭapāda where the former had entered Nirvāṇa and erected a stūpa over the portion of the relics left by the second. It seems that Mahākāśyapa died shortly after the council of Rājagrha (486 B.C.), and Ānanda the year which preceded the death of the king (463 B.C.). In 462 Ajātaśatru, the patricide, in turn succumbed at the hands of his son Udāyin or Udayabhadra: for seeing this turn of events, he had attempted in vain to make his son take up the religious life.

3. Udāyin or Udayabhadra (24-40 after the Nirvāṇa; 462-446 B.C.) exercised a vice-royalty in Campā before acceding to the throne which he occupied for sixteen years. The Jaina sources agree with the Purāṇa in attributing to him the founding of the town of Pātaliputra or Kusumapura on the right bank of the Ganges, at the confluence of the Sona, in the fourth year of his reign (458 B.C.): this city was to remain the capital of the Magadhan empire for many centuries. Udāyin was at war with the kingdom of Avanti which, at the time, had been enlarged by the addition of the territory of Kausāmbī: the hostilities which began under his father Ajātaśatru did not end until some fifty years later with the triumph of Śiśunāga over the king of Avanti. The Buddhists claim that Udāyin had accepted the doctrine of the Buddha and had it written down: the tradition is difficult to verify but should not be discarded a priori.

4-5. Anuruddha and Mūṇḍa (40-48 after the Nirvāṇa; 446-438 B.C.). Anuruddha assassinated his father Udāyin and in turn fell at the hands of his son Mūṇḍa. The latter's wife was Bhadrā. When she died, the king's grief was so acute that, at the request of the treasurer Piya, the Thera Nārada, abbot of the Kukkuṭarāma, went to Pātaliputra to comfort Mūṇḍa. That pious encounter confirmed the king in his Buddhist faith.

6. Nāgadāsaka (48-82 after the Nirvāṇa; 438-414 B.C.) killed his father and ruled for twenty-four years. His subjects, who grew weary of his behaviour, rebelled against him and replaced him by a capable minister, known by the name of Śiśunāga.

Although the house of the Haryāṅkas was favourable to their religion, the Buddhists were severely censorious of that race of patricides.

11 Mmk., v. 324: Tasyāpi suto rājā Ukārākhyah-prakīriitah | bhaviṣyati tadā kṣipram śāsanarthaṁ ca udvataḥ | tad etat pravacanaṁ śāstu likhāpayiṣyati vistaram.
The *Maṛjuśrīmūlaka kalpa* mentions the visit paid by Ajātaśatru to the Buddha in order to obtain pardon and support, and gives details of the vicissitudes of the war of the relics, but this is only in order to recall the Buddha’s prophecies regarding the difficult beginnings of his religion: “After my decease”, he is reported to have said, “the masters of the world will kill each other from father to son; the bhikṣus will be engrossed in business affairs and the people, victims of greed. The laity will lose their faith, will kill and spy on one another. The land will be invaded by Devas and Tirthikas, and the population will place its faith in the brāhmīns; men will take pleasure in killing living beings and they will lead a loose life” (vv. 236-48). The same text emphasizes that Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, also ruled over Āṅga, the Vārāṇasī region and, to the north, as far as Vaiśālī (vv. 321-2).

The episodes which affected the beginnings of Buddhism in its relationship with the kings of Magadha very soon attracted the attention of artists. The ancient school of sculpture in the second century B.C. produced a great many representations of the encounters between Bimbisāra and the Buddha, the due apology and conversion of Ajātaśatru, as well as various episodes in the war of the relics in which that king played the leading part. The same themes were also exploited by the artists of Gandhāra and Amarāvatī.

In the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., the memory of the ancient kings of Magadha was still young in India. During his journey to the holy places, the pilgrim Fa-hsien recorded the traditions according to which Ajātaśatru had, in his youth, sent a drunken elephant against the Buddha, built a new city in Rājagṛha and assembled half of Ānanda’s relics on the banks of the Ganges. Two centuries later, Hsüan tsang mentions no less than two roadways constructed by Bimbisāra in the area of Rājagṛha, in the Yaśṭivana and on the Grōhrakūṭaparvata, for the sole purpose of having better access to the Buddha. The master of the Law also knew of the old tradition which attributed the founding of New Rājagṛha sometimes to Bimbisāra and sometimes to Ajātaśatru. To the west of the Venuvana, he saw the stūpa which the latter had erected over his share of the Buddha’s relics.

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13 LEGGE, pp. 76, 81, 82.
14 WATTERS, II, pp. 146, 148, 151.
15 WATTERS, II, p. 162.
16 WATTERS, II, p. 158.
Sinhalese chronicles, this dynasty included among its ranks Śīṣunāga, Kālāśoka and the Ten Sons of Kālāśoka. K.P. Jayaswal suggests identifying Kālāśoka with the Viśoka of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (v. 413), and one of his ten sons with the Śūrasena of the same source (v. 417). It will be noted that the Jaina historians make no mention of this dynasty, that the ‘Legend of Aśoka’ in Sanskrit replaces it with three sovereigns whose family is not named (Kākavarnin, Sahālin and Tulakucin), it will also be noted that the Purāṇas place the Śīṣunāgas before the Haryāṅkas and, finally, that the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa situates Viśoka and Śūrasena after Aśoka the Maurya. This chronological uncertainty in no way authorizes a comparison, however tempting, between the Kākavarnin of the Purāṇas and of the ‘Legend of Aśoka’ and the Kālāśoka of the Pāli chronicles.

The latter give Kālāśoka as the patron of the second Buddhist council which was held in Vaiśālī in the year 100 or 110 of the Nirvāṇa, but, according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha (p. 41), those meetings took place under the protection of a king of Licchavi origin called Nandin. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Sinhalese chroniclers entirely invented a Śīṣunāga, Kālāśoka, in order to harmonize two traditions from different sources: one, of continental origin, according to which a Buddhist council was held in Vaiśālī in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa, and the other, of Sinhalese origin, which mentions a council which took place in Pāṭaliputra in the year 236 of the Nirvāṇa, under Aśoka the Maurya. Such chroniclers would therefore have duplicated the Aśoka Maurya by assuming the existence, 136 years before his time, of an Aśoka of the Śīṣunāga family. They called him “Black Aśoka” (Kālāśoka), taking their inspiration from the Purāṇas in which the name Kākavarna designates the son of Śīṣunāga. Buddhist sources in Sanskrit, such as The Legend of Aśoka and the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, which give Aśoka the Maurya as ruling in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa and know nothing whatever about the council of Pāṭaliputra, had no need of such subterfuge.

1. Śīṣunāga (72-90 after the Nirvāṇa, 414-396 B.C.). — Śīṣunāga, whom a popular uprising placed on the throne of Magadha, was, according to the Mahāvamsatikā (p. 155), the son of a Licchavi rāja and a courtesan. The Purāṇa (P., p. 21) inform us that he settled his son in Vārāṇasī and made Girivraja (Rājagrha) his capital. However, the Burmese tradition has it that, in memory of his mother, he transferred

17 Imperial History of India, Lahore, 1934, p. 14.
his residence to Vaiśālī and that from then on Rājagṛha lost its rank of capital which it was never to regain. Pursuing the policy of absorption inaugurated by Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, Śiśunāga “destroyed all the prestige” of the Pradyotas of Avanti and thus annexed Mālwa to his crown.

2. Kālaśoka (90-118 after the Nirvāṇa; 396-368 B.C.). — Kālaśoka, the son of Śiśunāga, transferred his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭali-putra, but made Vaiśālī one of his residences. It was there that a laxist movement broke out among the Vṛjis, monks from Vaiśālī, who took great liberties with the monastic discipline. At first the king supported them but, when his sister Nandā intervened, he transferred his patronage to the orthodox monks; a council took place with his consent at the Vālikārāma in Vaiśālī in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa (386 B.C.) and the Vṛjis were declared to be in the wrong. It should be remembered that, according to Tāranātha, this council was held during the reign of a King Nandin of Licchavi origin.

Some historians have identified Kālaśoka with Kākavarna or Kākavarnin in the Purāṇa and the Legend of Aśoka. The latter reigned for thirty-six years and, in the words of the Harṣacarita (p. 199), met with a violent death: a dagger was plunged into his throat when he was not far from his city.

Kālaśoka has also been compared to Viśoka who is mentioned in the Mañjuśrīmālakalpa (v. 413), but the latter succeeded Aśoka the Maurya and died of a fever after having venerated the Buddha’s relics for seventy-six years. These “wild” identifications do not help to solve the problem.

3. The ten sons of Kālaśoka (118-140 after the Nirvāṇa; 368-346 B.C.). — They reigned jointly for twenty-two years and the Mahābodhi-vaṃsa (p. 98) gives their names: Bhaddasena, Koraṇḍavaṇṇa, Maṅgura, Sabbañjaha, Jālika, Udbhaka, Sañjaya, Korabya, Nandivaddhana and Pañcamaka. The Mañjuśrīmālakalpa (v. 417) knows of a Śūrasena who has been compared to Bhaddasena: he had stūpas erected as far as the shores of the Ocean and ruled for seventeen years. The Purāṇa (P., p. 22) also note among the Śaiśunāgas a Nandivardhana who succeeded Udāyin and reigned for forty years.

THE NINE NANDAS (346-324 B.C.). — According to the Sinhalese sources, the Śiśunāga dynasty was overthrown by a brigand who usurped the throne and established the house of the Nine Nandas which remained in power for twenty-two years. The Mahābodhi-vaṃsa (p. 98)

gives their names: Uggasena-Nanda, Paṇḍuka-Nanda, Paṇḍugati-Nanda, Bhūtapāla-Nanda, Raṭṭhapāla-Nanda, Govisāṇaka-Nanda, Dasa-siddhaka-Nanda, Kevāṭṭa-Nanda and Dhana-Nanda: the latter was killed by Candagutta with the help of Cāṇakka, and his throne was seized.

The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (vv. 422-8) knows of only one Nanda whom it gives as succeeding Śūrasena: this King Nanda was to reign in Puśrapura (Pātaliputra), have a large army and enjoy great power. He was known as the Chief of the Peasants (nićamukhya) probably because of his low birth. He had been prime minister, but had usurped the kingship by magical means. He lived surrounded by proud and demanding brāhmīns to whom he was lavish with his gifts; however, on the entreaties of a "spiritual friend" he did not refuse the Buddhists his favours: he had twenty-four vihāras constructed and richly endowed the precious relics of the Buddha. Among his friends and counsellors were two grammarians of brāhmin origin but favourable to Buddhism: Pāṇini, the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and Vararuci, known for a treatise on metrics (Śrutabodha) and a Prakrit grammar (Prākritaparakāśa). Towards the end of his reign, Nanda alienated the sympathy of his ministers but, he died of a disease at the age of sixty-seven, a rare privilege for a Magadhan king.

The information supplied here can be completed by Indian and foreign sources.

The Kharavela inscription at Hāthishagmapātī tells us that in the fifth year of his reign King Kharavela of Kaliṅga extended a canal, which had been inaugurated 300 years earlier by King Nanda, from the Tanasuliya highway to his capital. While visiting the five stūpas erected by Aśoka over the remains of the Buddha's relics in Pātaliputra, Hsūan tsang learned of a fanciful rumour, put about by disciples of little faith, according to which those stūpas contained the five treasures of King Nanda (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912b).

The Purāṇa (P., 25-6) assigns to the Nine Nandas a duration of 100 years: 88 years to Mahāpadma-Nanda, founder of the dynasty, 12 years to his eight sons the eldest of whom was Sukalpa. Mahāpadma-Nanda was the son of Mahānandana, the last representative of the Śisunāga dynasty, and of a śudrā. He exterminated all his neighbours, noble kṣatriyas from the surrounding area: Aikṣvāku of Kosala, Pañcāla of Doāb, Kāseya of Vārāṇasī, Haihaya of the Narmadā, Kaliṅga of Orissa, Āsmaka of the upper Godāvari, Kuru of Thānesar, Maithila of the

20 B. M. Barua, Hāthishagmapā Inscription of Khāravela, IHQ., XIV, 1938, p. 476.
district of Muzaffarpur, Śūrasena of the Yamunā and Mathurā, Vitho-tra on the borders of Mālwā. Mahāpadma-Nanda’s victory brought śūdras of low caste to the throne, which they held for a century. The brāhmin Kauṭilya (alias Cāṇakya) was to uproot them all and they were replaced by the Mauryas.

According to the Jaina sources, the Nine Nandas directly succeeded Udāyin, the son of Ajātaśatru, and occupied the throne of Magadha from 468 to 313 B.C., i.e., a duration of 155 years; after that time, they were overthrown by Cāṇakya on behalf of Candragupta (Pariśīṭaparvan, VIII, 339). Nanda, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of a barber and a courtesan (ibid., VI, 231-2). His empire extended as far as the oceans.

Some inscriptions of Mysore, dating from later (thirteenth century), attribute to the Nandas the possession of Kuntala, a territory including the southern part of Maharashtra and the portions adjoining the states of Hyderabad and Mysore. Actually the Nandas got no further south than the valleys of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tungabhadra.

When Alexander the Great reached the Hyphasis (Beās) in 326 B.C., the king of the Indians or, to use the eastern term, the king of the Gangaridae (“Inhabitants of the Ganges”) and the Prasioi (from Prācyya “Easteners”), was none other than the last Nanda, named by the classical historians as Xandrames or Aggrammes. This is the Dhana-Nanda of the Sinhalese sources, the son of Ugrasena-Nanda according to the Mahābodhivamsa, of Mahāpadma-Nanda according to the Purana. If the comparison is correct, his name Xandrames-Aggrammes would go back to a Sanskrit original of Augrasainya “Son of Ugrasena”, and not to Candramās as is most often claimed. Quintus Curtius (IX, 2, 6-7) supplies facts about this Dhana-Nanda and his father, the usurper, which are quite similar to those given by the Jaina and Buddhist traditions: “Aggrammes (Dhana-Nanda Augrasainya) who ruled, not only lacked nobility, but was of a lowly condition (i.e., a śūdra); for his father (Mahāpadma-Nanda), a barber, whose daily earnings barely prevented him from dying of hunger, had seduced the queen by his charming external appearance. She gained for him the friendship of the prince who was ruling at that time and was the last representative of the Śiśunāga house; he treacherously killed the prince and then, pretexting a regency, he appropriated the sovereignty; after he had assassinated the king’s children, he had a son who is the one now reigning (Dhana-Nanda), a prince who is disliked and scorned by his

Raychaudhuri, Political Hist., p. 235.
compatriots, and who remembered his father's condition rather than this own".

Alexander's historians, Diodorus of Sicily (XVII, 93, 2), Pliny the Elder (VI, 68), Quintus Curtius (IX, 2, 3-4) and Plutarch (Life of Alex., LXII), disagree over the number of armed forces at the disposal of the king of the Gangaridae and Prasioi, but that army, in accordance with Indian custom, was indeed composed of four different types of troops (caturaṅgabala):

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<th>Infantry</th>
<th>Cavalry</th>
<th>Chariots</th>
<th>Elephants</th>
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<tr>
<td>Diodorus</td>
<td>200,000</td>
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<td>Pliny</td>
<td>60,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quintus Curtius</td>
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<td>Plutarch</td>
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According to the same historians, these particulars were given to Alexander by Phegeus, an Indian prince who ruled over a territory downstream from Kāŋgra on the Hyphasis. However, the meeting between Alexander and Phegeus is merely a myth and the point of departure for the legend according to which Alexander is supposed to have gone as far as the Ganges. The information which Phegeus is supposed to have supplied is, moreover, incorrect, as it situates the kingdom of the Gangaridae and Prasioi on the other bank (πέραυ, ad ulteriorem ripam) of the Ganges. Arrian (Anabasis of Alexander, V, 25, 1) who made use of better sources than the above-mentioned historians, knew nothing whatever of a meeting between Alexander and Phegeus; what the Macedonian conqueror did learn regarding the Hyphasis was of little importance: "On the other side of the Hyphasis, the land is fertile, the men good tillers, valiant warriors, wisely administered from the interior: most of them are governed by aristocrats, and the latter ask nothing of them that is not appropriate. These native inhabitants possess a number of elephants much superior to that of other Indians; these elephants are large in size and valorous". The more detailed information recorded by the other historians and which they attribute to Phegeus is probably taken from the reports supplied later by the ambassadors of the Seleucids at the Maurya court.

The Nandas are known to history for their fabulous wealth: in the work which he devoted to Cyrus the Elder, king of Persia (559-530), the

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22 Tr. based on BARDON.
Athenian Xenophon (430-355), reports that Cyrus, who needed money to raise a new army, asked the king of India for funds through the intermediary of a Chaldaean embassy (Cyropaedia, III, 2, 25). This seems to indicate that the Greece of the fourth century B.C. already attributed great opulence to the Indian rājas.

2. — UTTARĀPATHA

In the sixth century B.C., the fifteenth and sixteenth Great Regions which were not part of the Madhyadeśa constituted the Region of the North (Uttarāpatha) or, to be more exact, the North-West. It was inhabited by the Gandhāras, Kambojas and Yonas to whom Āśoka was later to refer in his fifth and sixth rock edicts (Bloch, pp. 103, 130). Ancient Gandhāra extended along both banks of the Indus, embracing to the west the present-day district of Peshāwār, capital Puṣkarāvati, and to the east the district of Rāwalpindi, capital Takṣaśīlā. Further north, the Kambojas covered the south-western part of Kāśmīr and Kāfīristān: the Mahābhārata (VII, 4, 5) in fact associates them with the city of Rājapura, situated in Punch by Hsüan tsaṅ (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 888a). As for the Yonas of the sixth century, they were represented by a small colony of Greeks who claimed to have been taken to India by Dionysus and settled in Nysa somewhere in Bajaur, a mountainous region of Yāghistān (Arrian, Anab., V, 1-2; VI, 2-3; Ind., I, 5; V, 9). According to an old Buddhist sutta in the Majjhima (II, p. 149) among the Yonas and Kambojas, as well as in the other frontier-regions, there were only two castes, masters and slaves: a master could become a slave and vice versa; the Jātakas (VI, p. 208) attributed wild and detestable customs to the Kambojas. Furthermore, Kamboja is regularly mentioned as the "homeland of horses" (aśvānām āyatanam), and it was this well-established reputation which possibly earned the horse-breeders of Bajaur and Swāt the epithet of Aspasioi (from Old Pers. aspa) and Assakenoi (from Skt. aśva "horse").

However that may be, from the sixth to the third century B.C., Uttarāpatha lived through an eventful history which caused it to pass from the hands of the Indian king Puṅkuśaṭi to the power of the Achaemenid Persians, of Alexander the Great and, finally of the Diadochi.

PUKKUSĀTI, KING OF GANDHĀRA (sixth century B.C.). — In the sixth century before the Christian era, the capital of Gandhāra was Takṣaśīlā.

24 See N. Dutta, Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, 1957.
This town, which was to be moved twice in the course of history, at that time occupied the site of Bhīr Mound. Located on the great road connecting Bactria to the Indian peninsula, it was a privileged bartering place for ideas as well as merchandise. As the seat of the first Indian university, there flocked to its walls, from Magadha, Lāṭa, Kurukṣetra and the land of the Śibis, many young people wishing to study the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences, or to learn medicine, magic and rituals. The admission fees were high and, generally were as much as a thousand pieces of gold. The student was quartered with a master who forced him to do domestic work during the day; in the evening, he took his courses and devoted himself to study. It often happened that, once his instruction was completed, the pupil married one of his master’s daughters.

At the time of the Buddha, the king of Takṣaśilā was Pukkusāti, whose history we learn from a late and partly apocryphal tradition. He was on friendly terms with Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, and communicated with him by means of caravaneers. One day Pukkusāti sent Bimbisāra eight precious garments enclosed in lacquered caskets. In return the king of Magadha decided to initiate his friend in the Buddhist doctrine: he had a description of the Three Jewels and some characteristic texts of the Law engraved on gold plates. Those plates, placed in precious caskets, were sent in procession to Pukkusāti. When the king of Gandhāra had acquainted himself with them, he renounced the world, cut off his hair and beard and wore the yellow robe of the monk. Desirous of meeting the Master, he went to Rājagṛha where he expected to find him; the Buddha who was then residing in Śrāvastī agreed to go and meet him. He engaged the old king in conversation and preached the Dhātuvibhaṅgasutta for his benefit.

Other traditions, which we will study further on, attribute to Śākyamuni a long journey in Uttarāpatha and ascribe to his contemporaries, the Śākyas who had escaped Virūḍhaka’s massacre, the founding of the kingdoms of Uḍḍiyāna, Himatala, Śambī and even Bāmyān. Like the history of the Gandhāran king Pukkusāti, these traditions must be considered apocryphal. Indeed, in the sixth century B.C., Achaemenid Persia had seized Uttarāpatha from the rest of the Indian world and drawn it into its own orbit.

North-West India under the Achaemenids (559-336 B.C.)

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25 Majjhima Comm., V, p. 33 sq.
26 Majjhima, III, pp. 237-47; Chung a han, T 26, ch. 42, p. 690a; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 25, p. 242c.
27 Besides general works, also see R.C. MAJUMDAR, Achaemenian Rule in India, IHQ,
From the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, at least part of Uttārāpatha fell into the hands of the Achaemenids and was included in the complex of the eastern satrapies of the Persian empire. Cyrus (559-530 B.C.) attempted to invade the Indian territory, but the difficulties of the road soon forced him to beat a retreat after having lost the major part of his army: it was with only seven soldiers that he regained his own states (Strabo, XV, 1, 5; XV, 2, 5; Arrian, Anab., VI, 24, 3). Nevertheless, according to Pliny the Elder (VI, 92), he conquered Kapisā and destroyed the capital Kāpiṣā, i.e. Begrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and the Pāñjshir in Kohistan. The region was inhabited by the Indian peoples of the Aṣṭakas and Aśvakas, the Astakenoi and Assakenoi of the Greek historians, who, "surrendered to the Persians, and brought Cyrus tributes from their land, which Cyrus commanded" (Arrian, Ind., I, 1, 1-3).

Having thus become master of the Trans-Hindūkush, known as Para-Uparaesana by the Persians, Paropanisadae or Paropamisadae by the Greeks, Cyrus had little trouble in seizing the kingdom of Gandhāra, which was to appear among the possessions of his successor.

According to the inscription of Bahistān (ca 520-518), Darius (522-486 B.C.) held, through the favours of Ahuramazda but also doubtless by paternal heritage, twenty-three provinces, the nineteenth of which was Gadāra or Gandhāra (KENT, p. 117). He soon undertook to enlarge his Indian domain, for already in the year 519 "he wanted to know where the river Indus flowed into the sea; he therefore sent by boat some men whom he trusted to bring him back the truth, among others Scylax of Caryanda. Those men left Caspatyrus or Kaspapyrus (Kāşyapapura, near present-day Multān on the Indus) and the land of Paktyike (Pathān); they sailed downstream towards the dawn and the rising sun (actually southwards) until they reached the sea (the Indian Ocean); then, navigating westwards, in the thirtieth month, they reached that very place from which the king of Egypt had sent out the Phoenicians, in order to make a voyage to Libya, ... After they had completed that voyage, Darius subdued the Indians and made use of that sea" (Herodotus, IV, 44)28.

This victory over the Indians, which occurred before 515, gave Darius

28 Tr. from Legrand.
possession of the province of Sindh on the lower Indus. Indeed, the province of Hidus was henceforth to appear, alongside Gadāra, in the list of the Achaemenid satrapies on the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis E, Naqš-i-Rustam A, Susa E and M (KENT, pp. 136, 137, 141, 145) and of his successor Xerxes at Persepolis H (KENT, p. 151).

By comparing the list of the Achaemenid satrapies supplied by these inscriptions with the enumeration of the *Nomoi* or fiscal circumscriptions which are to be found in Herodotus (III, 90-4), we obtain the following picture with regard to the oriental satrapies and the tribute they turned over to the treasury:

The 16th province, three hundred talents, comprised Parthia (Parthava), Aria (Haraiva), Khorasmia (Uvārazmī) and Sogdiana (Suguda).

The 14th province, six hundred talents, formed Drangiana (Zraka) and included the Sarangoi (Zaraka) and Thamanaioi of Drangiana, the Sargartioi (Ašagarta) of the Iranian desert, the Utioi (Yutija) of Carmania and the Mukoi (Maka) of the coastal region to the east of the straits of Ormuz (Moghistan, Makran).

The 12th, three hundred and sixty talents, included Bactria (Bāxtriš), and doubtless also Margiana (Margu) as far as the Aigloi, an unknown people.

The 7th, one hundred and seventy talents, extended from the sources of the river Kabul to the Beās, and included Kapiṣa and Gandhāra with the populations of the Sattagudai (Thataguš) of the Ghazni region, the Gandaroi (Gadāra) of the present-day districts of Peshāwār and Rāwalpiṇḍi, the Dadikai of Dardistān and the Aparutai, perhaps to be compared with the modern Afridis.

The 15th, two hundred and fifty talents, consisted of the Sakai, or more precisely, the Sakai Amurgioi (Saka Haumavarga) of Seistān mentioned by Herodotus at book VII, ch. 24, the Kaspioi also called Kasperraoi by Ptolemy (VII, 43-7) and who are the Kassapiya or Kassapapuriya of the lower Punjab in the region of Multān; finally, although they are not named, the Arachotoi of Arachosia (Harauvatiš), the modern province of Kandahār.

The 17th, four hundred talents, coincided with Makran (Maka) and included the Parikanioi of Gedrosia (Balūchistān) and the Asiatic Aethopes along the coast.

Finally, the 20th province, that of the Indoi of the Sindh (Hindu), alone poured into the treasury three hundred and sixty talents of.

29 All this is according to A. Foucher, *Les satrapies orientales de l'empire achéménide*, AIBCRI, 1938, pp. 336-52; *Vieille Route de l'Inde*, pp. 195-9.
powdered gold "a tribute comparable to that of all the other provinces combined", which in reality represented 4,800 silver talents compared with the 9,540 or 9,880 paid by the other Nomoi. Nevertheless, Indian gold, called pipīlīka because it was extracted from the sand by ants (Mbh, II, 52, 4; Herod., III, 102; Arrian, Anab., V, 4, 3), did not come from the Sindh region but, according to Strabo (XV, 1, 44), who cites Megasthenes and Nearchus, from the land of the Dards, present-day Dardistān.

Darius, engaged in unknown territory, led ill-fated campaigns against the Scythians, the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the Greeks which culminated in the disaster of Marathon.

On his accession to the throne his successor, Xerxes (485-465 B.C.), was confronted with a revolt of a satrapy, where devas, the sworn enemies of Mazdeism, were revered, and which we have every reason to consider of Indian origin. In the inscription at Persepolis H, Xerxes declares : "When I became king, there was among the lands over which I ruled one that was in revolt. Eventually, Ahuramazda brought me aid; through his favour, I crushed that land and brought it back under control. And among those lands, there was a place where false gods (daeva) were previously venerated. Later, through the favour of Ahuramazda, I destroyed that sanctuary of demons and made this proclamation: "Demons shall no longer be venerated". Wherever demons were venerated before, I respectfully venerated Ahuramazda and Arta" (KENT, p. 151).

The great Persian army which was mobilized by Xerxes against continental Greece and gave battle at Thermopylae (480) and Plataeae (479) contained contingents raised from the oriental satrapies, particularly Indians. According to Herodotus (VII, 64-67, 86), we find among the latter the Indians of the Sindh, clothed in vegetable wool, armed with cane bows and iron-pointed arrows made of reeds, and commanded by the Iranian Pharnazathres; the Gandharoi and Dadikai from Gandhāra and Dardistān, equipped like the Bactrians with Median head-gear, cane bows and short spears, and commanded by Artyphius; the Kaspioi from Lower Punjab dressed in skins, armed with cane bows and swords, under the command of Ariomardus; finally, the Paktyikoi of Pathān, equipped in the same way as the preceding ones and commanded by Artayntes. The Indians and Kaspioi also supplied contingents of cavalry armed like foot-soldiers: they led saddle-horses and chariots harnessed to horses and wild asses.

Towards the end of the fifth century, Ctesias of Cnidos, who resided for seventeen years (from 415 to 397 B.C.) at the Persian court as
physician to Darius II and Artaxerxes Mnemon\textsuperscript{30}, published a collection of fables about India and Persia\textsuperscript{31} which prove that, at the time, India still remained a land unknown to the Mediterranean world. Some of these fables are to be found in ancient Indian books, and Ctesias did not invent them but accepted them uncritically.

Under the last Achaemenids, Persia's grip on the oriental satrapies relaxed, and the Indian provinces recovered their independence, in practice if not in theory.

\textbf{The Indian States Under Darius III Codoman (336-330 B.C.):}

The armies of the last Darius, which fought at Arbela or Gaugamela against Alexander the Great (331 B.C.), also contained Indian contingents; however it is significant that the latter were not commanded by satraps of their own nationality, but by the governors of neighbouring districts. This fact is clarified by Arrian (\textit{Anab.}, III, 8, 3-4) who declares: “Aid was brought to Darius by all the Indians neighbouring on the Bactrians as well as the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdians: all of them were led by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria... Barsaentes, the satrap of Arachosia, led the Arachotoi and the Indians known as Highlanders”.

The information supplied by the historians of Alexander shows that, in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., the Indian provinces of the North-West were practically autonomous. Here according to Diodorus of Sicily (XVII), Quintus Curtius (VIII-IX), Plutarch (\textit{Vita Alex.}, LVII-LXVIII) and Arrian (\textit{Anab.}, IV-VI), completed by Strabo (XV), is the record of those Indian states\textsuperscript{32}:

I. On the river of Kābul (Kubhā, Kophes or Kophen) and the southern upper valleys watered by the Kunār (Khoes), the Pañjkora (Gaurī, Gouraios), and the Swāt (Suvastu, Soastos or Souastos), were to be found:

(1-3) The territory of the Aspasioi, the country of the Gouraioi and the kingdom of the Assakenoi. They were highlanders who formed a single tribe but, those in the west spoke an Iranian dialect and, those in the east, an Indian dialect. They were great horse-breeders, and were called Aspaka in Iranian, Aśvaka in Sanskrit (from \textit{aspa} and \textit{aśva} “horse”), in Greek Aspasioi, Assakenoi and Hupasioi, i.e. Hippasioi, in

\textsuperscript{30} Diod., II, 32, 4; Plut., \textit{Vita Ariat.}, XXI.

\textsuperscript{31} The work has been recapitulated by Photius in his Summaries. See R. Henry, \textit{Ctésias, la Perse, l'Inde}, Brussels, 1947.

\textsuperscript{32} Raychaudhuri, \textit{Political History}, pp. 244-59, completed by B.C. Law, \textit{Hist. Geography}. 
Strabo (XV, 1, 17; XV, 1, 27). Those of them who lived on the banks of the Gaurī were given the name of Gouraioi. Pānini (IV, 1, 110) notes in the same region some Āśvāyana (variant of a gana, Āśvakāyana, Āśmāyana), and coins bearing the legend Vaṭāśvaka (CCAI, p. 264) can be attributed to them. The capital of the Assakenoi was called Massaga (Mašakāvati?) by the Greeks. King Assakenos, the son of a certain Cleophes, and brother of Eryx and Aphikes, possessed an army of 20,000 cavalrymen, 30,000 infantrymen and 30 elephants (Arrian, Anab., IV, 25, 5).

116 (4) The Greek (?) colony of Nysa, somewhere in Swāt near Kohi-Mor. It was governed by President Akouphis, assisted by an aristocracy of 300 members. “Those Nusaioi are not of Indian race; they are descendants of the invaders who followed Dionysus (to India): either Greeks who had been disabled in the wars which Dionysus led against the Indians, or also natives whom, at their request, he had settled with the Greeks” (Arrian, Ind., I, 4-5). We have seen earlier that a sutta from the Majjhima (II, p. 149) records some Yona (Greeks) in Uttarakatha and attributes to them, as well as to their neighbours the Kāmbojas, a social organisation which is completely alien to India.

(5) Peucelaotis (Puṣkarāvati, present-day Chārsadda), the old capital of western Gandhāra before the founding of Peshāwār in the second century A.D. It was governed by the hipparchus Astes whose name is connected with the toponym Hasht-nagar which designated eight cities bordering the Swāt in the district of Peshāwār.

II. The autonomous kingdoms and states of the Upper Punjab separated by the rivers Indus (Sindhu, Indos), Jhelum (Vitastā, Hydaspes), Chenāb (Asiknī or Candrabhāgā, Acesines), Rāvi (Paruṣnī or Trāvati, Hydraotes), Biās (Vipāś or Vipāśā, Hyphasis), Sutlej (Śutudrī, Zaradros or Hesydrus).

(6) The kingdom of Taxila (Takṣaśīlā-Bhir Mound) between the Indus and the Jhelum, the princes of which supported Alexander. The Taxiles presented the conquering Macedonian with 200 silver talents, 3,000 head of cattle 10,000 sheep and 30 elephants (Arrian, Anab., V, 3, 5), and his son Omphis (Ambhi) gave him gold crowns and 80 talents of silver coin (Quintus Curtius, VIII, 12, 15). Strabo (XV, 1, 28) and Plutarch (Vita Alex., LIX) compare that kingdom with Egypt both with regard to the extent of the territory, the abundance of pasture-land and the wisdom of its princes.

(7-8) Further to the north, in the present-day districts of Hazāra on the one hand, and Punch and Nowshera on the other, the kingdoms of
Arsaces (the Uraśārājya of the kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, Konow, p. 89) and Abisares (Atisāra of the MBh., VII, 93, 44).

(9) Between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, the kingdom of Porus the Elder, a descendant of the Pūru or Paurava of the Ṛg-Veda, the Brhat Saṃhitā (XIV, 27) and the Mahābhārata (II, 27, 14-16). He vigorously resisted Alexander, with an army of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots and 200 elephants according to Arrian (Anab., 15, 4), of 50,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 1,000 chariots and 130 elephants according to Diodorus of Sicily (XVII, 87, 2), of 30,000 infantry. 300 chariots and 85 elephants according to Quintus Curtius (VIII, 13, 6). The kingdom, which corresponded to the modern districts of Gusrāṭ and Shāhpur, contained, in the words of Strabo (XV, 1, 29), approximately 300 cities.

(10) A neighbour of Porus, but still between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, the autonomous state of the Glausai or Glauganikai (Giaucukāyana of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 90) included a great number of villages and 37 cities from 5,000 to over 10,000 inhabitants (Arrian, Anab., V, 20, 4).

(11) Between the Chenāb and the Rāvi, the kingdom of Porus the Younger, which occupied the eastern part of the Gandarīs mentioned by Strabo (XV, 1, 30).

(12-13) On the eastern bank of the Rāvi, the autonomous peoples of the Adraistai and the Kathaoi. The Adraistai, whose capital was named Pimprama, were perhaps the Adrja mentioned in the Mahābhārata (VII, 159, 5) among the tribes of the North-West, unless their name Arāṭṭa merely means “those who have no king” (Skt. Arāṣṭraka). The Kathaoi, whose stronghold was Sangala (which has nothing in common with Śālkā or Śālkot, between the Chenāb and the Rāvi), are known to Pāṇini (II, 4, 20) by the name of Kantha, and to the Mahābhārata (VIII, 85, 16) by that of Krāṭha. In Sanskrit, Kaṭha means “hard”.

(14-15) The kingdoms of Sopeithes or Sophytes and of Phegelas or Phegeus situated, the former somewhere to the east of the Jhelum, and the latter — if he is not a fictitious person —, between the Rāvi and the Beās. Some coins of a king Saubhūti have been found in Taxila with the head of a prince on the obverse and the image of a cock on the reverse. As for Phegelas, he possibly belonged to that royal race of kṣatriyas mentioned by the name of Bhagala in the Gaṇapathā.

III. The states of the Middle Punjab, on the confluences of five rivers comprising:

(16-17) The Sibai or Sibi and the Agalassoi, at the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenāb. The former, under the name of Šiva or Šibi, are well-known to the Vedas and Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical literature; their capital Šībipura is mentioned on a Shorkot inscription (EI, XVI, 1921,
The Agalassoi possessed an army of 40,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry (Diod., XVII, 96, 3).

The Sudrakai and the Malloi, to the south of the confluence of the Jhelum and Chenāb, represented the Kṣudraka of the Mahābhārata (II, 52, 15; VII, 70, 11) and the Mālava of Indian history. Diodorus of Sicily (XVII, 98, 1) attributes to them an army of 80,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 700 chariots; Quintus Curtius (IX, 4, 15), of 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots.

On the Lower Chenāb and between the confluence of that river with the Rāvi and between the Indus respectively, the Abastanoi (var. Sambastai, Sabarcae, Sabagrae), the Xathroi and the Ossadioi. The Abastanoi are the Ṭambāṣṭha mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 21), the Mahābhārata (II, 52, 15), Pāṇini (IV, 1, 74), the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra (p. 21), and the Jātakas (IV, p. 363). They formed a democracy and possessed, according to Diodorus (XVII, 102, 2), an army of 60,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 500 war chariots. The Xathroi are identified with the impure class of the Kṣatri identified by Diodorus (XVII, 102, 2), an army of 60,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 500 war chariots. The Ossadioi have been compared to the Vasāti of the Mahābhārata (VII, 20, 11; 91, 38; VIII, 44, 47).

The province of Sindh on the Lower Indus consisted of a whole series of states and principalities:

On the two banks of the Indus, to the south of the confluences of the rivers of the Punjab, the Sodrai (Sogdoi) and the Masianoi. The Sodrai are most probably the Śūdra of the epic, a people closely associated with the Ābhīra of Sarasvatī (Patañjali, I, 2, 72; Mbh., VII, 20, 6; IX, 37, 1).

The kingdom of Musicanus (Mūṣika? Mauśikāra?), the richest of the region, the capital of which has been identified with Alor in the district of Sukkur. Although strictly subjected to the influence of the brahmins, the population was characterized by special customs which, according to Strabo (XVII, 1, 34), were not dissimilar to those of the Dorians of Sparta and Crete.

The monarchy of Oxycanus or Porticanus whose subjects, named Preasti by Quintus Curtius (IX, 8, 11), recall the Prośṭha of the Mahābhārata (VI, 9, 61).

The principality of Sambus (Śambhu or Śāmbo), a mountainous region near the kingdom of Musicanus. The capital Sindimana has not been identified with certainty.

Patalene on the Indus delta the capital of which Pattala, called Tauala by Diodorus (XVIII, 104, 1), occupied the present-day site of
Brahmañābād. Like ancient Sparta, it was governed by two kings, subject to the authority of a Council of Elders.

At the beginning of the fourth century, the Indian kingdoms and republics escaped the control of the Achaemenid suzerain. The rivalries which set them against each other made them an easy prey for the conquering Macedonian, Alexander the Great.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA (327-324 B.C.) 133 — Having vanquished Darius III Codoman in the battles of Issus (334) and Gaugamela (331), Alexander continued his progression eastwards and, in 330, reached the southern slopes of the Hindūkush, where he founded, at Parvān in Kohistān of Kābul, Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus. Having devoted two years to the pacification of Bactria and Sogdiana, in 327 he undertook the conquest of India or, to be more precise, “the region which extends eastward from the Indus” (Arrian, Ind., II, 1). He set out from Bactria, crossed in ten days the Afghan massif, passed through Bāmyān and reached Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus which he had founded, on the southern slope. Three further stages led him to Lampaka (Laghmān), where he concentrated his troops in Nicaea, a temporary encampment to be found between the villages of Mandrāwar and Chahār-bāgh. He ordered Hephaestion and Perdiccas, with the main part of the Macedonian forces, to descend the Kābul valley in order to seize Peucelaotis or Puṣkarāvatī, the ancient Gandhāran capital. Alexander himself subdued the highland tribes of the Aspasioi and Assakenoi and seized Massaga, the capital of the latter. He laid siege to the fortress (āvarana) of Aornus located above Una, between the Swāt and the Indus, and accepted the submission of Peucelaotis. Once he had captured Aornus, he launched another attack on the Assakenoi and advanced as far as the Indus. There he received a visit from Āmbhi, king of Takṣaśilā, who renewed the homage which his father had paid earlier to the Macedonian conqueror, and provided a contingent of 700 cavalry as well as ample supplies.

In the spring of 326, Alexander crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats

constructed by his lieutenants in Udūbhāṇḍa (Ohind, Udānd). He entered Taksāsilā peacefully where Ambhi joined him with a contingent of 5,000 men. On the opposite bank of the Hydaspes, the Indian king Porus was waiting for him at the head of a powerful army, firmly determined to prevent him from passing. However, Alexander crossed the river by surprise, either at Jalālpur or, more probably at Jhelum, and routed the Indian army after a furious battle. Porus, who was injured in the fighting, submitted to Alexander. The latter celebrated his victory by founding, on either side of the Hydaspes, the towns of Nicaea on the west bank and Bucephala on the east bank. After a raid against the Glausai or Glauiganikai, and the surrender of Abhisāra and Porus the Younger, Alexander crossed the Acesines and the Hydraotes and, after heavy fighting, conquered the fortified town of Sangala. He was ready to cross the Hyphasis and encounter the forces of the Gangaridae and Prasioi, when his soldiers mutinied and forced him to retreat.

The Macedonian army crossed the Hydraotes and the Acesines again and halted on the Hyphasis where a fleet was equipped. Porus was given the command of the territories situated between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis. Alexander then descended the Hydaspes to its confluence with the Acesines, overcame the Sibi and Agalassoi, and concentrated his forces at the confluence of the Acesines and Hydraotes.

In January 325, Alexander, having subdued the Malloi and other tribes of the Middle Punjab, sailed down the Indus with his army and fleet. Musicānus, the king of Alor, came to pay him homage but shortly after rose against him: he was immediately seized and crucified. At Shikarpur, Alexander sent part of his troops back to Susiana under the command of the general Craterus: the latter reached his goal by the road via Kandahār and Seistān. Continuing southwards, Alexander came to Pattala in the Indus delta, the western and eastern arms of which he explored successively. In September 325, the order was given for the final departure: Alexander, at the head of some 10,000 men, travelled through Gedrosia along the Makrān coast; Nearchus, leading a flotilla of a thousand units, followed the coast of the Oritae and Makrān towards the Persian Gulf. The three armies linked up in Susiana in the spring of 324. A year later Alexander died and his Indian possessions, like the rest of his empire, were soon dismembered.

Among the twenty-odd Alexandrias founded by the Macedonian during his conquest of the Asiatic world, eight were situated in the oriental provinces of the ancient Achaemenid empire: Alexandria of Margiana (Merv), of Aria (Herat), Prophthasia in Seistān, Alexandria in Makarena or of the Oritae, Alexandria of Arachosia (Ghazni) also
called πρὸς Πέρσας or ἐπὶ Μασσαβίτας, Alexandria-Bactra, Alexandria in Sogdiana on the Oxus (Termez) and Alexandria-Eschate on the Jaxartes (Khodjend), also known as Alexandria of Scythia. On the territory of native Indian-speakers, there were Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus (Parvân amidst the Paropamisadae), Nicaea and Alexandria-Bucephala on the Jhelum in the domains of King Porus, Alexandria-Iomousa on the Chenab, and possibly also — for it is doubtful whether they existed — two Alexandrias on the Indus.

Alexander maintained for his own profit the old provinces of the Achaemenid empire and generally entrusted their government to local inhabitants, assisted and supervised by Macedonian strategoi and episcopei. The oriental satrapies on the Iranian border were four or six in number:

1. Parthia-Hyrcania, capital Zadracarta, was administered by Ammianes, assisted by the Macedonian episcopos Tlepolemus, before it was handed over to its old governor Phrataphernes, whose loyalty to Alexander never failed.

2. Aria, capital Herat, first remained under the command of two native princes Satibarzanes and Arsaces and then passed, after they revolted into the hands of Stasanor of Soloi who kept it, with the addition of Drangiana, until after 323.

3. Arachosia, or the region of Ghazni, was successively directed by Menon (330-325) and Sibyrtius (325-317) : the latter, a host and friend of the historian Megasthenes, added to it the Oritae territory and Gedrosia.

4. Parapamisus, where Alexander had founded his Alexandria-under-the Caucasus, remained in the hands of the indigenous dynasts, the Persians Proexes and Tyriespes, then the Sogdian Oxyartes, the father of Roxane, Alexander’s wife.

5. Bactria-Sogdiana, augmented by Margiana, passed successively into the hands of the Persian Artabazus (329), the Macedonian Aymantas, then, after the assassination of the latter by his soldiers (325), of the general Philippus : powerfully fortified, for a long time this satrapy sheltered important Graeco-Macedonian garrisons whose insubordination caused serious difficulties to Alexander and his successors.

The Indian possessions of Alexander included three satrapies and two Indian kingdoms which were nominally independent:

1. Situated to the west of the river, the satrapy of the Upper Indus

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34 Details in W.W. Tarn, Alexander the Great, II, p. 455.
35 For a list of Alexander’s satraps, see H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopogr. Grundlage, Munich, 1926, p. 276.
consisted of Peucelaotis (Kābul valley), the land of the Assakenoi as well as many principalities. In 327, its government was entrusted to the Macedonian Nicanor who retained it for two years. Small indigenous states subsisted under faithful leaders: Sangaius (Sañjaya) of Puskarāvatī, Kophaius or Cophaeus of the region of Kābul, Akouphis of Nysa, Assagetes (Aśvajit) and Sissikottos (Śaśigupta) who was in charge of the district of the Assakenoi. However, strong Macedonian garrisons were established at Bazira (Bīr-Kōt), Ora (Udegrām) and on the Aornus (Pir-Sār).

2. The satrapy of the Middle Indus, which was also created in 327, included the indigenous kingdoms of the Taxiles Āmbhi, of Spitaces as well as the territory of the Malloi and the Oxydrachai at the confluence of the Acesines and the Indus. It was entrusted to Philippus, the son of Machatas, assisted by a Thracian garrison, who governed the region jointly with the king of Taxila. After the assassination of Nicanor by the Assakenoi in 326, Philippus annexed the district of the Upper Indus to his satrapy. However, Philippus fell at the hands of his Greek mercenaries. Alexander, who was then in Carmania, wrote entrusting the guardianship of the territory to the Indian Taxiles until a new satrap was nominated; the Macedonian Eudemus was appointed as commander of the Macedonian garrison.

3. The satrapy of the Lower Indus, which was organized in 325, covered the district of Sindh and included the ancient kingdom of the Sodrai, the principalities of Musicanus, Oxycanus and Sambus, as well as Patalene, one king of which was named Moeres. Its command was entrusted to Peithon, the son of Agenor, and to Oxyartes, who were also in charge of the surveillance of the coastal region.

Outside this organization, Alexander kept two independent kingdoms to the east of the Hydaspes: those of Porus and Abisares.

The first was created in 326 after the victory of the Hydaspes. Alexander returned to Porus his former possessions to which he soon added the territory of the Glausai or Glauganikai between the Hydaspes and the Acesines (Arrian, Anab., V, 19, 3; V, 20, 4), the states of Porus the Younger between the Acesines and the Hydraotes (Id., ibid., V, 21, 4), as well as other regions situated more to the east. Before leaving India, Alexander, in the presence of his hetairoi and indigenous ambassadors, established Porus as king of all the Indian territories he had conquered: seven nations and more than two thousand cities (Id., ibid., VI, 2, 1).

The kingdom of Abisares, located in Punch and the region of
Nowshera, was maintained by Alexander after the wholly platonic submission of its king (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 8, 3; V, 20, 5; V, 29, 4).

**India under the Diadochi (323-305 B.C.)**

After the death of Alexander which took place on June 13th 323, North-West India was involved in battles which opposed the Diadochi against each other.

It is said that as Alexander lay dying he had declared: "My generals will give me a bloody funeral". In fact, from the day of his death, blood flowed and war almost broke out. The Macedonian generals agreed, however, to recognize as kings Arrhidaeus, a bastard of Philip of Macedonia, and Alexander Aigos, an infant son of Alexander. General Perdiccas, to whom the Macedonian conqueror had bequeathed his ring, received, together with the title of chiliarch, the regency of the kingdom. The other generals received provinces to govern. In Asia, Antigonus Monophthalmus received Phrygia; Eumenes, Cappadocia, and Peithon, Media. In Europe, Antipater obtained Macedonia and Greece, and Lysimachus, Thracia. Finally, in Africa, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, acquired Egypt.

During the distribution of the satrapies which took place in 323, Perdiccas maintained the status quo in the oriental border-lands. Phrataphernes retained Parthia-Hyrcania, Stasanor of Soloi Aria-Drangiana, Sibyrtius Arachosia-Gedrosia, Oxyartes (the father of Roxane), the Paropamisadae, and Philippus Bactria-Sogdiana. The two Indians, Taxiles and Porus, remained in possession of the kingdoms which Alexander had given them (Diod., XVIII, 3).

However, the Greek settlers in Bactria, who had already rebelled in 325, started fresh agitations. Instigated first by Athenodorus, then by the Aenean Philo, they insisted on returning to their mother-country across the Asiatic continent. Perdiccas ordered the satrap of Media, Peithon, to repress the uprising. Peithon had no trouble in quelling the rebels but, contrary to the instructions he had received, he tried to spare them in the secret hope of enrolling them in his own troops. The latter thwarted the plans of their general by suddenly massacring all the mutineers. The Greek element was therefore forced to remain in Bactria, and it was only in the middle of the third century B.C. that it was able to free itself from Macedonian authority (Quintus Curtius, IX, 7, 3-11; Diod., XVII, 99, 6; XVIII, 7, 1-9).

The authoritarian attitude taken by Perdiccas in all circumstances alienated some of his colleagues, particularly Antigonus, Antipater and

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Eumenes was practically the only one to remain loyal to him. During a campaign in Egypt, Perdiccas was assassinated in his tent by two rebellious officers: Peithon of Media and Seleucus, the commander of the hipparchy of hetairoi. Eumenes, victorious in Asia, was not able to prevent the dissidents from joining up at Triparadisus in Syria on the upper Orontes. With the agreement of Antigonus and Ptolemy, Antipater of Phrygia received full powers and proceeded with a second distribution of the satrapies: the partition at Triparadisus (321).

2. According to the measures taken by Antipater, Cappadocia which had belonged to Eumenes passed to Nicanor; Seleucus received Babylonia, while Peithon regained Northern Media. Some changes took place in the eastern Iranian borderlands: Parthia fell to Philippus who abandoned Bactria-Sogdiana to Stasanor of Soloi; Stasandrus of Cyprus received Aria and Drangiana (Diod., XVIII, 39). The situation remained unchanged in the territories of Indian tongue and civilization: Oxyartes continued, in the Paropamisadae; the domain of Peithon, the son of Agenor, who had received from Alexander the satrapy of the Lower Indus, was reduced to the "region" of India, adjacent to the Paropamisadae. As for the Indian kingdoms of the Indus and Hydaspes, they remained respectively in the hands of Taxiles and Porus "because it was impossible to oust them" (Diod., XVIII, 39, 6). Therefore, less than six years after the Macedonian conquest, the Indian kingdoms had only very slight links with the occupying authorities, links which were maintained by a Macedonian garrison under the command of Eudemus.

Relinquishing part of his authority, Antipater entrusted Antigonus of Phrygia with the command of the royal army and ordered him to continue the fight against Eumenes and the remaining partisans of Perdiccas. Antigonus met Eumenes in Cappadocia in the plain of Orkynia and, having forced him to retreat, besieged him in the fortress of Nora, but without being able to capture him personally. The death of Antipater, which occurred in 319, only intensified the struggle between the Diadochi.

3. The dying Antipater had withheld power from his son Cassander and had chosen an old soldier, Polyperchon, as his successor. Cassander, who considered himself wronged, declared war against the new regent. He allied himself with Antigonus of Phrygia, Ptolemy of Egypt and Lysimachus of Thrace, and also won over to his cause Peithon of Media and Seleucus of Babylon. In contrast, Polyperchon was supported in Asia by Eumenes who concentrated troops in Susiana.

A series of events led the satraps of the higher regions to embrace Eumenes' cause. Peithon, the satrap of Media, usurping the function of
a plenipotentiary strategos, had Philippus, the satrap of Parthia executed, and replaced him by his own brother Eudamus. Fearing a similar fate, the governors of the higher regions formed a league against him and responded to the call made by Eumenes for assistance. They succeeded in assembling approximately 18,700 infantry, 4,600 cavalry and 120 elephants to join the army of Eumenes in Susiana (317).

According to Diodorus of Sicily, these are the contingents supplied by the various satraps: Stasandrus (Aria-Drangiana-Bactria): 1,500 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. — Sibyrtius (Arachosia): 1,000 infantry, 116 cavalry. — Androbazus, lieutenant of Oxyartes (Paropamisadae): 1,200 infantry, 400 cavalry. — Tlepolemus (Carmania): 1,500 infantry, 700 cavalry. As for the strategos Eudemus who, since 324, commanded the Macedonian garrison on the Middle Indus, he killed King Porus, whose states extended along the east bank of the Jhelum, and seized the Indian elephants which had distinguished themselves at the battle of the Hydaspes; thus he arrived with a contingent of 3,000 infantry, 500 cavalry and 120 elephants (Diod., XIX, 14).

The only one who did not embrace Eumenes' cause was Peithon, the son of Agenor, who since 324 held command of the satrapy of the Lower Indus, but who, at the time of the partition of Triparadisus, held only a strip of territory neighbouring on the Paropamisadae to govern. He too left his territory but, it seems, in order to join up with the forces of Antigonus, the rival of Eumenes (Diod., XIX, 56, 4).

Freed from the foreign troops which had occupied them, the Indian kingdoms of the Punjab returned to the mother country, and the Indian emperor Candragupta immediately added them to his crown (317 B.C.).

The support of the higher satrapies was not able to ensure victory for Eumenes. After two indecisive battles, in 317 and 316 in Paraecene and Gabiene, he was betrayed by his own argyraspides and delivered to the enemy. Now that he was master of Eumenes' person and of his whole army, Antigonus seized Antigenes, the leader of the argyraspides who had betrayed his own lord, had him enclosed in a casket and burnt alive. He also put to death Eudemus, the murderer of Porus, who had led the elephants from India. As for Eumenes, who was held to secrecy, he sought a method of saving him. Nevertheless, he finally yielded to the entreaties of the Macedonians who demanded a pitiless punishment and Eumenes was strangled in his prison (Diod., XIX, 44).

Determined to be sole master in Asia, Antigonus also rid himself of the friends who until then had supported his cause. Peithon of Media, who was implicated in an attempted military uprising, was summoned before a court martial, condemned and executed; his satrapy was given
to the Median Orontopates and to the strategos Hippostratus (Diod., XIX, 46). Seleucus, the satrap of Babylon, was accused of extortion and forced to flee to Egypt where he took refuge with Ptolemy; Babylonia passed into the hands of Peithon, the son of Agenor, who had earlier been the satrap of the Lower Indus (Diod., XIX, 56).

For the third time since the death of Alexander, Antigonus undertook the partition of the higher satrapies (316 B.C.). He kept Carmania for Tlepolemus and Bactria for Stasanor "since it was not easy to expel those men from their provinces". He retained Oxyartes, the father of Roxane, at the head of the Paropamisadae "since much time and a strong army would have been needed to oust him". Reconciled with Sibyrtius, he confirmed him in his satrapy of Arachosia. It was only in Aria that he was able to make new nominations: that of Evitus, soon followed by Evagoras (Diod., XIX, 48). It will be noticed that, at this last partition, there is no further question of either the two Indian kingdoms or the satrapies on the Indus. In fact, those territories, having reverted to the Indian empire of Chandragupta, broke loose from the authority of Antigonus.

4. The successes which Antigonus achieved in Persia, and which were soon to be followed by the conquest of Northern Syria (315 B.C.), brought the other Diadochi out in league against him. On the instigation of Seleucus, Ptolemy of Egypt, Lysimachus of Thrace, Cassander of Macedonia and Greece formed a coalition and sent Antigonus an ultimatum which he repulsed with disdain.

In the spring of 312, Ptolemy and Seleucus won a decisive victory at Gaza over the armies of Antigonus which were commanded by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, and Peithon, son of Agenor, satrap of Babylon. Demetrius was routed and Peithon was left among the dead. Without waiting any longer,Seleucus, escorted by 800 infantry and 200 cavalry, pushed eastwards and entered Babylonia where the population received him joyfully. He then stormed the fortress of Babylon, put Nicanor, the military administrator of the higher satrapies, to flight and killed Euagrus, the satrap of Persia, in a night battle. Seleucus treated all those who had surrendered with kindness and, having become master of a great army, easily seized Susiana and Media (Diod., XIX, 90-2). These spectacular successes mark the start of the Seleucid era which began in Babylonia on 1st Nisan 311-310, i.e. April 311.

5. In order to restore the Indo-Iranian possessions of Alexander for his own profit, Seleucus had to reconquer the upper regions of Eastern Iran and wrest Punjab and Sindh from Chandragupta.

The first part of the programme was achieved in 311. Nicanor, while
in flight, warned Antigonus by letter of the successes gained by Seleucus, and Antigonus, alarmed about the higher satrapies, sent his son Demetrius to Babylonia, to create a diversion. This short-lived raid did not deter Seleucus from his projects (Diod., XIX, 100). He seized Media and other higher satrapies and with his own hand killed their military administrator, Nicanor (Appian, Syriaca, LV). The Indus again became, but only for a short time, the frontier between Iran, held by Seleucus, and the Indian empire of Candragupta: “Seleucus”, says Appian, “ruled over Mesopotamia, Armenia, Cappadocia of the Seleucid, the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Tapurians, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Hyrcania and all the neighbouring peoples as far as the Indus, peoples whom Alexander had already conquered, with the result that the major part of Asia, in the period which followed Alexander, was bordered by that river” (Syriaca, LV).

Seleucus was to fail in the second part of his programme: the reconquest of the Punjab and Sindh which, for ten years from 327 to 317, had been part of the Alexandrian possessions, before it returned to the mother country after the departure of the strategos Eudemus and the satrap Peithon, son of Agenor. Candragupta had immediately added those territories to his crown.

Bent on reconquering them, about 305-304, Seleucus organized an expedition into open Indian territory: “Having crossed the Indus, he waged war on Androkottos (Candragupta), the king of the Indians located around that river, until he had concluded a treaty of friendship (philia) and a matrimonial alliance (χηδος) with him” (Appian, Syriaca, LV).

Strabo (XV, 2, 9), confirmed by Plutarch (Vita Alex., LXII), states that “Seleucus Nicator ceded [the contested territories] to Sandracottus as a guarantee of a matrimonial covenant (πιγμια) and in exchange for 500 elephants”. It is generally believed, since Bouche-Leclerq, that this covenant authorized mixed marriages between the Hellenes and the Bactrians and guaranteed the social position of the Graeco-Macedonians who had remained in the Indian territories recovered by Candragupta.

From two passages by the geographer Eratosthenes (third century B.C.) quoted by Strabo (XV, 1, 10; XV, 2, 9) and supported by Pliny the Elder (VI, 78) it would appear that Seleucus returned to his rival all or part of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia and Gedrosia together with

some districts of Aria. According to A. Foucher, the new frontier followed roughly the 62nd degree longitude east of Paris.

The new demarcation line was, at least theoretically, to remain unchanged for the major part of the Maurya era and was only violated about the year 200, during the eastward thrust of King Euthydemus of Bactria. In the meantime, religious propaganda was able to proceed unmolested, and most of the districts of the North-West rallied to Buddhism.

As for Seleucus, once his eastern frontier was laid down, he joined up with the separatist generals who were in league against Antigonus. The victory at Ipsus in 301, where the elephants supplied by Candragupta performed wonders, gave him access to the sea across Syria and Cilicia. Finally, he conquered Asia Minor with the victory of Europodium gained over Lysimachus (281). He entered Europe and was about to ascend the throne of Macedonia when he was assassinated in 280 by Ptolemy Keraunos.

3. — CEYLON FROM 486 TO 250 B.C.

SINHALESE CHRONICLES. — The sources in Pāli which were compiled in Ceylon in the course of time constitute a source of prime importance for the history of Buddhism. They contain a complete list, with indications of dates, of the thirteen sovereigns who, from Bimbisāra to Asoka (546-230 B.C.), succeeded one another to the throne of Magadha, and of the 186 kings who, from Vijaya to Sirivikkamārājaśīha (486 B.C.-1815 A.D.), ruled in Ceylon.

Written in Pāli verse, the Dīpaṇama (22 Chapters) and the Mahāvamsa (37 Chapters) cover the period from the beginnings of Buddhism to the reign of Mahāsenā (486 B.C.-349 A.D.). The Dīpaṇama was compiled at the end of the fourth century by one or more anonymous authors; the Mahāvamsa, slightly later in date, is sometimes attributed to the monk Mahānāman. The Samantapāśādikā, a commentary on the Pāli Vinaya and written by the master Buddhaghosa in the fifth century,

A. Foucher, La vieille route de l'Inde, p. 208.


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contains an introduction giving a summary of ecclesiastical history from its origins up to the reign of Devānapāyiṭitissa, sixth king of Ceylon (250-210 B.C.). The three works have a common source in the old glosses in Sinhalese, the Porāṇatthakathā, preserved until then in the Mahāvihāra monastery in Anurādhapura: they consisted of notes of a philological and exegetical nature, but also contained some historical information.

A Vamsatthappakāsinī or commentary upon the Mahāvamsa, compiled between 1000 and 1250, provides some additional details on early events.

During the Middle Ages, further chapters were added, at least four times, to the Mahāvamsa, and this additional supplement was called the Cūlavamsa:

1. Chapters 38-79, stretching from the reign of Sirimeghavanna, the 59th king, to that of Parakkamabāhu I, the 137th king (ca. 362-1186), written in the thirteenth century by the Thera Dhammakitti.

2. Chapters 80-90, beginning with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, 138th king, and ending with that of Bhuvanekabāhu IV, 161st king (1186-1350), chapters added at the end of the fourteenth century by an anonymous author.

3. Chapters 91-100, covering the accession of Parakkamabāhu V, 162nd king, up to the death of Kittisirirājasāha, ca. 1350-1782, a section written in the eighteenth century by the Thera Tibboturāve Sumaṅgala.

4. Chapter 101, relating the last two reigns, was composed and added to the 1877 edition of the Cūlavamsa by H. Sumaṅgala and Batuwantudawa. It was during the reign of Rājādhīrajasīha that the Capitulation of Colombo took place (15 February 1796) and the island passed from the hands of the Olanda (Dutch) to those of the Ingisiri (English).

Monastery archives and semi-legendary writings concerning famous relics were added, thus completing the data of the chronicles on specific points. Hence the Mahābodhivamsa by Upatissa (eleventh century) is the Pāli translation of a Sinhalese work describing the arrival of the Bodhi Tree in Ceylon. The Dāṭhavamsa by Dhammakitti (thirteenth century) is a verse adaptation of a Sinhalese chronicle which tells of the transportation of one of the Buddha’s teeth from Kaliṅga to Ceylon. The Thūpavamsa by Vācissara (thirteenth century) is a poem describing in particular the erection of the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhapura thanks to the intervention of King Duṭṭhagāmanī. The Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa is the history of a monastery renowned for the charity of King Sirisāṅghabodhi who gave a poor man his own head upon which a rival had set a price. Composed at the end of the fourteenth century or the
beginning of the fifteenth, the *Nikāyasamgraha* supplied later details on the composition of the canonical texts and the history of the Buddhist sects. Finally, with regard to the duration of the Sinhalese reigns, it is advisable to compare the data of the chronicles with certain family archives such as the *Rājāvaliya*, the *Pūjāvaliya* or the *Rājaratnākara*. Even more important are the Sinhalese inscriptions in which appear, the names of a large number of kings in their most common form.  

All the Sinhalese literature bases its calculations on the era of the Nirvāṇa, which was fixed as from the twelfth century in 543 or 544 B.C. However, this is contradicted by another Sinhalese tradition, which is even older and counts 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and the consecration of Asoka in 268 B.C. This, as we have seen, would place the former event in 486 B.C. Such a discordance makes the traditional chronology precarious and it needs to be continually rectified with the aid of synchronisms. Furthermore, the veracity of the chronicles has been much debated: they proliferate in miracles, assemble all kinds of legends, present ancient facts in a forced light and on many points only express the viewpoint of the monks of the Mahāvihāra. They nevertheless contain a number of authentic recollections which can sometimes be verified.

**Ancient populations.** — The island of Ceylon, known in India by the name Laṅkā, Tāmrapārṇī, Simhaladvīpa, or more simply Simhala, was designated by the Greeks and Romans by the name of Taprobane. Its population resulted from a mixture of different races and peoples of which the main ones were the Veḍḍā, the Ārya and the Draviḍa.

The Veḍḍa, a certain number of whom had not yet got beyond the primitive stage of humanity, were short-bodied hunters, wavy-haired and long-faced. They lived on the flesh of wild animals which they killed.

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with arrows, dwelt in stone caves and for a long time were ignorant of the use of cotton and wool. They were closely bound to their family community and clan life. They apparently belonged to the same race as the pre-Dravidians of southern India such as the Irulas and Kurumbers, and were related to the Toalas of Celebes, Batins of Sumatra and Australian Aborigenes.

Among the ancient tribes of Ceylon, the Sinhalese chronicles mention the Simhala (lions), Taraccha (hyenas), Lambakarna (hares or goats), Balibhōjaka (crows), Moriyas (peacocks) and Kuliṅga (shrikes). These terms show that these were totemic clans who took their names from animals from which they were supposed to descend and whom they worshipped.

It is perhaps to this ancient stratum of the population that should be attributed the traces of palaeolithic and neolithic civilization discovered near the present habitat of the Vedḍa: tools made of shell and quartz, the dolmen of Padiyagampola, some stone altars erected in caves in the district of Batticaloa and at Nuvaragam Palāta.

At least a part of these Vedḍa were assimilated by an Āryan-speaking population which settled in Ceylon in the fifth century B.C. They were a pastoral and agricultural people, organized into tribes and governed by kings under the control of a popular assembly (samiti or sabhā) with the help of spiritual leaders (purohita) and village chiefs (grāmanī). In all probability, the Āryas who occupied Ceylon originated in northern India, since the Sinhalese dialect, Helu or Elu, which they implanted in the island, has clear affinities with the idioms of the Gulf of Cambay, earlier known as Laṅka. The fact seems to be confirmed by an old legend concerning the arrival of the Simhala in Ceylon, and which is narrated at length in the chronicles (Dpv., IX; Mhv., VI-VIII) and the echoes of which reached Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 11, p. 932c):

A princess from Vaṅga (Bengal), having married a lion, gave birth to twin babies, Sīhabāhu, whose hands and feet were lion’s paws, and Sīhasāvalī. When Sīhabāhu was sixteen years old, he fled to Bengal with his mother and sister. Since the lion’s head had a price set on it, Sīhabāhu killed it, but refused the throne of Vaṅga which he was offered. He went to Lāṭa (district of Cambay) where he founded the town of Sīhapura and took as queen his own sister Sīhasāvalī who gave him thirty-two sons, the eldest of whom was Vijaya and the second Sumitta.

In Lāṭa, Vijaya and his seven hundred companions, the Simhala, were so delinquent in their behaviour that King Sīhabāhu was compelled to banish them. The exiles settled for some time in the ports of the western
side of the Indus, in Śūrṣāraka (Sopāra to the north of Bombay) at first, then in Bhārūkaccha (Broach). It was from there that they arrived in Tāmrāpārṇī (Ceylon) which they reached on the very day of the Buddha's birth. The protection of the god Uppalavānna enabled them to triumph over attacks by Yakkha (demons) who wanted to expel them from the island. The Yakkhiṇī Kuveṇī became infatuated with Vijaya and the latter, with her help, killed the Yakkhas of Lāṅkāpura and Sirīsavatthu and founded the city of Tambapāṇī. He raised five of his companions, Anurādha, Upatissa, Ujjena, Uruvela and Vijita, to the rank of ministers, and the latter established on the island five colonies which bear their names.

At the time of mounting the throne, Vijaya repulsed the yakkhiṇī Kuveṇī and wedded a daughter of King Paṇḍu of Madhura in the extreme south of India.

Another legend which is often narrated in Buddhist works records that in Ceylon the town of Sirīsavatthu was inhabited by Yakkhiṇīs, demonesses, who seized upon sailors who ran aground on the coast between the rivers Kalyāṇī and Nāgadīpa. As soon as they arrived, the Yakkhiṇīs transformed themselves into women who seduced and married them. However, they devoured them as soon as more shipwrecked men reached the island. One day, five hundred merchants ran aground in Ceylon; the same night, the Yakkhiṇīs who had rescued them devoured their previous husbands. The leader of the merchants, noticing that these women were demons, succeeded in escaping from them with two hundred and fifty companions, with the help of a divine horse which brought them back to their own country.

All these tales seem to be a distant echo of the struggle between the native Veḍḍa and the Āryan settlers. After the Veḍḍa and the Āryas, the Draviḍa from the continent added their own contribution to the peopling of the island where they set foot sometimes as peaceful immigrants and, sometimes, weapons in hand. The first invasion of which the chronicles have preserved a recollection took place in the year 306 after the Nirvāṇa (180 B.C.) under the leadership of two Damila horse-dealers, Sena and Guttika (Dpv., XVIII, 47; Mhv., XXI, 11). The Siṃhala always resisted the Draviḍa most vigorously and, when they were unable to repulse the invader, they always succeeded in assimilating him by imposing their language and civilization on him.

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## THE FIRST FIVE KINGS OF CEYLON (486-250 B.C.). — The Sinhalese chronicles of the *Dīpa-* (Ch. 9-11) and the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 7-11) establish the list of the first five kings of Ceylon as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sovereigns</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Era of the Nirvāṇa</th>
<th>Ancient Era (B.C.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vijaya</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1-38</td>
<td>486-448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>448-447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39-69</td>
<td>447-417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abhaya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>69-89</td>
<td>417-397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89-106</td>
<td>397-380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Paṇḍukabhaya</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>106-176</td>
<td>380-310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Muṭasiva</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>176-236</td>
<td>310-250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vijaya was a contemporary of Ajātaśatru, the 16th year of his reign corresponding to the 24th of the king of Magadha. Paṇḍuvāsudeva was the youngest son of Sumitta, Vijaya’s brother; he married Bhaddakaccānā by whom he had two sons and a daughter, and ruled in Upatissa-gāma. Abhaya, the eldest son of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, after reigning for twenty years, was deposed by his nephew Paṇḍukabhaya and reduced to the role of city guardian (*nagaraguttika*). Paṇḍukabhaya, who overthrew Abhaya and killed his nine brothers, ruled for seventy years in Anurādhapura which he made his capital and where he established hermitages for the benefit the Nirgranthas, Ājīvikas and brāhmins. His son Muṭasiva, who ruled for sixty years, was a contemporary of the first three Mauryas; it was he who laid out the famous grove of the Mahāmeghavana where his son was to welcome the first Buddhist missionaries.

### THE BUDDHA’S VISITS TO CEYLON. — The Buddhist legend compiled by the chronicles (*Dīpa*, Ch. 1-2; *Mhv.*, Ch. 1) claims that during his earthly lifetime Śākyamuni visited the island of Ceylon three times. The first visit took place the very year of the Enlightenment (531 B.C.) : the Buddha went to the Mahānāga garden and stood in the air over an assembly of serpents. Having struck terror into them, he persuaded them to leave the island and go as a group to occupy the land of Giridīpa. The second visit occurred five years later (526) : an argument had broken out between two Nāga chiefs, Mahodara and Cūlodara, who were quarrelling over the possession of a precious throne, the Buddha appeared to them in the company of the god Samiddhi-Sumana, reconciled them and accepted as a gift the throne which had been the cause of the dispute. Finally, three years later (523), Śākyamuni, at the invitation of Maṇiakhila of Kalyāṇi, went to the island accompanied by five
hundred monks, stayed on Mount Sumanakūta where he left his footprint, halted in Dīghavāpi and visited the Mahāmeghavana where he consecrated various spots by his very presence. It was there that he revealed to his audience that already before him, his three predecessors, the Buddhas Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa, had been to the island.

This legend, so dear to the Sinhalese, must have been elaborated at a time when regions which had only embraced the Buddhist faith belatedly attempted to consider themselves holy lands by claiming that the Buddhas had trodden their soil. That is how a journey was attributed to the Buddha to North-West India, Kashmir, the western coast (Śūrpāraka), Burma, etc.

II. — BUDDHIST LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS

During the two centuries of the Magadhan period, the Buddhists, working alone or in conciliatory assemblies, laid the foundations of their canonical writings, evaluated the chances of their Master's Doctrine enduring and chose their leaders. The traditions concerning these events are far from concordant and the majority did not assume any shape until times much later than the narrated facts. We shall inspect them in turn.

1. — THE COUNCILS OF RĀJAGRIHĀ AND VAISHALĪ

DATES. — All the sources are in agreement in placing the council of Rājagrihā in the year one of the Nirvāṇa, according to the long chronology in 486 B.C., and according to the short chronology in 368 B.C. The council of Vaishalī is located between the year 100 and 110 of the Nirvāṇa: the Sinhalese sources which adopt the long chronology therefore place it in the year 386 B.C., corresponding to the tenth year of the reign of Kālāśoka; two Sanskrit sources which follow the short chronology, the Saṃvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1451, p. 450a 28), the Mūlasaṃvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1435, p. 411c 3), as well as Hsüan-tsang (T 2087, p. 909b 14), situate the council in 258 B.C., that is, ten years after the consecration of Aśoka the Maurya.}

Few historical problems have caused so much ink to flow as that of the Buddhist councils. An excellent description and an early bibliography can be found in L. de Vallée Poussin, Councils, ERE, IV, pp. 179-85. Since then two works have appeared which, for a synoptic study of the sources, are and will remain magisterial: J. Przyluski, Le Concile de Rāja-grhā, Paris, 1926; M. Hofinger, Étude sur le concile de Vaiśāli, Louvain, 1946. However, discussion on the essentials continues: E. Frauwaldner, Die buddhistische Konzile, ZDMG, CI, 1952, pp. 240-61; J. Filiozat, Inde Classique, II, pp. 493-9;
Narration of events. — Among the numerous accounts devoted to the first two councils, we will summarize here that of the Pāli Vinaya (II, pp. 284-308). Not because it is superior in value to that of the others, but because, it has been authenticated by the learned body of Sinhalese intellectuals, and presents the events in a reasonable external guise.

In this Vinaya, the account of the council of Rājagrha begins abruptly, without any preliminary introduction. Kāśyapa, who is addressing the bhikṣus, informs them that, while he was travelling from Pāvā to Kuśinagara in the company of 500 monks, an Ājīvika told him of the decease of the Buddha, which had occurred seven days previously. Among his companions, some grieved while others, who were wiser, resigned themselves to the inevitable. However, the monk Subhaddha (Skt. Subhadra) openly rejoiced at the loss of the Buddha who exasperated the monks with his observations; he proposed that the bhikṣus, now free of all restraint, should live as they liked.

In order to ensure that indiscipline would not infiltrate the order, Kāśyapa proposed that the monks perform a joint recitation of the Law (dharma) and discipline (vinaya). He chose 499 Arhats but, at their request, also convoked Ānanda who, although he was not an Arhat, was best acquainted with the Buddha’s teaching.

After a joint deliberation, it was decided that the 500 bhikṣus should go to Rājagrha for the rainy season, to give there a joint recitation of the Dharmavinaya. The assembly therefore went to the capital of Magadha and devoted the first month of the season to preparatory work.

The very morning of the conclave, Ānanda, undergoing sudden enlightenment, reached Arhatship. The session then opened.

Kāśyapa questioned Upāli on the Vinaya and made him state where, to whom and concerning what, the Buddha had promulgated the instructions for drawing up the rules for bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs. It was then Ānanda’s turn to inform his colleagues in what place, to which person and with regard to what subject the Master had expounded the sūtras contained in the five canonical Nikāyas.

Ānanda then told his colleagues that, before dying, the Buddha had authorized the community to abolish the minor and least important precepts (kṣudrānukṣūḍraka śikṣāpada), but that he, Ānanda, had not asked him to specify what he meant by those precepts. Since the assembly was unable to reach an agreement concerning their signi-

A. BAREAU, Les premiers conciles bouddhiques. Paris, 1955. • The present description is to a large part inspired by the remarkable critique by P. DEMIÉVILLE, A propos du concile de Vaiśālī, TP, XL, pp. 239-96.
ficance, Kāśyapa proposed that all the precepts promulgated by the Buddha should be retained without distinction. The motion was accepted.

The elders at the council then addressed Ānanda with a series of reproofs: he had neglected to question the Buddha about the minor and least important precepts, he had put his foot on his raincloak, he had allowed his body to be defiled by women's tears, he had not asked him to prolong his stay in this world and, finally, he had pleaded for the entry of women into the order. Even though he felt perfectly innocent, Ānanda confessed those faults out of regard for the community.

Meanwhile, the venerable Purāṇa, who was traveling in Dakṣiṇāgiri with 500 monks, arrived in Rājagṛha. When he learnt that the Law and Discipline had been recited by Kāśyapa and the 500 Arhats, he expressed reservations and claimed that he had memorized the Law as he had heard and received it from the very lips of the Blessed One.

In conclusion, the assembly instructed Ānanda to go to Kauśāmbi in order to notify the bhikṣu Channa of the disciplinary punishment meted out to him by the Buddha.

The Pāli Vinaya passes in silence over the episode of Gavāmpati which is narrated by several other sources: before the assembly was convened, the young Pūrṇa had gone to the Śrīśa Palace to invite the Arhat Gavāmpati to participate in the sessions; the latter, however, on learning of the decease of the Buddha and considering the world henceforth devoid of interest, had declined the invitation and entered Nirvāṇa.

* * *

One hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the Vajjiputtaka (Skt. Vṛjiputta) bhikṣus of Vaiśālī promulgated ten practices as being licit: 1. [storing] salt in a horn (śīgilōna), 2. two fingers (dvāṅgula) [i.e. eating when the sun's shadow has passed two fingers' breadth beyond noon], 3. [going to] another village (gāmantara) [after eating once], 4. [the holding of uposatha separately by monks] dwelling in the same district (āvāsa), 5. approbation (anumati) [of an act when the assembly is incomplete], 6. [following a teacher's] rule of conduct (ācīṇa), 7. [partaking of] sour milk (amathita), 8. [drinking] new palm-wine (jalogi pātum), 9. [using] mats with fringes (adasakaṁ nisīdanam), 10. [handling] gold and silver (jātarūparajata).

44 For details, see A. BAREAU, Les premiers conciles, pp. 68-71. Note: words in square brackets added by tr.
At that moment, the venerable Yasa (Skt. Yaśas, Yaśoda), son of Kākanḍaka, arrived in Vaiśāli and noted that on the uposatha day the bhikṣus of the area were placing a bowl in the middle of the assembly and were asking the laity to put gold and silver coins in it for the needs of the community. Yasa formally advised the laity against offering any more money, claiming that the monks could receive neither silver nor gold. Thereupon, the Vajjiputtakas imposed on him the act of reconciliation (paṭisāraniyakamma) which consisted of begging the pardon of insulted persons, in this case the upāsakas of Vaiśāli.

Yasa did so but, while apologizing to the laity for insulting them by his reproaches, he maintained and reaffirmed his point of view, namely that a bhikṣu cannot accept gold or silver under any pretext whatever. The laity were convinced and looked upon the monks of Vaiśāli as bad religious.

Considering themselves offended, the Vajjiputtakas then laid the act of suspension (ukkhepaniyakamma) on Yasa for having instructed without warrant. However, Yasa escaped from them and took refuge in Kauśāmbī. From there he sent messages to the bhikṣus of Pāṭheyya (Western India), Avanti and the Deccan, requesting them to undertake his defence and to maintain the good discipline which was threatened by the practices of the Vajjiputtakas.

Furthermore, Yasa went in person to the venerable Sambhūta Śānavaśin (Skt. Śānavāsa, Śānvāsika, Sonaśin, Sambhoga) who lived on Mount Ahogaṅga (on the upper Ganges) and won him over to his point of view as well as 60 bhikṣus from Pāṭheyya and 80 bhikṣus from Avanti and the Deccan who had come to Ahogaṅga for the event.

The complainants decided to rally to their cause the venerable Revata of Soreyya (a locality between Veraṇjā, east of Mathurā, and Sāmkāśya), but the latter, little desirous of intervening, did not wait for anyone to come and consult him. Those sent out to meet him missed him successively in Soreyya, Sāmkāśya, Kanyakubja, Udumbara and Aggalapura, finally catching up with him in Sahajāti. Yasa questioned him on the lawfulness of the ten points and, after having had them explained to him at length, Revata formally condemned them and promised Yasa his support.

Disturbed by the turn events were taking, the Vajjiputtakas of Vaiśāli sent a delegation to Revata in Sahajāti. At the same time, the venerable Sālha (Skt. Śādha), who was living in solitude, was warned by a deity of the bad behaviour of the bhikṣus from the east. However, the Vaiśālians who had reached Revata tried to win him over with gifts, which Revata
refused, all the while upholding his condemnation despite the intervention of his disciple Uttara, who had been corrupted.

At the suggestion of Revata, the Saṁgha went to Vaiśālī to settle the question. The venerable Sabbakāmin (Skt. Sarvakāma) who already lived there was visited by Revata, soon followed by Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin. Before the latter, who explained to him the points under dispute, Sabbakāmin semi-officially acknowledged the wrongs of the monks from Vaiśālī.

Finally, the Saṁgha assembled and the debate was opened. However, as it threatened to go on for ever, it was left to an arbitrating jury (ubbaḥikāya) consisting of four western monks: Sabbakāmin, Sāl̄ha, Khujjasobhita (Skt. Kubjita), Vāsabhagāmika, and of four eastern monks: Revata, Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin, Yasa and Sumana, while a certain Ajita was entrusted with the seating arrangements.

The bhikṣus, who numbered 700, then went to the Vālikārāma in Vaiśālī. In private, Revata explained the ten points under dispute to Sabbakāmin who totally rejected them, each time referring to an article of the Pratimokṣa. The interrogation was then taken up in public.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CONCILIAR TRADITION. — In order to judge the value of this tradition, it is necessary, not only to examine the account itself, but also to compare the various narrations which have been handed down to us and to classify them.

The date of the first council is universally fixed in the year one of the Nirvāṇa, but there are divergences as to the place of the sessions and the number of participants. Besides Rājagrha, the ancient Magadhan capital, we also find other localities: Kuśinagara (T 5), Magadha, to the north of the town of Sāmkāśya (T 2026) or, a less compromising location, the Sahaloka (T 384). If the council is located in Rājagrha, there are doubts about the precise spot: the Veṇuvana, Mount Grdhra-kūta, the Kṣatriya cave or again the Saptaparna cave. It is generally admitted that the elders of the council were 500 in number, but we also find figures such as 1,000 (T 1509) and 3,000 (T 5).

There is some disproportion between the scriptural work carried out at the sessions and the pretext advanced by Kāsyapa for their convening, namely the unseemly reflection of the monk Subhadra — called Upananda in some sources — who saw in the decease of the Buddha the emancipation of the community. This person's remarks are indeed narrated in the canonical versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (Dīgha, II, p. 162; WALDSCHMIDT, MPS, pp. 422-3), but there is no question as to the reaction his remarks may have provoked; the Sanskrit narrative merely says that Kāsyapa was the only one to hear them.
The episode of the invitation extended to Gavampati appears only in the sūtras and has been eliminated from most of the Vinayas. This Gavampati, presented by the texts as a cloven-hoofed ruminant, is a mythical person, and J. Przyluski believed he recognized in him a deity of drought and wind.

The last-minute arrival of Ānanda to make up the total number of the assembly is doubtless connected with notions of expiatory tests; this is a hackneyed theme in ecclesiastical history: Ānanda makes the 500th at the council of Rājagrha just as Nāgasena does at the monastery of Vattaniya (BEFEO, XXIV, p. 89, n. 2); similarly, Kujbita was to be the 700th in certain accounts of the council of Vaiśālī (T 1435, 1451), and Vasumitra, the 500th at the council of Kaniska (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886c). The reproaches addressed to Ānanda by Kāśyapa or the elders of the council come from the same concern for purification, although it is indelicate to remonstrate with an Arhat. It is true that the episode is not always located in the same place in the narrative and that the number of reproaches varies: two, five, six or seven.

All the narrations attribute to the elders of the council generally speaking the compilation of the canonical writings, but the existing canonical collections contain texts which refer to dates later than the decease of the Buddha and the meetings of the council. There can be discerned in every vinaya a series of prescriptions, an old explanatory commentary and a subsequent elaboration based on the prescriptions and commentary. Several sūtras given as canonical such as the Madhurā (M II, p. 83; T 99, ch. 20, p. 142a), the Ghōtamukha (M II, p. 157) and the Gopakamoggallāna (M III, p. 7; T 27, ch. 36, p. 653c) were pronounced after the Parinirvāṇa; the Nārada (A III, p. 57; T 125, ch. 24, p. 679a) was composed during the reign of Munḍa, the grandson of Ajātaśatru; the Assalāyana in its many recensions (M II, p. 147; T 26, ch. 37, p. 663b; T 71, p. 876b) mentions the Yona-Kamboja of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the Yüeh-chih of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. Therefore, if canonical texts were recited at the first council, they were certainly not identical to those we possess now.

Furthermore, the sources disagree over the extent of the canonical texts recited at Rājagrha, and each school claims that it was its own canon which was compiled by the elders of the council. It is a fact that the canons of the various schools, such as they have come down to us or been described in the accounts of the first council, show considerable discrepancies with regard to the distribution of the sūtras in the Āgamas, the place of the Āgamas in the Sūtrapiṭakas, the extent of the Vinaya and the presence or absence of an Abhidharma. It would be absurd to
claim that all those canons were fixed at the very beginnings of Buddhism, in a period when the schools had not yet been formed.

Furthermore, those canons were not fixed until quite late, if at all. In Ceylon during the fifth century A.D. there was still some discussion over the classification and exact composition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, and it was admitted that certain canonical writings, such as the Kathāvatthu, were not published till the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa. As will be seen in the next section, it is to be doubted whether certain schools ever possessed the canon which they claim was compiled at Rājagṛha.

We are told that the compilers devoted themselves to methodical work and obtained precisions from Upāli and Ānanda as to where, for whom and with regard to what the Master promulgated the rules and delivered his speeches. In other words, each article of the Vinaya and each sūtra was presumed to have been given an introduction (*nidāna*) determining the circumstances of place, person and subject. Unfortunately, if we compare each of those *nidāna*, we see that they rarely date back to a common tradition. Thus, to take just one example, the Brahmajālasutta, according to the Pāli Vinaya narration (II, p. 287), was supposed to have been delivered between Rājagṛha and Nālandā in the royal pavilion of Ambalatthikā. This information is correct if we refer to the Pāli version of the Brahmajālasutta (Dīgha, I, p. 1); but it is false if we look at the Chinese versions of the same sūtra: the Chang a han (T 1, ch. 14, p. 88b 13) locates this sūtra in the Chu lin (Veṇuvana), and the Fan wang (T 21, p. 264b 1) in the meeting-pavilion of Chia li lo (Kareri) near the Jetavana in Śrāvastī. It is likely that, in their original composition, the sūtras did not necessarily have a *nidāna*; they added one when their authenticity was questioned and proof was needed. A late recension of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra reproduced in the Ta chih tu lun (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 66c) relates that, before entering Nirvāṇa, the Buddha had ordered that the precious basket of the Law begin with the formula “Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye: The Buddha was residing in such-and-such a region, such-and-such a country, such-and-such a grove”, claiming that among the Buddhas of the past, sūtras all began in that way. However, this is an apocryphal order which the early versions of the Parinirvāṇasūtra do not take, into consideration.

In the account of the council, there is an episode which seems to plead in favour of the veracity of the chronicle: that of Purāṇa who refuses to adopt the decisions by the council to retain the Law just as he himself had heard it from the lips of the Buddha. Obviously, the chronicle had no interest in relating a fact demonstrating a partial failure in the sessions at Rājagṛha. In its concision, the Pāli edition
might lead to the belief that Purâna fell in with the decisions of the council, except for some harmless points: storing food in the house, doing the cooking there, etc. The silence of the Pâli edition over these minor practices is all the more curious in that some of them are discussed in the Pâli Vinaya (I, pp. 210-15).

* * *

Less numerous, although just as contradictory, are the accounts of the council of Vaisāli. There is disagreement over the date, the place and the number of participants. The council supposedly took place in the year 100, 110, 210 or 220 after the Nirvâna, in the reigns of a Nandin, Kālāśoka or Asoka the Maurya. The sessions were held in Vaisâli, in the monastery of the Vâlikârâma, in the monastery of Kusumapura or again in the Kûṭâgarasâlâ of the Markâthradatîra; one source merely gives the Vihâra of Kusumapuri (sic), without stating the town. The elders were 700 in number, or even 1,200,000!

The narrative abounds in peculiarities and incoherencies. The elders of the council apparently all knew the Buddha (Dpv. IV, 51) and at the time of these events had been ordained for 110 to 130 years. Yasa’s appeal to the distant communities of Paṭheyya, Avanti and the Deccan is an unusual procedure of which there is no other example in ecclesiastical history. Revâta’s flight from the messengers sent to look for him corresponds less to a fit of bad temper than the dissimulation of the performing of a rite. The council had no chairman, the sources attributing pre-eminence, some to Revâta, some to Sambhûta Śâṇavâsin, or again some to Sarvâkâmin and Kubjîta. The jury of eight members charged with making decisions was chosen from among monks coming mostly from central India, the localities of Ahogânga, Mathurâ, Soreyya, Sâmkâsya, Kanyakubja, Aggalapura, Sahajâti, Sâkeṭa; it is difficult to see how it could be divided impartially into two groups: four bhikṣus from the East (Pâcînaka) and four from the West (Paṭheyyaka). The absence of reaction from the Vrîjiputrukas of Vaisāli after their condemnation is astonishing, to say the least; were it not for a passage in the Dîpavâmsa (V, 30-1), it might be believed they submitted in silence.

What is most curious is the list of ten points summarizing the practices in force among the Vrîjiputrukas. Each expert who was consulted about it seemed to understand nothing of it and had to have it explained in detail. This list, in other respects very concise, was not written in pure Pâli, which would have been easily comprehensible to the
western regions, but in an eastern tongue using the voicing of unvoiced occlusives in inter-vocalic position, in which, for example, a leech is worded, not as jalaucka as in Sanskrit (jaloka in Pali?), but as jaloga. In short, it was worded in what S. Lévi calls the pre-canonical language of Buddhism, or, if it had been transposed into Pāli, that transposition was not thorough-going and left extant some dialectal peculiarities alien to Pāli and the western dialects. This explains why the ten points received interpretations which varied according to the sources. Thus, jalogi-pātum which constitutes the seventh point is explained in six different ways: 1. drinking a surā, alcoholic liquid, which has not yet become majja, an intoxicating drink (Pāli Vin.); 2. drinking shih lu-chia (jaloga), a fermented alcoholic liquid which is not yet mature (Mahiś. Vin.); 3. drinking shih lu (jalo) (Dharmagup. Vin.); 4. “local indigence” : when we happen to be somewhere, poverty causes us to drink alcohol (Sarv. Vin.); 5. “curing sickness” : mixing alcohol with water, then shaking the mixture and using it as a drink (Chinese version of the Mulas. Vin.); 6. the monks of Vaiśālī drank, sucking like leeches (Skt. jalaucka), fermented drinks declaring that this was lawful on the grounds of sickness (Tibetan version of the Mulas. Vin.). This last interpretation which sees in the hapax jalogi, the Middle Indian equivalent of the Skt. jalauka is the only valid one. 

In the choice of their interpretations, the various Vinayas were not guided by mere fantasy; they took the trouble to find in their rules, which had already been codified, passages dealing with the points and enabling them to be condemned. Thus, in the Pāli Vinaya, the ten Vaiśālīan practices are collated or at least are collatable with, the Pācittiyas 38, 37, 35, the Mahāvagga, II, 8, 3, and IX, 3, 5, the Pācittiyas 35, 51 and 89 and, finally, the Nissaggiya 18. A study of the other Vinayas would doubtless lead to the same conclusion. The Mahasāṃghika Vinaya passes in silence over the first nine points and mentions and condemns only the tenth : the practice of handling gold and silver. Further, it is formulated in a somewhat special way : “Under no condition is it permissible to beg for gold, silver or money”. It is likely that the Mahāsāṃghikas, who were of a laxist tendency, discarded the first nine points as being negligible and modified the tenth in conformity with their ruling, which forbade an individual monk to handle gold and silver or to keep any in reserve, but authorized gifts of cash to be added to the unassignable assets of the community. 

45 S. Lévi, Observations sur une langue précanonique du b., JA, 1912, pp. 508-10. 
46 P. Demiéville, o.l., p. 273.
It is important to specify the place occupied in Buddhist literature by the tradition concerning the councils. It has been exploited in turn by the sūtras, vinayas, avadānas, chronicles, by the memoirs of Chinese pilgrims and by the commentaries upon canonical works. Nevertheless, it seems incidental and, according to the various sources, is presented in various aspects and with particular intentions.

1. The account of the first council, to the exclusion of the second, appears in numerous sūtras albeit later sūtras of both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna, which do not form a part of the canonical collection of the Āgamas or Nikāyas.

Among these "detached (muktaka) sūtras of the Hīnayānist canonical tradition, we may mention the Kāsyapasaṃgītisūtra (T 2027, pp. 4b-7a), which is purported to have been translated between 148 and 170 A.D. by the Parthian An Shih kao; two aberrant Parinirvāṇasūtra (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175a 25-c 21; T 6, ch. 2, pp. 190c 28-191a) the former translated by Po Fa-tsu between 290 and 306, the latter by an unknown hand between 317 and 420; finally, ‘The Narrative of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka and the Tsa tsang’ (T 2026, pp. 1-4a) by an unknown translator between 317 and 420.

The account of the first council also appears in full or in part in the Vaipulyasūtras and Śastras of the Mahāyāna: Fên pieh kung tê lun (T 1507) translated by an unknown hand between 25 and 220; Ta chih tu lun (T 1509, ch. 2, pp. 67a-70a) translated by Kumārajīva between 402 and 405; P’u sa ch’u t’ai tang (T 384, ch. 7, p. 1058) translated by Chu Fo nien between 384 and 417; finally, the Ta pei ching (T 380, ch. 5, p. 971b) translated by Narendrayāsas in the second half of the fifth century.

These accounts have certain characteristic features. They have in common the intention to present the canonical writings on which they base their authority as ancient and authentic. They are deeply tinged with the marvellous and nearly all of them narrate the invitation to Gavāmpati, undeniably mythical in nature. Finally, they ignore, or seem to, the second council. It should however be noted that certain sources such as the Ta chih tu lun (T 1509, ch. 15, p. 173c; ch. 100, p. 756b) place alongside the council of Rājagṛha the council of the Vimalas-vabhāva where several Bodhisattvas, assisted by Ānanda, are purported to have compiled the writings of the Mahāyāna.

2. The account of the two councils is to be found in all the Vinayas which have come down to us, but it appears in them as an appendix or later addition.

a. The Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1435), in its first edition translated by
Kumarajiva in 404, makes only a brief allusion to it in its 10th adhyāya entitled Kuśalādhyāya (ch. 56, p. 414a). After a series of prescriptions concerning the distribution of vegetables and the use of beds and utensils made of precious metal, it passes abruptly to the following mention:

The compilation of the Vinaya by the Five-hundred. — Immediately after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, five hundred bhikṣus assembled in the same place in order to compile all the Sūtras, all the Vinayas, all the Abhidharmas: that is what is called the compilation of the Vinaya by the Five-hundred.

The compilation of the Vinaya by the Seven-hundred. — One hundred and ten years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, when there appeared the ten points of Vaiśāli which were contrary to the Law, contrary to the Vinaya, contrary to the teaching of the Buddha, which were not contained in either the Sūtras or in the Vinaya, which were contrary to the nature of the Law and the nature of bodily attitudes, seven hundred bhikṣus assembled in the same place in order to annul those ten points: that is what is called the compilation of the Vinaya by the Seven-hundred.47

After this brief mention, the text continues with minor prescriptions concerning the use of seals, medicines, and other unimportant matters.

A detailed account of the two councils appears, among other appendices, in the postscript to the Sarvāstivādin Vin., added after 409 by Vimalākṣa to the complete translation made by Kumarajiva in 404. In this postscript, the account of the councils occupies chūan 60-61, pp. 447a-456b, and is probably based on a Sanskrit document which Vimalākṣa acquired in Central Asia and took to China. In fact, two leaves of a Sanskrit manuscript in Brāhmī script containing a fragment of the narrative of the first council as it appears in Vimalākṣa’s postscript have been found in Muruq. These leaves have been published by E. WaldeSchmidt, Zum ersten buddhistischen Konzil in Rājagṛha, Festschrift Weller, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 817-28.

b. In the Mahāsāsana Vinaya, the rough version of the two councils comes at the end (T 1421, ch. 30, pp. 190b-194b), after a description of the Skandhakas.

c. In the Pāli Vinaya, the rough narrative of the two councils begins abruptly after a description of the Khandakas (II, pp. 284-308). It thus practically completes the Theravādin disciplinary collection, since the section of the Parivāra which at present concludes the collection is the work of a fifth century monk named Dīpa.

d. In the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, the account of the two councils, preceded by a narration of the Buddha’s funeral ceremony, concludes the Skandhaka section (T 1428, ch. 54, pp. 966c-971c). It is followed by

47 P. Demiéville, o.l., p. 250.
two appendices, *Samyuktavarga* and *Vinayakottara*, which can be viewed as the equivalent of the Pāli *Parivāra*.

e. In the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*, the accounts of the two councils, preceded by a report of the Buddha’s funeral ceremony and separated by a long list of patriarchs, form part of a *Kāudrakādhyāya* “minor chapter” incorporated right in the middle of the Skandhaka section (T 1425, ch. 32, pp. 490b-492c; ch. 33, p. 493a-c).

f. In the Haimavata *Vinayamātrkā*, translated between 385 and 431 and set out on a different plan to that of the other Vinayas, the account of the councils occupies the end of the third scroll and the beginning of the fourth (T 1463, ch. 3-4, pp. 818a-819c 13). It follows a short narration of the decease and funeral ceremony of the Buddha.

g. Whether rightly or wrongly, the *Mahāvastu* is given as part of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Lokottaravādins from the Madhyadeśa, a branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas. A *Dasabhūmika* which is incorporated into this compilation contains an extremely aberrant account of the first council (*Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 68-76), to the exclusion of the second; it follows a short account of the Buddha’s funeral ceremony.

As for the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, which includes an account of the two councils, we would prefer to classify it among the chronicles rather than among the Vinayas.

As far as the history of the councils is concerned, the Vinayas which have just been listed are characterized by some particular features. First of all, they continue to use the tradition of the councils as proof of the authenticity and antiquity of the canonical writings, but by canonical writings they mean, not an original recitation valid for the community as a whole, but the particular writings compiled by each of their scholars. They take pleasure in specifying them and oppose, at least tacitly, their canon to those of their neighbours. It is quite clear that the Tripiṭaka of the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, Mahiśāsakas, Haimavatas and Dharmaguptakas differed in the length and layout of the subjects, and yet each of them is given as original and authentic.

Another concern of the Vinayas is to adapt the tradition of the councils to their own disciplinary regulations. This is why the seven or eight points over which Purāṇa had refused to agree in Rājagrha and the ten laxist practices of the Vṛjiputraṇas of Vaiśālī are interpreted and explained in such a way that it is easy to find an article condemning them in the Vinayas that were already settled. Thus, a link between the tradition of the councils and the Buddhist discipline was created quite artificially, so that the history of the councils seems to concern the Vinaya rather than the Dharma and regulations rather than doctrines.
Finally, the compilers of the Vinayas, by reconsidering the councils in their own way, were more preoccupied by technical details than by the poetry of the narrative. As rationalist theoreticians, they expurgated the narrative of anything which might appear too marvellous and, it must be said, too stupid: the intervention of devas, the invitation to the ox-god Gavāmpati, etc. This precaution clearly distinguished them from the compilers of the sūtras whose concern for edification prevailed over that of verisimilitude. The Mahāsāṃghikas alone did not consider it necessary to rationalize the account and they retain the traditional roles played by the gods and by Gavāmpati; this was because they were addressed to a wider public, more easily moved by the marvellous than by textual exactitude, furthermore their pre-Mahāyānist tendencies predisposed them to accept wonders without too much evidence.

3. Somewhat different preoccupations surfaced in the accounts of the councils incorporated in the Avadāna and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. The Avadānaśataka, which was translated by Chih ch‘ien between 223 and 253, contains a Samgīti (II, No. 100, pp. 197-206) establishing a connection between the identity of the bhikṣu Sundara, a contemporary of Asoka, and that of a farmer who, a hundred years earlier, had offered a perfumed bath to Mahākāśyapa and the elders of the first council. The compiler’s intention is to emphasize the continuity of the Buddhist tradition.

The Āsokāvadāna appears in the form of a double recension: the first, T 2042, translated about the year 300 by An Fa ch‘in, but completed in the fifth century; the second, T 2043, translated by Saṃghavara in 512. They give full details of the first council (T 2042, ch. 3-4, pp. 112a 12-114a 25; T 2043, ch. 6, pp. 150a 13-152c 7), but do not mention the second. In fact, the northern chronology, on which this Avadāna is based, counts only one century between the Nirvāṇa and Asoka’s accession and, according to that calculation, the council of Vaiśāli in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa took place while Asoka was ruling. Chapters VI and VII of the Āsokāvadāna constitute a chronicle relating in order the journey made by the Buddha and Ānanda to Mathurā, the decease of the Buddha and the construction of the eight stūpas, the council of Rājagṛha and, finally, the transmission of the Baskets of the Dharma to the first five or six patriarchs: Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Sāṇāvāsa, Upagupta and Dhītika. Upagupta is given as a contemporary and spiritual adviser of Asoka the Maurya. We should add that portions of this chronicle are again found, in Sanskrit, in the Divyāvadāna, pp. 348-64.

It is fitting to compare these two Avadāna with the Mūlasarvāstivadin...
Vinaya, which is the most recent of all and was not translated into Chinese by I-ching until 710. The section of the Kṣudrakavastu which has come down to us in a Chinese and a Tibetan version in fact concludes with an ecclesiastical chronicle devoted to the first century of Buddhism: 1. A Parinirvāṇasūtra relating the Buddha’s last peregrination, his decease, funeral, the war and distribution of the relics (T 1451, ch. 35-39, pp. 382b 29-402c 4); 2. The account of the first council (ch. 39-40, pp. 402c 4-408c 12); 3. The transmission of the Law through the beneficence of the first eight patriarchs: Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyañtika, Sāṇavāsa, Upagupta, Dhītika, Kāla and Sudarśana (ch. 40, pp. 408c 13-411c 2); 4. The account of the second council (ch. 40, p. 411c 4-414b 11); the Tibetan version ends its description with the following statements: “The council (of the 700 Arhat) took place 110 years after the Nirvāṇa; it was held in the monastery of Kusumapura in Vaiśālī; and the generous donor to the monks was the pious Aśoka”.

The dominant preoccupation of these sources is no longer to establish the great antiquity of the canonical writings but to emphasize the legitimacy of the transmission of the Law by the masters who were regularly responsible for it. The succession of the five or eight patriarchs creates a continuous link between the recitations of the Law over the period of a century.

4. It is appropriate to compare the Sinhalese chronicles and commentaries of the fourth-fifth centuries with the data assembled by the Chinese during approximately the same period.

According to a well-ordered plan, the Mahāvamsa devotes its chapters III and IV respectively to the councils of Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī, its chapter V to the succession of Vinaya Masters, the history of Aśoka the Maurya and the council of Pātaliputra (vv. 228-82). Similarly, the Samantapāśādikā narrates in order the first council (pp. 1-30), the succession of Vinaya Masters (pp. 30-3), the second council in the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa (pp. 33-7), finally, the reign of Aśoka and the third council in the year 236 of the Nirvāṇa (pp. 37-61). With a concern for parallelism, both sources assert that the canonical writings as they appear in the present Sinhalese canon were compiled at the first council and repeated at the second as well as the third. See for the Mahāvamsa, III, 40; IV, 63; V, 275-6; and for the Samantapāśādikā, pages 18, 34 and 61. This marks a development over the previous sources in which these details did not as yet appear.

The Dipavamsa which is slightly earlier than the preceding two chronicles, narrates the same events in a haphazard order. In it we find two accounts of the first council (Dpv., IV, 1-26; V, 1-15) and two of
the second (IV, 47-53; V, 16-29). However, the *Dipavamsa* introduces a
new element of prime importance into the historical tradition. The
council of Vaiśālī in the year 100 was supposedly followed by a Great
Council (*mahāsāṅgīti*) of the Vajjiputtakas of Vaiśālī: those rebellious
monks threw the ancient canonical writings into confusion, modified the
order of the collections, initiated a new exegesis, added recent texts and
discarded old ones (*Dpv.*, V, 30-8). Those Mahāsāṃgītikas, as they were
called, provoked a schism which was the point of departure for the
fragmentation of the community into eighteen rival sects. (*Dpv.*, V, 39-
54).

5. The oral tradition collected in India by the Chinese pilgrims
confirms these facts up to a certain point. Fa hsien, who travelled from
399 to 412, visited the Saptaparnā cave, near Rājagṛha, where the first
council was held (*T 2085*, p. 863a) and in Vaiśālī saw a stūpa comemorating the place where the 700 Arhats had re-examined and collated the disciplinary texts (ibid., p. 862a); however, he makes no mention of a schism.

According to the Indian Paramārtha (500-569) and confirmed by his
Chinese pupil Chi tsang (549-623)*48*, the compilation of the writings
after the decease of the Buddha was carried out simultaneously by two
assemblies: that of the inner assembly consisting of 500 Arhats and
directed by Mahākāśyapa, and that of the outer assembly composed of
10,000 members of the Great Assembly (*mahāsāṅghika*) under the
authority of Bāṣpa, one of the first five bhikṣus. Although each of these
two assemblies was held in a separate place they were still not divided
over feelings and views: their split was still only nominal. It became
doctrinal 116 years later, when the Mahāsāṃghikas adopted the fivefold
heresy of Mahādeva which had been condemned by the Sthaviras. It will
be noted that both scholars seemed to be wholly unaware of the council of Vaiśālī.

During his visits to Bihār, either in 637 or 642, Hsūan tsang saw near
Rājagṛha, five or six li to the south-west of the Veṇuvana, the cave
where Kāśyapa and the thousand (sic) Arhats had held a council the
very year of the decease of the Buddha and compiled a canon which
received the name of *Sthaviranikāya* (Collection of the Elder) because
the Sthavira Kāśyapa had presided over it. Some twenty li to the west of
that spot, Hsūan tsang saw one of Asoka's stūpas marking the place
where, the same year, myriads of the religious, whether unordained or
Arhat, who had not been admitted into Kāśyapa's council, compiled a
canon of their own which received the name of *Mahāsāṃghikanikāya*

(Collection of the Great Assembly); this canon in five sections larger than the preceding one, contained, the Sūtras, Vinaya and Abhidharma, two classes of supplementary texts: the Samyukta (Mixture) and the Dhāraṇī (mnemonical formulas) (T 2087, ch. 9, pp. 922b-923a).

The Master of the Law also saw, fourteen or fifteen li to the southeast of Vaiśālī, a large stūpa marking the spot where, 110 years after the Buddha’s decease, 700 eminent sages had condemned the laxist practices of the monks of Vaiśālī and then proceeded with a second compilation of the writings. Among those Arhat, Hsüan tsang noted the names of Yaśoda of Kosala, Saṃbhoga of Mathurā, Revata of Kanyakūbja, Shāla of Vaiśālī, Fu chê su mi lo (?) of Pāțaliputra: as former disciples of Ānanda, they were all versed in the Tripitaka (T 2087, ch. 7, p. 909b).

The Sinhalese chronicles and commentaries on the one hand, the memoirs of the Chinese pilgrims on the other, both compiled at about the same period, are remarkable for certain features they have in common. More especially in the Sinhalese sources, there is a concern to link the councils with the reigns of the Magadhan princes. The sessions at Rājagrhā were thought to have been held under the protection of King Ajātaśatru, those at Vaiśālī under the aegis of Kālaśoka: the latter is purported to have supported the laxist monks of Vaiśālī at first but, on the intervention of his sister Nandā, gave his patronage to the orthodox monks (Mhv., IV, 37, 44). Details are missing in the Chinese sources, which pass in silence over the council of Vaiśālī or merely mention it incidentally, but all agree in celebrating the generosity of Ajātaśatru in respect of the elders of the first council.

Another more important point is the extent of the literary activity attributed to the council of Vaiśālī: it is no longer just a question, as in the Pāli Vinaya (II, p. 307), of a recitation of the discipline (vinaya-saṃgīti), but of a complete re-edition of the Law a dhammasaṃgaha in the words of the Mahāvamsa (IV, 63-4), a new compilation according to Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 7, p. 909b 14).

Finally, all the sources recorded in the present paragraph establish a direct link between the Buddhist councils and the formation of the sects. As it had not been possible to impose the decisions taken at the councils on all the members of the community, the latter is thought to have immediately split into various schools. The Mahāsāṃghika schism is thought to have been a direct consequence of the first council according to Paramārtha, Chi tsang and Hsüan tsang, of the second according to the Dipavamsa. A later source, the Nikāyasamgraha, even considers it was a result of the third.
CONCLUSIONS. — Many other considerations could be advanced concerning this tradition of the councils. The little that has been said about them is enough to demonstrate that it would be imprudent to commit oneself for or against the historicity of the councils. In itself, the account abounds in improbabilities and anachronisms, it is steeped in the marvellous and exploits myths and literary themes which are no more than commonplaces. When compared with one another, the various narratives which have come down to us disagree over almost every point: date and place of the councils, persons who took part in them, the activity which was carried out at them. The tradition of the councils is only indirectly connected with the mainstream of the canonical writings: it appears only in later sūtras which are not included in the early collections; it is merely as an appendix that it appears in the Vinayas of the various schools after undergoing the necessary modifications. Furthermore, it was exploited in the course of time for the most diverse purposes: it was used as proof of the antiquity and authenticity of the canonical texts, and afterwards of the canons of the various schools — which is quite another matter — it was incorporated into Avādanas in order to establish the continuity of the Buddhist tradition through its many depositaries; finally, it was employed in the explanation of the birth of the schisms and the formation of the schools.

It is nonetheless a fact that the very existence of the council has never been questioned and, as Heraclitus says on this point, Ἄμμονὴς αρανής φανηρῆς κρείττων. A tacit agreement is better than a clearly stated one. We would say, without being over-hasty that in the first century after the Nirvāṇa, one or more groups of specialists, whether assembled in council or not, attempted to codify the word of the Buddha in both the field of doctrine and in the field of discipline and that they succeeded in elaborating a coherent dharma and prātimokṣa, which were accepted as a whole by the early community and which constituted the common heritage of the Buddhist sects which were subsequently to develop.

2. — THE FORMATION OF THE CANON OF WRITINGS

The canon of Buddhist writings or, according to the traditional expression, the Tripitaka poses a twofold problem, a linguistic one and a literary one. Contrary to the assertions of the orthodox tradition, the constitution of a canon similar to the present Sinhalese Tripitaka is the result of many centuries of labour; it rests with the historian of literature to describe its details or, at least, to indicate its progress. However, since these religious texts have come down to us in various Indian languages
the remnants of one or several compilations in Magadhi, Pāli, Prākrit, hybrid Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit — the linguist in his turn is confronted with the problem posed by these various recensions. In the present section, we will merely sketch an outline of the literary formation of the canon upon which recent research has thrown some light.

1st — The seven classifications of the Writings

The Testimony of Buddhaghosa. — According to the testimony of the philosopher and commentator Buddhaghosa, the Word of the Buddha, as it was presented in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D., was the subject of seven different classifications. They are listed in the Samantapāśādikā, p. 16, the Sumangalavilāsini, p. 15, and the Atthasālīni, p. 18:

Evam etāṁ sabbam pi Buddhavacanam rasavasena ekavidham, dhammavinayavasena duvidham, pañhamamajjhipacchimavasena tividham, taṭṭhā piṭakavasena, nikāyavasena pañcavidham, angavasena navavidham, dhammakkhandavasena caturāśiṣāhassavidham ti veditabbam.

“It should be known that the Word of the Buddha is single in flavour,


twofold by reason of the doctrine (dharma) and discipline (vinaya), threefold by reason of the initial, intermediate and final (words of the Buddha), also threefold by reason of the Baskets (piṭaka), fivefold by reason of the collections (nikāya), ninefold by reason of the constituent parts, finally, of 84,000 kinds because of the articles of the Law (dharmaśākāndha)"

Of these seven classifications, only one, that of the three Baskets, is of real interest and corresponds to a true division of the writings. We will devote a special description to it and say only a word or two here about the other six classifications which are of little more than theoretical value and consist rather of a mental view.

The single flavour. — The word of the Buddha is single in flavour (rasavaśena ekavidham) in that everything spoken by the Buddha has the aim and effect of leading his listeners to deliverance. This is a canonical doctrine formulated in stereotyped terms in the Sūtras and the Vinaya (Vinaya, II, p. 239; Anguttara, IV, p. 203; Udāna, p. 56; Madhyama, T 26, ch. 8, p. 476c 11; Ekottara, T 125, ch. 37, p. 753b 1):

Seyyathā pi mahāsāmuddo ekaraso loṇaraso evam eva kho ayaṃ dhammavinayo ekaraso vimuttiraso.

"Just as the ocean has a single flavour, the flavour of salt, so this doctrine and discipline have a single flavour, the flavour of deliverance".

The Mahāsāṃghikas took this proposal literally and affirmed that, with all their words, the Tathāgatas set in motion the Wheel of the Law and that even the blandest of words, such as "Is it raining?", "How are you?", have a profound meaning intended to set beings on the way to deliverance. For the Sarvāstivādins, the Tathāgatas do not always set the Wheel of the Law in motion whenever they speak, but only when they preach the noble eightfold Path (ārya āṣṭāṅgikamārga) ⁵⁰.

Dharma and vinaya. — The word of the Buddha is twofold by reason of the doctrine and discipline (dharmaśākāndha). When they are used as a compound, the words dharma and vinaya together designate the teaching of the Buddha as a whole, the Buddhist religion in general and, in a wider sense, the religious order and community life. However, when they are expressed separately or joined with the particle ca, dharma means the doctrine, the theoretical teaching, and vinaya, the discipline or rules imposed on members of the community: "We wish", say some religious, "to preach the doctrine (dharma) or assign a ruling (śikṣāpada) to the monks" (Vinaya, I, pp. 59, 158,

⁵⁰ Cf. A. Bareau, Sectes b., pp. 58, 145.
According to the account in the Pāli Culla-vagga, the first compilation of the Law which took place in Rājagrha after the decease of the Buddha consisted of a (saṃgīti) recitation by the community of the dharma and vinaya: Upāli recited the vinaya, and Ānanda the dharma (Vin., II, pp. 285-7). The Word of the Buddha is twofold in that it includes a dogmatic aspect and a disciplinary aspect.

INITIAL WORDS, ETC. — The word of the Buddha is threefold by reason of the initial, intermediate and final words (prathamamadhyama-pāścimavāśena trividham). Here again, there is no question of a real division of the scriptural texts, but of an overall consideration that claims that the holy word is good at all times. The proposal contains an implicit reference to a wide-spread scriptural stock phrase: Vinaya, I, pp. 35, 242; Dīgha, I, p. 62; III, pp. 267, 285; Majjhima, I, p. 179; Saṁyutta, I, p. 105; IV, p. 315; Aṅguttara, I, p. 180; II, pp. 147, 208; III, pp. 113 sq., 135, 262; Itivuttaka, p. 79, etc.: 

So dhammam deseti ādikalyāṇam majjhe kalyāṇam pariyosānakalyāṇam sāttham savyaṇjananam kevalaparipuṇṇam parisuddham brahma-cariyaṃ pakāseti.

“He [the Buddha] preaches a Law which is good in the beginning, in the middle and at the end; its meaning is good, its letter is good; it is uniform, complete and pure; the Brahma-conduct is revealed in it”.

THE FIVE COLLECTIONS. — “The Word of the Buddha is fivefold by reason of the five Collections (nikāya)”. According to the very words of this assertion, the expression Pañcanikāya denotes the teaching of the Buddha as a whole. It is therefore by no means a reference to the five Nikāyas of the Pāli Suttapiṭaka, but to the totality of the canonical writings. According to the explanation given by Buddhaghosa (Samanta, I, p. 27; Sumaṅgala, I, p. 23; Atthasāliṇī, p. 26) the expression Pañcankāya designates the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṁyutta-, Aṅguttara- and Khuddakanikāya, but the latter includes “the totality of the Vinayapiṭaka, Abhidhammapiṭaka, the fourteen subdivisions of the Khuddakani-kāya in the strictest sense, beginning with the Khuddakapāṭha and the Dhammapada, in brief all the rest of the Buddha’s word with the exception of the four above-mentioned Nikāyas”. In the Sānci and Bhārhut inscriptions (Lüders, 299, 867) the epithet pañcanekāyika is applied to certain monks. This does not mean, as was so long believed, that those monks knew the five Collections of the Suttapiṭaka, but merely that they were versed in the canonical doctrine as a whole.

THE NINE CONSTITUENT PARTS. — The word of the Buddha is ninefold by reason of the nine constituent parts (aṅgavaśena navavidham). This
classification does not correspond to any real division of the canon, but lists the literary styles represented in the canonical writings. One and the same text can be classified in several of the styles at the same time depending on which of its characteristics is under consideration.

While the Tripiṭaka as a corpus of writings is never mentioned in the oldest canonical texts, the division into Āṅgas is frequently recorded. These nine Āṅgas are:

1. sutta  
2. geyya  
3. veyyākarana  
4. gāthā  
5. udāna  
6. itivuttaka  
7. jātaka  
8. abbhutadhamma  
9. vedalla

Modern authors argue over the exact meaning of these terms, but the Pāli commentaries define them in the following way (Sumangala, I, p. 23; Samanta, p. 28; Atthasālinī, p. 26; Āṅguttara Comm., III, p. 5):

Sutta. — The twofold Vinayavibhaṅga, the Niddesa, the Khandhaka, the Parivāra, the Maṅgala, Ratana, Nālaka and Tuvaṭaka sutta of the Suttanipāta, and all the other discourses of the Buddha which bear the name of Sutta.

Geyya. — All Suttas with verses.

Veyyākarana. — The Abhidhammapiṭaka, Suttas without verses and all the discourses of the Buddha not included in the other eight Āṅgas.

Gāthā. — The Dhammapada, the Thera- and Therīgāthā and the sections of the Suttanipāta which do not bear the title of Sutta.

Udāna. — Eighty-two Suttanta embellished with verses expressing intellectual joy (section No. 3 of the Khuddakanikāya).

Itivuttaka. — The 112 Suttas (of the 4th section of the Khuddakanikāya) which begin with the formula: Vuttāṁ hetāṁ Bhagavatā.

Jātaka. — The 500 Jātaka, Apanṇaka, etc., contained in section 10 of the Khuddakanikāya.

Abbhutadhamma. — All the Suttas recording marvellous and extraordinary feats, for example Āṅguttara, II, p. 132.

Vedalla. — All Suttas in the form of questions which provoke joy and satisfaction; for example Cūḷavedalla (Majjhima, I, p. 299), Mahāvedalla (Majjhima, I, p. 292), Sammādiṭṭhi (Majjhima, I, p. 46), Sakkapaṭṭhā (Dīgha, II, p. 263), Saṅkhārabhājaniya (Majjhima, III, p. 99), Mahāpūraṇama (Majjhima, III, p. 15). J. Przyluski compares vedalla to the Skt. vaitālīya, the name of a metre, and vaitālika “bard”⁵¹, but the Indians themselves gave as correspondents to vedalla, vaipulya “extent”, vaidalya “suppression” and vațtulya “incomparable”⁵².

⁵¹ Le Concile de Rājaγrha, p. 344.
⁵² Abhidharmasamuṭṭaya, ed. Pradhan, p. 78.
The division into nine Ángas is adopted:

1. by the Theravādins of Ceylon who mention it in both their canonical and post-canonical writings: *Vinaya*, III, p. 7; *Majjhima*, I, p. 133; *Aṅguttara*, II, pp. 7, 103, 178; III, pp. 87, 177, 361; *Milinda*, p. 344; *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa (T 1648, ch. 9, p. 445b); *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa (ed. Warren, p. 373).

2. by a few rare canonical or paracanonical texts translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, such as an aberrant version of the *Sāngītisūtra* (T 12, ch. 1, p. 227b), the Sanskrit *Itivrttaka* (T 765, ch. 5, p. 684a; ch. 7, p. 697c) and the *Dharmasāṅgītisūtra* (T 761, ch. 1, p. 612a).

3. To judge from their *Vinaya* (T 1425, ch. 1, p. 227b), the Maha­sāṃghikas retained the division into nine Ángas. This fact does not tally with the statement in the *Dīpavamsa* (V, 36), which accuses the Maha­sāṃghikas of having composed new sūtras and vinayas to incorporate them in the ancient collections. It is true that the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* claims, rightly or wrongly, to be one of the oldest.

4. The division into nine Ángas can also be found in some Mahāyānist sūtras and śāstras such as the *Dharmasamgraha* (ed. MÜLLER, Ch. 62; T 764, p. 661a), the *Daśavihārabhāṣā* by Nāgārjuna (T 1521, ch. 9, p. 69b) and even the *Saddharmapundarīka* (ed. KERN, p. 45; T 262, ch. 1, p. 7c), but this last text deviates from the Pāli tradition by eliminating three early Ángas (*veyyākārana*, *udāna* and *vedalla*) to replace them by three new ones (*nidāna*, *aupamyā = avadāna*, and *upadeśa*):

1. sūtra  
2. gāthā  
3. itivṛttaka

4. jātaka
5. adbhuta
6. nidāna

7. aupamyā
8. geya
9. upadeśa

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**The twelve constituent parts.** — The greatest majority of Sanskrit texts add three further Ángas to the nine of the Pāli tradition: *nidāna*, introduction indicating the subordinate circumstances of the discourses; *avadāna*, tales of exploits, and *upadeśa*, instructions, which enables them to posit a Word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) or an Account of the Law (*dharma-pravacana*) in twelve constituent parts (*dvādasāṅga*):

1. sūtra  
2. geya  
3. veyākarana
4. gāthā

5. udāna
6. ityukta
7. jātaka

9. vaipulya
10. adbhutadharma
11. avadāna
12. upadeśa

Contrary to what is generally believed, this is not a Mahāyānist list since, according to the most authoritative commentaries, the three new constituents refer to canonical texts pertaining as much to the Hinayāna
as the Mahāyāna. This is how the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 126, p. 660a) defines them:

**Nidāna.** — In the sūtras, an utterance (ukti) was the outcome of various circumstances (nidāna), such as those described in the Arthavargiyāṇī sūtrāṇi. Similarly, in the Vinaya it is explained that it is as a result of an offence committed by Sudhana, etc., that the Bhagavat convened the assembly of bhikṣus and promulgated a rule (śikṣāpada).

**Avadāna.** — This is an account of the manifold and various adventures (avadāna) narrated in the sūtras; for example, the Dīrghāvadāna, the Mahāvadāna (in the Dīrghāgama, T 1, ch. 1, p. 1), etc.

**Upadeśa.** — This is the teaching of defined and considered instructions and great words contained in the sūtras. Thus, when the Buddha had expounded a sūtra in brief, he would retire to the monastery; then, while he was resting, the great disciples would gather in one place and, by means of all kinds of syllables (akṣara), phrases (pada) and meanings (artha), they would interpret the Buddha’s word.

Nonetheless, even the theoreticians of the Hīnayāna did not exclude all the Mahāyānist texts from the list of twelve Aṅgas. The Vibhāṣā (l.c.) remarks: “The Vaipulyas explain at length the meaning of the various profound dharmas (gambhiradharma) contained in the sūtras, Brahmajālasūtra, etc..., and Venerable Pārśva also included the Prajñā [of the Mahāyāna] among the Vaipulyas, because of the extent of the subject dealt with”.

Among the sources which accept the dvādasāṅgabuddhavacana as opposed to the navāṅgabuddhasāsana of the Pāli, we may point out:

1. All the Āgamas, no matter which school transmitted them: the Sanskrit Mahāparinirvānasūtra (ed. WALDSCHMIDT, p. 386; Id., Lebensende des Buddha, p. 217); Dīrghāgama (T 1, ch. 3, p. 16c; ch. 12, p. 74b); Madhyama (T 26, ch. 1, p. 421a; ch. 45, p. 709b; ch. 54, p. 764b); Saṃyuṣkta (T 99, ch. 41, p. 300c); Ekottara (T 125, ch. 18, p. 635a; ch. 21, p. 657a; ch. 33, p. 728c; ch. 46, p. 794b; ch. 48, p. 813a).

2. All the Chinese Vinayas with the exception of that of the Mahāsāṃghikas: Mahīśāsaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 1, p. 1c); Dharmaguptaka Vin. (T 1428, ch. 1, p. 569b), Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1451, ch. 38, p. 398c).

3. The treatises of the great Hīnayānist schools, Sarvāstivādins, Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas: Mahāvyutpatti (Nos. 1267-78); Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 126, p. 659c sq.); Kośa (VI, pp. 194, 274); Satyasiddhiśīstra (T 1646, ch. 1, p. 244c).

4. The majority of the Mahāyānasūtras such as the Pañcavimsati (ed. DUTT, p. 31; T 220, ch. 402, p. 9c; T 222, ch. 1, p. 150c; T 223, ch. 1, p. 220b); the Saṃdhinirmocana (T 676, ch. 3, p. 698a); the Avatamsaka
(T 278, ch. 12, p. 478a). It is to be noted that the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T 374-5) counts nine Āṅgas when it is referring to the Śrāvakas (T 374, ch. 3, p. 383c; T 375, ch. 3, p. 623b), twelve when it is referring to the Bodhisattvas (T 374, ch. 15, p. 451b; T 375, ch. 15, p. 693b).

5. The *Upadeśa* of Nāgārjuna (T 1509, ch. 33, p. 306 sq.).

6. The great treatises of the Yogācāra school: *Abhisamayālāmkārā-loka* (ed. WOGIHARA, p. 29); *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* (ed. YAMAGUCHI, p. 209); *Yogacaryābhūmi* (T 1579, ch. 25, p. 419a; ch. 81, p. 753a; ch. 85, p. 773a); *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (ed. PRADHAN, p. 78; T 1605, ch. 6, p. 686a; T 1606 ch. 11, p. 743b).

To sum up, all the Pāli sources, the Mahāsāṃghikas and a few sūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyāna consider the *navaṅgabuddhasāsana* as authoritative, while all the Sanskrit sources of the Hinayāna and most of the sūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyāna favour the *dvādaśaṅgabuddhavacana*.

### The relationship between the Āṅgas and the Tripiṭaka.

To the minds of Buddhists, Āṅga and Tripiṭaka are synonymous expressions in so far as they include the whole of the canonical writings. However, five Āṅgas, *sūtra*, *udāna*, *itiyṛttaka*, *jātaka* and *avadāna*, are more closely comparable to certain works incorporated in the Tripiṭaka and which bear the same title.

Some theoreticians have a more limited conception of the Āṅgas, identifying them, not with the Tripiṭaka as a whole but with part of it: The *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* or Basket of Minor Texts. At least, this is what seems to be meant by a passage in the *Vinayamaṭrkā* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 818a).

The Yogācāra school which includes a *Bodhisattva Basket* in the ancient Tripiṭaka, has drawn up a concordance table between its Tripiṭaka, thus enlarged, and the twelve constituents of the writings. According to the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (ed. PRADHAN, p. 78; T 1605, ch. 6, p. 686a), the correspondence would work out as follows:

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<tr>
<td>Abhidharmapiṭaka</td>
<td>of the Śrāvakas</td>
<td>12. Upadeśa.</td>
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THE 84,000 DHARMASKANDHAS. — The word of the Buddha is of 84,000 kinds by reason of the articles of the Law (dharmaskandhavaśena caturaśitisahasraspavidham). This means that the word of the Buddha is enormous in extent with respect to the numerous articles or items it contains. In round figures it contains 84,000 (variant 80,000) of them, in the same way that the stūpas erected by Asoka were 84 or 80,000 in number. However, the articles or dharmaskandha in question are only rarely mentioned in the old canonical writings. I can cite only a single reference, stanza 1024 of the Theragāthā in which Ānanda declares:

Dvāsitiṃ buddhato ganhi, dve sahassāni bhikkhuto
caturāsiti sahassāni ye 'me dhammā pavattino.

"I have learned 82,000 dharmas from the lips of the Buddha and 2,000 from the lips of the bhikṣu (Śāriputra); therefore, 84,000 dharmas are present in my mind".

The Theragāthā commentary states that this stanza is taken from the Gopakamoggallānasutta (Majjhima, I, p. 7 sq.), but this reference is wrong. Nonetheless, the stanza in question can be found, with some variants over the number of dharmas, in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 491c), and a canonical quotation from the Vībhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 74, p. 385c) and the Avadānasataka (II, p. 155) of which the text is as follows:

Sthavirānandasyaivaṃvidhā smṛtiḥ : yadā bhagavato 'ntikād aṣītir dharmaskandhasahasrasaṃ udgrhitāni...

"There is this mention of Ānanda the Elder: When I learned 80,000 dharmas in the presence of the Blessed One..."

The 84,000 dharmaskandha are also mentioned in the Sūtras and Śāstras of the Mahāyāna, such as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (ed. Nanjio, p. 254, l. 11), the Mahākarunāpuṇḍarīka (T 380, ch. 2, p. 953a), the Bhadrakalpikasūtra (T 425, ch. 6, p. 44c) and the Abhidharmasamuccaya (T 1606, ch. 11, p. 744c 1). It can be seen from certain passages of the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 22, p. 222c; ch. 25, p. 245) that for these authors the expressions Tripitaka, Dvādaśāṅga and Caturaśītdharmaskandhasahasra are equivalents and serve to designate the Buddhist teaching in its entirety.

However, the Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu (I, pp. 46-7) and its commentary, the Vīkhyā (ed. Wogihara, pp. 52-3) discuss the extent of the dharmaskandha and mention various opinions on the subject. According to some of them, it was the size of the Abhidharma Treatise
known by the name of Dharmaskandha (T 1537), which contains 6,000 stanzas; but, of the 84,000 dharmaskandha which existed in the past, only one has been preserved, all the others have perished. According to others, there are as many dharmaskandha as there are subjects dealt with in the writings. Buddhaghosa is of the latter opinion, which counts one skandha for each anusandhika or topic (Samantapāsādikā, p. 29; Suman-galavilāsini, p. 24; Atthisālinī, pp. 26-7).

At the places mentioned, above the Kośa and its Vyākhyā believe that each skandha was preached in order to cure a particular category of devotees, for beings can be the victims of 80,000 different passions. This is also the opinion of Harivarman in his Satyasiddhiśāstra (T 1646, ch. 9, p. 314a), for whom the skandha serve as an antidote for manifold passions which are deeply rooted in ignorance.

There is no reason to dwell on these speculative considerations and we can pass directly to the classification of the texts into three Baskets (tripiṭaka) which was by far the most important and which corresponds to a real division of the canonical writings.

2nd — The Tripiṭaka

“The Word of the Buddha is threefold by reason of the Baskets” (piṭakavaśena trividham). The Tripiṭaka contains the Sūtrapiṭaka, Basket of the Text or Texts which systematically groups the teaching of the sūtras, the Vinayapiṭaka, Basket of the Discipline which contains the disciplinary rules in force in the order; finally, the Abhidharmapiṭaka, Basket of “technical reflections on the Law” which constitutes a thorough study and systematization of the teachings of the Sūtras.

a. Generalities

THE RELATIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIPITAKA. — The classification of the writings into three Baskets merely sanctions the existence of three different specialities within the religious community the objects of which were respectively the doctrine, discipline and scholasticism.

Indeed, very early on the monks specialized in one of these three disciplines. The canonical writings inform us that, alongside the religious who were famed as instructors (dharmaṇakathika), meditators (dhyāyin) and folklorists (tirāscakathika), there were bhikṣus versed in the sūtras (sūtrakāśara or suttantika), others in the discipline (vinayakāśara), and still others in catechetics or summaries which are the core of scholasticism (mātrkāśara) : Vin., I, pp. 119, 127, 337, 339; II, pp. 8, 55, 75-6, 299,
Nonetheless, in the earliest texts, the three disciplines are still independent and follow their own traditions separately. They are not as yet qualified as “baskets” (piṭaka), and there is no question of the “three baskets” (tripiṭaka). These terms were to appear for the first time on Brāhmī inscriptions the oldest of which date back to the second century B.C.

These inscriptions continue to use the old vocabulary: it is always a matter of Reciters (bhāṇaka, bhanaka or bhānaka) as at Bhārhut (Lüders, 738, 762, 773, 789, 804, 833), Sāncī (602) and Kārli (1094, 1095); of “Knowers of the Sūtras” (sutraṃtika, sutātika, sutātikini, sūtātikini) as at Bhārhut (797) and Sāncī (319, 352, 635); of “Memorizers of the Vinaya” (vinayadhara, vinayamdhara and possibly, vināyaka) as at Bodh-Gāyā (949), Amarāvatī (1286) and Sāncī (654).

However, alongside these traditional terms, new ones appear which bear witness to the existence of one or even of three baskets of texts. At Bhārhut (856), we find the epithet Peṭakin “versed in a (?) Piṭaka”. This concerns Trepiṭaka monks or Trepiṭikā nuns in Sārnāth (925, 926, 927), Śrāvasti (918) and Mathurā (38). Finally, Kannheri (989) mentions a Traipiṭikopādhyāya “Master of three baskets”.

No reference is made to the Three Baskets either in the Pāli or the Sanskrit literature, except in the post-canonical texts: piṭakattaya (Suttanipāta Comm., p. 328), tipiṭakadhara (Visuddhimagga, ed. Warren, pp. 50, 55), tipeṭaka (Milinda, p. 90), tripiṭika (Divya, p. 54), tripiṭa (Divya, pp. 261, 505; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 334).

CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRIPITAKA. — The difficulty of inserting the minor texts (Pāli khuddaka, Skt. kṣudraka) into the Tripiṭaka gave rise to some wavering in the arrangement of the three Baskets.

1. The Pāli canon and the Narrative of Nandimitra (T 2030 p. 14b), a work which was translated into Chinese at the beginning of the seventh century, makes the minor texts the fifth and last collection (Pāli nikāya, Skt. āgama) of the Sūtrapiṭaka.

The Pāli Tripiṭaka is subdivided in the following way:

I. Vinayapiṭaka
   1. Dīghanikāya
   2. Majjhimanikāya
   3. Saṃyuttanikāya
   4. Āṅguttaranikāya
   5. Khuddakaniṅkāya

II. Suttapiṭaka

III. Abhidhammapiṭaka
The canon of the *Narrative* follows a parallel order:

1. Dīrghāgama
2. Madhyamāgama
3. Ekottāragama
4. Samyuktāgama
5. Kṣudrakāgama

II. Vinayapiṭaka
III. Abhidharmapiṭaka.

2. Certain schools, while also inserting the minor texts into the Sūtrapiṭaka, declined to give them the title of āgama but attributed to them that of piṭaka. This was the case for the *Mahāsāṃghikas* (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 491c 22), the *Haimavatas* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 818a 27), the *Mahiśāsakas* (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191a 29) and the *Dharmaguptakas* (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968b 26). Their canon is therefore presented as follows:

1. Dīrghāgama
2. Madhyamāgama
3. Samyuktāgama
4. Ekottāragama
5. Kṣudrakāgama

II. Vinayapiṭaka
III. Abhidharmapiṭaka

3. In contrast to a Suttapiṭaka in five Nikāyas and the Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas completed by a Kṣudrakapiṭaka, some schools only recognized a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas and excluded the minor texts from their Tripitaka.

The existence of a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas only is authenticated by the early canonical texts, since the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, in two of its recensions (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175c 3; T 6, ch. 2, p. 191a), states that the Arhats of the first council received four Āgamas from the lips of Ānanda: Madhyama, Dīrgha, Ekottara and Samyukta.

The Chinese preface to the translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (T 1, p. 1a) briefly describes a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas: Ekottara, Madhyama, Samyukta and Dīrgha.

A passage in the *Vinayamātykā* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 820a) probably referring to a Dharmaguptaka sect, also speaks of a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas: Ekottara, Madhyama, Dīrgha and Samyukta.

Finally, the powerful sect of the Sarvāstivādins which contributed so much to the preservation of the writings, never had more than a Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas, the “Quartet of Āgama” (āgamacatu-ṣṭayam) according to the expression in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 17, 1.22;
p. 33, 1.7). This is brought out by various works of Sarvāstivādin origin such as the Aśokasūtra (T 2043, ch. 6, p. 152a 7), the Abhidharmaviniyavibhāṣā (T 1440, ch. 1, pp. 503c-504a), the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1451, ch. 39, p. 407b 27 sq.), and the Mahāvyutpatti (Nos. 1421-24), etc.

However, although the Sarvāstivādins excluded the minor texts from their Tripiṭaka, they nevertheless possessed a certain number of them and did not hesitate to resort to them as if they were canonical or paracanonical authorities. In fact, they frequently cite them, sometimes by the title of Kṣudraka (cf. Kośavyākhyā, ed. Wogihara, p. 33, 1.32), sometimes even by that of Kṣudrakāgama (Kośa, IX, p. 249; Tib. Luṅ phran chegs, Chin. Shao fen a han in T 1559, ch. 22, p. 306a 7; Tsa a chi mo in T 1558, ch. 29, p. 154b 22).

4. The Mahāyānists who, derived their canonical writings from the Sarvāstivādins, make a special Pāṭika of these Kṣudrakas, as distinct from the traditional Tripiṭaka. This is what is shown by various Mahāyānist works such as the Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka and the Kṣudrakapiṭaka (T 2026, p. 3c 21-23), the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 11, p. 143c 24-25; ch. 49, p. 412a 8-9), the Fen pieh kung tê lun (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32b) and the Yogacaryābhūmi (T 1579, ch. 85, p. 772b-c), where the canon is analyzed as follows:

I. Vinayapiṭaka
II. Sūtrapiṭaka in four Āgamas
III. Abhidharmapiṭaka
IV. Kṣudrakapiṭaka.

b. The Sūtrapiṭaka

The Sūtrapiṭaka, which includes the most important part of the Dharma discovered and expounded by Śākyamuni, is well-known to all Buddhists and, with the exception of a few sūtras, its authority is recognized by all schools, whether Hinayāna or Mahāyāna. As we have just seen, it consists of four or five collections called āgama in the Sanskrit tradition, nikāya in the Pāli tradition, although the term āgama is again occasionally used by Buddhaghosa (Sumangala, I, p. 2) and the Chinese recension of the Samantapāśādikā always refers to A-han (āgama) wherever the Pāli recension resorts to the word nikāya (T 1462, ch. 1, p. 675b).

Since the five collections do not provide exactly the same guarantees of authenticity, we will begin by dealing with the first four and keep a separate place for the Minor Texts.

THE FIRST FOUR PĀLI NIKĀKAYAS. — The first four nikāyas of the
Suttaπātaka are no more than a number of collections based on the length of the suttas of which they are composed or on their method of classification:

1. Dīghanikāya “Collection of long suttas”: 34 suttas distributed into three sections (vagga).


3. Saṃyuttanikāya “Collection of grouped suttas”: 7,762 suttas divided into six sections (vagga), themselves subdivided into 56 assemblages (saṃyutta).

4. Aṅguttaranikāya “Collection of suttas dealing with enumerations classified in ascending order”: 9,557 suttas distributed into eleven groups (nipāta), in turn subdivided into sections (vagga).

The Buddhist Dharma is the main subject of the nikāyas, but some suttas also deal with discipline or compile inventories in the style of the mātikās of the Abhidhamma. Often one and the same subject is dealt with in the various collections in nearly identical terms, and a given sutta can appear in the form of a long (mahā) or short (cūla) recension.

Buddhist monks specialized in the study of a particular nikāya. The texts mention Reciters of the Dīgha (dīghabhāṇaka) and Reciters of the Majjhima (majjhimagga), for example in Jātaka, I, p. 59; Visuddhimagga, pp. 29, 219, 236; Sumangala, I, pp. 15, 131. The Mahāvamsa (33, 72) speaks of a thera “versed in the four nikāyas” (caturnikāyathera).

**THE FOUR ĀGAMAS.** — The Pāli nikāyas have their correspondents in the Āgamas in Sanskrit or Middle Indian. Unfortunately, their original text is not known to us in its integrality.

1. The sands of Central Asia and the caves at Tun-huang in Kansu have yielded a considerable number of manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts which date from between the sixth and eleventh centuries A.D. They are mostly sūtras which form part of the Āgamas collections. The first discoveries were made public in no particular order by various scholars: R. Pischel, S. Lévi, L. de La Vallée Poussin, R. Hoernle, H. Lüders, etc. More recently, the collocation of the fragments collected by the German expeditions to Turfan enabled E. Waldschmidt and his team to reconstruct the original integral text of several important sūtras: “long” sūtras such as the Mahāparinirvāṇa, the Mahāvadāna and the Āṭānātika; “middle-length” or “short” sūtras of which manuscript D 24 from Qočo seems to have constituted a collection. There even exist

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fragments of a *Catuspariṣatsūtra* which has no correspondent in the Pāli nikāyas:  

2. Large extracts from original sūtras are quoted, with or without references, by Buddhist writers, authors of philosophical and religious treatises. Particularly rich in canonical quotations are the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Pañjikā*, *Tattvasaṃgraha*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, etc.

Finally, alongside the numerous Buddhistic sūtras which were the subjects of separate translations, there is the Chinese Tripitaka which contains a complete translation of the four Āgamas carried out between the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth by monks of Kāśmīrīan origin or connection:

a. *Dirghāgama* (*Ch’ang a han*, T 1), translated by Buddhayaśas between 412 and 413: 30 sūtras.


d. *Partial Saṃyuktāgama* (*Pieh i Tsa a han*, T 100), translated by an unknown writer in approximately the year 400 and based on an original from the Kāśyapīya school: 364 sūtras.

e. *Ekottarāgama* (*Tseng i a han*, T 125), translated between 397 and 398 by Gautama Saṃghadeva, using a recension established in North-West India or Serindia and containing numerous Mahāyāna additions.

None of these translations is based on Pāli originals, but rather on Sanskrit, even Prākrit recensions. The original of T 26 seems to have been in Sanskrit; those of T 1 and T 125 in Middle Indian.

**The Classification of the Āgamas.** — The literary sources which mention the compilation of the Āgamas do not always classify them in

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the same order. We do not know whether any importance should be attached to this detail, but, in order to omit nothing we provide a list of the various classifications as follows:

1. **Dirgha - Madhyama - Samyukta - Ekottara**: Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 491c); Mahīśasaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191a). This is also the order of the Pāli canon.

2. **Dirgha - Madhyama - Ekottara - Samyukta**: Dharmaguptaka Vin. (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 986b); Haimavata Vinayamāṭṭkā (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 818a); Narrative of Nandimitra (T 2030, p. 14b).

3. **Madhyama - Dirgha - Ekottara - Samyukta**: Parinirvāṇasūtra (T 6, ch. 2, p. 191a).

4. **Samyukta - Dirgha - Madhyama - Ekottara**: Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1451, ch. 39, p. 407b-c); Yogacāryabhūmi (T 1579, ch. 85, p. 772c).

5. **Ekottara - Madhyama - Dirgha - Samyukta**: Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 69c; ch. 33, p. 306c 23); Fen pieh kung tê lun (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32a); Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka (T 2026, p. 3a 26); Vinayamāṭṭkā (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 820a).

6. **Ekottara - Madhyama - Samyukta - Dirgha**: Vinayavibhāṣā (T 1440, ch. 1, p. 503c); Chinese preface to the Dirgha (T 1, p. 1).

When the same sources mention the compilation of a *fudrakāgama* or a *fudrakāpiṭaka*, they always place it fifth.

**COMPARISON BETWEEN THE NIKĀYAS AND ĀGAMAS.** — A comparison between the Pāli Nikāyas and the Sanskrit Āgamas enables us to note outstanding differences between the two compilations.

In the first place, the contents of the respective codes are not exactly the same. The Āgamas include a larger number of sūtras than the Nikāyas and arrange them differently. As they were closed much later, they make room for works of comparatively recent date; hence the *Samyukta* (T 99, ch. 23, pp. 161-70) contains long extracts from the *Aśokāvadāna*.

One and the same sūtra is presented in a different form, depending on whether it appears in the Nikāyas or the Āgamas. The *nidāna* which serve to introduce them do not always agree over their setting. Thus the *Dīghanikāya* (III, p. 194) situates the *Ājanātiyasuttanta* in Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūṭapabbata, while the Āgamas (ed. H. Hoffmann, p. 33; T 1245, p. 217a; T 1509, ch. 9, p. 126a) locate the *Ājanātiṣṭasūtra* in the Jetavana of Śrāvasti. Similarly, wherever the Nikāyas speak of the Kūṭāgārasālā “Belvedere Hall” of the Mahāvana near Vesāli, the corresponding Sanskrit texts invariably give the Kūṭāgārasālā on the bank of the Monkey Pool (*markataḥradatīra*). In this respect, we can compare
the Pāli Samyutta, I, p. 29, with the Sanskrit Samyukta (T 99, ch. 48, p. 350a), or again, the Pāli Samyutta, I, p. 230, with the Sanskrit Samyukta (T 99, ch. 40, p. 290c). It would be easy to point out many divergences in detail of the same type.

Of even greater importance are the differences in structure which contrast the Sanskrit recension of a given sūtra with its Pāli version. The number of pericopēs is not the same: some are added, others deleted, and yet others re-located. It is sufficient here to refer the reader to the works by F. Weller on the Lakkhana- and Samgītisuttanta, and E. Waldschmidt on the Mahāparinivāna- and Mahāvadānasūtra. However, the question remains as to whether the divergences which contrast the Pāli tradition with that of the Sanskrit can be explained solely through variations in the oral transmission of the texts, or through intentional modifications based on the written compilations.

However, with the exception of the Mahāyānist interpolations in the Ekottara, which are easily discernible, the variations in question affect hardly anything save the method of expression or the arrangement of the subjects. The doctrinal basis common to the āgamas and nikāyas is remarkably uniform. Preserved and transmitted by the schools, the sūtras do not however constitute scholastic documents, but are the common heritage of all the sects. Thus, the agreement between the āgamas and nikāyas over a doctrinal point — such as that of Anātman — is the best, if not the only proof of the authenticity of the latter. Any attempt to reconstruct a "pre-canonical" Buddhism deviating from the consensus between the āgamas and nikāyas can only end in subjective hypotheses.

THE PĀLI KHUDDAKANIKĀYA.* — The Khuddakanikāya, fifth and last collection of the Suttapiṭaka, contains fifteen books which are listed in the Samantapāsādikā (p. 18), the Sumanagalavilāsini (p. 17) and the Atthasālinī (p. 18) in the following order:

1. Khuddakapāṭha, short readings,
2. Dhammapada, verses of the Law,
3. Udāna, vocal utterances,
4. Itivuttaka, texts beginning with the words: "Thus it was said",
5. Suttanipāta, group of texts,
6. Vimānavatthu, stories about the divine palaces,
7. Petavatthu, stories about the "departed",
8. Theragāthā, stanzas of the Elder Brothers,
9. Therigāthā, stanzas of the Elder Sisters,
10. Jātaka, collection of former births [of the Buddha],
11. Niddesa, detailed explanation,
12. Paṭisambhidāmagga, the path of comprehension,
13. *Apadāna*, tales of exploits,
14. *Buddhavamsa*, the lineage of the Buddhas,
15. *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the Basket of conduct.

While not exactly overlapping the division of the Word of the Buddha into twelve constituents, the fifteen *Khuddaka* approach it to a certain degree, *Khuddaka* Nos. 3, 4, 8-9, 10 and 13 corresponding respectively to the constituent parts Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 11.

The antiquity of a certain number of *Khuddaka* cannot be doubted, for two reasons:

The first is that some of them are used as sources by the first four nikāyas of the *Suttapiṭaka*: the *Dhammapadāni* are quoted in the *Samyutta* (I, p. 209); the *Āṭṭhakavagga*, the fourth section of the *Suttanipāta*, is mentioned in the *Vinaya* (I, p. 196) and the *Udāna* (p. 59); finally, the *Pārāyaṇa*, the fifth section of the *Suttanipāta*, is cited in the *Samyutta* (II, p. 49) and the *Āṅguttara* (I, pp. 133, 134; II, p. 45; III, pp. 339 and 401; IV, p. 63).

A second reason argues in favour of the authenticity of the *Khuddaka*: most of them have correspondents in Sanskrit or Prākrit:

The *Ratanaṣutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha* is again found in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 290 sq.).

The *Dhammapada* corresponds to the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* of the Pelliot Mission, the Prākrit *Dhammapada* of the Dutreuil de Rhins and Petrovsky manuscript, a Tibetan version and four Chinese recensions.*

It is frequently quoted in Sanskrit texts, for example in the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 212; III, pp. 91, 156, 434 sq.), the *Karmavibhanga* (pp. 46, 48, 76), etc.

Some extracts from the *Udāna* have passed into the *Samyuktāgama* (T 99, *sūtra* Nos. 1072, 1320, 1330).

The *Itivuttaka*, or to be more exact, a Sanskrit *Ityuktam* was the subject of a Chinese translation by Hsüan tsang: The *Pên shih ching* (T 765).

Of the 61 suttas which form part of the collection in the *Suttanipāta*, more than half are known and used on the continental mainland.

It would take too long to list here all the quotations taken from them by the *Samyuktāgama*, *Divyādāna*, *Mahāvastu*, *Vibhāṣā*, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Prajñāpāramitopadesa*, *Bodhisattvabhumi*, etc. Furthermore, the *Āṭṭhakavagga*, the fourth section of the *Suttanipāta*, was translated into Chinese from a Sanskrit original, the *Arthavargiya*, by the Scythian Chih ch’ien between the years 223 and 253 A.D. Fragments of the Sanskrit original were discovered in Central Asia and used by Dr. P.V. Bapat in his reconstruction of the *Arthapadasūtra*\(^\text{56}\).

A section of the *Vimānavaṭṭhukha* (No. 81, pp. 73-74) has its correspondent in hybrid Sanskrit in the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 191 sq.).

A whole page of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* corresponds to the exploits of Sonoṅakoṭivīsa in the Pāli *Apadāna* (p. 298).

Finally, the *Buddhavamsa* (IV, p. 21 sq.) has its parallel in hybrid Sanskrit in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 250 sq.).

The concordance between the Pāli *Khuddakakāra* on the one hand and the texts in Sanskrit on the other, pleads in favour of the authenticity of the Minor Texts, but this concordancy does not necessarily result from a dependence on a common source: it can also be explained by simple borrowing: the Sinhalese may have translated or adapted Sanskrit originals into Pāli and, conversely, the mainland Indians may have made use of Pāli originals.

However, if a certain number of Pāli *Khuddakakāra* are included among the oldest specimens of the canonical literature, this in no way implies that the compilation of the *Khuddakanikāya* in which they appear was accomplished from the very outset of Buddhism, at the time of the council of Rājagṛha, in the year one of the Nirvāṇa, as the Sinhalese tradition claims.

In fact, in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D., there was still discussion over the exact number of sections in the *Khuddakanikāya*. The fifteen traditional books are indeed listed in the *Samantapāśādikā* (p. 18), *Sumāṅgalavilāsinī* (p. 17) and *Atthisālinī* (p. 18), but while the *Samantapāśādikā* (p. 27, 1.23) and the *Sumāṅgalavilāsinī* (p. 23, 1.25) speak of a *Khuddakanikāya* “in fifteen sections” (*paṇcadasabheda*), the *Atthisālinī* (p. 26, 1.3) mentions a *Khuddakanikāya* “in fourteen sections” (*cuddasappabhedā*). Furthermore, the Chinese recension of the *Samantapāśādikā* (T 1462, ch. 1, p. 676a 7-10) excludes the *Khuddakapāṭha* from the collection and lists the fourteen remaining sections in an unusual order:


The canonicity of several of these sections had always come under discussion. The *Dīpavamsa* (V, 37) claims that after the council of Vaiśāli the Mahāsāṃghikas rejected the *Paṭisambhidā*, the *Niddesa* and

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part of the Jātaka. In Ceylon, at the time of Buddhaghosa (fifth century), the school of the Dīghabhāṇakas excluded three sections from the Khuddakanikāya — the Khuddakapāṭha, Cariyāpiṭaka and Apadāna — and attached the other twelve to the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Conversely, the Majjhimabhāṇakas, after having rejected the Khuddakapāṭha, added the remainder to the Suttapiṭaka58. Finally, noting how few formal suttas were included in the Khuddaka, the Sinhalese commentator Sudinna rejected the majority of the sections under the pretext that "there is no Word of the Buddha which does not take the form of a sutta" (asuttanāmakam Buddhavacanam nāma n'atthi)59.

Taking advantage of the disorder in the collection, the Burmese Buddhists added four paracanonical texts to it — the Milindapaṇha, Suttaśāṅgāha, Petakopadesan and Nettipakaraṇa — so that now their Khuddakanikāya contains nineteen books60.

SANSKRIT KŚUDRAKA. — As we saw above, the minor Sanskrit texts do not occupy an unvarying place in the canon of writings: sometimes they constitute, with the title of Kśudrakāgama or Kśudrakapiṭaka, the fifth collection of the Sūtrapiṭaka, and sometimes they form a fourth Piṭaka distinct from the Tripiṭaka.

What was the content of the Kśudrakapiṭaka? It was and always remained the most fluctuating, even more so than that of the Pāli Khuddakanikāya. When required to define it, the accounts of the first council can hardly conceal their confusion and hesitate between two solutions: the first which consists of attributing to the collection a few special texts which were not collated in the Āgamas, the second which tends to identify the Kśudrakapiṭaka with the Word of the Buddha in twelve constituent parts (dvādaśāṅgabuddhavacana). These are some definitions:

In the Narrative of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka and the Kśudrakapiṭaka (T 2026, p. 3c), we read: the accounts (of the Kśudrapiṭaka) each differ in thought and action: that is why they are called Tsa tsang. In them the Buddha, the Arhats, Devas, Brahmā and the Tirthikas explain the causes of their former births (pūrvajanman): that is why they are called Tsa tsang. Gāthā abound in them: in them is the topic of the twelve causes (nidāna) and the respective manifold bases (āyatana): that is what is called Tsa tsang (Kśudrakāgama). It gives some explanations, in connection with the existences of the Bodhisattva in the course of

58 Sumanāgala, I, p. 15.
59 Sumanāgala, II, p. 566; Manorathapūrāṇi, III, p. 159.
three countless periods (asamkhyaeyakalpa), the places of birth and working factors: that is why it is called San tsang (amend to Tsatsang)”. For the author of this obscure text, the Kṣudraka dealt mainly with the former births (jātaka) and the causes (nīdāna) which explain them, and the account abounds in stanzas (gāthā). It is a fact that gāthā, nīdāna and jātaka form part of the twelve constituents of the writings.

A somewhat similar explanation is provided by the Fen pieh kung tê lun (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32b): “The Tsa tsang is not the word of a single man: it is the Word of the Buddha, or the word of the disciples, or eulogistic stanzas (gāthā) by the Devas. It also deals with conditions of former existences and the places of birth of the Bodhisattva in the course of three countless periods. Its letter and meaning are manifold and more abundant than in the Tripiṭaka: that is why it is called Tsa tsang”. Here again, sūtra gathered from the lips of the Buddha or his discipline, gāthā uttered by the gods and jātaka constitute the main part of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka.

For the Vinayamātrka (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818a), the Kṣudrakapiṭaka, even though it includes certain special texts irrelevant to the Āgamas, corresponds on the whole to the twelve-fold Word of the Buddha: “The Word of the Buddha such as the Fa chū (Dharmapada), Shuo i (Arthavarga) or Po lo yen (Pārāyaṇa), from the Sūtra to the Upadeśa, all those holy texts connected with the Tsa tsang are named Kṣudrakapiṭaka”.

Taking its inspiration from the same divisional principle, the Dharma-guptaka Vinaya (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968b) proposes a Kṣudrakapiṭaka in twelve sections the first seven of which, if our interpretation is correct, correspond to as many “Constituents” of the writings, and the last five are concerned with autonomous compositions. According to this source, the Tsa tsang would be a collection of twelve holy texts:

1. Shêng (abbreviation for Pên shêng): Jātaka
2. Pen (abbreviation for Pên shih): Itivṛttaka
3. Good Yin yüan: Nīdāna
4. Fang teng: Vaipulya
5. Wei tsêng yú: Abhutadharma
6. P’i yú: Avadāna
7. Yu p’o t’i shê: Upadeśa
8. Chū i: Arthavarga
9. Fa chū: Dharmapada
10. Po lo yen: Pārāyaṇa
11. Tsa nan: Samcodana
12. Shêng chieh: Sthaviragāthā

There we can disregard, as being mere filling, the holy texts Nos 1 to 7
which attempt a comparison with certain constituents of the writings. However, texts Nos. 8 to 12 (Arthavarga, Dharmapada, Pārāyaṇa and Sthaviragāthā) deserve our attention because they refer to Buddhist writings of a special kind, those of the Chanted Verses which do seem, in fact, to have formed the original core of the minor texts.

**The Chanted Verses.** — These are clearly ancient compositions of considerable poetic value, which use stanzas as a means of expression. The Buddha was not responsible for composing them and, unlike the traditional sūtras, they do not develop the profound or supernormal meaning, associated with the doctrine of emptiness. That is why the collators of the canonical collection relegated them among the texts known as “minor”. However, for the most part they were chanted at night by the great disciples such as Śrōṇa Koṭikārṇa (Pāli Vin., I, p. 196), Aniruddha (Samyutta, I, p. 209), or a group of Elders (Divyāvadāna, pp. 34-5). The Buddha, who was present at those recitations, congratulated the authors: “Excellent, excellent, O monk! You have a fine voice, well articulated, neither muffled nor gulped, and which makes the meaning clearly understandable”.

The canonical sources which narrate these episodes draw up lists, varying in length, of those recitations in which the great disciples indulged: we nearly always find in them the Dharmapada, Arthavarga, Pārāyaṇa and the Sthaviragāthā which the passage in the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya quoted above gave as integral parts of the Kṣudrakapitaka. Here, moreover, is a summary of these lists:


2. Two titles in the Sarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1435, ch. 25, p. 181b 24-5):
   1. Pārāyaṇa
   2. Satyadrīṣṭa

3. Three titles in the partial Samyuñtāgama (T 100, ch. 15, p. 480c):
   1. Dharmapadagāthā
   2. Pārāyaṇa
   3. Mahāśīhāragāthā

4. Five titles in the Chinese version of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1448, ch. 3, p. 11b 6):
   1. Udāna
   2. Sthaviragāthā
   3. Sālaṇgāthā
   4. Munigāthā
   5. Arthavargiyāni sūtrāni
5. Six or seven titles in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 20, 34-5):
   1. Udāna
   2. Pārāyana
   3. Satyadrśta
   4. Sthaviragāthā
   5. Śailagāthā
   6. Munigāthā
   7. Arthavargiyāni

6. Eight titles in the Sanskrit original of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin.* (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, part 4, p. 188, 1.8):
   1. Udāna
   2. Pārāyana
   3. Satyadrśta
   4. Śailagāthā
   5. Munigāthā
   6. Sthaviragāthā
   7. Sthavirīgāthā
   8. Arthavargiyāni

7. Eight titles also in the *Complete Saṅyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 49, p. 362c 10):
   1. Yu t’o na : Udāna
   2. Po lo yen na : Pārāyana
   3. Chien chên ti : Satyadrśta
   4. Shang tso so shuo chieh : Sthaviragāthā
   5. Pi ch’iu ni so shuo chieh : Bikṣunīgāthā
   6. Shih lu chieh : Śailagāthā
   7. I p’in : Arthavargiyāni
   8. Mou ni chieh : Munigāthā

All these works have their correspondents in the Pāli *Khuddaka*: The *Dharmapadagāthā* or *Udānavarga* correspond to the *Dhammapada*. — The *Munigāthā* are probably the *Munigāthā* of the Aśokan edict at Bhābra (BLOCH, p. 154) and the Munisutta of the *Suttanipāta* (I, 12). — The *Satyaadrśta* (variant : Satyadrśa), although not yet identified, possibly refers to the eulogy of the “Truth, voice of the Immortal” which is the subject of the Subhāsitasutta of the *Suttanipāta* (III, 3). — The Śailagāthā are the equivalent of the *Selasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (III, 7). The Arthavargiyāṇi sūtrāṇi are the sixteen sutta of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* (IV). — The Pārāyana is chapter V of the *Suttanipāta*. — Finally, the Sthaviragāthā and Sthavirī- or Bhikṣunīgāthā correspond respectively to the Thera- and Therīgāthā of the Pāli collection.

We therefore see how the Sanskrit-based schools, even though in principle acknowledging the authority of the minor texts, hesitated over their number and length. Unlike the Sinhalese Theravādins, who succeeded in compiling a *Khuddakanikāya*, the mainland Buddhists merely drew up lists of the *Kṣudraka* without ever being able to form a
definitive collection, whatever the accounts of the first council may say. That is why no Chinese translation of a complete Kṣudrakapitaka has come down to us.

The Canonicity of the Sūtras. — The Buddhist teaching (śāsana) is both theoretical (paryāpti) and practical (pratipatti) in nature. While the Vinaya is only a convention (saṃvärtti) adopted as a line of conduct, the Dharma as propounded in the Sūtra represents the absolute truth (paramārtha satya).

The Dharma, properly speaking, is the Word of the Buddha (buddhavacana), but this definition should not be taken in its restricted sense. To judge from the explanations supplied by all the Vinayas one after the other — Mahāsāṃghika Vin. (T 1425, ch. 13, p. 336a 21); Mūlasarv. Vin. (T 1442, ch. 26, p. 771b 22); Pāli Vin. (IV, p. 15); Dharmagupta Vin. (T 1428, ch. 11, p. 639a 16); Sarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1435, ch. 9, p. 71b 1) — the Dharma is what was uttered by the Buddha, without a doubt and above all, but also by the auditors (śrāvaka), wise recluses (rṣi), gods (deva) and apparitional beings (upapāduka).

The word of the Buddha is transmitted from generation to generation through the channel of the auditors. The auditor (śrāvaka) gathers the word either directly from the lips of the master, or else by grasping it by means of intentional knowledge (prātiṣṭhita).

It goes without saying that the ancient revelation has not come down to us in its entirety. There was a “loss of the original recitation” (mūlasamgitibhramśa), and many sūtras disappeared (bahulāni sūrāṇy antarhitāni). Among them, the Vibhāṣā notes those which listed the six hetu (T 1545, ch. 16, p. 79b), the twenty-eight anuśaya (ch. 46, p. 236), the thirty-seven bodhipāṣikā (ch. 96, p. 486a); it states that “originally the Ekottarāgama enumerated the dhammas from 1 to 100; it now stops at 10 and, from 1 to 10, much is lost, little remains... When Śāṇavāsa, a disciple of Ānanda, entered Nirvāṇa, 77,000 Avadānas and Sūtras, 10,000 Abhidharmaśāstras were lost” (ch. 16, p. 79b). Identical remarks are found in the Abhidharmakośa (II, p. 245, n.) as well as a whole series of texts recorded by Bu-ston (II, pp. 169-71). Even allowing for some exaggeration, it must be accepted that not all these assertions are false: for example, it is certain that with regard to some sūtras of the Mahāyāna, there existed longer recensions than those which have come down to us.61

On the other hand, alongside the authentic sūtras which are duly

61 This was notably the case for the Samādhinirmocanasūtra: cf. P. Demiéville, JA, 1936, p. 650.
classified in the collections, separate (muktaka) and apocryphal (adhyāropita) texts circulated. The Buddha had foreseen this change in the doctrine when he announced: “The Sūtras promulgated by the Tathāgata, which are profound, profound in meaning, supramundane, and which teach emptiness, will not be listened to with faith, no-one will lend an ear, nor recognize them as true... But the Sūtras composed by poets, which are poetic, artistic in syllables and phonemes, exoteric, promulgated by the disciples, will be believed... Thus, Sūtras of the first category will disappear” (Samyutta, II, p. 267; Aṅguttara, I, pp. 72-3; T 99, ch. 47, p. 345b).

Already, after the council of Vaḷsāli, in the year 110 of the Nirvāṇa, the Mahāsāṅgikas falsified the authentic texts (Dīpavamsa, V, 32-8) and, at the council of Pātaliputra, under Aśoka, a certain Mahādeva wanted to incorporate the sūtras of the Mahāyāna in the three Baskets (DEMIEVILLE, Sectes, p. 30). “After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha”, says the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 185, p. 929c), “false Sūtras were placed in the Sūtras; false Vinayas were placed in the Vinayas; false Abhidharmas were incorporated in the Abhidharma”. The Abhidharmakośa (III, p. 40) in turn remarks: “What can we do about it? The Master has entered Nirvāṇa, the Good Law no longer has a leader. Many sects have formed which alter the meaning and the letter at their whim”.

The multiplication of apocryphal texts led the early theoreticians of the Dharma to formulate criteria of authenticity which were generally accepted. They are found in various recensions of the Mahāparinirvānasūtra (Dīgha, II, p. 123, Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa, ed. Waldschmidt, p. 238; T 1, ch. 3, p. 17c; T 5, ch. 1, p. 167a; T 6, ch. 1, p. 182c; T 7, ch. 1, p. 195c), the Aṅguttara (II, p. 167; T 125, ch. 20, p. 652b); the Mūlasarv. Vin. (T 1451, ch. 37, p. 389b), the Abhidharmakośa (IX, p. 252) and several other Mahāyānist treatises refer to them (Sūtra, p. 63, 1.18; Bodhicaryavatārapaññikā, p. 431; Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 4; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 108, 1.25):

When a monk, on the basis of one of the four great authorities (mahāpadesa) — the Buddha, a particular Samgha, a group of Elders or an especially knowledgeable Elder —, wants to have a given text accepted as the Word of the Buddha, it should not be approved or rejected without due examination. The word of the Buddha is “whatever reaches us as such through the succession of masters and disciples, whatever is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya and does not contradict the nature of things (dharmatā)”. This nature of things is the doctrine of dependent origination which was discovered and taught by the Buddha.
c. The Vinayapitaka

In the state in which it has reached us, the Vinayapitaka is less uniform than the Basket of Sūtras, in the sense that, even while exploiting a common basis, the various Vinayas in our possession deal with the matter more freely and diverge from each other so much that they constitute scholastic documents and claim as much. Alongside the Pāli Vinaya, we possess those of the Sarvāstivādins (T 1435), Dharmaguptas (T 1428), Mahāsāṃghikas (T 1425); Mīhiśāsakas (T 1421) and Mūlasarvāstivādins (T 1442-51; Dulva, I-XIII).

Their compilation was not closed until quite a late period since they refer not only to events which were contemporary with the Buddha, but also the council of Vaiśāli in the year 100 or 110 of the Nirvāṇa, the patriarchs who succeeded each other from the beginning until the reign of Asoka and beyond and, finally, predictions some of which, such as that concerning the stūpa of Kaniṣka, could not have been elaborated before the second century A.D.*

The bases of the Vinaya. — The monastic discipline consists of a certain number of offences to be avoided and acts or ceremonies to be performed. In other words, it rests on the twofold basis of the Prātimokṣa and the Karmavācanās.

The Prātimokṣa is a list of offences against the prescriptions of the order with an indication of the punishment be meted out to those who commit them. The Prātimokṣa is twofold: that of the bhikṣus consists of eight categories of offences and that of the bhikṣunīs only seven. Each Buddhist school insisted on drawing up its own Prātimokṣa, but only very small differences can be noted between the various lists. Besides the numerous Tibetan and Chinese translations, we possess the original text of the following lists:

1. Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuṇīpātimokkha of the Theravādins (Pāli Vin., vols III and IV).

The Karmavācanās are decisions concerning the functioning of community life. They refer to admission into the order, ordination ceremo-
nies, confession, pravāraṇā, going into retreat and the most varied details of monastic life.


**THE STRUCTURE OF THE VINAYA. —** The Vinaya is usually comprised of three parts: the twofold Sūtravibhāṅga (bhikṣu and bhikṣunīvibhāṅga), some twenty Skandhaka (Pāli, Khandaka) or Vastu, concluding with appendices, if any.

1. The Sūtravibhāṅga is a detailed explanation of the articles of the Prātimokṣa. The Bhikṣuvibhāṅga comments on the 227 articles of the Bhikṣuprātimokṣa arranged in eight categories:

1. Pārājika or āpatti, faults entailing expulsion.
2. Saṅghāvaśeṣa (P. Saṅghādisesa), faults entailing temporary exclusion from the Community.
3. Aniyata, undetermined faults.
4. Nīṣaṅgika or Naiṣaṅgika Pātayantika (P. Nissaggiya Pācittiya), faults entailing renunciation of an object which has been obtained unduly.
5. Pātayantika (P. Pācittiya), faults entailing penance.
6. Āraṇidesaṇīya (P. Āraṇidesaṇīya), faults to be confessed.
7. Saṅkśa (P. Sekhiya), matters to be recommended.
8. Adhikaranāsamatha, means of settling disputes.

The Bhikṣunīvibhāṅga comments upon the 311 articles⁶³ of the Bhikṣunīprātimokṣa arranged in seven categories, the same as the preceding ones with the exception of the Aniyatas.

The commentary, which is planned systematically, begins with a history explaining the promulgation of the article, formulates the prescription by indicating the penalty its violation entails, explains the prescription word by word (padabhājanīya) and concludes with other anecdotes justifying any exceptions to the rule.

2. The Skandhaka “sections” or Vastu “points” regulate the details of the monastic life on the basis of acts and ceremonies prescribed in the Karmavācanās which were mentioned above. These sections are twenty in number:

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⁶² Bibliography in WINTERNITZ, Literature, II, p. 25, n. 1.
⁶³ The number of articles varies according to the schools.
1. *Pravrajyā*, admission into the order.
3. *Varṣā*, the monks' retreat during the rainy season.
4. *Pravāranā*, the festivity at the end of the retreat.
5. *Carma*, the use of sandals and other objects made of leather.
7. *Cīvara*, clothing.
9. *Kośāmba*, quarrels among the monks as was the case at Kauśāmbī.
11. *Pāṇḍulohitaka*, disciplinary measures taken in the community.
13. *Pārīvāsika*, rule of conduct during the period of probation and mānāpya.
15. *Śamatha*, procedure for settling disputes.
17. *Śayanāsana*, residence and furniture.
18. *Ācāra*, behaviour of the monks in various circumstances.
20. *Bhikṣunī*, conduct required of the nuns.

3. The appendices added to certain Vinayas draw up summaries of the material dealt with in the *Vibhaṅga* and *Skandhaka*, or provide further information about certain events concerning ecclesiastical history. Despite its extremely technical nature, the Vinaya is an inexhaustible mine of curious and precise information on Indian life in general and that of the Buddhist monks in particular. Thousands of separate anecdotes can be found in it which relate to the circumstances in which this or that monk's misconduct led the Buddha to lay down a specific precept or formulate a particular order.

However, there is more. We find, sometimes in the Appendices and sometimes in the Skandhakas, coherent accounts which constitute a partial biography of Śākyamuni and the beginnings of an ecclesiastical chronicle. The biography is in three parts: the antecedents and genealogy of the Buddha, his birth and life until his Enlightenment and, finally, the beginning of his public ministry until the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The chronicle deals with the Buddha's funeral, the council of Rājagṛha, the first patriarchs and, finally, the council of Vaiśāli. The presence of such digressions poses a literary problem to which we will return further on.

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE SIX VINAYAS.** — According to the plan described above, six separate Vinayas were elaborated over the centuries a brief analysis of which should be given:

1. *Pāli Vinaya*. A work belonging to the Sinhalese Theravādins, it
circulated on the island of Ceylon but never seems to have been used on the mainland. It consists of three parts:

I. **Suttavibhaṅga** (vols III-IV of the PTS edition).
   1. **Mahāvibhaṅga** or **Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga**.
   2. **Bhikkunīvibhaṅga**.

II. **Khandhaka** 22 in number (vols I-II of the PTS edition).
   1. **Mahāvagga** (first ten Khandhakas).
   2. **Cullavagga** (last twelve Khandhakas).

   This section contains three separate parts:
   a. An introduction devoted to part of the biography of the Buddha, from the Enlightenment to the conversion of Śāriputta (I, pp. 1-44).
   b. The description of twenty Khandhakas (I, pp. 44-300; II, pp. 1-283).
   c. A conclusion, inserted impromptu and containing the account of the councils of Rājagaha (II, p. 284-93) and Vesālī (II, p. 294-308).

III. **Parivāra** or Appendix in 16 sections and 19 chapters (vol. V of the PTS ed.). In the form of questions and answers it recapitulates the contents of the previous parts. It is the work of a Sinhalese monk “the extremely learned Dīpa who had investigated the methods followed by the ancient masters” (V, p. 226).

2. **Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins** (T 1435), — Better known by the name of the “Vinaya in ten recitations” (*Daśādhyāya*), this Vinaya, of which we possess only a few original fragments, was translated in 404 by Kumārajīva in collaboration with Punyatratā and Dharmaruci. After 409, Vimalākṣa added a postface to it. The work is in four parts:

I. **Bhikṣuvibhaṅga** : adhyāyas 1 to 3 (T 1435, pp. 1-147).
II. **Skandhakas** : adhyāyas 4 to 6 (pp. 148-302).
III. **Bhikṣunīvibhaṅga** : adhyāya 7 (pp. 302-46).
IV. Appendices:
   a. **Ekottaradharma** : adhyāya 8 (pp. 346-78).
   b. **Upāliparipṛcchā** : adhyāya 9 (pp. 379-409).
   c. **Bhikṣu** (cor. Vinaya) adhyāya. — Udbhayatovinaya and **Samyukta**. — **Pārājikadharma**. — **Samghavasēsa** : beginning of adhyāya 10 (pp. 410-45).
   d. **Kuśalādhyāya** and Preface to the Vinaya : end of adhyāya 10 (pp. 445-70).

This preface, or rather this postface was not part of the complete translation of the Vinaya made in 404-405 at Ch'ang-an by Kumārajīva and his assistants. It was added later, after 409, by Vimalākṣa.

Kumārajīva (350-409), was ordained at the age of six (536), studied at Kućā and attended lectures by the Kaśmīrīan master Vimalākṣa who taught him the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. After various incidents, a Chinese expedition brought him to Liang chou in 385 and from there he reached Ch'ang-an in 402, where he worked until his death. Between the years 404 and 405, with the help first of Fu-jo-to-lo and then of Dharmaruci, he made a Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. In 406, his master Vimalākṣa joined him in Ch'ang-an. After Kumārajīva's death, which occurred in 409, Vimalākṣa went to the region of An-hui where he continued to teach the Vinaya. He revised the Chinese version by Kumārajīva, changed the title of the 10th recitation ("Recitation on the Vinaya" instead of "Recitation of the good") and added three new scrolls (ch. 59-61) to the 58 scrolls of the original text. This postface contains four sections: 1-2. an account of the first two councils; 3. Miscellanea (samyukta) on the Vinaya; 4. Antecedents (nidāna).

Therefore, the first translation, although given as complete, did not contain the detailed account of the two councils to which it made only a brief allusion (ch. 56, p. 414a). The account was added, after 409, by Vimalākṣa who probably based it on Sanskrit documents obtained in Central Asia.

3. Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas (T 1428). — This was translated at Ch'ang an in 408-413 by Buddhayaśas who recited the text by heart and rendered it into Chinese with the aid of the interpreter Hui pien. It consists of four parts:

I. Bhikṣuvibhaṅga (pp. 568-713).
II. Bhikṣunīvibhaṅga (pp. 714-78).
III. Skandhaka (pp. 779-971).
   a. Introduction : Life of the Buddha : Antecedents and genealogy (p. 779a 5-b 10); birth of the Buddha and his life up to the Enlightenment (pp. 779b 10-781c 11); the beginnings of the ministry up to the conversion of Śāriputra (pp. 781c 11-799b 24).
   b. The twenty Skandhaka (pp. 799-966).
   c. Conclusion : the Buddha's funeral (p. 966a 15-c 11); the council of Rājagṛha (pp. 966c 11-968c 17); the council of Vaśāli (pp. 968c 11-971c 2).
IV. Two appendices : 1. Samyuktavarga (pp. 971-90); 2. Vinayaikottara (pp. 990-1014).

4. Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas (T 1425). — This was translated at Nanking in 416 by Buddhabhadra and Fa hsien from an original found by the latter in Pātaliputra. The caves of Bāmyān have yielded a short

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65 References to the sources in P. DEMIÉVILLE, TP, XL, pp. 242-50.
fragment, published by S. Lévi in *JA*, 1932, pp. 4-8. The Vinaya is divided in the following way:

II. *Skandhaka* (pp. 412-514).
III. *Bhikṣunīvibhaṅga* (pp. 514-48).

The work does not contain a coherent biography of the Buddha, but in the *Skandhaka* section it includes under the title of *Kṣudrakādhyāya* the beginning of an ecclesiastical chronicle recounting the funeral of the Buddha (pp. 489c 26-490b 21), the council of Rājarṣi (pp. 490b 21-492c 17), the succession of patriarchs (pp. 492c 17-493a 19) and the council of Vaiśāli (p. 493a 25-c 11).

5. *Vinaya of the Mahiśāsakas* (T 1421). — This was translated at Nanking between 423 and 424 by Buddhajīva and his team from a manuscript discovered in Ceylon by Fa hsien. It is very close to the Pāli canon and consists of three parts:

I. *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (T 1421, pp. 1-77).
II. *Bhikṣunīvibhaṅga* (pp. 77-101).
III. *Skandhaka* (pp. 101-94).

a. Introduction devoted to the life of the Buddha: antecedents and genealogy (p. 101a 10-b 20); biography from birth to Enlightenment (pp. 101b 20-102c 21); beginnings of the public ministry until the conversion of Śāriputra (pp. 102c-110c 10).

b. The Skandhakas themselves (pp. 110-90).

c. Conclusion limited to an account of the councils of Rājarṣi (pp. 190b 13-192a 25) and Vaiśāli (pp. 192a 26-194b 20).

6. *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*. The complete form of this voluminous Vinaya, which was finished at quite a late date, exists only in a Tibetan translation (a section of the *Dulva*, I-XIII) carried out in the ninth century by a team of translators. The sensational discovery at Gilgit in 1931 yielded a considerable part of the Sanskrit original, published in four instalments through the enlightened intercession of N. DUTT (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Parts 1-4, Śrinagar, 1950); however, before then the *Divyāvadāna* had already reproduced lengthy passages from it. A mediocre and incomplete translation of it was made by I ching at Lo-yang and Ch’ang-an between the years 700 and 712 (T 1442-51). The work is divided as follows:

I. *Vinayavastu* (i.e. Skandhakas).
II. *Prātimokṣasūtra* and *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Bhikṣus.
III. *Prātimokṣasūtra* and *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Bhikṣunīs
IV. *Vinayakṣudrakavastu*.
V. *Vinayottaragrantha*, including the *Upālipariprcchā*.
In fact the Kṣudrakavastu (IVth part) appears as an immediate continuation of the Vinayavastu (1st part). The 17th Vastu of the latter, namely the Samghabhedavastu (T 1450), continued by the Kṣudrakavastu (T 1451), contains a complete and coherent biography of the Buddha Śākyamuni in which one can distinguish, as did W. Rockhill (Life of the Buddha, London, 1884), five long chapters: the history of the world from its renewal until the reign of Śuddhodana, the Buddha’s father; the period extending from the reign of Śuddhodana until the ministry of the Buddha; the life of the Buddha, the beginnings of his ministry until the reign of Ajātaśatru; the beginnings of Ajātaśatru’s reign until the decease of the Buddha; the history of the Buddhist church during the 110 years which followed the Buddha’s decease.

Ancient Traditions Concerning the Vinayas. — The ancient traditions concerning the composition of the Vinayas are manifold, incoherent and contradictory. They concern three separate problems: the length of the Vinaya compiled by Upāli at the council of Rājagrha, the Buddhist school which is reputed to have preserved this original text and, finally, the period when the various Vinayas were constituted.

1. The accounts of the first council differ in opinion over the length of the Vinaya recited by Upāli. For some, it was only an embryonic Vinaya limited to a description of the precepts relative to the bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs or, according to the traditional expression, the ubhatovinaya: this is the opinion of the Cullavagga (P. Vin., II, p. 287, 1.8), the Mahāsāsaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191a 13-14) and one recension of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175c 8-9). The others believed that Upāli had recited the complete Vinaya of the school to which they belonged and which consisted of at least four parts, Bhikṣuvibhaṅga, Bhikṣunivibhaṅga, Skandhaka and one or two Addenda: this is the opinion of the great Sinhalese commentators (Samantapāsādikā, pp. 14-15), the Dharmaguptas (T 1, preface, p. 1a 8; T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968b 10-11), the Haimavatas (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818a 16-20) and the Mūlasarvāstivādins (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 408a-b).

The first hypothesis, that of an embryonic Vinaya developing over the ages, seems to be the most satisfactory at first sight, but the second can base its arguments on an old Buddhist preconception according to which the texts, although plentiful at the outset, gradually dwindled away.

2. At least three schools claim they possess the original Vinaya, called the Vinaya of Kāśyapa or of Upāli, compiled at the first council: the Mahāsāṃghikas, Sthaviras (or Sarvāstivādins?) and the Vātsiputriyas.
a. A tradition which must be of Magadhan origin identifies the original Vinaya with that of the Mahāsāṃghikas*, and makes the Vinaya of the Sthaviras (or rather of the Sarvāstivādins) and aberrant Vinaya. This is what is emerging from a Mahāsāṃghika work, the Śāriputra-paripṛcchā (T 1465, p. 900b), translated by an unknown hand between 317 and 420. Unfortunately, the Chinese translation is so obscure that it allows for the most diverse interpretations. After having narrated at length the persecution by the Śunga Puṣyamitra, the text, going back to the past, speaks of events which took place under a king whom it does not name but who, from the evidence of other parallel texts which we will quote, can be none other than Aśoka the Maurya.

"At that moment, there was an old bhikṣu who was avid for glory and prone to disputing. He copied and arranged our Vinaya, developing and increasing what Kāśyapa had codified and which is called 'The Vinaya of the Great Assembly' (Ta chung lü : Mahāsāṃghavinaya). He collected from outside some material which had been neglected [until then], with the aim of deceiving beginners. He thus formed a separate party which quarrelled with [the Great Assembly]. Then there were some bhikṣus who asked the king to pass judgement. The king brought the two schools together and set about taking a vote with black and white slips of wood (śālākā), proclaiming that those who approved of the old Vinaya could take the black slips, and those who favoured the new Vinaya, the white slips. Then those who took the black slips were more than ten thousand, while those who took the white slips were a mere hundred or so. The king considered that [the doctrines of the two schools] both [represented] the word of the Buddha and that since their preferences were not the same, the monks of both groups] should not live together. Since those who studied the old [Vinaya] were in the majority, they were called Mahāsāṃghikas (Mo ho sêng ch'i) for that reason; those who studied the new [Vinaya] formed the minority, but they were all Sthaviras (Shang tso, elders) : hence they were called T'a pi lo (Sthaviras)".

This text represents the Mahāsāṃghika version of the first Buddhist schism which, at the time of Aśoka, brought the Mahāsāṃghikas into conflict with the Sthaviras. The same event is narrated in the Sarvāstivādin sources, such as the Vībhāṣa (T 1545, ch. 99, pp. 510c-512a), as well as by Paramārtha (DEMIÉVILLE, Sectes, pp. 36-9) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886b). The latter accept that King Aśoka first favoured the Mahāsāṃghikas, and this fact is confirmed by the Mahāvamsa (IV, p. 32 sq.), but add that he then repented and finally did the Sthaviras justice.

However, it does seem that Fa hsien who discovered the manuscript of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya in Pātaliputra considered as identical to the earlier Vinaya. In the postface of the Chinese translation of this
Vinaya (T 1425, ch. 40, p. 548b) he confirms and completes the evidence of the Śāriputraparipṛcchā.

"Formerly in central India a wicked king reigned for a certain time. All the Śramaṇas fled in the four directions, and the Tripitaka bhikṣus were dispersed. Once the bad king was dead, there was a good king who invited all the Śramaṇas to return to the country where he gave them hospitality. At the time, there were five hundred bhikṣus in Pāṭaliputra who wanted to settle a question but had no Vinaya master nor Vinaya text and thus could not deal with the matter. So they sent a man to the Jetavanāvihāra to copy the Vinaya text... After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, Mahākāśyapa compiled the Vinayapiṭaka and, acting as a great master, preserved the Piṭaka in 80,000 articles. After the Nirvāṇa of Kāśyapa, the venerables Ānanda, Madhyāntika and Śāṇavāsa successively had possession of the Piṭaka with its 80,000 articles. Then it was the venerable Upagupta whom the Bhavagat had defined as a Buddha without marks (nīrlakṣaṇabuddha), for example in the Nidāna of the Victory over Māra. He also had in his possession the Piṭaka with 80,000 articles. However, after him, five schools were founded: 1. Dharmaguptakas, 2. Mahāsiṣyas, 3. Kāśyapīyas, 4. Sarvatas who claim that everything exists. These first schools each differed over the meaning (artha) and their theses (samaya)... Then those five (sic) schools all got confused and disputes broke out, each claiming that its own meaning was true. King Aśoka wondered how he could judge the true from the false, and he asked the Saṃgha how, according to the Law of the Buddha, the judgment should be passed. They all told him ‘According to the Law, the majority must be followed’. The king said: ‘If that is so, there will have to be a vote with slips of wood (śalākā) to see where the majority lies’. Once the vote had taken place, those who took the slips of wood of the original assembly (ch’ü pén chung) were very great in number, and since that assembly was in the majority, it was called Mahāsāṃghika (Mo ho sêng ch’i), i.e. [the school of] the Great Assembly”.

b. The learned Sêng yu, who knew of the postface by Fa hsien, did not fail to remark that the text of the original Vinaya claimed by the Mahāsāṃghikas came from the Jetavanāvihāra. Now this vihāra was in fact located in Vaśālī, the homeland of the Vṛjiputraka or Vatsīputriya monks, known for their laxist conduct. Without giving the matter proper consideration Sêng yu came to the conclusion that the Mahāsāṃghikas borrowed their Vinaya from the latter and that, as a result, the Mahāsāṃghika came from the Vatsīputriya school.

In his Ch’u san tsang chi chi (T 2145, ch. 3, p. 21a 4), he modifies the last lines of Fa hsien’s postscript to that effect:

"Once the vote [instigated by Aśoka] had taken place, the slips of wood of the Vatsīputriyas were very great in number. Because of that great number, the name [of that school] was changed to that of Mahāsāṃghika, i.e. the School of the Great Assembly”.
However, such an affiliation is contrary to tradition and to all the known lists; Sēng yu must therefore bear the entire responsibility for it.

c. The Kāśmīrian tradition of Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin origin, as it was formulated in the fifth and sixth centuries by Kumārajīva (344-409) and the Chinese scholars Sēng yu (444-518) and Hui chao (497-554), can be summarized in the following three points.

At the council of Rājaśva presided over by Kāṣyapa, Upāli recited the Vinayapitaka. As he made 80 attempts at reciting that Vinaya, the latter was called the “Vinaya in 80 recitations”.

The first five patriarchs — Kāṣyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śānavāsa and Upagupta — carefully preserved it in trust. However, since Upagupta, a contemporary of Aśoka, resided in Mathurā, the ancient Vinaya which he preserved was also given the name of “Vinaya in 80 sections from the land of Mathurā”. The text contained Avadānas and Jātakas.

However, since his contemporaries had weak faculties and could not memorize such a voluminous text, Upagupta deleted the accounts of the Avadānas and Jātakas and, preserving only the most important parts, compiled a Vinaya reduced to ten sections and entitled: “Vinaya in ten recitations” (Daśādhyāya). Sections 1 to 3 included the 250 precepts of the Bhikṣus, sections 4 to 6 dealt with the seven or eight dharmas or, in other words, the Skandhakas; section 7 described the precepts of the Bhikṣunis; sections 8 to 10 were reserved for Appendices: Ekottara, Upāliparipṛcchā*, Kṣudrakavarga and Kuśaladharma. This Vinaya in ten recitations was known by the name of “Vinaya from the land of Kāśmīr”. Kumārajīva translated it into Chinese at Ch’ang an in 404-405 with the title of Shih sung lū (T 1435) and later, after 409, Vimalākṣa enriched the translation with a postface.

Finally, the Vinaya in ten recitations from Kāśmīr was commented upon by a “Vibhāṣā in 80 sections”, not to be confused with the earlier Vinaya which also consisted of 80 sections. Although the sources are lacking in precision in this respect, that Vibhāṣā, also written in Kāśmīr, must doubtless be identified with the voluminous Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1442-51) which we have analyzed above.

We will continue with the evidence upon which these notes of literary history are based:

Kumārajīva in his translation of the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 100, p. 756c):

“The abridged (sic) account of the Vinaya is in 80 sections and the Vinaya texts are of two kinds: 1. The Vinaya from the land of Mathurā which, with its Avadānas and Jātakas, consist of 80 sections; 2. The Vinaya from the land of
Kaśmīr which has excluded the Jātakas and Avadānas: the latter has simply retained the essential parts and consists of only 10 sections. However, there is a Vibhāṣā in 80 sections which comments upon it”.

Idem, ibidem (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 69c):

“The explanations concerning the 250 precepts in three varga; the seven dharma and the eight dharma; the bhikṣuṇīvinaya; the Ekottara, the Upālīpariprc-chā, the ksudrakavarga and the kuśālavarga: those 80 varga (sic!) form the Vinayapitāka”.

Sēng yu, Ch’u san tsang chi chi (T 2145, ch. 3, p. 20a 24):

“In the past, Mahākāśyapa held the Baskets of the Law. He transmitted them to Ānanda and so on down to the fifth master Upagupta. Originally, the Pītaka consisted of 80 recitations, but since later generations had weak faculties (mṛdvindiya) and could not learn it, Upagupta reduced it to 10 recitations”.

Hui chiao, Kao sēng chuan* (T 2059, ch. 11, p. 403a):

“Upāli made 80 attempts to recite the Vinaya: hence the title of ‘Vinaya in 80 recitations’. Then there were Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śāṇavāsa and Upagupta: those five Arhats preserved the Vinaya in turn”.

3. The Chinese scholars of the fifth century are unanimous in dating from the Aśokan or post-Aśokan era the fragmentation of the original Vinaya into a series of separate Vinayas which, as witnessed by Hsüan tsang, were still being taught in Uḍḍiyāna in the sixth century A.D. (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 882b). Furthermore, they establish an artificial link between those Vinayas and the five schools given by them as the leaders in the affiliation of the sects. They all base their claims on a prophecy of the Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra (T 397, ch. 22, p. 159), a Mahāyānist work translated into Chinese between 414 and 421. In it the Buddha says in substance that after his Nirvāṇa, certain disciples will receive, retain, copy and recite the twelve categories of the teaching of the Tathāgata, but that they will interpret them in the wrong way. They will be called Dharmaguptas, Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Vātsiputrīyas and Mahīśāṃghikas. The Buddha, after listing those six schools, concludes: “Those five (sic) schools, although they differ from one another, will not impede the unity of the dharmadhātu and the Great Nirvāṇa of the Buddha”.

Sēng yu (T 2145, ch. 3, pp. 20-1), Hui chiao (T 2059, ch. 11, p. 403a) and Fa yūn (T 2131, ch. 4, p. 1113a) use this prophecy as justification for giving the leaders of those five schools as Vinaya masters and disciples of Upagupta. Indeed, Fa yūn remarks:
"The Buddha said: 'Five hundred years after my Nirvana, some malevolent disciples will divide up my Vinayapitaka and establish five schools'. Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Vasuki (?) and Upagupta: those five masters, who penetrated the Way with full powers, did not divide up the teaching. However, Upagupta had five disciples who each held their own particular views. Consequently, they divided the single great Vinayapitaka of the Tathāgata and founded five schools: Dharmaguptas, Sarvatas, Kāśyapīyas, Mahāśāsakas, Vātsiputriyas and Mahāsāṃghikas".

HYPOTHESES ON THE FORMATION OF THE VINAYAS. — Limiting his research to the Pāli sources, Louis Finot noted the artificiality of the link which connects the account of the two councils with the preceding twenty Khandhakas and proposed the hypotheses that this account formed the second part of a chronicle the first part of which was devoted to the narration of the Buddha's last journey, his Parinirvana, his funeral and the distribution of his relics. It is believed that this ancient chronicle was then divided into two and the first part inserted into the Suttapiṭaka with the title of Mahāparinibbānasutta; the second, namely the account of the councils, was added to the Vinayapitaka at the end of the Khandakas.

However, the Buddhist sources we have at our disposal are not in favour of the existence of such a chronicle. Among the Chinese recensions of the Mahāparinirvānasūtra, T 1 remains utterly silent over the councils, T 7 devotes one line to the council of Rājagṛha, T 5 and 6 give full accounts of the council of Rājagṛha; but nowhere is there a mention of the council of Vaiśāli. The latter is connected only with the Vinaya tradition.

Nevertheless, Finot's theories are taken up and amplified on much sounder bases by E. Frauwallner in a work entitled The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Rome, 1956. While the Buddhist Dharma had already been codified into a Sūtrapitaka and the twofold Prātimokṣa commented upon in the form of a Vibhaṅga, an author, not without literary pretensions, undertook to write a work on the religious life of the Buddhist monks and published a Skandhaka to this effect.

This Old Skandhaka was written about the year 100 or 110 after the Nirvana, shortly before or after the council of Vaiśāli, and took its inspiration from the model of the Vedic collections. It began with an

account of the first part of the life of the Buddha: his race, birth, youth and vocation, his Enlightenment and, finally, the beginning of his public ministry up to the conversion of the two great disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The author then passed on to a description of the rules of monastic life, admission into the order, the confessional ceremony, etc., attempting to alleviate the dryness of the material by the insertion of anecdotes and legends. He concluded with an account of the decease of the Buddha and the beginning of an ecclesiastical chronicle covering the great events of the first century: the council of Rājagrha, the succession of patriarchs and, finally, the council of Vaiśāli.

In order to carry out this work, the author borrowed from compositions which were already in existence everything that could be of use to him: stories and legends taken from the commentaries upon the Prātimokṣa, sūtras or fragments of them from the original tradition. However, he adapted all that material to his own artistic genius and, with regard to the biography of the Buddha which formed the theme of this work, he deviated considerably from the early authentic tradition. “Thus he created a work which looks imposing, if we imagine it in its original shape, and which is practically unique in his time; the first great literary work of Buddhism” (FRAUWALLNER, op. cit., p. 154).

Accidents in the oral tradition cruelly abused this Old Skandhaka to such an extent as to break up its original arrangement and render its design unrecognizable. Nevertheless, and still according to E. Frauwallner, it exerted considerable influence on the later Buddhist literary output. Hence, the biographical portion with which the work began is thought to have become independent and to have been elaborated upon afterwards by the various schools. It must therefore be the basis of the various incomplete biographies of the Buddha which most often conclude with the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. This was the case for the Nidānakathā of the Pāli Jātaka; it was also the case for the various biographies of “sectarian” origin which a colophon of the Fo pēn hsing chi ching (T 190, ch. 60, p. 932a 16-21) reconciles in these terms: “What is this sūtra (T 190) called? The Mahāsāṃghika masters call it Mahāvastu; the Sarvāstivādins, Mahālalitavistara; the Kāśyapiyas, Buddhajñātakaniḍāna; the Dharmaguptakas, Śākyamunibuddhacarita, the Mahāsakas, Vinayaṭṭakamula”.

As for the conclusion of the Old Skandhaka — a conclusion narrating the decease of the Buddha and the account of the two councils — it belonged, according to Frauwallner (op. cit., p. 146), to the Vinaya, and “in its earliest form recognizable to us”. Later, the account of the Buddha’s decease was linked up with the Sūtrapiṭaka, but the recension
of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* still retains the particular stamp which the author of the Old Skandhaka claimed to have impressed on it.

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The admirable work by Professor Frauwallner, of which we have just given a short summary, marks considerable progress in our knowledge of the Buddhist sources, but his conclusions cannot be accepted unreservedly.

The structure of the Old Skandhaka is only just recognizable in the *Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas and Mahīśākas* and the Pāli *Vinaya*. In the two *Vinayas*, which the indigenous traditions examined above present as being the closest to the ancient *Vinaya* of Upāli — namely the *Sarvāstivādin* and *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* —, there is no trace of the initial biography of the Buddha. Furthermore, in the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya*, the account of the two councils did not form part of the original edition, but only appears in a postface appended in China in the 6th century A.D. As for the *Mūlasarv. Vin.*, which devotes two Skandhakas to a full and coherent biography of the Buddha, it did not originate from an old Buddhist community established in Mathurā from the first century of Buddhism — as E. Frauwallner claims (p. 37) — but from an immense compendium of discipline which was closed very much later and was probably compiled in Kāśmīr in order to complete the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya*. When, in the passage studied above, Kumārajīva speaks of a “*Vinaya in 80 sections from the land of Mathurā*” he has in mind, not the *Mūlasarv. Vin.*, but the ancient *Vinaya* of Upāli which was finally preserved by Upagupta in Mathurā.

It is doubtful whether the initial biography of the Buddha which served as an introduction to the *Vinayas* was the starting point and model of the separate Lives of the Buddha which were published later. The latter, as we will see further on, do not all conclude with the conversion of Śāriputra. They are much more elaborate than the biographical fragments inserted into the *Vinayas* and, to quote only one example, there is no common measure between the enormous *Nidānakathā* of the Jātaka and the short, fragmentary account with which the Pāli Khandakas open. Finally, it was not only from those Skandhakas that the biographers of the Buddha could derive their documentation. The Sūtrapitaka contained quantities of biographical and much more detailed Sūtras.

It would be difficult for the author of the Old Skandhaka to be the first compiler of the chronicle of the councils, and we do not see how a
contemporary of the events could have accumulated such a quantity of
anachronisms, improbabilities and myths. By sketching above the history
of the tradition of the councils through the literature of the Sūtras,
Vinayas, Avadānas, ecclesiastical chronicles, travel memoirs and, finally,
the great Sinhalese commentaries, we have attempted to show how that
tradition was exploited throughout the ages to the most diverse pur-
poses. Though the account of the councils is momentarily linked with
the Vinaya tradition, it remains evident, as P. Demiéville has already
noted, that, its compilers were not the same as those of the Vinayas to
which that account is appended.

The hypothesis of an Old Skandhaka distinct from the ancient Vinaya
of Upāli of which the whole tradition speaks therefore seems to us to
complicate a problem that is already sufficiently so. In our opinion, the
Vinayapiṭaka appears as a development and explanation of the two
monastic codes which were drawn up at the very beginning of the
Buddhist community: the Vibhaṅga comments upon the Prātimokṣa,
the series of offences forbidden to the monks and nuns, the Skandhakas
develop the Karmavācanās regulating the details of monastic life. This
commentary is enlarged by fragments relating to the life of the Buddha
as well as accounts concerning the early history of the community. The
addition of facts which concerned the Buddhist discipline only indirectly
continued to multiply incessantly and finally culminated, in the Mūla-
sarv. Vin., in a complete biography of the Buddha and the beginnings
of ecclesiastical history. However, this outcome was long in gestation in the
Vinayas which had previously been closed. If remarkable similarities can
be discerned in the outlines of the latter — and we are thinking
particularly of the Pāli, Mahīśāka and Dharmagupta Vinayas — this
fact can be explained by a parallel development. The Buddhist com-
munities did not live in complete isolation but were interested in the
work carried out by their neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that
they worked with the same methods and followed practically the same
plan. If nothing is more like one Buddhist vihāra than another Buddhist
vihāra, it is normal that the various known Vinayas should reveal the
close link which connected them.

d. The Abhidharmapiṭaka

The Abhidharmapiṭaka appears to be a thoroughly detailed systemati-
sation of the teachings contained in the Sūtras. It proceeds by means of
enumerations and summaries, questions and answers. It is only in the

chronicles and commentaries that the word is given as the title of a third Pīṭaka; the canonical texts merely speak of a summary (māṭrka). By abhidharma, they do not mean to designate any scriptural code, but simply the “Special Dharma”, i.e. the Doctrine pure and simple, without the intervention of literary developments or the presentation of individuals. When understood in this sense, abhidharma is often coupled with the word abhivinaya (Dīgha, III, p. 267; Majjhima, I, p. 472).

If it can be said that, on the whole, the various Buddhist schools used an identical Sūtrapitaka and several similar Vinayapitakas, it must be accepted that, if they had an Abhidharmapitaka at their disposal, they had put it together themselves. There is only a vague link as to similarity between the many Abhidharmas which have come down to us.

**Traditions concerning the compilation of the Abhidharma Pīṭaka. —** The accounts of the first council do not agree about the extent of scriptural activity undertaken at Rājagṛha:

a. Certain sources assert that the Elders of the council did no more than compile the Dharma and Vinaya, in other words, the first two Pīṭakas: Pāli Vin. (II, p. 287); Mahāparinirvānasūtra (T 5, ch. 2, p. 175c; T 6, ch. 2, p. 191a); Kāśyapasamgīti (T 2027, p. 7a); Mahīśāsaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 30, p. 191a-b); Mahāsāṃghika Vin. (T 1425, ch. 32, pp. 491c-492a).

b. Other sources attribute to Kāśyapa the compilation of a Māṭrka, summary: Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 408b 2-11); The Legend of Aśoka (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 113c 3-4; T 2043, ch. 6, p. 152a 15). Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 9, p. 922c 25) also attributes the compilation of the Abhidharmapitaka to Kāśyapa.

c. However, the great majority of the sources state that an Abhidharmapitaka was compiled at Rājagṛha and that it was recited by Ananda. Notwithstanding, they are not in agreement over the number of books of which it is compiled.

- **Abh. in 4 sections and 5 recitations**: Chinese preface to the translation of the Dīrgha (T 1, p. 1a 9-10).
- **Abh. in 4 sections** — Saṃgraha, Saṭṭhapānaka, Saṃyoga, Prasthāna: Nandimitrāvadāna (T 2030, p. 14b 8).
- **Abh. in 5 sections** — Sasāṃcodaṇāviveka, Asāṃcodaṇāviveka, Saṃyoga, Prayoga and Sthāna: Dharmagupta Vin. (T 1428, ch. 54, p. 968b 25-26).
- **Abh. in 5 sections** — Sapraśnaka, Apraśnaka, Saṃgraha, Saṃyoga and Sthāna: Haimavata Vinayamāṭrka (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818a 28-29).

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Abh. in 7 sections — Dhammasaṅgaṇī, etc.: Pāli commentaries (Sumāṅgala, I, p. 17; Atthasālivī, p. 3; Samantapāsādikā, p. 18).

Abh. in 7 books (one body and 6 feet): the Sarvāstivādin tradition, which will be examined further on.

Schools without an Abhidharma. — For certain schools, the Abhidharma is not the Word of the Master. Hence, the Sautrāntikas are so called because for them the norm consists of the sūtras to the exclusion of the Abhidharma treatises (ye sūtraprāmāṇikā na tu sāstra-prāmāṇikāḥ: Kosavyākhyā, p. 11). Similarly, the Mahāsaṅgītikas, mentioned by the Dīpavaṃsa (V, 37) rejected the six (sic!) sections of the Abhidharma. Conversely, in their Vinaya, the Mahāsāṃghikas frequently refer to the Abhidharma or the Mātṛkā (T 1425, p. 295a 26; 334c 21; 340c 1; 442a 26; 442b 24; 475c 13; 492c 18; 501c 24; 533c 2).

All the same, the schools which in principle rejected the Abhidharma, in fact had equivalent śāstras at their disposal. Among the 657 works which Hsuan-tsang brought back from India there were numerous śāstras of Sthavira, Mahāsāṃghika, Saṃmatiya, Kāśyapiya, Dharmaguptaka and Sarvāstivādin origin.

An analysis of the preserved Abhidharmas. — Among the Abhidharmas which have come down to us, the most important are those of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins.

1. The Sinhalese Theravādins possess an Abhidhammapiṭaka in seven books (pakarana) which, in the fifth century, Buddhaghosa and his school (Sumāṅgala, I, p. 17; Atthasālivī, p. 3; Samanta, p. 18) quoted in the following order:

1. Dhammasaṅgaṇī, classification of things.
2. Vighaṅga, divisions.
3. Dhātukathā, discussion on the elements.
4. Puggalapaññatti, description of personalities.
5. Kathāvatthu, points of controversy.
7. Paṭṭhāna, causal relations.

Nevertheless, the Chinese recension of the Samantapāsādikā (T 1462,

69 WATTERS, I, p. 21.


The Sinhalese chronicle preserves the traces of an Abhidharmapiṭaka in six books only: a manuscript of the Dīpavamsa (V, 37), records that after the council of Vaiśāli, the schismatic Mahāsaṅgītikas rejected, among other texts, the abhidhamma-chappakaraham; and in the Atthasālinī, p. 3, the orthodox monks asked the Vīṇḍas of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana whether or not they accepted the Abhidhamma in six books. In fact, it seems that the orthodox people considered the Dhātukathā as apocryphal (Samyutta Comm., II, p. 201).

Until the fifth century certain Sinhalese schools hesitated over the place they should give the Abhidhamma books. The orthodox monks formed a special piṭaka, the third; conversely, the Dīghabhāṇakas ascribe it to the Khuddakanikāya, the fifth collection of the Suttapiṭaka (Sumanīgala, I, p. 15). According to another division of the Canon, the word of the Buddha comprised five collections altogether and the last included the whole of the Vinaya and Abhidhamma (Sumanīgala, I, p. 23; Atthasālinī, p. 26; Samanta, p. 27), as well as the other texts of the Khuddaka.

Still during Buddhaghosa's time, the Therās inserted certain episodes into the legend of the Buddha for the sole purpose of establishing the authenticity and antiquity of their Abhidhamma. All the Lives of the Buddha agree that after his enlightenment, Sākyamuni devoted four or seven weeks to meditation, changing his residence each time. Furthermore the Atthasālinī (p. 31) asserts that the Abhidhamma was "grasped" (adhigata) at the foot of the Bodhi tree, at the time of the full moon of Visākha, by the omniscient Buddha, and "collated" (vicita) by him, near the Bodhimaṇḍa, during the fourth week which he passed in the Ratanaghara. This detail is also confirmed by the Jātaka Commentary (I, p. 78).

The Abhidhamma which Sākyamuni discovered and collated was later propounded by him in the Trāyastrīṃśa heaven and acquired by the disciple Sāriputra. The famous wonder of Sāmkāśya is well-known to the hallowed legend and profusely represented on iconographical documents: Sākyamuni ascended to the Trāyastrīṃśa heaven where he taught the Good Law to his mother Māyā, who had been reborn in that paradise, then at the end of three months he came down to earth, again by a precious triple ladder, in the company of the gods Brahma and Indra. The Sinhalese Abhidhammadikas tried to imbue this legendary episode with the value of a literary event: it was not the Law in general but the Seven Books of the Abhidhamma which the Buddha expounded
to his mother. Once the instruction was over, each evening he went to Lake Anavatapta where he bathed then, during his rest, he communicated the contents of the discourse he had propounded to the great disciple Sāriputra. The latter, having thus learned the Abhidhamma, transmitted it to his five hundred disciples who had remained on earth. This Sinhalese modification of the legend is again found, with some variants, in the fifth-century commentaries: *Atthasāliṇī*, p. 16; *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, pp. 222-3; *Jātaka Commentary*, IV, p. 265.

The promulgation of the seven books of the Abhidhamma by the Buddha himself is in apparent contradiction with another Sinhalese tradition according to which the *Kathāvatthuuppakaraṇa*, the fifth or last of the Seven Books, was “revealed” or “diffused” by Moggaliputta Tissa at the council of Pātaliputra, in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (*Dpv.*, VII, 41, 56-8; *Mhv.*, V, 278). This contradiction did not fail to draw the attention of the Sinhalese Vīyakāvādins who were engaged in a controversy with the orthodox Theravādins and of which the *Atthasāliṇī* (pp. 3-6) has preserved the record. Since the *Kathāvatthu*, said the Vīyakās, was promulgated by Moggaliputta Tissa 218 years (sic) after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, it is only the word of the disciples and should be rejected; if it is absolutely necessary to retain seven books in the Abhidhamma, let us replace the *Kathāvatthu* by either the *Mahādhammahadaya* or the *Mahādhātukathā*. To which the Theravādins replied : The *Kathāvatthu* is indeed the word of the Buddha. When he was teaching the Seven Books and came to the *Kathāvatthu*, he merely established its summary (*mātikāṃ ṭhapesi*). By acting in that way, he foresaw that 218 (corr. 236) years after his death Moggaliputta Tissa would develop that treatise at the Council of Pātaliputra and give it a length comparable to that of the *Dīghanikāya* by collating five hundred orthodox sūtras and five hundred heterodox sūtras. Therefore Tissa delineated the treatise, not on his own authority, but in accordance with the list of contents already established by the Master. Consequently, the *Kathāvatthu* is the word of the Buddha.

In their present form, the Seven Books of the Abhidhamma by no means present that canonical nature which tradition claims in their favour. In substance, they do not always merely classify systematically the psycho-physical phenomena which the sutras have already described, but they also attempt to specify the relationships which unite them. In this respect, the *Pāṭhāna* which examines the twenty-four “connections” (*pratyaya*) between phenomena marks an undoubted progress in Buddhist scholasticism. By their form, the Abhidhammas are very like those summarizing sūtras some specimens of which already figured in the
earlier collections: *Samgītisutta* of the *Dīgha*, suttas No. 127, 137, 140, 148, 151 of the *Majjhima* and the majority of the suttas in the *Aṅguttara*. However, the Abhidhamma abounds in repetitions, rectifications, reclassifications and explanations which give it the character of an unfinished work still in the process of elaboration. Certain sections of the *Dhammasaṅgani* are only commentaries on previous sections, such as the appendix of the *Atthakathākanda* or *Atthudhāra* which is devoted to an explanation of section III. The *Vibhaṅga* appears to be the continuation and partial repetition of the *Dhammasaṅgani*. Such work, incessantly repeated and never concluding, required many hands and extended over a period of time which it is impossible to specify, but which we have every reason to suppose must have been quite long. Hence the *Kathāvatthu*’s object is to state and refute the heretical theses defended by twenty-six different schools and, if some of them had already been formulated at the time of Asoka, such as the five theses of Mahādeva (*Kathāvatthu*, II, 1-6, pp. 163-204), others resulted from the Vetullavāda heresy (*Ibid.*, XVII, 6-10, pp. 549-56; XVIII, 1, pp. 559-60) which only appeared in Ceylon during the reign of Vohārikatissa in the second half of the third century A.D. (*Dpv.*, XXII, 43; *Mhv.*, XXXVI, 41).*

2. For their own part, the Sarvāstivādins possessed an Abhidharma in seven books curiously entitled *Sadpādābhidharma* “Abh. with six feet”. The *Kośavyākhyā*, which refers to it on p. 466, explains (p. 9) the title in the following way:

“The treatise called *Jñānapraśthāna* is like a body (*sarīra*) the six feet (*pāda*) of which are: 1. Prakaranapāda, 2. Vijñānakāya, 3. Dharmaskandha, 4. Prajñāpātiśāstra, 5. Dhiitukāya, 6. Samgītiparyāya. The treatise with its appendages (*anucāra*) is the Abhidharma”.

The Tibetan historian Bu-ston (I, p. 49) cites the seven books in

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We owe to the admirable activity of the Viśabhārati a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text of the original book: *Jñānapraśthānasāstra*, retranslated into Sanskrit from Chinese version of Hiuan-tsang by SANTI BHIKSU ŠASTRI, I, Santiniketan, 1955.
another order, attributing each of them to a particular author. However, these attributions are often contradicted by the Chinese translations:

1. *Dharmakandha* by Sāriputra = T 1537 by Maudgalyāyana.
2. *Prajñaptiśāstra* by Maudgalyāyana = T 1538.
3. *Dhātukāya* by Pūrṇa = T 1540 by Vasumitra.
4. *Vijnākāya* by Devāsarman = T 1539 by Devakṣema.
5. *Jñānaprāsthāna* by Kātyāyana = T 1543 *Abhidharmaśṭagrantha* by Kātyāyana = T 1544 *Abhidharmaśāntapratihānasāstra* by Kātyāyaniputra.
7. *Sāṃgītiparīyā* by Mahākauśṭhila = T 1536 by Sāriputra.

Apart from the Vaibhāṣikas of Kaśmīr who, according to Bu-ston (I, pp. 49-50), considered those seven books as discourses uttered by the Master himself at different times, in various places and for different people, the Sarvāstivādins and Sautrāntikas renounced the pious fiction which assumed that the Buddha was the author of their Abhidharma. With a sincerity which could be found nowhere else, they acknowledged that the books in question had been compiled at various dates by different authors, whose names they give, even while considering them as authorized interpreters of the word of the Master.

In the Chinese translations some information is found on the history of these texts which we reproduce here in chronological order:

a. A colophon dated 379 A.D., inserted at the end of the 24th scroll of the Chinese translation of the *Jñānaprasthāna* by Saṃghadeva and Dharmapiya (T 1543, ch. 24, p. 887a), confirms the explanation of the term Śaḍpāda given above:

"The *Aṣṭagrantha* (= *Jñānaprasthāna*) is merely the body (*śarīra*); there are also six feet (*pāda*) of 1,000,000 syllables in all".

b. In a note by Kumārajiva added to the translation of the *Upadesa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70a) carried out in 404-405, we read the following explanations, which are interesting but difficult to interpret:

"[After the development of the sects which occurred a century after the decease of the Buddha], a brāhmin monk named Kātyāyana, who was wise, had sharp faculties and could recite in full the Three Baskets, the internal and external texts, and who wanted to explain the words of the Buddha, compiled the *Jñānaprasthāna* [T 1543, 1544]. The first chapter [entitled *Samyuktagrantha*] deals with the laukīkāgradharma. — Subsequently, his disciples made some Vibhāṣās [T 1545. 1546. 1547] of them for men in ages to come who would not be able to understand fully the *Aṣṭagrantha* [and, in fact, the Vibhāṣā frequently quotes the *Aṣṭagrantha* : cf. T 1545, ch. 1, p. 4b 3, etc.] — Some people say: In the Śaḍpādābhidharma, the third Pāda [*Prajñaptiśāstra*, T 1538] in eight
chapters is named *Fêng pien shih ch’un fêng* (*Lokaprajñapti*) : this is the third part of the *Lu t’an ching* (?) in six parts : it is the work of Maudgalyāyana. — In the Śadpāda, the first Pāda [*Prakaraṇapāda*, T 1541, 1542] consists of eight chapters : four are the work of the Bodhisattva Vasumitra; the other four are the work of the Arhats of Kaśmīr. — The other five Pādas [from the Śadpādābhidharma] are the work of the Upadesācāryas”.

c. In his *Life of Vasubandhu* (T 2049, p. 189a), Paramārtha writes :

“In the five hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, there was an Arhat named Kātyāyanīputra who had taken up the homeless life in the sect of the Sarvāstivādins. Indian by origin, he went to Kaśmīr, a kingdom situated to the north-west of India. There, in the company of five hundred Arhats and five hundred Bodhisattvas, he compiled the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādin school and composed the *Aṣṭagrantha*”.

In his commentary on the *Treatise of Vasumitra* (cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Sectes*, pp. 53-4), Paramārtha returns to the same Kātyāyanīputra, but this time dating him at the beginning of the three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa :

“At the beginning of the three hundred years, when Kātyāyanīputra took up the homeless life, two separate schools were formed : that of the Sthaviras and that of the Sarvāstivādins... The Sthavira school propagated the sūtras only... Conversely the Sarvāstivādin school, professed that there was nothing superior to the Abhidharma... It was from the time of Kātyāyanīputra that it greatly esteemed the Abhidharma”.

The Sarvāstivādin Kātyāyanīputra should not be confused with Kātyāyana the Elder, to whom we will return shortly.

The information collected until now enables us to discern the basic attitude of the Sarvāstivādins towards the Abhidharma. According to the *Vinaya* of this school (T 1435, ch. 60, p. 449c 21), it was not in the Trāyastrimśa heaven — as the Theravādins claim — but simply in Śrāvastī that the Buddha initiated the Abhidharma teaching with an unpretentious discourse on the “Five Fears” etc., the details of which have been preserved in the *Aṅguttara* (III, pp. 204-5). The *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 69c) is of the same opinion.

d. The *Vibhāṣā* (1545, ch. 1, p. 1) reconciles the basic tenets and the tradition by stating that the Buddha was the author of the *Jñānapraṇasthāna* and Kātyāyanīputra edited it :

“The Bhagavat, when he was in this world, in different places, explained and expounded the Abhidharma by means of various theoretical accounts. Either after the Nirvāṇa or when the Bhagavat was still in this world, the Ārya-
disciples, by means of knowledge born of aspiration (*pranidhiṇīna*), compiled and assembled [those accounts], and arranged them into sections. Therefore, Kātyāyānaputra also, after the disappearance of the Bhagavat, compiled and composed the *Jñānaprasthāna* with the aid of *pranidhiṇīna*. Among those theoretical accounts of the Bhagavat, he established the doors of a book (*vākyadvāra*); he inserted summarizing stanzas, he made various chapters to which he gave the name of Skandhaka... The Abhidharma was originally the word of the Buddha, but it is also a compilation by the Ārya Kātyāyānaputra. Whether the Buddha uttered [the Abhidharma], or whether the disciple uttered it, that does not violate the rule (*dhammatā*), for all the Buddhas want the bhikṣus to bear in mind [the Abhidharma]. Therefore, that Ārya, whether he knew the Abhidharma through tradition or whether he discovered it by means of *pranidhiṇīna*, composed that Treatise in order that the Good Law would remain in the world for a long time”.

e. Thus, even while acknowledging the “inspired” nature of the Abhidharma treatises, literary criticism keeps an open mind. One might wonder where, when and by whom the *Jñānaprasthāna* and its six “feet”, were compiled. This is what Hsüan tsang and his disciples undertook to find out.

In approximately 650, P’u kuang, in his *Commentary upon the Kośa* (T 1821, ch. 1, p. 8b), supplies some interesting facts, but without citing his references:

“Śāriputra compiled the *Paryāyapādaśāstra* (T 1536); Mahāmaudgalyāyana compiled the *Dharmaskandhapādaśāstra* (T 1537); Mahākātyāyana compiled the *Prajñāptipādaśāstra* (T 1538): those three above-mentioned treatises were composed when the Buddha was still in this world. — In the first century which followed the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa, Devakṣema compiled the *Vijñānakāyapādaśāstra* (T 1539). — At the beginning of the three hundred years, Vasumitra compiled the *Prakaranaṭipādaśāstra* (T 1541, 1542) and he also compiled the *Dhātukīyapādaśāstra* (T 1540). Then, at the end of the three hundred years, Kātyāyānaputra compiled the *Jñānaprasthānasāstra* (T 1543, 1544)”.

Hsüan tsang records some geographical details concerning the place where some of these books were composed: the *Vijñānakāyā* was published by Devaśarman in Viśoka near Śrāvasti (T 2087, ch. 5, p. 898c); the *Prakaranaṭipāda*, by Vasumitra at a stūpa in Puṣkarāvati (Ibid., ch. 2, p. 881a); finally, the *Jñānaprasthāna* was compiled three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa by Kātyāyana at the Tāmasavanavihāra, a Sarvāstivādin monastery in the district of Cīnabhukti in the North-West (Ibid., ch. 4, p. 889c). This is in contradiction with the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 5, p. 21c) according to which the Venerable one composed his *Jñānaprasthāna* when he was residing “in the East” : the
proof of which is that, in that treatise (T 1544, ch. 1, p. 918c), he quotes the five rivers which are known in the East.

A scrutiny of the Seven Books leads to identical conclusions: The Samgitiiparyaya is a somewhat aberrant recension of the Samgitiisuttanta in the Digha; the Dharmaskandha is a collection of Sutras promulgated at the Jetavana in Sravasti and rapidly commented upon by quotations from other sutras; the Prajñaptisāstra, of which T 1538 is only a partial translation but which exists in a complete state in the Tibetan version, closely resembles the cosmological Sutra in the Dirghagama T 1, No. 30, p. 114 sq.) and the Li shih a p’i t’an lun (T 1644) which also has the characteristics of a Sutra. In brief, the first three books are still very close to the summarizing Sutras, of which there are several specimens in the Agamas, and it is understandable that the exegesis should attribute them to contemporaries of the Buddha: Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākātyāyana, Kauśṭhila or Pūrṇa.

The other four books are more technical and strongly influenced by the particular views of the Sarvāstivādin school. The Vijñanakāya by Devasarman is a polemical work somewhat resembling the Kathāvatthu. Unlike the latter, it is an adherent of differentiation with regard to the existence of the three time-periods; it refutes the doctrine of a certain Mu lien (perhaps the Moggaliputta Tissa of the Pāli chronicle, who championed the Vibhajyavāda at the council of Pātaliputra) and it asserts the existence of the past and the future. However, like the Kathāvatthu and using the same arguments, it contests the belief in a Pudgala. In the two books attributed to him, Vasumitra represents the point of view of the “Old Abhidharmikas” of the Sarvāstivādin school: his Dhātukāya deals with the same questions as the Dhātukathāpakarana of Pāli scholasticism. Finally, the Jñānaprasthāna displays considerable progress in the method of systematization: it is this last work that the Arhats of Kaśmir applied themselves to comment upon in their Vibhāṣā.

3. Alongside the great Abhidharmas of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, we also possess other Abhidharma treatises which seem to have enjoyed canonical authority.

In 1949, the Pali Text Society published the complete text of a Petakopadesa “Teaching on the Piṭaka(s)” in eight chapters. The text is obscure and presents insurmountable difficulties. In its present form it is not especially old since it contains numerous quotations not only from the Vinaya and Suttapiṭaka (Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta, Ānguttara, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta, Thera- and Therīgāthā, Jātaka), but also from the Nettipakarana. Nevertheless, it was used,
seemingly as a canonical authority, by Buddhaghosa in his *Atthasāliṇī* (p. 165) and *Visuddhimagga* (ed. Warren, p. 114).

The work itself claims to be written by the Thera Mahākaccāyana when living at the Jambuvana, and this attribution is confirmed by the *Gandhavamsa* (p. 59) and the Burmese Buddhists who incorporated the *Peṭakopadesa* in their Khuddakanikāya.

There is no reason why we should not see in this text a distant echo of the Abhidharmic work carried out in Ujjayinī by the Buddha’s great disciple Mahākātyāyana, the missionary from Avanti. Regarding this Kātyāyana, who was a contemporary of the Buddha and had no connection with the Sarvāstivādin Kātyāyanīputra of the third century after the Nirvāṇa, the following evidence can be assembled:

a. Certain accounts of the first council were not ignorant of the part played by Mahākātyāyana with respect to the Abhidharma: the *Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripitaka* (T 2026, p. 3c 12) and the *Fēn pieh kung tē lun* (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32a 19) know that Kātyāyana selected the gist of the word of the Master and presented his work to the Buddha who approved it and adorned it with the title of Supreme Doctrine (Abhidharma).

b. In a note added to his translation of the *Upadesa* (T 1509), Kumārajīva speaks in turn of the brāhmin Kātyāyana, the author of the *Aṣṭagrantha* (p. 70a 10-12), then of Mahākātyāyana (p. 70a 20-3). Concerning the latter he notes:

> “Mahākātyāyana, when the Buddha was alive, explained the words of the Buddha and compiled a Pi lè (Peṭaka), “Box-collection” in the Ch’in language. Up to this day, it is in use in Southern India”.

...
One thing appears to be certain: the present Abhidharmic tradition is independent, since neither the Theravādins nor the Sarvāstivādins consider Mahākātyāyana the Elder as authoritative at all.

4. The Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra (T 1548) was translated into Chinese between 407 and 415 by Dharmagupta and Dharmayaśas, the latter being Kaśmīrīyan. The work is divided into four parts: Sapraśnaka, Apraśnaka, Saṃyukta-Saṃgraha and Nidāna, titles which recall the first four chapters of the Haimavata Abhidharma (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818a 28-9), which consists of five.

Kumarājīva, in his translation of the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70a), says:

“When the Buddha was in this world, Śāriputra made the Abhidharma in order to explain the words of the Buddha. Later, the Vatsīputrīya monks recited that work: until today, that is what is called the Śāriputrābhidharma”.

Paramārtha, in his commentary upon the Treatise of Vasmītra (DEMIÈVILLE, Sectes, p. 57-8), provides further information:

“Śāriputra had explained the Buddha’s Abhidharma in nine parts; that is what is called the Abhidharma of the Features of the Law (dharma-lakṣaṇābhidharma). Rāhula, Śāriputra’s disciple, transmitted the Abhidharma to the Arhat Vatsyaputra, and the latter’s disciples formed the Vatsīputrīya school. Then, after three hundred years, four more schools emerged from the Vatsīputrīya school: the Dharmottariyas, Bhadrayāniyas, Sammītiya and Śaṇḍas or Śaṇnāgarikas. Dissatisfied with Śāriputra’s Abhidharma which they found incomplete, they each composed śāstras in order to complete Śāriputra’s Abhidharma wherever it was inadequate”.

It might be wondered whether in the Śāriputrābhidharma to which Kumarājīva and Paramārtha refer is indeed the T 1548 which we...

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72 The connection between Śāriputra and the Abhidharma has been studied by Dr. A. MIGOT in his work on Un grand disciple du Buddha: Śāriputra, BEFEO, XLVI, 1954, pp. 405-54.

Independent research by both L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSEIN (Introduction to the Kośa, pp. LX-LXII) and T. KIMURA (Recherches sur l’Abhidharma, Tokyo, 1922) has shown that the Śāriputrābhidharma describes doctrines which are very close to those of the Pāli Abhidhamma (particularly the Vibhaṅga and the Puggala-paññatti) and supports the theses which the Vibhaṅga and the Kośa attribute to the Vibhajayavādins.

A. BAREAU has on several occasions attempted to determine from which sect this Abhidharma originates: the Andhaka or Haimavata sect (Recherches sur l’Abhidharma de Š., Actes du XIXe Congrès des Orientalistes, 1955, pp. 187-8), Dharmaguptaka sect (Les origines du Š., MUSEON, LXIII, 1950, pp. 69-95), or finally, due to doctrinal affinities, the Mahāsāṃghika school (Les Sectes b. du Petit Véhicule et leurs Abhidharmapiṭaka, BEFEO, XLIV, 1951, p. 10).
possess. The latter, in fact, consists of four parts and not nine and, far from adopting the thesis of the existence of an indescribable Pudgala — a thesis which the Vātsiputrīya-Saṃmatīya sects (cf. T 1649) claim as authoritative — it shows itself to be a determined adept of Anātman (T 1548, ch. 15, p. 626c 2-4).

In fact, T 1548 cites Śāriputra as its authority just as the Sinhalese tradition, which was examined earlier, claimed that its Abhidhamma originated from revelations disclosed by the Buddha to Śāriputra while teaching in the Trāyastrīṃśa heaven. Furthermore, no work in the Sanskrit Abhidharma comes closer to the Pāli Abhidhamma, particularly the Vibhaṅga.

CONCLUSIONS. - The tradition examined here and which, in part, result from the Kaśmīrīan elucubrations of the fourth century (Kumarajīva, Paramārtha) should not be overestimated. Despite their supposed canonicity, the Abhidharmas are the works of schools and it is only through contrivance that they are connected with the Buddha and disciples contemporary with him.

The Sinhalese Theravādins claim they can go back to Śāriputra alone through a long lineage of obscure Ābhidhārmakas who are listed in the Atthasālinī (p. 32). It is the same for the Vātsiputrīya-Saṃmatīyas who claim the existence of a Śāriputrābhidharma in 9 sections.

The Prajñāptivādins, insofar as they had an Abhidharma, consider as authoritative a Peṭakopadesa compiled in Avanti by Mahākātyāyana.

Finally, the Sarvāstivādins appeal to the authority of three immediate disciples of the Buddha: Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Mahākauṭhila, but do not hide the fact that their great master was the famous Kātyāyanīputra of the third century after the Nirvāṇa.

However, whoever the authors of the Abhidharma may have been, they reveal themselves as strictly faithful interpreters of the “Meaning of the Sūtras”: at the most they limited themselves to completing it on certain points of detail without in the least compromising the doctrinal integrity of Sākyamuni’s message. They therefore have every right to present their Abhidharma as the Word of the Buddha.

3. — The Disappearance of the Good Law*

The section devoted to the canonical writings has its indispensable complement in a notice relative to the data and circumstances of the disappearance of the Good Law (saddharmavipralopa).

The Law which was discovered and expounded by the Buddha is immutable: “Whether or not the Tathāgatas appear in the world, the
nature of the Dharma, the subsistence of the Dharma remains stable” (Samyutta, II, p. 25, etc.). It is also well known that “the sky will fall with the moon and stars, the earth with its mountains and forests will rise up into the skies; the oceans will dry up, but the great Sages say nothing false” (Divya, p. 268, 272).

However, the Law does not exist only in the absolute (paramārtha). Studied, practised and professed by mankind, it also relates to conventionality (samvr̥tī) and as such is subject to the universal principle of decline: “All accumulations culminate in destruction; all elevations in downfall; unions end in separation; life ends in death” (Divya, pp. 27, 100, 486).

Predictions concerning the disappearance of the Good Law were formulated from the earliest times and repeated throughout the centuries. They have exerted a decisive influence on the history of Buddhism. The echoes which were recently awakened by the celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha have not yet been silenced. Therefore it is not without reason that the Buddhist chronicles devote entire chapters to the question (cf. Bu-ston, II, pp. 102-8, 171-80). The present notes do not claim to exhaust a particularly complicated subject, but, to define, as far as possible, the periods covered by an eminently fluid tradition.

1. Dates of the Disappearance

The disappearance of the Good Law is fixed at the most various dates, but the ingenuity of the ancient exegetists attempted to reconcile them by differentiating between three kinds of Law: the Good Law proper (saddharma, chêng fa), the counterfeit Law (pratirūpakadharma, hsiang fa) and the final Law (paścimadharma, mo fa). This differentiation, which was particularly exploited by the Chinese authors, is well-known to the sūtras of the Mahāyāna, such as the Mahāyānābhisamayā (T 673, ch. 2, p. 651c 12-13): “The Tathāgata appears and descends from the Tuṣita heaven in order to support the whole of the saddharma, the whole of the pratirūpaka and the whole of the paścima”.

With regard to this threefold Dharma, these are the various dates of disappearance proposed by the sources:

Year 500. — The early canonical doctrine is contained in two texts which are often quoted:

a. Sace Ānanda nālabhissa mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajjam, ciraṭhitikāṃ Ānanda brahmācariyam abhavissa, vassasahassam saddhammo tiṭṭheya. Yato ca kho Ānanda mātugāmo tathāgatappa-
vedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajito, na dāni Ānanda brahma­ca­riyam ciraṭṭhitikam bhavissati, pañc' eva dāni Ānanda vassasadāni saddhammo thaihassati.

Which in substance means : If, Ānanda, women had not been admitted into the Order, this holy religion would have lasted for a long time, would have lasted for 1,000 years; but since they were admitted into it, this holy religion will not last long : the Saddharma will last for 500 years.

That is the calculation as represented by the vast majority of the canonical and post-canonical sources : sūtras, vinayās and lives of the Buddha : Madhyamāgama (T 26, ch. 28, p. 607b 9); Aṅguttara (IV, p. 278); Gautamiśūtra (T 60, p. 857c 29); Pāli Vin. (II, p. 256); Mahiśāsaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 29, p. 186a 14); Dharmaguptaka Vin. (T 1428, ch. 48, p. 923c 9); Chung pên ch'i ching (T 196, ch. 2, p. 159b 8). See also the Upadesa (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 68a 16).

The Mātrkā of the Haimavatas (T 1463, ch. 3, p. 818c 4) specifies that during that period, the Law, century to century, is dominated in turn by deliverance (vimokṣa), concentration (samādhi), observance of the precepts (śīladhara), erudition (bahuśruta) and, finally, giving (dāna).

b. However, it is accepted that, if the Saddharma perishes after 500 years, the Dharma does not entirely disappear, but that there will subsist a counterfeit of the Saddharma. That is what is meant by Pratirūpaka.


"The disappearance of the Good Law will not occur as long as a counterfeit of the Good Law has not appeared in the world. It is when the counterfeit of the Good Law appears in the world that the Good Law will disappear".

The same text explains that the counterfeit of the Good Law can be attributed to a lack of respect in the community towards the Master, the Dharma, the Saṅgha, mental practice and concentration.

Buddaghosa, in his Samyutta Commentary (II, p. 201), specifies that this counterfeit affects both the efficacy (adhigama) of the Good Law by vitiating insight and knowledge (vipaśyanañjāna) of the truths, and scriptural information (paryāpi) by proposing a series of texts as antitheses to the authentic compilation, for example, Dhātukathā, Ārammaṇakathā, Asubhakathā, Nāṇavatthukathā, Vijjākadambaka, Guṇhavi-
naya, Gulhavessantara, Vaṭṭasapiṭaka, Aṅgulimālapitaka, Raṭṭhapālagajjita, Alavakagajjita and Vetullapitaka.

Year 1,000. — By attributing to the Pratirūpaka the same duration as the Saddharma, the disappearance of the Good Law can be established in the year 1,000. That is no reason to compare this simple mathematical calculation with Western dreams of the millennium.

The Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 183, p. 918a) shows there is nothing mysterious about it. After having quoted the canonical text which attributes to the Saddharma a duration of 500 years, it asks the following question:

"However, if the Saddharma in fact lasts for more than 1,000 years, why did the Buddha speak of [500 years]? The Buddha spoke in this way with the hidden implication (sahāya) of the solidity of deliverance (vimokṣa) [ensured for the first 500 years]. Which means that, if he had not authorized women to take up the homeless life, the solidity of deliverance would have extended over 1,000 years. Now, during the next 500 years, there is only a solidity of the precepts (śīla), erudition (sruta), etc., but no longer a solidity of deliverance. All that is to be blamed upon having authorized women to take up the homeless life. — Other masters say: The Buddha speaks [of 500 years] while taking into account the non-observance of the eight strict rules (gurudharma) [by the nuns]. That means that, if he had authorized women to take up the homeless life without making them observe the eight gurudharma, then the duration of the Saddharma would have been reduced to 500 years. But now that the Buddha has imposed on them the practice of the eight gurudharma, the duration of the Saddharma reverts to 1,000 years".

The Kośa (VIII, p. 220) remarks more briefly:

"The Saddharma lasts for 1,000 years after the Nirvāṇa. It is explained that this figure refers to the adhigama [practice of the Good Law ensuring deliverance], but that the āgama [instructing of the Law] lasts for longer".

It is obviously on this basis that a great many sources attribute to the Law a duration of 1,000 years: Sūtra of the Narrative of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka (T 2026, p. 2a 16); Kāśyapasamgītisūtra (T 2027, p. 6a 7); Mūlasarv. Vin., (T 1451, ch. 39, p. 405a 7); Legend of Aśoka (T 99, ch. 25, p. 177b 23; T 2042, ch. 6, p. 126b 26). It is also the opinion of Nāgārjuna in his Madhyamakakāśāstra (T 1564, ch. 1, p. 1b 29) and his Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 88, p. 681b 6).

The Bhadrakalpikasūtra (T 425, ch. 3, p. 21a 25) and the Karmāvaranapratīśrabdhi (T 1493, p. 1094a 17) specify that the Saddharma and the Pratirūpaka each last for 500 years.

Finally, a short Mahāyānist Mahāparinirvāṇa (T 390, pp. 1112-3) strives to specify the predominant characteristic of each of the ten
centuries constituting the duration of the Law: 1. the noble doctrine (āryadharma), 2. tranquillity (samatha). 3. right conduct (samyakcarita), 4. renunciation (vairāgya), 5. the meaning of the Law (dharmaṁrtha), 6. the teaching of the Law (dharmaśeṣanā), 7. the search for gain and honours (lābhāsatkāra) 8. perverse quarrels (vivāda), 9. restlessness (auddhatya), 10. idle discoursing (prapañca).

Year 1,500. — Certain sources refuse to concede that the Saddharmā and Pratirūpaka have an identical duration.

a. The Saddharmā lasts for 1,000 years and the Pratirūpaka for 500, according to the Karunāpundarikasūtra, a text pertaining to the Mahāyāna (T 157, ch. 7, p. 211b 26-9; T 158, ch. 5, p. 270a 3-4).
b. The Saddharmā lasts for 500 years and the Pratirūpaka for 1,000, according to the Mahāsamnipātasyātra (T 397, ch. 56, p. 379c 5 and 9) and the Mahāmāyāśūtra (T 383, ch. 2, p. 1013b-c). The latter text makes a survey of the fifteen centuries of the Law’s duration, noting in its passage some famous scholar and some important event: in the first century, five patriarchs from Kāśyapa to Upagupta, and the reign of Aśoka: in the second, the bhikṣu Śīlānanda; in the third, the bhikṣus Maudgalyāyana and Puṣpanetra; in the fourth, Gomukha; in the fifth, Ratnadeva, but the Saddharmā comes to an end; in the sixth, the 96 kinds of heretics destroy the Law of the Buddha, but they are overwhelmed by Aśvaghoṣa; in the seventh, Nāgārjuna; in the eighth, the death in Kauśāṃbi of the last Arhat and the last Tripitaka master.

The Milindapañha (pp. 130-4) points out three ways in which the Law disappears: disappearance of the acquisition of the degrees of holiness (adhigama) which occurs 500 years after the Nirvāṇa, disappearance of the observance of the precepts (paṭipatti) and, finally, disappearance of the external signs (liṅga) of adherence to the doctrine. The date of the last two disappearances is not specified, but we may suppose that they are also spaced at an interval of 500 years, which would result in fixing the complete disappearance of the doctrine in 1,500.

Year 2,000. — According to Bu-ston (II, pp. 103, 178), the year 2,000 would be the date fixed by the Candragarbhasūtra for the destruction of the Law. This is also the opinion of Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.), but his pupil Chi tsang (549-623), from whom we have this information (T 1824, ch. 1, p. 18a 18), observes that it is rather a generally admitted date: “The Law of the Buddha was originally due to last for 2,000 years, but because he authorized women to take up the homeless life, the duration of the Saddharmā was reduced drastically by 500 years and in fact numbers only 1,500 years”.

Year 2,500. — A passage in the Mahāsamnipātasyātra (T 397, ch. 55,
p. 363a-b) maintains that the Good Law disappears after 5 periods of 5 centuries: in the first the bhikṣus and others will be strong in deliberation (i.e. will acquire satyāḥbhīsamaya); in the second, they will be strong in meditation (samādhī, dhyāna); in the third, in Scriptures (śrūta); in the fourth, in the foundation of monasteries; in the fifth, in quarrels and reproaches, and the white Law will become invisible.

In certain sūtras of the Mahāyāna such as the Vajracchedikā (ed. Conze, pp. 30-1) and the Saddharmapudenrāka, p. 282 (cf. T 262, ch. 5, p. 37c 29), we find the stereotyped formula: Tathāgatasya parinirvāṇasya paścime kāle samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ saddharmavipralopec vartamāne: “When the Tathāgata has entered complete Nirvāṇa, at the end of time in the final period, during the final period of 500 years, when the Good Law is in ruins”. The Tibetan commentary upon the Vajracchedikā (Mdo., XVI, fol. 234a) explains: “It is well known (prasiddha) that the teaching of the Bhagavat lasts 5 times 500 years; that is why the text explains: during the final period of 500 years, since it is then that the 5 kaśaya develop”.

Year 3,000. — Referring to the passage from the Mahāsaṃnipāta quoted above, Chi tsang (T 1824, ch. 1, p. 18a 23-6) introduces an interesting variant: “The Ta chi ching distinguishes between six successive predominances (sārata) [in the history of the Good Law]: 1. in the first period of 500 years, a predominance of the acquisition of holiness (adhīgama); 2. in the second, erudition (śrūta); 3. in the third, concentration (samādhi); 4. in the fourth, stupas and viharas; 5. in the fifth, quarrels (vivāda); 6. in the sixth, foolishness (moha): which makes 3,000 years in all”.

Year 5,000. — In Ceylon, in the fifth century A.D., Buddhaghosa and his school fixed the disappearance of the Law in the year 5,000. That is the figure adopted by the Pāli chronicles and commentaries such as the Mahāvamsa (III, 38), Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (I, p. 25), Atthasālinī (p. 27) and Samantapāsādikā (I, p. 30).

The Samantapāsādikā explains that during the first millennium Buddhists can have access to analytical knowledge of the truths (pratisamvid) which brings about Buddhahood and to the four fruits of the religious life, namely, in decreasing order of value, the state of Arhat, anāgāmin, sakāḍāgāmin and srotāpañna. During the second millennium, there is access only to the four fruits; in the third, to three; in the fourth, to two; finally, in the fifth, to the fruit of srotāpañna alone. However, the text of the Samanta. varies depending on whether it is the Pāli recension (VI, p. 1291) or the Chinese one (T 1462, ch. 18, p. 796c):
The text of the Vinaya speaks of a thousand years in relation to those who have destroyed the impurities thanks to analytical knowledge (paṭisambhidā). Then follows a thousand years in relation to those who have destroyed the impurities as being dry-visioned (sukhavipassaka). A further thousand years in relation to anāgāmin. Another thousand years in relation to sakādāgāmin. Finally, another thousand years in relation to sotāpanna. Hence, the Saddhamma as a comprehension of the truths (paṭivedha) will last for 5,000 years. It is the same for the Dharma as knowledge of the holy texts (pariyatti). Since without pariyatti there is no paṭivedha, but if there is pariyatti, paṭivedha necessarily exists. Nevertheless, even when pariyatti has disappeared, the external signs [of adherence to the doctrine] (linga) will continue for a long time more.

Another commentary Buddhaghosa, the Manorathapūrṇi (I, p. 87) describes the gradual impoverishment of the Doctrine in five successive millennia which in turn entails the disappearance of the degrees of holiness (adhigama), the observance of the precepts (paṭipatti), knowledge of the holy texts (pariyatti), religious signs (nimitta) and, finally, of the relics (dhātu).

Repeated over the ages by various Sinhalese works such as the Anāgatavamsa, Sārathasāṅgaha, Saddhamaratnākara, etc., in the fourteenth century this prophetic vision inspired King Lūt’ai of Siam to compose an inscription to commemorate the installation of a relic at Sukhodaya as well as the planting of a bodhi vṛkṣa sapling.

Year 11,500 or 12,000. — From the sixth century onwards, the majority of the Chinese annalists such as Hui ssū (515-577), Chi tsang (549-623), Huai kan (613-681) and Liang p’i (717-777) were of the opinion that the disappearance of the Law occurs in “Three Degrees” (san chieh): disappearance of the chêng fa (saddharmā), of the hsiang fa (pratirūpaka) and finally of the mo fa (paścimadharmā).

For Hui ssū (T 1933, p. 786c 4-6), the Saddharmā lasts for 500 years,

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the Pratirūpaka for 1,000, and the Paścima for 10,000: in all 11,500 years.

For Chi tsang (T 1824, ch. 1, p. 18b 2-5), Huai kan (T 1960, ch. 3, p. 48c 7-8) and Liang p'i (T 1709, ch. 7, p. 520c 10), who refer, among other documents, to an inscription engraved on a Jetavanavihāra in a foreign land, the Saddhārma lasts for 1,000 years, the Pratirūpaka for 1,000, and the Paścima for 10,000: 12,000 years in all.

2. Circumstances of the Disappearance

A persisting tradition maintains that the Good Law disappears at the end of time, following two orders of events, external and internal. A coalition of foreign kings will set India ablaze and cause bloodshed and will cruelly persecute the Buddhist religion: the monks will be massacred, monasteries destroyed and holy texts burnt. However, the king of Kauśāmbī will triumph over the foreign kings and will make his kingdom the last refuge for the Buddha's disciples. He will welcome numerous Buddhist monks to his court and offer them the greatest hospitality. However, residence in Kauśāmbī was never favourable to the destinies of the order. Already at the time of Śākyamuni, a schism had split the heart of the community, and the Buddha himself was unable to restore harmony. It will be the same at the end of time. Pampered by the pious laity, the monks will give themselves over to idleness and will no longer observe the rules of their order. Only a single Arhat will remain in their ranks, the last representative of the Good Law in the absolute sense (paramārtha-saddhārma), and a single Tripiṭaka master, the last representative of the Good Law in the conventional sense (samvṛti-saddhārma). Both will meet their death during a quarrel marking the celebration of a final uposatha ceremony. Thus the Good Law will disappear from the world and a new Buddha will have to be awaited to restart it. The prediction concerning the disappearance of the Law is narrated in numerous texts, but with notable variants. The most sober and best conceived version is found in the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 183, p. 918a 18-b 21):

"How will the Saddharma of the Tathāgata perish? When the Saddharma of the Tathāgata is on the point of perishing, three kings will appear in Jambudvīpa: one of them will be religious, the other two will not. The religious king will be born in the eastern region: majestic, virtuous, compassionate and humane, he will overcome the five Indias. The two irreligious kings will be born among foreign slaves (Ta hsü Mi li chê: Dasyumleccha): they will be stupid and will hate and despise the Law of the Buddha.

Having formed an alliance, the two kings will come from the west and,
pillaging as they go, will enter India and reach the eastern region. They will cause the greatest suffering to the faithful adherents of Buddhism. Everywhere they go, they will destroy stupas, ruin *samghārāma* and massacre the communities of bhikṣus. Neither scholar (*bahuśrutā*) nor regular practitioner (*śiladhara*) will escape them. They will burn the holy texts and nothing will remain of them.

Then the king of the eastern region, learning that the Dasyumleccha are ravaging India and have reached the eastern region, will raise an army and give battle to them. The troops of the good king, sometimes retreating and sometimes advancing, will finally capture the two bad kings. Both of them will be put to death.

Subsequently, the good king will send messengers to all the regions summoning all the Śākyaputriya śramaṇas: ‘I invite you all’, he will say, ‘to assemble in my kingdom; I will give you plenty of clothing, food, bedding, medicines and other commodities: you will lack nothing’. There upon all bhikṣus in Jambudvīpa will assemble in the kingdom of Kausāmbī; each day, the king will put at their disposal the manifold offerings (*nāṇāvidhāpūjā*) of the quinquennial assembly (*pañcavāraṇa*).

However, all those bhikṣus will have taken up the homeless life in order to acquire advantages and ensure their subsistence. They will lack diligence in reciting the holy texts and will not seek solitude in order to meditate and reflect. During the day, they will gather in order to discuss worldly matters (*lokadharma*), they will become excited and give confused cries; during the night, tired and lazy, they will prolong their sleep. They will be devoid of reasoning (*vitarka*) and reflection (*upanidhyāna*). Since they will all neglect the true teaching of the Buddha, they will no longer follow the practices.

At that time, in the whole of Jambudvīpa there will be only two [true] practitioners of the Law (*dharmaśārin*): the first will be an Arhat named *Su la to* (Surata); the second will be a Tripiṭaka master named *Shē shih chia* (*Śisyaka*) or again *Pan chu*: he will be the head of the Saṅgha.

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On that day, the Saddharma will be on the point of disappearing. At the start of that day, in the town of Kausāmbī, five hundred pious householders (*grhapatī*), led by the king, will simultaneously construct five hundred *samghāra*. As soon as they learn that the Law is about to disappear, they will raise their arms to the sky and cry: ‘The Buddha, at the time of his Nirvāṇa, confided the Law to two classes of disciples: 1. the laity (*grhastha*); 2. the religious (*pravrajita*). It cannot be said that the Law will perish today because we, lay disciples, have not been generous to the religious or that we have left them in need. It is only because you, monks, have not been of good conduct (*samyakca-rita*) that the Saddharma will perish’. Others will say: ‘In accordance with the rules of hospitality, from the beginning to the end, we have offered sustenance in abundance to the monks. Thus, from the appearance of the Saddharma until its disappearance, we have granted large amounts of necessities (*parīṣkāra*) and offerings (*pūjā*). Others will make the following remark: ‘As long as the Law of the Buddha has not disappeared, the world still contains countless fields of merit (*punyakṣetra*); but if it disappears, the world will contain only a limited number of fields of merit. Fortunately, for us the Law of the Buddha has not yet disappeared. Until then, we will do our duty all together’. Others will say: ‘When Śākyamuni was a Bodhisattva, he noticed that, under the Buddhas of the past, the Saddharma perished either through lack of provisions, or as a result of
famine. It was then that he expressed the following aspiration (pranidhāna): When I am a Buddha, I do not wish my Law to perish for such reasons. That is why, although the Law perishes today, supplies abound and establishments prosper.

That very night, as the uposatha is being celebrated in the monastery, many bhikṣus will be assembled. Then the karmadāna will invite the head of the assembly, the Tripiṭaka master Śisyaka, to recite the Prātimokṣa in public. The Tripiṭaka master will accept, but will want to recite it in brief. Immediately, the Arhat Surata will rise from his seat, throw his cloak over one shoulder and, prostrating himself before the Tripiṭaka master, with his hands joined, will say: ‘I would like the Elder (sīhavira) to recite the Tripiṭaka in full’. Śisyaka will answer: ‘If there is [a monk] in the assembly who is capable of observing all the precepts in the Prātimokṣa, let him invite me to recite it in full!’. The Arhat will respond: ‘I myself am capable of observing the fine details (prāntakoti) of the ruling (śikṣapada) observed by the bhikṣus when the Buddha was alive; if that is what you call being capable of observing [the Prātimokṣa] completely, then I beg you to recite [the Tripiṭaka] in full’.

While the Arhat is speaking in that way, the disciples of the Tripiṭaka master will become extremely angry. Reviling the Arhat, they will say: ‘Who is that bhikṣu who, in front of the assembly, contests our master and does not accept his teachings?’ After that, they will beat the Arhat Surata to death and from that time the Good Law in the absolute sense (paramārthasaddharma) will disappear.

However, the Devas, Nāgas and Yakṣas who revere that Arhat will become extremely angry and in their turn will kill the Tripiṭaka master Śisyaka. Others will say that it was the Arhat’s disciples who killed the Tripiṭaka master in revenge. According to others, the king, learning that the Arhat had been put to death without being blameworthy, retained his affection for him and killed the Tripiṭaka master in a fit of anger. From that time the Good Law in the conventional sense (samvrtisaddharma) will disappear. It is therefore at that moment that the twofold Saddharma of the paramārtha and the samvrti will vanish from the world.

After seven days and seven nights have passed, the sky and the earth will grow dark, but the world will still not know that the Saddharma has already disappeared. Why so? Because in the past the Buddha, when he was a Bodhisattva, liked to cover the faults of others and never revealed secrets kept by others. In return for which, the Law will have disappeared for seven days without anyone knowing so.

However, after seven days, the great earth will quake and a shower of meteors will burn all the regions and sub-regions. In the air, the drum of the gods will begin to beat, and its sound will be most awesome. The god Māra and his retinue will feel great joy. In the air, a great white veil will unfurl. A loud voice will be heard in the air: ‘As from today, the Saddharma of the Śākya, the great recluse, has disappeared’.

In the course of history, each time the Buddhist order felt itself to be threatened, this prophecy was re-edited and enriched by new details which tended to put it in harmony with contemporary events. Unfortunately, the Tibetan and Chinese translations have distorted the original proper names to such a degree that they are hardly recognizable.
1. The verse translation of the *Prediction to Kātyāyana* (T 2029, p. 11b 12), carried out under the Western Chin (265-316), records an invasion, not by two foreign kings, as in the *Vibhāṣā*, but by three:

"There were three bad kings: [he] of the *Ta ch'ìn* (Roman empire) located to the fore; he of *Po lo* (Pahlava) situated to the rear; he of the *An hsi* (Parthian Arsacid empire) sited in the middle. Because of them, the Saddharma will decline".

2. The prose translation of a sūtra of the same title (T. 2028, p. 8c 24), carried out under the Sung between 420 and 479, is scarcely more explicit:

"In future generations three *devaputra* will emerge and ravage the continent: The first, called *Yeh lai na* (Yavana?), lives far away, in the Madhyadeśa of the South. Another *devaputra* inhabits a fief in the northern region. Another *devaputra* is called *Ch'ien chiu*. When the Law of the Buddha is on the point of disappearing, those three *devaputra* will leave their fiefs, ravage the lands, kill the inhabitants and destroy stūpas and *saṃghārāma*".

3. The *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 6, p. 126c), the last chapters of which were only translated under the Chin at the beginning of the fifth century, devotes a chapter to the destruction of the Law:

"In times to come, three cruel kings will appear: the first named *Shih chin* (Śaka), the second named *Yen wu na* (Yavana), the third named *Po lo jao* (Pahlava). They will persecute the people, destroy the Law of the Buddha". The text adds that those three kings came respectively from the South, the North and the West and that each of them was at the head of a hundred thousand vassals.

This passage could be referring to the troubled history of the last two centuries B.C. : in approximately 189, the Yavanas of Demetrius set out to conquer Gandhāra, the Punjab and the Indus Valley; a few years later, between 180 and 169, the Greek armies, under the leadership of the generals Apollodotus and Menander, penetrated central India and reached Pāṭaliputra. In about the year 90, the invasion by the Śakas of Maues overthrew the last Greek kings of Taxila. Finally, at the beginning of the Christian era, the Pahlava Gondophares, who had become Suren of eastern Iran, overthrew the Śaka Azes II and fixed his capital in Taxila.

4. It is not three, but four foreign kings which are mentioned in a fragment of the legend of Aśoka incorporated into the *Samyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 25, p. 177c), translated into Chinese in 436 and 443:
"There will be the king Shih chia (Śaka), the king Yeh p'an na (Yavana), the king Po lo p'o (Pahlava) and the king Tou sha lo (Tuṣāra). They will rule respectively in the south, north, west and east".

The mention of a king Tuṣāra, incorrect for Tukhāra, constitutes a reference to later events: the conquest of North-West India by the Kuśāṇas Kujūla and Vima Kadphises (c. 50-60 A.D.), who were of Tukhārian or Yueh-chih origin.

5. The Candragarbhasātra belongs to those later chapters of the Mahāsammipāta which were translated by Narendrayaśas between 558 and 593. In both the Chinese version (T 397, ch. 56, p. 377b) and the Tibetan one (Kanjur, Mdo XXXII, pp. 216b 6-220b 4), reference is made to three foreign kings whose coming precedes the disappearance of the Good Law.

The Chinese text presents a king of the south Po lo ti, a king of the west Po ssū (Pārasika or Persia) and a king of the north Shan i Shih chia (the Śaka "Good Thought"). The Tibetan version speaks of three kings who were of neither Indian nor Chinese origin: Yavana, Pahlīka and Šakuna.

It might be wondered whether Šakuna is a combination of Šaka and Hūna. If this hypothesis is correct, the old prophecy would have been intentionally rejuvenated in order to indicate the famous raid carried out in 455 A.D. by the Hunnish hordes against the Indian empire of Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.).

However it may be, the brief summary of the sources which has just been made reveals the influence exerted on the historical perspectives of the Buddhists by the ancient prophecy concerning the disappearance of the Good Law.

4. The succession of Masters

We saw earlier the conditions and spirit in which the Buddha left his disciples, without a master or hierarchy, each one of them having to be his own light and his own refuge. The Buddha himself withdrew behind the Law which he discovered and propounded, and it was that Law alone which he left as a heritage for his devotees. Nevertheless, at the moment of his ordination, a novice becomes the co-resident (sārdhavihā-rin) of his preceptor (upādhyāya) and the companion (antevāsin) of his teacher (ācārya); he should consider the former as his father and the latter as his mother in religion. Indeed, without them he would have no access to the doctrine and the discipline. "The word of the Buddha", it
is said, "is what reaches us traditionally as the word of the Buddha, through the succession of masters and pupils, that is to say what is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya and does not contradict the Dharmatā, or nature of things?". The role of the seniors is to teach and guide the juniors, and to initiate them into the various disciplines of the Buddhist Doctrine, whether Sūtra, Vinaya, Mātrkā or Abhidharma. In no way claiming any infallibility, the Elders performed this task conscientiously, and their pupils retained a grateful memory of them.

We have little information about the succession of Masters in the early times. Each school, each sect had its own, but did not draw up a list of them until a relatively late date. The Sinhalese tradition, which was standardized in the fourth or fifth century, has transmitted to us a list of Vinaya Chiefs (vinayapāmokkha) and Abhidharma Masters (abhidhammācariya) who, according to it, succeeded one another from the time of the Buddha's decease until the Asoka's reign. No reference is made to the Masters of the Law (dharmācārya) who supposedly monopolized the Buddhist doctrine as a whole. However, a list of five Dharmācāryas was compiled on the mainland by the Sarvāstivādins and Mulasarvāstivādins of the North-West, around the second century A.D. It was widely diffused, particularly in Kashmir and China, without, however, being accepted by all the mainland sects, and it was never recognized in Ceylon. The lack of uniformity which characterizes the Buddhist tradition in relation to the succession of Masters shows that the Samgha taken as a whole — the Community of the Four Regions — was without a universal, unanimously accepted leader, but that the various limited samghas scattered throughout India were never deprived of spiritual heads who exercised authority over larger or smaller groups of devotees.

**The Vinaya Chiefs.** — The Parivāra (Vinaya, V, pp. 2-3), the Dīpavamsa (IV, 27-46; V, 89-96), the Mahāvamsa (V, 95-153) and the Samantapāsādikī (pp. 32-3; T 1462, ch. 1, p. 677b) drew up a list of the first six Vinayapāmokkhas with precise indications of their date of birth, the year of their ordination and the length of time they were in authority. It should be remembered that these sources follow the long chronology which counts 218 years between the decease of the Buddha and the consecration of Asoka.

1. Upāli, a barber and native of Kapilavastu, took up the religious life at the same time as the great Śākya princes and was ordained by the

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74 Pañjikā, p. 431 : Yad guruśisyaparamparayāmnāyāyātām buddhavacanatvena yac ca sūtre 'vataratī vinaye samādhyate dharmatāṁ ca na vilomayati tad buddhavacanam nānyat.
Buddha in the year 44 before the Nirvāṇa (530 B.C.); he specialized in the study of the discipline and won the foremost place among the Vinayadharas. It was in that capacity that Kāśyapa entrusted him with compiling the Basket of the Discipline at the council of Rājagṛha. He was Vinaya chief for thirty years, from the year one to the year 30 after the Nirvāṇa (486-456 B.C.), and was in authority during the reigns of Ajātassatru and Udayabhadda.

2. Dāsaka was born in the year 4 after the Nirvāṇa (482 B.C.) into a brahmin family of Vaiśāli. He met Upāli in the Vālikārāma and was ordained by him in the year 16 after the Nirvāṇa (470 B.C.). He succeeded Upāli on the latter's death and was Vinaya Chief for 50 years, from the year 30 to 80 after the Nirvāṇa (456-406 B.C.), in the reigns of Udayabhadda, Anuruddha and Mūnda, Nāgadasaka and Susunāga.

3. Soṇaka was the son of a caravaneer from Kāsi (Vārānasī). He was born in 45 after the Nirvāṇa (441 B.C.) and, having made the acquaintance of Dāsaka at the Veṇuvana in Rājagṛha, he was converted and entered the Order, at the age of fifteen, in 60 after the Nirvāṇa (426 B.C.). He became an Arhat and was in charge of a thousand bhikṣus. He succeeded Dāsaka as Vinaya Chief and remained in authority for 44 years, from 80 to 124 after the Nirvāṇa (406-362 B.C.), during the reigns of Susunāga, Kālāsoka and his ten sons. He can perhaps be identified with Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin (in the Sanskrit sources, Sāṇavāsa, Sāṇavāsika, Soṇavāsin) who played a part in the council of Vaiśāli in the year 10 of the reign of Kālāsoka (Vin., II, pp. 298, 303).

4. Siggava, the son of a minister from Pātaliputra, was born in 82 after the Nirvāṇa (404 B.C.). Accompanied by his friend Cāndavajji, he paid a visit to Soṇaka at the Kukkuṭārāma and entered the order with five hundred companions in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa (386 B.C.). He was Vinaya chief for 52 years, from 124 to 176 after the Nirvāṇa (362-310 B.C.), in the reigns of the Ten Sons of Kālāsoka, the Nine Nandas and Candagutta.

5. Moggaliputtatissa was the son of the brahmin Moggali from Pātaliputra. In his youth, he studied the Vedas, but was soon converted to Buddhism under the influence of Siggava and Cāndavajji. He received his ordination in the year 164 after the Nirvāṇa (322 B.C.), studied the Tripitakas and attained Arhatship. On the death of Siggava, he became Vinaya Chief and remained in authority, with some interruptions, for 68 years, from 176 to 244 after the Nirvāṇa (310-242 B.C.). He had great influence upon the emperor Aśoka, whose son Mahinda he ordained in 224 after the Nirvāṇa (262 B.C.). As abbot of the Aśokārāma in Pātaliputra, he was unable to prevent the heretics from rushing into his
monastery in full force and, faced with the troubles which the intruders instigated, resigned his duties in 228 after the Nirvāṇa (258 B.C.) after having entrusted the direction of the monastery to Mahinda. Moggaliputtatissa withdrew to the retreat on the Ahogāṅgapabbata near Mathurā and remained encloistered there for seven years, from 229 to 236 after the Nirvāṇa (257-250 B.C.). Recalled by Aśoka, he convened and presided over the third Buddhist council, that of Pāṭaliputra. During the sessions which were held in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), Moggaliputtatissa enabled the Vibhajjavādin point of view to triumph, composed a *Kathāvatthupakarana* then sent Buddhist missionaries to every region of India and to Ceylon. As for himself, he again took up his duties as Vinaya chief, which he carried out in Pāṭaliputra until his death in the year 244 after the Nirvāṇa (242 B.C.).

Moggaliputtatissa is known to the Sanskrit sources by the name of Upagupta, but the biographical information supplied by these sources diverges considerably from the Sinhalese tradition. Moggaliputtatissa is possibly also the Mu lien (Maudgalyāyana) whose Vibhajjavādin theories concerning the problem of time are refuted by the *Viṃśānākāya* of the Sarvāstivādins (T 1539. ch. 1, p. 531a 25).

6. Mahinda, the son of Aśoka and Vedisa-Mahādevi, was born in Avanti in the year 204 after the Nirvāṇa (282 B.C.), when his father was acting as viceroy. He took up the religious life at the age of twenty and, in 224 after the Nirvāṇa (262 B.C.), was ordained at the hands of Moggaliputtatissa, Mahādeva and Majjhantika. He resided at the Aśokākāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra until the council in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.). Then on the orders of Moggaliputtatissa and after a brief stay at the monasteries of Ujjainī and Vidiṣā in Avanti, he went to Ceylon with some companions. He was quick to convert the island to the Buddhist religion and performed the duties of Vinaya chief there for 48 years, from 236 to 284 after the Nirvāṇa (250-202 B.C.). He lived in the reigns of Devanampiyatissa and Uttiya, died at the age of 80 and was cremated at the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura.

Mahinda, Mahendra in Sanskrit, is practically unknown to the Sanskrit sources. Apart from the Chinese version of the *Samantapāśādikā*, he is scarcely mentioned except in the *Fēn pieh kung tē lun* (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37b) which makes him a disciple of Ānanda. For Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912a; ch. 10, p. 932a), he was a brother and not a son of Aśoka.

**The Abhidhamma Masters.** In the *Atthasaṅgrahī* (p. 32), Buddhaghosa enumerated the masters who transmitted the Abhidhamma from the
beginning until the conversion of Ceylon: on the mainland first: Sāriputta, Bhaddaji, Sobhita, Piyaṇāli, Piyaṇāla, Piyaṇāssin, Kosiyaputta, Sīgava, Sandeha, Moggaliputta, Visudatta, Dhammiya, Dāsaka, Soṇaka and Revata; then in Ceylon, Mahinda, Iṭṭhīya, Utiya, Bhaddanāma and Sambala. It will be noted that the names printed in italics already appeared on the list of Vinayapāmokkhas enumerated above; as for the others, with the exception of Bhaddaji and the companions of Mahinda, they are totally unknown to ecclesiastical history. Unnaturally overloaded in comparison with the previous one, this list seems to have no historical value.

The Masters of the Law. — A Sanskrit chronicle which describes the Buddha's journey to North-West India and Mathurā, his decease and funeral, the first council and the Nirvāṇa of the first five masters of the Law, is reproduced in full in the Aśokavadāna (T 2042, ch. 2-3, pp. 111b 28-121b 1; T 2043, ch. 6-9, pp. 149b 162c 10) and in extracts in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 348, 1.27-364, 1.10), the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Bhaisjyavastu (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, part 1, pp. xvii, 3-7; T 1448, ch. 9, pp. 41c 18-42b 26) and Kṣudrakavastu (T 1451, ch. 40, pp. 408c-411b 18), Samyuktāgama (T 99, ch. 25, p. 177b 12-19) and the Fên pieh kung tê lun (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37b 16-27) 75. This chronicle is not very old, for it generally begins with an account of the Buddha's journey to the North-West, an account which contains a prophecy concerning the stūpa of Kaśiska in Puruṣapura. Here, in a few words, is a summary of this chronicle:

Having arrived in Mathurā, after his peregrination in the North-West, the Buddha predicts the birth of Upagupta and the construction of the Naṭabhāṣa monastery on Mount Uruṃuda. He then goes to Kaśmīr and announces its future conversion through the activity of the missionary Madhyāntika. Stage by stage, the Buddha reaches Kuśinagara. It is there that he enters Nirvāṇa after having entrusted the Law to Kāśyapa, Śakra and, finally, the four Devarājas. Then follows an account of the Buddha's funeral and the first Buddhist council.

Once this is concluded, Kāśyapa, noting that he has fulfilled his mission, decides to enter Nirvāṇa. He transmits the Law to Ānanda and advises him to bequeath it later to a young man who has just been born in Rājakṛṣṇa, garbed in hemp, and whose name is Śāṇavāsa. Having paid his final respects to the holy places, Kāśyapa, accompanied by Ānanda, enters Rājakṛṣṇa, sends his companion away and goes to Ajātaśatru's

75 A French translation of most of these sources appears in J. Przyluski, Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, JA, 1914, pp. 493-568.
palace to warn the king of his forthcoming Nirvāṇa. However, since the king is sleeping, he does not wish to wake him, he climbs alone to the summit of Mount Kukkuṭapāda where he sits down cross-legged. He makes the wish that his body, robed in the pāmsūkula of the Blessed One, may remain intact until the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya to whom Kāśyapa has to hand over the robe of his predecessor Śākyamuni. Then Kāśyapa enters Nirvāṇa or, according to a variant, nirodhasamāpatti; the earth quakes, Śakra places flowers on the great disciple's body and the mountain closes over him. Ajātaśatru, who has finally awakened, joins Ānanda in the Venuvana and goes with him to Mount Kukkuṭapāda. The mountain partly opens and Kāśyapa's skeleton appears before them. The king would have liked to cremate it, but Ānanda informs him that Kāśyapa's body must remain intact until the coming of Maitreya. The mountain closes up again and Ajātaśatru and Ānanda go away. The king makes Ānanda promise to attend his Nirvāṇa.

Young Śāṇavāsa returns safe and sound, enriched by a long sea voyage. He celebrates a pañcavarṣa for the benefit of the Community. Ānanda causes him to enter the order, and the new devotee makes a vow to wear the hempen robe in which he was born until his death. He learns the Law in its entirety and attains Arhatship. Meanwhile, a dispute breaks out between Ānanda and a bhikṣu from the Venuvana who insisted on reciting a Buddhist stanza inaccurately (cf. Dhammadāpada, No. 113; Udānavarga, XXIV, 6). Ānanda's remonstrances are insolently repulsed and the noble disciple, on being treated as a decrepit old man, decides that the time has come to enter Nirvāṇa. He entrusts the Law to Śāṇavāsa and orders him, with the assistance of the dānapati Naṭa and Bhaṭa, to erect a stūpa and a monastery on Mount Uruμuṭa in the land of Mathurā. He also announces the forthcoming birth in Mathurā of a certain Upagupta who is destined to work like a Buddha. Ānanda has Ajātaśatru warned of his forthcoming death. In order to prevent the king of Magadha and the inhabitants of Vaiśālī from disputing over his relics, he decides to enter Nirvāṇa in the middle of the Ganges, at an equal distance between Vaiśālī and Rājagrha. In a boat, he goes out to mid-stream, while the Magadhans and Vaiśālians, in order to assert their rights, station troops on both banks. Forewarned by an earthquake, five hundred Rṣis led by Madhyāntika arrive from the Snowy Mountains and gather round Ānanda on a golden isle which has miraculously emerged in the middle of the Ganges. At their request Ānanda confers ordination on them and they immediately attain Arhatship. Ānanda transmits the Law to their leader Madhyāntika and
entrusts him with the mission of establishing the Law in the kingdom of Kaśmīr. According to the *Fēn pieh kung té lun* (T 1507, ch. 2, p. 37b), he also sends the disciple *Mo shan ti* (Mahinda) to Simhaldvīpa (Ceylon) in order to make conversions there. Once these arrangements are settled, Ānanda manifests the eighteen transformations and enters the concentration of the Speed-of-the Wind; he divides his body into four (variant, two) parts which he allots respectively to Śakra Devendra, the dragon-king Sāgara, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha and the Licchavis of Vaiśāli. Stūpas are immediately erected over his remains.

Madhyāntika, accompanied by his five hundred Arhats, goes to Kaśmīr where his arrival provokes the anger of a great dragon-king. A contest of magic takes place between the two adversaries. The dragon, who is vanquished, takes the three refuges and presents Kaśmīr to the Buddhist community on condition that five hundred Arhats live there forever. Madhyāntika then undertakes to colonize Kaśmīr, founds towns and villages there and introduces the cultivation of saffron (*kurikuma*) with seeds from Mount Gandhamādana. Once this work is done, he manifests the eighteen transformations and enters Nirvāṇa. His body is cremated with sandalwood (*candana*) and a stūpa is erected over his remains.

For his part, Śāṇavāsa, in accordance with Ānanda’s orders, makes his way towards the land of Mathurā. Half-way there, at the monastery of P’i-to, he corrects the views of two Mahallaka monks and explains to them why he has the name of Śāṇavāsa “Hempen-clothed” : during a previous existence, he had presented a garment to a Pratyekabuddha who was dressed in hemp and wished to be clothed like him when he became a monk. Having reached the land of Mathurā, Śāṇavāsa comes into conflict with two dragons but easily quells them and, as the price of his victory, acquires Mount Urumuṇḍa. Two young men from Mathurā, Naṭa and Bhaṭa, provide the money necessary to build a monastery, the Naṭabhāṭiya, on it, where monks can devote themselves at leisure to dhyāna. In Mathurā, Śāṇavāsa brings about the conversion of the householder Gupta, and obtains from him a promise that one of his sons would take up the religious life. However, Gupta keeps his two eldest, Āsvagupta and Dhanagupta, with him to help in his business; it is the third, Upagupta, who is to take up the homeless life. But he begins as a perfume-merchant. Śāṇavāsa teaches him to purify his thoughts, by noting the bad ones with black pebbles and the good ones with white pebbles. This mental asceticism enables Upagupta to resist the advances of the lovely courtesan Vāsavadattā and even to convert her when misfortune befalls her.
Upagupta finally obtains permission from his father to enter the religious life. He is ordained by Śāṇavāsa at the Naṭabhaṭa monastery, attains Arhatship and, as foretold, undertakes to work like a Buddha. He propounds to the crowds in Mathurā and teaches them summaries intended for the laity: the anupūrvikathā and dhammadesanā. However, Māra disturbs his audience with a shower of precious objects and the appearance of heavenly maidens. In order to punish the Malign One, Upagupta ties corpses of snakes, dogs and men round his neck. Māra is unable to detach them and has to apologize. He confesses his past faults and commits himself never to molest the bhikṣus again. Upagupta agrees to free the demon from his troublesome burden, but in return asks him to show him the body of the Buddha to which Māra agrees on condition that Upagupta does not prostrate himself before the apparition. He then shows the Buddha's body with his wonderful marks and Upagupta, forgetful of his promise, throws himself at his feet. When Māra reproaches him for this, he explains that he prostrated himself, not before Māra, but before the Buddha whose form the demon had taken. Once the incident is over, Upagupta returns to his teaching and Māra himself invites the Mathurans to go and hear him; hundreds of thousands of conversions are made, and eighteen thousand young men take up the religious life and attain Arhatship: they are each counted by throwing a slip of wood (śālākā) into one of the monastery cells.

Delighted at his disciple's success, Śāṇavāsa leaves the kingdom of Mathurā and goes to Kaśmīr, there to practise dhyāna in peace. Remaining where he was, Upagupta feeds two young tigers whose mother has just died. The two cubs will be reborn into the family of a brāhmin in Mathurā, take up the religious life and become two famous disciples of Upagupta, both endowed with supernormal powers. However, in southern India, a young man who was an adulterer and matricide has taken up the religious life because he was unable to obtain his lover's hand. He studies the Tripitaka and instructs a great many pupils. Proud of his success, he comes to visit Upagupta, but the Master of the Law, who knows of his past, refuses to speak to him. Upagupta's disciples reproach their master for what they believe to be impoliteness, and Upagupta would have liked to enlighten them by appealing to his upādhyāya Śāṇavāsa. The latter, guessing his thoughts, arrives from Kaśmīr and sits authoritatively on the throne reserved for Upagupta, to the indignation of the disciples. However, Śāṇavāsa is able to prove to them that he possesses infinitely more samādhi and knowledge than Upagupta. The monks feel great respect for Śāṇavāsa, listen to his discourses and attain Arhatship. Śāṇavāsa then transmits the Law to
Upagupta, advising him to entrust it in turn to a young Mathuran, Dhitika. The old master then rises into space, performs the eighteen transformations and enters Nirvāṇa. Upagupta erects a stūpa over his remains. As a trustee of the Law, he will later become the spiritual adviser of Asoka, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The legend of the five Masters of the Law which we have just summarized has no counterpart in the Sinhalese tradition; the latter is completely unaware of Kāśyapa’s Nirvāṇa and situates that of Ānanda on the river Rohinī (Dhammapada Comm., II, pp. 99-100); it makes Madhyāntika (Pāli, Majjhantika), the apostle of Kaśmir, not the disciple of Ānanda, but a contemporary of Asoka and associate of Moggaliputta-tissas; its Vinaya-pāmokkha Sōnaka has nothing in common with Śānavāsa; the portrait it draws of Moggaliputta has only a faint resemblance to that of Upagupta; finally, its Mahinda is not the disciple of Ānanda, but the son of Asoka and disciple of Moggaliputta. We can but conclude from the silence of the Pāli sources that the legend of the five Masters was not part of the original early tradition, but was elaborated after the conversion of Ceylon.

On the other hand, it was firmly established on the Indian mainland, as is proved by texts and monuments.

It is a well-known fact that Kāśyapa, clothed in the Buddha’s robe and hidden, either in Nirvāṇa or in nirodhasamāpatti, in the depths of Mount Kukkuṭapāda, is awaiting the coming of Maitreya in order to hand over to him the robe with which he was entrusted. Besides the texts which have been cited above, we may also mention the Ekottarāgama (T 125, ch. 44, p. 789a), Mahāmāyāśītra (T 383, ch. 2, p. 1013b), Maitreyavyākaraṇa in its various recensions (T 453, p. 422b; T 454, p. 425c; T 1456, p. 433b); Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 20, p. 99b; ch. 135, p. 698b), Kośa (VII, p. 120) and Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 3, pp. 78b-79b). Also in the fifth and seventh centuries, the Chinese pilgrims Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 863c) and Hsūan tsang (T 2087, ch. 9, p. 919b-c) obtained and recorded the legend when they visited Mount Gurupāda or Kukkuṭapāda, modern Kurkihār, twenty miles to the north-east of Bodh-Gayā.

The Nirvāṇa of Ānanda in the middle of the Ganges is also attested by the same pilgrims Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 862a) and Hsūan tsang (T 2087, ch. 7, p. 909c; ch. 9, p. 922b), who visited the stūpas built by King Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis of Vaiśāli over their respective part of Ānanda’s bodily relics.

The colossal statue of Maitreya which stood on the slopes of the Darej was admired by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 858a) and Hsūan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 884b) and attributed by the latter to the Arhat Madhyān-
tika who is thought to have gone three times to the Tuṣita heaven to contemplate the features of his holy model. With regard to the conversion of Kaśmīr, Hsüan tsang records a twofold tradition. The first, which agrees with the Sanskrit chronicle incorporated into the Divyāvadāna, Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and Aṣokavadāna, attributes the conversion of the kingdom to the Arhat Madhyāntika who was said to have occupied the region with his five hundred disciples in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886a 19-b 10). The second, which merely reproduces a slight variation of the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 99, pp. 510c-512c), claims that Kaśmīr was converted in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa by five hundred orthodox Arhats, adversaries of the heretic Mahādeva and who had been forced to flee from Magadha by the declared hostility of Aśoka (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886b 11-23). This second tradition is also adopted by Paramārtha in his commentary upon the Treatise of Vasumitra (cf. Demiéville, Sectes, p. 37); it is quite close to the Sinhalese chronicle (Dīpavāmsa, VIII, 4; Mahāvamsa, XII, 3; Samanta, p. 66) according to which Kaśmīra-Gandhāra was won over by Majjhantika immediately after the council of Pātaliputra in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.) under Aśoka the Great. In any case, and for reasons which will be explained further on, the conversion of Kaśmīr could not date back further than the time of Aśoka the Maurya.

Śaṇavāsa, Ānanda’s disciple, is already well-known to the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 16, p. 79b 11; T 1546, ch. 10, p. 65a 8) which records that after his Nirvāṇa a large number of Avadānas, Sūtras and Abhidharmas disappeared; but, curiously enough, it makes him the upādhyāya of a certain Jivaka, unlike the rest of the tradition which gives him as the teacher of Upagupta. In a monastery two or three li distant from Bāmyān, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 1, p. 873b-c) also saw the hempen robe of Śaṇavāsa: its abnormal dimensions diminished from year to year and it is supposed to vanish with the disappearance of the Good Law.

As for the history of Upagupta such as it has been narrated above, it is again found in a series of works from both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, the oldest of which cannot go further back than the second century A.D. The Hsien yü ching (T 202, ch. 13, pp. 442b-443c) and the Chinese compilation of the Fu fa tsang yin yüan chuan (T 2058, ch. 3, p. 304c sq.) reproduce it in full, the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (T 201, ch. 9, pp. 307c-309b) and the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 135, pp. 697c-698a) relate the contentions between the Master of the Law and Māra; the Mahākarunāpūṇḍarīka (T 380, ch. 2, p. 954a 28) praises the apostolic work carried out by Upagupta and his disciples on Mount Urumunḍa; the Upadesa
(T 1509, ch. 10, p. 129b-c) retains the memory of an unrecorded episode: the lesson in politeness given to Upagupta by a 120-year-old bhikṣunī who had known the Buddha in her youth. The *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 202-4 (cf. T 200, ch. 10, p. 256b) records the ordination of the young Sundara by Upagupta. Finally, the memory of the master was still alive in the region of Mathurā and in the Sindh when Hsüan Tsang visited those areas at the beginning of the seventh century (T 1087, ch. 4, p. 890b-c; ch. 11, p. 937b).

The memory of the five Masters of the Law was so vivid on the mainland that they were placed at the top of the list of patriarchs when the enumeration of the latter was undertaken. We will return later to these Sarvāstivādin lists (T 202, ch. 13, p. 442b; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 152c; T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411b-c), but also to those of the Mahāsaṃghikas (T 1465, p. 900a), semi-Mahāyānists (T 618, p. 301a) and Chinese (T 2145, ch. 9, p. 66c). Nevertheless, these masters do not appear at all in the list of 27 masters compiled in the *Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya* (T 1425, ch. 32, p. 493a).
CHAPTER THREE

THE MAURYAN PERIOD

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD*. — The Indian empire reached its zenith during the dynasty of the Mauryas which remained in power for 137 years (324-187 B.C.). The military exploits of Candragupta (324-300) averted the Seleucid threat in the west and achieved the unity of the empire; the political genius of the minister Cāṇakya established order and cohesion within its frontiers.

The great figure of Candragupta is eclipsed by that of his grandson Aśoka (272-236), the most notable personality in Indian history. After the bloody conquest of Kaliriga, he was converted to Buddhism and undertook to raise the spiritual and moral level of his subjects by endowing them with a Dharma which appears as the model of an administration based on tolerance and shrewd understanding. The Aśokan Dharma, propagated by the emperor in person, by governors of provinces, itinerant officials and ambassadors abroad, was published in the form of edicts distributed throughout the empire. It should not be confused with the Good Law expounded by Śākyamuni, for it merely defines the principles of natural morality, already established by the Buddha for the use of lay adherents; it falls short of the fundamental theorems of the profound doctrine discovered by the Master and instilled by him in the religious.

The Buddhist legend has somewhat distorted the true countenance of Aśoka, as we see it in his edicts. It tried to take over the emperor, presenting him as the model upāsaka, the official defender of the Good Law, the great patron of the community. It is true, in fact, that the royal favours exerted a decisive influence on the erection of Buddhist monuments, the founding of monasteries, the recruiting of members of the Order and the expansion of the Good Law throughout the whole of India. Royal officials entrusted with propagating the Aśokan Dharma paved the way for Buddhist missionaries who profited from the favourable circumstances to intensify their activity.

Beyond the Hindūkush, Bactria remained outside the great movement of Indian civilization. After having been drawn for some time into the orbit of the lieutenants of Alexander and the Seleucids (325-250), she was able to take advantage of the Parthian revolt to declare herself as
independent. Diodotus I and II (250-225), by means of a skilful interplay of intrigues, firmly established their power. Their successor, Euthydemus of Magnesia (225-190), having successfully resisted the ventures of Antiochus III the Great, made Bactria a powerful state which soon became a threat to the Indian empire.

On the other hand, in Ceylon the kings Devanaṃpiyatissa (250-210) and Uttiya (210-200) submitted unreservedly to the demands and desires of the Mauryas. They welcomed Aśoka's messengers, exchanged embassies with the court at Pātaliputra and gave the Buddhist missionaries an enthusiastic reception. It is doubtless somewhat of an exaggeration to claim that the conversion of the island took only a week, but it is certain that Ceylon very quickly became one of the strongholds of Buddhism.

The successes achieved in the Mauryan period by the Buddha's religion did not fail to provoke serious difficulties within the order. The Sinhalese chronicle refers to a third Buddhist council convened in the year 250 at Pātaliputra in order to expel from the Saṃgha a crowd of heretics who had entered it surreptitiously. The Sanskrit and Chinese sources mention the untoward action of a certain Mahādeva whose heretical proposals set the Buddhist communities against each other. Both the northern and southern sources know of the existence of a schism which decided a large number of monks to separate from the main body of the Elders (sthavira) in order to form a sect of the dissenting majority (mahāsāṃghika)*.

Through the fluctuations and inconsistencies of the tradition, one can get a glimpse of the difficulties which the Buddhist Saṃgha came up against in the first two centuries of its existence. From the time of the Buddha's decease, a closed group of Arhats inspired by Mahākāśyapa undertook to recite jointly the Word of the Buddha and to codify the discipline of the order. They set themselves up as authorized guardians of the teaching, as upholders of strict observance and, as Arhats, claimed a certain amount of spiritual privileges.

This initiative did not receive universal approval. Some monks preferred to keep the teaching just as they themselves had heard it from the lips of the Buddha, even if it meant completing it with works of their own composition. Others would have liked a less strict discipline, with the minor precepts being abolished. Yet others, who had still not attained holiness, considered that the privileges claimed by the Arhats were exaggerated; they were supported by the laity who were regarded as subordinate members of the community, but who intended to bridge the gap which separated the upāsaka from the monk.

The discontent smouldered for quite a long period. It burst into
flames when a heretic put forward five proposals which were directly prejudicial to the honour of the Arhats. He was supported by several of the religious communities. When these proposals were condemned, a schism occurred. The objectors, who were the greater number, separated from the main body of the Elders (*sthavira*) and formed a dissident branch of the majority (*mahāsāṅghika*). The schism, which had been long in preparation, reached its culmination in the reign of Asoka, possibly even a few years earlier, since it is doubtful whether the king had played an active part in that event.

The major event of the Mauryan period was the spreading of the Buddha’s religion throughout the whole of India. The Sinhalese chronicle narrates those conversions and ordinations which constitute the *digvijaya* of the Good Law. Archaeological discoveries and cross-references to the northern sources often guarantee the accuracy of the details it supplies. However, the chronicle distorts the facts by ascribing the general conversion of India to the action of a handful of missionaries sent out by Moggaliputtatissa, and by giving that memorable event a precise date: 250 B.C. The northern sources provide a more accurate idea of the Buddhist propaganda. It was inaugurated by the Buddha and his immediate disciples and continued with varying success during the first two centuries of the Nirvāṇa, reaching its culminating point in the Mauryan period. Even though Magadha remained the main axis of the movement, the action of the secondary centres, Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī and Mathurā, should not be underestimated. While not ignoring the role played by private initiative in the propagation of the faith, emphasis should be given to the intrinsic power of expansion of the Good Law a power which, in order to show itself, only needed favourable political circumstances. These were best achieved in the reign of the great Asoka. From then on, the Good Law gained ground rapidly, and step by step Śākyamuni’s messages reached all the regions of India and Ceylon.

Archaeological discoveries enable us to follow the steps of this progress. Undoubtedly the state of the ruins does not always allow of a decision as to whether a monument does indeed date back to the ancient era or whether it belongs to a later period. However, the Chinese pilgrims and particularly, Hsüan tsang who visited India at the beginning of the seventh century, have enumerated what they called “Asokan stūpas” — funerary and commemorative monuments of an archaic type with hemispherical domes — which go back to the period of the Mauryas, or at least the Śuṅgas, and mark the trail of the triumphant progress of the Good Law.
I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

I. — THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

1st — The succession of kings

According to the *Purāṇa* (P., p. 30), the dynasty of the Mauryas lasted for 137 years, that is, if we abide by the chronological system adopted here, from 324 to 187 B.C. In order to establish the dates of the various reigns, we have at our disposal data supplied by the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 27-30) and the Sinhalese chronicles (*Dpv.*, V, 100-1; *Mhv.*, V, 16-22; XX, 1-6; *Sp.*, p. 41). It should be noted that the latter date the events, not in completed years, as has sometimes been claimed, but from the year of inception: this is what appears from a passage in the *Mahāvamsa* (XX, 1-6) which assigns an interval of 37 years to events which occurred in the years $18 + 12 + 4 + 3 + 4$, which would make a total of 41, and not of 37 ($17 + 11 + 3 + 2 + 4$), if they were counted in completed years.

The chronicles locate the assumption of power by Aśoka in 214 after the Nirvāṇa (272 B.C.), his consecration in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (268 B.C.) and, after that event, attribute to him a further 37 years of existence, i.e. from 218 to 255 after the Nirvāṇa (268-231 B.C.). The *Purāṇas* merely say that he ruled for 36 years; therefore if he assumed power in 272 B.C., from 272 to 236 B.C.

The Buddhist and Purānic traditions are not irreconcilable, since the northern Buddhists claim that, towards the end of his life, Aśoka sank into his second childhood and fell under the guardianship of his grandson Sampadin; his actual reign, therefore, may well have ended some years before his death. As a working hypothesis, we posit here that Aśoka assumed power in 214 after the Nirvāṇa (272 B.C.), was consecrated in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (268 B.C.), ruled effectively from 214 to 250 after the Nirvāṇa (272-236 B.C.) and died several years later, in 255 after the Nirvāṇa (231 B.C.).

Having said this, here is the order of succession of the Mauryan emperors who followed the kings of Magadha:

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1 There is no perfect agreement over the date of the assumption of power, consecration and death of Aśoka. Here are some dates proposed for these three events: 274-270-237 or 236 (F. W. Thomas), 274-270-232 (Allan), 273-269-232 (Vincent Smith, Majumdar, Basham), 269-264-227 (Geiger), 268-264? (Hultzsch), 264-260-227 or 226 (Filliozat). P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956, has taken the problem up again in detail: he reaches the conclusion that Aśoka was consecrated on his accession to the throne, in 268 B.C.; he suggests 233 as the date of his death.
The names marked with an asterisk are passed over in silence by some of the Purānic recensions. The total of the reigns comes to seventy-five years, instead of the forty-nine calculated above. Several of these princes must therefore have reigned simultaneously in various parts of the empire.

2. The recensions of the Aśokavadāna (Divya, p. 433; T 99, ch. 25, p. 181b; T 2043, ch. 5, p. 149a-b) refer to only six sovereigns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divya</th>
<th>T 99</th>
<th>T 2043</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Samprati</td>
<td>2. Sampradīn</td>
<td>2. Sampradīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Puṣyadharman</td>
<td>5. Puṣyasuma(na)</td>
<td>5. Puṣyavarman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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However, according to most of the Brāhmanical sources, Puṣyamitra pertained to the Śuṅga dynasty, and not the Maurya.

3. According to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha (p. 48 sq.), Aśoka’s successors were Kuṇāla, Vīgatāsoka and Vīrasena.
4. The *Rājarata raṅgini* (I, 108-52) has a son of Aśoka, named Jālauka, reign in Kaśmir.

5. According to the Edict of the Queen (BLOCH, p. 159), Aśoka had, by his second wife Kālurvākī, a son named Tīvala.

6. Finally, in approximately the year 206, an Indian king named Sophagasenus (= Subhagasena), who probably belonged to the family of the Mauryas, was beaten in the Kabul valley by the Seleucid Antiochus III the Great and had to surrender a considerable number of elephants to the victor, as well as a large indemnity (Polybius, XI, 34, 11-12).

2nd — Candragupta

**ORIGIN.** — Candragupta belonged to the kṣatriya clan of the Mau­ryas. This small republic, the centre of which was the Pipphalavana on the borders of the Nepalese Teraĩ, was admitted to the sharing out of the Buddha’s relics and received the coals which had been used to cremate him (*Diṅga*, II, p. 166). Its subjects were related to the Śākyas and, after the massacre of the latter by Virūdhaka, took refuge in the Himālayas. Candragupta was therefore born in exile and was brought up by his mother, the former queen of the Mauryas, whose husband had just been murdered by a neighbouring king (*Mahāvaṃsa Comm.*, p. 181).

Other sources attribute a less noble origin to him. According to the classical historian Justin (XV, 4, 15), Sandracottus was of obscure birth; the Jaina tradition (*Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, VIII, 229) as well as the Brāhmanical (*Mudrārākṣasa*, II and IV) consider him as a descendant of the Nanda family and a humble village girl named Murā.

**YOUTH.** — A classical and probably apocryphal tradition claims that

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It is not impossible that C. married a Greek and that this misalliance earned him and his successors the hostility of the brāhmins. A. GHOSH, *The Caste of Candragupta Maurya*, IHQ, VI, 1930, pp. 271-83, points out a hitherto unremarked verse in the *Bhavīṣyapurāṇa*: *Candraguptas tataḥ paścāt paurāṇādhipateḥ sutām sūlabasya tathodvāhyā yavanāṃ bauddhata tatparāh.*
Androcottus often met Alexander in his early youth and later asserted that Alexander very nearly became ruler of India, since the king of that country [Dhana-Nanda] was generally hated and despised for his wickedness and the lowness of his birth (Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, LXII). However, the intrigues of the young Indian did not achieve the result he hoped since, "having offended king Alexander by his effrontery, he was condemned to death and sought his safety in the swiftness of his legs" (Justin, XV, 4, 16). Having taken refuge in the jungle, he became the leader of a band of brigands, induced the Indians of the North-West to rebel and prepared to wage war on the Macedonian satraps (Id., XV, 4, 16-19).

**SEIZURE OF THE THRONE (324 B.C.).** — While retreating, Candragupta fell under the influence of Cāṇaka, also called Viṣṇugupta or Kauṭilya. According to the *Mahāvamsa Commentary* (p. 181 sq.), this Cāṇaka was a brāhmin and native of Takṣaśilā. Having gone one day to Dhanananda's palace in Pātaliputra, he had been insulted there. In order to avenge himself, he abducted the king's son, Parvatakumāra; however, on meeting Candragupta and considering him to be more capable of serving his purpose than the young prince, he had Parvatakumāra put to death and transferred all his plans to Candragupta. He assembled troops, then incited Candragupta to rebel, kill Dhanananda and mount the throne of Magadha. The battle which set Candragupta against Dhanananda's armies commanded by Bhaddasāla was particularly murderous, a real "corpse-dance" (*Milinda-panha*, p. 292). It concluded in complete victory for Candragupta and his domination over the whole territory of Jambudvīpa.

According to the dramatist Viśākhadatta of the ninth century, Cāṇaka, having been offended in his brāhmanic pride, left Magadha with his young protégé Candragupta and established a confederation of which the main leader, alongside Candragupta, was Parvatakā, a king from the North-West, who has sometimes been identified with the Porus of the Greek historians. Candragupta and Parvatakā agreed to share Dhanananda's states after the victory; however, once the latter was gained, Cāṇaka, by ruse or by force, eliminated all the other claimants leaving Candragupta in sole power.

³ It is indeed *Alexandrum* in Justin's text but western criticism makes the correction *Alexandrum = Nandrum = Nanda*. Indian scholars rightly protest against this alteration; cf. *Raychaudhuri, Political Hist.*, p. 265; *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 144.

CONQUEST OF INDIA. — According to Plutarch, Androcottus “at the head of an army of 600,000 men, overran and subdued the whole of India” (Vita Alex., LXII). He began by liberating the North-West from the Macedonian yoke. In 321, at the partition of Triparadisus, the only Indian states located to the east of the Indus which acknowledged the foreign suzerainty were the Indian kingdoms of Taxiles and Porus, under the supervision of Eudemus; the satrapy of the Lower Indus entrusted to Peithon was reduced to the region neighbouring the Paropamisadae. In the years 317 and 316, the two governors, involved in the battles between the Diadochi, abandoned their territories. Candragupta immediately added them to his crown, since those regions no longer appear in the list of colonies which Antigonus distributed among his lieutenants after his victory over Eumenes (316). The Indus marked the frontier between India and the Seleucid empire.

With the Punjab liberated, Candragupta proceeded with the conquest of Avanti and Surāṣṭra. The inscription of Rudradāman, on the Junāgarh rock in Kāthiāwār (LÜDERS, 965), recalls that the famous Sudarśana lake, in Girinagara, was originally dug by the vaisya Puṣyagupta, a provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta.

Some Tamil authors, Māmulanār, Paraṇar, etc., claim that at that early date the Mauryas had entered Koṅkan, crossed the district of Kongu (Coimbatore) and finally reached Podiyil Hill (Malaya). Similarly later inscriptions assert that Nāgarkhāṇḍa, in Mysore, was protected by the sage Candragupta, “an abode of usages of eminent Kṣaṇtriyas”.

THE WAR WITH SELEUCUS I (305-304 B.C.). — We saw above how, from the evidence of Appian, Strabo and Plutarch, Seleucus I, having crossed the Indus, waged war on Candragupta but ended by concluding a treaty of friendship and a matrimonial alliance with him. Some information supplied by the geographer Eratosthenes and supported by Strabo seems to indicate that the North-West frontier was moved back towards the west until it included all or part of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Gedrosia and even some districts of Aria. The new demarcation line remained unchanged until the beginning of the second century B.C.; it was crossed, in approximately the year 200 B.C., by the troops of Euthydemus of Magnesia and his son Demetrius.

FOREIGN EMBASSIES. — Once peace was concluded, the Seleucids and

5 Raychaudhuri, Political Hist., pp. 269-70, quoting himself Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10.
Lagidae sent ambassadors to the court at Pātaliputra, capital of the new Indian empire: Megasthenes and Deimachus of the Plataeans represented the Seleucids, Seleucus I Nicator (312-280) and Antiochus I Soter (280-261), the first with Candragupta, the second with Bindusāra surnamed Amitraghāta; Dionysius was sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247), either to Bindusāra or to Aśoka. This is what appears from the evidence of the ancient historians: “There were sent as embassies to Palimbothra, first Megasthenes to Sandracottus, then Deimachus to Allitrochades, son of the former; and they left memoirs of their travels” (Strabo, II, 1, 9). — “Megasthenes who was living with Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, asserts that he called several times on Sandracottus, the king of the Indians” (Arrian, Anab., V, 6, 2). — “Greek writers who had stayed at the Indian courts (Megasthenes and Dionysius sent by Philadelphus for this purpose) have described the strength of those peoples” (Pliny, VI, 58).

Megasthenes and Deimachus of the Plataeans in turn published Indike works of which only fragments remain, notable for the former (MÜLLER, FHG, II, pp. 397-439), insignificant for the latter (Id., ibid., pp. 440-1). Both authors are severely criticized by Strabo: “We will point out”, he says, “that, even if it is true that, as a general thesis, all the authors who wrote about India lied most of the time, Deimachus surpasses them all in that respect, and Megasthenes comes right after him” (Strabo, II, 1, 9). On the other hand, Arrian, who cites Megasthenes profusely in his Indike, considers him as a serious historian and places him on the same level as the geographer Eratosthenes (Arrian, Anab., V, 5, 1). Although his critical sense was somewhat mediocre Megasthenes was nevertheless a keen observer and left us good descriptions of the town of Pātaliputra, the royal palace, the customs at the imperial court and the composition of the army. The information he supplies is the clearest of what the ancient world knew about India, and is far superior to that of his predecessors, such as Scylax of Caryanda, Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus of Halicarnassus and Ctesias of Cnidos. It deserves to be compared with the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra, that code of universal law which describes in detail all the competences of the political, judicial and executive administration of the Indian state. Debate still continues over the question of knowing whether this is indeed the work of Cāṇakya, Candragupta’s minister.

DEATH OF CANDRAGUPTA (300 B.C.). — Being closely controlled by

6 On this question, see B. BRELOER, Kauṭaliya-Studien, 3 vol., Bonn, 1927-34; STEN KONOW, Kauṭalya Studies, Oslo, 1945.
the minister who had made his fortune, Candragupta was doubtless a faithful observer of brähmanical customs. However, a late Jaina tradition, represented by the Parīśīṣṭaparvan (VIII, 415 sq.), claims that towards the end of his life the emperor embraced the religion of the Tīrthaṃkaras, abdicated in favour of his son Simhasena, and retired with the holy Bhadrabāhu to a monastery at Śravaṇa-Belgola, in Mysore. There he is said to have fasted to death in the Jaina fashion. Some inscriptions from Mysore, which date back to about the year 900, refer to the renowned couple, Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta.

One thing seems certain: namely, that the latter had no sympathy for Buddhism. The Theragāthā Commentary claims that, on the instigation of Cāṇakya, he had the father of the Buddhist Thera Tekicchakāri thrown into prison. So it is not without reason that the majority of the Buddhist sources, such as the Divyāvadāna, willingly pass over him in silence. The Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa (vv. 439-40) devotes only a few lines to him: he was, it says, a very wealthy sovereign, faithful to his promises and religious; but, bad advisers led him to kill many people. As for his prime minister Cāṇakya (vv. 454-6), he was fearful in anger, but successful in all his undertakings. These continued for three reigns.

3rd — Bindusāra

The life of the second Maurya appears to be a web of legends, both Sanskrit and Pāli. They are found in the Aśokāvadāna (Divya, pp. 369-73; T 99, ch. 23, pp. 162a 17-163b 17; T 2042, ch. 1, pp. 99c 20-100c 27; T 2043, ch. 1, pp. 132b 11-133c 2), the Sinhalese chronicles (Dpv., V, 101; VI, 15; Mhv., V 18 sq.; 38 sq.; Sp., p. 44) and the Mahāvamsa commentary (pp. 187-9, 324).

Known to the Greeks as Amitrochades, Amitrochates or Allitrocharides (cf. Amitraghāta “slayer of foes” in the Mahābhāṣya, III, 2, 87, by Patañjali), Bindusāra was, according to the Jaina texts, the son of Candragupta and Durdharā, a first cousin of the latter. Tradition attributes to him some hundred sons, of whom his eldest and favourite was named Susīma in Sanskrit, Sumana in Pāli. His chief wife, Janapadakalyāṇī, Subhadrāṅgī, or Dhammā, was the daughter of a brāhmin from Campāla, and gave him two sons, Aṣoka and Vitasoka (Tissa in Pāli). Among Bindusāra’s five hundred ministers, we note the names of

7 Raychaudhuri, Political Hist., p. 295.
the old chancellor Cāṇakya, the soothsayer Piṅgala Vatsājīva or Piṅgalavatsa, and the prime minister Rādhagupta.

Tāranātha (pp. 88-9) presents Bindusāra and his minister Cāṇakya as tireless conquerors; they purportedly exterminated the kings and nobility of approximately sixteen cities and subjugated all the territories between the eastern and western seas. In fact, however, Bindusāra merely subdued the revolts brought about by the cruelty of his governors in various parts of his states. According to the Divyāvadāna (pp. 371-2), two uprisings broke out successively, at Takṣaśilā in the Punjab and at Khaṣa in the South-west of Kaśmīr: Aśoka, commissioned by his father, succeeded in quelling them by treating the rebels with gentleness, by removing the bad governors and by setting up a feudal regime. The Pāli sources add that Aśoka also held a viceroyalty in Avantirāstra (Dpv., VI, 15, Mhv., V, 39).

Bindusāra was on excellent terms with the Seleucids, his neighbours. We have already seen that he received at his court Deimachus of the Plataeans, the ambassador of Seleucus I Nicator, and we also know through Hēgesander (FHG, IV, p. 421) that he corresponded with Antiochus I Soter: "The figs were so sought after by all men that even Amitrochates, the Indian king, wrote to Antiochus asking him to send him, in return for money, wine, figs and a sophist. Antiochus replied that he was sending him the figs and wine, but that the Greeks were not in the habit of selling sophists".

With regard to internal politics, Bindusāra patronised the brāhmīns and ensured the daily maintenance of 60,000 adherents of the brāhmanical sects (Sp., p. 44). Furthermore, he did not lack interest in religious wanderers, or Parivṛājakas, at least one of whom, Piṅgalavatsa, exercised his talent, as soothsayer at the court (Divya, p. 370).

Bindusāra chose as his successor Susima, his eldest son but his plans were thwarted by Aśoka who, immediately after his father's death, occupied Pātaliputra where, with the help of the minister Rādhagupta, he held all the other claimants at bay. Once his position was assured, legend has it that he killed all his brothers, except Vītāsoka (or Tissa), and exterminated the harem and the ministers.

4th — Aśoka

The greatest political and spiritual figure of ancient India was Aśoka Devānāmpriya Priyadarṣin Rāja Magadhe: "Aśoka, the beloved of the gods, of amiable expression, king of Magadha". Passed over in silence

by the Graeco-Roman historians, he is known as much from contemporary documents — the edicts which he had engraved on rocks and pillars — as from later legends the most important of which are Buddhist in origin: *Asokāvadāna* (T 2042, 2043) — reproduced in extracts in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 348-434) and the *Samyuktāgama* (T 99, ch. 23, pp. 161b-170c) — and the Sinhalese chronicles (*Dipavamsa*, Ch. I, V, VI, VII, XI; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. V, XI, XX: *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 35 sq.), not to mention the innumerable allusions in the Buddhist sūtras and sāstras, Jaina texts and brahmanical literature. There are considerable divergences between these sources; without attempting to make them consonant, we will analyze them in turn, passing from history to legend, in order to bring out the accretions collected by the latter.

a. — The Edicts

**Publication of the Edicts.** — The inscriptions engraved by Aśoka — edicts on rock (R.) and edicts on pillar (P.) — that are known at the present time are thirty-three in number.

The language is Māgadhī, the official language of the imperial chancellory of Pātaliputra, influenced in the Punjab (Mānehrā and Shāhbaẓgarhi) by northern Prākrit, and in Gujarat (Girnār) by the dialect of the South-West. The script is a variety of Brahmī, except in the North-West where Kharoṣṭhī (Mānehrā and Shāhbaẓgarhi) or Aramaic script are used (Laghmān).

According to the probable or attested date of their publication, the edicts can be classed in six groups:

(1) *Year 12* of the consecration (230 after the Nirvāṇa, 256 B.C.): the


first two inscriptions of Barābar, in Magadha, commemorating the gift to the Ājivikas of the Nigrodha and Mount Khalatika caves.

(2) Year 13 (231 after the Nirvāṇa, 255 B.C.) : the rock inscriptions known as Minor, found in different places : Bairāṭ (Jaipūr), Sahasrām (Bihār) and Rūpnāth (Jubbulpore District, Madhya Pradesh) in the north; Maski, Pālkigūḍu and Gāvimath (Hyderābād), Siddāpura and Jatinga Rāmeśvara (Mysore), Yerragudi (Kurnool District, Āndhra Pra­desh) in the south. The versions of Mysore and Yerragudi, both closely connected, also contain an addition, particularly developed at Yerra­gudi.

(3) Year 13 : the single edict of Bhābrā, also known as the Inscription of Calcutta-Bairāṭ, addressed to the Buddhist Samgha.

(4) Year 14 (232 after the Nirvāṇa, 254 B.C.) : the fourteen rock edicts found in seven versions of lesser or greater completeness at Girnār (Kāthiāwār), Kālsī (Dehra Dun), Shāhbazgarhī (Peshāwār), Mānsehrā (Hazāra), Dhaulī (Puri), Jaugāda (Ganjam), and Yerragudi (Kurnool), without taking into account the fragments on the eighth rock edict found at Sopāra (Thānā District, Maharashtra) and at Laghmān (Kabul Valley).

(4 a) Year 14 : the two separate edicts of Kaliṅga found at Dhaulī and Jaugāda, where they replace rock edicts No. 11 to 13.

(1 a) Year 19 (237 after the Nirvāṇa, 249 B.C.) : third cave at Barābar.

(5) Year 20 (238 after the Nirvāṇa, 248 B.C.) : pillar inscriptions at Rummundei and Nigālī Sāgar or Nigliva (Nepal).

(6) Years 26 and 27 (244-245 after the Nirvāṇa, 242-241 B.C.) : the seven pillar edicts. The seventh and most important appears, with the others, only on the pillar at Delhi-Toprā. The pillars at Delhi-Miraṭh, Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangarh and Rāmpurvā (northern Bihār), Allahābād-Kosam (formerly Kauṣāmbī) contain only the first six edicts, but Kosam includes two further short inscriptions, one entitled The Edict of the Queen and the other, directed against the Saṃghabheda, the Edict of Kauṣāmbī.

(5 a) Towards the end of the reign : the smaller pillar edicts found in Sāncī and Sārnāth, which reproduce the Edict of Kauṣāmbī forbidding the schism.

The extent of the empire. — The distribution of the edicts and their contents gives us an approximate idea of the limits of the empire and its administrative divisions.

Among the provinces immediately governed by the king himself or his
direct officials (mahâmâtra), mention must be made of Magadha and the central districts such as Kauśâmbi.

Kumâras or royal princes, as viceroys, administered Kaliṅga, capital Tosali, a conquest of Aśoka; Avanti, capital Ujjayinī; Uttarâpatha, an area in the northern Punjab, capital Takṣaśilâ; finally, Dakṣina or southern region, capital Suvarṇaṅgiri, to be sought in Nizam.

The frontier regions, the list of which appears in the edicts, were under the domination of feudal minor kings, and constituted râjaviśaya.

Outside the empire, but linked with it through bonds of assured friendship, there remained the Dravidian states in the extreme south of the peninsula: Coḷa (Trichinoply and Tanjore), Pâṇḍya (Madura), Satyaputra (Mangalore), Keralaputra (Malabar) and Tamraparṇi (Ceylon).

NOTEWORTHY DATES OF THE REIGN. — The edicts contain indications of some important events of the reign dating from the time of the consecration.

Year 8 (226 after the Nirvâṇa, 260 B.C.). — During the conquest of Kaliṅga, 150,000 persons were deported, 100,000 were killed; several times that number perished. This catastrophe severely affected all the inhabitants, brâhmins and śramaṇas, as well as the believers and devout citizens. Smitten with remorse, the king decided to substitute the reign of the Dharma for that of violence (R. XIII, BLOCH, pp. 125-9). He became a faithful layman, that is, an upâsaka12, but for a year was not very zealous (Minor Edicts, BLOCH, p. 145).

Year 10 (228 after the Nirvâṇa, 258 B.C.). — A year and a half after taking his upâsaka vows, the king's zeal became extreme (BLOCH, p. 146). Ten years after his consecration, he set out for Enlightenment (avyâya sambodhim), inaugurating a tour of the Dharma (dharmayâtrâ) with audiences, instructions and distributions of gold to the religious and the old (BLOCH, p. 112) : 256 nights were spent on tour (BLOCH, p. 149).

Years 12 (230 after the Nirvâṇa, 256 B.C.). — the king ordered his district officers (yukta) to set out on circuit every five years with a special edict on the teaching of the Dharma (BLOCH, pp. 95-97). Making use of reproductions of edifying pictures, this initiative did much to extend the practice of the Dharma (BLOCH, pp. 98-9). In order to prolong its effect, the king ordered the edict of the Dharma to be engraved on rock

12 Aśoka was a Buddhist layman, an upâsaka, but never a monk. This question is discussed by B.C. LAW, Did Aśoka become a Bhikkhu?, IC, I, pp. 123-4.
Notwithstanding, he donated the Banyan and Mount Khalatika caves to the Ājīvikas (BLOCH, p. 156).

It was no doubt also in the year 12 or 13 of the consecration that Aśoka considered himself as having won the victory of the Dharma, both in foreign kingdoms and in his own empire (BLOCH, p. 130, see also p. 93).

Among the foreign sovereigns who received his message, he quotes the Greek king Antiochus (Antiochus II Theos of Syria, 261-246) and, more distant than Antiochus, four kings: Turamaya (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285-247), Aṁtekin (Antigonus II Gonatas of Macedonia, 276-239), Magā (Magas of Cyrene, deceased in 258), and Alikasudara (Alexander of Epirus, 272-256)13. The Coḷas of Coromandel, the Pāṇḍyas in the south of the peninsula, Satyaputra which has not been definitely identified, Keralaputra in Malabar and finally, Tāmraparṇi or Ceylon were mentioned as borderland Indian kingdoms.

Year 13 (231 after the Nirvāṇa, 255 B.C.) — Aśoka created overseers of the Dharma (dharma-mahāmātrā) to supervise the sects and favour those faithful to the Dharma among the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandhārans, Ristikas and Pitenikas (BLOCH, p. 103).

Year 14 (232 after the Nirvāṇa, 254 B.C.) — Aśoka doubled the size of the stūpa of the Buddha Konākamuni at Nigālisāgār (BLOCH, p. 158).

Year 19 (237 after the Nirvāṇa, 249 B.C.) — Gift of the third cave of Barābar to the Ājīvikas (BLOCH, p. 156).

Year 20 (238 after the Nirvāṇa, 248 B.C.) — Aśoka visited the Lumbini garden, the Buddha's birthplace (BLOCH, p. 157), and paid further homage to the stūpa of Konākamuni (BLOCH, p. 158).

Year 26 (244 after the Nirvāṇa, 242 B.C.) — Publication of the first six pillar edicts (BLOCH, pp. 161, 163, 165, 168).

Year 27 (245 after the Nirvāṇa, 241 B.C.) — Publication, at Delhi-Toprā, of the seventh pillar edict (BLOCH, p. 172).

The Dharma of Aśoka. — The remorse which Aśoka felt after the bloody conquest of Kaliṅga led him to embrace the Buddhist religion. He became an upāsaka, but for a year his zeal was far from ardent. A year and a half later, during a pilgrimage to the Bodhi tree, he visited the community of monks and, after a peregrination which lasted for two hundred and fifty-six nights, he promulgated the fourteen rock edicts (ca 254 B.C.), which were followed, fourteen or fifteen years later (ca 242-241 B.C.), by the seven pillar edicts which aimed at substituting the victory of the Dharma for the reign of coercion and violence.

13 On the use to be made of these synchronisms for the date of Aśoka, see J. Filliozat, Inde Classique, 1, p. 219.
Aśoka himself established a clear distinction between his personal Dharma, which as sovereign he intended to render triumphant “in order to discharge his debt to creatures”, and the Buddhist Law expounded by the Buddha and which, according to the recognized expression, he designated in his edict at Bhābrā by the name of Saddharma “Good Law”\(^\text{14}\).

Therefore it would be fruitless to seek in his edicts the profound ideas and fundamental theories of Buddhism; no mention is made of the four noble truths, or the eightfold path, or the doctrine of dependent origination, or the Buddha’s supernatural qualities; neither the name nor concept of Nirvāṇa is encountered. Aśoka might have believed he was failing in his duties as an impartial sovereign by favouring a particular religion to the detriment of others. His Dharma is superimposed on various beliefs without any claim to absorb them; acceptable to all, the lay and the religious, Indians or foreigners, it is also compulsory for all.

The Dharma is only an expression, in its most universal form, of the great principles of natural law; it teaches “proper conduct according to the ancient rule”\(^\text{15}\), a rule which kings in the past had already tried to promote\(^\text{16}\). To avoid sin, practise virtue and perform the duties of human solidarity, such is the essence of Aśoka’s Dharma. Therefore, its parallels are not to be found in the Buddhist sūtras devoted to the exaltation of the religious life, but in the Dharmaśāstras, the descriptions of lay morality scattered throughout the ancient anthologies of universal wisdom, Dhammapada, Suttanipāta, as well as the Advice to Upāsakas dispersed throughout the canonical writings, Lakkhanasutta\(^\text{17}\), Śīlovasūda\(^\text{18}\) and the various Gahapativagga in the Majjhima\(^\text{19}\), Samyutta\(^\text{20}\) and Anguttara\(^\text{21}\). As we have seen in the first chapter, this advice to the laity merely promotes the general rules of moral life, under the aegis of the Buddha.

For Aśoka, all men were his children, and he worked for their welfare and happiness in order to ensure them bliss in this world but especially

\(^{15}\) Id., p. 151.
\(^{16}\) Id., p. 168.
\(^{17}\) *Dīgha*, III, pp. 142-79.
\(^{18}\) *Dīgha*, III, pp. 180-93.
\(^{19}\) *Majjhima*, I, pp. 339-413.
\(^{20}\) *Samyutta*, II, pp. 68-80.
\(^{21}\) *Anguttara*, IV, pp. 208-35.
in the heavens of the other world. Happiness in this world and beyond is the reward promised to upāsakas by the Itivuttaka: “Whoever desires joy, may he aspire to heavenly joys or may he yearn for human happiness.”

In order to achieve his ideal, Aśoka concerned himself personally with public affairs and displayed extreme zeal in doing so: “At every moment, whether I am at table, in the women’s apartments, in my room, on the farmlands, in a vehicle, in the gardens, anywhere, informants must acquaint me with public affairs... The main thing is to work and to bring affairs to a successful conclusion.” Not content with being kept informed, he organized Dharma tours (dharmayātṛā) with audiences and the distribution of gold to the brāhmins, śramaṇas and the aged, instruction in the Dharma and questions on the Dharma to the people of the provinces. He expected his family, sons, grandsons and the other princes, sons of his queens, to follow his example. He was assisted in his task by officials “appointed for the welfare and happiness of the people”: envoys (dūta) who carried his message throughout the empire and among the foreign kingdoms; district officers (yukta), inspectors (rājuka), and local governors (prādeśika) who, every five years, set out on tour with his special edict; overseers (mahāmātra) in Kaliṅga, entrusted with winning the affection of the people; overseers of the Dharma (dharmamāhamātra), charged with the care of the religious, the elderly, the wretched and prisoners, and who were eventually to be concerned separately with the various sects: the Buddhist Saṅgha, the brāhmins, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, etc.

The king’s zeal also found expression in the carrying out of a large number of public works: the planting of banyans, shady trees and mango groves; the sowing of medicinal herbs, upkeep of the highways, with resting-places, wells and tanks. Such undertakings were what the Buddhists liked to attribute to good rulers and of which the Mañjuśrī-
mūlakalpa, for example, delights to give details in its execrable Sanskrit.

We saw earlier how the old Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya promises an increase in merits and good rebirths to princes who provide watering places in the desert, plant trees, build bridges, etc.; other Buddhist texts list the seven meritorious material deeds (puṇyakriyāvastu) which are recommended to the laity.

Such merits in no way equal the value of the teaching of the Dharma which Aśoka disseminated up to the confines of the inhabited world, and which was immortalized on rock. What was this Dharma? Basically it amounts to: "The absence of the cause of sin and the abundance of good actions," such a lapidary formula can be compared with a Buddhist stanza which has become a classic: "Avoiding all sin, doing good, purifying the mind: such is the teaching of the Buddha."  

Sin, Aśoka asserted, is easily committed; to combat a wrong inclination, demerit, is difficult for everyone, but especially so for the members of upper classes. His reasoning agrees with that of the Dhammapada and the Udāna: "Easily performed are wrong actions and whatever harms the self; but what is beneficial and good is very difficult to accomplish."

The misdeeds which the fivefold morality proscribes for the upāsaka are taking life, theft, sexual misconduct, falsehood and the use of fermented drinks. Aśoka was less demanding and only condemned taking life or violence exerted on creatures and he recommended loyalty and truthfulness. He emphasized respect for life to such a degree that he limited, then definitively forbade the slaughtering of animals for culinary use. He showed himself to be even more strict than the monks of the Hīnayāna who allowed the use of meat and fish on condition that it had not been seen, heard or suspected that the animal had been killed in order to serve as food for the religious.

In the field of domestic virtues, Aśoka unceasingly counselled obe-

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33 Mmk., vv. 540, 545, 648-9, 685-6, etc.
34 T 1425, ch. 4, p. 261a.
35 BLOCH, pp. 109, 133, 143, 149, 162, 169.
36 Id., p. 162.
37 Digha, II, p. 49; Dhammapada, v. 183; Mahāvastu, III, p. 420.
38 BLOCH, pp. 102, 118-19.
39 Dhammapada, v. 163; Udana, p. 61.
40 BLOCH, pp. 97, 99, 172.
41 Id., pp. 150, 162, 171.
42 Id., pp. 92-3, 162, 165-6, 172.
dience to one's father and mother, obedience to one's teachers, irrep­roachable courtesy towards one's friends, acquaintances, companions and family, kindness to the poor, the old and the weak as well as to slaves and servants, generosity towards brāhmins and śramaṇas. The Buddha gave exactly the same advice to the young householder Singālaka: "How does the noble disciple protect the six regions of space? These six regions are composed as follows: father and mother are the east; teachers are the south; sons and wife are the west; friends and companions are the north; slaves and servants are the nadir; śramaṇas and brāhmins are the zenith." Just as Aśoka extolled in his subjects "the minimum of spending and the minimum of assets", so the Buddha warned the laity against vices which could lead to the loss of their fortune.

Such are the meritorious actions which constitute the true Ceremonies of the Dharma (dharmamaṅgala), and which are quite different from the various ceremonies which people hold on the occasion of illness, marriages, births or a journey. Even if they have to be performed, such ceremonies are of little use, since the result wished for is not always acquired; only the ceremony of the Dharma enables one to obtain the happiness sought in this world and, in any case, creates endless merit in the other world. Similarly, the true disciple of the Buddha does not consider festivities and ceremonies (kotihalamaṅgala) organized in such circumstances to be essential.

If charity is worthy, "there is no gift or assistance which is equivalent to the gift of the Dharma, the assistance of the Dharma". That is a truth to which the Buddhist texts return unceasingly: "There are two kinds of gifts", says the Aṅguttara "a material gift and a gift of the Law, but the foremost of those two gifts is the gift of the Law". By virtue of that principle, every associate, parent, companion should, on each occasion, preach: "This is one's duty, one's good, this is how to reach the heavens"; father, son, brother, teacher or friend, associate, relation and even the mere neighbour should come and say: "That is good,

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43 Id., pp. 96, 98-9, 115, 120, 126, 150, 171.
44 Digha, III, pp. 188-9.
45 BLOCH, p. 97.
46 Digha, III, pp. 182-3.
47 BLOCH, pp. 113-17.
49 BLOCH, pp. 116, 119.
50 Aṅguttara, I, p. 91.
51 BLOCH, p. 116.
that is duty". — In order that relations could have the opportunity to administer such a fraternal admonition, Asoka allowed those condemned to death an interval of three days so that their intimates could intercede for them or so that they could prepare themselves for death by means of alms-giving and fasting. The king, indeed, was aware of the importance of the last thought or, as the Buddhists put it, the “thought (at the time) of death”\(^\text{53}\), since, in accordance with Indian and Buddhist beliefs, that thought determines one’s future destiny. Hence, the Buddha exhorted his cousin Mahānāman to lead a holy life “because the tree falls to the side on which it is leaning”; he asked that the pious layman, when he is sick, suffering or struck by some cruel disorder, be “comforted by another pious layman with the aid of the four comforting teachings”\(^\text{55}\). In order to perform this duty, the mother of Nakula prepared her husband to die contentedly, by endeavouring to inspire him with feelings of joy and peace.

Many are the vices condemned by Asoka, as well as the virtues recommended by him. He invited his subjects and, most especially, his officials to combat inwardly jealousy, irritability, cruelty, hastiness, obstinacy, idleness and lassitude\(^\text{57}\), and to obviate those “accesses to faults” which consist of ill-will, callousness, anger, pride and envy. He listed the “virtues of the Law” (dharmaguna) the practice of which ensures happiness in this world and in the next: security, mastery over the senses, equanimity and gentleness; obedience, pity and truthfulness; devotion to the Law, vigilance, docility, circumspection and vigour to the greatest degree; pity, charity, truthfulness and purity. These lists of faults and virtues are very similar to those found in the Buddhist writings, particularly in the Abhidharma. However, the quality to which the emperor attached the greatest importance was exertion (parākrāma) or fortitude (utsāha), a condition of spiritual progress, as had already been perceived by the Buddhist texts: “Be alert, do not be

52 Id., p. 120.
53 Id., p. 165.
54 Samyutta, V, p. 371.
55 Samyutta, V, p. 408.
57 BLOCH, p. 138.
58 Id., p. 163.
59 Id., p. 129.
60 Id., p. 150.
61 Id., p. 161.
62 Id., p. 162.
heedless! Observe the Law of beneficial practices: whoever observes that is happy in this world and the next”63.

Among those beneficial practices, Aśoka recommended the examination of one’s conscience: not to consider only the good one has done, but also the evil which one has committed64. It is a Buddhist belief that an offence confessed is lightened, and the Buddha “removed his offence” from the Licchavi Vaṭṭha who had acknowledged his fault and vowed not to repeat it; indeed, explained the Master, “the one who, acknowledging his fault, confesses and promises not to repeat it represents a gain for the Law”65.

Aśoka was an unbiased sovereign, and protected all the sects impartially; he allowed them to reside where they wished66, and, in order to pay homage to them, went to them in person67. Being a convinced Buddhist, he named overseers of the Dharma in order to watch over the particular interests of each sect: Buddhist Sāṃgha, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, etc.68. Twice, at an interval of seven years, he made a gift of caves to the Ājīvikas69. While not interfering with their particular doctrines and disciplines, he demanded of his religious a dignified life in keeping with their social condition: mastery over the senses, mental purity, acknowledgement and steadfastness in faith70. From the external point of view, his dearest wish was that the sects which he supported and honoured would progress in the essence (sāravṛddhi), namely, that restraint of speech which causes one to refrain from honouring one’s own sect or from irrelevantly denigrating those of others; other sects should even be honoured every time the opportunity arose71. The Buddha also had condemned religious intolerance, the foolishness of teachers who considered they alone possessed the truth and treated their adversaries as fools and ignoramuses: “I do not call truth what the foolish confront each other with; they make their own view the truth; that is why they treat their opponents as fools”72.

From this brief survey it ensues that the Dharma extolled by Aśoka is clearly different from the Buddhist Saddharma; it merely sets out in

63 Dhammapada, v. 168.
64 Bloch, p. 163.
66 Bloch, p. 110.
67 Io., p. 168.
68 Io., pp. 170-1.
69 Io., p. 156.
70 Io., pp. 110-11.
71 Io., pp. 121-2.
72 Suttanipātā, v. 82.
traditional Indian formulas the principles of natural law which the Buddhists had already tried to inculcate in their lay followers; it does not teach *ex professo* the four noble truths or the system of dependent origination which constitute the basis of the Word of the Buddha. Aśoka was a pious and zealous ruler, and not a sectarian propagandist. It was never his intention to found a Buddhist State, but to chide his subjects and edify his neighbours. His envoys, inspectors, overseers were in no way Buddhist missionaries, but officials preoccupied with the present and future happiness of those under their administration. Nevertheless, by promulgating the edict of the Dharma all over India, they prepared people’s minds to receive the Buddhist message and opened the way for religious propagandists.

AŚOKA’S BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS. — Having confined himself, generally speaking, to the role of head of state, Aśoka thought he could, as a devout Buddhist, address the Saṃgha which owed him so much. His Buddhist inscriptions are three in number: the Bhābra edict, the rescript at Kauśāmbi and the inscription in Rumminderi.

1. In the Bhābra edict, which in all likelihood was promulgated in the year 13 of his reign, the king of Magadha “greets the Community and hopes it has little affliction (*appābādhatta*) and is well at ease (*phāsuvihā-latta*)”. This is, in an abbreviated form, the traditional Buddhist formula of greeting.73.

Then follows a profession of respect (*gaurava*) and faith (*prasāda*) in the Three Jewels, the Buddha, his Law and his Community, in conformity with the taking of the vows by the laity.

After that, there follows the assertion that “all that the Blessed Lord Buddha spoke was well spoken” : an appeal to the omniscient Buddha, the first of the four “great authorities” (*mahāpadesa*) which are formulated in the *Dīgha* (II, p. 123), *Aṅguttara* (II, p. 167), *Sūtraśāmakāra* (ed. Lévi, p. 4), etc.

Finally, assuming the role of spiritual adviser, Aśoka recommends to the religious and the laity the reading and study of the seven Sermons on the Law (*dhammapaliyāya*), the list of which is as follows:

a. *Vinaya-samukkase* "Praise of the Discipline". — It can be supposed that this is an eulogy of the Prātimokṣa as it is found in the *Aṅguttara* (I, pp. 98-100).

b. *Aliya-vasāṇī* “the Genealogy of the Noble Ones”. — The interpretation of this is uncertain, but brings to mind the ten rules of living practised by the holy ones (*dasa ariya-vāsā*) which are mentioned in the *Dīgha* (III, pp. 269, 291) and the *Aṅguttara* (V, p. 29); or, better still, the four noble lineages (*cattāro ariya-vāṃsā*) from which true monks are born: “to be satisfied with clothing, food and lodging; to delight in Nirvāṇa and the path to Nirvāṇa” (*Aṅguttara*, II, p. 27; *Kośa*, VI, p. 146).

c. *Anāgata-bhayāṇī* “Future Dangers”. — There are several groups of five future dangers (*pañca anāgata-bhayāṇī*) which constitute as many temptations for monks living in solitude. The *Aṅguttara* (III, pp. 100-10; 206-20) lists a series of them. They are also mentioned, although less systematically, in a great number of other texts.

d. *Munigāthā* “Stanzas of the Sage. — Some Munigāthā formed part of the "Chanted Recitations" which, as we saw earlier, are closely connected with the "Minor Texts" (*kṣudraka*). The *Suttanipāta* contains a *Munisutta* (I, vv. 207-21), in which the sage is defined as a solitary being, dwelling in meditation and far removed from the desires of his time; he has overcome obstacles, is all-knowing and differs from the layman as does a peacock from a swan. However, the *Suttanipāta Commentary* informs us that the *Munisutta* is an artificial collection of verses with no logical link between them, and which were uttered by the Buddha on various occasions. It seems they existed independently; hence, verse 211 is quoted in the *Mahāvastu* (III, pp. 118 and 326), verse 213 in the *Mahāvastu* (III, pp. 110, 123), verse 221 in the *Upadeśa* by Nāgārjuna (T 1509, ch. 3, p. 84b), etc.

e. *Moneyyasūtte* "Discourse on Silence". — Mention is made of the three silences (*tīni moneyyāṇī*) of body, speech and mind in the *Dīgha* (III, p. 220), the *Aṅguttara* (I, p. 273) and the *Itivuttaka* (p. 56). On the other hand, the *Suttanipāta* (III, 11, v. 698 sq.) devotes a long eulogy to the perfect way of the sage (*moneyyam uttamaṇam padām*).

f. *Upatissapasine* “The Questions of Upatissa”. — Among the enormous number of sūtras in which the Buddha and Śāriputra (alias Upatiṣya) appear, the *Śāriputtasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (IV, 6, vv. 955-75) is a dialogue in which the Buddha explains to Śāriputra the dangers to which a monk is exposed.

g. *Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicya bhagavatā buddhena bhāsite* “The Discourse concerning falsehood addressed to Rāhula by the
Blessed Lord Buddha". — A reference to the Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda-sutta in the Majjhima (I, pp. 414-20), which has its correspondents in the Madhyamāgama (T 26, ch. 3, pp. 436a-437b), the Chinese Dharmapada (T 211, ch. 3, pp. 599c-600a; T 212, ch. 11, p. 668a) and the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 13, p. 158a), in which the condemnation of falsehood is indeed the most categorical. This sūtra is different from another Exhortation to Rāhula, the Mahā-Rāhulovādasutta incorporated into the Majjhima (I, pp. 420-6) and which has its correspondent in the Ekottarāgama (T 125, ch. 7, p. 581c).

By recommending the study of these texts to the religious and laity, Aśoka hoped to ensure that the Good Law would last for a long time. However, his advice was not devoid of all political ulterior motives. He invited the bhikṣus to conform to their discipline, be content with their lot, overcome their temptations, delight in solitude, enclose themselves in wise silence and avoid the traps laid at their feet, because he hoped to keep, if not bring round, the Saṅgha to a correct understanding of his state duties. Indeed it does seem that the favours granted by the king had the unexpected effect of attracting into the order undesirable recruits whose greed and recalcitrant attitudes threatened the tranquillity of the state. This is why Aśoka was led to check those who wanted to enter the Order and take measures against any schismatics.

It is true that modern exegeticists have striven to find the seven “Discourses of the Law”, mentioned by the Bhābrā edict, in the canonical writings, and agreement over the proposed identifications is far from unanimous.74

The significance of the edict for the history of the writings has in turn been overrated and undervalued. Certain people claim to see in it “a historical document which proves decisively the existence, in the third century B.C., of a Buddhist canon in the same form and with more or less the same titles as those which are known to us now”. Others, on the contrary, consider the Bhābrā enumeration to be incompatible with the existence of a well defined canon: “There are many reasons to doubt whether Buddhism possessed a canon already at that time”.

We can merely remark that the Bhābrā edict proves, if it is necessary,

74 See the bibliography on this subject in Winternitz, Literature, II, pp. 606-9, and the discussion of the identifications in L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN, L’Inde aux temps des Mauryas, pp. 126-33. Since then, S. Mitra, Vinayasamukase in Aśoka’s Bhābrā Edict. JDLC, XX, 1930; V. Bhattacharya, Buddhist Texts as recommended by Aśoka. Calcutta, 1948.*
the early existence of holy texts, but presents those texts in a form which is not the same as that of the canons which have come down to us.

First of all, there is nothing to prove that the titles given by Asoka are traditional titles. A century later, the Bharhut sculptures were to provide yet other titles, quite different from those supplied by the texts.

Secondly, the language in which these titles are drafted is not that of any universally attested canonical language. It is neither Pāli nor Sanskrit, but Māgadhī. Furthermore, it is phonetically a much more evolved Māgadhī than the diplomatic Māgadhī of the eastern group in which Asoka drafted his edicts. This Buddhist Māgadhī pronounced l and not r (Lāghula instead of Rāhula), gh instead of h (LāGHula instead of RāHula), g instead of k (adhiGicya instead of adhiKrtya), cya instead of the Sanskrit tyā and Pāli cca (adhigiCYA instead of adhikrTYA or adhigiCCA); finally, its nominative singular of topics in -a was in -e and not -o.

It is probably in this language, called pre-canonical by S. Lévi, protocanonical by L. de La Vallée Poussin, that the first Buddhist texts were recited, but the data supplied by the edict does not allow for any pronouncement concerning their extent. One can only note their paucity in relation to those seventeen discourses which, according to the Sinhalese chronicles, Moggalitissaputta’s envoys were to propound during their spectacular missions some years later, to be precise in 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.). However, as we shall see further on, this collection of discourses, which presupposes the existence of the Pāli canon in its present form, is only one of the many anachronisms attributable to the authors of the Dipa- and Mahāvamsa.

2. In the edict of Kauśāmbi published simultaneously in Kosam, Sānci and Sārnāth towards the end of the reign, Asoka directly addressed the Saṅgha of bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs. After having formulated certain restrictions concerning entry into the order, he insisted on the unity which should prevail between members of the order, condemned “disunion in the Community” (saṃghabheda) and compelled whoever might have provoked it to return to the white robe of the layman and to live away from the religious dwelling.

Properly speaking, a saṃghabheda is not a schism but, according to the canonical definition (Vinaya, II, p. 204), the separation over a point of doctrine or discipline by a group of at least nine bhikṣus, possessed of all the religious privileges, belonging to the same creed and dwelling in

75 S. LÉVI, Observations sur une langue précanonique du b., JA, 1912, pp. 495-514; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSEN, Indo-Européens..., pp. 200-6; also see Ch. VI further on.
the same parish (sīmā). It is a question, adds the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Gilgit Man., III, 4, p. 248), of a formal secession following a public declaration (jñaptikarman) and a vote (śalākāgraḥaṇa); after that, the dissidents performed the religious acts, ceremonies of confession etc., apart. During the Buddha’s own lifetime, the followers of Devadatta and the monks of Kauśāmbi had provoked such disruptions. It is probable that in the time of Aśoka, the increase in number of the religious added to the causes of friction and threatened the cohesion of the most populated parishes: Pātaliputra, Vārānaśi, Kauśāmbi and Sāncī.

The king’s intention was to reduce dissidents to lay status, by forcing them to return to the white robe (avadītavasana) of householders (Dīgha, I, p. 211; III, pp. 118, 124, 210; Majjhima, I, p. 491; II, p. 23; Aṅguttara, I, p. 73; III, p. 384; IV, p. 217). However, his orders were not followed. The community split up into various schools, and the opposition between rival sects culminated in the formation of schisms, the most important of which was that of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

3. In his rock edicts, Aśoka had already referred to his pilgrimage to the place of the Saṃbodhi (BLOCH, p. 112), his visits to the Community (p. 146) and his pious tours (p. 149). Two inscriptions of a private nature, discovered at Rumminderi and Nigāli Sāgar (Nigliva), were intended to immortalize two such ventures. Twenty years after his consecration, the king went in person to the Lumbinīvana, the Buddha’s birthplace; there he built a high wall of stone and erected a pillar; finally, he freed the inhabitants of the village from tax and he “set them at 1/8 th” (BLOCH, p. 157). He went twice to Nigāli Sāgar, to the stūpa of the former Buddha Konākamuni, he doubled it in size and embellished it in various ways.

The Aśoka of the inscriptions shows himself to have been a zealous, conscientious ruler, preoccupied with the present and future happiness of his subjects and neighbours. Personally, he was a convinced Buddhist; however, even if his preferences led him to favour the Saṃgha of bhikṣus and to take special measures to ensure the duration and harmony of the order, he retained enough insight to protect all the sects impartially. It is not at all surprising, however, that the Buddhist texts present him in a somewhat far-fetched light and make him out to be a sectarian, more preoccupied with the construction of stūpas and endowment of the Saṃgha than with internal order and state finances.

b. — The Aśokāvadāna

In the paragraph concerning the Masters of the Law, the chapters of
the *Aśokāvadāna*\(^76\) devoted to Upagupta and his four predecessors were the subject of a brief analysis, but the main object of the work is the Exploits of Aśoka which will be summarized here. We will attempt to establish that the chronicle of Aśoka, as it appears in this work and directly related sources, was widely disseminated on the Indian continent and inspired men of letters and sculptors. The various episodes which are narrated concerning the king are no doubt of different date and origin; however, some of them, attested on the monuments at Sāñci, are quite early in date and were already circulating in the second century B.C.

**The Gift of Earth and Birth of Aśoka** *(T 2042, ch. 1, pp. 99a-102b; T 2043, ch. 1, pp. 131b-135b; T 99, ch. 23, pp. 161b-165b; Divya, pp. 364-82).* Arriving from the Kalandakavana, the Buddha enters Rājagṛha in order to beg for his food. His entry into the town is marked by several wonders. Two little boys, Jaya and Vijaya, are playing in the road and amusing themselves with making houses and granaries out of earth. On seeing the Buddha, Jaya respectfully offers him a handful of earth; Vijaya, his hands joined, approves his companion’s action. The Buddha predicts to Ānanda that, one hundred years after his Nirvāṇa, young Jaya will be the holy king Aśoka, who will reign in Pāṭaliputra over the whole of India and will build 84,000 stūpas; Vijaya will be his minister, with the name of Rādhagupta.

In fact the Mauryan king Bindusāra had two sons, Aśoka and Vītāśoka by a brahmin girl from Cemāla; the first was to fulfil the Buddha’s prediction. At the time of his birth, the seer Piṅgalavatsa asserted that he would succeed his father, to the detriment of the crown prince Susīma. In his youth, Aśoka was sent by Bindusāra to Takaṣaśilā and Khaśa to quell the revolts which had been provoked by the governors’ extortions. He accomplished that mission so skillfully that, on the death of Bindusāra, the ministers made him mount the throne of Magadha. However, since Susīma claimed his right to the crown, Aśoka shut himself up in Pāṭaliputra and set guards before the doors. Susīma, while attempting to enter the town, fell into a cleverly hidden brazier and perished in it.

Now in power, Aśoka named Rādhagupta as his prime minister. He picked a quarrel with his counsellors and his women folk and had five hundred ministers and five hundred concubines put to death. These executions earned him the name of “Aśoka the Cruel” (Caṇḍāśoka). On the advice of Rādhagupta, he built a prison modelled on the Buddhist

hells and entrusted the guardianship of it to the cruel Girika, with the order to put to death all those who entered it.

The holy monk Samudra entered it inadvertently and was tortured by Girika; but as he had attained Arhatship, the torment did not affect him. Aśoka came to see this wonder for himself, and the holy one reproached him for his cruelty and revealed the Buddha's prediction according to which Aśoka was to become a holy king of the Law. Seized with remorse, Aśoka embraced Buddhism and took the upāsaka vows. He had the executioner Girika burned alive and the prison razed.

Aśoka decided to erect a large number of monuments commemorating the glory of the Buddha and so withdrew the relics deposited by Ajātaśatru and his contemporaries in the first seven stūpas. However, the dragon-king Sāgara and his companions, who guarded the stūpa at Rāmagrāma, refused to give up their share to him. When he was in possession of all the relics available, Aśoka divided them among 84,000 precious caskets. The Yakṣas who were under his orders were dispersed all over Jambudvīpa and built 84,000 stūpas in which the caskets were placed. The Sthavira Yaśas, abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma, gave the signal to start work by hiding the sun with his hand⁷⁷, and all the stūpas were completed at the same time. Their construction earned Aśoka the title of "King of the right Law".

The gift of earth by Jaya and Vijaya, the future Aśoka and Rādha-gupta, is narrated in detail in the Hsien yü ching (T 202, ch. 3, p. 368c) and mentioned briefly in the Upadesa (T 1509, ch. 12, p. 147a); it is represented on bas-reliefs of Gandhāra (Art gréco-bouddhique, I, p. 517; fig. 255, 256) and of the Andhra region (Nāgārjunikanḍa, p. 37, pl. 36b).

The struggles Aśoka had to sustain in order to accede to the throne, and the massacres he perpetrated among the members of his family at the time he assumed power are known to the Sinhalese tradition. Nevertheless, reference is often made in the edicts to the "sons, grandsons and great grandsons" of the king, beloved of the gods (BLOCH, pp. 100, 102, 171).

The episodes concerning Aśoka's Hell are narrated in the Fēn pieh

⁷⁷ Certain authors see in Yaśas' gesture an allusion to an eclipse of the sun: R. FAZY, Note sur une éclipse de soleil du temps d'Aśoka, JA, 1930, pp. 135-6; K.P. JAYASWAL, An exact date in the reign of Aśoka, JBORS, XVII, 1931, p. 400; D. Sidersky, Une éclipse du soleil au temps d'Aśoka, JA, 1932, pp. 295-7; P.H.L. Eggermont, The Chronology..., p. 122 sq. The authors have a choice between four eclipses of the sun visible in Vārānāsi at the time of Aśoka: 24 March 275, 4 May 249, 15 June 242, 19 November 232.
kung té lun (T 1507, ch. 3, p. 39a-c), and the ruins of the prison were visited by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 863b-c) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 911); it consisted of a small fortified town of more than a thousand inhabitants.

Aśoka attributes his conversion to Buddhism to the remorse he felt after the Kālinga massacres. Tradition has it that he embraced the religion under the influence of a monk (Samudra in the Aśokāvadāna, Nigrodha in the Sinhalese chronicle) or following the example of one of his women (Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, T 201, ch. 5, p. 286b).

All the sources without distinction, save the edicts, attribute the simultaneous construction of 84,000 stūpas to Aśoka. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (vv. 353-79) says in substance:

"One hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa, there will be in Kusumapura a prince, a protector of the earth, known by the name of Aśoka. He will be violent, cruel and pitiless at first; but, on meeting a friend of the good in the person of a disciplined, calm and disinterested bhikṣu, and because of merits he had acquired previously through the "gift of earth", he will become a successful prince, capable of distinguishing the Dharma from the Adharma, compassionate and clement. Formerly that prince, without knowing [the Buddha] and as a game, had with joined hands placed some specks of earth in the alms-bowl of the Victorious One Śākyasimha. [The latter had said to him]: "Excercise your kingship, O Protector of the Earth, over Jambudvipa and its forests"... Then, in the Veṇuvana at his capital Rāja, he piously removed from the reliquary the relics which are to be found there, and, after having paid homage to the ancient stūpa, he divided the relics into hundreds of portions and, in a single moment, called upon the Yakṣas to adorn the whole of Jambudvipa with stūpas and transform the earth into a reliquary. At his command the Yakṣas, in half a night, erected stone pillars (śilāyaṣṭi) of superhuman beauty, and several thousand pilasters (stambha) were built in order to honour the Caityas and mark the presence of the bodily relics... Then the prince rapidly entered his chariot and having loaded it with gold, silver, copper and the most diverse ornaments, went in an instant to the places where the reliquaries had been erected and made them many offerings. From then on, he was known by the name of Dharmāsoka 'Aśoka the Pious'".

The legend of the stūpa of Rāmagrāma, collected on the spot by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 861b) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 6, p. 902b-c) consists of two episodes. In order to endow the 84,000 stūpas which he had just had erected, Aśoka removed the important relics contained in the first seven stūpas which had been built after the decease of the Buddha. When he came to divest the eighth, that of Rāmagrāma, the Nāgas, who were the guardians of the monument, opposed his claim, took him to their palace, and showed him the riches they had accumulated as homage. Aśoka, considering that he could not match that,
forewent emptying the stūpa and left it in the charge of the Nāgas. This first episode is represented on the southern door at Sāncī (Sāncī, pl. 11, 2) and on several bas-reliefs in the region of Andhra (Amarāvati, p. 166, fig. 5a; pl. 61, 2; Revue des Arts Asiatiqnes, V, pl. 8, 2 and 11, 2), where one can see the Nāga-serpents, with human figures surmounted by a cobra's hood, calmly but firmly opposing the king's archaeological venture.

The second episode, narrated by the same pilgrims, follows the previous one. Encroached upon by the nearby jungle, the stūpa of Rāmagrāma continued to be honoured by a troop of Nāga-elephants who came to pay homage to it. The scene is represented on the eastern door at Sāncī where one can see a long procession of elephants approaching the monument (Sāncī, pl. 46, 3).

However, there is a variation of the legend according to which the Rāmagrāma stūpa was exploited by Aśoka, as the preceding seven had been. The Samyuktāgama (T 99, ch. 23, p. 165a 16-17) states that the king of the Nāgas led Aśoka to the Serpents' palace, but that Aśoka "demanded the šarīra in order to pay homage to them, and the Nāgas gave them to him". The Sinhalese legend (Mahāvamsa, XXXI, 18 sq.) claims that the relics from the Rāmagrāma stūpa were delivered by Mahākāla the dragon-king to the disciple Soṇuttara, a companion of Mahinda, who transported them to Ceylon. They were placed in the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhapura which had been built by Devānampiya, a contemporary of Aśoka.

The monastery of the Kukkutārāma, referred to by the Aśokāvadāna had been built by the king in Pātaliputra, on the site of the old Kukkuṭārāma "Cock's Park" already mentioned in the canonical texts (Vin., I, p. 300; Majjhima, I, p. 349; Samyutta, V, pp. 15, 171; Aṅguttara, V, p. 342). While the Sanskrit sources (Divya, pp. 381, 430) continued to use the old name Kukkuṭārāma for the new monastery, the Pāli sources (Dīpavaṃsa, VII, 3; Mahāvaṃsa, V, 80) prefer to call it the Aśokārāma. According to the Sanskrit sources, the abbot of the monastery was the Sthavira Yasas (Divya, pp. 381, 385, 399, 404, 406, 423), probably a former minister who had been won over to Buddhism by Aśoka himself (Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, T 201, ch. 3, p. 274a) : this person, unknown to the Pāli sources, was familiar to the Chinese pilgrims, in particular Hsüan tsang who also refers to him as the abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912c 2), then notes the presence of the "Great Arhat" at the Samajñā monastery in Khotan (Ibid., ch. 12, p. 944b). According to the Annals of the Li-yul, he emigrated to
Khotan with seven thousand adherents, and became the spiritual adviser to King Kustana.\footnote{F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, I, London, 1935, pp. 100-5.}

**The Avadāna of King Aśoka** (T 2042, ch. 1-2, pp. 102b-106a; T 2043, ch. 2-3, pp. 135b-141b; T 99, ch. 23-24, pp. 165b 170c; *Divya*, pp. 384-405). — The Venerable Yaśas informs Aśoka that during a journey to Kaśmīr, Gandhāra and Mathurā the Buddha had predicted the birth, one hundred years after himself, of the sage Upagupta who would do Buddha deeds. The monk is at present with 18,000 Arhats on Mount Uruμuṇḍa, at the Naṭabhaṭikā monastery, near Mathurā. Aśoka decides to go and visit him but, foreseeing his wishes, Upagupta and his disciples go by raft to Pāṭaliputra. Aśoka sets out to meet them and prostrates himself before the master of the Law. The venerable monk strokes his head an invites him to help him protect the Buddhist Law.*

Aśoka, who has already built 84,000 stūpas, wishes to erect some more in the regions through which the Buddha had travelled in the past. Upagupta offers to show him all those places. The two pilgrims visit in turn the Lumbinīvana where the Buddha was born, Kapilavastu whence he made the Great Departure, Bodh-Gayā where he attained supreme and perfect Enlightenment, Vāraṇaśi where he preached his first sermon, Śrāvasti where he performed the Great Wonder, Śāmkāśya where he descended from the heavens accompanied by gods, and finally, Kuśinagara where he entered Nirvāṇa. Aśoka erected a stūpa in all those places. After which, he went to pay his respects to the reliquaries of the Buddha’s great disciples: Śāriputra (in the Jetavana of Śrāvasti), Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa, Vakkula and Ānanda.

Of the stūpas commemorating the four great wonders — Lumbinī, Bodh-Gayā, Vāraṇaśi-and Kuśinagara —, Aśoka paid most homage to the stūpa of the Bodhi tree. Jealous of that preference, the wicked queen Tiṣyarakṣitā attempted to make the tree die. At her command, the Caṇḍāla Mātaṅga ties a bewitched thread to the Bodhvṛkṣa and attempted to kill it with incantations. However, the king’s sorrow was so bitter that Tiṣyarakṣitā herself restored the tree by having it watered with a thousand pitchers of milk. The Bodhvṛkṣa revived and, in order to celebrate the happy event, Aśoka summoned all the followers of the Buddha to a Pañcavaraṇa assembly, including those from Kaśmīr and the mythical regions. Three hundred thousand monks, a third of whom were Arhats and a number of the laity, gathered in Pāṭaliputra. One place remained vacant: that of the Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, the missionary from Kausāmbī, who had known the Buddha when he was still in this
world**. He descended from Mount Gandhamādana with thousands of Arhats. His body was like that of an old man. He told Aśoka of the important events in the life of the Buddha which he had witnessed, then imperiously demanded food. The ceremony of the Pañcavarṣa took place: Aśoka presented to the Saṃgha his gold, his women, his ministers, his son Kuṇāla and even his own body; he had an enclosure built round the four sides of the Bodhi tree, then mounted it himself and sprinkled the tree from thousands of precious pitchers filled with perfumed liquid; finally he distributed food and clothing to the religious.

267 The audiences and distributions of gold to the brāhmīns and śramaṇas, and the pious tours which continued for 256 nights, the pilgrimage to Lumbini and to the Bodhi are so many historical facts attested by the edicts. As for Tiṣyarakṣitā's attempt on the Bodhivṛksa, even if it does not have a similar guarantee, it is nevertheless known to the Sinhalese tradition and represented on carved monuments dating from the second century B.C. On the southern door of the stūpa at Sāncī, there is a figure in royal dress, supported by two queens, and fainting with grief before the withering Bodhi tree (Sāncī, pl. 18, b2); on the eastern door, the king, the queens and their retinue are going to the Bodhi tree with offerings of all kinds, especially pitchers of perfumed water with which to sprinkle it (Sāncī, pl 40, 3).

The two sculptures, like those at Bhārhut (pl. 14, 1), represent the Bodhivṛksa surrounded by a protective colonnade erected around it by the piety of the king. When Hsüan tsang visited Bodh-Gayā, that stone wall, ten feet in height, was still in existence, and the master of the Law narrates Tiṣyarakṣitā's unsuccessful attempt regarding it (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 915b-c).*

The oral tradition collected by Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 862b) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 911c) has preserved the memory of the Pañcavarṣas which Aśoka celebrated: in Pātaliputra, near the temple enclosing the Footprints, the two pilgrims noted a thirty-foot high stone pillar bearing an inscription: “Aśoka, strong in his faith, three times gave Jambudvipa as an offering to the Buddhist Saṃgha and three times bought it back with his own riches”.

Avadāna of Aśoka's younger brother (T 2042, ch. 2, pp. 106a-107c; T 2043, ch. 3, pp. 141b-144a; Divya, pp. 419-29). — Aśoka's younger brother — Vītāsoka in T 2043 and the Divya, Sudatta in T 2042 — had faith in heretical doctrines and mocked the Buddha's disciples whom he reproached for their easy life. In order to bring him round to the Good Law, Aśoka resorted to a stratagem. While he was taking his bath, the ministers, in connivance with him, invited Vītāsoka to try on
the royal crown the hazards of succession might perhaps lead him to assume. Vītaśoka followed their advice and, mounting the throne, put on the crown. The king came out of his bathing room and, seeing his brother seated on his throne, treated him as a usurper and handed him over to caṇḍālas to be put to death. However, in order to give him a chance to repent, he agreed to let Vītaśoka rule for seven days, after which he would be executed. Vītaśoka enjoyed all the royal prerogatives but each morning the caṇḍālas counted the days which remained to him and reminded him of his coming death. After the seventh day, Vītaśoka was brought before his brother, the king. Aśoka asked him for his impressions of those days of reigning and Vītaśoka replied: “All the pleasures of the senses with which I was gratified were vitiated by the prospect of my coming end. Tormented by the fever of death, I remained sleepless for whole nights”. Aśoka, embracing his brother, said to him: “I shall not have you put to death; I wanted to bring you to have faith in the Buddha’s Law and to explain to you how his disciples, even while they abstain from the arduous practices imposed on the brāhmīns, turn away from the sense-objects which they consider as nothing but vanity”.

Vītaśoka then went to the Kukkutārāma monastery where he received religious instruction from the Sthavira Yaśas. After that, with his brother’s permission, he left the world and withdrew to Videha where he attained Arhatship. He then returned to Pātaliputra and visited King Aśoka and his minister Rādhagupta; it was his turn to confirm them in their faith, by performing various wonders.

The Arhat flew as far as the frontier-regions of Puṇḍavardhana. There he fell ill, but Aśoka sent a physician to him who tended him and restored him to health. Meanwhile, the Jainas of Puṇḍavardhana had drawn some images of the Buddha and represented him as prostrating himself before the Nirgrantha Mahāvīra. On learning of this news, the king became angry and speedily dispatched his Yakṣas to punish them. In a single day, 18,000 Nirgranthas were put to death. Vītaśoka, who was staying in the dwelling of a Jaina, was also taken to be a Jaina and was beheaded. His head was brought before the king and the latter, having recognized it, was deeply saddened. Having learned that many Buddhist śramaṇas had been confused with the heretics and been put to death with them, he promulgated an edict forbidding the execution of any śramaṇa whatever.

The stratagem to which Aśoka had recourse in order to convert his half-brother is well-known to the whole Buddhist tradition, Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese, but the name of the brother in question varies
according to the sources: Vitasoka in the *Aśokasūtra* (T 2043, ch. 3, p. 141b), the *Divya* (p. 419 sq.) and the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 20, p. 211a); Sudatta or Sugātra in the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 2, p. 106a); the *Chu yao ching* (T 212, ch. 6, p. 641a) and the *Fēn pieh kung tē lun* (T 1507, ch. 3, p. 39c); Mahendra in Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912a), Tissa-kumāra in the Sinhalese chronicle (*Mahāvamsa*, V, 154 sq.).

According to Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 862a-b) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912a), when Aśoka’s brother, having become an Arhat, had performed the wonders at Paṭāliputra, he withdrew to a deserted gorge on the Grhrakūṭaparvata. Aśoka, however, persuaded him to return to the capital by promising to have a cave constructed for him. To this end, he invited the lesser gods to a festival and advised them each to bring a stone by way of a seat. When the festivity was over, the gods were requested to pile up the stones in such a manner as to build an “empty house”. This doubtless explains the title of Ekavihariya “Solitary dweller” which is applied to Tissa by the Pāli tradition.

With regard to the death of the latter, only the Sanskrit sources claim that he was confused with the Nirgranthas of Puṇḍavardhana and beheaded by Yaksas. According to the Sinhalese chronicle (*Mahāvamsa*, V, 241), he merely escaped being executed with his colleagues of the Aśokārāma when Aśoka wanted to punish those monks for not celebrating the uposatha with the heretics who had entered the order surreptitiously.

**Avadāna of Kuṇāla** (T 2042, ch. 3, pp. 108a-110b; T 2043, ch. 4, pp. 144a-147c; *Divya*, pp. 405-19).* — The very night when Aśoka erected his 84,000 stūpas, one of his wives, Padmāvatī, gave birth to a son. The infant’s eyes were so lovely that he was called Kuṇāla, after the name of a bird known for the splendour of its gaze. He was also named Dharmavivardhana “Increase of the Law”. He grew up and took as wife the princess Kāṇcanaṁalā. The Sthavira Yaśas, abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma, instructed him in the Buddhist religion, and Kuṇāla’s piety was beyond all praise. However, the chief queen, Tiṣyarakṣitā, became enamoured of him and made improper proposals to him. He repulsed her indignantly and she sought an occasion to avenge herself.

In the meantime, a rebellion had broken out in Takṣaśilā, and Kuṇāla was given the mission of quelling it. The prince’s arrival was enough to restore order, and he remained in Takṣaśilā as governor.

Meanwhile, in Pātaliputra, Aśoka fell ill. The wicked Tiṣyarakṣitā was the only one who could tend and cure him. As a reward for her services, Aśoka authorized her to rule in his stead for seven days. Tiṣyarakṣitā
immediately drafted an edict and profited from the king’s sleep to seal it
with the mark of the sovereign’s teeth. The edict was sent to Takṣaśilā:
it ordered the inhabitants to gouge out Kuṇāla’s eyes and banish him.
Everyone objected to such a barbarous order. Kuṇāla himself had his
eyes gouged out by a caṇḍāla and, far from bearing a grudge against his
stepmother, he blessed her inwardly for the opportunity she gave him to
practise patience.

With banishment imposed on him, Kuṇāla wandered from town to
town, playing the vina to earn his living. He ended up in Pātaliputra, at
the gate of his father’s palace. Taking shelter in a shed, he played the
vina at day-break. Moved by his voice, Aśoka sent for him and,
recognizing his son in that wretched beggar, he fainted. When he had
recovered, he embraced his son warmly and asked him who had gouged
out his eyes. Kuṇāla considered his misfortune merely as just pun­
ishment for some past fault and refused to say who was guilty. The
queen denounced herself, and Kuṇāla’s intercession was unable to avert
the royal wrath: Tiṣyarakṣitā was tortured and burned alive, and the
same punishment was inflicted on the inhabitants of Takṣaśilā. Accord­
ing to certain sources, Kuṇāla regained his sight because of his merit.

In many respects the story of Kuṇāla bears so striking a resemblance
to other tales, such as the adventures of Phaedra and Hippolytus and
especially the Byzantine story of the love-affair between Fausta, the wife
of Constantine the Great, and Crispus, the emperor’s son, that it is
difficult not to establish a connection between the Indian story and the
Byzantine tale. Furthermore, the Pāli tradition passes in complete silence
over the avadāna of Kuṇāla. Nevertheless, the legend is most solidly
established on the mainland. On the north side of a hill situated to the
south-east of Takṣaśilā, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 885a) saw a
hundred-foot high stūpa, erected, it is said, by Aśoka on the spot where
his son, Prince Kuṇāla, had had his eyes gouged out through the fault of
his stepmother; the blind used to go there to pray, and many recovered
their sight. The hill noted by Hsüan tsang is that of Hathial, and
Kuṇāla’s stūpa stood on the eastern fortifications of Takṣaśilā-Sirkap:
the site has been described by Sir John Marshall in his monumental
work on Taxila (Vol. I, p. 348 sq.; III, pl. 86-8). Furthermore, a prose
version of the legend of Kuṇāla was incorporated in the Liu tu chi ching
(T 152, ch. 4, p. 17c), translated in the third century by K’ang Sêng kuei,
and a version in verse is the subject of Taishō No. 2045, translated in the
fourth century by Dharmanandin. Kuṇāla is also mentioned in the
Avadānaśataka (II, pp. 200-1) and its Chinese version (T 200, ch. 10,
p. 256b), and his story is narrated in full by Tāranātha (p. 48). Finally,
the Khotanese chronicle claims that functionaries from Takṣaśilā, banished by Aśoka for having blinded his son, settled in Khotan where they came into conflict with Chinese colonists (T 2087, ch. 12, p. 943a).

**Avanāna of the half Āmalaka** (T 2042, ch. 3, pp. 110b-111b; T 2043, ch. 5, pp. 147c-149b; T 99, ch. 25, pp. 180a-182a; Divya, pp. 429-34).* — Aśoka, who had always dreamed of distributing up to a hundred koti of gold to the Saṃgha, realized towards the end of his life that he had still only given ninety-six. On the advice of his minister Rādhagupta, he prepared to complete his liberality. However, Sampadin, Kuṇāla’s son and Aśoka’s grandson, who was named heir presumptive, took advantage of his grandfather’s illness to make off with all he possessed. Nothing remained to Aśoka but a golden dish and a silver dish which he immediately sent to the monks at the Kukkuṭārāma. Finally, the king was given half a myrobalan (āmalaka). On his orders, the fruit was taken to Yaśas, the abbot of the monastery and the latter had it grated and put into the monks’ soup so that they could all share in the offering. Feeling his end was near, Aśoka made his will and entrusted it to his minister Rādhagupta: he left to the Saṃgha the whole of Jambudvīpa, bordered by the four oceans. After the death of the king, Rādhagupta and his colleagues bought Jambudvīpa back from the community for four koti of gold and restored it to the their Sampadin.

This last episode, which is unknown to the Sinhalese tradition, was exploited by Kumāralāta in his *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (T 201, ch. 5, pp. 283a-284c); Hsūn tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912b) saw, near the Kukkuṭārāma, the Āmalakastūpa intended to commemorate the episode.

**Avadāna of the reward given by Aśoka.** — Under this misleading title, the *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 7, pp. 128b-131a) records a dozen unconnected little stories concerning Aśoka, his queens, his ministers and the preachers he welcomed to his palace. They are summarized by J. Przybyski in his *Légende de l’Empereur Aśoka* (pp. 186-91); he found parallels for them in the *Sūtraśāstra* or, more precisely, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (T 201), *Avadānasataka*, *Avadānakalpalata*, *Tsa p’i yü ching* (T 204), *Tsa pao tsang ching* (T 203) and other similar collections. We can add that some of these stories — such as the tale of the Bhikṣu with Perfumed Breath — are again found in the *Upadeśa* (T 1509, ch. 11, p. 144).

Finally, in order not to be too incomplete, we would point out in the *Saṃgharakṣasamuccaya* (T 194, ch. 2, pp. 144c-145b), a prediction concerning Aśoka, and in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* (T 387, ch. 4, pp. 1097b-1098a), a panegyric of his queens and ministers.
c. — The Sinhalese chronicle on Asoka

The Sinhalese chronicle of the Dīpa (Dpv.) and the Mahāvamsa (Mhv.), possibly completed by the Samantapāśādikā (Sp.), the Mahāvamsa Commentary (MT) and the Mahābodhiyamāsa (Mbv.), have the advantage over the Aṣokāvadāna of presenting the events systematically classified and carefully dated.*

Bindusāra had sixteen queens who gave him a hundred and one sons; the crown prince was named Sumana (the Susima of the Sanskrit sources). Aṣoka was the son of Bindusāra and the aggamahesi Dharmā, a native of Moriyavamsa (MT, p. 125; Mbv., p. 98); the spiritual adviser to the family at that time was the Ajjivika Janasana. Aṣoka’s step-brother was called Tissa; the Sanskrit sources call him Vītəšoka or Sudatta, and Hsüan tsang confuses him with Mahendra, the son of Aṣoka.

During his youth, from 203 to 214 after the Nirvāṇa (283-272 B.C.), Aṣoka was viceroy in Avanti. Before reaching Ujjēni, the capital of the kingdom, he stopped in Vedisā (present-day Bhīlsa in the district of Gwalior) where he made the acquaintance of a certain Devī, the daughter of a merchant, whom he later wedded. She gave birth in Ujjēni first to Mahinda, born in 204 after the Nirvāṇa (282 B.C.); then, two years later, to Saṅghamitta, born in 206 after the Nirvāṇa (280 B.C.) (Dpv., VI, 20; Mhv., XIII, 8-11). Both children were to enter the order. However, before donning the religious robe, Saṅghamitta was given in marriage to Aggibrahmā, Aṣoka’s nephew, by whom she had a son, Sumana.

In 214 after the Nirvāṇa (272 B.C.), the date of the death of Bindusāra, Aṣoka left Ujjēni and reached Pātaliputta. He made himself master of the town and mounted the throne. He killed his hundred brothers, sparing only Tissa, born from the same mother as himself. That massacre earned him undisputed sovereignty over the whole of Jambudvipa, but also the appellation of Caṇḍāsoka, Aṣoka the Cruel (Dpv., VI, 21-2; Mhv., V, 20-1, 39-40, 189; Mbv., pp. 98-9; Sp., p. 41).

It was not until he had ruled for four years that in 218 after the Nirvāṇa (268 B.C.) Aṣoka received the royal consecration (abhiṣeka) with great pomp. He entrusted his step-brother Tissa with the vice-royalty (Dpv., VI, 1; Mhv., V, 21-33; Sp., pp. 41-2). His first wife, Devī, did not follow him to Pātaliputta so he took as queen Saṃdhimitā who was a devout Buddhist (Mhv., V, 85).

Years 1 to 3 of the consecration (219-221 after the N; 267-265 B.C.). — During the first three years of his reign Aṣoka, following his father’s example, continued to favour the sixty-two false doctrines and the
ninety-six heretical sects (*pāsāṇḍa*) : Brāhmins, Niganṭhas, Acelakas, etc., and he gave hospitality to 60,000 brāhmins. However, the greed of all these Tīthiyas disappointed him (*Dpv.*, VI, 24-30; *Mhv.*, V, 34-6). It was then that, from a window in his palace, he perceived the young śramaṇa Nigrodha who was on his alms-seeking round. This Nigrodha was the king's own nephew, the son of his brother Sumana. When Aśoka had Sumana put to death so that he could assume power, the wife of the latter, who was also named Sumanā, had taken refuge in a caṇḍāla village where she gave birth to a son who was given the name of Nigrodha. The Arhat Mahāvaruṇa had discovered signs of his destiny on the child and had induced him to enter the Buddhist Order; the very day of his ordination, Nigrodha attained Arhatship. He was still only seven years old when Aśoka saw him from his window and summoned to his palace. Nigrodha recited the *Appamādavagga* from the *Dhammapada* to him and the king, profoundly impressed, was converted to Buddhism : he took his refuge in the Three Jewels, and the whole palace was converted after him. From then on, Aśoka stopped his support of the heretics and transferred his favours to Nigrodha and the members of the Saṃgha (*Dpv.*, VI, 34-56; *Mhv.*, V, 41-72; *Sp.*, pp. 46-8).

**Year 4** (222 after the N; 264 B.C.). — Having learnt from Moggali-puttatissa, the Vinaya chief, that there were 84,000 articles of the Law, Aśoka decided to build an equal number of Buddhist monuments. At a cost of 96 kotis of gold vihāras were constructed in 84,000 towns of the empire. Aśoka himself founded, on the site of the Kukkuṭarāma in Pāṭaliputta, a monastery which took the name of Asokārāma. The construction of the vihāras required three years of work (*Dpv.*, VI, 99; *Mhv.*, V, 79, 173). Furthermore, with the help of the Nāga-king Mahākāla, the king erected a life-size statue of the Buddha and paid much homage to it (*Mhv.*, V, 87-94; *Sp.*, p. 43).

The same year Tissakumāra, Aśoka's brother and viceroy, took up the religious life (*Mhv.*, V, 171). Previously he had asked the king why the Buddhist monks were so lacking in joy and gaiety and Aśoka's only answer was to place him on his throne for a week, but with the warning that, once the seven days were over, he would be put to death. Tissa then understood how the Buddhists, aware of the frailty of things human, could not thoughtlessly devote themselves to joy. The prince requested admission to the Asokārāma and there received ordination at the hands of Mahādhammarakkhita. Aggibrahmā, Aśoka's nephew and son-in-law, the husband of Saṃghamittā, followed his example (*Mhv.*, V, 154-72; *Sp.*, pp. 54-6).
Year 6 (224 after the N.; 262 B.C.). — The two children Aśoka had by Devī took up the religious life simultaneously; they were respectively twenty and eighteen years old. The upajjhāya of Mahinda was Moggali­puttatissa; the pabbajjā ordination was conferred upon him by the Thera Mahādeva, and Majjhantika uttered the ritual words of the kammavācā. Once the ceremony was over, he immediately attained Arhatship. It was the same for his sister Saṃghamittā whose upajjhāya was the bhikkhuṇī Dhammapālā and whose ācāriya was Ayupalā (Dpv., VII, 24-6; Mhv., V, 204-11; Sp., pp. 51-2). Aśoka, who until then had only been a Paccayáyaka "Donor of requisites", was promoted to the title of Śaṣaṇadāyāda "Benefactor of the religion" to which he had just given his children (Mhv., V, 196-7; Sp., pp. 50-1).

Year 8 (226 after the N., 260 B.C.). — The death of the Theras Tissa and Sumitta. Sons of the kinnari Kuntī, they were ordained by Maha­variṇa and won Arhatship. Tissa died of a poisonous insect-bite, as there was not enough time to get him the ghee which could have saved him. Sumitta met his death while he was devoting himself to meditation in the Carīkama of the Asokavihāra. Both attained Nirvāṇa (Dpv., VII, 32-3; Mhv., V, 212-27; Sp., p. 52). The king then made arrangements for a plentiful supply of medicines to be given to the Community. His daily revenue amounted to 500,000 pieces of cash: 100,000 were reserved for Nigrodha, 100,000 were spent on offerings of incense and flowers at the Buddhist shrines, 100,000 were given to preachers, 100,000 were distributed to the Saṃgha and, finally, 100,000 were used for the buying of medicaments, placed at the disposal of the public at the four gates of the town (Sp., p. 52).

Year 10 (228 after the N., 258 B.C.). — Its continually increasing revenue attracted into the Order a great number of heretics who, from pure greed, donned the yellow robe of the Buddhist monk and mingled with the bhikkhus. They taught their own doctrines as being those of the Buddha (Mhv., V, 228-30). At that time, Mahinda, who had been ordained for four years, had completed his cycle of studies under the direction of Moggali­puttatissa: he knew the Basket of the Suttas by heart, just as it had been compiled at the first two councils; he was versed in the three knowledges, the six supernormal powers and the four analytical doctrines. In brief, he was a past master of the writings (Dpv., VII, 27-30). However, Moggali­putta, alarmed by the growing success of the heresy, decided to go into retreat and, after having entrusted the leadership of the bhikkhus to his pupil Mahinda, he withdrew for seven years to Mount Ahogaṅga on the upper Ganges (Mhv., V, 231-3).

During his absence, the unruliness of the heretics continued to
increase: Pañḍarangas, Jātīlas, Nigaṇṭhas, Acelikas and Ājīvikas, scattered throughout all the vihāras, were destroying the doctrine of the Buddha. The uposatha and pavaṇāṇa ceremonies were being celebrated by incomplete assemblies, since the bhikkhus refused to take part in them (Dpv., VII, 34-8; Mhv., V, 234-5; Sp., p. 53).

Year 17 (235 after the N., 251 B.C.). — In order to put an end to this schism, Aśoka called upon all the monks of the Asokārāma, 60,000 members in all, to celebrate a joint uposatha. A minister was despatched to the monastery to see that this order was carried out, but the theras obstinately refused to join the heretics. The minister, showing more zeal than enlightenment, undertook to behead them one by one. However, when the monk Tissa, the king’s step-brother, presented himself for the fatal blow, the minister interrupted the execution and submitted the matter to the king. The latter, deploring the fact that his orders had been so misinterpreted, was seized with remorse and wondered whether it was himself, or his minister who was responsible for the massacre. He consulted the bhikkhus, but opinions were divided. He was referred to the Thera Moggaliputta, who was still in retreat on the Ahogaṅga. Three embassies were sent to him, and the Thera ceded only to the entreaties of the third and went to Pāṭaliputta by raft. Aśoka welcomed him on his arrival and extended his right hand to him to help him disembark. Moggaliputta was received in the Rativaṇḍhana garden where he caused an earthquake and appeased the king’s remorse over the massacre of the monks: “There is no guilt without wrong intent”, and in connection with that he recited the Tittirajātaka (Dpv., VII, 44-9; Mhv., V, 234-64; Sp., pp. 53-4; 56-60).

Year 18 (236 after the N., 250 B.C.). — It was in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa that, according to the Dīpavamsa (VII, 37, 44), Aśoka convened the third Buddhist council at the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta. However, in the words of the Mahāvamsa (V, 280), this council took place in the 17th and not 18th year of the reign. The council continued for nine months, after which Moggaliputtagīta, who had presided over it, sent teams of missionaries to the various regions of India as well as to Ceylon. This council and the missions which followed it will later be the subject of a detailed exposition.

In 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), Devānampiyatissa, the sixth of his lineage, mounted the throne of Anurādhapura (Dpv., XI, 14; XVII, 78; Mhv., XI, 40). The start of his reign was marked by important events which were to result in the conversion to Buddhism of the island of Ceylon.

Year 26 (244 after the N., 242 B.C.). — The death of Moggaliputta-
tissa who had been ordained in the year 164 after the Nirvāṇa (322 B.C.) and had acted as Vinaya Chief since 176 after the Nirvāṇa (310 B.C.). Cf. Dpv., V, 69, 81, 95, 96, 102, 107.

Year 29 (247 after the N., 239 B.C.). — The death of Queen Asamdhimitā, a devout believer (Mhv., XX, 2).

Year 32 (250 after the N.; 236 B.C.). — Aśoka raised the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen (Mhv., XX, 3).

Year 34 (252 after the N.; 234 B.C.). — Jealous of the attention which Aśoka was paying to the Bodhi tree, the proud Tissarakkhā attempted to destroy the Bodhivṛkṣa with poisonous thorns (Mhv., XX, 4-5).

Year 37 (255 after the N.; 231 B.C.). — The death of Aśoka (Mhv., XX, 6).

d. — A Comparison between the Edicts and the Buddhist sources*

All the sources concerning Aśoka agree that the emperor was an exceptionally generous sovereign and a convinced Buddhist. According to the edicts, he propagated a Dharma, quite different from the Good Law, in which he merely defined the great principles of natural Law; he was an impartial sovereign, and favoured all the sects equally until the end of his life. Having been converted to Buddhism after the conquest of Kaliṅga, he proved his piety by increased zeal for the Dharma, pious tours, pilgrimages to Bodh-Gayā, Lumbini and the Kaunakamuni stūpa. When he interfered in the affairs of the Saṅgha it was only in order to recommend the reading of certain texts and to reduce the instigators of a schism to lay status.

In contrast, in the Buddhist sources Aśoka appears as the official protector of the Saṅgha. The Aśokāvadāna explains the emperor’s attitude by the Jātaka of the gift of earth and a prediction made by the Buddha Śākyamuni. However, the emperor’s youth hardly predisposed him to piety: as viceroy, he had to quell the rebellions at Takṣaśilā and Khaśa, or to govern Avanti. On the death of his father, he seized the throne by violent means and, once in power, put to death his brothers, concubines and ministers. Only his step-brother, Vitarśoka or Tissa, escaped his wrath. The construction of a prison modelled on the Buddhist hells is patent proof of his cruelty. On the other hand, during the early years of his reign he favoured brāhmins and heretics.

The Buddhists do not attribute Aśoka’s conversion to the remorse he felt after the massacre of Kaliṅga, but to his meeting with a young monk, Samudra or Nigrodha, who was related to him. Having become an upāsaka, the emperor showed himself to be a supporter of the Saṅgha, as generous as he was intolerant.
The new convert’s zeal was manifested in three ways: the construction of Buddhist monuments, pilgrimages to the holy places and, finally, the taking up of the religious life by members of his family.

The *Aśokāvadāna* concurs with the Pāli chronicle in attributing to Aśoka the erection of 84,000 stūpas, duplicated by as many vihāras, as well as the celebration of several Pañcavarṣas. The most famous vihāra was that in Pātaliputra, the Kukkuṭārāma, also called Aśokārāma after the name of its founder. The *Aśokāvadāna* declares that its abbot was the Venerable Yaśas, but the Pāli chronicle says he was the Vinaya chief, Moggaliputtatissa, soon to be assisted by Mahinda, the king’s own son.

In conformity with the edicts, the *Aśokāvadāna* attaches great importance to the visits paid to the holy places by Aśoka under the guidance of the Venerable Upagupta. According to this source, Upagupta was based at the Naṭabhaṭa monastery on Mount Urumuṇḍa in Mathurā, and had no connection with the Aśokārāma. However, several features of his story link him with the Moggaliputtatissa of the Pāli sources, that same Moggaliputta who presided over the fortunes of the Kukkuṭārāma, but then withdrew for seven years to the Ahogāṇa, a hill near Mathurā, and who in the end met the emperor in Pātaliputra by using a raft, as did Upagupta, to descend the river Ganges.\(^79\)

Concerning those in the king’s entourage who were ordained, the *Aśokāvadāna* mentions only his step-brother, Viṭasoka, in Pāli Tissa. The Buddhist sources concur in recounting the stratagem to which the king resorted in order to convert him, his taking up of the religious life and, finally, his experience with the royal officials: he is thought to have been confused with the Nirgraṇṭhas of Pundavardhana and executed by Yakṣas, or else he was beheaded by the minister entrusted with restoring harmony among the recalcitrant bhikkhus of the Aśokārāma. The Sinhalese chronicle, while also recording the story of this step-brother, attaches much more importance to the religious calling of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, respectively the son and daughter of Aśoka. It is to them that it attributes the conversion of the island of Ceylon. Conversely, the chronicle is wholly unaware of the story of Kuṇāla, the missionary at Takṣaśila, to whom the *Aśokāvadāna* devotes a long chapter.

Both traditions know of the treacherous Tisyarakṣita’s attempt on the Bodhi tree, but the *Aśokāvadāna* alone records the unfortunate end of Aśoka who was reduced by Sampadin to a bare living and had nothing to offer the Saṅgha but half a myrobalan.

\(^79\) On Upagupta-Moggaliputta, see L.A. WADDELL, *Upagupta, the fourth Buddhist Patriarch and High Priest of Aśoka*, JASB, 1897; *Identity of Upagupta ... with Moggaliputta Tissa*, Proc. ASB, 1899; J. PRZYLUŚKI, *Légende ...*, p. 112.
According to the Sinhalese chronicle, the year 17 or 18 of the reign was marked by two events of extreme importance: the council of Paṭaliputra and the sending out of Buddhist missionaries by Moggaliputta. The *Aṣokāvadāna* and related sources do not mention them at all. However, other Sanskrit sources, of Kaśmīrīan origin, record that, in the year 16 of his reign, Aśoka intervened in the internal affairs of the Saṅgha, and that this intervention resulted in splitting the community into rival groups, the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas.

It is difficult to decide on the respective value of the two Buddhist traditions. Both try to satisfy the reader’s taste for the wondrous and the sensational. The *Aṣokāvadāna* abounds in racy anecdotes and childish stories, which are, however based on the evidence of the whole continental tradition and which were expressed in literature and art. The Sinhalese tradition is more systematic and provides exact dates, but is only valid for Ceylon: it was unknown to or neglected by writers on the mainland. Furthermore, the titles of the suttas and jātakas uttered by the monks and missionaries whom it presents (cf. *Dpv.*, VI, 52; VII, 43, 56; VIII, 5 sq.; *Mhv.*, V, 68, 264, 278; XII, 26, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 41, 51), presuppose the complete and final codification of the Pāli canon in its present form, and such a codification—as we have seen earlier—could not have been undertaken before the fifth century A.D., at the time of Buddhaghosa. It does indeed seem that the Sinhalese records concerning Aśoka were revised and brought up to date at a later period when the Pāli canon was definitively settled. However, its collators may well have made use of earlier documents.

e. — Aśoka and Kaśmīr

Kalhaṇa who, in the twelfth century, compiled the Kaśmīrīan chronicle of the *Rājatarangini* links Aśoka to the ancient royal lineage and gives as his great-grandfather a certain Śakuni, unknown elsewhere. However, he is not unaware that Aśoka was a devout adherent of the Buddha’s doctrine and even attributes to him the founding of a large number of stūpas and vihāras in the region of Śuṣkaletra and Vītastrāta (*Rājat.*, I, 102-3). So far, no trace of these have been found, but it should be noted that Hsüan tsang (*T* 2087, ch. 3, p. 886a) had also recorded the existence in Kaśmīr of four Aśokan stūpas, each containing a bushel of relics.

Still according to Kalhaṇa (I, 104-7), the foundation of Śrīnagarī on the site of the present-day village of Pāndrethan could be traced back to Aśoka. His Buddhist convictions did not prevent him in the least from
showing his respect for Śivaism: he replaced the old enclosure of the Vijayeśvara shrine at Vijabron by a stone wall and enriched the sanctuary with two new temples which received the name of Aśokeśvara; he made a pilgrimage to the holy Mount Haramukhā where he gained the favour of Śiva Bhūteśa: the god granted him a son, Jalauka, who was destined to fight the Mlecchas who threatened the frontiers of the kingdom.

In the Kaśmīrian chronicle, Jalauka is presented as a popular hero: he repulsed the Mlecchas, undertook vast conquests, introduced new colonies into Kaśmīr and for the first time organized a complete system of administration. Having been instructed in the Śivaite religion by the holy Avadhūta, the "destroyer of Buddhist theoreticians", he became the official protector of the sanctuaries of Śiva Vijayeśvara and Nandiśa. However, after opposing Buddhism, he adopted a more friendly attitude thanks to the intervention of a Buddhist enchantress, in memory of whom he built the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra (Rājat., I, 108-52).

If there is any historical truth in this tradition, it seems to be submerged under a spate of anachronisms.

f. — Aśoka and Nepal

We have already seen, from the evidence of the Aśokāvadāna, how in his youth the emperor had had to quell an uprising in Khaśa. The historian Tāranātha (p. 27) states that the rebellious movement extended to the hill-people of Nepal: the young prince easily mastered them and instituted taxes and tributes. The edicts of Rummindei and Nīgālī Sāgar prove that Nepal formed part of the imperial states, and that Aśoka went there in person to pay homage to the birthplace of the Buddha and the stūpa of Kaunakamuni. The Nepalese tradition adds that the pilgrimage made by Aśoka went as far as Nepal, that the king founded the town of Patan, two miles to the south-east of Kathmandu, and built five caityas, one in the centre and four on the periphery of the new city. The first still exists today: it is a stūpa of an archaic type. On this journey, Aśoka was probably accompanied by his daughter Cārumati, who was to marry a Nepalese kṣatriya named Devapāla. The young couple settled in Nepal, where they founded the town of Deopatan;

80 We have merely reproduced here the information supplied by S. Lévi, Le Népal, Paris, 1905-08, Vol. I, pp. 67, 223; II, pp. 24, 336; III, p. 161 sq.; Cambridge History, pp. 501-2; N. Sastri, Age of the Nandas, p. 221. However, the two scientific expeditions led by G. Tucci will shortly add to our knowledge on the subject. In the interim, see G. Tucci, Preliminary Report on two scientific Expeditions in Nepal, Rome, 1956.
towards the end of her life, Cārūmatī retired to a vihāra which she had built to the north of the city and which still bears her name: the Vihāra of Chabahil. Tradition still links Aśoka with the famous shrine of the primordial Buddha Svañambhūnātha, located in Western Nepal.

g. — Aśoka and Khotan

Some sources which go no further back than the seventh century A.D. attribute to Aśoka or his sons the founding of the kingdom of Khotan in Central Asia. It is unlikely, however, that the Mauryan empire extended beyond India itself.

The most reasonable version of the legend is recorded by Hsūan tsang in his *Hsi yü chi* (T 2087, ch. 12, p. 943a-b): Aśoka banished from his empire the officials of Takṣaśīlā who, carrying out the orders of the cruel Tisyaśrakṣitā, had blinded his son Kuṇāla. The exiles crossed the Snow Mountains and settled in a desert which covered the western part of Khotan. At the same period, a Chinese prince, who was also in exile, occupied the eastern part of Khotan. The two colonies came to blows; the leader of the Taxilians was vanquished and forced to flee, but he was captured and finally beheaded. The Chinese prince occupied the central portion of the kingdom, which extended between the two colonies — Chinese and Indian —, and established his capital there.

The *Life of Hsūan tsang* (T 2053, ch. 5, p. 251a) records these events in a somewhat different way: it is Kuṇāla himself, Aśoka's son, who was banished and withdrew to Khotan where he set up his capital. Since he had no descendants, he went to the temple of the god Vaiśravaṇa and asked him for a son. A male child emerged from the god's brow and, having no mother, was fed from a breast which issued miraculously from the ground near the temple. Hence the name of Kustana (*stana "breast") given to the child.

The Buddhist prophecy in the *Gośṅgavyākaraṇa* , compiled about


the seventh century, tells how a king of China had asked Vaiśravaṇa for a son and the god brought him an Indian boy who was none other than Aśoka's son. A breast which appeared miraculously from the ground fed the child who took the name of "Breast of the Earth — Breast of the Mother" (Sa-las-nu-ma-nu), a periphrase which serves to translate Kustana. His adoptive father named him king of Khotan. He went to occupy his territory with the Lord Chancellor Hjañ-šo (Yaśas) and several Chinese army units. The Chinese were soon joined by a numerous Indian tribe coming from the western region. An agreement was reached between the two colonies over the communal use of water and, throughout the territory, Hjañ-šo established Chinese and Indian towns and villages.

The Tibetan chronicle of the *Li-yul* supplies date and details: it locates Aśoka's accession in 184 after the Nirvāṇa (302 B.C.), the birth of Kustana in 215-6 after the Nirvāṇa (371-72 B.C.), his accession in 234-5 after the Nirvāṇa (252-51 B.C.) and the death of Aśoka in 239-40 after the Nirvāṇa (247-46 B.C.). The Indian king Dharmāśoka, who was converted to Buddhism by his "spiritual friend" the Arhat Yaśas, went one day to Khotan. It was there that his wife, fertilized by an apparition of the god Vaiśravaṇa, gave birth to a male child. Aśoka, fearing he might be dethroned by that son, abandoned him on the spot, but the child was fed from a breast which came out of the ground, and his name was Kustana. At that time, a Chinese king (Shih huang ti?) who had as yet only 999 sons, asked Vaiśravaṇa for a thousandth one. The god gave Kustana to him, and the king welcomed him among his own. Once he had grown up, the adopted son quarrelled with his brothers and father and returned to Khotan, his native country, with ten thousand Chinese colonists. Yaśas, Aśoka's minister, who had become insufferable at the Indian court, also went to Khotan with seven thousand men. There he came up against Kustana and the Chinese. After some frictions which were appeased by the god Vaiśravaṇa, an agreement was reached: the Chinese occupied Skarn-sed to the east of the rivers; the Indians settled in Kon-sed to the west of the rivers; the centre of the country was exploited jointly by both colonies.

If there is the slightest element of truth in the Khotanese legend, it concerns the establishment of an early Indian colony in Khotan. Some documents in Prākrit of the North-West and in Kharoṣṭhī script, the oldest of which date back to the third century B.C., have been discovered in the southern part of the Tarim Basin, mainly at Niya and Endere.

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83 Id., ibid., pp. 89-136.
They deal with affairs of public administration and private life, and the persons who signed them have Indian names — such as Bhima, Baṅgusena, Nandasena, Śamasena, Śitaka, Upājīva — or they are adapted from Indian, such as Aṅgacha, Kuśanasena, etc. These documents prove that one or several Indian colonies came and settled in Khotan during the last centuries B.C. and spoke a dialect linguistically related to Prākrit of the North-West (Taxila).

5th — The last Mauryas

The Indian empire, conquered after a hard-fought struggle by Candragupta, politically organized by Cāṇakya, and spiritually unified by Aśoka, fell into a decline on the death of the latter. By favouring the sects in general and Buddhism in particular, the pious emperor possibly alienated the sympathy of the brāhmins, the traditional supporters of the throne. The doctrine of Ahimsa or Non-Violence, which was strictly enforced after the conquest of Kaliṅga, had perhaps avoided bloody wars, but it also contributed to the weakening of military power in the empire and deprived the central authorities of an indispensable instrument of domination. In reality, the Mauryan empire began to disintegrate and then collapsed under the very weight of its size, a victim of the centrifugal forces which brought pressure on it, palace intrigues, communication difficulties, the greed of local governors and autonomist movements instigated by their exactions. Its final disintegration was the result of Greek invasions and a military revolt.

The last Mauryas are known from the Purāṇic and Buddhist lists reproduced above (pp. 216-218). There are too many of them for the space of 49 years assigned to their reigns. It is probable that several of them ruled simultaneously over different provinces of the empire.

The legend woven around Kuṇāla situates him in North-West India, in Takṣašilā, possibly even Khotan.

Although he is unknown to the Buddhist and Jaina sources, the Daśaratha of the Purāṇic list left three short dedicatory inscriptions (LÜDERS, 954-6) which commemorate the gift of the Vahiyakā, Gopikā and Vaḍathikā caves to the Venerable Ājīvakas “by the beloved of the gods (devānampiya) Daśalatha”. They are to be found on the Nāgārjunī Hill near the Barābar caves which Aśoka presented to the same sect.

In the Aśokāvadāna, reference has already been made to Sampadin or Sampati, grandson of Aśoka and son of Kuṇāla. He opposed the foolish expenditure of his ageing grandfather and held him in thrall before inheriting the throne when it was bought back from the Saṅgha by
Asoka’s ministers. The Jaina sources (Pāṭaliputramalpa by Jinaprabhasuri) also refer to him as Asoka’s immediate successor; he ruled in Pāṭaliputra and, after his conversion to Jainism under the influence of Suhasatin, “he established vihāras for the (Jaina) Śramaṇas as far away as non-Āryan countries”.

Śāliśūka, his successor according to the Purāṇa, is mentioned in the Yogapurāṇa of the Gārgī Samhitā (vv. 89-93) : “In pleasant Puṣpadura (Pāṭaliputra), Śāliśūka will reign. That king, the son of his deeds, wicked and pugnacious, will oppress his kingdom: he based his authority on the Dharma, being himself irreligious... And that madman will establish the supposed Victory of the Law”. The text is corrupt and the passage obscure but, if we have understood it correctly, the author, from the viewpoint of his brāhmanic orthodoxy, is reproaching Śāliśūka for a triumph of the Law which would have made him an emulator of his great ancestor.

Should the Vṛṣasena of the Buddhist list or the Viṣāsena of Tāranātha be identified with the Sophagasenus (Skt. Subhāgasena) who, in approximately the year 206, was to make way for Antiochus III the Great, after a long war which the latter waged against Euthydemus of Magesia, the king of Bactria? According to Polybius (XI, 34, 11-12), once the hostilities were over, Antiochus “having crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and having entered Indian territory, renewed his friendship with King Sophagasenus. He received elephants from him, so that in all he had one hundred and fifty and, after having supplied his troops with wheat, he returned with his army; however, he left behind Androsthenes of Cyzicus to bring back the treasure which had been granted to him by the king”.

As will be seen further on, Brhadratha, the last of the line, was killed during a military parade by his commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra; however, the Buddhist sources are wrong in identifying the latter as a member of the Maurya family. The fall of the empire did not completely extinguish the lineage: there was still a Pūrṇavarman in Magadha, some Mauryan princes in Koṅkan, a Dhavala in Rājputana, a Govindarāja in Khandesh and the memory of the Mauryas endured in Kāṇḍātaka until the eleventh century 84.

2. — THE GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA

BACTRIA FROM 325 TO 250 B.C. 85. — From the year 325 B.C. onwards, the Greek military colonists who had been settled in Bactria by

84 Cf. Raychaudhuri, Political History, p. 353; N. Sastri, Age of the Nandas..., p. 248.
85 Besides general works, see particularly, W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India,
Alexander, rebelled; they separated from the Macedonians and, 3,000 in number, strove to return to their native land (Diodorus, XVII, 99, 5-6). They occupied the citadel of Bactra and their leader, Athenodorus, even assumed the title of king, less through greed for power than a desire to bring back to Greece those who acknowledged his authority. One of his compatriots, Biton, who was jealous of him, had him assassinated during a feast by the Bactrian Boxus. However, the rebels would not acknowledge Biton as king and were about to slay him (Quintus Curtius, IX, 7, 3-4). He returned to his country, but the majority of the colonists were still in the higher satrapies when Alexander’s empire was shared out by Perdiccas in 323, a partition which confirmed Philippus as satrap of Bactria (Diodorus, XVIII, 3, 3).

However, the rebellious movement spread. The mercenaries chose the Aenean Philo as their general and built up an army of 20,000 infantrymen and 3,000 cavalrymen who had all taken part in warfare and were noted for their bravery. In order to subdue them, Perdiccas withdrew 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry from the Macedonian army, and put the contingent in charge of General Peithon, the satrap of Media. The latter easily defeated the rebels. He would have liked to spare them, but his soldiers, obeying the orders of Perdiccas, were pitiless and massacred the vanquished taking them unawares. Peithon, frustrated in his wishes, could only take his Macedonians back to Perdiccas (Diodorus, XVIII, 7, 1-9).

Nevertheless, the Greek element did not disappear from Bactria. At the partition of Triparadisus in 321, the satrapy passed, together with Sogdiana, into the hands of Stasanor of Soloi (Diodorus, XVIII, 39, 6). The latter, with his colleagues from the higher satrapies, embraced the cause of Eumenes in his battle against Antigonus: including troops supplied by Stasandrus, satrap of Aria and Drangiana, the Bactrian contingent consisted of 1,500 infantry and 1,000 cavalry (Diodorus, XIX, 14, 7). However after the indecisive battles waged in Paraenece and Gabiene, Eumenes was delivered to Antigonus by his argyraspides and strangled in his prison (316); the satraps then disbanded and each of them thought nothing but his own safety. Stasanor of Soloi returned to Bactria, his possession of which was officially confirmed by Antigonus (Diodorus, XIX, 48, 1).

During the final partition of Alexander’s empire, Iran, as we know, fell to the Seleucids. From then on, the higher satrapies revolted in the

orbit of the court of Antioch, in the reigns of Seleucus I Nicator (312-280) and Antiochus I Soter (280-261). They were to break away, at least in part, in the reign of Antiochus II Theos (261-247). This prince, engaged in the West during the second Syrian war (260-255) and allied with Macedonia, retook from the Egypt of the Ptolemies, the coast of Asia Minor and fortified towns in Coele-Syria. His second marriage (252) to Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II, and the repudiation of his wife and cousin Laodice involved the empire in a difficult problem of succession which, together with the external wars, enabled Bactria and Parthia to proclaim their independence.

Diodotus I, King of Bactria (ca 250-235 B.C.). — Taking advantage of the troubles which had broken out in the trans-Taurian region subsequent to the lack of attention which the kings of Syria and Media, too busy elsewhere, could give to that remote part of their states, the leaders to whom those possessions had been entrusted roused Bactria and the whole adjacent region” (Strabo, XI, 9, 2). This defection took place in 250 B.C. “under the consulate of L. Manlius Vulso and M. Attilus Regulus”. The satrap of Bactria and Margiana at the time was Diodotus, designated by Justin by the name of Theodotus: “Theodotus, the governor of a thousand towns in Bactria, defected and assumed the title of king” (Justin, XLI, 4, 5).

“The Scythian Arsaces, in turn, followed by a band of Dahae nomads, called Dahae Parni, who lived along the Ochus (Hēri-rūd), attacked and seized Parthia” (Strabo, XI, 9, 2). Justin states that, at the time, Parthia was governed by a certain Andragoras, some of whose coins have been found; Andragoras was killed, and Arsaces became ruler of the nation (Justin, XLI, 4, 6-7).

It is generally believed that Arsaces was a Scythian, although “some authors claim that he was a native of Bactria and that it was because he was not able to hold out against the increased power of Diodotus that he fled to Parthia and incited it to revolt” (Strabo, XI, 9, 3). Arrian gives the Arsacids, Arsaces and Tiridates, as the sons of Phiapita and grandsons of Arsaces (Parthica, fr. 1); Syncellius has them descend from the Achaemenid Artaxerxes II, king of the Persians (Syncell, p. 284b). According to these two authors, Parthia, at the time of the revolt, was governed by the Macedonian Pherecles or Agathocles, appointed satrap by Antiochus II Theos; this governor made an indecent attack on Tiridates’ person, so the two brothers instigated a plot and killed him. The same fact is recorded by Zosimus (I, 18). Arsaces I ruled for two years (250-248); Antiochus II did not dispute his conquest, any more than he had troubled Diodotus I.
Tiridates succeeded his brother under the name of Arsaces II, and reigned from 248 to 214. The Parthian era begins on April 14th 247, a date which has been established by a Babylonian tablet which gives both dates, Seleucid and Parthian.

In Syria, Antiochus II Theos, poisoned by Laodice, the wife he repudiated, left two children: Seleucus II Callinicus and Antiochus Heirax. Seleucus II ruled from 247 to 226. He spent his life on campaigns. During the third Syrian war (246-241), his kingdom was invaded as far as the Tigris by Ptolemy III and he had only just repulsed this invasion when he had to engage his own brother, Antiochus Heirax, in implacable warfare which cut off his states in Asia Minor to the north of the Taurus (before 236).

In the meantime, Tiridates, promoted to the title of King and Great King in Parthia, had seized Hyrcania without any opposition and so was ruler of two kingdoms. It was only in 236 that the legitimate sovereign, Seleucus II, considered disputing his conquest. He allied himself with another rebel, Diodotus I, the king of Bactria and marched against Tiridates. Faced with this danger, the latter "raised a great army because he feared Seleucus and Diodotus, king of Bactria" (Justin, XLI, 4, 8).

Diodotus II (ca 235-225 B.C.). — The Bactro-Syrian coalition had made Arsaces II Tiridates fear-stricken: following the example given in the past by Bessus and Spitamenes, he took refuge with the Scythians, his compatriots: "Fleeing from Seleucus II Callinicus, he withdrew to the land of the Apasiacae (of the Massagetae race on the Middle Oxus)" (Strabo, XI, 8, 8). However, before hostilities began, Diodotus I died and was replaced by his son Diodotus II. The latter immediately broke off the alliances and, parting definitively from the court of Antioch, embraced the Parthians' cause. Thus it was that Tiridates "freed from anxiety by the death of Diodotus (I), made peace and allied himself with that prince's son also named Diodotus (II); shortly afterwards, he came to blows with Seleucus who came to punish the rebels and he was the victor" (Justin, XLI, 4, 9). Now that he was the uncontested ruler of Bactria, Diodotus II struck staters of gold and tetradrachms of copper with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ: the obverse represented the profile of the prince as a young man; the reverse, a standing Zeus, throwing a thunderbolt.

Euthydemus of Magnesia (ca 225-190 B.C.). — The Diodotus lineage was overthrown by a certain Euthydemus of Magnesia, who later boasted to the Seleucids that he had put to death the descendants of the rebels (Polybius, XI, 34, 2). Whether or not he acted at the
instigation of the Antioch court, he ruled in Bactria with the name of \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΕΙΔΗΜΟΥ} \), and struck coins representing on the reverse, no longer the Diodotus Zeus, but Heracles, sitting on a rock and holding a club in his right hand.

Euthydemus came up against a powerful opponent in the person of Antiochus III the Great. The latter, the son of Seleucus II who had died in 226, succeeded his elder brother Seleucus II Soter in 223, and immediately took steps to restore his kingdom. His attempt to reconquer Ptolemaic Syria and Palestine failed at the Egyptian victory of Raphia which ended the fourth Syrian war (219-216). He was more fortunate in Upper Asia where, from 212 to 204, he undertook an armed circuit comparable to the Anabasis of Alexander. With one hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry, he traversed Southern Armenia, Sophene, the dynasty of which submitted; he then dealt with Arsaces III Artaban, king of the Parthians (214-196); finally he proceeded to attack Bactria (208).

According to Polybius (X, 49), Antiochus III entered the district of Tapuria (Tapuri on the Upper Atrek) which was defended by Euthydemus, crossed the river Arius (Hēri-rūd) by surprise, and put to flight the ten thousand Bactrian cavalymen who were responsible for its defence. Fear-sticken, Euthydemus withdrew with his army to the town of Zariaspa in Bactria where Antiochus came and besieged him (Polybius, XXIX, 6A, 5). Hostilities continued for two years (208-206), while Scythian hordes were a dangerous threat to the northern frontiers of the kingdom. This peril was skilfully exploited for Antiochus by Teleas, kinsman of Euthydemus, who pointed out the dangers which a fratricide battle between the Seleucids and the Greek king of Bactria would hold for the cause of Hellenism. Euthydemus, far from defecting, had killed the descendants of the rebel Diodotus, and it was wrong of Antiochus to try and dethrone him. The Bactrian king wished for peace and only asked to retain his title. A refusal would benefit only the nomad Scythians, who were ready to invade the country (Polybius, XI, 34, 1-5).

The plea of Teleas was heard. Only too happy to end the war which was dragging on, Antiochus agreed to deal with Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, who had been sent to him to conclude peace: “Having received him with favour, and judging the young man to be worthy of ruling, as much because of his good looks as the majesty of his address, Antiochus promised him the hand of one of his daughters, and granted his father Euthydemus the title of king. Having settled the other points with a written agreement and concluded a sworn alliance, he struck camp after having copiously revictualled his army and taking with him
all the elephants which had belonged to Euthydemus" (Polybius, XI, 34, 9-10).

Instead of returning to his country by the direct route, Antiochus, as we have seen, crossed the Hindúkush and entered Indian territory. He renewed with the Maurya Subhāgasena the treaty which had been concluded formerly between Seleucus I and the emperor Candragupta, not without imposing on the Indian king a heavy war tax. Finally, he returned to Syria across Arachosia, Drangiana and Carmania.

Strengthened by the alliance concluded with the Seleucid, and making the most of the weakness of the last representative of the Mauryas in the North-West, Euthydemus and his son Demetrius extended their kingdom towards the north-west, at the expense of the Arsacids, and to the south-east to the detriment of the Indians. Euthydemus seems to have asserted his authority over Arachosia and the regions located to the west of the Indus. His coinage is wide-spread, and the variety of the monograms indicates the existence of many mints. The places where the coins were found suggest an extensive domain, and the variations of his effigy, going from youth to old age, bear witness to a long reign. It is believed that he died about the year 190. The weakening of the Seleucid empire by the defeats at Thermopylae, Magnesia under Sipylos and Corycus, the shameful peace of Apamea (188), soon followed by the death of Antiochus III (187), the collapse of the Mauryan empire after the assassination of Daśaratha (ca 187), made Bactria the most powerful state of eastern Iran. Demetrius was able to take advantage of the circumstances to carve out an Indian empire for himself.

Greek through its dynasts, Bactria had remained Iranian in its beliefs and way of life: "Formerly", says Strabo, "there was hardly any difference, between the Nomads on the one hand, and the Sogdians and Bactrians on the other with regard to their way of life and all their manners and customs" (Strabo, XI, 11, 3). Homeland of Zoroastrianism, Bactria remained faithful to the cult of Fire and Anaitis, goddess of the Oxus, who, with her crown of rays, appears on the coins of Demetrius. According to Onesicritus, the Bactrians who reached old-age or who fell sick were thrown alive to "entomber-dogs"; the Tapurian males wore black and had long hair, and the bravest had the right to marry the woman of their choice; the Caspians left septuagenarians to die of hunger and exposed their bodies in the desert, where they were devoured by birds of prey. For a long time, Bactria was to remain faithful to her ancestral customs and force all her conquerors to become Iranized to a considerable degree. It was only after the Kuśāṇa period that she was to become accessible to Buddhist propaganda, whatever the
efforts made by the missionaries may have been up till then. Ceylon on the contrary, if the tradition can be believed, embraced the Good Law in the reign of Devānampiyatissa, a contemporary of Aśoka.

3. — CEYLON FROM 250 TO 200 B.C.*

While Aśoka and the last Mauryas occupied the throne of Magadha, two kings reigned in Ceylon whose names and dates are supplied to us by the chronicles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sovereign</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Era of the Nirv.</th>
<th>Ancient Era (B.C.)</th>
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<tr>
<td>6. Devānampiyatissa</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>236-276</td>
<td>250-210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Uttiya</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>276-286</td>
<td>210-200</td>
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The event of greatest importance was the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon and the establishment of communities of bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs which, under the protection of the kings, were able to develop freely.

As we saw earlier, it was in about the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign (256-255 B.C.) that Aśoka boasted in his edicts (BLOCH, pp. 93, 130) that he had made the Law victorious in foreign lands, in the kingdoms of South India and, in particular, Tāmrapārṇi or Ceylon. His envoys who, we should remember, were not Buddhist propagandists, no doubt arrived on the island towards the end of the reign of the fifth sovereign Muṭasiva, who gave them a warm welcome. Five or six years later, Muṭasiva died and the throne passed to his second son Devānampiya.

Devānampiyatissa (236-276 after the Nirvāṇa, 250-210 B.C.). — The history of his reign, which lasted for forty years, is narrated in detail in the chronicles of the Dīpa (XI, 14 sq.; XII, 7; XVII, 92) and the Mahāvamsa (XI, XIII-XX). Here, we will merely record its main facts.

The day of his first coronation was marked by the miraculous appearance of wonderful treasures. The king decided to send part of them to the emperor Aśoka, with whom he was on friendly terms. An embassy, led by Mahārīṭha, the king's nephew, was entrusted with conveying them to Pāṭaliputra. Aśoka, who had just initiated the third Buddhist council, graciously received the gifts which were made to him. He sent the embassy back to Ceylon with the material needed for a second coronation. At the same time, he sent a pressing invitation to Devānampiyatissa to embrace the Buddha's religion: "I have taken,
my refuge”, he wrote to the king, “in the Buddha, the Law and the Community; I have proclaimed myself to be a lay disciple in the religion of the Sons of the Śākya; it is your turn, O best of men, to appease your mind through faith and take your refuge in those three supreme Jewels”. On the return of the embassy, Devānampiyatissa was solemnly crowned a second time, and prepared to receive the Buddhist message.

Shortly after, at the full moon in the month of Jeṭṭha in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (May, 250 B.C.), the king, who was engaged in a hunting party on Mount Missaka (Mihintalé, eight miles north of the capital), saw landing at his side seven Buddhist missionaries who had flown through the air to convert the island of Ceylon. Mahinda, the head of the mission, expounded a sutta to him and the king, who wished for nothing else than to be converted, embraced Buddhism. His retinue, numbering five hundred persons, followed his example.

The following day, he took Mahinda and his companions to his capital and settled them in the Nandana and Mahāmeghavana parks, situated to the south of Anurādhapura. The missionaries organized a series of sermons which brought the number of converts to 8,500.

During the mission, which lasted for seven days, the king offered the Mahāmeghavana to the Saṅgha by pouring into Mahinda’s hand the contents of a water pitcher, as a sign of an everlasting donation (Mhv., XV, 14-15; 24-5). Then, in order to ensure definitively the “establishment of the religion of the Victorious One” (jinasāsanapatiṭṭhāna), he fixed with Mahinda the boundaries of the parish (sīmā) where the uposatha ceremonies and other acts of the Saṅgha were to take place (Dpv., XIV, 21-5; Mhv., XV, 180-94).

On the twenty-seventh day after the arrival of the missionaries fifty-five young Sinhalese, Arittha among them, donned the religious robe and received ordination. The bhikkhus withdrew to Mount Missaka and spent the rainy season there. It was there that the king built the Cetiyapabbata vihāra for them (Mhv., XVI, 12-17).

The monks’ retreat ended at the full moon of the month of Kattika (October). Immediately, at Mahinda’s instigation Devānampiyatissa sent the sāmaṇera Sumana, Aśoka’s grandson, who had come to Ceylon with Mahinda, to Pātaliputra. Sumana acquired from his grandfather, as well as from the god Sakka, a quantity of precious relics, in particular the right clavicle (dakkhairakkhaka) and the alms-bowl (patta) of Sakyamuni. One they reached Ceylon, all these relics were placed provisionally in the Cetiyapabbata (Mhv., XVII, 9-23).

Finally, Princess Anulā, Muṭasiva’s daughter and Devānampiya’s step-sister, expressed the desire to take up the religious life with some
companions; it thus became necessary to acquire a chapter of Buddhist nuns so they could be ordained authentically. A third embassy, under the leadership of the bhikkhu Mahāriṣṭha, was therefore sent to Aśoka’s court. Ariṭṭha asked the emperor of India not only for some ten nuns, but also for the southern branch of the tree of Enlightenment (mahā-bodhidakkhiṇasākha). His request was granted, and the nun Sāṃghamittā, Aśoka’s own daughter, was sent to Ceylon with ten other bhikkhuṇīs; they carried with them the branch of the holy tree. Aśoka himself escorted them through the Vindhyas to the port of Tāmalitti (Tamralipti, present-day Tamluk), on the eastern coast. The holy women, accompanied by Magadhan nobles, took to sea on the first day of the month of Maggasira (November). After a rapid but stormy crossing, they landed in Ceylon, at the port of Jambukolā, where the king awaited them in the midst of a throng of people who had come from all parts of the island. The planting of the holy branch was performed with great ceremony. Saplings were planted in Anurādhapura and the surrounding area, in Jambukolapāṭṭana, in the village of Tivakka Brāhmaṇa in the north, in Kājāragāma in the south, and in a place known as Candana-gāma which has not been identified. Later, thirty-two saplings were distributed throughout the island (Mhv., XVIII-XIX).

Sāṃghamittā and the bhikkhuṇīs conferred ordination on Princess Anulā and her companions. The Upāsikā-vihāra, where the last-named lived, was transformed and enlarged, and was given the name of Hatthālhaka-vihāra or Bhikkhunupassaya. Sāṃghamittā set up her quarters there (Mhv., XIX, 65-71).

Tradition attributes to Devānampiyatissa the founding of some twenty Buddhist monuments some of which still exist today: but they underwent so many transformations in the course of time, that any hope of discovering their original form is lost.

The most important of them are to be found within precincts of the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery, including the Mahāmeghavana which was presented to the Sāṃgha by Devānampiya and laid out under the orders of Mahinda. The place was visited by the Buddha Śākyamuni and his three predecessors (Dpv., II, 61, 64; Mhv., I, 80; XV, 86).

The Thūpa “par excellence” was erected by the king near the walls to the south of Anurādhapura. A monastery adjoined it and was given the name of Thūpārāma (Mhv., XVII, 62-4). It was in the Thūpārāma Dāgaba that the relic of the Buddha’s right clavicle, brought back from Pātaliputra by the śrāmanera Sumana, was placed (Mhv., XVII, 50). Today the monument is still an object of fervent veneration by millions of Buddhists, not only from Ceylon but also from other countries which
adhere to the Theravāda. It has undergone so many transformations that it is impossible to decide what the original was like. At present, it is a small-sized stūpa, the base of which has a diameter of 12 metres. It is surrounded by a row of stone columns surmounted by delicately sculpted capitals which must at one time have supported a wooden superstructure. This dāgaba is probably the first stūpa to be built in Ceylon, although tradition claims that the Mahiyaṅgaṇa Dāgaba, in the province of Uva, and that of Girihaddu on the north-eastern coast, were erected on the island during the Buddha’s life-time.

The branch of the Bodhi tree which Samghamittā and her companions brought from Gayā was planted by the king within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra, to the south-east of the Thūpārāma Dāgaba (Mhv., XIX, 57). Very early on, the tree was surrounded by a pavilion to protect it, as was done at Bodh-Gayā. Bas-reliefs discovered at Bhārhut, Amarāvati and other sites on the sub-continent give an idea of these constructions which were in use in India from the second century B.C. onwards. In any case, in the reign of Goṭhakabhaya (299–312 A.D.), the holy tree at the Mahāvihāra was surrounded by a stone palisade (silāvedikā); to the north of the tree there was a gateway (torāṇa) and, at the four cardinal points, stood pillars (tambha) each supporting a Wheel of the Law (Mhv., XXXVI, 102-3). Dhātusena, who ruled from 460 to 478 A.D., was, it seems, the first to build a true Bodhighara, or house for the holy tree (Cūlavāṃsa, XXVIII, 43): this consisted of a wooden roof protecting the trunk of the holy tree — always very short in the case of ficus religiosa — while the branches developed in the open air.

The present “Bodhi-tree shrine” at Anurādhapura has been altered so much in the course of the last few years that it gives only a very imperfect idea of the old Bodhigharas. However, the shrine discovered at Nillakgama in the district of Kurunegala, and which dates back to the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, is a good example of this type of construction.

The Mahāṭhūpa which at present stands to the south of the Thūpārāma Dāgaba was built by Duṭṭhagāmanī (104-80 B.C.) in circumstances which we will narrate further on. However, tradition has it that Devānāṃpiya planned its construction and, on Mahinda’s indications, marked with a pillar the spot where the monument was to be erected (Mhv., XV, 173).

On Mount Missaka, the king also built for the first monks in Ceylon a monastery which was named the Cetiyaṭhīra (Mhv., XVI, 12-17). It was there that the relics given to the śrāmaṇera Sumana by Asoka and the god Śakra were temporarily stored. Soon, however, the right clavicle
of the Buddha was enshrined in the Thūpārāma Dāgaba (Mhv., XVII, 50), while Śākyamuni's pātradhātu or alms-bowl was preserved in the royal palace (Mhv., XX, 13), and became the national "palladium" of the Sinhalese, as was later the case with the relic of the tooth.

A complete list of establishments attributed to Devānapīyatiṣa can be found in the Mahāvamsa (XX, 17-26) : most of them are located in Anurādhapura, but there were some in other places on the island. Thus, a Jambukolavihāra was built by him in Nāgadīpa, on the spot where the Bodhi tree had been disembarked.

The chronicles claim that all the events narrated here, particularly the conversion of the whole island to Buddhism and the various religious constructions of King Tissa, occurred in the first year of a reign which was to continue for forty years. There is complete silence regarding the other years. We cannot help thinking that these chronicles gave a tendentious presentation of facts which, in other respects, contain part of the historical truth, namely the conversion of the island through the combined efforts of the Buddhist missionaries and the Sinhalese kings who occupied the throne during the Maurya period. The account abounds in marvellous deeds : Mahinda and his companions land in Ceylon after flying through the air; Sāṃghamittā and her nuns, by crossing over the sea, but the latter voyage, normal though it may appear, was disturbed by an attack of giant monsters which the therī controlled by magic, taking the form of a Garuḍa. The relics which Sumana acquired did not come only from Magadhan reserves but also and especially from Indra's heaven. Just as astonishing, and even miraculous, was the conversion of such an extensive island in the space of one week : there is no attempt to hide the fact that, in order to achieve this result, the propagandists emphasized the teaching with the help of their supernormal powers. The canonical texts which they recited during that mission and of which the chronicles supply the exact titles are taken as much from the Peta- and Vimānavatthu as the Jātaka and basic Sūtra. However, what we said earlier shows that at this period the Buddhist canon was still in the process of formation, and as yet did not constitute a body of scriptures fully settled in their composition, subdivisions, titles and sub-titles. Finally, without denying the relations Aśoka the Great established with distant Tāmraparṇī, it is doubtful whether he was on such friendly terms with the Sinhalese kings that he could issue them with a veritable spiritual ultimatum by inviting them to adhere to Buddhism. The continual comings-and-goings between Anurādhapura and Pātaliputra for the sole purpose of acquiring relics and nuns at the very least lacks any verisimilitude.
UTTIYA (276-286 after the Nirvāṇa, 210-200 B.C.) — Devānampiya-tissa died childless, and four of his brothers succeeded him in turn on the throne. In the year 8 of Uttiya’s reign (284 after the Nirvāṇa, 202 B.C.), Mahinda, the missionary to Ceylon, died at the age of 80. He had been ordained for 60 years and acted as Vinaya chief in Ceylon for 48 years, from 250 to 202 B.C. The following year (285 after the Nirvāṇa, 201 B.C.), he was joined in death by his sister, the nun Sāḷīghamitta, and five of the six missionaries who had come with him from Magadha: Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, sāṇānera Sumana and Bhaṇḍuka. At the same time, the death also occurred of Mahāriṭṭha, Devānampiyatissa’s nephew, who had succeeded Mahinda as Vinaya chief in Ceylon. Mahāriṭṭha had proceeded to make a complete recitation of the Vinaya at the Thūpārāma, in the presence of Mahinda and 68,000 bhikkus (Samantapāsādikā, p. 102 sq.). After his death, the teaching of the Tipiṭaka was continued by a long series of masters the list of whom is found in the Samantapāsādikā (pp. 62-3; T 1462, ch. 2, p. 684b-c).

The chronicle devotes a long chapter to the Nibbāna of the “Thera” (Mahinda) and his sister (Dpv., XVII, 94 sq.; Mhv., XX, 32, sq.). King Uttiya gave them splendid funerals. After lying in state for a week in the Mahāvihāra, the body of the holy one was cremated near the Mahāthūpa, and the site of the pyre was given the name of Isibhūmaṅgana “Place of the Sage”. Some of his remains were deposited in a cetiya which was specially built for them; the rest were distributed to various vihāras, particularly the Cetiya-pabbata.

The Cetiyagiri stūpa, founded on that occasion by Uttiya on the summit of Mount Missaka or Mihintalē, is known today by the name of Ambasthala and held in great veneration: its architectural form, the pillars surrounding it and its small size (9 metres in diameter) link it closely with the first stūpa founded on the island by Devānampiyatissa, the Thūpārāma Dāgaba mentioned above.

II. — BUDDHIST LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS

There is a dark side to every picture, and the successes achieved by the Good Law in Aśoka’s time were not without inconveniences for the Saṅgha itself. The royal favours attracted into the order many unworthy recruits whose mentality and conduct had to be corrected. The increase in vocations provoked a levelling down, a veritable democratization, which was harmful to the very quality of the religious ideal. Soon, the new tendencies, formulated as theoretical proposals, bordered on heresy. The dissension between the monks finally culminated in a schism which split the Community into two rival clans.
In the present section, we will deal with the circumstances which caused the so-called "Council of Pātaliputra", the supposed heresy of Mahādeva and finally the schism of the Mahāsāṃghikas, three events which occurred around the time of Aśoka's reign.

1. — THE THIRD BUDDHIST COUNCIL IN PĀṬALIPUTRA

DESCRIPTION OF THE TRADITION. — The council of Pātaliputra is mentioned only in the Sinhalese sources, of which the main ones are the Dīpavaṃsa (VII, 34-43; 44-59), the Mahāvamsa (V, 267-82), the Samantapāsādikā (pp. 60-1) and its Chinese recension (T 1462, ch. 2, p. 684a-b).

The date of the council is generally given as the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa, i.e. 250 B.C. (Dpv., VII, 37, 44; Sāsanavamsa, I, p. 8; Nikāyasamgraha, p. 9), in the 17th or 18th year of Aśoka's reign (Mhv., V, 280). However, one passage, which we would like to think of as corrupt, in the Dīpavaṃsa (I, 24-5; also cf. V, 55-9) locates the same event in 118 after the Nirvāṇa; and Buddhaghosa, in his Atthasālinī (p. 4), comes down in favour of the year 218 after the Nirvāṇa.

We saw earlier the unfortunate events which marked the year 236. For seven years already, discord prevailed among the monks of the Aśokārāma. In trying to induce the monks to celebrate a communal uposatha, one of Aśoka's ministers did not hesitate to behead the recalcitrant ones and only stopped the butchery when confronted with the Venerable Tissa, the king's own brother. Aśoka thought he was to blame for the massacre and his remorse was appeased only by the coming of Moggaliputtatissa. The master put an end to his doubts and taught him the Dharma for seven days.

On the seventh day the king went to the Aśokārāma and gathered the whole assembly of bhikṣus around him. Seated with Moggaliputtatissa behind a curtain, he questioned each of the monks of the various tendencies in turn on the teaching of the Blessed One. They attributed to the latter the sixty-two heretical theories which are described and condemned in the Brahamajālasuttanta: radical eternalism (śāsvata-vāda), partial eternalism (ekatyaśāsvata), scepticism (amarāvīkṣepa), etc. Aśoka, who had just brushed up his knowledge, immediately realized that the supporters of these theories were not authentic bhikṣus but quite simply heretics. In conformity with his decision which he promulgated in the Kauśāmbi edict, he reclothed them in the white robe of the laity and expelled them from the community. The heretics were 60,000 in number.

The king then summoned the other bhikṣus and asked them which
doctrine the Buddha had professed. They answered him that it was the
document of the Vibhajyavāda or of Distinguishing. Having been assured
by the Thera Tissa that this was the case, Asoka happily concluded that
the assembly was purified (śuddha) and proposed that it celebrate the
uposatha; after which, he returned to the town. The orthodox monks
were 60,000 in number according to the Dīpavaṃsa (VII, 50) and the
Chinese version of the Samantapāśādikā (p. 684b 9), 6,000,000 according
to the Pāli recension of the same text (p. 61, lines 11-12).

The Thera Moggaliputtatissa selected from among them 1,000 bhik­
śus who were versed in the Tripiṭaka, and proposed that they undertake
a new compilation of the true Law (saddharmasamgraha). According
to the Pāli sources, in the middle of the council he produced the Pāli
Kathāvatthupakkaraṇa in order to refute the heretical doctrines but this
important detail is deliberately omitted from the Chinese recension of
the Samantapāśādikā, which merely says that he refuted the heretical
views (p. 684b 10). After which, following the example of Mahākāśyapa
at the council of Rājaṛṣha, and of Yaśas Kākaṇḍakaputra (Sonaka in
the Chinese version) at the council of Vaiśāṭi, the Thera Tissa and his
colleagues proceeded with the third compilation of the Dharma and
Vinaya in the course of the sessions, which lasted for nine months.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TRADITION. H. Kern found nothing in the
account of the council but a mass of impossibilities and an accumula­
tion of dogmatic fables. We will merely remark that Asoka’s direct
intervention in the purging of the Saṅgha is not appropriate to a
sovereign who, in his edicts, professed to support all religions impartially
and named overseers of the Dharma to watch over their particular
interests.

The fact that the Pāli sources are alone in mentioning the council of
Pāṭaliputra indicates that it was a local tradition, limited to a particular
school: that of the Sinhalese Theravādins. By making the Buddha a
Vibhajyavādin, the account commits an anachronism and attributes to
the Master the special views of certain Buddhist schools, considered to
be Vibhajyavādin because they assert the existence of the present and
part of the past, namely, an action that has not borne fruit; and the
non-existence of the future and part of the past, namely, an action which
has borne fruit (cf. Kośa, V, p. 52). These Vibhajyavādins, among them
the Kāśyapīyas and Mahīśāsakas, were opposed to the Sarvāstivādins

86 Kern, Manual, pp. 110-12. We also refer the reader to E. Frauwallner, Die
who asserted the existence of the three time-periods. It is true that the Buddha proclaimed himself to be a Vibhajyavādin in the Aṅguttara (V, p. 190), meaning by that "that he blamed the blameworthy, praised the praiseworthy, thus establishing necessary discriminations and avoiding unilateral positions". However, that is a state of mind which is fitting for all Buddhist thinkers in general and it could not have served Asoka in establishing the orthodoxy of the Aśokārāma monks and separating non-believers from the truly faithful.*

We saw above how the Kathāvatthu could not have been promulgated by Tissa, at least in the form known to us at present. It contains, we should remember, a condemnation of the Andhaka sect which, at the time of this council, had still to be converted.

Finally, the tradition concerning the council of Pāṭaliputra is closely connected, in the minds of its compilers, with the sending out of Buddhist missionaries by Moggaliputtatissa. We will see further on the suspect, possibly even apocryphal, nature of these supposed missions.

2. — THE HERESY OF MAHĀDEVA**

At an early period, which we will try to specify, five propositions prejudicial to the dignity and prerogatives of the Arhat were debated in the communities. They are described in both the Pāli Abhidhamma and the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma (Kathāvatthu, II, 1-5, pp. 163-203; Jñānaprasthāna, T 1543, ch. 10, p. 819b; T 1544, ch. 7, p. 956b); they are repeated and discussed in the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 99, p. 160e), the Kosā (I, p. 2), the Glosses of Paramiṁtha and the Treatise on the Sects by Chi 77 tsang (DEMIÉVILLE, Sectes, pp. 30-40).

1st — The terms of the five theses

According to the explanations provided by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva87, the five theses (pañcavastu) were formulated in the following way:

1. Arhats can be led astray by others, that is, have seminal emissions during their sleep, accompanied by erotic dreams, attributable to deities taking on female forms.
2. Arhats are still subject to ignorance, not defiled ignorance (avidyā), the first link of the chain of dependent origination, but undefiled ignorance (akliṣṭa ajñāna), a residue of their former passions, by virtue

of which they do not or may not know the names and clans of men and
women, the path to take, the names of trees, woods and grasses, etc.

3-4. Arhats are still subject to doubt (kānkṣā) and can be informed by
others. These two propositions are the consequence of the preceding
one. If Arhats are subject to (undefiled) ignorance, they can have doubts
concerning the names and clans of certain people, the path to follow, the
names of trees, etc. and can be informed by others on the matter. It is
even said that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana did not realize they had
attained Arhatship until the Buddha made a solemn declaration.

5. Entry into the Buddhist Path (mārga) can be accompanied by a
vocal utterance (vacībheda). The holy one (ārya) who has entered the
stream (srotāpañña) and is possessed of the first dhyāna, exclaims: “O,
suffering”, and that cry can be considered as an artifice meant to cause
the appearance of the Path.

These propositions are aimed at nothing less than dislodging the
Arhat from the privileged position which had been acknowledged as his
from the beginning. They appear, in their anodyne form, as a syllabus of
claims by worldlings (prthagana) in relation to the holy ones (ārya and
arhat), of laxity in relation to rigorism, even of the laity seeking to
extract equal spiritual rights from the religious (the professionals of the
Path). The heresy, if heresy it was, was long-lived and worked within the
community like a noxious ferment: it led to the opposition and
separation of the Buddhist schools.

We must now find the author of it.

2nd — Mahādeva, the author of the five theses

The sources do not agree over the date when the heresy appeared, nor
over its authors, nor over the precise consequences. We should analyze
them in chronological order and summarize in turn the explanations by
Vasumitra, the account of the Vibhāṣa, the data supplied by the
Mahāyānist authors, the Śaṃmatīya tradition and, finally, the informa-
tion given to Bhavya by his teachers.

1. THE EXPLANATIONS BY VASUMITRA. — Vasumitra was a Sarvāstivād-
din scholar who lived four hundred years after the Nirvāṇa and who
came a century after Kātyāyaniputra, the author of the Jñānapaṭṭhaṃ; he wrote a work on the Buddhist sects entitled Samayabhedoparacana-
cakra. The work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (?) between
385 and 413 (T 2032), by Paramārtha between 557 and 569 (T 2033) and
by Hsüan tsang in 662 (T 2031); it was commented upon in Chinese by
K'uei chi in 662 (TKS, A, LXXXIII, 3) and translated into Tibetan in the ninth century by Dharmākara (Tanjur, Mdo XC, 11).

The work opens with an allusion to the five theses (T 2032, p. 18a 9-14; T 2033, p. 20a 15-25; T 2031, p. 15a 15-23):

"One hundred and sixteen years (var. : more than one hundred years) after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, there was a town named Pāṭaliputra. At that time King Aśoka ruled over Jambudvīpa, maintaining order in the universe. In those days, the great Samgha was divided into schools and diversified the Law. There were then the bhikṣus:

- the first were named Nēng = Nāga (var. Lung chia = Nāga; Ta kuo = Mahārāṣṭra),
- the second were called Yin yūan = Pratyaya (var. Wai pēn = Praćya; Pien pi = Pratyantika),
- the third were called To wēn = Bahuśruta,
- the fourth were called Ta tē = Sthavira.

They discussed five theses (pañcaavastu) which had been presented by heretics. Thus, for the first time since the Buddha, two schools came into being, one known as the Mahāsāṃghika, the other as Sthavira."

Of the translators, Hsuan-tsang is the only one to specify that those five theses were authored by Mahādeva, a detail taken from the Vibhāṣā. For Vasumitra and his first translators, the heretics are still anonymous. It becomes apparent from a comparison between the versions that the Pañcavastu was opposed by the Sthaviras and adopted by three assemblies, those of the Nāgas, Prācyas or Pratyantikas and, finally, the Bahuśrutas.

We know nothing at all about the first two assemblies. According to the commentary by K'uei chi (l.c.), the Nāgas, whose name evokes irresistible might and invincible obstinacy, were the leaders and instigators of the dispute and the schism which followed it; the Pratyantikas were supporters of the heresy; although they were not the cause of the disputes and did not possess any irresistible might, they pursued and upheld the heresy. Finally, the bahuśrutas included worldlings (prthagjana) who were still occupied with training (śaikṣa), but who observed the precepts and whose knowledge was vast.

Personally, we are inclined to think that those two names are ethnical; the heresy could have arisen among the Nāgas whose original habitat was, according to the Purāṇa, the region of the Narmadā, a tributary of the Mahārāṣṭra to which Paramārtha's version refers; from there, it could have spread to neighbouring areas designated by Vasumitra by the vague name of "Frontier regions" (Pratyantika).

For the riverside dwellers in the Ganges Basin and the Yamunā,
Mahārāṣṭra was located in South India. In fact, according to the Aśokavadāna (T 2042, ch. 5, pp. 120c 11-121b 1; T 2043, ch. 9, p. 162a 1-8), the Sarvāstivādin community in Mathurā, which at the time of Aśoka was headed by the famous patriarch Upagupta, was agitated over a visit by a monk whose name is passed over in silence, but who came from south India. Before taking up the religious life, that monk had fornicated with a woman from another family. When his mother reproached him for his conduct, he killed her; he then tried to obtain the hand of his mistress but was repulsed. So he left the world, learned by heart the text of the Tripiṭaka and gathered a crowd of disciples around himself. He went to Mathurā to debate with Upagupta, but the latter, knowing the crimes of which he was guilty, refused to speak to him. The rejected monk returned to his native land, taking with him his host of disciples.

It would be tempting to see in this monk an upholder of the heresy of the five theses which the holy patriarch Upagupta, the leader of a school of Arhats, could but condemn. However, the monk had already exercised a harmful effect over Upagupta's disciples who were still only worldlings (prthagjana). They reproached their master for his impoliteness to the stranger and, in order to appease the critic, Upagupta had to appeal to his master Śānavāsa.

This anecdote recorded in the Aśokavadāna is astonishingly similar to the account in the Vibhāṣā.

2. THE ACCOUNT IN THE VIBHĀṢA. — This great work on the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma, compiled in the second century A.D. by the Kaśmirian Arhats, devotes a long chapter to the heresy of the five theses. It attributes their invention to a certain Mahādeva, whose far from edifying story it tells and whom it tries to vilify in every way (T 1545, ch. 99, pp. 510c-512a):

"Mahādeva was the son of a merchant from Mathurā. His father set out for abroad, leaving him at home. At the age of twenty, the son was handsome and his mother became enamoured of him and had relations with him secretly. For more than six years, the son did not realize that his mistress was his own mother; later, when he did realize, he did not give up his passion. The father returned from abroad, having acquired many goods; shortly before his return, the mother, fearing that he would hear of the affair, persuaded her son to poison him. Mahādeva procured some poison and killed his father; then he seized his goods, and continued to live with his mother. However in the end, ashamed at having been discovered, he fled and hid with his mother in the Pāṭaliputra.

region. There he met some Arhat monks — whom he had formerly revered in his own country, and he slew them too for fear that they might betray him. Then he killed his own mother, having discovered that she was being unfaithful to him with others. Having thus committed three anantarya sins, he was overcome with distress and profound remorse; in an attempt to erase those sins, he gave up the family life. He went to the Kuṅkatārāma monastery where he heard a monk reciting a stanza about the atonement of faults through good conduct; that monk ordained him and conferred the pravrajya on him.

Mahādeva listened to and studied the Tripitaka and acquired many followers; on learning this, the king of Pātaliputra (whose name is not given) invited him to his palace and showered him with offerings. When he returned to the monastery, Mahādeva formulated each of the above-mentioned five heretical theses in turn. Faced with the opposition they incurred, the king asked Mahādeva for advice in order to settle the quarrel. Mahādeva told him that, according to the Vinaya, it is the majority which prevails in controversies. The king then separated each of the two parties and, since that of Mahādeva was the more numerous, he declared it to be in the right and condemned its adversaries. That is how the monks at the Kuṅkatārāma separated into two schools: that of the Sthaviras and that of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The Sthaviras then wanted to leave the monastery. Warned of their intention, the king ordered them to be embarked on rotten ships which were to be cast into the current of the Ganges; he would thus know who was an Arhat and who was a worldly man. At the critical moment, the five hundred Arhats, making use of their supernormal powers, rose into the air and reached Kaśmīr where they dispersed up hill and down dale. Learning this news, the king sent a messenger to bring them back to his capital, but they refused his invitation. The king then donated the entire kingdom of Kaśmīr to the Saṅgha, and had five hundred monasteries built there to house the holy ones; those monasteries were given the names of the various forms the holy ones had assumed in order to escape from Pātaliputra, for example: Pigeon-grove (kapotārāma), etc.; the Vibhāṣa adds 'It is reported that those establishments are still flourishing'. The king of Pātaliputra then transferred his favours to Mahādeva and his disciples who remained with him. Mahādeva died surrounded by general veneration, but when the cremation of his body was being carried out, the fire persistently went out, and dog's excrement had to be used as fuel; his body was then consumed, but a strong wind suddenly arose and dispersed the heresiarch's ashes'.

According to Vasumitra, the instigator of the five theses remained anonymous, but the Vibhāṣa, a century later, finds him a name and attributes a whole story to him. It treats him resolutely as an adversary, charges him with all the unatonable crimes and invents an unfortunate end for him. It is to be noted that the great Mahāvibhāṣa (T 1545) alone devoted an account to Mahādeva and that nothing similar is to be found in the Vibhāṣa by Buddhavarman (T 1546).

3. The Mahāyānīst Authors Inspired by the Vibhāṣa. — Once implanted by the Vibhāṣa, the legend died hard. It was enthusiastically adopted by the Sarvāstivādins and accepted as valid by the Mahāyānīst
scholars. However, since the latter did not hide their sympathy for the Mahāsāṃghikas, of whom they considered themselves to be distant successors, they strove to wipe out his memory, or at least attenuate the faults of Mahādeva, who had instigated the Mahāsāṃghika schism.

a. In the sixth century, Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.) in his Comment- tary on Vasumitra (summarized in T 2300), and his pupil Chi tsang (549-623) in his San lun hsüan (T 1852) reproduce the account from the Vibhāṣā, while introducing a few modifications of which this is the main part (cf. DEMIÉVILLE, Sectes, pp. 33-40):

"Until 116 after the Nirvāṇa, no heterodox opinions emerged within the Saṃgha. After the year 116, Mahādeva, of the Kausika family appeared; he was the son of a merchant from Mathurā. Having committed three ānantaryā sins, he left the world in Pātīlaputra by conferring ordination on himself. He was received at Asoka’s palace and had relations in secret with the queen. Once back in the monastery, he took all the sūtras of the Mahāyāna and explained them as he incorporated them in the Tripitaka. On his own initiative he invented some sūtras in which was formulated the fivefold heresy; he summarized them in a stanza which he recited after the reading of the śīla during the uposatha ceremony. Dissension broke out in the monastery and King Asoka, on his own authority, resorted to a majority vote in order to settle the difference. Mahādeva’s supporters were the most numerous. The Arhats, left in the minority, frightened the community with supernormal transformations; the queen used her influence to have them thrown into the Ganges in damaged boats. The Arhats took flight and went to the land of Kaśmīr, some transformed themselves into floater pigeons, others into birds. Once they reached their destinations, they reassumed their normal forms. Meanwhile the queen, realizing her mistake, repented and was converted. After the death of Mahādeva, Asoka sent for the Arhats of Kaśmīr and the latter, yielding to his invitation, returned to Pātīlaputra. Since Mahādeva had inserted some apocryphal texts into the Tripitaka, the Arhats assembled in council (the third since the beginning) and once again recited the Canon of writings. It was then that divergences of opinion arose among them and they formed two separate schools: that of the Mahāsāṃghikas and that of the Sthaviras”.

It will be noted that Paramārtha quickly passes over Mahādeva’s faults, seeks to excuse Asoka by blaming the queen, attributes to the heretic a scriptural activity not mentioned by the Vibhāṣā and posits a third council with a new compilation of the Tripitaka; it is only after that that the schism, according to Paramārtha, proved to be definitive.

b. In the seventh century, the Master of the Law Hsüan tsang once again summarized the account from the Vibhāṣā, but more faithfully than did Paramārtha. The passage is found in the Hsi yū chi (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886b 11-22):

“One hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, Asoka, the king of Magadha, extended
his power over the whole world; he revered the Triratna and loved all creatures. In his capital there were, among the Buddhist religious, 500 Arhats and 500 wordlings (prthagjana) whom the king patronized impartially. Included in the ranks of the religious worldlings, there was a certain Mahādeva, ‘a man of great knowledge and great talent, and a subtle investigator of the Nāma-Rūpa’ (sic), who set down in a treatise his personal views and heretical reasonings. When edition broke out, Aśoka took the part of Mahādeva and the Worldlings and attempted to drown the Arhats in the Ganges. The latter flew off to Kaśmīr where they settled up hill and down dale. The king immediately regretted their departure and went to them in person in order to invite them to return to his capital. This they refused to do, seeing which the king built 500 samghārāmas for them and presented Kaśmīr to the Saṃgha”.

Hsüan tsang, in agreement with the Vibhāṣā, states that the persecuted Arhats remained in Kaśmīr and refused to return to Pāṭaliputra. In such conditions, there can be no question of a third Buddhist council which, according to Paramārtha, took place in Pāṭaliputra after the return of the Arhats. Nevertheless, in another passage, where he relates his visit to the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputra, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912b) notes that Aśoka, after his conversion to Buddhism, convened in that monastery a saṃgha of a thousand members “consisting of two communities, one of holy ones (ārya), and the other of worldlings (prthagjana)”. These are indeed the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṁghikas, but that does not mean they held a council and proceeded to make a new recitation of the Tripiṭaka.

Even while taxing Mahādeva with heresy, Hsüan tsang makes no mention of the five theses which are generally attributed to him; he praises his knowledge and talent and defines him as “a subtle investigator of the Nāma-Rūpa”, in other words, the five Skandha. However, the question of Nāma-Rūpa preoccupied the Sarvāstivādins much more than the Mahāsāṁghikas. We might wonder whether, to the mind of the Chinese master, Mahādeva was not a Sarvāstivādin scholar, this would gainsay the whole tradition according to which the heretic was the instigator of the Mahāsāṁghika schism.

It seems that the great Hsüan tsang did not attempt to conciliate the information which he had also got from his readings, in particular of the Vibhāṣā, with the oral traditions he had obtained on the spot and which he records “in bulk”. His account of the settling in Kaśmīr of the five hundred Arhats who were thrown into the Ganges by Aśoka follows immediately upon the account of the conversion of Kaśmīr, in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa, by Madhyāntika and his five hundred Arhats (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886a 19-b 11). This is obviously one and the same event but split into two for chronological reasons.
c. K'uei chi (632-682 A.D.), a disciple of Hsüan tsang, in his commentary on the *Yogācāryabhāmi* by Asanga (T 1829, ch. 1, p. 1b), attempts to rehabilitate Mahādeva, by representing him as the victim of slander:

"Great was his reputation, great his virtue. Although young, he had experienced the Fruit; he was respected by kings and nobles and revered by monks. That is why he was imputed with the three ānantarya sins, to which were added the five theses".

That is not the only text which is favourable to Mahādeva. Already a commentary on the *Ekottara*, the *Fēn pieh kung tê lun*, translated into Chinese between 25 and 220 A.D., had spoken of "a holy king Mahādeva, endowed with the four brahmavihāra" and qualified him as *ta shih* or great bodhisattva (T 1507, ch. 1, p. 32c 8-10).

4. The Sammatīya Tradition. — This is mentioned for the first time in the sixth century by Bhavya or Bhāvaviveka, the author of the *Tarkajñālī* (*Mdo* XIX, pp. 162b 6-163a 3; cf. *Mdo* XC, No. 12), then repeated with some modifications in the fourteenth century by Bu ston (tr. Obermiller, II, p. 96), in the fifteenth by Gzōn nu dpal (G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, I, Calcutta, 1949, p. 28), and, finally, in the seventeenth by Taranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 52):

"One hundred and thirty-seven years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, under the kings Nanda and Mahapadma, when a number of very conspicuous Elders — Mahākāśyapa, Mahāloma, Mahātyāga, Uttara, Revata, etc. — were assembled in Pāṭaliputra, Māra the Wicked assumed the form of a bhikṣu named Bhadra and manifested various wonders and, with the help of the five theses, caused a great dissension in the Community.

Later, those five theses were adopted by the Sthaviras Nāga (Nāgasena) and Sāramati. From then on the Community split into two sects: the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāmghikas.

In the year 63 after this scission was completed, that is, in the year 200 after the Nirvāṇa, the doctrine was reviewed by the Sthavira Vātsiputra89".

There is no longer a question here of Mahādeva, but of a false monk named Bhadra whose heretical views were adopted by two Sthaviras,

89 This is only a summary of an obscure passage with corrections proposed by L. de Vallée Poussin (*ERE*, IV, p. 183, n. 4) and adopted by Frauwallner (*Konzile*, pp. 246-7). They are confirmed by Bu ston (II, p. 96) and Taranātha (p. 61) who locate in 137 + 63 = 200 after the Nirvāṇa, the doctrine was reviewed by Vātsiputra. Another opinion, seemingly, in A. Bareau, *JA*, 1956, p. 173.
Nāga and Sāramati; the name of the former recalls those Nāgas already noted by Vasumitra. The schism occurred, no longer under Aśoka (in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa, according to the short chronology), but under his predecessor Mahāpadma of the Nanda dynasty, in 137 after the Nirvāṇa according to the long chronology. The Saṃmatīya follows, as we see, a calculation which is very close to the Sinhalese chronology which places Aśoka's consecration in 218 after the Nirvāṇa and the reign of the Nandas from the year 140 to 162 after the Nirvāṇa (346-324 B.C.).

5. INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO BHAVYA BY HIS TEACHERS.— It was as a matter of form that Bhavya recorded the Saṃmatiya tradition above. Personally he abided by the opinion held by the lineage of his teachers (madguruparamparā) and mentioned by himself at the beginning of his Tarkajñālā :

“One hundred and sixty years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, while King Dharma-Aśoka was ruling in Kusumapura (= Pātaliputra), a great schism suddenly occurred in the community in consequence of several controversial points. After that, the Saṃgha split into two schools, Mahāsaṃghikas and Sthaviras”.

However, the date proposed: “160 years after the Nirvāṇa, in the reign of Aśoka” does not tally with any known calculation or with the short chronology which locates Aśoka in 100 after the Nirvāṇa, or with the long one which has him rule from 218 to 255 after the Nirvāṇa. Yet the same date, 160 after the Nirvāṇa, is also mentioned by other authors, particularly Buston (II, p. 96) who, in this connection, attributes the origin of the schism, not to the appearance of the five heretical theses, but to the fact that the Arhats “were reading the Word of the Buddha in four different languages: Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhramśa and Paisācika”.

3rd — Persistence of the heresy under Mahādeva II

In order to complete our documentation, it should be noted that alongside Mahādeva I, the initiator of the five theses and instigator of the schism, the Sanskrit sources record the existence of a Mahādeva II, a Mahāsaṃghika scholar who lived 200 years after the Nirvāṇa, continued to teach the five theses and incited further splits within the Mahāsaṃghika schools. This Mahādeva II was well known to Vasumitra who, as we have seen, makes no mention of Mahādeva I. These are some references:
1. Vasumitra in his three translations:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>T 2032, p. 18a 17-20</th>
<th>T 2033, p. 20b 2-4</th>
<th>T 2031, p. 15b 1-4</th>
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<tr>
<td>Then, two hundred years later, Mahādeva, a heretic (tīrtha), left the world and resided at the Caityāśaila; in the Mahāsāṃghika sect, three further sects were founded: Caityikas, Aparaśailas and Utta‐raśailas.</td>
<td>Two hundred years having passed, there was a heretic named Mahādeva who left the world in the Mahā‐sāṃghika school; he lived alone on Mount Śaila and taught the five theses to the Mahāsāṃghikas. Thereafter [a new] split into two schools: the school of the Caityāśailas, the school of the Uttaraśailas [and, according to the Tibetan version, the school of the Aparaśailas].</td>
<td>When two hundred years had passed, there was a heretic who had left the world and abandoned wrongness and returned to righteousness, and he was ALSO named Mahādeva. Having left the world in the Mahā‐sāṃghika sect, he received full ordination; learned (bahurūta) and vigorous (vīryavat), he resided at Cait‐yaśaila. With the community of that sect, he again explained the five theses, which led to discussions and a division into three sects: Caityāśailas, Apara‐śailas and Uttaraśailas.</td>
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</table>

2. Śāriputraparipṛcchā (T 1465, p. 900c 6-12), a Mahāsāṃghika work translated anonymously between 317 and 420 A.D.:

“In the Mahāsāṃghika school, two hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, as an outcome of disputes, the Vyavahāra, Lokottara, Kukkulika, Bahuśrutaka and Prajñāptivādin schools will emerge. After three hundred years, following discussions, these five schools will be joined by THE SCHOOL OF MAHĀDEVA, that of the Caitikas and that of the Uttaraśailas”.

3. Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.) and Chi tsang (549-623 A.D.) on the Treatise on the Sects by Vasumitra (DEMIÉVILLE, Sectes, pp. 50-3):

“When two hundred years had passed, an upāsaka-king from the land of Magadha propagated the Law of the Buddha widely and, in order to profit from his generosity, all the heretics took up the religious life. Mahādeva, who had ordained himself, placed himself at their head, received new pupils and ordained them into his personal sāṃgha. The king sorted out those “parasitical” (steyasāṃvāsika) monks and permitted only some of them, the three hundred most
intelligent ones, to live in Magadha. Mahādeva, who was not tolerated by them, went and settled apart in the mountains with his adherents. Then, among those mountain-dwellers themselves, differences of opinion arose, and so the two schools called Caityaśaila and Uttarāśaila were formed".

4. K'uei chi (I.e., pp. 43a-45a) reproduces the above and adds the name of the king: Hao yun wang "Cloud-loving".

* * *

Should we see in this Mahādeva II, located by all the sources in the mountainous regions [in Andhra country], an arbitrary splitting of Mahādeva I into two persons? Should we reject the historicity of both Mahādevas and only see in them a confabulation intended to illustrate the progress of a heresy which, originating in Southern India among the Nāgas of Mahārāṣṭra, spread from saṅgha to saṅgha, finally causing the Mahāsāṅghika schism and, after many transformations, finally triumphed in several communities, particularly the Caitikas and Śailas in the Andhra region? We leave it to the reader to decide on these questions.

4th — The Mahādevas of the Pāli sources

The Sinhalese school firmly disavowed the five theses which it explains and refutes in the Kathāvatthu, II, 1-5 (pp. 163-203), but provides no information about their author. The commentary merely states that the heretical propositions in question were taught by the Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas and others.

Among the numerous Mahādevas known to the Pāli tradition — Professor Malalasekera pointed out no less than nine90 — none appears to be a heretic. Two of them were contemporaries of Aśoka: a Mahādeva who was Aśoka's minister and arranged for the branch of the Bodhivṛka to be sent to Ceylon (Mahāvamsa, XVIII, 20); a Mahādeva Thera who played an important part both as a religious teacher and a Buddhist missionary. In fact, he conferred the pabbajjā ordination on Mahinda, Aśoka's son (Dīpavamsa, VII, 25; Mahāvamsa, V, 206; Samantapāśādikā, p. 51); then, after the council of Pāṭaliputra in 236 after the Nirvāṇa, he went to preach the Good Law in Mahisamandala where he converted 40,000 persons and conferred ordination on 40,000

young people (Dīpavaṃsa, VIII, 5; Mahāvaṃsa, XII, 3 and 29; Samantapaśādikā, pp. 63, 66).

Certain authors have suggested that this Mahisamaṇḍala, may have been the Andhra country and the region of Dhānyaakaṭaka where the Pubba- and Aparaseliya sects had their headquarters: Mahādeva would have been the founder of these schools which were branches of the Mahāśāṃghika trunk and upheld the five theses. However, if the Mahādeva in question had been a heretic, it is difficult to see how the Sinhalese chronicle could have given him as the disciple and confidant of the very orthodox Moggaliputtatissa, who was a declared Vibhajyavādin, and could have classified him as one of the great propagators of the True Law. Moreover Mahisamaṇḍala is not the Andhra country, but is either Mysore or, more probably, Mahiśmat or land of the Mahiśakas, associated by the Purāṇa with the Mahārāṣtras and whose capital was Māhiśmati on the Narmadā.

5th — The uncertainties in the tradition

The examination of the documentation concerning the five theses has emphasized the hesitations and contradictions regarding:

1. the date of the schism: in 137 after the Nirvāṇa in the reign of the Nandas; in 100, 116 or 160 in the reign of Asoka.

2. the instigator or instigators of the schism: the Nāgas of southern India supported by their neighbours the Pratyantikas and Bahuśrutās: a monk whose name was Bhadanta or who was known by that name; finally, Mahādeva. The last is sometimes presented as a criminal guilty of three ānantarya, sometimes as an erudite, talented and an unjustifiably slandered man, and, finally, sometimes as a Sarvāstivādin, a "subtle investigator of the Nāma-Rūpa".

3. the causes of the schism: the controversies provoked by the appearance of the five theses, the insertion of Mahāyānist sūtras in the Tripiṭaka, or again the translation of the scriptures into four different languages.

4. the consequences of the schism: the Sthavirān Arhats took refuge in Kaśmīr, and then settled there definitively, or again, after a short stay, returned to Pāṭaliputra where they caused a new council to be convened. As to the instigator of the schism (Mahādeva), sometimes he remained in Pāṭaliputra until his death, sometimes he repaired to the mountainous regions of the Andhra area where he continued to teach his theses to the Pūrva-, Apara- and Uttarāśailas. However, certain sources make Mahādeva, the Śaila scholar, a different person from Mahādeva, the instigator of the schism.
3. THE MAHĀSAṬṭHIKA SCHISM

The early sources do not agree over the exact date of this event nor over the causes which provoked it. At the risk of being repetitive, it is useful to group here all the indications which have reached us, adopting the various dates proposed as a method of classification. We should recall that the short chronology used by the Sanskrit sources locates the accession of Aśoka one hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, while the long chronology adopted by the Sinhalese sources places that same consecration in 218 after the Nirvāṇa.

1. Schism in the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa (short chron. 368 B.C.), according to Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 9, p. 923a 2-10). — In the neighbourhood of Rājavṛkṣa, twenty li to the west of the cave where Mahākāśyapa and his thousand (sic) Arhats had held the first council in the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa, Hsüan tsang visited an Aśokan stūpa erected on the spot where the Mahāsaṭṭhika canon had been compiled. Some monks in training (śāikṣa) and some fully trained (aśāikṣa), numbering more than several hundred thousands, who had not participated in Kāśyapa’s council, assembled in that place. They said to one another: “While the Tathāgata was alive, we all had one and the same master; now that he is deceased, we are cast aside like strangers. In order to dispaly our gratitude to the Buddha, we must compile a Dharmapitaka”. Thus, wordlings (prthagjana) and holy ones (ārya) united and composed five Pīṭakas: Sūtra-, Vinaya-, Abhidharma-, Kṣudraka- and Dhāranī-piṭaka: they were called the Collection of the Mahāsaṭṭhikas because wordlings and holy ones had formed the assembly which drafted them.

Chi tsang and Paramārtha (DEMIÉVILLE, Sectes, p. 28 sq.), a century before Hsüan tsang, had already proposed quite a close version of this event. According to these authors, two months after the decease of the Buddha, on the Grdhra-kūṭa at Rājavṛkṣa, Mahākāśyapa and his five hundred Arhats, who made up the Sthavira school, had compiled the Tripiṭaka. A number of monks, who had not been admitted to this task, gathered outside the disciplinary limit (simā) with the intention of compiling the Tripiṭaka too; their leader was the Arhat Baṣpa and, since they were ten thousand in number, they took the name of Mahāsaṭṭhika. Therefore, the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa was marked by a purely nominal scission between Kāśyapa’s Sthaviras and Baṣpa’s Mahāsaṭṭhikas; however, it was only 116 years later, in the reign of Aśoka, that the controversies provoked by Mahādeva transformed the scission into a doctrinal schism which resulted in the formation of two separate schools: that of the Sthaviras and that of the Mahāsaṭṭhikas.
The version of the events as recorded here by Hsüan tsang calls for some reservation. From his translation of the Treatise on the Sects (T 2031), the master of the Law knew perfectly well that Vasumitra dated the Mahāsāṃghika schism at “One hundred years or more”. So why, in his Hsi yü chi, does he claim that it went back to the very origins of Buddhism? It is unlikely that the unity of the Saṃgha was broken from the time of the decease of the Blessed One and that two canons of texts were compiled simultaneously. As an adept of the Mahāyāna, Hsüan tsang no doubt believed that the Great Vehicle had its remote origins in the Mahāsāṃghika school and wanted to date the formation of that school far back in the past. The same concern can be seen in Paramārtha who, with more credibility, posits only a nominal scission between the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas at the beginning.

Nevertheless, with all due respect, we wonder whether Hsüan tsang did not confuse matters by linking the schism with the council of Rājagrha in the year 1 after the Nirvāṇa, rather than with the council of Pātaliputra in Asoka’s time. The Mahāsāṃghika council is supposed to have counteracted a council held in Rājagrha by Kāśyapa “surrounded by 1,000 Arhats”. However, the whole Buddhist tradition, with few rare exceptions, claims that Kāśyapa assembled only 500 Arhats around him. The council of the 1,000 Arhats is, according to the same tradition (Dpv., VII, 58; Mhv., V, 275; Sp., p. 61), the one which was held in Pātaliputra during the reign of Asoka.

2. Schism in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa (long chron., 386 B.C.), according to the Dīpavaṃsa (V, 30-9). The malevolent Vajjiputtaka monks, after being expelled by the Theras of the council of Vaiśāli in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa in the reign of Kālāsoka, maintained their false doctrines and organized an opposition council. That assembly was known to history by the name of Grand Council (mahāsaṃgīti) and the participants were called Mahāsaṃgītikas. They were guilty of falsifying the writings, either by causing upheaval in established texts, or by making omissions and interpolations, or by rejecting whole sections of the canon (Parivāra, Abhidhamma in six sections, Paṭisambhidhā, Niddesa and parts of the Jātaka), and by compiling new texts. They went so far as to change the original terms, the gender of words, the rules of style and figures of rhetoric. Those Mahāsaṃgītikas were the first schismatics and, in imitation of them, countless heretics appeared.

With the exception of the date, this new version of the schism consisting of an opposition council and a modification of the canonical writings is quite close to the preceding one. It also contains improbabilities. It is difficult to see how the condemnation of the laxist practices
which prevailed in Vaiśāli could have led to a revolt by the majority and a complete revision of the canon, about which the early sources concerning the council of Vaiśāli are completely silent.

However, there is more. Of the Sinhalese chronicles, the Dipavamsa is the only one to mention the Mahāsangīti and the Mahāsangītikas. The Dipavamsa is less a consistent chronicle than a dossier of badly classified documents in which a large number of doublets appear. The part concerning the Mahāsangītikas was eliminated from the chronicle by the compilers of the Mahāvamsa and the Samantapāśādikā and, as will be seen, replaced by a completely different document in the Nikāyasamgraha.

3. Schism in the year 137 after the Nirvāṇa (long chron., 349 B.C.), according to the Sammatiya tradition recorded by Bhavya, Bu ston, Gjson nu dpal and Tāranātha (references above, p. 281). — In the year 137 after the Nirvāṇa, during the reign of Nanda and Mahāpadma, an assembly was held in Pāṭaliputra in which numerous Sthaviras participated. The teaching of the five theses begun by the monk (Bhadanta) and taken up again, later (?), by the Sthaviras Nāga (Nāgasena) and Sāramati (Manoratha) caused a schism in the assembly between the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

This new tradition is distinguishable from those that preceded and those that followed in that it does not link the schism to one of the three great Buddhist councils — Rājaśātra, Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra — nor to a glorious reign in the history of Buddhism, the reign of Ajātaśatru, Kālāśoka or Aśoka.

4. Schism in the year 100 or, to be more exact, 116 after the Nirvāṇa (short chron., 252 B.C.), according to Vasumitra, the Vibhāṣā and related sources (references above, pp. 275-76). — It was during the reign of Aśoka the Maurya, in the year 100 or 116 after the Nirvāṇa, that the five heretical theses, originating in the Nāgas of southern India or preached by a certain Mahādeva, caused a doctrinal scission between the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

We saw above the vacillations of this tradition.

5. Schism in the year 160 after the Nirvāṇa (short chron., 208 B.C.) according to Bhavya and others (references above, p. 283). — This tradition is identical to the preceding one, the only difference being that the schism is fixed in 160 after the Nirvāṇa, but still during the reign of Aśoka. However, at this date, Aśoka had been dead for twenty-three years.

6. Schism in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (long chron., 250 B.C.) according to the Nikāyasamgraha (tr. C.M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908,
p. 9). — According to this work, which was written towards the end of the fourteenth century by the Samgharaja Dharmakirti, the schism occurred immediately after the council of Pataliputra presided over by Moggaliputtatissa in the year 236 after the Nirvana: “After that council, the heretics (tirthika) who had been expelled from the order and were receiving no further aid, withdrew and, foaming with rage, assembled in Nalanda, near Rajagriha. There, they thought the matter over and said: “We will establish a rift between the doctrine and discipline of the Sakya’s monks in order to make it difficult for people to understand the religion. However, if we are not acquainted with the subtleties of the religion, that will not be possible, so we must become monks again by any means whatever’. They presented themselves anew but, unable to gain admittance from the Theriya Nikaya (school of the Sthaviras), they went to the members of seventeen brotherhoods, Mahasamghikas, etc., which had been dismissed by that [Theriya Nikaya], and took up the religious life [with them], without admitting that they were Tirthikas. Henceforward, hearing and reading the Tripitaka, they disarranged and destroyed it. Later, they went to the town of Kausambi and used every means to initiate a separate doctrine and discipline. After the year 255 of the Nirvana of the Buddha, they split into six divisions and, dwelling in six different places, formed themselves into nine fraternities: Hemavata, Rajagiriya, Siddhatthika, Pubbaseliya, Aparaseliya, Vajiriya, Vetulya, Andhaka and Anyamahasamghika”.

Therefore, the account in the Dipavamsa according to which the Mahasamghikas formed themselves into a separate school after the council of Vaisali in the year 100 after the Nirvana — an account which had already been eliminated from the Pali chronicle by the compilers of the Mahavamsa and Samantapasadika — is replaced here by a quite different tradition, in the terms of which the heretics condemned by Asoka and Moggaliputtatissa in 236 after the Nirvana (250 B.C.) joined the Mahasamghika communities and enlarged their ranks; a few years later, in 255 after the Nirvana (231 B.C.), the very year of Asoka’s death, those Mahasamghikas, amalgamated with the heretics, migrated abroad (in particular, to the Andhra region) and formed nine separate fraternities.

We do not know the value of this tradition which is narrated in such a late work as the Nikayasamgraha. We will merely note that it is surprisingly close to the version of the facts presented by Vasumitra, Paramartha and Hsuan tsang.
4. — CONCLUSIONS

The Buddhist traditions concerning the councils, the heresies and the schism are so vacillating and contradictory that they cannot be considered as objective accounts of any historical value. Nevertheless, they constitute a precious psychological documentation in that they exactly interpret the mind and propensities of the Buddhist community from the outset.

After the decease of the Buddha, the Śākyas' disciples were faced with an immense task: their Master left them no written testament, and it was important to establish his teaching, with the utmost urgency, as much from the doctrinal as the disciplinary point of view. Particularly in the domain of the Vinaya, even if the Prātimokṣa articles were firmly established, some doubts remained with regard to the minor and unimportant precepts. However, the Śāṅgha had no master available to institute a legitimate elaboration of what had already been disclosed.

On their own authority, Mahākāśyapa and his immediate disciples, all of them claiming to be Arhats, set themselves up as scholars and critics. It was only with some hesitation that they opened their ranks to Ānanda, the faithful disciple of the Master but who, unlike Kāśyapa, did not belong to the brāhmin caste and had still not acquired the supreme fruit of the religious life. In order to be able to join his colleagues, Ānanda also had to win Arhatship.

The assembly, at last constituted, gathered in council at Rājagṛha and immediately began a joint recitation of the doctrinal discourses and disciplinary rules. With regard to the precepts, it displayed uncompromising strictness. The work achieved its aim, we believe fairly rapidly, by the formation of an oral canon of the Buddhist teaching which had been memorized in the Magadhan language by specialized bhikṣus; among them there were memorizers of the sūtra (sūradhara) and of the vinaya (vinayadhara), official commentators (mārkaṭdhara) and professional preachers (dharmaṭkathaka).

Despite all their competence, the Arhats in Kāśyapa's circle were not able to win the approval of all their colleagues. Certain monks — the name of Purāṇa or Upananda is cited — preferred to retain the teaching just as they had heard it from the lips of the Master. Opposition was particularly strong among the religious who had still not attained holiness and remained at the level of students (śaikṣa) or wordlings (prthāgjana). There most probably was a collusion between those monks, whose spiritual level was inferior, and the pious laity (upāsaka) who were denied any possibility of direct access to Nirvāṇa by the early
doctrine. During the first two centuries of Buddhism, a latent hostility, caused by jealousy, smouldered between the Arhats on the one hand, and the worldly religious and the laity on the other. This caused ever-increasing conflict, and finally culminated in schism.

The first controversies concerned discipline. Certain religious proposed abolishing the minor and unimportant precepts on pretext that the Buddha had not defined them clearly, but the Arhats decided to maintain them down to the very last one. Later, some monks from Vaiśāli, the Vrjiputrakas, attempted to include in the Vinaya the laxist practices to which they were accustomed, particularly the possibility for the monks to accept gifts of money; they were condemned.

The intransigence of the Arhats deserved to be taught a lesson. Without further ado, an attempt was made to attack them directly through their honour and privileges; it was then that the five heretical theses appeared, asserting that the Arhat is always subject to a certain form of physical impurity, to ignorance and doubt, that he can be helped spiritually by others and that there are other means of salvation than the slow and painful practice of the eightfold Path. This heresy was perhaps first formulated in southern India, but the information provided by the sources on its author or authors are merely fables invented after the event. Once it had been launched, it gradually spread to all the Buddhist communities where it was keenly discussed. The Arhats, who were directly threatened, opposed it with savage resistance. A few sanghas split into two groups: adversaries and supporters of the heresy, and no doubt some religious migrated, but historical details are lacking.

The supporters of the heresy, who were upheld by the laity and included in their ranks the mass of worldlings and śaikṣas, were in the majority. Many of them, though lacking in holiness, were consummate scholars (bahuśruta). They were no longer satisfied with the early canon of the writings and undertook to revise it. They rearranged the order of the texts, eliminated some works questioning their authenticity or value, but mainly they inserted into the old collections new compositions, in which their particular views were set out.

All these dissensions inevitably culminated in the schism which brought about the scission of the original Saṃgha into two main branches: that of the Sthaviras who remained faithful to the old ideal of holiness, and that of the Mahāsāṃghikas who were won over to the five theses, open to the aspirations of the laity and strongly tinged with democracy. Whatever the sources may say, it is doubtful whether the kings directly intervened in the doctrinal conflict. Aśoka, as we know
from his edicts, protected all sects impartially and tried to bring harmony among them rather than set them against one another; he contended with the dissension as such, threatening to reduce all the agitators to lay status. The date of the schism has not been precisely established, but everything leads to the belief that it had been prepared over a long period and only came to a head in Aśoka’s era, at a time when the royal favours had attracted into the order a number of self-interested recruits, possibly even pure tirthikas. On this subject, some early evidence, not mentioned so far, can be put forward: that of Nāgārjuna or, if it is a question of a gloss, his translator Kumārajīva (405 A.D.) : “When the Buddha was in this world, there was no opposition to the Law. When he had disappeared, and the Law was recited for the first time, it was still as when the Buddha was alive. — One hundred years later, King Aśoka convened a great assembly of the quinquennial (pañcavarsaparīṣad) and the Great Masters of the Law debated. Because of their differences, there were distinct sects (nikāya), each having a name and each of which was subsequently to evolve” (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 70a).

III. — THE GROWTH OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

It was during the Mauryan period that Buddhism, extending well beyond the Gangetic plain which had been its birthplace, gradually reached neighbouring lands and took root in the whole of India, as well as Ceylon. This peaceful conquest, however, did not prevent the survival of brāhmanical institutions and Hindu practices, since the efforts made by the propagandists were aimed less at eliminating established institutions and popular beliefs than at adapting them to Śākyamuni’s message.

With regard to this rapid growth of Buddhism, we possess two sources of information, differing in origin and value, but which complete and verify each other: the Sinhalese chronicle and old and modern archaeology.

1. THE SINHALESE CHRONICLE

THE DATA IN THE CHRONICLE. — The Sinhalese chronicle abounds in precise and dated information on what it calls the Conversion of Various Regions (Nānadesapasāda), details of which can be found in the Dīpavamsa (VIII, 1-13), the Mahāvamsa (XII, 1-55), the Pāli Samantapāśādikā (I, pp. 63-9), the Chinese Samantapāśādikā (Shan chien lü, T 1462, ch. 2, pp. 684-6) and the Mahābodhivamsa (pp. 113-15).

After the council of Pātaliputra, in the month of Kattika (October) in
the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), the Thera Moggaliputtatissa, in anticipation of the future and with the aim of propagating the religion in neighbouring lands, sent missionaries to nine separate regions.

1. The Arhat Majjhantika who, as one may recall, had recited the kammavāca during the ordination of Mahinda, went to Kasmīra-Gandhāra. There, with his supernatural powers, he vanquished the Nāga-king Aravañā and converted him to Buddhism, while the Yā́ṣka Paṇḍaka, his wife Hāřitā and their five hundred sons became srotāpānna. Majjhantika preached the Āśīvisopamāsutta before a large gathering of people, converted 80,000 persons and conferred 100,000 (var. 1,000) ordinations.

2. Mahādeva, who had also taken part in the ordination of Mahinda by conferring on him the pabbajjā, set out to win over Mahisāmanḍala where he preached the Devadūtasutta, converted 40,000 persons and conferred 40,000 ordinations.

3. Rakkhita made for the land of Vanavāsa and, rising into the air, recited the Anamatagga Sāmyutta; 60,000 persons were converted, 37,000 (var. 7,000) took up the religious life, and 500 viharas were founded.

4. Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita was sent to Aparantaka, where he preached the Aggikkhandopamāsutta and converted 37,000 (var. 30,000) persons and gave 2,000 ordinations, of which a good thousand were women.

5. Mahādharamarakkhita, known to have conferred ordination on Tissa, Aśoka’s half-brother, was despatched to Mahāraṭṭha. After having preached the Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka, he had 84,000 conversions and 13,000 (3,000) ordinations to his credit.

6. Mahārakkhita travelled to Yonakaloka and there he recited the Kālakārāmasutta; 170,000 (var. 137,000) persons were won to Buddhism and 10,000 (var. 1,000) took up the monastic life.

7. Majjhima reached the high Himavat mountains with four companions: Kassapagotta, Dundubhissara (the reading Durabissara is incorrect), Sahadeva and Mūlakadeva (var. Alakadeva). He recited the Dhammacakkappavattanasutta, and 80 koṭi of beings became srotāpānna. Each of the five missionaries converted a kingdom, and each kingdom yielded 100,000 monastic recruits.

8. Saṇñ and Uttara went to Suvaññabhūmi, where the preaching of the Brahmagālasutta led to 60,000 conversions and 5,000 recruits.

9. Mahinda, Aśoka’s own son, was given the mission of converting Laṅkā; he had four companions to assist him, the Theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla, and he also took with him his nephew, the novice Sumana, Saṁghamittā’s son. However, before un-
dertaking the voyage, he understood that he would do better to wait until Prince Devānāṃpiyatissa mounted the throne of Ceylon. In the meanwhile, he resolved to go to Avanti, his native land, accompanied by the other members of the mission. For six months, he stayed in Ujjēnī (Ujjayinī) at the Dakkhiṇāgiri monastery; he then went to visit his mother, Queen Devī, who lived in Vedisa, present-day Bhīlsa in Gwalior; he lodged for a month in the Cetiya-giri (var. Vedisagiri) monastery, where he made the acquaintance of his cousin Bhanduka, the son of one of his mother's sisters, and who became an upāsaka and joined Mahinda.

However, the time had now come for Mahinda to accomplish his mission. On the uposatha day of the month of Jeṭṭha, in the spring of the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa, the four theras, the śramaṇa Sumana and the upāsaka Bhanduka rose miraculously into the air, and in a few instants reached Ceylon. They landed on the peak of Mount Missaka, present-day Mihintale, where King Devānāṃpiyatissa was busy hunting. Mahinda immediately called the sovereign and recited the Cūlahatthippadopamāsutta to him; the king and his retinue, 500 persons, took the three refuges. Then the missionary, addressing the devas, preached the Samacittasutta to them.

Led in triumph to Anurādhapura, the capital, the missionaries were received and lodged in the palace by Queen Anula and her five hundred attendants. They recited the Petavatthu, Vimiṇnavatthu and Sacca-samyutta, and all acquired the srotāpañna fruit.

The missionaries, without allowing themselves to be pampered by the fine fare and solicitous care, organized a mission lasting seven days which was preached either in the Elephants' Stable (Hatthisālā), or in the Park of Delights (Nandanavana) to the south of the town. The following is a list of the discourses and the results they incurred:

First day. — Teaching of the Devadūtasuttanta and a thousand conversions; teaching of the Bālapaṇḍitasuttanta and a thousand conversions among the women.

Second day. — The ceremonious presentation to the missionaries of the Mahāmeghavana which was destined later to become the Tissārāma or Mahāvihāra, the religious centre of the island; teaching of the Aggikkhandopamāsuttanta and a thousand conversions.

Third day. — Teaching of the Āsīvisūpamā and a thousand conversions.

Fourth day. — Teaching of the Anamatagga and a thousand conversions; fixing of the boundaries of the future Mahāvihāra.

Fifth day. — Teaching of the Khajjanīyasuttanta and a thousand conversions.
Sixth day. — Teaching of the Gomayapindisutta and a thousand conversions.

Seventh day. — Teaching of the Dhammacakkappavattanasutta and a thousand conversions.

The 8,000 conversions carried out during the retreat, together with the five hundred persons in the king's retinue who had welcomed the missionaries on Mount Missaka, brought the number of converts to 8,500 (Mhv., XV, 201).

After remaining for twenty-six days in the Mahameghavana, on the 13th of the month of Asālha (June), the six missionaries preached the Mahappamādasuttanta to the king, and then withdrew to Mount Missaka where they spent the rainy season. The king's nephew, Ariṭṭha, and his 55 brothers followed them into the retreat and received ordination; thenceforth the island had 62 monks. They spent the three months of the varṣa in the Cetiyapabbata monastery which had been built for them by the king.

In the month of Kattika (October), the śramaṇa Sumana was sent to Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra, as well as to Indra's palace; he returned from his voyage with a quantity of relics, particularly the right clavicle of the Buddha, which were stored in the Cetiyapabbata. However, the precious clavicle was soon transported to the Thūpārāma enclosure, at the gates of the town. The wonders which marked the celebrations led to further callings, among them that of Mattabhaya, the king's brother. The number of bhikkhus rose to 30,000 (Mhv., XVII, 61).

Queen Anula and her five hundred lady attendants expressed a desire to take up the religious life, so the king sent his nephew Ariṭṭha to Aśoka with the task of obtaining a chapter of nuns and a branch of the Bodhi tree. These requests were granted. The nun Samghamittā, with eleven of her co-sisters, carrying the Bodhi tree, embarked at Tāmalittī (Tamulk) and, after a rapid but stormy crossing, landed at the port of Jambukola in Ceylon. The tree, transported in great pomp to Anurādhapura, was planted by the king in the Mahameghavana.

Samghamittā conferred ordination on Anula and her attendants; after which the new nuns took up their quarters in the monasteries of the Upāsikā and Hatthālakāvihāras.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TRADITION. — The facts related by the chronicle are so important that the text must be subjected to a thorough examination.

1. The initiative of Moggaliputtatissa. — The chronicle emphasizes the fact that the missionary movement, which was to lead to the conversion
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<tr>
<th>Regions indoctrinated</th>
<th>Missionaries</th>
<th>Sermons preached</th>
<th>Pāli Chronicle number of converts</th>
<th>Shan chien lü number of converts</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kasmīra Gandhāra</td>
<td>Majjhantika</td>
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<td>Dhammacappavattana</td>
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<td>59,056</td>
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of the whole of India, was launched on the initiative of the Vibhajyavādin Moggaliputtatissa, the master of Mahinda apostle of Ceylon.

For our part, we believe that Buddhism, using active propaganda from the outset, was able to take advantage of the propitious circumstances created by the conversion of Aśoka and the emperor's favour, and win over the major part of India to the religion. However, we strongly doubt that the considerable expansion it achieved during the Mauryan period could have been the result of a concerted plan of missions and in particular that the initiative for the move is to be attributed to Moggaliputtatissa alone.

There can be no doubt that Buddhism, like other religious movements of the time, within India as without, was a religion of propaganda, a missionary movement. It is no less certain that such propaganda was pursued from the beginning. Immediately after the discourse at Vārāṇasī and the conversion of the first disciples, the Buddha himself sent his monks to expound the Good Law to whomsoever wished to hear it: "O monks, I am freed from all the human and divine bonds and you, also, are freed from them. Go forth, and walk for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the profit, for the welfare, for the happiness of gods and mankind. Let not two of you go by the same path. Expound the Law which is beneficent in the beginning, beneficent in the middle, beneficent at the end; teach it in its spirit and its letter; explain the practice of the religious life in the fullness of its purity. There exist beings who, by nature, are not blinded by passion; but if they do not hear the Law expounded, they are lost; they will be won over to the Law. As for myself, I shall go to Uruvilvā, the town of the army chief, in order to teach the Law" (Pāli Vin., I, pp. 20-1; cf. Mahāvastu, III, p. 415; T 1421, ch. 16, p. 108a; T 1428, ch. 32, p. 792a; T 1450, ch. 6, p. 130a). This order was carried out and, during the very lifetime of the Buddha, regions as remote as Avanti or Śroṇāparānta were, if not converted, at least evangelized by apostles the memory of whom was preserved by history: Mahākātyāyana, Pūrṇa, etc.

The chronicle simplifies and misrepresents the facts by situating the general conversion of India in the year 236 after the Nirvāṇa; it shows its partiality by attributing the merit to Moggaliputtatissa and his delegates alone. This tendentious version was never accepted on the mainland, nor even generally admitted by all the Sinhalese religious.

a. For the mainlanders, the conversion of India was the result of a long and patient teaching process initiated by the Buddha and continued during the early centuries by the Masters of the Law and their imme-
diante disciples. In the paragraph we devoted to them, we saw the rôle played in Kaśmīr first by Madhyāntika, then by Śāṇavāsa and, finally, by the 500 Sthavirian Arhats expelled from Pāṭaliputra by Aśoka. The same sources attribute to Mahendra "Ānanda's disciple" (sic) the conversion of Simhaladvīpa (Ceylon), and make the Mathurā region the centre of activities of the great Upagupta. Doubtless not all the details of the great deeds of these religious are clear, and the chronology of their respective ministries is so ill-established that Hsüan tsang can be excused for having, on one and the same page of his Memoirs, attributed the founding of 500 Kaśmīrian vihāras first to Madhyāntika and his disciples, in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa, then and immediately afterwards to the Sthavirian Arhats from Pāṭaliputra in the year 100 after the Nirvāṇa (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886a-b). The main point is that the conversion of India required long centuries, for it began during the very lifetime of the Buddha, and it was not completed until the Mauryan era. It is therefore quite correct for the roll of honour of the missionaries drawn up by the Mahākarmavibhaṅga (ed. Lévi, pp. 61-4) to place contemporaries of Śākyamuni and contemporaries of Aśoka side by side: "Mahākāśyapa converted the population of the West, beginning with Avanti. The Ārya Madhyandina, having subdued five hundred dragons in Kaśmīr, converted the region where he planted saffron which he had gathered from Lake Anavatapta and which the population still eats today; he also built a monastery there which is still inhabited. In Suvarṇabhūmi, the Ārya Gavāṃpati converted the population over a distance of one hundred yojana. The inhabitants of Pūrvavideha (the Eastern World) were converted by the Ārya Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, and monasteries were built there which are still inhabited. In Simhaladvīpa (Ceylon), some Rākṣasas, Vibhīṣana, etc., achieved understanding through the Ārya Mahendra, and the region was converted. As it is said in the Adhyardhaśataka, in the town of Śūrpāraka, five hundred lay persons were converted by the Ārya Pūrna, and a pavilion with a frieze made of sandalwood was constructed; the Blessed One made his way there through the air with five hundred bhikṣus, and a throng of people was converted". This account knows nothing whatever about Moggaliputta's missionary activity.

b. It is immediately obvious that the fable concerning Moggaliputta's missions could not have been compiled before the fifth century, the date of the introduction of Buddhism to Burma. Before that date, the Sinhalese religious who were settled in the Andhra region had already attempted to accredit a legend which attributed the conversion of the whole of India to Sinhalese śramaṇas, but which makes no mention of
Moggaliputta. An inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, dating from the year 14 of the reign of the Ikṣvāku Māthariputra Siri-Virapurisadata (ca 240-260 A.D.), records the erection of an absidal temple (caityagrha) and a shrine (caitya) by the upāsikā Bodhisiri for the benefit "of the masters and fraternities of Tambapāṇa (Ceylon) who converted Kasmira, Gandhāra, Cina-Cīlata, Tosali, Avaramṭa, Vaṃga, Vanavāsi, Damila, Palura and Tambapamnidiṇa" (EI, XX, 1929, p. 22). In other words, it is assumed that the Sinhalese converted the whole of India as well as themselves. It needed all the naivety of an over-pious woman to take them at their word. The Pāli chronicle itself did not dare to confirm such a fable and preferred to transpose to Moggaliputta, Asoka's spiritual adviser and teacher of the great Sinhalese missionary Mahinda, the honour of having initiated the missions. However, if this last tradition compelled recognition in Ceylon, it was always ignored or dismissed on the mainland.

It should be remembered that the evangelization, begun at the time of the Buddha, intensified in the Mauryan age and led, in the reign of Asoka, to the virtual conversion of the whole of India, but that the missionary movement was the deed of all the communities then existing and no saṅgha in particular can claim exclusive merit for it. Furthermore, the expansion of the Good Law was ruled by geographical conditions: it was propagated from region to region.

The tendentious nature of the chronicle in no way prevents it from supplying interesting and occasionally, precise, information on the conversion of India.

2. The lands covered by the mission. — They were nine in number:

1. Kaśmīra-Gandhāra. Taken in its broadest sense, Gandhāra, the inhabitants of which were known to Strabo and Ptolemy by the names of Gandaritai and Gandarai, represents the ancient Achaemenid satrapy of Gadara. The province, ceded to Candragupta by Seleucus I in 305, included not only the district of Puskaravati (present-day Prāṅg and Chārsadda, 17 miles N.E. of Peshāwar), but also the Eastern Punjab, capital Takṣaśilā (20 miles N.W. of Rāwalpindi). The region was completely Buddhist by the Mauryan period. The same cannot be said for Kaśmīr which, with the exception of the extreme south, did not truly become a Buddhist land until the Kuṣāna era.

2. Mahīṣaṃḍala. Vain attempts were made to identify this area with the land of Andhra, in which Mahādeva's heresy flourished for a long time in the Śaila communities. The Mahīṣakas are mentioned by the Purāṇa among the people in the South, after the Mahārāṣtras; their capital was Māhiṃṣatī on the Narmadā. Māhiṃṣatī is known to the
canonical sources (*Dīgha*, II, p. 235; *Suttanipāta*, v. 1011) as the chief town of Southern Avanti. As a close neighbour of Ujjayinī, it no doubt benefited quite early on from the propagandist movement initiated by Mahākātyāyana in Avanti.

3. Vanavāsa, or North Kanara, was the dwelling-place of the Vanavāsikas or Vanavāsins to the east of Koṅkan, between the Ghāt, the Tuṅgabhadrá and the Varadā. The town of Vanavāsi, situated on the left bank of the Varadā, was known to Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) by the name of Banabasi; an inscription dating from the Caṭukula-Śātakarnī dynasty has been found there (LÜDERS, 1186).

4. Aparāntaka in a restricted sense is northern Koṅkan, its capital being Śūrpāraka, the Suppara of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§52) and of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 6), present-day Sopāra; however, in the wider sense, Aparānta, a synonym of Paścāddeśa, designates the whole western coast, Sindh, Western Rājputāna, Kutch, Gujarāt and the coastal area of the lower Narmadā. If we are to believe Buddhist sources (*Majjhima*, III, p. 268; *Samyutta*, IV, p. 61; *Divya*, p. 45 sq.), the sage Pūrṇa, at the time of the Buddha, had already brought the Good Word to the Śroṇāparāntakas (Pāli, Sunāparantas) and founded a monastery made of sandalwood in Śūrpāraka.

5. Mahārāṣṭra is the Maratha region on the Upper Godavari.

6. Yavanaloka designates the territories of eastern Gedrosia and Arachosia which were ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta in approximately 305 B.C. and occupied by Graeco-Iranian settlers called “barbarians” in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 65, 13) and “the godless” by the *Purāṇa*.

7. Himavanta refers in a general manner to the whole Himalayan region.

8. Suvarṇabhūmi is a maritime country which, despite the suggestion made by Fleet, has nothing to do with Karṇaśuvarṇa located by Hsüan-tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 928a) in North-West India. It was known as the Chryse Chersonesos to the ancient geographers and identified with the ancient mōn area, and more particularly the town of Thaton in lower Burma.\(^{91}\) According to the Buddhist sources, Suvarṇabhūmi was evan-

\(^{91}\) Chryse Chersonesos of Pomponius Mela (III, 70), Pliny the Elder (VI, 55, 80), *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (56, 50, 63), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, VIII, 6, 4), Ptolemy (VII, 1, 15), *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* of Jātaka, IV, p. 15; VI, p. 34; *Chin ti or Chin chou* of the Mūlarsarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1444, ch. 2, p. 1026c 7); of the Upadesā (T 1509, ch. 11, p. 136b 17) and of I ching (T 2066, ch. 2, p. 11c 5-7; p. 12a 5 and 11) who identifies it with the Malayan kingdom of *Shi-li-fo-shi* (Śrīvijaya). See R.C. MAJUMDAR, *Suvarṇabhūmi*, Dacca, 1937; V. RANGHACHARYA, *The Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa*, Aiyangar Comm. Vol., p. 462-482.
gelized either by Gavāmpati during the Buddha’s lifetime (*Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, p. 62), or by Sona and Uttara at the time of Aśoka (Pali chronicle). However, this is apocryphal information which can hardly date back further than the fifth century A.D., since there is no trace at all of any Indian incursions into Burma before the fragments of the Pali canon found at Mōza and Maungun, on the ancient site of Prome, and which date from around 500 A.D.\(^2\).

9. Lankā or Ceylon.

The nine regions enumerated by the chronicle were therefore not all evangelized at the time of Aśoka; some, such as Avanti and Aparāntaka, had encountered the Buddhist message before that date; others, such as Suvarṇabhūmi, not until much later. However, it is not impossible that the missionary movement intensified in the Maurya period; it is even probable that the preachers of the Saddharma were quite close on the heels of the imperial envoys sent to various regions in India to promulgate the Dharma of Aśoka.

According to the fifth rock edict (*Bloch*, p. 103), thirteen years after the consecration (231 after the Nirvāṇa, 255 B.C.), the overseers of the Dharma of Aśoka introduced it among the Yavanas, Kambojans, Gandhārans, Rāṣṭrikas, Pitenikas and other Aparāntas, and we know from the second and twelfth rock edicts (*Bloch*, pp. 93, 130) that the pious message reached as far as the Tāmrparṇīyas. The official propaganda opened the way for the religious propaganda and, five years later, to be precise in the year 18 of the consecration (236 after the Nirvāṇa, 250 B.C.), the Dharmabhaṇakas, as the Buddhist missionaries were called, duplicated the activity of the imperial functionaries.

In order to get an idea of the extent of the political and religious activity launched at the time of Priyadarśin, we can compare the regional lists supplied by the Pali chronicle, the edicts (*l.c.*), the *Karmavibhaṅga* (pp. 61-4) and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (*EI*, XX, 1929, p. 22) : (see p. 302).

The Cina-Cilātas are cited by the Buddhist sources (*Milinda*, pp. 327, 331) immediately after the Saka-Yavanas; the *Mahābhārata* (II, 26, 9; V, 19, 15) knows them by the names of Cīṇa and Kirāṭa; they are the Kirridai of the *Periplus* (§62) and the Tiladai or Piladai of Ptolemy (VII, 2, 15). They are located roughly on the Upper Indus, in the Himālayan part of the river.

Of the four sources, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is the only one to mention the conversion of Eastern India : Vaṅga or Bengal, Tosali from whence the

<table>
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<th>Chronicle</th>
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<td>5. Piṭeṇika</td>
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<td>6. Region of Śūrpāraka</td>
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<td>5. Aparānta</td>
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<td>7. Yavanaloka</td>
<td>1. Yavana</td>
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<td>8. Himavanta</td>
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<td>3. Suvarṇabhūmi</td>
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<td>9. Suvarṇabhūmi</td>
<td>2. Kamboja</td>
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<td>7. Cola, Pāṇḍya, Kerala</td>
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<td>11. Tāmraparṇi-dvīpa</td>
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<td>6. Vaṅga</td>
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<td>10. Palura (?)</td>
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separate Dhauli edicts come (BLOCH, p. 136) and which is the Dosarene of the Greek geographers (Periplus, 62; Ptolemy, VII, 1, 17; VII, 1, 40; VII, 1, 77), finally, if the reading is correct, Palura. This town, called Padoura by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 16, 18 and 85), must be identified with Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga (Dīgha, II, p. 235; Jātaka, II, p. 367; Mahāvastu, III, p. 361), the oppidum of Dandaguda for Pliny (VI, 72)93.

3. The missionaries. — Of the twenty-odd missionaries cited by the Pāli chronicle, only two, Majjhantika and Mahinda, have found a place in the Buddhist tradition on the mainland, the first by the name of Madhyāntika or Madhyandina, the second by that of Mahendra.

There existed a prediction by the Buddha according to which, after his decease, the Arhat Madhyāntika would settle in Kaśmīr and propagate Buddhism there. It is mentioned in the Aṣokāvadāna (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 116b 3-4; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 155c 20-1), the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, Pt I, p. xvii, 1.4; T 1448, ch. 9, p. 40c 18-22), the Mahākaranāpunḍarika (T 380, ch. 2, p. 954c 13-17) and the Hsi yū chi (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886a 21).

At the time of his Nirvāṇa, which he obtained in the middle of the Ganges, Ānanda solemnly entrusted the Law to Madhyāntika with the mission to propagate it in Kaśmīr: Aṣokāvadāna (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 116b

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"When Ānanda was on the point of entering Nirvāṇa, he first displayed a luminous augury. A brahmačārin who had learned the art of calculation from Ānanda, perceiving the brilliance of his appearance, said to King Ajātaśatru: ‘Ānanda’s appearance is extraordinary; is he not about to enter Nirvāṇa?’ Immediately, the king sent messengers to fetch Ānanda. However, Ānanda, at the head of his five hundred disciples, had reached midway along the banks of the Ganges; he entered a boat in order to cross it and reached mid-stream. The king was present on the bank, and the inhabitants of Vaiśāli, who had also come to welcome him, had sent five hundred young people to meet him. As his intention was to go to both countries [at one and the same time], Ānanda made use of his supernormal power to cause the boat to stop in midstream. He then made his disciples approach; the first was called Mo shan t‘i (Madhyāntika) and the second Mo shen t‘i (Mahendra). Ānanda said to Madhyāntika: ‘Go to the kingdom of Chi pin (Kasmir) and establish the Law of the Buddha: that country does not yet know of it, make it your task to spread it abroad’. Then he said to Mahendra: ‘Go to the kingdom of Shih tsū chu (Simhaladvipa, Ceylon) and introduce the Law of the Buddha’. After making that testament, Ānanda performed the eighteen transformations, produced fire and burned his own body; he divided his bodily relics in halves so that each of the two families [those of Ajātaśatru and the inhabitants of Vaiśāli] could pay homage to him”.

Faithful to the orders he had received, Madhyāntika went to Kasmīr to bring peace to the land. The deeds which are narrated in full by the Sanskrit sources — Aśokāvadāna (T 2042, ch. 4, p. 116b 12-c 22; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 156a 7-b 19), Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411a 5-b 18), Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 44, p. 230a 20-29). Hsi yū chi (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 886a-b) — are, apart from a few details, those which the Pāli chronicle attributed to Majjhantika. Kasmīr was in the possession of the great dragon Hulūṭa (compare the Aravāla of the Pāli sources) which gave savage battle to the missionary. However, the dragon’s weapons could do nothing against Madhyāntika who, seated cross-legged in concentration on benevolence, resisted all the attacks. Once tamed, the dragon acknowledged the right of the Buddha’s disciples to Kasmīr, on condition that the land be always occupied by five hundred Arhats. These arrived from every region, and Madhyāntika granted them investiture and he himself laid down the boundaries of the towns and villages. The monks accompanied him to Mount Gandhamā-

94 Most of these sources have been translated into French by J. PRZYLUSKI, Le Nord-Ouest de l’Inde, 1A, 1914, pp. 493-568.
dana where they received saffron roots and, with the agreement of the dragons on the mountain, imported the roots to Kaśmir where they planted them and made them fructify.

The other missionary known to the Sanskrit and Chinese sources is Mahendra, the apostle of Ceylon. As we have already seen, he is cited, apparently as a contemporary of the Buddha, in the Mahākārma-vibhaṅga (p. 63), as the disciple of Ānanda and a subject of Ajātaśatru in the Fēn pieh kung tê lun (1.c.) and, finally, as Aśoka’s brother by Hsüan tsang. The Chinese master attributes to him the adventures which the other sources assign to the “younger brother” of Aśoka (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912a), but does not deny him the glory of having converted Ceylon: “One hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, Mahendra, the younger brother of Aśoka, renounced sense-pleasures, ardently sought the fruits of holiness, acquired the six abhijñā and eight vimokṣa and, walking through the air, went to that kingdom (Ceylon). He widely proclaimed the Saddharma, and spread the doctrine which had been bequeathed to him” (T 2087, ch. 11, p. 934a 10-13). Doubtless there is in this passage an allusion to the legend in the terms of which Mahinda went, through the air, from Avanti to Mount Missaka in Ceylon. However, while not questioning the supernormal powers of the missionary, Hsüan tsang seems to propose a more normal means of locomotion, when he notes in Malakūṭa, a region somewhere to the south of Kāṇči, the ruins of an old monastery “constructed by Mahendra” as well as a stūpa of which only the foundations remained (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 932a). It could be that the monastery was one of Mahendra’s halting-places on his way south, and that, to get to Ceylon, he simply embarked at the port of Potalaka, which was in direct communication with the island.

Apart from Madhyāntika and Mahendra, the subcontinent also knew other missionaries mentioned in the Pāli chronicle, for their names appear on inscribed reliquaries which were stored in the stūpas of the State of Bhopāl, erected at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C.

Alongside Stūpa 3 at Sāṇči, which contained the relics of the great disciples Sāriputa and Mahāmogalāna (LÜDERS, 665 and 666; MAJUMDAR, 13 and 14), other monuments preserved, in caskets made of

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95 Also known by the name of Malayaparvata, the Tamil Podigei or Podigai, the Bettigoo of Ptolemy. The sage Agastya had his hermitage on the peak of the Malayakūṭa (Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XI, 79).

stone, soapstone or crystal, the precious relics of a whole succession of masters (ācāryaparamparā) who were famed in the Haimavata school:305

Stūpa 2 at Sāncī, inscriptions Nos. 2 to 12 of MAJUMDAR, Nos. 655 to 665 of LÜDERS. — Stūpa 2 at Sonārī, inscriptions Nos. 156 to 160 of LÜDERS. — Stupa 2 at Andher, inscriptions Nos. 680 to 683 of LÜDERS.

The scholars, whose memory has been thus preserved, represent at least three generations of masters:


Those three generations grouped together “all the masters (vināyaka), including the ara (arhat) Kāsapagota and the ara Vāchi Suvijayita, the master [or masters]” (MAJUMDAR, No. 2; LÜDERS, No. 654). Other monks also mentioned in the inscriptions should be placed before Vāchiya (No. 6) who seems to have been the last of the vināyakas: 7. Sapurisa Mahavānaya; 8. Sapurisa Āpagira; 9. Sapurisa Koṇīniputa.

In the first three holy ones, Kāsapagota, Dudubhisara and Majhima, the reader will already have recognized the Kassapagotta, Dundubhisara and Majjhima of the Pāli chronicles (above, p. 293) which claim they converted the Himavanta. Conversely, the fifth holy one, Mogaliputa, two generations later than the above three, has only his name in common with the Mogaliputtatissa of the chronicle.

4. The themes of the missionary teaching. — According to the chronicle, seventeen discourses were preached during the great Indian mission. All of them form part of the Suttaptaka of the Pāli Tipiṭaka:

I. Extract from the Dīghanikāya:


II. Extracts from the Majjhimanikāya:

2. Cūlahatthipadopamsuttanta (I, pp. 175-84), propounded in Ceylon. The life to be led by the true monk, disciple of the Buddha.


III. Extracts from the Sāmyuttanikāya:


6. Anamatagga (II, pp. 178-93), spoken in Vanavāsa and Ceylon. Length of Saṁsāra, which has no beginning.
(7) *Khajjaniyasuttanta* (III, pp. 81-104), preached in Ceylon. Contemplating the past, present and future, the disciple becomes aware that he is always a prey to his body, feelings, perceptions, volitions and consciousnesses. He repudiates the *skandha* and frees himself from them in order to achieve full and conscious release.


(9) *Āsīvisopamāsuttanta* (IV, pp. 172-5), propounded in Kaśmira-Ghandhāra and Ceylon. Brilliant prosopopoeia demonstrating the battle that mankind must wage continually against his enemies: the great elements, the aggregates of attachment, impassioned desire, the organs and objects of the senses. In order to reach Nirvāṇa he must reject the view of existence.

(10) *Saccasamyutta* (V, pp. 414-78), expounded in Ceylon. Technical explanation of the four noble truths illustrated by admirable comparisons.

IV. Extracts from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*:

(11) *Samacitta* (I, pp. 61-9), uttered in Ceylon. Appeasing the senses and mind frees the body, speech and thought.

(12) *Kālakārāmasuttanta* (II, pp. 24-6), preached in Yavanaloka. The omniscient Buddha penetrates the whole field of experience, but without being subject to it.

(13) *Aggikkhandopamāsuttanta* (IV, pp. 128-35), propounded in Aparānta and Ceylon. It is better to be enveloped in consuming fire than live a dissolute life when wearing the monk’s robe.

V. Extracts from the *Khuddaka Nikāya*:

(14) *Vimānavatthu* (Book IV), taught in Ceylon. Edifying stories which enabled the devas to attain the heavenly abodes.

(15) *Petavatthu* (Book VII), preached in Ceylon. Stories of various beings who were reborn in the world of ghosts after a series of misdeeds.

(16) *Jātaka* (Book X) of *Nārada Kassapa* (VI, pp. 219-55), preached in Ceylon. Conversion of Aṅgati, king of Mithilā, through the joint efforts of his daughter Rujjā and the Bodhisattva Nārada. The king had been threatened with the pangs of hell if he did not mend his ways.

VI. Varia (*Vinaya*, I, p. 10; *Samyutta*, V, p. 420, etc).

(17) *Dhammacakkappavattanasuttanta*, propounded in Ceylon. Discourse of Vārāṇasī on the four noble truths.

It is evident from this list that the seventeen discourses were chosen from the Five Nikāyas of the Tipiṭaka. The exactness of the references supplied by the chronicle, the ease with which the extracts can be identified, both lead to the belief that the Pāli canon with its divisions, sub-divisions and titles existed in its present form in the third century B.C. The paragraph which we devoted to the formation of the canon showed that this was not so and that the Pāli canon, at least with regard to the *Khuddhanikāya*, was not standardized and given its final form until the fifth century A.D. Consequently the information provided by the chronicle contains anachronisms. Nevertheless, we believe that the
chronicle gives an exact idea of the aim pursued by Buddhist propaganda in the Maurya period, and of the means used to achieve it.

The goals which those missionaries pursued differed radically from the aim that Śākyamuni set himself during his public ministry.

The latter, as we saw earlier, strove above all to win new recruits "among the noble young people who give up the household life in order to embrace the wandering life" : an aristocratic concept of the mission, which means appealing to the elite more willingly than to common people. In the time of Aśoka, the Saṅgha overflowed with recruits, not all of whom were above reproach. The authorities were forced to remove many tīrthikas masquerading in the yellow robe of the bhikṣus, and to reduce to lay status the black sheep who threatened the unity of the Saṅgha. The new mission initiated by the propagandists therefore aimed less at making new recruits than at making a mass conversion of the peoples in distant provinces. What is more, the so-called conversions corresponded only remotely to the western world's idea : the convert or, to use the technical expression, the prasādīta "the appeased one", is prompted by dispositions of goodwill with regard to the Buddha, his Law and his Community; he takes his refuge (saraṇa), in them without being compelled to repudiate his earlier beliefs or to burn the gods he worshipped.

In order to gain the sympathy of the masses, the third century missionaries exploited the eternal themes of popular preaching, suitable for striking the imagination and provoking a psychological shock. The discourses listed by the chronicle struck all the sensory key-points in turn. The missionaries began by commiserating over the wretchedness of humanity, threatened by hell, condemned from all eternity to old age, disease and death, a slave to its own body and senses, blinded by precarious satisfactions, disturbed by incessant attacks from the enemy of its salvation (Discourses Nos. 3-4, 6-9). Then they celebrated the joy and peace which a virtuous and zealous man enjoys, and invited him to model himself on holy kings or the devas of the heavenly spheres (Discourses Nos. 5, 11, 14, 15). They extolled of the omniscience of the Buddha, the indisputed epitome of all experiences (Discourse No. 12) and, after having systematically refuted the objections (No. 1), they finally taught the four noble truths, the mainstay of the Buddhist doctrine (Nos. 10 and 17). Not all the throngs were prepared to receive Śākyamuni's message in its entirety, and the missionaries had to adapt their instructing to the capacities and wishes of their listeners. The Kālakārāmasuttanta which extols the omniscience of the Buddha was particularly appropriate for Yavanaloka, which partly contained Hellenized subjects who were prone to the wondrous. It was, however, only
It is important to make a careful distinction between the missionary movement of the third century and the Aśokan Dharma which was spread at the same time*. Whatever may have been said, Aśoka was not directly involved in Buddhist propaganda. As head of state, he wanted to spread throughout his empire and among neighbouring kingdoms the practice of natural virtues which, being valid for all men indiscriminately, ensured all of happiness in this world and bliss in the next. He protected all sects impartially, without favouring one to the detriment of the others. In contrast, the missionaries strove to convert India to their own beliefs and to implant the Good Law wherever they passed: they preached the Word of the Buddha in its entirety. Their activity was superimposed on the work already carried out by Aśoka and his officials, but was different from it. The Aśokan Dharma simply prepared the way for the Buddhist Saddharma. It is true that, in the Bhābrā edict, the emperor, addressing the Samgha directly, allowed his personal convictions to speak and, in order to ensure that the Good Law would last for a long time, recommended the study of certain Buddhist texts to the religious and laity; but those pious readings, edifying though they may have been, by no means represented the whole of the Buddhist doctrine. They were in no way comparable to the rich repository of discourses which were at the disposal of the missionaries, and which constituted a complete initiation into the doctrine.

5. The number of recruits and conversions. — As we have seen, the aim of the third century missionaries was to convert the masses rather than ensure new recruits for the order. The chronicle gives the respective figures of the recruits and converts, but the sources vary considerably over the subject. According to the table drawn up above (p. 296), there were 539,500 conversions against 207,056 ordinations, as given in the Mahāvaṃsa and Samantapāṣādikā; 435,500 conversions against 59,056 ordinations according to the Shan chien lü. That means that the number of conversions would have exceeded that of ordinations, in the proportion of 2.5 to 1 according to the first count, 7 to 1 according to the second.

We will leave the responsibility for the figures to the early authors who recorded them, but it is perhaps interesting to note that in Yavanaloka, i.e. the Hellenized Iranian regions of Eastern Gedrosia and Arachosia, the number of monastic recruits was practically negligible; one recruit in 17, even 73 conversions. This is because Hellenistic polytheism, even though it instituted priestships of limited duration to minister in certain cults, included neither priests nor religious in the
proper sense of the word. This is so true that Alexander and his companions, on meeting some Indian religious for the first time, in this instance Digambara Jains, took them to be sophists. Being totally unaware of monastic institutions, the Greeks were astounded to learn that men, of a religious ideal, could forego all the joys of life and devote themselves to renunciation and penitence. The religious status seemed madness to them, and it took them a long time to discover the motivation and joys of the śramaṇa. Long after Asoka, the Indo-Greek king Menander, known for his Buddhist sympathies, was still asking Nāgasena the reasons for taking up the religious life: he remained persuaded that lay morality, when correctly observed, led just as surely to holiness as did the religious status.

6. Mahinda in Avanti. — The chronicle claims that, before setting out for Ceylon, Mahinda stayed for seven months in Avanti, six months at the Dakkhiniagiri monastery in Ujjjenī and one month at the Cetiyagiri monastery in Vedisa. Vedisa (present-day Besnagar) was situated in the State of Bhopāl, near the present-day town of Bhīlsa. According to archaeologists, the Cetiyagiri where Mahinda stayed was included in the precincts of Sāñcī, a site famous for its stūpas and Buddhist monuments.

We do not know whether the name Cetiyagiri refers to a Buddhist building (sanctuary or stūpa) erected, before, during or after Asoka’s reign. The presence of Buddhism in Avanti is much earlier than the reign of Asoka, but it is doubtful whether a stūpa could have been erected before that date since, we are told, “stūpa-worship was virtually started by Asoka”.

The interest of this question is not only archaeological. Mahinda is said to have introduced the Pāli canon to Ceylon and, according to the tradition, Pāli is none other than the Māgadhī language used by the Buddha on his preaching tours in Eastern India. However, Pāli is in fact a composite language which has affinities with a large number of local dialects. Even though it retains traces of Magadhisms, it is closer to western tongues, particularly the Gīrṇār form of the Aśokan language. Writers who seek the origin of Pāli in western India (Gujarat, Avanti) base their argument on the fact that the language in Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, was the mother tongue of Mahinda and that the apostle stayed there before his departure for Ceylon. This argument is not of much value: if the tradition is to be believed, Mahinda received his religious training at the Aśokārāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra, where he lived for twelve years. It is difficult to see any reasons which could have caused him, during his brief stay in Avanti, to renounce the language of Pāṭaliputra, which was his “classical” tongue, in order to adopt the Ujjayinī dialect and memorize, in a new form, the texts which he had
painfully learned by heart. In reality the origins of Pāli remain shrouded in darkness.

7. Conclusions. — The Sinhalese chronicle simplifies the facts to an extreme degree by attributing the general conversion of India to the activity of a handful of missionaries sent out by Moggaliputtatissa and by giving that memorable event the exact date of 236 after the Nirvāṇa. The Buddhist propaganda, initiated from the outset, continued with varying success for the first two centuries of the Nirvāṇa and reached its peak during the Aśokan epoch. During all that time, Magadha remained the main centre of activity: it was there, in fact, that the Buddhist community was most numerous and the best protected by the secular arm. However, the secondary centres, Kausāmbī, Ujjayinī and Mathurā, should not be underestimated. One can deduce, though not in detail, the spiritual activity exerted by Mathurā over Kaśmīr and the North-West, and by Avanti over Ceylon. Needless to say, private initiative played its part in the missionary movement, but the efforts of individuals fade before the intrinsic expansionary power of the Good Law which required nothing more than politically favourable circumstances to manifest itself. Such circumstances were provided by the creation of the Mauryan empire and the conversion of the great emperor Aśoka. With all obstacles lifted, the Good Law became somewhat like an oil slick, gradually approaching all the regions of the sub-continent and extending as far as Ceylon. Archaeology provides ample traces of this triumphal march.

2. — ARCHAEOLOGY

THE STŪPA, CAITYA AND VĪHĀRA. — As it extended throughout the empire, the Good Law, promoted wherever it went, the erection of many


Other more specialized works will be mentioned in the notes which follow.
Buddhist memorials: funerary monuments (*stūpa*), sanctuaries (*caitya-grha*), cells (*vihāra*) and monasteries (*saṃghārāma*).

The *stūpa*, the origins of which go back to pre-Buddhist times, is both a monumental reliquary and a commemorative monument. It usually contains a precious casket in which are preserved the bodily relics of the Buddha or of his disciples (bones, nail clippings, hair, etc.), objects which had been for their personal use (clothing, staff, alms-bowl, etc.), or again, sacred texts. It is generally erected on a site made famous by a wonderous or an unusual event which had occurred during the last life or the previous existences of the Master and his disciples, whose memory was to be perpetuated. It thus helps to situate in space and, to a certain degree, in time the Buddhist legend which crystallized around it.

The *stūpa* of the ancient type\(^{98}\) which is a characteristic of the Mauryan and Sunga period is a solid hemispherical dome (*anda*) constructed of brick or stone, resting on a circular terrace (*medhi*) serving as a processional circular path (*pradakśināpatha*) which is reached by one or several stairways (*sopāna*). The *stūpa* is surmounted by a square pavilion (*harmikā*) on which was fixed a pole (*yaśīti*) supporting a series of parasols (*chattrāvalī*). The *stūpa* is generally surrounded at a certain distance by a balustrade (*vedikā*) made of wood or stone: it consists of a series of upright posts (*stambha*), joined at the base by a plinth (*ālambana*), at the top by a coping (*uṣṇīsa*), into which are inserted, by means of tenons and mortises, two or three horizontal cross-pieces (*sūci*). The balustrade is breached at the four cardinal points by a tall gateway (*toranā*) consisting of two vertical jamb-posts topped with a capital and supporting three architraves of horizontal lintels separated into three partitions by dies or square panels placed in the prolongation of the jamb-posts.

The original plan of the *stūpa*, characterized by the hemispherical shape of the dome, is best recognized in the Great *stūpa* at Sānči (Bhopāl State) which was built of brick at the time of Aśoka but overlaid, a century later, by a coating of stone. It is also to be found in the small *stūpa* at Chakpat (Swat Valley) and the great *stūpa* at Mānkiyāla in the Punjab.

The *caitya-grha* is a sanctuary where the *stūpa*, which then acquires the name of caitya or dāgaba (reliquary), occupies the place and plays the part of a shrine. In its developed form, the caityagrha is a rectangular hall with an apse at one end, from the centre of which rises the *stūpa*. It is divided into a central nave and two lateral aisles by a double row of

pillars which join up behind the stūpa. The main nave is covered by a semi-circular vault, and the side aisles with a section of vault. The entrance which faces the stūpa is pierced by an enormous horseshoe-shaped opening, which dominates the whole façade and is intended to supply the building with air and light. Such sanctuaries date back to very remote times, and the foundations of ruined caityagrhas discovered at Sāñcī, Sārnāth, Sonārī, etc., probably belong to the Aśokan era. However, apart from a few exceptions, the sanctuaries which still exist at present were cut into the rock at a later date and modelled on the ancient wooden constructions.

In the early literature, vihāra always or nearly always designated “the dwelling, personal appartment of a single monk”, but the term can also
be applied to the abode of a deity. The vihāra is therefore both cell and temple. If they were joined together, viharas became samgharāma, convents or monasteries. Built along the same lines as private houses, they generally appeared as a square construction made up of four rows of cells arranged along the four walls and opening onto an inner hall, the superstructure of which might be supported by pillars. In the ancient period, these monasteries were generally built of wood on a stylobate of stone or brick. Later, the building was made entirely of stone or brick, and even, when the nature of the ground was suitable, carved into the rock. A large number of these caves still exist today; the oldest, those of Barābar and Nāgārjunī which belonged to the Ājīvikas, date back to the time Asoka or his successor Daśaratha. Every Buddhist monastery of any importance necessarily contained a stūpa or a caitya.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION. — The archaeological exploration

99 Regarding viharas and samgharāmas, see id., ibid., pp. 99-201.


The work carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India is brilliantly summarized in Sir John CUMMING, Revealing India's Past, London, 1939, and the Special Jubilee Number of the journal Ancient India, IX, 1953; S. ROY, Indian Archaeology from Jones to Marshall (1784-1902), pp. 4-28; A. GHOSH, Fifty Years of the Archaeological Survey of India, pp. 29-51.

The work carried out by the Survey has appeared in Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, Calcutta and Simla, 23 vol., 1871-87, with a general index by V.A. SMITH, Calcutta, 1887; Archaeological Survey of India, new imperial series, 53 vol., 1874-1939; Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, from 1919. The Annual Reports are at present continuing with the periodical Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 11 vol. so far appeared, 1946-55.


For Ceylon, it is best to consult the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Colombo, since 1924, and the archaeological summaries published annually in the Ceylon
of these monuments, which is still going on today, enables us to form an idea of the expansion of the Good Law on the Indian subcontinent. However, dating the monuments is a task bristling with difficulties, since the ancient constructions were frequently altered or replaced by new ones. The date of the first foundation is most often beyond the perspicacity of the research-workers. The description of the holy places supplied by the Chinese pilgrims, particularly Fa hsien (399-413), Sung Yün (518-522) and Hsüan tsang (629-645) enables us to remedy this deficiency to some extent. Hsüan tsang, in particular carefully distinguishes between buildings of the older type and those that are more recent. He designates the early stūpas by the generic name of Aśokan stūpa, not because they were all constructed by the pious emperor, but because their archaic style, characterized by the solid hemispherical dome, enables them to be linked to the Mauryan period or at least to that of the Śuṅgas which immediately followed it. During his travels in India, the Chinese master noted more than a hundred of them, several of which were already in ruins: in each case, he records its special intended purpose and the particular reasons that determined its erection. By basing ourselves on this account, which is often confirmed by archaeological discoveries, we will attempt a sketch of Buddhist India in the ancient era, successively examining the lands of the Middle Ganges already evangelized by


The innumerable articles on Indian antiquities which have appeared in Orientalist journals have been classified and enumerated in the Bibliographie bouddhique edited in Paris since 1928 by J. Przyluski and M. Lalou, as well as in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Kern Institute in Leiden since 1926.

A series of journals is specialized in the publication of inscriptions : Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta, since 1892; Epigraphia indo-moslemica, Calcutta, since 1907; South Indian Inscriptions, Madras, since 1890; Epigraphia Carnatica, Bangalore, since 1886; Epigraphia Birmanica, Rangoon, since 1916; Epigraphia Zeylanica, Oxford, since 1904.


Śākyamuni and his disciples; the region of Kauśāṃbi which also plays a direct part in the history of the origin of Buddhism; the districts of Avanti and the western coast which the historical Buddha did not visit, but which soon took up the religion; the area of Mathurā, the base of the early masters of the Law; the North-West of India which was promoted in the Mauryan period to the rank of the second holy land of Buddhism; central India and the brahmānic Madhyadeśa where the propaganda of the Śākyas’ sons had no effect; finally, the eastern coast where its first successes were on a somewhat modest scale101.

1. THE LANDS OF THE MIDDLE GANGES. - This region, which was the homeland of the Śākya, Māgadhā, Kosala, Vṛji and Malla peoples, was the authentic cradle of Buddhism and remained its supreme holy land from the outset until the disappearance of the Good Law around the twelfth century. It was the birthplace of Śākyamuni102 and his great disciples and witness to their deeds, so it had no need to seek for further glory. Seven of the eight main wonders accepted by the tradition were staged in the region of the Middle Ganges.

On the outskirts of Kapilavastu, in the Lumbinīvana, present-day Rummindei, an Aśokan stūpa marked the spot where two dragons bathed the newborn Buddha with warm and cold water. An Aśokan pillar could be seen there, indicating that the emperor had made a pilgrimage to Śākyamuni’s birthplace and, on that occasion, had granted the villagers a reduction in taxation. At the time of Hsūan tsang, the pillar was broken in the middle and the upper part, topped by a horse’s head, lay on the ground; the lower part, which still stands in situ today, carries the edict of Rummindei.

Further to the east, the region of Rāmagrāma had been the setting for several episodes of the Great Departure. Its old stūpa, jealously guarded by Nāgas (elephants according to the Sāñcī tradition; serpent-spirits according to that of Amarāvati), enclosed some venerable relics of the Buddha. The Nāgas refused to give them to Aśoka when the latter wanted to take possession of them, but later they ceded some of them to Mahinda.

101 For a brief description, see S. SENGUPTA, Buddhism in the Classical Age as revealed by Archaeology, IHQ, XXXII, 1956, pp. 179-210.
102 B.C. BHATTACHARYA, Lumbini, the Birth-place of Buddha, JBHU, V, 1940, pp. 71-8.
— In the account of the B.’s birth by Aśvaghoṣa in Buddhacarita, I, two legends were confused: one according to which the B. was born in Kapilavastu and the other which places the birth in the Lumbiniwana; cf. F. WELLER, Schauplatz und Handlung im Buddhacarita, ZDMG, 93, 1939, pp. 306-38.
The region of Gayā, watered by the Nairaṅjanā, retained the memory of the great wonders which accompanied the winning of Enlightenment: the ascent of Mount Prāgbodhi, the encounter with the grass-cutter, the installation of the place of Enlightenment, the assault by Māra, the night of Bodhi, and the weeks devoted to meditation. Aśoka went there on pilgrimage several times. In the eleventh year of his consecration, he made a vow to sprinkle the bodhivrksa with perfumed water contained in four thousand precious pitchers, and had an enclosure built surrounding the tree on all four sides; he climbed on to the wall in order to perform the ceremony. The bas-reliefs at Bhārhut and Sānci (second and first centuries B.C.) in fact show the holy tree and the diamond seat closely enclosed by a solid wall surmounted by a wooden gallery; the tree-top, in the open air, seems to dominate the whole construction. Later, after the impious Tisārakṣitā’s attack on the holy tree—an attempt which occurred in the thirty-fourth year of the reign—the emperor erected round the original sanctuary an external enclosure made of stone or brick, traces of which were still visible in Hsüan tsang’s time. Finally, to the east of the bodhivrksa, Aśoka also built a small caitya on the exact spot where the great Mahābodhi temple stands today; part of the palisade which surrounds it dates back to the second century B.C. for inscriptions can still be read on the oldest pillars, commemorating the gifts made to the Rājaprasādacaitya by Kuraṅgi and Nāgadevā, sisters-in-law of the kings Indrāgṇimitra and Brah- mamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty (Lüders, 939-944). In a later era—the second century according to A.K. Coomaraswamy, the fifth or sixth century according to the majority of archaeologists—the small Aśokan caitya was replaced by a large temple. Hsüan tsang, who visited it in 635 A.D., supplies a fairly detailed description of it (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 915c sq.). Sacked and pillaged by Muslims in the last years of the twelfth century, the temple was rebuilt several times, but also transformed, by Burmese Buddhists. The last restoration to date, carried out through the good offices of the Government, goes back to 1884. In its present form, the Mahābodhi temple consists of a platform 8 metres in height supporting a 54 metre high truncated pyramid at the centre, and at each of the four corners a similar tower of lesser size. The towers are surmounted by a tall pinnacle in the form of a myrobalan (āmalaka) which originally represented a small stūpa. The sides of the pyramid have superimposed

rows of niches which originally sheltered Buddhist images. The façade is breached by an opening for the admission of air and light. The entry-porch, of more recent date than the rest of the monument, is to the east. The temple today possesses a monastery belonging to Śivaites Hindu religious (śaṁvyāsin) who settled there at the end of the sixteenth century; however, the right of the Buddhists to practice their own worship is officially recognized.

Twenty-five kilometres to the north of Gayā, in the Barābar Hills, are the artificial caves which were presented to the Ājīvikas by a lāja Piyadassi who is considered to be Āsoka; the most famous, those of Sudāma and Lomas Rishi, consist of a rectangular hall communicating by a narrow corridor with a circular room; the façade of the Lomas Rishi faithfully reproduces in rock the architectural forms of the ancient wooden structures. Slightly further to the east, in the Nāgārjunī Hills, other caves known as Gopikā, Vahiyakā and Vadathikā, were offered, also to the Ājīvikas, by Daśalatha Devānampiya, the grandson of Āsoka (Lūders, 954-956).

It was in Vārāṇasi (Banaras), in the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva), also called the Alighting place of the Recluses (Ṛṣipatana), and situated in the district of Sārnāth, six kilometres to the north of the town, that the Buddha set the Wheel of the Law in motion and preached the noble truths to the companions who practised the austerities with him and who were also his first five disciples. The excavations at Sārnāth104 have brought to light a number of Buddhist ruins which cover a little more than fifteen centuries, from the third century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D.; they can be divided into four groups depending on whether they belong to the Mauryan period, the Kuśāna period, the Gupta period or, finally, later ages. The oldest of them occupy the southern part of the site, to the south of a monumental wall which, from west to east, separates the holy place into two equal parts.

a. The temple of the "Original Perfumed Cell" (Mūlagandhakuti)*, known today by the name of Main Shrine, marks the spot where the personal cell of the Buddha stood in the past.* The structure has undergone many transformations in the course of time. At the time of Hsūan tsang, it was 200 feet high and was surmounted by a myrobalan (āmalaka) made of gold, a common ornament in Indian temples; excavations have unearthed an 18 metre square terrace, 5 m. 40 in height; four projections intended for chapels and a portico gave the monument the appearance of a Greek cross.

b. To the west of the Main Shrine, there still stands the lower part of the pillar at Sārnāth erected by Aṣoka on the exact spot where the Buddha preached his first sermon¹⁰⁵. It was at one time a monolith made of sandstone extracted from the Chunar quarries and was about 15 m. high. It bears three inscriptions, engraved at very wide intervals: the edict of Sārnāth promulgated by Aṣoka against the schismatics; an epigraph from the Kuṣāṇa period dated the 14th year of King Aśvaghoṣa and, finally, a short votive offering in Gupta characters. The capital which crowned this pillar in the past and which is rightly considered as a masterpiece of Indian art now adorns the Museum of Sārnāth. It consists of a reversed bell-shaped lotus, surmounted by an entablature with a frieze on which are sculpted, in very deep relief, four animals — an elephant, a horse, a zebu and a horse, a zebu and a lion — each separated by as many Wheels of the Law; the top of the capital is occupied by four lions or rather four foreparts of lions standing back to back, which together carried an enormous Wheel of the Law which has disappeared today. This monument occupies the foremost place among many lāṭs erected by Aṣoka: pillars bearing edicts (Delhi-Toprā, Delhi-Mīrāth, Allahābād-Kosam, Lauṛi-yā-Ararāj, Lauṛi-yā-Nandagarh, Rāmpurvā, Sankissa and Sāncī), uninscribed pillars (Rāmpurvā, Basarh-Bakhira and Kosam), pillars with a dedicatory inscription (Rummindei, Nigālī Sāgar), a certain number of which were surmounted by one or several animals: lion, zebu, elephant, horse, Garuḍa. In the words of Hsüan tsang, the pillar at Sārnāth was polished like jade and shone with a dazzling light; it bore various designs which could provide presages.

c. Hsüan tsang also mentions, to the south-west of the Main Shrine, “an old stūpa, built by Aṣoka, the ruins of which still rise 100 feet above the ground”. This doubtless concerns the present-day ruins of the Dharmarājika stūpa. Aṣoka built it of long flat bricks with a diameter of 13 m. 50 at the base, but the structure underwent many enlargements afterwards: in the Kuṣāṇa period, it was overlaid with a coating of bricks, of smaller size than the previous ones; in the fifth and sixth centuries, it was surrounded by a processional circular path (pradaksināpatha) bordered on the outside by a solid wall, breached by doors at the four

cardinal points; in the seventh century, this circular path was filled in, and four stairways of six steps each gave access to the stūpa; the last enlargement dates from the twelfth century, when Kumāradevi, queen of Kanauj, erected in the northern part of the site a monastery which was given the name of Dharmacakrajnavihāra.

Archaeologists believe they now possess the pavilion or harmikā which crowned the Dharmarājikastūpa in Mauryan times. M. Oertel discovered it practically intact in the subfoundation of the south chapel of the Main Shrine. It is a monolithic balustrade with four sides, each one consisting of four uprights (stambha) joined by three cross-pieces (śūci) and fixed to the base by a plinth (ālambana), and to the top by a coping (uṣṇīṣa). The balustrade is devoid of any sculpture but, according to the experts, the finish and care of workmanship betray its ancient origin.

d. The south-east of the site is occupied by the Dhamek Stūpa or stūpa of the “Consideration of the Law” (dharme/kṣā), the original core also dates back to an ancient period. However, the present-day structure has the form of an octagonal tower 28 m. in diameter and 43 m. high: the sides, which are badly damaged, contained niches and were decorated with arabesques and geometrical designs. A panel inscribed in characters dating from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., reproducing the formula of the Buddhist creed has been discovered in the foundations; it was doubtless added to the building at a later date.

In the neighbourhood of Vārānasi, particularly in the district of Yuddhapati situated immediately to the east, the pilgrims also noted several Asokan stūpas and pillars, commemorating wonders or conversions. Although it is true that the area has really been hallowed by the presence of Śākyamuni, the legend also located several episodes of his former lives there, especially the Saṭṭhatta-, Tittira-, Nigrodhamiga- and Śaṣajātakas, which are among the most renowned in the collection. So that is how the story of the Tittira or Pheasant, sometimes presented as an apologue and sometimes as a jātaka, appears in the six Vinayas which have come down to us. To judge from the Pāli Jātaka commentary, Vārānasi played a part of prime importance in the formation of the Buddhist legends, a great number of which date back to the reign of Brahmadatta, the dynastic name of the kings of Vārānasi. However, it was in the North-West of India that most of the Bodhisattva’s achievements in his former lives were to be located.

In Malla country, at Pāpā or Pāvā (Padrauna) and at Kusinārā or

Kuśinagara (Kasiā, 56 km. to the east of Gorakhpur), Asokan stūpas and pillars marked the sites of the last meal at Cuṇḍa’s house, the Parinirvāṇa and the Distribution of the Relics. The great stūpas of the Parinirvāṇa and the Distribution of the Relics, the latter buried under the Ramabar mound, have not yet been brought to light; on the other hand, the Parinirvāṇa caitya erected near the grove of Śālas where the Buddha deceased, has been catalogued: the Divyādāna (p. 394) attributes the founding of this caitya to Asoka; it was still intact when Fa hsien and Hsüan tsang visited it, and it housed a statue of the Tathāgata in Nirvāṇa, lying with his head to the north. The image was discovered and restored by A.C. Carlyle; it is a monolithic statue dating from the Gupta era (fifth century A.D.) and a “pious gift by Mahāvihārasvāmin Hari-bala, made by Dinna” (FLEET, p. 272)\(^{107}\). The Parinirvāṇa caitya has yielded seals made of unfired clay most of which represent the Wheel between two antelopes, and bear the seal of the “Mahāparinirvāṇa-cāitya”\(^{108}\), and also a copper urn sealed by an inscribed plate (text of the pratītyasamutpāda in Skt), specifying that it had been placed in the Parinirvāṇa caitya, a statement which removes all doubt regarding the site of the monument commemorating the fourth Great Wonder.

It is known that after the decease of the Buddha his relics were divided among eight States, including the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, and that each of them erected a stūpa over the share that fell to them. In January 1898, Mr Peppe discovered in the Nepalese village of Piprawa, six miles north of Birdpur, the ruins of the stūpa built by the Śākyas over their part of the relics; excavations have brought to light a soapstone pitcher, the lid of which bears a circular inscription in pre-Aśokan Brāhmī script which said: “This placing of the relics of the Blessed Lord Buddha [of the race] of the Śākyas is [the pious deed] of Sukiti and his brothers, together with his sisters, their sons and wives (LÜDERS, 931)\(^{109}\).

Three secondary wonders also had as their setting the region of the Middle Ganges, particularly Rājagrha (Rājgir in the district of Patna, in Bihār), Vaiśālī (Basārh in the district of Muzaffar, Bihār) and Śrāvasti (Sāheṭh-Māheṭh in the districts of Gonda and Bahraich, Uttar Pradesh).

1. In Rājagrha, an Aśokan stūpa and an inscribed pillar, surmounted by an elephant, recall how the intoxicated Nāga, Nālāgiri or Dhanapāla,
sent by Devadatta to attack the Buddha, had been subdued by the Master's benevolence, and had knelt at his feet.

b. In Vaiśālī, at the Markaṭahradatīrā, similar constructions commemorated the digging of the pool by monkeys and the offering of honey to the Buddha; the latter episode, which is sometimes located in Śrāvasti, appears on bas-reliefs at Bhāhrūt, Sāncī and Gandhāra.

c. In Śrāvasti, after his victory over the six heretic masters, Śākyamuni performed the twin wonders of water and fire and multiplied imaginary Buddhas as far as the Akaniśṭha heaven; this prodigy, narrated in detail by the Sanskrit sources, is also noted in the Pāli sources which nevertheless neglect its most characteristic features; however, these appear on sculptures and paintings at Bhāhrūt, Gandhāra, Sārnāth, Ajanṭā, Magadha and Koṅkana.

Hsiian tsang mentions a caitya, sixty feet high and containing a statue of the seated Buddha; it was on that spot that the Master had debated with the heretics. The Chinese master also notes, among other curiosities, two Aśokan pillars flanking the eastern door of the Jetavana, the hermitage which the Buddha had received from the banker Anāthapindada; the pillars were surmounted by a sculpted wheel and an ox respectively. An ancient stūpa also stood by the well which supplied the Tathāgata with water.

Pāṭaliputra, present-day Patna, the importance of which the Buddha

110 We saw above the part played by Rājagrha, the capital with five hills, in the life of the Buddha. Various explorations carried out at Rājgir have exposed the high rampart, 25 miles in circumference, which surrounded the town, as well as two fortresses. It is believed that identification has been made of the Grīdhakūtaparvata “Vulture-Peak Mountain”, of the Pipphalivana, a retreat dear to Mahākāśyapa, and of the Saptaparnignuha, the cave where — according to certain sources — the sessions of the first council were held. See B.C. LAW, Rājagrha in Ancient Literature, Delhi, 1938; M. H. KURAIŠHI and A. GHOSH, A Guide to Rājgir, Delhi, 1939; R. C. MAJUMDAR, Identification of some old sites in Rājagrha, JASB, XV, 1949, pp. 65-80; A. GHOSH, Rājgir 1950, Ancient India, VII, 1951, pp. 66-78 (with a detailed plan of the town and its hills, p. 67); D. N. SEN, Sites in Rājgir associated with Buddha and his Disciples Buddha Jayanti Issue of JBRS, 1956, pp. 136-58.


112 FOUCHER, Vie du Bouddha, pp. 289-93.

113 The identification of Śrāvastī with the twin villages of Sāheth-Māheṭh dates back to Cunningham. The Jetavana, given to the B. by Anāthapindada, is represented by Sāheth, and Śrāvastī proper by Māheṭh, a fortified town. See B.C. LAW, Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, Delhi, 1935.


115 In Patna, only two sites have been systematically excavated: Kumrāhār and Bulandībāgh. The excavations have brought to light a “pillared hall” of the Mauryan
predicted, had become the capital of Magadha as early as the reign of Udāyin, and the centre of the Mauryan empire, to which the Seleucids and Lagids sent their ambassadors. Several ancient monuments were to be found there: a Dharmarājikastūpa enclosing a bushel of miraculous relics, the Aśokārāma erected by the emperor on the site of the Kukkuṭārāma, a small shelter protecting the stone on which the Buddha had left his footprints, a cave fitted out by Aśoka for the use of his brother Mahendra and, finally, an inscribed pillar commemorating the gift of Jambudvīpa to the Buddhist community. Fa hsien and Hsüan tsang, who saw the inscription, were no doubt the dupes of their cicerones who could already no longer read the Aśokan characters, but who did not want to stop short and admit their ignorance.

In the neighbourhood of Nālandā, which was destined to become a great university centre in the Gupta period, the villages of Kālāpināka and Kolika possessed stūpas commemorating the birth and decease of the two great disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalāyāna.

2. KAUSĀMBĪ. — Among the territories which were Buddhist from the outset must be classed Kauśāmbī, the Vatsa capital, present-day Kosam on the Yamunā, in the district of Allahābād, Uttar Pradesh. An important centre of communications, it was in direct contact with Mathurā and Ujjāyinī to the west and Pāṭaliputra to the east. Śākyamuni paid long and frequent visits to it, staying in turn at the ārāmas placed at his disposal by rich notables of the town: Siṃsapāvana, Kukkuṭārāma, Pāvārikambavana, Badarikārāma and especially the Ghositārāma, the exact site of which has recently been established by an inscription. The monks of Kauśāmbī were considered violent and quarrelsome. Already during the Buddha's lifetime, a quarrel provoked by some futile motive brought dogmatists (dharma-dhara) and moralists (vinaya-dhara) into conflict. This resulted in a schism which the Buddha attempted in vain to appease. When he saw his efforts at conciliation were repulsed with haughtiness, he withdrew to the nearby forest of Pārileyyaka where he found the company of solitary elephants preferable to that of feuding monks.
Mention has already been made of Udayana, the king of the Vatsas, more famous for his amorous adventures than his Buddhist piety. He did not look very favourably on the sympathy with which his women surrounded Ānanda, to the extent of removing their own garments in order to make a gift to the holy disciple. He even attempted to have the Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja devoured by red ants. The story of this person is unique in Buddhism.

The son of Udayana's chaplain, Piṇḍora entered the order with the secret hope of assuaging his gluttony; but he was put on a diet by the Buddha, and finally overcame his pangs of hunger and attained Arhatship. However, one day a notable of Rājagṛha organized a tournament of magic; from the top of a long perch, he suspended a bowl made of sandalwood and specified that whoever could remove it would become its owner. Piṇḍola was unable to resist the offer; making use of his supernatural powers, he rose into the air, grasped the wooden bowl and, continuing his walk in the air, went round the town three times. The notable then took the bowl from the venerable one's hands and, having filled it with exquisite nutriment, presented it to him. The Buddha censured Piṇḍola severely for having used his supernormal powers in public without any worthwhile motive. Some late sources, of Sarvāstivādin origin, assert that the Buddha, in order to punish the Arhat's frivolity and gluttony, forbade him to enter Nirvāṇa before the end of time. While waiting for his deliverance, Piṇḍola retired to Aparagodāniya or to Mount Gandhamadana, where he continued to teach the Law and make conversions. He welcomed invitations with good grace it is thus that he appeared to Aśoka, in the form of an old man with white hair and eyebrows so long that they hung over his brow and hid his eyes; at the sovereign's request, he described the beauty of the Tathāgata whose disciple he had been. This Buddhist equivalent of the Wandering Jew would quite naturally have his place in the group of the Four, later Sixteen Arhats, who are supposed to protect the Law until the coming of Maitreya. The Chinese communities adopted this "Holy Monk", as they called him. From the end of the fifth century, they built statues to him and regularly invited him to share the meal at the monastery: his place was reserved at the table and an empty seat and a bowl were set out for him.

There has been some speculation as to whether the legends concerning Kausāṃbi are not later inventions, but they are so well attested by the

118 Vinaya, II, p. 110; Dhammapada Comm., III, p. 201 sq.
119 On all these legends, see S. Lévi, Les seize Arhats protecteurs de la Loi, JA, 1916, pp. 204-75.
Sūtras and Vinayas of various schools that it would appear that this is not so. These legends, which date back to an ancient tradition, constitute a separate cycle in Buddhist literature: in the canonical collections, the Kosambiya Suttas (Majjhima, I, p. 320) and the Kosambakkhandas (Vin., I, p. 337) form separate chapters.

On the other hand, what should be rejected as apocryphal is the fable in the terms of which the first image of the Buddha was supposedly made in Kauśāmbī on the orders of Udayana, and reproduced in Śrāvasti at the request of Prasenajit. The Mūlasarvāstivādins oppose this legend with another, just as fanciful, which attributes that same initiative to the banker Anāthapiṇḍada, or again to Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha.120

Āsoka had a two-hundred foot high stūpa erected in Kauśāmbī on the site of the Ghoṣitārāma but, just as the Buddha, he came up against the intransigence of the local monks. It was at them that he directed his edict of Kosam, as it threatened with expulsion any monk or nun who provoked a schism in the Community. The rescript was engraved on the pillar of Kosam which is at present to be found in Allahābād.* Although the community momentarily flourished to such a degree as to occupy some ten monasteries, it was in full decline by the time the Chinese pilgrims arrived, when it consisted of only 300 members. The slackness of the Kauśāmbians was a scandalous subject to the other religious. A prophecy makes them responsible in advance for the future disappearance of the Good Law: internal quarrels will set the disciple of the last scholar, Śiśyaka, in conflict with the followers of Surata, the last trustee of the monastic discipline; both masters will meet their death in this conflict; the community, deprived of its leaders, will disintegrate and the Lamp of the Law will go out.121

3. AVANTI AND THE WEST COAST. — At the time of the Buddha, Avanti, the territory of which corresponded roughly to modern Mālwā, Nimār and the regions neighbouring on Madhya Pradesh, was the seat of one of the four great monarchies and was ruled by the violent Caṇḍa Pradyota. The two main towns were Ujjayinī in the north and Māhiṣmatī in the south. The area contained only a small number of believers, whom the Buddha had entrusted with the supervision of Mahā Kātyāyana. At the beginning, it was practically impossible to assemble the ten monks required to perform valid ordinations; furthermore, the

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121 See above, pp. 198-200.
monastic rules laid down by the Blessed One appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings. Śiṣunāga, who appeared impractical in several respects. Śrōṇa Kotikarna was therefore sent to the Buddha in order to obtain certain derogations to the discipline and the Buddha, acknowledging his reasons, recognized the validity of an ordination conferred by a restricted chapter of five monks, and authorized the religious in Avanti to wear thick shoes, to bathe regularly and to make use of hide coverings.

Avanti was probably the centre of an exegetical and grammatical school which dated back to Mahā Kātyāyana, the Buddha's great disciple, not to be confused with Mahākātyāyaniputra, the author of the Jñānaprasthāna, who lived in the third century after the Nirvāna. It seems that Mahākātyāyana had composed a Pi lē (Piṭaka) during the Buddha's lifetime in order to explain the Agamas of his Master, and the work was still in use in southern India. In any case, in the fifth century, at the time of Buddhaghosa, some exegetical works under the name of Mahākaccāyana were in circulation: Petakopadesa and Nettippakarana, as well as some grammatical ones, Kaccāyanavyākarana or Kaccāyanagandha; however, with regard to the first two, their canonicity is recognized only by Burmese Buddhists. If that school has really existed, it certainly influenced the literary formation of Pāli, which certain writers see as having originated precisely in Avanti.

As he passed through Ujjayinī, Hsüan tsang mentioned some ten
monasteries, the majority in ruins, and near the town, a stupa on the site where Asoka had built a "hell", i.e. a prison appointed on the model of the Buddhist hells. The famous traveller says nothing about the extremely numerous Buddhist monuments with which the region was covered between the third century B.C. and the eleventh century A.D., but with which modern archaeology was nonetheless acquainted at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The complex of the "Bhilā Topes" is situated in a mountainous region partly occupied by the village of Sānci, in Bhopāl State, near Bhilsa, where in ancient times the famous city of Vidiśā, the capital of eastern Mālwā, was to be found. Vidiśā is now known by the name of Besnagar. Five important sites have been explored in the neighbourhood of the capital:

1. Sānci, called Kākaṇāva or Kākaṇāya by the old Brāhmī inscriptions (MAJUMDAR, 7, 17b, 394, 396, 404), Kākanādabota by the epigraphs of the Gupta period (ID., 833, 834) and, finally, from the seventh century, Boṭa-Śrīparvata (ID., 842), is perhaps that "Sanctuary Mountain" (Cetiyagiri) or "Mount Vedisa" (Vedisagiri), mentioned by the Sinhalese chronicle (Dpv., VI, 15; XII, 14, 35; Mhv., 6-9, 18; Samanta, pp. 70-1). This was the native town of the missionaries to Ceylon, Mahinda and Sāmghamittā; at the time of Asoka, it possessed a vihāra at which Mahinda and his companions stayed for thirty days before their departure for Ceylon.

The holy site contained within its walls some fifty Buddhist monuments, the oldest of which possibly date back to the Mauryan period, the most recent ones being from the eleventh century A.D. They fall naturally into four classes: stupas, commemorative pillars (lālī), temples (caitya) and monasteries (sāmghārāma).

The original (brick) core of the Great Stūpa 1, the Asokan pillar and the apsidal temple of construction No. 40 date from the Mauryan period. — Dating from the Śuṅga period are the stone overlay and the great balustrade at ground level (unsculpted) of stūpa 1, pillar No. 25, the body of stūpa 2 and its sculpted balustrade (ca 125-100 B.C.), the body of stūpa 3, excluding the balustrade; finally, stūpas 4 and 6. —

128 On Ujjayanī, see B.C. LAW, Ujjayini in Ancient India, Gwalior Arch. Department, 1944. The excavations undertaken in 1938 by M.B. Garde have brought to light an Asokan stūpa, built of quarry-stones with a dressing of bricks, the top of which contained perforated coins and pottery fragments; cf. An. Bibl. of Indian Arch., XIV, 1939, p. 3.
The four gateways (*torana*) of stūpa 1 and the single gateway of stūpa 3, the sculptures of which constitute the most characteristic achievements of early Buddhist art, date from the era of the Śātavāhana sovereigns (60-17 B.C.).

Stūpa 1, or Great Stūpa of Sānci, is worth a brief description. It originally consisted of a solid hemispherical dome (*anda*) made of brick, surmounted by a parasol (*chattra*) of stone, and resting on a circular terrace (*medhi*) 4 m. 50 high and 1 m. 70 wide. — During the Śuṅga period (between 187 and 75 B.C.), the dome was given a stone overlay which brought it up to its present size : 12 m. 80 in height, with a diameter of 32 m. 20. It was crowned by a rectangular pavilion (*harmikā*) in the centre of which was driven the parasol shaft (*chatrā-vali*). Around the terrace there was a circular path (*pradakśināpatha*), of paving stones enclosed at its widest circumference by a stone balustrade (*vedikā*). Slightly oblong in shape, this large balustrade measures 43 m. 60 across from east to west, 44 m. 70 from north to south; its uprights (*stambha*), 3 m. 70 high, are joined at the top by a coping (*usṇīṣa*), 0 m. 68 high, and support three rows of cross-pieces (*śuci*). At the beginning of the Andhra period, under the first Śātavāhanas (end of the ancient era), the circular terrace was surrounded by a small balustrade which was reached, from the south side, by two stairways meeting at the top. Furthermore, at the four cardinal points of the large balustrade, stand four monumental gateways (*torana*), approximately 10 metre high, not counting the mystical symbols which crown their tops. Each gateway consists of two 0 m. 68 square jamb-posts, 4 metres in height. They are 2 m. 15 apart. The jamb-posts are surmounted by two great capitals, 1 m. 25 high, supporting three lintels or architraves which are slightly incurved and project at the sides. Both the fronts and the backs of the gateways are covered with bas-relief sculptures, and caryatids link the external side of the capitals to the first architrave.

These four gateways are more or less contemporary with each other. The southern gateway was a “gift from Ānanda, the son of Vāṣithi, the chief of the artisans of the Rāja Sirī Sātakani” (MAJUMDAR, 398; LÜDERS, 346), who apparently ruled from 27 to 17 B.C. The northern, eastern and western gateways have imprecatory inscriptions (MAJUMDAR, 389, 396, 404) characterized by a similar type of script and identical forms of expression. The median lintel of the southern gateway and the southern jamb-post of the western gateway were presented by one and the same person, Balamitra, the disciple of Ayacudā (MAJUMDAR, 39, 402), similarly, the southern jamb-post of the eastern gateway and the northern jamb-post of the western gateway were both offered by one
Nāgapiya, a banker from Achāvaḍa and a native of Kurara (Majumdar, 397, 403).

With its more decadent style, the gateway of stūpa 3, the sculptures of which repeat the subjects already handled by the Great Stūpa 1, appears to be the most recent in date.

Numerous pillars, mostly from the Gupta period, were erected on the great terrace of Sāñcī. That of Aśoka, 12 m. 50 high, stood near the southern gateway and bore, in Brāhmī script, the edict condemning the schism. Today it is broken: only the stump remains in situ; the capital, preserved in the museum, consists of an inverted bell-shaped lotus, an entablature sculpted with honeysuckle and pairs of geese, and with four foreparts of lions back to back but which, unlike the pillar at Sārnāth, did not support a Wheel of the Law.

Stūpas 3, 4 and 6, on the main terrace, and stūpa 2, on the western side of the mountain, date from the Śunga period. Stūpa 3 is 7 metres high, 15 metres in diameter and has a single toraṇa; it contained two stone reliquaries enclosing the bones of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana (Majumdar, 14, 13; Lüders, 665, 666). Stūpa 2, the balustrade of which remains intact but without a toraṇa, contained, in a stone casket, four soapstone reliquaries with bones which belonged to some Haimavata holy ones, particularly Majjhima and Kassapagotta who were known to the Sinhalese chronicle (Majumdar, 4, 3; Lüders, 656, 655).

2. The site of Sonārī, 6 miles south-west of Sāñcī, contained eight stūpas, two of which were large — 14 m. 40 and 8 metres in diameter respectively; each occupied the centre of a large square terrace. Stūpa 2 also contained, in crystal boxes and soapstone caskets, the bones of Haimavata holy ones: Majjhima, Kassapagotta and Dundubhissara (Lüders, 156-160).

3. Mount Satdhāra, to the west of Sāñcī, on the River Beś, was the site of seven stūpas. The first, of gigantic size — 30 metres in diameter and 22 m. 50 in height — has not yielded any reliquaries. The second, much smaller, contained two empty caskets inscribed with the names of Śāriputra and Mahā-Maudgalyāyana (Lüders, 152-153). The third contained reliquaries, but without any inscriptions. The other four had already been “exploited” by vandals.

4. The stūpas of Bhojpur, on the upper reaches of the Betwā 7 miles south-east of Sāñcī, were thirty-three in number. The largest of them, 18 m. 30 in diameter, occupied the centre of a levelled terrace 75 m. 60 long and 64 m. 20 wide. The others, which are smaller in size, have yielded some terra-cotta urns inscribed with the names of unknown holy ones, such as Upahitaka in stūpa 7 (Lüders, 678).
5. At Andher, 5 miles south-east of Bhojpur, a group of three small, well-preserved stūpas has supplied relics and boxes or urns made of soapstone inscribed with the names of Haimavatas holy ones, particularly Majjhima and Kassapagotta (LÜDERS, 680-684).

Southern Avanti, capital Māhiṣmati, also had its Buddhist monuments\textsuperscript{131}. On a mountainous massif situated in the neighbourhood of Māhiṣmati, three miles south of Kasrawad (district of Nimad in Holkar State), the site called Itbardi “Brick Mountain”, which was explored in the years 1936-39, has revealed the existence of eleven brick stūpas, the largest of which was 10 m. 50 in diameter. Inscribed fragments of pottery bear names of places and persons, some of which are identical to those found on the inscriptions at Bhārhat. Coins, ivory objects and glass-ware have also been found indicating that the site belongs to the second century B.C.\textsuperscript{132}.

Close ties linked the Buddhists of Avanti with their co-religionists of the western coast, designated by the generic term of Aparānta, and which included Sindh, western Rājputāna, Kutch, Gujarāt and the regions neighbouring the lower Narmadā. According to the Sanskrit tradition (Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1448, ch. 2-4, pp. 7c-17a; Divya, pp. 24-55; Karmavibhāṅga, pp. 63-4), repeated later in Ceylon (Majjhima Comm., V, pp. 85-92; Samyutta Comm., II, pp. 374-9), the inhabitants of the port of Śūpāraka, in Śroṇāparāntaka, were acquainted with the Good Law even while the Buddha was alive. The wealthy merchant Piimā, a native of the town, went with a caravan to Śrāvasti, where he met the Buddha who converted him and preached the Purānodayasutta (Majjhima, III, pp. 267-70) for him. Piimā resolved to win his compatriots to the religion and, once he had returned to Śūpāraka, he stayed in turn at the monasteries of Ambahaṭṭhapabbata, Samuddagiri and Mātulagiri, finally settling in the Makulakārāma. There he gathered around him a large number of disciples of both sexes and, with sandalwood provided by his brother built a circular pavilion, the Candanamāla Prāsāda, which continued to be famous in Buddhist iconography\textsuperscript{133}. One day Pūrṇa invited the Buddha to it, and the master went there travelling through the air with five hundred disciples, and stayed there for a night.

\textsuperscript{131} On recent excavations, H. D. SANKALIA, Excavations in the Narmada valley, Journ. Mahārāja Sayajirao Univ. of Baroda, II, 1953, p. 99 sq; The archaeological sequence of Central India, South-Western Journal of Anthropology, IX, 1953, p. 343 sq.

\textsuperscript{132} D.B. DISKALKAR, Excavations at Kasrawad, IHQ, XXV, 1949, pp. 1-18.

At the request of the Nāgas, when he returned he left his footprint on the bank of the river Narmadā. Even if this legend is probably apocryphal, it remains nonetheless a fact that at the Mauryan period, the western coast in general, and Śūrpāraka in particular, had been subjected to Buddhist propaganda. In Sopāra (the modern name for Śūrpāraka), a basalt fragment has been discovered on which can be read a small section of Aśoka’s eighth edict, as well as a stūpa containing relics enclosed in caskets made of stone, silver and gold. After the council of Pāṭaliputra, it is believed that Yonaka Dhammarakkhita was sent on a mission to Aparānta.

At the same time, the Thera Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa, in Northern Kanara. However, Hsüan tsang, when visiting Konkanāpura — which can doubtless be identified with Vanavāsa —, discovered there traces of an earlier mission: a stūpa erected over the remains of Śronaviṃśatikoṭi, an Aśokan stūpa marking the spot where the Arhat had performed wonders and made conversions, finally, a sandalwood statue of Maitreya sculpted by his hands. This Śronaviṃśatikoṭi is none other than the Soṇakoḷivisa of the Pāli sources: a native of Campā, he was fabulously wealthy and his body was as brilliant as gold; he was invited by Bimbisāra to Rājagṛha, where he met the Buddha, was converted and attained Arhatship (Vin., I, pp. 179-85).

Further ancient monuments are also noted by Hsüan tsang on the eastern coast and neighbouring regions: in Mahārāṣṭra, five stūpas of the primitive type erected in honour of the Buddhas of the past; in Gujārat (Surāṣṭra and Lāṭa), near Valabhi, a number of Aśokan stūpas built to commemorate an alleged visit by the Buddha to those regions.

4. Mathurā. — The Śūrasena capital and an important communications centre on the Yamunā, Mathurā, present-day Muttra, had benefited from a rapid visit by the Buddha: the Master did not prolong his stay there, since it was made unpleasant by the unevenness of the ground, the thickness of the dust, the viciousness of the animals, the savagery of the Yakṣas and the obstacles to begging (Anguttara, III, p. 256; and its Comm., III, p. 329). His disciple Mahākātyāyana did not feel the same repugnance, and stayed for some time at the Gundāvana monastery where he was visited by King Avantiputra and brāhmin scholars who came to discuss the privileges of their caste with him (Majjhima, II, p. 84). Thirty Mathuran bhikṣus supported the rigorist...
cause in the dispute at Vaiśālī: their leader Sambhūta Sāṇavāsin dwelt on Mount Ahogaṅga, some distance from the town. It was also after a seven-year retreat spent in the solitude of the Ahogaṅga that Moggaliputatissa returned to Pāṭaliputra to give his support to Aśoka and preside over the third council. Aśoka erected three stūpas in Mathurā to commemorate the Buddhas of the past and preserve the ashes of various great disciples: Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Pūrṇamaitrayaṇiputra, Upāli, Ānanda and Revata. Nothing of them has been discovered, not even their site. Princes who were sympathetic to Buddhism ruled in Mathurā under the Sutigas and during the Śaka occupation, but it was only in the Kuśāna period, in the second century A.D., that the town became one of the Buddhist strongholds. It was probably then that the city was given an edifying history by the Sarvāstivādins of Kaśmīr. The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Gilgit Man., III, 1, pp. 3-68) attributes a fictitious journey in northern India to the Buddha, a journey which is supposed to have halted at the known or unknown towns of Ādirājya, Mathurā, Otalā, Vairambha, Ayodhyā, Kumāravardhana, Krauṇca, Aṅgadika, Maṇivatī, Sālabalā, Śālibalā, Suvarnaprastha and, finally, Sāketa. The Master supposedly predicted the erection, one hundred years after his Nirvāṇa, of the Naṭabhaṭṭiyavihāra on Mount Urumuṇḍa, and the birth of Upagupta into the family of a perfume merchant from Mathurā.

The Aśokāvadāna agrees with the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya in making Mathurā the base of the fourth and fifth masters of the Law, Śāṇavāsa and Upagupta. They lived there, surrounded by thousands of Arhats whom they trained in dhyāna practice, a mystic movement the main centre of which was, however, in Kaśmīr. A whole legend has been woven around Upagupta, whose apostolic zeal extended to courtesans (Vasavadattā), and who vanquished Māra in a tournament of magic and made so many conversions that a system of slips of wood had to be instituted in order to count them. It was he, and not Moggaliputatissa, who made himself the spiritual adviser to Aśoka, guided him in his pilgrimages and showed him the sites where stūpas were to be constructed. By means of these legends, the Kaśmīrians hoped to demon-

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136 Pāli Vin., II, p. 298.
137 Mahāvaṃsa, V, 233.
138 Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 4, p. 890b 6.
139 J.P. Vogel, La sculpture de Mathurā, Paris, 1930, p. 18.
140 Above, p. 206.
strate the great antiquity of their Dhyāna school, the origins of which go
no further back than the end of the second century A.D.

However, the Kaśmīrians were also masters of the Vinaya, of which
they knew and translated five recensions. As we saw earlier, they claimed
that the original text had still been extant in Mathurā at the time of
Upagupta, but the disciples of the latter, in order to have their particular
views triumph, divided the single Great Vinayapitāka into five adventi-
tious Vinayas.

However, that may be, Mathurā, along with North-West India and
Kaśmīr, was one of the strongholds of the Sarvāstivādin school which is
reputed to have introduced the use of Sanskrit into the Buddhist
tradition. The Aśoka- and Divyāvadāna which we should link with the
Mathurā schools as M.J. Przyluski did, are in Sanskrit which is gene-
 rally grammatical but with a separate vocabulary, some terms of which
are in Prākrit or based on Prākrit; furthermore, these texts have those
stylistic habits of repetition and co-ordination which we find in Pāli.
Crude and naive, the language of the Aavadanas is much inferior to the
Buddhist kāvya practised in the North-West of India by poets such as
Mātṛceta, Kumāralāta and especially Aśvaghōsa. However, at a time
when central India was beginning to use mixed Sanskrit in epigraphy,
Mathurā seems to have taken the initiative in resorting to Sanskrit for
composing Buddhist texts. There were a great many learned brāhmīns,
versed in the Vedas, in the area, and it was a matter of importance to be
able to debate with them on an equal footing, in a language the prestige
of which was universally recognized.

5. NORTH-WEST INDIA. — The important borderland, after having
been subjected to the Achaemenid yoke for two and a half centuries
(559-336) and the Macedonian occupation for three decades (336-306),
rallied to the mother-country in 306, in the terms of the convention
concluded between Seleucus I and Candragupta. It was to be under the
influence of the Indian empire of the Mauryas from 306 to approxi-
mately 189, a date at which it again fell under the domination of a
foreign sovereign, the Indo-Greek king Demetrius. The Mauryas watch-
ed over that region with jealous concern, fully aware of its importance.
Uttarāpatha, as they called it, was one of the four provinces administer-
ed by viceroys or royal princes : Aśoka and his son Kuṇāla had in turn
been in charge of the government, the seat of which was Takṣasāsilā. The
great emperor established his Dharma there; two recensions of fourteen
enactments, in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, were engraved on rock, one at
Shāhbāzgarhī in the district of Peshāwār, another at Mānsehrā in the
district of Hazāra; furthermore, a fragment of an edict, in Aramaic script, has recently been discovered at Lampāka in the district of Laghmān.* Buddhist missionaries closely followed the imperial functionaries, and the Sanskrit sources agree with the Pāli chronicle in attributing the conversion of Kaśmīra-Gandhāra to the Arhat Madhyāntika (Majjhantika in Pāli) and his companions. However, for the former sources, Madhyāntika was one of Ānanda’s disciples and was probably active in the year 50 after the Nirvāṇa, whereas for the latter, Majjhantika was a contemporary of Aśoka and disciple of Moggaliputta-tissa. In fact, the North-West could not have been converted prior to the Maurya period, since before that date, Buddhist propaganda was confined to the region of the Middle Ganges and Avanti, with a few advances in the direction of the western and eastern coasts; also, Uttarāpatha was still struggling under the Macedonian satraps who were drawn up against each other: such a time was ill-chosen for religious pacification.

There is no lack of indications to prove the implantation of Buddhism in the North-West at the time of the Mauryas. The most conclusive is the great number of “Aśokan stūpas” noted in the region by Hsüan tsang, the majority of which were 200 feet high: one at Śatadru on the Sutlej; one in Kulūta on the upper Beas; two in Takka on the Chenāb; one in the Tāmasavānava; four in Kaśmīr; two at Simhāpura in the Salt Range; three in Takṣaśīlā (st. of Maitreya’s Treasure, st. of the Gift of the Head and st. of Kuṇāla); two in Udḍiyāna (st. of the Gift of Flesh and st. of Rohitaka); five in Gandhāra (st. of the Teaching of the Buddhas of the past; st. of the Gift of Eyes; stūpas commemorating two of Viśvantara’s exploits; st. of Ekaśrīga); three in the district of Nagarahāra (st. of Dīpaṃkara’s Prediction, st. of the Offering of Hair, and the giant stūpa of Gunda Chismeh); several tens at Jāguḍa in the Arghandāb Valley and the Middle Helmand; one in Kapiṣa (st. of Pīlusār); one in the Andar-āb Valley.

It was very easy for the pilgrims to distinguish those old stūpas, with solid hemispherical domes, from the more recent stūpas in Gandhāran style, which was much more complex and generally consisted of a square base, a drum, a dome and, finally, a pinnacle of parasols. Several of the ancient stūpas recorded by Hsüan tsang have been identified: the ruins of “Maitreya’s Treasure” are to be found on the ridge dominating Baoti Pīnd; the “Gift of the Head” is the present-day Bhallaṭ Stūpa occupying the western point of Mount Sarda; the “Kuṇāla Memorial” is located on the northern slope of the Hathīāl which overlooks the site of Sirkap.

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* For details, see WATTERS, I, pp. 180-286.
and the entire Haro Valley\textsuperscript{143}. Furthermore, the characteristic features of the Asokan stūpa are also recognizable at present in the ruins of Mānikiyāla in the Punjab, the tope of Shāhpūr to the east of Shāh-Dhērī and the tope of Chakpat near the fort of Chakdarra in the Swāt valley\textsuperscript{144}.

Another indication of Buddhist penetration is the localization on the land of the North-West, particularly in Gandhāra, Udāiyāna and the Western Punjab, of a number of legends taken from the former lives of the Tathāgata\textsuperscript{145}. Gangetic India had been the setting for the last existence of the Buddha; the North-West claimed that his former lives had taken place on its soil. Each town, each locality soon had its own legend, and its own stūpa to commemorate it. In Nagarahāra (Jelālābād), Sākyamuni had received the prediction from the Buddha Dīpāmākara, and had spread out his hair under the Tathāgata’s feet. In Puṣkaraṃvatī (Shāh-Dhērī and Chāṛsadda), Śibi had made the gift of his eyes to a beggar, and Śyāma, while he was gathering fruits for his blind parents, had been struck by a poisoned arrow. In Varṣapura (Shāhbāzarthi), Viśvantara had given to an insatiable brāhmin his white elephant, kingdom, caparison, wife and children. At Shāh-koṭ, the rṣi Ekaśrīṅga, had been seduced by a courtesan and had carried her to the town on his shoulders. In Maṅgalapura (Manglaor), Kṣāntivādin had submitted to the blows of King Kali without a word of complaint. On Mount Hi-lo or Hidda (Ilam, of the borders of the Swāt and the Būnēr), a young brāhmin had thrown himself from the top of a tree in order to learn a verse of the Law. In the Mahāvana (Sunigrām), King Sarvada, who wished to give alms when he had no money, gave himself up to his enemy for gold. In the Masurasamgrāmā (Gumbatai, near Tursak in Būnēr), Dharmarata had transcribed a text of the Law using his skin as parchment, one of his bones as a reed and his blood as ink. In Girārai, King Śibi had redeemed a pigeon which was being pursued by a falcon by cutting off from his own body a weight of flesh equivalent to that of the pigeon. At the monastery of Sarpauṣadhi in the Sānirāja valley (Adinzai), Indra, transformed into a serpent, had saved the population from famine and pestilence, while an industrious serpent made water spring from a rock. At Rohitaka, King Maitrībala had fed five Yakṣas

\textsuperscript{143} Sir John Marshall, Taxila, I, p. 348; III, pl. 87a.

\textsuperscript{144} References in A. Foucher, Art gréco-bouddhique, I, p. 67, n. 1.

\textsuperscript{145} On the acclimatization and localization of the legends in the North-West, see A. Foucher, Notes sur la Géographie ancienne du Gandhāra, Extrait du BEFE0, 1902, 49 pp. with a map of the sites; Art gréco-bouddhique, II, pp. 407-21; Vieille Route de l'Inde, p. 268 sq.
with his own blood. In Takṣāsilā, King Candraprabha had cut off his own head in order to present it to the brāhmin Raudrakṣa. On the Upper Indus, Prince Mahāsattva had given his body to a hungry tigress; at Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva, on the site of the two Alexandrian foundations on the Jhelum, Nicaea and Bucephala, the mythical king Mahāsammatā had been given the royal consecration and then a marvellous horse.

Missionary zeal had therefore delved into the rich repertory of the Jātakas in which the Bodhisattva, in a human, animal or divine form of existence, had practised the great perfections of his state, particularly generosity, patience, vigour and wisdom, not without falling prey — as in the case of Ekaśrṅga — to inevitable human weaknesses. Alongside Vārānasī which also claimed as its own Jātakas (the Six-Tusked White Elephant, the Partridge, the Deer and the Hare), Gandhāra was the only one to play the game — somewhat puerile, but profitable to the places of pilgrimage — of the acclimatization of the legends. But this infatuation did not last for long. The fact that the Asokan stūpas, such as those of the Gift of the Body on the peak of Banj, the Gift of Flesh at Girārai, the Gift of Eyes at Chārsadda, the Gift of the Head at Takṣāsilā, of Viśvantara at Shābāzgarhī, etc., were built from the Mauryan period onwards proves that the annexing of the legends began with the introduction of the Good Law into the borderlands of the North-West. It continued in force under the Indo-Greek occupation, but was practically over by the Christian era. Indeed, at that time the Scythian invasion slowed down the expansion of the Good Law and, when the latter once again advanced and reached the southern slopes of the Afghan massif (Kapiṣa) and beyond the Hindūkush, Bactria and Sogdiana, the source of inspiration had dried up and the flood of ancient legends never reached those remote regions: "It is because there is a time for everything, and that of the pious legends had passed" (tr. from Foucher).

Furthermore, in view of the Buddhist successes in the Kuśāṇa period, it was considered that the Jātakas no longer sufficed to confer an adequate guarantee of authenticity on the new holy land and a story was made up of a journey by the Buddha to the North-West, in the company of the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, and great pleasure was to be had following the stages of the journey on a map; new stūpas were erected to commemorate its principal events146. This was a new means of propaganda, initiated, we believe, in the Kuśāṇa period. In fact, one of the episodes

146 Itinerary of this journey in BEFEO, 1947-50, pp. 152-8.
of this journey is concerned with Kaniṣka's great caitya in Peshawār, the building of which is thought to have been predicted by the Buddha.

To return to the ancient period, we also note that the Sanskrit sources agree with the Pāli in recording the struggles the missionaries\footnote{We are concerned here with Madhyāntika and his companions; see above, pp. 207-208, 293, 303, 304.} had to sustain against “the king of the Nāgas (Aravāla, or Hulūta), eighty-four thousand serpents, numerous Gandharvas, Yakṣas and Kumbhaṇḍakas” \footnote{Mhv., XII, 20}, who occupied the pools and defended the mountain passes. In the missionary’s presence, dragons and demi-gods hurled thunder and lightning, breathed smoke and fire, caused floods and famines. The missionary withdrew into the meditation on benevolence, and the knives, axes and weapons that were cast at him turned into kumuda flowers which spread out in the space above his body. Gentleness triumphed over force: the Nāga-king and his peers took refuge in the Three Jewels and abided by the fivefold morality; the Yakṣa Paṇḍaka and his wife Hāriṇī, the mother of five hundred demons, attained the srotāpattiphala, the first fruit of the religious life. The missionary addressed them with a homily which was at the same time a solemn reconciliation: “Henceforth, do not allow anger to dominate you; do no further harm to the harvests, cherish all beings and let mankind live in peace” \footnote{Mhv., XII, 22}. In its picturesque form, the legend summarizes the entire history of the western missions: in order to ensure the triumph of the Good Law, the missionaries first had to combat popular superstition which found its most common expression in the worship of Nāgas and serpents, already attested in the Vedas and the origins of which can be traced back to the remote ages of Mohen-jo-Dāro, in the third millennium B.C. It was less a matter of substituting a new cult for an ancient one than of raising the latter to the level of the Buddhist message. The Buddhists, as moreover do the Śivaites and Viṣṇuítès, admitted the serpent in their own religious system, but in a subordinate place.

We should note in conclusion that the Good Law did not enjoy the same success in all districts of the North-West without distinction. The information supplied by the Chinese pilgrims and archaeological discoveries show that only the districts of the Western Punjab, Gandhāra, Uḍḍīyāna and also doubtless Jāguḍa (which has not yet been explored systematically) were truly influenced by Buddhism in the Mauryan period. This was not the case for Kapīśa (Kohistān in Kabul) where Hsūan tsang records only a single Aśokan stūpa, nor even for Kašmir
where no trace has been discovered of the Aśokan foundations of the Śuṣkaletra or the Vītastrāta mentioned by the travellers as well as Kalhaṇa. That a few Buddhists may have ventured there in the ancient era, nobody would attempt to deny, but one swallow does not make a summer and, in the light of numerous indications which we will be examining further on, it can well be believed that Kapiṣa and Kašmīr did not become true Buddhist fiefs until the Kuṣāṇa period, due to the active propaganda conducted by Kaniṣkha. It was even later that Bactria, separated from the Indus basin by the high barrier of the Hindūkush, in turn became a holy land of Buddhism. This is what appears, among other indications, from the evidence of Hsüan tsang who attributes most of the Buddhist foundations beyond the Hindūkush, not to Kaniṣkha and even less so to Aśoka, but more modestly and recently to “Ancient Kings” (chiu wang), that is, the later Kuṣāṇas (c. 231-390 A.D.), or even the Kidārites (390-460 A.D.).

6. CENTRAL INDIA OR THE BRĀHMANIC MADHYADEŚA. — Since Vedic times, the centre of the Āryan world, the “firm middle country” (dhruvā madhyamā diś), extended from the Sarasvatī to Gangetic Doab; it was from there that brāhmaṇical civilization radiated to the external provinces: Kosala and the land of Kāśi watered by the Sarayu and the Varaṇāvati, Videha irrigated by the Gandak, and Vidarbha in the Wardhā valley. Beyond the sphere of influence lived tribes of mixed origin, such as the Aṅgas of eastern Bihar, or the Māgardhaṇs of southern Bihar, or indigenous clans such as the Puṇḍras of North Bengal, the Pulindas and Šavaras of the Vindhya forests, and the Andhras in the Godāvari valley. Two peoples of noble blood dominated Āryavarta: the Kurus, descendants of the Vedic tribes of the Pūrus and Bharatas, occupied the length of territory located between the Sarasvatī and the Drāvadvatī, as well as the districts of Delhi and Meerut: their capital was Āsandivat; the Paṅcālas, also of Vedic origin being descendants of the Krīvis, were settled in the districts of Bareilly, Budāuin and Farrukhābād in Uttar Pradesh where their chief towns were Kāmpilya and Ahicchatra. For a long time, historians have noted the spiritual and cultural abyss which separated the brāhmaṇical Madhyadeśa from the

ancient cradle of Buddhism situated further to the east. On the one hand, the Āryans, trustees of the Vedic revelation, paragons of brāhma-
monic civilization, devoted to the raising of cattle and cultivation of wheat; on the other, the Mundas who remained partly faithful to the customs
of the original clan, superficially influenced by Brāhmanism, more
concerned with the great problems of life than with ritual and sacrifice,
exclusively concerned with the cultivation of rice, and confirmed vegeta-
rians.

Even if Śākyamuni travelled through Doab several times, he never
stayed there long: his fixed residences were never to be found further
west than an ideal line joining Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī. The message of
the Buddha had no hold on a population which was fiercely attached to
its books and traditions, proud of its brahmins, faithful to its Devas and
which punctually carried out ancestral sacrifices in which animals were
immolated and the Soma flowed. Asoka did indeed attempt to introduce
his Dharma there, as is witnessed by the Kālsī rock edict and the pillar
edicts of Toprā and Miraṭh, but his efforts were powerless to change the
population’s mind. As for the Buddhist missionaries and propagandists
of the Mauryan period, they did not even try to locate the great exploits
of the Bodhisattva during his former existences in those unprofitable
regions, but merely noted here and there the places which Śākyamuni
had honoured with his presence and where earlier Buddhas had appea-
red. With regard to the large towns of the brāhmanic Madhyadeśa,
Śrughna, Goviṣa, Ahicchatra, Vilaśaṇa, Kapitha (Śāmkāśya), Kanyā-
kubja, Ayodhyā and Āyamukha, it is always the same monotonous and
disappointed formula that came from Hsüan tsang’s pen: “An Aṣokan
stūpa on the spot where the Buddha had propounded his excellent
doctrine for such and such a time; to one side, a stūpa where four
Buddhas of the past had sat or walked; finally, a small stūpa containing
relics of the Buddha’s hair or nails”. Nothing could better emphasize
the failure of the religious propaganda among a population which
“After the decease of the Buddha, was led astray by its leaders and
made to believe in false religions, and where Buddhism disappeared” (T
2087, ch. 4, p. 981a). It may be objected that, at the time of Hsüan


150 Some of the rare stūpas are possibly ancient. Thus, it is thought that traces of
Aṣokan monuments have been discovered in Vilaśaṇa, the P’i lo shan na of Hsüan tsang,
present-day Bilsad in the district of Etah in Uttar Pradesh. Cf. B.S. Suryavanshi,

151 However, it was not possible for Buddhism to “disappear” from a region where it
never had much of a grip.
tsang, Kanyakubja contained more than 100 monasteries and over 10,000 religious, adherents of the Māhāyāna, and Hinayāna (T 2087, ch. 5, p. 893c 14) : this was a relatively late success of the Good Law, caused artificially by the religious policy of Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.); two centuries earlier the town, as evidenced by Fa hsien, still had only two Hinayānist monasteries (T 2085, p. 860a). — Everything leads to the belief that the situation was no more favourable in the ancient period.

An exception should, however, be made for the town of Sāmkāśya, nowadays Sankissa in the district of Etah in Uttar Pradesh, which was the setting for one of the four secondary wonders. It was on the outskirts of the town, to be precise in the Āpajjura enclosure, at the foot of the Udumbara, that the Buddha descended from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven where he had been preaching the Law to his mother. To do this, he created a triple stairway of precious materials; he used the central one, Brahmā used the one to the right and Indra that to the left. Once he had descended, the three stairways sank into the ground and only seven steps remained visible. The Buddha was welcomed on his arrival by a countless throng of the laity and religious, among whom could be recognized Udayana, the king of Kausāmbī, Śāriputra and the nun Utpalavarnā who, in order to force her way through the crowd more easily, had disguised herself as a cakravartin king. However, someone who was absent, the venerable Subhūti, whom the Mahāyānists claim as one of theirs, was the first to greet the Buddha; he remained in his cave on the outskirts of Rājagrha and merely fixed his mind on the instability of human things, and this homage paid to the body of the Law (dharmakīya) of the Buddhas surpassed every other greeting addressed to his physical body (janmakīya).

The wonder of the “Descent of the Gods” (devavatāra), as it is called, was widely exploited by art and literature: it appears on monuments at Bhārhut, Sāṃcī, Sārnāth, Loriyān-Tangai in Gandhāra, Mathurā, Nāgārjunikonda and Ajañṭā. Sanskrit literature, whether canonical or post-canonical, Hinayānist or Mahāyānist, makes numerous allusions to it; and although the event is not mentioned in the Pāli canon, the

152 Bhārhut, pl. 17; Monuments of Sāñcī, II, pl. 34 c; MAJUMDAR, Guide to Sārnāth, pl. 13e; Art gréco-bouddhique, I, p. 539, fig. 265; VOGEL, Sculpture de Mathurā, pl. 51a; LONGHURST, Nāgārjunikonda, pl. 11d; GRIFFITHS, Ajañṭā, pl. 54.

153 Divya, p. 401; Avadānasataka, II, pp. 94-5; Karmavibhanga, pp. 159-60; Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 23, p. 169c; Tséng i a han, T 125, ch. 28, p. 707c 15 sq.; Po yün ching, T 200, ch. 9, p. 247a; I tsu ching, T 198, ch. 2, p. 185c; Tsaohsiang kung tê ching, T 694, ch. 1, p. 792c; Fên pieh kung tê lun, T 1507, ch. 3, p. 37c; Upadesa, T 1509, ch. 11, p. 137a.

The Chinese pilgrims Fa hsiien (T 2085, p. 859c) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 4, p. 893b), inform us that Aśoka, wishing to unearth the stairway, had a large hole dug at its base but, on encountering water underground, was prevented from continuing with the project. The king felt his faith and veneration increasing and therefore had a vihāra built above the stairway and, on the middle flight, he erected a six foot high statue of the standing Buddha¹⁵⁴. Behind the vihāra, he set up a stone pillar twenty cubits high, surmounted by a lion. However, that lion was in reality an elephant with a mutilated trunk and tail, which explains the Chinese pilgrims' mistake. The capital to which it belonged is still standing in place, but the column has vanished and been replaced by brick masonry¹⁵⁵.

If we attempt to explain the origin of this wonder, responsibility must be laid on those artificial irrigation ramps which lean at an angle of thirty-degrees above the plain and which are common in the Sankissa region. "It was enough", said A. Foucher [tr.], "to cover one of them with three contiguous rows of stone steps in order to recreate the triple holy stairway attributed to Aśoka"¹⁵⁶.

7. THE EASTERN COAST AND ANDHRADESA. — The eastern limit of the Buddhist Madhyadeśa, indeed of India herself, was marked by the localities of Puṇḍravaradhana (Mahāsthān in the district of Bogra, according to an old Brāhmī inscription published in *EI*, XXI, p. 83) and Kacaśāgalā 60 miles further east. Beyond were the Frontier-Lands (*pratyantajanapada*) where the monastic discipline was no longer observed in full strictness. On the eastern coast and its hinterland, Buddhism encountered formidable adversaries, no longer among the brahmins, but among the Jainas, the disciples of Mahāvīra who were usually known by the name of Nirgranthas. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that, at least at the beginning of his reign, Aśoka had come into conflict with these Tīrthikas: at the time of the conquest of Kaliṅga, many śramaṇas, along with their compatriots, suffered murder, death or captivity (Bloch, pp. 125-6); and the *Aśokāvadāna* (*Divya*, p. 427) claims that in a single day, Aśoka had his Nāgas and Yakṣas beheaded 18,000 Nirgranthas from Puṇḍravaradhana who had images representing the Buddha prostrated before the Jina. However, if such a persecution occurred, the proclamation of the Dharma which ensured freedom to all

¹⁵⁴ An obvious anachronism.
¹⁵⁵ A good photograph of this mutilated animal can be found in N. SASTRI, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pl. IV.
¹⁵⁶ *Vie du Bouddha*, p. 277.
sects soon brought a return of religious peace, and the Jainas, under the protection of superintendents responsible for supervising them (Bloch, p. 171), were able to develop freely in the empire. Samprati, Asoka’s grandson, is said to have embraced their faith under the influence of the master Suhastin. During migrations which were caused, it is believed, by famine, they poured into the land of Mathurā, in Avanti, and massively occupied the eastern coast where Hsüan-tsang records the presence of Digambara Nirgranthas in Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Koṅgoda, Kaḷiṅga, Dāñyakaṭaka, Coḷa country and Drāvīḍa and, finally, Malakūṭa. This was not a matter of a late development of the sect; in Orissa, in the district of Puri, the Jainas excavated many caves in the mountains, the oldest of which date back to the second century B.C.: 44 in Udayagiri, 19 in Kaṇḍagiri and 3 in Nila; Khāravela, the king of Kaḷiṅga (ca 28-16 B.C.), had taken up their religion and the inscription which records his worthy deeds begins with a homage “to all the Arahantas and all the Siddhas”; at the end of the ancient era, the Nirgranthas even possessed a monastery in Ceylon, to the north of Anurādhapura; that “Titthārāma” had been built by King Paṇḍukabhaya (380-310 B.C.), but was expropriated and demolished by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (32-20 B.C.) (Mhv., XXXIII, 42, 79).

Another obstacle to the Buddhist propaganda consisted of the homage paid to Devas, whose temples were particularly numerous on the eastern coast. It even seems that some schismatic Buddhist sects met with some success in eastern Bengal; the Brāhmī inscription at Mahāsthān is concerned with the gifts made by the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara to some Śaḍvargikas who are possibly the “six bad monks” mentioned in the Vinaya; and, according to Hsüan-tsang’s evidence (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 928a), there were in Karnasuvarna three Buddhist monasteries in which, in accordance with Devadatta’s orders (Vinaya, II, p. 197), the monks were forbidden the use of lacteous products.

The coastal region was by no means neglected, either by Asoka in his plans for conquest of the Dharma, or by the Buddhist missionaries on their teaching tours. Rescripts of the Dharma were promulgated in Kaḷiṅga (Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) and as far as the extreme south of the

157 The inscriptions from those caves have been published and translated by B. Barua, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, Calcutta, 1929.
empire: Maski, Pālkigūṇḍu, Gāvīmaṭh, Yerraguḍi, Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Rāmesvara; aid for men and beasts reached the Colas of Coromandel, the Pāṇḍyas in the South-East, the Satyaputra (of uncertain identification) and Keralaputra kings of Malabar as far as Taprobane (Bloch, p. 93); in Tosalī and Samāpā, separate edicts reminded the functionaries of their duties and enjoined them to win the affection of those they administered (Bloch, p. 136 sq.); on imperial territory, the Piteṇikas of the district of Paithāna on the upper Godāvari, the Andhras and Parindas (or Pulindas), of uncertain identification, conformed to the pious recommendations of the Beloved of the Gods, and their example was followed beyond the frontiers by the Colās and Pāṇḍyas as far as Taprobana (Bloch, p. 130). The regions of the east coast, with the possible exception of the enigmatic Mahīsamantala, are not mentioned in the list of territories won over by Moggaliputtatissa’s missionaries, but the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription repairs this omission by congratulating the Sinhalese monks for having converted Vaṅga (Bengal), Tosalī and Palura (Kaliṅga), Damāla and Tāmraparṇīdvīpa (Ceylon)159.

However, the joint activity of the Beloved of the Gods and the missionaries did not meet with the same success as in Avanti, Mathurā and the North-West. Submerged by Hinduism and Jainism, the eastern coast was late in rallying to the message of the Śākya. In this respect, there is a striking contrast between the enormous quantity of bhikṣus recorded, for example, in Orissa and Dakśinakosala in the seventh century A.D. and the few specimens of “Asokan stūpas” recorded by Hsüan tsang: one in Pundravardhana; “a few” in Kanḍasuvarṇa, one in Samataṭa, one in Tamralipti; ten in Orissa; one in Kaliṅga; one in Dakṣinakosala; one in Andhra country; one in the land of the Colās; one in the Drāvīḍa area; one in Malakūṭa. Some twenty stūpas over a distance of 1,500 km! It was certainly not in the ancient period that the eastern coast appreciably swelled the ranks of Buddhism. The information we have at our disposal does, however, enable us to see that, at the end of the Mauryan period and during the Śuṅga age, i.e. from 250 to 50 approximately, two regions constituted the centres of Buddhist culture: Kaliṅga and above all Andhradesā.

Passing rapidly through Kaliṅga at the beginning of the seventh century, Hsüan tsang makes the following remarks: “The country produces wild elephants which are esteemed by neighbouring regions. The climate is warm. The people are rough and determined, they observe good faith and loyalty, and are clear and precise in their speech;
in their language and customs, they differ a little from central India. There are few Buddhists, the majority of the population belongs to other religions. There are more than ten Buddhist monasteries and five hundred religious ‘studying the system of the Mahāyāna-Sthavira school’. There are more than a hundred temples of the Devas, and the adherents of the different sects are very numerous, the majority of them being Nirgranthas... Near the southern wall of the city (probably Kalingapatam, the capital), there was an Aśokan stūpa beside which was to be found the place which served as a seat and practice-spot for four Buddhas of the past. On the summit of a mountain, to the north of the country, there was a stone stūpa, one hundred feet high, where a Pratyekabuddha had deceased at the beginning of the present Kalpa, when the human life lasted for countless years” (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 929a). It is believed that the site described here by the Chinese master has been identified. On the summit and sides of Mount Śāliḥuṇḍām, which dominates the river Vamśadharā and the Bay of Bengal, a whole complex of Buddhist constructions was discovered and explored, between 1943 and 1947; it included, in particular, a large apsidal caitya, a tall circular stūpa of the type known as mahācaitya and other smaller temples and stūpas, two of which were adorned with a statue of the Buddha in a seated position. One of those Buddhacaityas has yielded a piece of pottery inscribed in Brāhmi characters of the second century A.D., stipulating that the pottery in question belonged to the Kaṭṭahārāma (or Kaṭṭahāra arāma), endowed by the descendants of the Rāṣṭrapālaka Ḥaṃḍukdeyika. In fact, however, the development of the site dates much further back into the past. The foundations of the Mahācaitya concealed stone caskets containing three crystal reliquaries each enclosing one or several gold flowers (suvarṇapuṣpa). The three reliquaries are shaped like a stūpa. The first is two pieces, a support and a cover, which fit so precisely that the whole constitutes a plain hemisphere. The second is also two pieces: a circular support holding up a bell-shape of a smaller diameter which in turn is surmounted by a small square pavilion with a central knob. Finally, the third consists of four elements: a tall support, wide in diameter, a hemispherical bell of lesser diameter, a cubical pavilion which evokes the shape of a balustrade and, finally, crowning everything, a vertical rod representing a pole. The first reliquary reproduces the original stūpa of the ancient type, such as those at Bhāhrut and Sānci, the main feature of which was the anđa or

hemispherical dome; the second is a model of a stūpa of a more recent type, with a terrace (medhi), dome (anda), pavilion (harmikā) and parasol (chattra); the third more delicately fashioned, with its harmikā in the form of a balustrade (vedikā) and its parasol pole (chattrayaṣṭi), is an exact reproduction of the Mahācaityas in Andhra country such as could be admired at Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeṭa or Nāgārjunikonda. It is therefore highly probable that the stūpa of Sālihunḍām, begun in the ancient era in the form of an “Asokan stūpa”, underwent various transformations in the course of time which finally brought it close to the “Andhra type” of the Mahācaitya. The reliquaries which were hidden in turn in the foundations evoked the successive alterations undergone by the monument.

Even more than Kaliṅga, the Andhra country can claim the title of Buddhist fief, but its history is one of the most complicated. Andhradesa is the name given today to the northern part of Madras State which is enclosed between the Lower Godāvari and the Lower Kistna, and occupied by a population of Dravidian race and Telugu language. The region abounds in hillocks called dibba, which on examination proved to be ancient Buddhist foundations. To cite only the main ones, we will mention, starting from Masulipatam and following the Kistna upstream: Bhaṭṭiprolu, 6 miles north of Repalle; Gudivāda, 20 miles north-west of Masulipatam; Ghanṭasālā, 13 miles west of Masulipatam; Amarāvatī, near Dharanikota, earlier known as Dhānyakaṭaka; Jaggayyapeṭa or Betavolu, 30 miles north-west of Amarāvatī; Nāgārjunikonda, 16 miles west of Macherla; Goli, at the confluence of the Gollaru and the Kistna 161. The land abounds in monumental stūpas, wrongly called


The inscriptions from Amarāvatī, Bhaṭṭiprolu and Jaggayyapeṭa are recorded in the *Luders List*, Nos. 1025-1326, 1329-1339, 1292-1204; those of Nāgārjunikonda are published in vols. XX and XXI of the *Epigraphia Indica*. For Ghanṭasālā, see J.P. VOGEL, *Prakrit Inscriptions of Ghanṭasālā*, EI, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 1-4.
Mahācāityas, which are among the loveliest jewels of Indian and Buddhist art, but the completion of which dates back no earlier than the second and third centuries A.D. We therefore have no reason to describe them at present, but nevertheless remark that several of these Mahācāityas replaced older stūpas and that, particularly in Amarāvati, the constructors of the Mahācāitya re-used sculptures of an aniconic type which originally came from the ornamentation of an ancient stūpa built, it is believed, between the years 200 to 100 B.C.¹⁶².

It is unfortunate that the original homeland of the Andhras cannot be precisely determined. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 92, 18) which associates them with the dasyu or non-Āryan tribes of the Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas, seems to locate them to the south of Āryāvarta, in the Western Vindhya and the Arāvalli chain or on the river Narmadā. The thirteenth Aśokan edict considers them as neighbours of the Bhojas who inhabited the northern Deccan including Vidarbha or Berār. For the Purāṇa, the Deccanese dynasty of the Śatavāhanas was of Andhra origin (andhrapāliya) or subject to the Andhras (andhrabhṛtiya). The Greek and Latin writers of the first centuries, Pliny (VI, 67) and Ptolemy (VII, 1, 84) — who must have obtained their information from Megasthenes — consider the Andarae as a powerful nation possessing a great number of lesser townships, thirty towns fortified with walls and towers and supplying its king with 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants; they call the cities of Koṅkan by the name of "Town of the Andres Peiratai", i.e. of Andhra pirates, from the name of the Andhra or Śatavāhana sovereigns who were then ruling the region.

Nāgārjuna¹⁶³ was in contact with the Andhra kings, and we still possess a Tibetan translation (Mdo 94, 27) and three Chinese versions (T 1672-4) of the Friendly Letter (Suhrlekha) he addressed "to his former dānapati named Jantaka, the king of South India, known as Śatavāhana" (T 1674, p. 751a-b; T 2125, ch. 4, p. 227c)¹⁶⁴. According to the Tibetan historians, he spent the last part of his life in Andhradeśa, on the Śrīparvata near Dhāanyakatāka: "He provided for the monks, built a great many sanctuaries and temples, constructed an enclosure

¹⁶³ On the lives of Nāgārjuna, some bibliographical information can be found in the Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, I, Louvain, 1944, pp. X-XIV. Since then a translation of the Dpag bsam ljon bzai has been published by S. Pathak, Life of Nāgārjuna, IHQ, XXX, 1954, pp. 93-5.
like a string of diamonds at the Vajrāsana [in Bodh-Gayā], and erected a building for the sanctuary of Dpal Ḣbras spuṅs [Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka]” (Bu-ston, II, p. 125). “By him the sanctuary of Dpal Idan Ḣbras [Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka] was surrounded by a wall and, within that wall, 108 temples were constructed” (Ṭāranātha, p. 71). When Nāgārjuna’s head was cut off by Prince Śaktimān, son of King Antivāhana or Udayanabhadhra, he was dwelling on the Śrīparvata (Bu-ston, II, p. 127; Tāranātha, p. 72, Sum pa, Dpag bsam ljon bzañ), a mountain of Nāgārjuni-konda in Andhra country where, at the time of the Ikṣvākus, Bodhisiri erected an apsidal temple (EI, XX, 1929, p. 22).

However, to judge from Hsüan tsang, who also records those traditions, the topography appears to be very much more complicated; the Chinese master distinguishes between three regions:

a. Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Vidarbha or Berār), 1,800 li north-west of Kaṅgīra. It was in this region, marked by an old monastery and an Āsokan stūpa, that Nāgārjuna was in contact with a Śaatavāhana king who provided a convenant for him in the rock of Mount Brāhmaṅgiri, and it was there that he allowed himself to be beheaded by the king’s son.

b. Andhra, 900 li to the south of the foregoing, a region characterized by the monastery and stūpa of the Arhat Ācāra, an Āsokan stūpa, and to which the memory of the Buddhist logician Diṅnāga remained attached.

c. Dhānyakaṭaka, 1,000 li (sic) to the south of the previous one; here most of the Buddhist monasteries were deserted, and no more than a thousand Mahāsamghikas were living there. It was on the heights to the east and west of the capital that, the Pūrva and Aparaśaila monasteries were “built for the Buddha by an early king of the country who had laid out a communication track alongside the river and who, digging into the rock, had made large halls with wide corridors communicating with the steep mountainsides” (T 2087, ch. 10, pp. 930c-931a). The memories of the scholar Bhāvaviveka and the bodhisattva Dharmapāla remained attached to the region.

These details were necessary to show the uncertainties with which the localization of the legends is confronted, and to put the reader on his guard against hasty simplifications.

If, as a hypothesis, we understand by Andhradeśa the Telugu-speaking land situated between the Godāvari and the Kistna, the exact time when this region was reached by Buddhist propaganda remains to be discovered.

According to the Pārāyaṇa (Suttanipāta, vv. 976-1148), one of the earliest Buddhist texts used as a source by the canonical sūtras, Bāvari, a
brāhmin ascetic from Śrāvastī, had retired to Dakṣināpatha on the banks of the Godāvari where the Andhaka kings, named Assaka and Añaka, had placed a hermitage at his disposal. One day a brāhmin came and asked him for five hundred gold pieces, but Bāvari was too poor to be able to give him such a sum. Whereupon, the brāhmin cursed him and told him his head would explode into seven pieces. Bāvari was reassured by a deity who told him that the wicked brāhmin did not even know the meaning of the words "head" and "explosion of the head". — So who does know the meaning? asked Bāvari. The deity informed him that a Buddha had appeared in the world and was to be found in Śrāvastī. Bāvari decided to send him his sixteen disciples, including Ajita and Tissametteyya. The disciples therefore set out northwards and, after a long journey all the stages of which were carefully noted, ended by finding the Buddha in Vaiśāli. The Master replied to all the questions he was asked, and his interlocutors attained Arhatship with the exception of Piṅgliya, Bāvari's nephew. The latter returned to Andhara country to tell his uncle of the Buddha's answers. At the end of his recital, the Buddha appeared before them in all his glory and preached the Law to them; Piṅgliya became an Arhat and Bāvari, an anāgāmin.

In the terms of this very ancient legend, the Andhra country learned of the Buddhist message from the very lips of Śākyamuni. However, the Hsien yü ching (T 202, ch. 12, pp. 432b-433c) which repeats the same story with the addition of a few variants, makes Bāvari, no longer a hermit from Andhradēsa, but quite simply a chaplain (purohita) from Pātaliputra, and it was to that town that the Buddha came personally to convert him.

We saw above how, about the years 100 or 116 after the Nirvāṇa, i.e. in the reign of Aśoka according to the short chronology, the adherents of Mahādeva's five theses broke away from the original Saṃgha and set themselves up as a separate school which took the name of Mahāsāṃghika. Those schismatics, who were in turn to split into several sub-schools, settled either in the land of Aṅguttara to the north of Rājagṛha (information supplied by Chi tsang and Paramārtha), or in Kauśāmī (according to the Nikāyasamgraha). Nevertheless, we have good reason to believe that certain subschools of the Mahāsāṃghikas settled in Andhra country (Amarāvati-Dhānyakaṭaka, Alluru, Ghaṇṭaśālā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) where Prākrit inscriptions from the second and third centuries record their presence.

Bahusutīya (= Bahuśrutīya), Ibid., EI, XX, p. 24; XXI, p. 62.
The majority of these sects made their appearance in the second century after the Nirvāṇa, i.e., according to the short chronology, in the century following Asoka. Under the names of Mahāsāṃghikas, Bahuṣrutiyas, Caitikas and Śailas, they continued to teach the five heretical theses of Mahādeva, as well as many other tenets disputed by the Theravādins. Indeed, the Kathavatthu, which lists up to 72 of them, designates them as a group by the name of “Andhaka Theses”, which is good proof that those sects had their centre in Andhra country, in the valleys of the Godavari and Kistna.

We would also point out that Andhra Buddhism underwent a period of artistic efflorescence in the second century A.D., under the great Satavahanas, and in the third century under the minor family of the Ikṣvakus. The name of the Satavahana Pulomā, i.e. Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi (ca 130-159 A.D.), appears on the monuments at Amarāvati (Lüders, 1248), and it was probably in his reign that the famous Mahācāitya was completed (EI, XXIV, 1938, pp. 256-60). As for the Ikṣvākus of the third century, the site of Nagarjunakorśā now owes practically everything to them (EI, XX, 1929, pp. 1-37). It was to the glorification of their pious wives that a prophecy seems to be devoted in the Mahāmeghasūtra (T 387, ch. 6, p. 1107a), a Mahāyānist work translated into Chinese between the years 414 and 421. However, at that time, the Andhra kingdom was reduced to a minimum:

“Seven hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, in South India, there will be a small kingdom called Lightless (Wu ming, Andha, the Prākrit form of Andhra); in that kingdom, there will be a river called Black (Hei an, Kṛṣṇā, modern Kistna) and, on the south bank of that river, a town named Ripe Grain (Shu ku, Dhānya[ka-taka], present-day Dharanikot); in that town, there will be a king named Even-Vehicle (Śātavāhana). The wife of that king will give birth to a daughter named Growth (Tseng chang, in Tibetan Dpal Ḥphel, in Skt. Śrīvṛddhi); she will be so
beautiful that everyone will love her; she will observe the religious prescriptions; her goodwill will be inexhaustible”.

At the beginning of the seventh century, Hsüan tsang listed twenty monasteries in Dhānyakatāka inhabited by at least a thousand Mahāsāṃghikas; on the heights overlooking the town, he also discovered the famous Pūrva and Aparaśaila monasteries (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 930c). However, Buddhism was already in full decline there; a large number of monasteries were in ruins, and the area was no longer the ideal place of retreat to which Arhats and non-Arhats flocked from all sides in order to spend the rainy season and win holiness.

Another Buddhist centre situated in southern India was Kāñcī, present-day Conjeevaram, the capital of the Drāviḍas or Coḷas, on the river Palar, 43 miles south-west of Madras. According to Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 931c), the Buddha visited it frequently, and King Aśoka erected stūpas there in various places where the Buddha had taught and admitted members into his order. The master of the Law also refers to a huge monastery to the south of the town, used as a meeting-place for the most eminent people of the land; within its walls, there was an Aśokan stūpa, one hundred feet high, erected on the spot where the Buddha had one day confounded the heretics and converted a great number of persons.

The statements of the great Chinese master cannot be verified. If Mahinda and his companions founded a flourishing Buddhist Community in Ceylon at the time of Aśoka, other Sthavirian missionaries may easily have established themselves at the same time in Coromandel. However, if such a mission did in fact exist, it was not as warmly welcomed by the Drāviḍas and Coḷas as it was in Ceylon. In fact, the Senas and Guttikas, the Coḷa Elāra and the seven Damilas who successfully attempted a landing in Ceylon, in 180, 148, and 47 B.C. respectively, were all non-believers, and their armies included only two Buddhists, the rest being “of wrong views, bad conduct and like beasts” (Mahāvamsa, XXV, 110). In such conditions, it is questionable whether it was indeed during the Aśokan age that so many stūpas and monasteries were built in the Tamil land.

It remains nonetheless a fact that at one stage in its history, Kāñcī was a fairly flourishing Buddhist centre. It was there that the Porāṇācariyas compiled the Sinhalese commentaries of the Andha-Atthakathā and also possibly the Sankhepa-Atthakathā165, used by Buddhaghosa (5th c.).

and cited by him as authoritative sources (cf. Samantapāsādikā, IV, p. 747). It was quite naturally in Coromandel that the monks from Ceylon took refuge when economic or political circumstances caused them to leave their island (Manorathapūrami, I, p. 92; Mahāvaṃsa, XXXVI, 112; Tzʻū en chuan. T 2053, ch. 4, p. 241c 26-29). In the fifth century, the Tamil coast was to provide outstanding exegetists for the school of the Pāli language. Buddhadatta, considered as a contemporary of Buddhaghosa (Sāsanavamsa, p. 29; Gandhavamsa, p. 66), was a native of Uragapura (Ureiyūr), capital of the Coḷas, on the Kāveri (colophon of the Vinayavinicchaya). Ānanda, the author of a Mūlaṭika on the Abhidhamma, also came from the mainland (Gandhavamsa, p. 66). Of the four Dhammapālas known to the tradition, the most famous, author of a part-commentary on the Khuddakānīkāya entitled Paramatthadīpani, was a native of Padarātítha, a place near Kāncī (Sāsanavamsa, p. 33; cf. Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 10, p. 931c). Finally, as we will see in the next volume, it was in Kāncī that the legend of the Buddhist goddess Maṇimekhala took shape.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE PERIOD OF THE ŚUṆGAS AND YAVANAS

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD. — The Mauryan period and especially the glorious reign of Aśoka marked the golden age of Buddhism, but the last two centuries of the ancient era constituted a time of crisis during which the Good Law, even while making progress, had to overcome numerous problems.

These originated for the most part from the political and social instability incurred by the weak and decentralized kingdoms of the Śuṅgas (c. 187-75 B.C.) and the Kāṇvas (75-30 B.C.).

After he had assassinated King Brāhratha, the Indian general Puṣyamitra established a kingdom on the ruins of the Mauryan empire, but its legitimacy was immediately contested. Of brahmin birth, he relied on the brahmin clan to remain in power and, on their advice, attempted to revive the old Vedic customs. This whole policy ran counter to Buddhist interests, and Puṣyamitra alienated the disciples of the Śākya and the supporters of the Mauryan legitimacy. To many of his subjects, he appeared as a usurper and persecutor. The last Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas seem to have favoured the Bhāgavata sect, the protagonist of a powerful theist movement which developed around the cult of the Hindu god Viṣṇu. Rejected by the authorities in power, the Buddhists nevertheless found sympathy and support among some Śuṅga vassals who had settled in the Ganges basin, particularly at Bhārhut, Kauśāmbi, Ahicchatra and Mathurā.

During the same period, the Śiṃhala kings of Ceylon had to defend their island against repeated assaults by Dravidian invaders. However, the Good Law did not suffer from these ceaseless wars. Among the eighteen princes who succeeded one another in Anurādhapura between the years 200 and 20 B.C., we note the names of Duṭṭhagāmanī (104-80) and Vaṭṭagāmanī (47, 32-20). Duṭṭhagāmanī appears as a national hero and a Buddhist holy one: after liberating the territory from the grasp of the Damiḷas, he constructed famous monuments which are still the glory of Ceylon today: the Maricavaṭṭī Thūpa (Mirisaveṭi Dāgabā), the Brazen Palace (Lohapāsāda) and especially the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli Dāgabā), the consecration of which gave rise to ceremonies of unprecedented sumptuousness. The reign of Vaṭṭagāmanī was marked by
two important events in religious history: the written compilation of the Pāli canonical texts and the founding of the thūpa and vihāra of Abhayagiri. Soon the monks of that monastery separated from the Therās at the Mahāvihāra in order to set up a rival school, open to new ideas and tendencies.

However, the most important political event was the active part played on Indian territory by foreign invaders: the Yavanas or Greeks who came from Bactria. Under the leadership of their kings, Euthyde-mus of Magnesia and Demetrius, between the years 205 and 167, the Bactrians seized practically the entire Ganges basin. Even if internal dissensions prevented them from maintaining their advanced positions, for nearly a century and a half they remained in the region of North-West India where they established two rival kingdoms: the western Greek kingdom (169-90 B.C.) and the eastern Greek kingdom (167-30 B.C.). Weakened by incessant warfare, they were to succumb, one after the other, to the hordes of Śaka invaders at the end of the ancient era.

The Buddhist Saṅgha suffered the consequences of all these events, but continued to advance without allowing itself to be stopped by the troubles:

1. According to a well-established tradition, Puṣyamitra subjected the bhikṣus to cruel persecution. Throughout his territory, he assassinated the religious, destroyed stūpas and set fire to monasteries. An examination of the sources does not enable us to conclude that the persecution was general, but it is certain that the Buddhists believed themselves to be pursued and hunted, and that this state of mind induced in them a series of reactions which history must take into account.

2. The theist propaganda which began during the Śuṅga period in Viñāute circles led the Good Law into further grave danger, the risks of which do not seem to have been fully appreciated. Even though, Śākyamuni's message was able to maintain its doctrinal integrity, at least in the beginning, unrest fomented by Hindu influences arose in some of the Buddhist sects and facilitated the advent of the Mahāyāna.

3. The obstacles which the Good Law encountered by no means interrupted the missionary movement. Viharas which dated back to the beginning and saṅghārāmas founded in the Mauryan period were joined by new establishments about which some information is available from a list of Sinhalese origin.

4. The Śuṅga age also witnessed the birth and efflorescence of the ancient Central Indian school of sculpture which had its main centres at Bhārhat, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī (first style). Quite apart from its artistic value, this school of sculpture provides precious details.
on the religious beliefs and ideals of the lay circles which ensured its success.

Finally, we have to appraise the historical encounter between Buddhism and Hellenism, and the attitude taken by the disciples of Śākyamuni when confronted by foreign peoples. Generally speaking, the Greeks remained faithful to the gods of their traditional pantheon, but the requirements of policy induced some of them to become interested in Indian beliefs, and even rely on them in order to assert their authority. The Buddhists favoured this conciliation, thus demonstrating the universal nature of their religion. The Indo-Greek king Menander is supposed to have been converted to Buddhism and recent discoveries plead in favour of this tradition.

As for the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular, they showed themselves refractory to foreign propaganda, and Hellenism had no effect on their innermost mentality. Some inscriptions carved by petty monarchs, strategoi or meridarchs who turned to Buddhism, show that the piety of these was not free from self-interest and that, unlike their Indian co-religionists, they had not fully understood the mechanism of the maturation of actions. However, this concerned only a few individuals. The Greek influence on Buddhism did not extend further than the field of artistic invention which was, however, important; despite the controversy over the subject, it remains likely that the idea of giving a human form to the Buddha in his last existence germinated in the mind of a Greek artist, but it was not until the beginning of the Christian era that it was applied generally. Furthermore, the Buddhist legend was enriched by contact with the universal folklore which was nourished by the Mediterranean world and the Near East.

I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

I. — THE ŚUÑGAS AND KĀNVAS

The succession of princes. — The fall of the Mauryas in about 187 B.C. led to the dissolution of the Indian empire. Foreign barbarians crossed the North-West frontiers and established powerful kingdoms in Gandhāra in the Kabul valley, at Śākala in the Eastern Punjab, and in other places. The southern provinces attained independence, and rivalled in power and splendour with what remained of the Gangetic empire. Finally, in Madhyadeśa, the Mauryas were replaced by a new dynasty which was weak from the outset and had to share power with numerous feudatories.
According to the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 31-3), the Śūnga kingdom lasted for 112 years (ca 187-75 B.C.) and included ten sovereigns:

1. Puṣyamitra reigned 36 years
2. Agnimitra reigned 8 years
3. Vasu-yeṣṭha (Sujeṣṭha) reigned 7 years
4. Vasumitra (Sumitra) reigned 10 years
5. Bhadraka (Odruka) reigned 2 (or 7) years
6. Pulindaka reigned 3 years
7. Ghoṣa reigned 3 years
8. Vajramitra reigned 7 (or 9) years
9. Bhāga (Bhāgavata) reigned 32 years
10. Devabhūti reigned 10 years

The Śūgas were succeeded by the KāṇvĀṇas or Śūngabhṛtyas who ruled for 45 years (75-30 B.C.) and were four in number:

1. Vasudeva reigned 9 (or 5) years
2. Bhūmimittra reigned 14 (or 24) years
3. Nārāyaṇa reigned 12 years
4. Suśarman reigned 10 (or 4) years

**Puṣyamitra** (187-151 B.C.)¹. — The founder of the Śūnga dynasty is known from some notes by grammarians (Paṇini, *Aśṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 117; Patańjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, 111, III, 2, 123), a Sanskrit inscription from Ayodhya (EI, XX, 1929, p. 54 sq.), certain passages in the *Mālavikāgīnimitra* by Kālidāsa (ed. KARMARKAR, Poona, 1950, pp. 9-11; 111-12), a short remark by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (ed. PARAB, Bombay, 1946, pp. 198-9), some lines in the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 31-3) and quite a large number of Buddhist sources: *Aśokāvadāna* (T 2042, ch. 3, p. 111a sq.; T. 2043, k.5, p. 149a sq.; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 433), *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 125, p. 655b-c), *Śāriputrapariprcchā* (T 1465, p. 900a-b); *Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa* (vv. 530-7) and Tāranātha (p. 81). However, this is all scattered information which by no means constitutes a consistent history.

The Buddhist sources (*Divya*, p. 433) are mistaken in making Puṣyamitra the last of the Mauryas. According to Paṇini (IV, 1, 117), the Śūgas belonged to the brāhmin clan of Bhāradvāja and, according to Kālidāsa (*Mālavika*, p. 83), Puṣyamitra was of the Baimbika family (*kula*). He was commander-in-chief (*senānī*) of Bṛhadratha, the last of the Mauryas, and it was in that capacity, say the *Purāṇa* (P., pp. 31-3), that he overthrew Bṛhadratha and wielded kingship for thirty-six years.

The general’s treachery is stigmatized by Bāṇa (*Harṣacarita*, pp. 198-

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9) : "After having assembled the whole army on pretext of showing him the forces of the empire, a despicable general, Pusśamitra (sic), slew his master the Maurya Bṛhadratha, a man who was feeble of purpose".

Pusśamitra ruled in Pāṭaliputra with the title of general. His possessions extended to the south as far as the Narmadā, to the north-west as far as Jālandhara and Śākala (Punjab). His son, the crown prince Agnimitra, established his personal court at Vidiśā, present-day Bésnagar, in Eastern Mālāvā, and imprisoned the former "Mauryan Minister" (Mauryasaciva) who represented the Mauryan legitimacy in Avanti. The brother-in-law of this minister, Yajñasena, the governor of Berār, deserted and founded the independent kingdom of Vidarbha (Mālavika, p. 10). He immediately undertook to have his relative liberated.

In the meantime, Madhāvasena, Yajñasena’s cousin, who had rallied to the usurper, undertook to go to Avanti with his wife and sister in order to join Agnimitra. Yajñasena had him arrested by a frontier-guard and thrown into prison. Agnimitra immediately demanded the release of Mādhavasena, but Yajñasena answered that Agnimitra himself should first free the old Mauryan minister. War broke out. Agnimitra put at the head of his army his wife’s brother, a certain Virasena, the commander of a fortress on the banks of the Mandākini (Narmadā). Virasena was a skillful tactician, invaded Vidarbha, vanquished Yajñasena’s armies and freed Mādhavasena from prison. After which, the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, the river Varadā (present-day Wardhā) marking the frontier between the two governors who seem to have recognized the suzerainty of Pusśamitra and his son (Mālavika, pp. 9-10, 95, 104).

The minor war of Vidarbha has all the ingredients of a tragi-comedy. However, Pusśamitra had to face a more serious danger originating from the North-West frontiers. Renewing the attempts of Alexander the Great, Seleucus I Nicator and Antiochus III the Great, Demetrius the king of Bactria and his lieutenants seized the Punjab and the Sindh, and plunged into the heart of the Indian empire. We will return later to this expedition, using the Greek and Purāṇic sources as a basis. Here, we will simply note that it was confirmed by a contemporary of Pusśamitra, the grammarian Patañjali. While explaining the tense of a verb which is required to specify whether it is a recent action which one could have witnessed, Patañjali gives an example with the phrases: Arunad Yavano Sāketam; Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām (Mahābhāṣya, III, 2, 111), which means: "[In my time] the Greek besieged Sāketa (Ayodhyā in Uttar Pradesh) and Madhyamikā (Nagarī in the former Rājputana, near Chitor)".
However, the enemy advance, which reached the walls of Pañiputra, was broken by dissensions between the Greeks, and the army of Demetrius was compelled to withdraw to the Punjab. During this retreat, some local successes were achieved by the Indians. Vasumitra, the grandson of Puṣyamitra and son of Agnimitra, ambushed a troop of Yavanas on the southern bank of the Sindhu, i.e. the Indus or, more likely, the Kāli Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, which passes some 150 km from Madhyamikā.

Puṣyamitra announced this success to Agnimitra in a letter, the text of which is reproduced by the Mālavikāgnimitra (pp. 111-12):

“Greetings! From the ritual-ground, the commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra affectionately embraces his son, the Venerable Agnimitra residing in Vidisa, and informs him of this news: Ready to carry out the sacrifice of the Rājasūya, I entrusted Vasumitra and a hundred (Indian) princes with the guardianship of the horse (destined for the sacrifice); then I freed the animal with the order to bring it back at the end of a year. In fact, while it was on the southern bank of the Sindhu, that horse was attacked by a troop of Yavanas. There was a brisk engagement between the two armies. After having vanquished the enemy, Vasumitra, the powerful archer, returned to me the excellent horse which they had attempted to take from him. I am now about to proceed with the sacrifice of the horse which my grandson brought back to me. Come without delay and in peace of mind with my daughters-in-law in order to attend the sacrifice”.

Puṣyamitra therefore reinstated esteem for the old Vedic ritual, which had been neglected by the pro-Buddhist Mauryas, and in particular performed that horse sacrifice (aśvamedha) which requires no less than a year to complete. Before being immolated the horse roams freely for a year in the direction of the four cardinal points, surrounded by the guard of the king who claims the title of universal sovereign (cakravar-tin).

Therefore Patañjali, in his Mahābhāṣya (III, 2, 123), has the brāhmins of his time utter the solemn declaration: Iha Puṣyamitrāṃ yājayāmah “Here we perform sacrifices for Puṣyamitra”. A Śuṅga inscription, which incidentally is the first known Sanskrit inscription, attributes to the sovereign a dual aśvamedha in celebration of his victories: “This altar was erected in honour of Phalgudeva, the father of the Dharmarāja... by Dhana(-deva, -bhūti, etc.), ruler of Kosala, son of Kauśikī, the sixth (son, or successor) of the Senāpati Puṣyamitra who twice celebrated the Aśvamedha”.

As will be seen further on, the Buddhist sources consider Puṣyamitra as a persecutor of Buddhism, and say he met with an ignominious death. His rule seems to have marked the beginning of a brāhmanical reaction
which was to reach full development five centuries later under Samudragupta and his successors. The Śuṅgas created an advisory council (sabha) or assembly of ministers (mantraparishad) in which the brāhmins were in the majority.

THE SUCCESSORS OF PUŚYAMITRA (ca 151-75 B.C.). — The adventures of Agnimitra, the viceroy of Vidiśā, entitled Mālavikāgnimitra. His son Vasumitra or Sumitra, the fourth Śuṅga, distinguished himself in his youth by the victory of the river Sindhū mentioned above; however, his taste for the theatre was his downfall: "A great lover of dramatic plays, he was assailed by Mitra deṣa amidst his actors and was beheaded with one blow of a scimitar" (Harṣacarita, p. 198).

The fifth Śuṅga appears in the Purāṇa under the most various names: Bhadraka, Ādraka or Ordruka, Āndhraka, finally Antaka. The same sources assign him a reign of two or seven years of rule. An inscription at Pabhosa (Lüders, 904) is dated the year 10 of a certain Udāka with whom this prince may possibly be identified. Sir John Marshall also compares him to the king Kāśiputra Bhāgaprabha, mentioned on the famous Garuḍa-pillar found at Vidiśā (Lüders, 669).

Under the ninth Śuṅga, Bhāga or Bhāgaprabha, again in Vidiśā, a second Garuḍa-pillar was erected; it is dated the twelfth year of the mahārāja Bhāgaprabha (Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep., 1913-14, p. 190 sq.).

On the instigation of his minister Vasudeva, Devabhūti, the last Śuṅga, was assassinated by the daughter of a slave who had approached him disguised as the queen (Harṣacarita, p. 199).

FEUDATORIES OF THE ŚUṆGAS. — Whereas the royal house, after having attempted a revival of brāhmanism, finally turned to the Bhāgavata religion, its vassals as a general rule remained faithful to Buddhism.

1. The inscriptions enable us to reconstruct the lineage of the petty monarchs of Bhārhat:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gāgī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visadeva = Goti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āgaraju = Vāchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanabhūti = Nāgarakhitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vādhipāla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These princes erected the famous stūpa at Bhārhat in central India and decorated it with sculptures:
In the reign of the Sugas (Śuṅgas), a gateway (torāṇa) was built and sculptures (silākāṃmanta) carved, by order of Dhanabhūti Vāchiputra, the son of Āgaraju Gopiputra and grandson of the rājan Visadeva Gāgiputra", (Lüders, 687; Barua, 1).

A cross-piece (sūci) of the palisade was a "gift from Nāgarakhitā, wife of the rājan [Dhanabhūti]" (Lüders, 882; Barua, 115).

Another element is the "gift from Prince Vādhapāla, son of the rājan Dhanabhūti" (Lüders, 869; Barua, 103).

The memory of the pious family also remains attached to Buddhist establishments in Mathurā, particularly the "Precious House"; an inscription commemorates "the dedication of a balustrade (vedikā) and gateways (torāṇa) at the Ratnagṛha by [Vādhapāla], [son] of Dhanabhūti Vātsiputra, in association with his parents and the four orders (pārisā), in homage to all the Buddhas" (Lüders, 125).

2. In the year 10 of the reign of Udāka — who should perhaps be identified with Odruka, the fifth Śunga, — there ruled in Kauśāmbi a King Bahasatimitra (Brhaspatimitra or Brhatsvātimitra) who gave evidence of his Buddhist faith by minting coins bearing an Indian ox before a caitya on the obverse and, on the reverse, a tree surrounded by a balustrade (CHI, p. 538, pl. V, 2). According to the Pabhosā inscriptions (Lüders, 904-5) and inscribed bricks discovered at Ganeshrā near Mathurā, his genealogy may be established as follows:

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Šonakāyana, rājan of Ahicchatra
   Vamgāpāla
      Tevaṇī
   rājan Bhagavata = Vaihidari
        Āśādhasena
          Gopāli
            Bahasatimitra
              Yaśāmatā m. a king of Mathurā (Gomita?)
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Āśādhasena, the maternal uncle of King Bahasamitra, had caves dug in favour of the Buddhist sect of the Kāsyapīyas at Prabhosā, near Kauśāmbi: "Excavation of a cave (lena) by Āśādhasena, son of Gopāli Vaihidari and the maternal uncle of the rājan Bahasatimitra, son of
Gopālī, for the Kaśṣapīya Arahantas” (Lüders, 904). — “Excavation of a cave by Āśādhasena, son of Vaihidāri and the rājan Bhāgavata, son of Tevāni (Traivarni), son of Vamgapāla, son of Šonakāyana (Śaunakāyana), rājan of Ahicchatra” (Lüders, 905).

3. Already before the accession of the Śunghas, a dynasty ruled in Ahicchatra, capital of Pañcāla (Rohilkhand), which consisted of no less than a dozen sovereigns. Their names, most of which end in mitra, are known through coins in the British Museum and the Museum of Lucknow (Allan, CCAI, pp. cxvi-cxx) : Agnimitra, Bhadrāghoṣa, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayagupta, Jayamitra, Phalgunimitra, Rudragupta, Sūryamitra, Viśnumitra, Viśvapāla and Brhaspatimitra. To judge from the deities or symbols which appear on the reverse of their coins, they were worshippers of Agni, Lakṣmī, Bhūmi, Dhruva (Śiva), Viśṇu or Śūrya. However, their immediate family certainly included Buddhist sympathizers : thus an architrave and several pillars of the palisade of the “Royal Temple” (rājaprāśādacaitya) built by Aśoka at Bodh-Gayā are “gifts from Kuṛmgi, the sister-in-law of Jivā, to the Royal Temple” (Lüders, 939-44).

4. Some copper coins, with the goddess Lakṣmī on the obverse and three mountend elephants on the reverse, preserve the names of a dozen of the Śunga vassals who settled in Mathurā : Gomita (II), husband of Yaśāmatā, daughter of Bahasatimitra the king of Kauśāmbī : Balabhūti; Brahmanmitra, etc. Post No. 91 of the palisade at Bodh-Gayā on which Indra, in the form of Śānti, appears in high relief, is a “gift from Nāgadevā, the sister-in-law of King Brahmanmitra” (Bodh-Gayā, p. 58). Some half-hearted attempts have been made to correlate this Brahmanmitra with his homonym, the Bhadramitra of the Mathurā coins.

5. The Ayodhyā inscription mentioned above (EI, XX, 1929, p. 57) refers to a Ruler of Kosala who was the sixth (son or successor?) of the commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra. He was possibly related to Dhanabhūti, the petty monarch of Bhārhut.

THE KÄÑVAS (75-30 B.C.). — “A minister named Vasudeva will overthrow the dissolute king Devabhūmi, on account of his youth, and this minister will become king of the Śunghas. That Kāṇvāyana will reign for 9 years; his son Bhūmihara, 14 years; his son Narayana, 12 years; his son Suṣarman, 10 years. They are mentioned as kings subservient to the Śunghas (śunghabhṛtya) and descendants of the Kāṇvas (kāṇvāyana). Those four Kāṇvas will remain in power for 45 years. Neighbouring princes will submit to them. They will be righteous. After they have gone, the territory will pass to the Andhras” (P., p. 34-5).
Summarized in this way by the *Purāṇa*, the history of these kings is not known elsewhere but, to judge from their names, two of them, Vasudeva and Nārāyaṇa, must have been Viśnuites just like the last Śuṅgas. They were overthrown in approximately 30 B.C. by the Andhra king Simuka and his allies who, say the *Purāṇa*, "will attack the Kāṇvāyanas and Suṣarman, destroy whatever remains of the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgānām caiva yac cheṣam*) and seize that territory" (P., p. 38). This passage seems to imply that the Andhras overthrew the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas simultaneously, and some historians have deduced from this that the 45 years of rule assigned to the Kāṇvas were included in the 112 years attributed to the Śuṅgas. Notwithstanding, the *Purāṇa* categorically assert that Devabhūti, the tenth Śuṅga, was assassinated by the first Kāṇva. However, the new dynasty could have allowed some descendants of the Śuṅgas to continue alongside it, and both would have been definitively destroyed by the Andhras around 30 B.C.

2. — CEYLON FROM 200 TO 20 B.C.*

**THE SUCCESSION OF KINGS.** — The Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, who were a prey to internal struggles, rallying first to brāhmanism and then to the bhāgavata religion did not maintain the close and friendly relations established by the pious Asoka in the past with the kings of Ceylon, who were convinced Buddhists. According to the evidence of the chronicles, 18 sovereigns succeeded one another to the throne of Ceylon between the years 286 and 466 after the Nirvāṇa (200-20 B.C.) : the majority of them belonged to the ancient Vijaya lineage, but these legitimate princes had three times to yield the throne to Damīla invaders who came from the Indian sub-continent. These according to the *Dīpa* (Ch. XVIII-XX) and the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. XXI-XXXIII), are the divisions of the period and the sequence of reigns : 1. the period of the Five Kings (reigns No. 8 to 12 inclusive); 2. reign of Eḷāra (No. 13); 3. reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 14); 4. reign of the Ten Kings (Nos. 15 to 24) (see p. 361).

**THE PERIOD OF THE FIVE KINGS** (286-338 after the Nirvāṇa; 200-148 B.C.). — Under this title, the Sinhalese chronicle designates the princes who ruled in Ceylon during the troubled era which, on the Indian sub-continent, was marked by the fall of the great Mauryan empire and the accession of the Śuṅgas to the throne.

Succeeding their brother Uṭṭiya, Mahāśiva and Sūratissa each reigned for ten years (200-180 B.C.). The first constructed the Nagarāṇāṇavihāra for the Thera Bhaddasāla, the last survivor of the Magadhan missionaries who had come to Ceylon under the leadership of Mahinda.
The second, renowned as a great builder, is said to have founded five hundred viharas on the island.

In 180, Ceylon fell for the first time into the hands of Damiḷa (Tamil) hordes who had come from the sub-continent under the guidance of two horse-dealers, extempore generals, Sena and Guttika. Their rule was just and continued for 22 years (180-158 B.C.).

Asela, one of the nine sons of Muṭasiva and brother of Devānampiyatissa, succeeded in winning back the throne of his forebears and retained it for ten years (158-148 B.C.); a further Tamil invasion was to overthrow him.

THE COṆA ELĀRA (332-382 after the Nirvāṇa; 148-104 B.C.) — Elāra, who was native of the Coḷa country on the Coromandel coast, disembarked in Ceylon, vanquished Asela and seized the throne. Supported by two skillful generals, Mitta and Dighajantu, he remained in power for 44 years. Equally just to both friends and enemies, the conqueror, while not sharing his subjects' beliefs, maintained good relations with the Buddhists. However, the dispossessed Sinhalese princes had taken refuge in the southern province of Rohaṇa, where they prepared for revenge.

DUṬṬHAGĀṆAṆI (382-406 after the Nirvāṇa, 104-80 B.C.) — The liberator of the territory and supreme national hero was DuṭṭhagāṆaṆi the Fearless. He was the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa, the ruler of the
Mahāgāma principality on the south coast. He received a very thorough military education among the best warriors of his time. Impatient to fight the invader and unable to persuade his father to open hostilities, he left home and sent Kākavaṇṇatissa a woman's robe in reproach for his cowardice. Summoned to the throne of Mahāgāma, he first had to contend with his brother Tissa who wanted to supplant him. He suffered a defeat at Cūlaṇganiyapiṭṭhi, but was finally victorious. At the request of the Buddhist Saṃgha, he spared Tissa's life and was reconciled with him.

As soon as he had been anointed king in Mahāgāma, he declared war on the Damiānas, joined battle at Mahiyaṅgana on the Mahāgaṅga, seized thirty-two Tamil fortresses one after the other, then after four months of siege conquered the citadel of Vijitapura by force of arms, and went on to assault the capital, Anurādhapura. The town was defended by Eḷāra in person, assisted by thirty-two Tamil princes; furious battles raged, and the Tamils were torn to pieces; Duṭṭhagāmanī, in a remarkable fight on the approaches to the southern gate, felled his rival Eḷāra with his own hands. In a gesture of unusual elegance, he paid the last tribute to the remains of his enemy, erected a monument to him and ordered all those who passed before his tomb to descend from their chariots and observe a moment of silence. It seems that the decree is still observed today by the Sinhalese, but the shapeless hillock situated to the south of the town and which they call the "Tomb of Eḷāra" is in reality the Dakkhiṇa Thūpa, the founding of which dates back to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmanī (32 B.C.).

The Damiānas attempted to reconquer the island which had just been wrested from them. Sixty thousand Tamils from the subcontinent under the leadership of Bhalluka, Eḷāra's nephew, disembarked at Mahātiṭṭha and set out to attack Anurādhapura. The decisive battle took place within the very confines of the Mahāvihāra. Once again Duṭṭhagāmanī was victorious, and the Tamil army was exterminated. Confronted by such carnage the king, seized with remorse, began to have doubts about his spiritual welfare. The theras of the Piyangudīpa undertook to reassure him: "Your exploits", they said to him, "do not constitute an obstacle to your ascent to the heavens. In reality, you only slew one human being and a half here; the first had taken the Three Refuges and the second had committed himself to the five precepts (of the lay follower). All the others were miscreants and people of loose living, even less estimable than beasts. As for you, you will bring about the glory of the doctrine of the Buddha in various ways; so banish wholeheartedly all disquiet". (Mhv., XXV, 107-11). Understanding that
he should patronize Buddhism, Duṭṭhayāmaṇi devoted the remainder of his reign to pious endowments.

1. On the seventh day after his coronation, in accordance with custom, he celebrated a water festival on the banks of Lake Tissavāpi. He drove into the ground the sacred lance which had led him to victory and which contained a relic of the Buddha. When the festival was over, he wanted to take his lance back but it remained stuck in the ground despite all efforts made to withdraw it. On seeing this, the king built the Maricavatī-thūpa, known today as the Mirisavetiya Dāgaba, to mark the spot. Originally, the monument was 80 cubits (60 metres) in height and its diameter at the base is 168 feet (50 metres). It underwent numerous transformations in the course of time: enlarged towards the end of the second century by Gajabahu I, it was partly restored in 1889 on the initiative of a Siamese prince. Its superstructure has disappeared but the body of the stūpa, relatively well preserved, is a typical example of ancient Sinhalese architecture.

2. Within the confines of the Mahāmeghavana, near the Mahāvihāra, Duṭṭhayāmaṇi built the great Lohapasāda or Brazen Palace, intended for the uposatha ceremonies. It was a cubical monument 75 metres at each side, resting on 1,600 granite pillars, 3 m. 60 high and in 40 parallel rows, each of 40 pillars. The first storey formed by this colonnade was made of stone, the others of wood. The storeys were nine in number, each consisting of one hundred rooms. The windows opened onto balconies built of coral set with precious stones, with whole rows of silver handbells. The construction cost thirty million. Burnt down in the reign of Saddhatissa (80-62 B.C.), it was rebuilt, with seven storeys, for the price of nine million. Subsequently, the monument had much to endure from pillage and fire, but all the princes were eager to embellish, enlarge and, if necessary rebuild it. The last restoration dates from the reign of Parakkamabahu 1st (1153-1186); after which, the monument fell into ruins. Nevertheless, the ancient colonnade is still visible.

3. Legend has monopolized the Mahāsthūpa, present-day Ruvanveli Dāgaba (corresponding to the Pāli Ratanamāli). The chronicle (Dpv., XIX; Mhv., XXVIII-XXX) devotes several chapters to it, and a long poem, the Thūpavamsa (twelfth century), is dedicated to it. The tope stands in Anurādhapura, in the very centre of the Mahāmeghavana, on the spot where the Buddhas of the past had stayed during their visits to Ceylon. Mahinda himself had designated its site but the construction,

3 Id., ibid., pp. 6-7.
planned in the year 250 or 249 B.C. by Devānapīyatissa, was delayed until the reign of Duṭṭhagāmanī (104-80 B.C.) and completed by his brother and successor Saddhātissa (80-62 B.C.).

From all over the island the gods themselves assembled the materials necessary for the construction: bricks, copper, silver, pearls and precious stones. The work began under the direction of the architect Sirivādha and his assistant Acala, at the full moon of the month of Visākha (April). The laying of the first stone took place on the fourteenth day of the first fortnight of the month of Āsālha (June), in the presence of the entire Sinhalese Samgha and several thousand Indian monks who had been sent as a delegation by the fourteen largest Buddhist establishments on the subcontinent.

In form, the stūpa resembled a bubble of water. 120 cubits (90 m.) in height, it was decorated over its entire surface with paintings applied over a coat of white plaster. The relic-chamber was formed by six "golden-coloured stones" (medavāṇnapāsāna), 80 cubits at each side. They had been imported from Uttarakuru by the śrāmaññeras Uttara and Sumana. The chamber was decorated with paintings and sculptures representing scenes from the life of the Buddha, as well as several Jātakas including that of Vessantara. In it was placed a bushel of venerable relics which the monk Soṇuttara had gone to fetch from the palace of the Nāga Mahākāla. As they were being enshrined, those relics rose into the air and reproduced the twin wonders performed in the past by Śākyamuni at Śrāvasti. Then, of their own accord, they scattered themselves in the form of the Buddha lying in Nirvāṇa within the reliquary.

Completely restored today, the Ruvanveli Dāgaba is shaped like a monumental dome 81 metres high; its diameter measures 90 metres. Around the base, there are three circular terraces approximately 2 m. in width. The whole rests on a square platform 150 m. on each side, flanked by several hundred elephants modelled in terra-cotta. The dome is surmounted by a cubical construction and a tapering cone finished off with an arrow, but these elements, as and likewise the platform, are later additions.

The death of Duṭṭhagāmanī marked the beginning of the "Period of the Ten Kings" who, in the space of sixty years, succeeded one another to the throne of Anurādhapura. The first five, Saddhātissa and his four sons, belonged to the Sinhalese royal family; the other five were Tamil usurpers.

Faithful to the traditions of their house, Saddhatissa and his sons were devout Buddhists, and their names remain attached to various religious establishments. Saddhatissa (80-62 B.C.) completed the Mahāthūpa which was left unfinished by his brother, and rebuilt the Lohapāsāda which had been destroyed by fire.

Thūlathana (62 B.C.), unduly brought to the throne by the intrigues of ministers and monks, reigned only for one month and was overthrown by his eldest brother Lañjatissa.

Lañjatissa (62-53 B.C.), was at first hostile to the monks who had tried to depose him, but was later reconciled with them; he enlarged some stūpas and founded various monasteries, particularly the Ariṭṭhavāhāra, half-way between Anurādhapura and Pulatthipuva.

Khallāṭanāga (53-47 B.C.) was assassinated by his general Mahārātaka after six years of rule. His death was avenged by his young brother Vaṭṭagāmaṇi who killed the usurper and mounted the throne in 47 B.C.

The reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was marked by events of prime importance to the religious history of Ceylon. It began in the year 47, was interrupted for 14 years (74-32 B.C.) by Tamil usurpation, but resumed in 32 and continued, for a further 12 years, until the year 20 B.C. With regard to the troubled history of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, sources of varying dates supply information which is not always concordant and the origin of which must be examined. Here, we will give the account appearing in the chronicle in the Mahāvamsa (XXXIII, 33-103), and will add, in a different type, complementary facts provided by the Sinhalese commentaries.

1. After coming to the throne of Anurādhapura, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, called Abhaya "The Fearless", married Anulādevī, the widow of his brother Khallāṭanāga, and adopted their child, Mahācūḷī. He took as his second wife the lovely Somadevī who gave him a son, Coranāga, also known as Mahānāga. Those two young princes were destined to succeed him.

2. Five months after his coronation, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had to face a revolt in Rohaṇa and a Tamil invasion which was to deprive him of his throne for fourteen years (47-32 B.C.).

The brāhmin Tissa, whom the sources called a bandit (cora) and violent (caṇḍana), was a native of Rohaṇa, the southern province of the island of Ceylon. He became acquainted with a horoscope which promised the possession of the island to any bandit who began his activities during a particular combination of the planets. At the requisite time, he therefore turned to banditry and formally summoned Vaṭṭagāmaṇi to hand over the throne to him.
At the same moment, seven Damila chiefs disembarked their troops at Mahātittha, on the west coast, and sent an ultimatum to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi enjoining him to surrender power.

The king replied to the brāhmin Tissa that the throne would belong to him if he repulsed the Damilas. Tissa took him at his word and set out against the invaders; however, he lost the battle of Saṅketahāla and was taken prisoner.

The king was not much more fortunate in his resistance to the Damilas. Vanquished at the battle of Kolambālaka, he was saved only by fleeing. Just as he was leaving his capital by the north gate, a Nirgrantha religious named Giri, who lived in the Tittharāma hermitage, jeered at him, saying: "Look at the great Black Lion in flight". Vaṭṭagāmaṇi swore he would one day avenge the affront inflicted on him.

The king was accompanied in his flight by his two wives, Anulā and Somadevi, and his two sons, Mahācūḷī and Mahānāga. However, in order to speed up his march, he was compelled to abandon Somadevi, bearer of the royal diadem.

Somadevi thus fell into the hands of the Damilas who also seized the precious alms-bowl of the Buddha. Two of the chiefs returned to the mainland with their booty; the other five remained in Anurādhapura and occupied the throne in turn: Pulahattha (47-44 B.C.), Bāhiya (44-42), Panayamāraka (42-35), Pilayamāraka (34) and, lastly, Dāṭhika (34-32).

As for Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, he sought refuge with the abbot Mahātissa at the Kupikkalavihāra, and the latter obtained a retreat for him at Matuvellariga, in the central province of Malaya. The king and his suite were sheltered in the house of a layman, a certain Tanasiva.

3. During the fourteen years (47-32 B.C.) of the king’s retreat and the Tamil occupation of Anurādhapura, the island of Ceylon was ravaged by a terrible plague, the memory of which remains alive and which was called in Sinhalese by the name of Bāmiṇitiyāsāya: "Famine of the Brāhmaṇa-Tissa". There is no mention of it in the Mahāvamsa, but the Commentaries on the Pāli holy writings make frequent allusions to it; unfortunately, they do not all agree. Among these Commentaries, we can mention those of the Anguttara (Manorathapūrāṇī, I, p. 92; III, pp. 343-5), Sāmyutta (Sarathappakāsini, II, p. 111) and Vibhanga (Sammohavinodani, pp. 445-51). The date of this famine is generally fixed in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, with the exception of the Rājāvaliya which assigns it, under Coranāga, a date coinciding with the beginning of the Saka era, in 78 A.D.5.

For twelve years, the brāhmin Tissa exploited the country. A severe famine

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5 On this synchronism, which is difficult to justify, see W. Geiger, The Cūlavamsa [translated], II, Colombo, 1930, p. XVII.
weakened the population to such an extent that the birth of a child was greeted as an extraordinary event. In the great monasteries of Rohaṇa, at the Cittalapabbatavihāra and the Tissamahārāma, the stocks of provisions were devoured by huge starving rats. In Anurādhapura, the Mahāvihāra was deserted and its great Stūpa was overrun by vegetation.

Since he was powerless to help the monks, the god Śakra advised them to emigrate. The great majority of religious, approximately seven hundred in number, embarked on a raft at Jambukola and reached the Indian mainland. However, some sixty monks remained on the island to "protect the Tipiṭaka on the spot". Under the leadership of the venerable Therā Cūḷasiva, Isidatta and Mahāsōṇa, they withdrew to the southern part of the central province of Malaya and lived there as best they could, surviving on bulbs, roots and leaves. It was only at the cost of supreme efforts that they managed to preserve the whole of the Tipiṭaka composed by their Master and entrusted to their care.

After twelve years, in approximately the year 451 after the Nirvāṇa (35 B.C.), the brāhmaṇa Tissa met with his death, the famine became less severe and the seven hundred monks who had emigrated returned to the island of Ceylon. They rejoined their brethren at the Maṇḍalārāma in Kallagāma, presumably the Kālakagāma of Malaya. They compared their memories of the texts with those of the monks who had remained on the island, and joyfully noted the perfect coincidence of their respective Tipiṭakas: this extended as far as the final vowel and final consonant.

For the first time a controversy then arose which was henceforward to dominate the religious history of Ceylon. The question was whether the basis of the religion (sāsana) dwelt in the practice of Dhamma (paṭipatti) or in doctrinal knowledge (pariyatti).

There were two opinions: The Pāṃsukūlikas "rag-robed monks" held the view that the basis of the religion resided in practice; the Dhammakathikas "Instructors" asserted that knowledge prevailed over practice. Arguments were produced in favour of both theses. The Pāṃsukūlikas invoked a sutta quoted in the Milinda (p. 133): "The religion of the Master has practice as its root, has practice as its essence; it lasts so long as practice continues". The Dhammakathikas replied with another quotation: "As long as the Suttantas last, as long as the Vinaya shines, so long does the light glow, as at sun-rise... If the Suttanta is undisturbed, conduct is undisturbed".

The Dhammakathika party finally prevailed. It was admitted that knowledge took precedence over practice, and accordingly all the Sinhalese commentaries state: "Whether or not there is penetration (paṭivedha) or practice (paṭipatti), knowledge (pariyatti) suffices for the maintenance of the religion. The learned man, as long as he has learned the Tipiṭaka, will fulfill both... That is why, as long as knowledge lasts, religion lasts". — "Whether there are a hundred or a thousand bhikṣus devoted to right views, if knowledge is lacking, no attainment of the noble Path is possible".

4. Having weighed the importance of textual knowledge, the monks

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* Manorathapūrāṇi, 1, p. 93.
* Ibid.
committed the Word of the Buddha to writing. This step, of capital importance to the history of Buddhism, is briefly described in identical terms by the chronicles of the *Dīpa* (XX, 20-1) and *Mahāvamsa* (XXXIII, 100-1) at the end of the chapter devoted to Vaṭṭagāmanī.

After recalling that “King Vaṭṭagāmanī Abhaya reigned for twelve years [454-466 after the N. = 32-20 B.C.] and at the beginning [439 after the N. = 47 B.C.] for five months” (*Dīpa*, XX, 19), the chronicle continues:

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*Pitakattayapāliṃ ca tassā atthakatham pi ca mukhapāthena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhu mahāmati; hānīṃ disvāna sattānam tudā bhikkhu samāgata ciraṭhitiham dhammasa potthakesu likhāpayum.*

H. Oldenberg (*Dīpavamsa, ed. and transl.*, London, 1879, p. 211) translated: “Before this time, the wise Bhikkhus had orally handed down the text of the three *piṭakas* and also the *āṭṭhakathā*. At this time, the Bhikkhus who perceived the decay of created beings, assembled and in order that the Religion might endure for a long time, they recorded (the above-mentioned texts) in written books”.

W. Geiger (*The Mahāvamsa transl.*, London, 1912, p. 237) in turn understood: “The text of the three *piṭaka* and the *āṭṭhakathā* thereon did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books”.

These translations neglect two important chronological indications contained in the text:

Within the context of the *Dīpavamsa*, the adverb *pubbe* of the second verse refers to the period prior to the resumption of power by Vaṭṭagāmanī in 454 after the N. = 32 B.C.

The *hānīṃ disvāna sattānam* of the third verse does not mean “perceiving the decay of created beings” and even less “seeing that the people were falling away (from the religion)”, but “seeing the decrease, the (numerical) diminution of created beings”. This is an allusion to the ravages caused among the population of Ceylon by the terrible famine of the Brāhmaṇatissa which began during the invasion by the Damīlas in 439 after the N. = 47 B.C. and, on the evidence of the *Manorathapurāṇi* (I, p. 92, 11.17-18), continued for twelve years (*dvādaśa samvaccharāṇi*), from 439 to 451 after the N. (= 47-35 B.C.). According to our interpretation, the writing down of the holy words therefore occurred between the year 451 after the N. (35 B.C.), the date of the end of the famine and Brāhmaṇatissa’s death, and the year 454 after the N. (32 B.C.), the date when Vaṭṭagāmanī resumed power.
Here, in conclusion, is a paraphrased translation of the four verses in the chronicle: "Formerly [i.e., before Vaṭṭagāmaṇi re-assumed power in 454 after the N.], very wise bhikkhus orally transmitted the text of the three Piṭakas and also the Commentary upon them. However, when they noticed the [numerical] decrease of the [Sinhalese] population, the bhikkhus assembled and, in order to ensure the long life of the Law, they recorded [the above mentioned texts] in books".*

We know from other sources, particularly the Nikāyasamgraha (pp. 10-11), a fourteenth century work, that the recording of the scriptures was the result of a council in which five hundred theras took part under the direction of a certain clan chief. The council was held in the Aluvihāra (Ālokavihāra), a rock-cut temple located a few miles from the town of Mātale, in the Central Province.

5. During that time, King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, his wife Anulādevī and their two sons were sadly whiling away the time in their retreat in Malaya. Anulādevī had quarrelled with the wife of Tanasīva who gave them shelter and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi killed his host in reprisal. He got himself accepted by his subjects, chose eight valorous warriors as ministers and prepared to take up the fight against the Damiḷas once more.

However, one of his ministers, Kapisīsa, failed to prostrate himself before him, so he killed him on the spot. On seeing this, the other seven ministers abandoned him. While fleeing, they fell into the hands of bandits and were robbed of all their possessions. They were given hospitality by the Thera Tissa of the Hambuḷakavihāra who comforted them and advised them to rejoin the king rather than go over to the Damiḷas.

The thera Mahātissa of Kupikkala, a faithful friend of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, offered his help and, on the intervention of the two theras, the king was reconciled with his ministers.

6. When he finally assembled his troops, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi launched an attack. He advanced on Anurādhapura, defeated the Damiḷas and killed their king Dhātiṇka. For the second time, he mounted the throne and succeeded in recovering his second wife Somadevi, who had been held captive by the Damiḷas.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign was to continue for twelve years from 454-466 after the N. (32-20 B.C.).

His first action was to confiscate the Titthārāma to the north of the town, which until then had been occupied by the Nirgranthā Giri—that same person who had jeered at him during his flight in 47—and founded a Buddhist monastery there, the Abhayagirivihāra.

The stūpa which ornamented that monastery, the Abhayagiri Dāgaba,
wrongly known today as the Jetavana Dāgaba, is the tallest Buddhist monument on the island\(^8\). Successive enlargements increased its height to 140 cubits (105 m.); the present ruin is 73 m. 50 high, the diameter at the base being 106 m. 50. Despite its gigantic size, its fame was never comparable to that of the Mahāthūpa built by Duṭṭhapāmanī in the confines of the Mahāmeghavana. It seems that the Abhayagiri never contained any venerable relics; we only know that on the spot where it stands the Buddha had halted during one of his visits to Ceylon.

Vatṭagāmanī presented the Abhayagirivihāra to his lifelong friend, the Thera Mahātissa of Kupikkala, who had supported and advised him in his retreat. This was the first time that a vihāra had been presented to a monk personally. On their part, the seven ministers of the king built vihāras which they gave to the Thera Tissa of Hambugallaka who had rescued them from the hands of bandits and reconciled them with their ruler. One of those monasteries was the Dakkhiṇavihāra, to the south of Anurādhapura, the ruins of which are today called the “Tomb of Elāra”.

7. Fortune had favoured the Thera Mahātissa. Abbot of a small monastery, the Kupikkalavihāra lost in the jungle of Malaya, he had become the owner of the largest vihāra in Anurādhapura, and royal favour had made him a political person of the first rank.

These successes caused the monks of the Mahāvihāra to take umbrage, as they considered their authority and prestige were threatened. They therefore accused the Thera Tissa of frequenting lay families (kulasaṃsattāha) and passed a sentence of temporary banishment (pabbājaniyakamma) on him.

A disciple of Mahātissa, known as Bahalamassu-Tissa “Tissa with a long beard”, protested against this decision and, because he had supported an impure monk, was himself suspended (ukkhepaniyakamma). In great fury, he left the Mahāvihāra with several other monks and went to the Abhayagiri where he formed a separate faction. “From then on”, says the Mahāvamsa (XXXIII, 97-8), those bhikkhus no longer went near the Mahāvihara, and that was how the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri separated from the Theravāda. Subsequently, the monks at the Dakkhiṇavihāra separated from those of the Abhayagiri and so the bhikkhus who had seceded from the adherents of the Theravāda formed two groups”.

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8. According to the *Nikāyasamgraha* (p. 11), the Abhayagiri faction was reinforced in the year 454 after the Nirvāṇa (32 B.C.) by the arrival in Ceylon of a group of monks who came from the Pallararama⁹ in south India. They claimed to be Buddhists but were considered heretics by the orthodox religious of India and Ceylon; they in fact belonged to the Vajjiputtaka school the laxist theories of which had earlier been condemned at the council of Vaiśālī. Their master was the ācārya Dhammaruci. When they arrived in Ceylon, they were spurned by the monks at the Mahāvihara, but got a better reception in the Abhayagiri. The abbot of the monastery, Thera Mahātissa, adopted the new-comers' views which, in fact, concerned only minor points of discipline, and took the name of Dhammaruci himself. That is how the Dhammarucikas, separating from the orthodox Theravāda, initiated a secession which was to continue for nearly twelve centuries.

3. — BACTRIANS AND INDO-GREEKS¹⁰

1. THE GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA. — Founded about 250 B.C. by Diodotus I, the Greek kingdom of Bactria was formally recognized by the Seleucids at the convention of 206 concluded between Antiochus III on the one hand, Euthydemus of Magnesia and his son Demetrius on the other.

Once the matter was settled, Antiochus III returned to his states via the Hindūkush route, encountering on his way the Indian king Subhāga-sena, the last representative of the Mauryas in the North-West frontiers. Once back in Syria, Antiochus undertook transactions in the west which were to make him forget the oriental borderlands in his possession. He concluded a secret treaty with Philip V of Macedonia over the partition of Egyptian possessions overseas (202). Having become ruler of Ptole-
maic Syria and Palestine (202-198), he advanced on Europe with the intention of reconquering Thrace (196). The Seleucid intervention in the Mediterranean basin was a source of anxiety to the Roman senate. Legions were sent to meet Antiochus, who lost the battles of Thermopylae and Magnesia under Sipylos and suffered a severe naval defeat at Corycus. Through the peace of Apamea concluded in 188, the Seleucid empire ceased to be a Mediterranean power, and the following year Antiochus fell to the blows of an assassin. Meanwhile, the kings of Bactria had not waited for his death to cross the frontiers of India, which had been poorly defended since the humiliation inflicted on the Indian king Subhāgasaṇa in about 206.

**End of the reign of Euthydemus (205-189 B.C.).** — Towards the year 200, Euthydemus crossed the passes of the Afghan massif and took possession of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia and Seistan. In fact, even if this silver coins of the “Profile of the Prince : Hercules seated on a rock” type are particularly numerous to the north of the Hindūkush, in Balkh (Bactria) and Bukhara (Sogdiana), his bronze coins of the “Profile of Hercules : Galloping Horse” type are widespread in the regions of Kabul, Kandahār and Seistan. However, the legend remains exclusively Greek : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. The king died in about 189, leaving it to his son Demetrius to continue those conquests.

**Demetrius (ca 189-167 B.C.).** — Demetrius¹¹ was to add to his title of king of Bactria that of the king of the Indians. His coinage was to bear traces of this new status. On his silver tetradrachms, the prince appears with an (Indian) elephant-hide head-dress and there is also an elephant’s head on his bronze coins.

The patient research by Tarn has traced his family. Demetrius was descended from Euthydemus of Magnesia and the daughter of the Bactrian general Diodotus. His brother and colleagues were Antimachus I and Apollodotus; he had five children : Euthydemus II, Demetrius II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Agathocleia, the future wife of General Menander.

At the time Demetrius assumed power, the Mauryan empire was on the point of collapsing, and the successive defeats of Antiochus III led to

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¹¹ On Demetrius, see also W. W. TARN, *Demetrios in Sindh*, JRAS, 1940, pp. 179-93; P. C. BAGCHI, *Krimiśa and Demetrius*, IHQ, 1946, pp. 81-91. It is generally thought, with Tarn, that the invasion of India by the Yavanas of Demetrius took place at the beginning of Pusyamitra’s reign. However, for some historians, the invasion occurred some time before 185 B.C. in the reign of Brhadratha, the last Maurya. Cf. A. N. LAHIRI, *When did Demetrius invade India?*, IHQ, XXXIII, 1957, pp. 10-9.
the fall of the Seleucids. The king of Bactria decided to take advantage of these circumstances to carve out a vast empire for himself in India.

1. During the first campaign which took place between 187 and 182, Demetrius took possession of Gandhāra, the Punjab and the Indus valley, and established his capital in Taxila. However, the city was transferred from Bhir Mound to Sirkap, on the other side of the Tamrā pālā; a new town was laid out on the checker-board plan characteristic of Hellenistic cities. This is still easily recognizable despite the three centuries of Greek, Scythian, Parthian and Kuśāna occupation, a period when the city was transferred to Sirsukh.

As Demetrius was fully occupied with his military projects, he entrusted the administration of his states to viceroys chosen from among members of his family: Antimachus at Herat, Demetrius II in Gandhāra, Pantaleon and Agathocles in Taxila (until 175). A square-shaped coin is attributed to Demetrius II; the obverse represents the prince with a head-dress of an elephant's scalp, and the reverse, a winged thunderbolt; the coin is inscribed with a bilingual legend in Greek and Kha-

rosthi: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, Maharajusa aparajita-
tasa Demetriyusa.

2. The collapse of the Mauryan empire in 187 and the assumption of power by the commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra incited Demetrius to continue his march eastward. From the region of Sindh, he launched a pincer attack which very nearly led to the downfall of Puṣyamitra. A Yavana army, commanded by Apollodotus, skirted the Indian desert towards the south-east, entered Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālwā and seized the viceroyalty of Ujjayinī as well as the important port of Bharukaccha. Simultaneously, General Menander, at the head of another invading army, thrust in the direction of the Ganges, seized Śākala, Mathurā and Śāketa in turn and laid siege to Pāṭaliputra. In approximately the year 180, the Bactrians were in full possession of the two Indian provinces of Eastern Punjab (Śākala) and Avanti (Ujjayinī) and were a dangerous threat to the capital. Demetrius held territories which extended from eastern Iran to the Middle Ganges and from Russian Turkestan to the peninsula of Kāthiāwār. The Latin historian Justin (XLI, 6, 4) was quite correct in assigning to him the title of Rex Indorum.

The Greek and Indian sources have retained the memory of these memorable events, but unfortunately do not go into details.

Here we should reproduce the often quoted passage by Strabo (XI, ii, 1, p. 516):
"Bactria, the northern frontier of which borders on Aria for a certain distance, far exceeds that country in the eastern direction. It is considerable in extent and its soil is suitable for all kinds of cultivation, except for that of olive trees. Thanks to its immense resources, the Greeks who had detached it [from the Seleucid empire] soon became so powerful that they could seize Ariana and India herself, according to Apollodorus of Artemita, and that their kings, especially Menander, if it is true that he crossed the Hypanis [Hyphasis or Beas] and advanced eastwards as far as the Isamus [Iromanes or Yamunâ, a tributary of the Ganges; Ícchumai, in Skt. Ikṣumati, the present-day Kālinadi, a river of Pañcâla in the region of Kanauj; more probably Soamus or Sona, a tributary of the right bank of the Ganges, the confluence of which is situated near Pāṭaliputra], finally numbered more subjects and dependents than Alexander ever had, thanks to the conquests made not only by Menander in person but also by Demetrius, son of the Bactrian king Euthydemus. We should add that, on the sea-board, not content with occupying the whole of Patalene [Sindh], they also took possession of the nearby coastland, namely the kingdoms of Saraoostos [Surâśṭra, i.e. Kāthiāwâr and Gujarât] and Sigerdis [Sagaradvîpa, or the Kutch peninsula]. In short, Apollodorus was right to call Bactria the boulevard of Ariana, the kings of that country having pushed their conquests as far as the frontiers of the Seres and Phruni [in Central Asia]."

It appears from another passage by Strabo (XV, 1, 27, p. 698) that the Greek thrust reached Pāṭaliputra:

"Of the eastern part of India we only know what is on this side of the Hypanis [Hyphasis or Biās] and what has been added by others who, after Alexander, penetrated beyond the Hypanis as far as the Ganges and Palibothra [Pāṭaliputra]."

The exploits which Strabo assigns here to Menander and Demetrius are attributed to Apollodotus and Menander by Pompeius Trogus (Justin, XLI, Prologue).

The Indian sources confirm the Greek evidence in their own way. As we saw above, Patañjali in his Mahâbhâsya (III, 1, 111) notes that in his time: "the Greek besieged Sâketa and Madhyamikâ"; Sâketa is a town in Kosala, very near Ayodhyâ; Madhyamikâ is Nagarî, near Chitor, in the former Râjputâna.

In the detestable prophetic style of the Purâna, the Gârgi Samhitâ (YP., 94-116) deplores the Greek advance up to the walls of the capital and the confusion it led to in Indian society itself:

"Having conquered Sâketa [Ayodhyâ], the Pañcâlas [Doāb] and Mathurâ, the wicked but valiant Yavanas will reach Kusumadhvaja [Pāṭaliputra]. Once the

12 Translation by Tardieu.
thick walls of Puṣpapura [Pāṭaliputra] have been reached, all the provinces will be thrown into confusion. Finally, a great battle with swords and bludgeons will take place. At the end of the yuga, there will be irreligious Anāryans; Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra will be inferior men, making use of the same clothes and customs. Men will join the heretics and conclude alliances for women. There will be base bhikṣuṇa, dressed in the religious robe, wearing their hair in plaits and bark clothing; those men of lowly caste, [improvised guardians] of the three fires, will offer oblations, unscrupulously, with hymns beginning with the Oṃkāra. Śūdras will challenge the brāhmaṇins with “Bho!” and the brāhmaṇins will greet them with the word “Ārya”. The ancient Tamā of Dharmamīta [Demetrius] will devour the people. The Yavanas will be in command and the princes will disappear. However, the Yavanas, intoxicated with warfare, will not remain in Madhyadeśa. A civil war will break out among them; on their own territory, a terrible, extremely murderous battle will take place and it will result in the complete destruction of the Yavanas”.

Meanwhile Demetrius, called Dattamitra in the Mahābhārata (I, 139, 23), did not remain inactive; his name remains attached to numerous Demetriads founded by himself: Tarmita, Termez in Sogdiana, is mentioned by the name of Dharmamitra in a Sanskrit text translated into Tibetan (JA, 1933, p. 27, n. 1); a Demetrias-polis is recorded in the Stationes Parthicae (19) of Isidorus of Charax; a Dāttamītri in Sauvīra (Sindh) is reported by the grammarian Kramādīśvara (p. 796); finally, an inscription at Nāsik (LÜTERS, 1140), records a “Yonaka from Otāraka”, i.e. a Greek from the North, a native of a Dāttamītri, otherwise unspecified.

It does not seem as though Apollodotus continued his advance towards Vidiśā, the second most important town of the Śuṅga kingdom, where Puṣyamitra’s son, Agnimitra, was living. We saw previously, on the evidence of the Mūlavikāgnimitra (pp. 111-12), how Vasumitra routed a troop of Yavanas on the bank of the Kālī Sindhu. Some writers think that from 175 on Apollodotus, at the request of his brother, was viceroy of Taxila.

3. The civil war destroyed the work of the Greeks in eastern Iran and India. The eastward transfer of Bactrian power left the western frontiers dangerously depleted. The Indians themselves became aware that the dissension among the Greeks militated in their favour; apart from the Gārgi Samhitā (1.c.) which attributes the evacuation of Madhyadeśa to the civil war breaking out “on the very territory” of the Yavanas, the Purāṇa (P., p. 56) state that the Yavana usurpers “devoted to blameworthy practices owing to the decadence of the times, massacred each other”.

Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.), the last great Seleucid king,
attempted to restore the Syrian empire and save it from disintegration by means of a policy of in-depth Hellenization. His intervention in Egypt (169) and contentions with the Jews (168) did not prevent him from assessing the threat which the growing power of Demetrius presented to his eastern frontiers. It is possible that he charged one of his lieutenants, Eucratides, with restoring the Seleucid legitimacy in Bactria. Tarn makes this Eucratides the true cousin of Antiochus IV. In any case, royal blood flowed in his veins. The joined busts of his parents, the satrap Heliocles (bareheaded) and the Seleucid princess Laodice (diadem head-dress), appear on silver tetradrachms which Eucratides had struck after his successes in Bactria.

The campaign began in about the year 168, but historical details are lacking. It is probable that Eucratides, taking advantage of the absence of Demetrius who was detained in his Indian possessions, hustled his viceroys, Agathocles in Arachosia-Seistan, Antimachus at Herat, and victoriously entered Bactria. Struck from behind, Demetrius probably ordered Menander to withdraw from the Ganges region and entrench himself in the eastern Punjab. He himself returned hurriedly to Bactria to restore the situation. It was doubtless there that, about the years 168 or 167, he was able to take his stand against his rival. The encounter concluded with the total defeat and undoubtedly the death of Demetrius and several of his lieutenants. Justin (XLI, 6, 4) sums up the operation in a few lines: “Although his forces were depleted, Eucratides, besieged by Demetrius the king of the Indians, made continual sallies and, with 300 soldiers, defeated a force of 60,000 (sic) enemies. Having compelled the siege to be raised, he reduced India to subjection”.

Thus in 167, on the death of Demetrius, there remained two Greek enemy kingdoms: the western Greek kingdom ruled by Eucratides and comprising Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Seistan and Arachosia; the eastern Greek kingdom ruled by the Euthydemid Apollodotus I (territories situated west of the Jhelum: Western Punjab, Gandhāra and Kapīśa) and the general Menander (territories located to the east of same river: eastern Punjab).

The two rival kingdoms each developed on their own account, but the only information that can be gathered regarding them is provided by some inscriptions and numerous coins the interpretation of which is mostly hypothesis: “Every minor prince has ambassadors, every large town strikes coins; the coins are re-struck; the place where they are found is not always an indication of their origin; the effigy of the prince outlives his reign” (after A. FOUCHÉR).
2. The Eastern Greek Kingdom (167-30 B.C.). — This was ruled over by princes who, while remaining faithful to Hellenic customs and traditions, understood the Indian population, respected its beliefs and showed themselves favourable to Buddhism.

1. Apollodotus I (ca 167-163 B.C.). — Apollodotus, the brother of Demetrius, occupied, from approximately 175, the viceroyalty of the Western Punjab (Taxila). Despite the victory of Eucratides over Demetrius and his lieutenants, he continued to rule for some time over the territories situated to the west of the Jhelum, with the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, Maharajasa Apaladatasa tradarasa. He appealed to the patronage of Apollo, as is apparent from copper coins of the “Apollo : tripod” type struck in his effigy. On the other hand, silver coins of the “Elephant : Indian buffalo” type show that he wielded power over the town of Taxila in the Eastern Punjab (symbolized by the elephant) and over that of Puṣkarāvatī in Gandhāra (represented by Śiva’s Indian buffalo).

However, in about 164 Eucratides, who had already seized Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Seistan and Arachosia from the Euthydemids, continued his march forward. He took possession of Kapiṣa (Paropamisadae) and Gandhāra, and reached the Indus. It is doubtful whether he crossed that river and got to Taxila. Apollodotus died during the combats between himself and Eucratides, but his states were saved and recovered by the general Menander who was allied to the Euthydemid family through his marriage to Agathocleia.

2. Menander (ca 163-150 B.C.)\(^{13}\). — The most famous of the Indo-Greek kings was Menander, Memendra on coins, Minadra on inscriptions, Milinda in Pāli, Minara in Tāranātha. The Milindapaṇīha (pp. 82-3), says he was born “in the village of Kalasi, in the dīpa of Alasanda, two hundred yojana (leagues) from the town of Sāgala”. According to this indication, Menander was a native of Kavisi (Kāpiṣi) in the district of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus situated approximately 200 leagues from Śākala in the eastern Punjab: one may suppose, as did A. Foucher, that his father was Greek and his mother a native, and being of mixed blood, he was particularly capable of understanding both the Hellenic and Indian worlds. However, the Chinese translation of the Milindapaṇīha (tr. Demiéville, pp. 30, 168) says he was born “beside the

sea, in the land of Ta ch’in (Hellenic East), the country of A li san situated who thousand yojana (from Śākala) equivalent to eighty thousand li" : which leads us to Alexandria in Egypt.

However that may be, Menander was, together with Apollodotus I the best supporter of the Euthydemid throne. In his capacity as one of the generals of Demetrius, he led a Yavana army across Doab and Oudh as far as the walls of Pātaliputra (ca 180). When the surprise attack by Eucratides compelled Demetrius to withdraw from the Ganges basin, Menander entrenched himself with his army in the Eastern Punjab (167); it was doubtless about the same time that he married Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrius, and set up his headquarters at Śākala. After the rout and death of Apollodotus (ca 163) and the occupation of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra by Eucratides, Menander recovered all the Euthydemid possessions. Shortly afterwards, he succeeded in regaining Gandhāra, but had to abandon Kapiśa to his enemy. Finally, after the defeat inflicted on Eucratides by the Parthian king Mithridates (159), Menander seems to have re-established his authority over Arachosia.

The Milindapañha opens with an idyllic description of the town of Śākala over which Menander ruled, surrounded by a praetorian guard of 500 Yavanas and assisted by ministers with Greek names (p. 29) : Devamantiya (Demetrius?), Anantakāya (Antiochus), Maṅkura (Pacorus) and Sabbadinna (Sabbadotus?). Śākala (Pāli, Sāgala) has been identified with the present-day town of Siālkot, between the Chenāb and the Rāvi. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II, 32, 14) and the Divyāvadāna (434). We know from the geographer Ptolemy (VII, 1, 46) that it was also called Euthydemia (variant : Euthymedia). In the former case, it is believed that the Greeks, Menander in this instance, so named it in memory of the glorious lineage of the Indo-Greek kings commenced by Euthydemus of Magnesia. In the latter case, it is thought that Euthymedia is an allusion to Menander's conversion to Buddhism, the Greek term euθυμiὸσια appearing as the literal translation of the Buddhist word samyaksamkalpa "right resolve" presented by the Buddha as one of the eight limbs of the noble eightfold Path to Nirvāṇa 14.

Menander's states were very extensive. It is possible, but not certain, that in the east the king's sway included the town of Mathurā, capital of the Śūrasena district on the Yamunā. However, the region did not take long to become a Śuṅga fief under the authority of Indian princes of whom coins and some inscriptions have retained the names.

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To the west of the Indus, vast territories were governed by Menander's viceroy, who were chosen from among both the natives and the Greeks:

1. In Gandhāra, to judge from the coins, Antimachus II, Polyxenus and Epander ruled as viceroy of Menander and Strato I.

2. In Uḍḍiyāna, or to be more precise in the district of Bajaur situated twenty miles to the west of the confluence of the Pañjākora and the Swat, the Indian petty monarch Viyakamitra, who installed a relic of the Buddha in the Shinkot stūpa (EI, XXIV, 1937, p. 7), claimed to be a contemporary and vassal of Menander.

Conversely, the Kohistanese region of Kāpiśa remained in the hands of Eucratides who began the minting in Kāpiśa of coins of the "Enthroned Zeus" type which were characteristic of the area.

3. Also dependents of Menander were Sindh, Kacchā (Kutch peninsula), Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt) as well as the coastal region as far as the port of Bharukaccha (Broach). Indeed, the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (47) shows that, until the end of the first century A.D., "still current in Barygaza were ancient drachmas carved with Greek characters and bearing the effigy of those who ruled after Alexander: Apollodotus and Menander".

4. Finally, in approximately 159, the date at which the Parthian king Mithridates seized part of Eucratides' possessions in Aria and Arachosia, Menander seems to have reconquered Eastern Arachosia, where he was represented by the viceroy Zoilus.

There are plenty of different types of Menander's coinage, such as "Nike", "Bucephala" and especially "Athena Promachos". The legend is bilingual: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, Mahārajasa tratārasa Menendrasa. The title of "Saviour", already adopted by Apollodotus I, seems to indicate that the Euthydemids of the eastern kingdom set themselves up as defenders, not only of the Yavanas, but also of the Buddhists of the North-West and the former supporters of the Mauryan legitimacy against the usurper Puṣyamitra. While not being specifically Buddhist, the symbol of the eight-spoked wheel which appears on Menander's coins could not fail to evoke either the figure of a "King of the Dharma" such as the Buddha, or again that of a Cakravartin or universal conqueror.

As much from the Indian as the Greek side, Menander was considered as a Buddhist holy one. Further on, we will examine if not the cogency, at least the developments of that tradition.

3. Strato I and his successors (150-30 B.C.). — On the death of Menander which occurred in about the year 150, his son Strato had still
not come of age. His mother Agathocleia therefore wielded power as a 
regent. A copper coin of the "Seated Heracles" type represents on the 
observe the bust of the queen with the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΟ-
ΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, on the reverse Heracles seated on a rock 
with the legend Maharajasa tratārāsa dhramikasa Stratasa.

At a later stage, Strato and his mother reigned together. Silver 
coins of the "Athena Promachos" type represent their busts side by side 
with the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟ-
ΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

In the end, Strato wielded power alone, and struck silver coins, still of 
the "Athena Promachos" type, on which he appears in turn in the form 
of a helmeted young man, then as a bearded adult and finally as a frail 
old man. The legend is unilingual: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ 
ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

At the beginning of his reign, the Western Punjab (Taxila) and 
Gandhāra (Puṣkaravatī) still formed part of his possessions, as is 
apparently established on the one hand by copper coins of the "Apollo : 
tripod" type, copied from Apollodotus I, and on the other, by copper 
coins of the "Bust of Heracles : Nike" type. Here the legend is bilingual: 
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ, Mahārajasa pra-
cachasa tratarasa Stratasa.

However, Strato was unable to maintain the integrity of Menander's 
kingdom for very long. Certain coins of the Bactrian king Heliodcles 
show the humped bull of Gandhāra and the elephant of Taxila, and 
other coins of Strato, of the "Nike" type, were restruck in the name of 
Heliodcles. It can be concluded from this that at a certain date (145 B.C.) 
Heliodcles seized Arachosia, Gandhāra, Taxila and Sind Sāgar Doāb 
from Strato. Driven back to the west of the Jhelum, Strato and his 
successors were relegated to the band of territory situated between that 
river and the Yamunā, with the capital Śākala in Rechna Doāb.

The successors of Strato, Apollodotus II, Dionysius and Zoilus, 
continued to strike copper coins of the "Apollo : tripod" type and silver 
coins of the "Athena Promachos" type, the latter marked with an 
identical monogram. On the other hand, "Athena Promachos" coins 
exist on which the legend associates the name of Strato I with that of his 
grandson Strato II: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ [ΚΑΙ ΦΙ-
ΛΟ]ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ, Maharajananm tratarasa Stratasa potrasa casa priya-
pita- Stratasa.

The eastern Greek kingdom disappeared in about the year 30 B.C. 
through the conquest of the Śaka Azes I, and, as a sign of his victory,
the Scythian king in turn struck coins bearing the Athene Promachos on the reverse.

3. THE WESTERN GREEK KINGDOM (ca 164-90 B.C.). — The second volet of the diptych is filled with the feats of the western Greek kingdom which was founded by Eucratides after his victory over Demetrius. At the risk of being repetitive, we must summarize here the main stages of its history.

1. Eucratides (ca 164-158). — a. In approximately the year 168-167, at the request of the Seleucid Antiochus IV, Eucratides, the son of Princess Laodice, attacked the Bactro-Indian empire of the Euthydemid Demetrius. The latter besieged him with superior forces in Bactria, but Eucratides weakened his adversary by continual sallies and finally triumphed. He immediately seized Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Seistan and Arachosia.

The successes Eucratides achieved in the eastern satrapies did not prevent his suzerain Antiochus IV from suffering serious disasters elsewhere: the ultimatum from the consul Popilius Laenas forced him to evacuate Egypt (169-168); the persecuted Jews rebelled (168-167), and Antiochus IV met his death during an expedition against Artaxias in Armenia (164). The Seleucid empire immediately disintegrated; almost everywhere, the satraps established their independence and Eucratides proclaimed himself great king of Bactria. His first coins are silver tetradrachms which reveal the aristocratic beauty of the prince: on the obverse, the bust of the diademed king, with or without a helmet, his shoulders covered or bare backed; on the reverse, the Dioscuri, with pilei headdresses charging on horseback. The legend is unilingual: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Strabo (XI, 11, 2, p. 516) is impressed by the might of the new king:

"The kings of Bactria had more than one important town in their states: first Bactra, or as it is sometimes called Zariaspa, through which flows a river of the same name, a tributary of the Oxus; then Adraspa and several others more. Among the number of principal towns in the country there also appeared Eucratidaea, thus named after the [Greek] king [who had founded it]. Once they were masters of Bactria, the Greeks [following the example of the Persians] had subdivided it into satrapies."\(^{15}\)

b. Administrative worries were not enough to quell the warlike ardour of the king of Bactria: "Eucratides waged several wars with great courage... and reduced India into his power" (Justin, XLI, 6, 4).

\(^{15}\) Translation by TARDIEU.
Details are lacking regarding that Indian campaign which, between the years 163 and 160, led Eucratides to triumph over the two Euthydemids Apollodotus I and Menander, but the bilingual coins show that the *Basilus megas* in turn considered himself as a *mahārāja*.

Coinage once again enables us to follow his progress eastwards in the direction of the Indus.

Crossing the Hindūkush, Eucratides first of all seized the Paropamisadae, or Kapiśa, which was long to remain a fief coveted by the western Greek kingdom. As a mark of his victory, he minted copper coins of the “City of Kāpiśa” type: on the obverse, the bust of the helmeted king with the legend ῬΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ; on the reverse, Zeus enthroned between two emblems, the forepart of an elephant to the left and a mountain to the right, with the legend *Kaviśiya nagara devatā* “divinity of the town of Kāpiśa”.

Continuing his march eastwards, Eucratides wrested Gandhāra from Apollodotus, and in that region minted copper coins of the “Nike with garland and palm” type and the bilingual legend ΜΕΡΑΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, *Maharajasa Evukratitasa*.

It is possible, but not certain, that the conqueror crossed the Indus and seized the town of Taxila. In any case, he was the first to strike silver coins bearing the “Pilei of the Dioscuri” on the reverse, a type proper to the town of Taxila and which was used after him by a long series of sovereigns.

Eucratides’ seizure of the Kabul valley led to the disappearance of his rival, King Apollodotus (163), but the eastern Greek kingdom was saved by Menander who was able to take advantage of favourable political circumstances in order partly to restore the empire of Euthydemus.

c. The end of Eucratides’ reign was marked by an eclipse in power. First of all, he was expelled from Gandhāra — but not from Kapiśa — by Menander, and it was the latter’s turn to have his coins struck with the “Winged Victory” characteristic of the region.

However, the most dangerous enemy for the new Indo-Greek kingdom, as, moreover, for the Seleucid empire, was the Parthian king Mithridates I or Arsaces VI (171-138) of whom Eucratides was contemporary, as Justin (XLI, 6. 1) remarks. Between the years 160 and 140, Mithridates, the true founder of Parthian power, was to deprive the Seleucids and their vassals of Media, Persia and Susiana, and settle in Mesopotamia where, facing Seleucia, he established a vast military camp which was later to become the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon. The resistance offered by Syria resulted in a humiliating defeat: Demetrius II Nicator was beaten and captured (140-139).
Eucratides was the first victim of the Parthian advance. At the very beginning of the campaign, in about 159, "two satrapies known as Aspionus and Turiva were wrested from the Bactrians by the Parthians, in the reign of Eucratides" (Strabo, XI, 11, 2, p. 517). In all probability these were two districts in Aria, Tapuria and Traxiana, the former situated on the Upper Atrek and the latter in the valley of Kasaf-rud, both around present-day Meched.

Eucratides, who was absent at the time of the sudden attack, hastened to return to his states:

"On his return, he was assassinated on the road by his son with whom he had shared the empire and who, without concealing his patricide and as if he had killed an enemy and not a father, drove his chariot over the bleeding body and had it cast away unburied" (Justin, XL, 6, 5)\(^1\)\(^6\)

Menander took advantage of these events to recover Eastern Arachosia, as seems to be indicated by coinage of the "Elephant and Club" type which that prince struck, the club being the symbol of Heracles whose connection with Arachosia is attested by subsequent coinage.

2. Heliocles (ca 158-135 B.C.). — The successor of Eucratides was Heliocles, possibly the patricidal son whose name Justin does not state. He also was more an Indian than a Greek king. His legend is bilingual: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.

Without assessing the danger to Bactria, caused by Scythian nomad incursions and Parthian ambitions, he yielded to the Indian phantasm and attempted to win back the states which had been wrested from his father by Menander and Strato I.

In approximately the year 145, making Kapiša the base of his operations, he advanced eastward and southward, and succeeded in taking Arachosia, Gandhāra, Taxila and Sind Sāgar Doāb from Strato I, achieving much greater success than did Eucratides. However, here again, the coinage is the only source of information.

a. For Bactria and Arachosia, "Standing Zeus", holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left.

b. For Kapiša or the Paropamisadae, "Enthroned Zeus", a type which Eucratides was the first to strike.

c. For Gandhāra and Taxila together, copper coins of the "Elephant: Indian Buffalo" type, first minted by Apollodotus I, the elephant representing Taxila and the buffalo (of Śiva), Gandhāra.

\(^{16}\) Translation by CHAMBRY.
d. For Taxila alone, Heliocles invented the copper “Bust of the king: Elephant”, and one of his successors, Antialcidas, continued to strike it. Heliocles was the last Indo-Greek king to rule simultaneously over Bactria and North-West India, on both sides of the Hindūkush. However, perpetual warfare had exhausted the Bactrians:

“Tossed from war to war, they lost not only their empire but also their freedom. Exhausted by their wars against the Sogdians, Arachosians, Drangians, Arians and Indians, they finally fell, as if worn out, under the yoke of the Parthians who until then had been weaker than them” (Justin, XLI, 6, 3)17.

In fact, in about the year 140, after an important transfer of populations to which we will refer further on, the Greeks had to abandon Bactria to the nomads and withdraw to the south of the Hindūkush. Heliocles’ states were reduced to the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab; to the east of the Jhelum they were adjacent to the possessions of Strato and his successors. Heliocles seems to have settled in Taxila, leaving viceroy — Diomedes, Philoxenus, Artemidorus and Peucolaus — to govern the district of Puṣkarāvatī in Gandhāra. In fact, all those princes struck coins of the “Puṣkarāvatī Goddess: Indian Buffalo” type, with the Prākrit legend Pakhalavadi devada, uṣabhe. The goddess in question appears in the form of a native woman (coins of Philoxenus) or again in that of Artemis (coins of Artemidorus and Peucolaus). The very name of Peucolaus is derived from the toponym Peucolaitis or Peucelaitis, the Greek transcription of Puṣkarāvatī.

3. Lysias (ca 135-125 B.C.). — Lysias succeeded Heliocles on the throne of Taxila and awarded himself the title of invincible: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΣΥΣΙΟΥ, Maharajasa apadihatasa Lisikasa. His silver coins of the “Standing Heracles” type, copied from Demetrius, link him with Arachosia. He may have started as a viceroy in Arachosia, under Heliocles, before accompanying the latter to the Punjab.

4. Antialcidas (ca 125-100 B.C.). — A single copper coin exists which associates Lysias and Antialcidas: the name of the former appears on the obverse with a bust of Heracles, that of the latter on the reverse with the “Pilei of the Dioscuri”. This connection is an indication of an immediate succession.

An inscription from Vidiśā, present-day Besnagar (LÜDERS, 669), has Antialcidas reign in Taxila, and gives him as a contemporary of the

17 Translation by CHAMBRY.
Indian king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra who we believe may have been the fifth Śuṅga known to the Purāṇa by the name of Bhadraka:

“That Garudadhvaja (pillar surmounted by a Garuḍa bird) of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), god of gods, was erected by Heliodora (Heliodorus), a follower of the Bhagavat, son of Diya (Dion) and an inhabitant of Taḵsāliṅa who came as the Greek ambassador (yavanadūta) of the great king Aṃṭalikita (Antialcidas) to king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, the saviour (trāṭāra), in the fourteenth year of his reign”.

This is an attempt to connect a Greek sovereign, Antialcidas, with an Indian king of the Śuṅga dynasty, Bhāgabhadra. The first relations between the Yavanas and Śuṅgas were of a distinctly offensive nature: the Euthydemids Demetrius, Apollodotus I and Menander had brought war to the very heart of the Indian kingdom then, after the constitution of the eastern Greek kingdom, Apollodotus and Menander had set themselves up as “Saviours” (σωτήρ, trāṭāra) of the Buddhist Indians against the endeavours of Puṣyamitra who posed as a restorer of brāhmaṇical institutions. Relations were doubtless no better between the last Euthydemids, Strato I and his successors, who were still favourable to Buddhism, and the last Śuṅgas, Bhadraka, etc., who had turned to the religion of the Bhāgavatas and favoured Viṣṇuism propaganda in the region of Vidiśā, in Avanti. As representative of the western Greek kingdom founded by Eucratides and Heliocles, Antialcidas, profiting from that antagonism, attempted to inflict a fatal blow on his rivals, the Euthydemids of the eastern kingdom. Once he had been informed of the sympathy nurtured by the Indian king Bhāgabhadra for Viṣṇuism, he sent him as ambassador a Greek from Taxila named Dio, who was also an adherent of the Bhāgavata religion. When he reached Vidiśā, the ambassador erected a pillar surmounted by a Garuḍa in honour of Viṣṇu. This converted Greek could not fail to be welcome at the Śuṅga court. Doubtless, his activity was not limited to that pious gesture: it can be supposed that he negotiated an alliance between Antialcidas and Bhāgabhadra, directed against the eastern Greek kingdom. Nevertheless, the latter survived until the arrival of the Saka hordes.

Antialcidas left silver coins representing on the obverse the bust of the king, wearing a diadem or a helmet and carrying the kausia; on the reverse Zeus enthroned, a type introduced by Eucratides in Kāpiśī. The copper coins are of the “Bust of the King: Taxilan Elephant” type or, more often, “Bust of Zeus: Pilei of the Dioscuri” a type first struck by Eucratides in Taxila. The legend is bilingual: BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ, Maharajasa jayadharasa Aṃṭalikītasa.
5. Archebius (ca 100-90 B.C.). — The “Pilei of the Dioscuri” which appear in turn on the reverse of the coins of Eucratides, of Lysias and Antialcidas together, and finally of Antialcidas alone, are again found on the coins of the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ, Mahārasajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa. From this we can conclude that Archebius immediately succeeded Antialcidas as king of Taxila. After his time, the western Punjab fell into the hands of the Sakas of Maues, and it was the turn of a Scythian satrap, Liaka Kusūlaka, to strike coins of the “Pilei of the Dioscuri” type copied, it is true, not from Archebius directly, but from his distant predecessor Eucratides.

II. BUDDHISM UNDER THE ŚUNGA

During the period with which we are concerned, Buddhism was far from encountering the royal favours which it had enjoyed under the Maurya emperors, in particular from its official benefactor Aśoka. It lost as much as it gained. Its most important losses were the persecution by Puṣyamitra and the dangers incurred by the religion from the monetism of the Bhāgavatas; to its advantage, however, were the development of Buddhist centres throughout the sub-continent, the formation of the Central Indian school of sculpture, the “orthodoxy” of popular piety, finally and above all, the efflorescence of schools and sects. This last point is of such great importance that a special chapter will be devoted to it. The other points will be dealt with here in brief.

I. THE PERSECUTION BY PUṢYAMITRA

As we saw earlier, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.), was of brāhmin origin. Commander-in-chief of the last Maurya, Brhadratha, he assassinated his master and seized the power. He had to subdue Yajñasena, the king of Vidarbha, who had remained faithful to the former ruling family; and a double Greek invasion almost caused him to lose the throne. Freed from external danger by the dissensions among his enemies, he considered his successes sufficient to warrant two celebrations of the horse sacrifice. Once peace had returned, he re-established the old Vedic ritual, and governed with the support of the brāhmīns.

It is certain that he showed no favour to the Buddhists, but it is not certain that he persecuted them. Nevertheless, according to a persist-
ent Buddhist tradition which was shared by all schools, Puṣyaṃitra is held to be enemy number one of the sons of the Śākya and the most cruel persecutor of the religion. The following is a chronological list of the documents which the Buddhists placed in his file:

1. The *Vibhāṣa* (T 1545, ch. 125, p. 655b-c), a work by Kaśmīrīan Arhats of the second century A.D., represents the views of the Sarvāstivādin-Vaiḥāṣika school. It claims that after the bloody persecution, Puṣyaṃitra met his death at the hands of a deity under the Bodhi tree:

"Formerly, there was a brahmin-king Puṣhaṇḍa (Puṣyaṃitra) who detested the Law of the Buddha: he set fire to Sūtras, destroyed Stūpas, razed Saṁghārāmas and massacred Bhikṣus. In the frontier-country (pratyantajana-pada) of the kingdom of Chia šē mi lo (Kaśmīra), he destroyed 500 Saṁghārāmas and, in other places, even more. The wicked Māra cunningly sent him Kumbhāṇḍas, Yaksas and Asuras to support his power in secret, so much so that nowhere was anyone able to resist him. Gradually destroying the Law of the Buddha, he reached the Bodhi tree. The deity of that tree, named Ti yū (Satyavāk) thought: 'Here is this foolish and cruel king who wishes to destroy the place where the Bhagavat Buddhas, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, vanquished Māra the wicked and won marvellous Enlightenment'. Immediately, this divinity manifested, by transformation, a female body of great beauty and prostrated herself before the king. On seeing this, the king was seized with desire, but as soon as the good Law-protecting deity had obtained his favours, she killed him and slew his army, as well as the troop of Asuras; none escaped her blows".

Hence, according to this narration, the brahmin Holophernes met his death from the blows of a Buddhist Judith at the foot of the Bodhi tree in Bodh-Gayā.

2. The *Legend of Aśoka* (Divya, pp. 433-4; T 2042, ch. 3, p. 111a 28-b 26; T 2043, ch. 5, p. 149a 15-b 17; T 99, ch. 25, pp. 181b 19-182c 2) presents a different and more elaborate version of the same event, but here again it is a work of Sarvāstivādin origin.

"Puṣyaṃitra, deliberating with his ministers, said to them: 'How can I spread my name in the world?' Then there was a counsellor who replied: 'In the past your predecessor, King Aśoka, erected 84,000 Stūpas in Jambudvīpa and gave away one hundred koṭi of gold. As long as the Law of the Buddha is followed and it remains in the world, his name will continue to endure. You can, O king, follow his example and erect 84,000 Stūpas, then your name will remain in this world for a long time'. Puṣyaṃitra answered: 'In the past my predecessor was powerful enough to achieve things. But as for myself, how could I carry out such work? Is there yet another means of equalling Aśoka?'.

There was a counsellor with perverse views who said: 'Whether one does right or wrong, in both cases one equally wins renown. Because the earlier king had been able to erect 84,000 Stūpas, his glory will last for a long time. If you
destroy them, your name will also be transmitted to future generations'. Puṣyamitra assembled the four army units and advanced as far as the Kukkuṭārāma monastery [in Paṭaliputra] with the intention of breaking open the doors of that monastery. At that moment, the roaring of a lion was heard at the door of the monastery, and this frightened the king greatly. He did not dare enter the monastery and went away. Three times he thus returned without being able to enter. Finally, he summoned the bhikṣus and said to them: ‘I wish to destroy the Law of the Buddha. Do you prefer, O bhikṣus, to preserve the stūpa or the dwelling of the Saṃgha?’. The bhikṣus answered: ‘We wish to preserve the stūpa’. Thereupon Puṣyamitra slew the monks and destroyed the dwelling of the Saṃgha. Applying these measures progressively as far as the kingdom of Śākala [in the eastern Punjab] he published the following edict: ‘Whoever brings me the head of a Śrāmanas will be rewarded with a gold piece’.

In that country, in a great stūpa [var. in the monastery of the ‘King of the Dharma’], lived an Arhat. By his supernormal powers, he produced several myriad heads of Śrāmanas and he told the inhabitants to have them borne to the king. The king heard about that and wanted to slay that Arhat. However, the latter entered the attainment of cessation (niruddhasamāpatti), and it was impossible to kill him.

Then the king set out and went to the kingdom of Sthūlakośṭhaka [in Uḍḍiyāna] with the intention of destroying the Law of the Buddha. Within the territory of that kingdom there was a Yakṣa [Daṃśṭrāṇivāsin] who protected the Doctrine of the Buddha. He made this remark: I have received and I maintain the precepts of the Buddha; I cannot harm anyone at all. How can I protect and uphold the Law of the Buddha? Formerly, the Yakṣa Kṛmīṣa asked me for my daughter, I refused his request because he misbehaved. Now I must give him my daughter for the sake of the Law of the Buddha’. There was, however, an extremely sturdy Yakṣa who ceaselessly protected King Puṣyamitra and, because of his power, no one could harm the king. However, the Yakṣa Daṃśṭrāṇivāsin [var. the guardian spirits of Bodhi] lured the Yakṣa who protected Puṣyamitra to the Southern Ocean. Then the Yakṣa Kṛmīṣa seized an enormous mountain and crushed King Puṣyamitra as well as his army. That is why that mountain is called Sunihita. King Puṣyamitra was put to death and the great dynasty of the Mauryas was extinguished”.

According to that version, Puṣyamitra, presented as the last of the Mauryas, destroyed the Kukkuṭārāma monastery in Paṭaliputra (identified with the Aṣokārāma) and massacred all its monks. Continuing his extortions, he arrived in Śākala in the Eastern Punjab. There an Arhat who is not named but who, judging from other sources, we presume to be Kuṇḍopadhānīya, succeeded in exhausting the king's treasury. Since the latter had put a price on the heads of the bhikṣus, the Arhat magically produced several myriad heads of Śrāmanas and, as the king had committed himself to buy them, his reserves of gold were rapidly

19 Translation based on PRZYLUSKI, Légende d’Asoka, pp. 301-3, with a few minor modifications.
used up. Puṣyamitra then went to the kingdom of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka in Udāiyāna. There a Buddhist Yakṣa, the official protector of the Dharma-rājika stūpa containing one of the Buddha’s teeth, and who for this reason was named Daṃṣṭrāṇivāsin, undertook to end the persecution. However, since his lay vows prevented him from fighting Puṣyamitra himself, he gave his daughter in marriage to Kṛmiṣa, a foreign Yakṣa who was not bound by the same scruples. Kṛmiṣa lured Puṣyamitra and his army to the Southern Ocean and crushed them under a mountain. P.C. Bagchi has identified the two victorious Yakṣas with Indo-Greek kings of the second century: according to him the Buddhist Daṃṣṭrāṇivāsin was none other than Menander, and his ally Kṛmiṣa, the Euthydemid Demetrius²⁰. However, this identification produces difficulties of a chronological nature if, as we believe, Demetrius disappeared from the political scene in 167 B.C., well before the death of Puṣyamitra fixed according to the calculation adopted here in 151 B.C.

3. The Śāriputra-paripṛcchā (T 1465, p. 800a-b) is a work of Mahā-sāṃghika origin translated into Chinese between the years 317 and 420 A.D. It contains, in a more developed and even more marvellous form, an account of the persecution and death of Puṣyamitra, of which this is a translation:

"After Upagupta, there was the Mauryan king Asoka; he disseminated the Sūtra and Vinaya in the world. His grandson named Fu sha mi to lo (Puṣyamitra) succeeded him to the throne. One day, he asked his ministers ‘What can I do to make my name live on?’ A minister said to him: ‘There are only two means: to build 84,000 stūpas as did the former king [Asoka], renounce the assets of the kingdom and present them to the Three Jewels: such is the first means. The second is to do everything to the contrary: destroy the stūpas, abolish the Law, persecute and exterminate the fourfold Saṅgha: such is the second means. Thus, good or bad, your name will live on’. The king said: ‘I have neither the power nor the virtues of the former king; I will therefore adopt the second line of conduct to make a name for myself’. At the head of four army units, the king attacked the monastery of Chi chūeh (Kukkuṭarāma) in [Pāṭaliputra]. The monastery had two stone lions which roared and made the earth quake. Greatly afraid, the king beat a retreat and returned to the town. The inhabitants watched him shouting and weeping, and blocked the way. The king’s anger increased and, not daring to return, he forced his officers to slaughter the inhabitants without warning. Then by means of a decree, he summoned the seven assemblies; bhikṣus, bhikṣunīs, śramaṇeras and śramaṇīs, sīkṣamānas, śramanas and śramanīs assembled. The king asked them: ‘Which do you prefer me to destroy, the stūpa or the saṅghārāma?’ They all answered: ‘We would like nothing to be destroyed, but if that is impossible, destroy the saṅghārāma’. The infuriated king cried: ‘Why should I

²⁰ Kṛmiṣa and Demetrius, IHQ, XXII, 1946, pp. 81-91.
not do it?'. So, he put them all to death, great and small indiscriminately. Blood flowed in streams. The king destroyed more than eight hundred samghārāmas and stūpas.

Lay people prompted by perfect faith raised their voices, uttered loud cries, lamented and became angry. The king seized and imprisoned them and had them whipped. Five hundred Arhats went up to Nan shan (Dakṣināgiri) where they took refuge, and since the mountains and valleys [in that place] were deserted and steep, the army could not reach them. That is why the king, fearing that they would not be annihilated, proposed rewards and appealed to all the kingdoms, saying: 'If I obtain a head [of a religious], I will give three thousand pieces of gold as a reward'. The Arhat Chun t'u po t'an (Kuṇḍopadhāniya) and the people who, through the Buddha's mission, were responsible for the dissemination [of the Law], produced through transformation innumerable men who brought innumerable heads of bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs and all of them received the [promised] gold, [so that] the king's coffers were completely empty. The king's anger increased. Kuṇḍopadhāniya manifested his body and entered the attainment of cessation (nīrodhasamāpatti). The king became even more terrible, for the Arhat, protected by the power of the attainment, was invulnerable. The king set fire to 'Sūtra Towers' (sūtrakūṭagāra), but as the fire began to burn and swirling flames were about to reach the sūtras, the bodhisattva Maitreya, by means of his supernormal power (śuddhabyājīti), secured my (sic) Sūtra and Vinaya and ascended to the Tuṣita heaven again.

Puṣyamitra then went to the Ya ch'i'h t'a 'Śūpa of the Tooth' (Damṣṭrā-stūpa?). The Yakṣa of that stūpa said: 'There is a Yakṣa Ch'ung hsing (Krṃiśa); formerly he had asked for the hand of my daughter, but I had refused him disdainfully. Today, when I have sworn to protect the Law, I will give him my daughter so that he will become my friend'. The Yakṣa Krṃiśa rejoiced and, grasping a huge mountain in his hand, crushed the king and his four army units with it, and they all died in an instant. Then the family of the king and his posterity were completely extinguished.

After that, there was a king whose nature was excellent. The bodhisattva Maitreya created through transformation three hundred young men (kumāra) who descended among mankind in order to seek Bodhi. They consulted the five hundred Arhats [of the Dakṣināgiri?] and received instruction in the Law. In that land, boys and girls together left the world (pravrajita), and so the bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs regained their prosperity. The Arhats ascended to the Tuṣita heaven.

21 Dakṣināgiri may possibly designate the mountainous region situated south of Rājagṛha where the Buddhist texts record the village of Ekaṇālā and the monastery of the Dakkhiṇagirivihāra, or again the district in Avanti with the two towns of Ujjayini and Vidiśā.

22 This is the Kuṇḍadhāna of the Pāli sources (Majjhima, I, p. 462; Aṅguttara, I, p. 24; Theragāthā, v. 15; Apādāna, I, pp. 81-2); he is the foremost of 'those who receive food-tickets'. Wherever he went, he was accompanied by the form of a woman visible to all eyes except his own (Aṅguttara Comm., I, pp. 260-6; Dhammapada Comm., III, pp. 52-8). He was part of the group of the four Great Listeners (Ekottara, T 125, ch. 44, p. 789a) and the sixteen Arhats (cf. S. Lévi, Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi, JA, 1916, p. 58 of the offprint). The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya calls him Pūrna Kuṇḍopadhāniya (Divya, p. 45; T 1448, ch. 3, p. 14a 11).
heaven and recovered the Sūtras and Vinayas which they brought back among mankind".

This version agrees with the preceding one in giving the Arhat Kuṇḍopadhāniya and the two yakṣas Daṃṣṭrā[nivāsin] and Kṛmiśa as Puṣyamitra's adversaries, but it locates the persecution and military operations which ensued in Magadhan territory around the Kukkuṭārama of Pāṭaliputra and in the mountains of Dakṣiṇāgiri, to the south of Rājagrha. We are indeed concerned with a "Stūpa of the Tooth", but this is not to be found in the kingdom of Sthūlakośṭhaka in the Swāt valley. No mention is made of the "Southern Ocean" where Puṣyamitra supposedly met his death. Finally, in the quelling of the persecution, the Bodhisattva Maitreya intervenes here for the first time.

The story does not supply us with any information about the king "whose nature was excellent" and who came "after" Puṣyamitra. It might perhaps be the Indo-Greek king Menander whose Buddhist sympathies are well-known; but more probably, one of the Kuśaṇa sovereigns who, after the fall of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, supplanted the Śakas in North West India, and also showed themselves to be favourable to Buddhism.

4. The Mañjuśrīnālakalpa (vv. 530-8), of uncertain date, also gives an account of Puṣyamitra's misdeeds and ignominious end, but refers to the sovereign Gomimukhya "Great proprietor of cattle", Gomiśanda "Gomin, the ox", in allusion to the Vedic sacrifices which were revived under the Śuṅgas.

"In that inferior age, there will be a king, Gomimukhya, destroyer of my religion (śāsanāntadhāpako mama). Having seized the east (prācim diśam) and the gates of Kaśmir (Kaśmire dvāram), that madman of evil intent will destroy vihāras and venerable relics (dhātuvara) and will cause the death of monks of good conduct. Having turned northwards (uttarāṁ diśam), he will meet his death: Under the blows of an angry Amanuṣya, he, his officers and his animal family will be struck by the edge of a mountain, and the wicked one will go to hell... After him will come a protector of the earth known as an adherent of the Buddha (buddhapakṣa) : Mahāyakṣa the very generous one who will delight in the doctrine of the Buddhas".

5. An echo of the persecution is again found in the seventeenth century in the History of Buddhism by Tāranātha (p. 81):

"The former chaplain of King Nemacandra, Puṣyamitra, king of the brāhmaṇas..."

23 Based on a partially translated passage in P. DEMÉVILLE, Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha, p. 45.
mins, in agreement with other heretics made war from Madhyadesa to Jālandhara [Kaśmīr], burned numerous vihāras and killed several monks, although most of them succeeded in finding refuge in other lands. Puṣyamitra died five years later in the north”.

The only point over which the sources concur is the destruction of the Kukkuṭārāma of Pāṭaliputra “in the east”. If there was an encounter between Puṣyamitra and the yakṣas Daṃṣṭrāṇīvāsin and Kṛmīṣa, it is not known exactly where it took place: at Sthūlakoṣṭhaka in the Swāt valley, at the Dakṣināvihāra on the heights above Rājaṅghra or in Avanti, at the gates of Kaśmīr or in Jālandhara. As for the death of Puṣyamitra, it is in turn located under the Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gayā, on the shores of the Southern Ocean or somewhere “in the north”. To judge from the documents, Puṣyamitra must be acquitted through lack of proof. Nevertheless, as was remarked by H. Kern, in view of the varied opinions, it is possible that, in some localities, there may have been pillages of monasteries, perhaps with the tacit permission of the governors.

The reality of the facts matters little. Whether or not they were menaced, the Buddhists at the end of the ancient era, deprived as they were of the royal favours which the Mauryas had bestowed on them and frightened by the clash of Yavana and Śaka arms on the very soil of India, believed themselves to be persecuted and behaved accordingly. Further on, we will see the repercussion this state of mind had on the sons of the Śākyas.

2. — THE VIṢṆUITE DANGER

Far more than the so-called persecution by Puṣyamitra, the successes of the Viṣṇuite propaganda during the last two centuries of the ancient


era led the Buddhists into danger, and this was all the more serious in that it was a long time before its threat was assessed.

The rival movement seems to have arisen around Mathurā, in Śūra-
sena country, among the Yādava-Sātvata-Viṣṇi population which de-
ified its heroes or wise men, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and ended up by identifying them with the ancient Vedic deity Viṣṇu. Several ruling families included Bhāgavatas “Worshippers of the Lord” in their ranks, and it was not without reason that the ninth Śungra took the name of Bhāgavata (or Bhāga), and that the first and third Kāṇvas were respectively called Vasudeva and Nārāyaṇa. In the neighbouring kingdoms, coinage reveals the existence of a Haridatta among the Almoras, of a Bhagavatamahādeva “Mahādeva, the worshipper of the Lord” among the Audumbaras, of a Viṣṇudeva in Kanauj.

The success of the Viṣṇuite movement in central India, in approxima-
tely the second century B.C., is attested by a sheaf of concordant
evidence. Already under the first Mauryas, the ambassador Megasthenes
remarks that “while Dionysus (Śiva) is worshipped in the mountain,
Heracles (Kṛṣṇa) is worshipped on the plain, especially by the Surasenoi
(Śūrasena), an Indian people who possess two towns, Methora (Ma-
thurā) and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura)” (Arrian, Ind., VIII, 4). It is a fact
that the region of Mathurā has yielded ancient Viṣṇuite images: the Balarama (or Saṅkarṣaṇa) in Lucknow Museum bearing a club in his right hand and a plough in his left; the Heracles in the Calcutta Museum representing Hercules overwhelming the lion of Nemea (Mathurā, pl. 47b). On a Gandhāran intaglio there is a representation of a four-armed Viṣṇu receiving the homage of an Indo-Scythian king.

In about 150 B.C., the grammarian Patañjali makes several references
to the Viṣṇuite religion in his Mahābhāṣya: he speaks of Kṛṣṇa and his companion Saṅkarṣaṇa (II, 2, 24); he mentions a “Janārdaṇa, fourth”,
an allusion to the group formed by Kṛṣṇa and his peers, Saṅkarṣaṇa,
Pradyumna and Aniruddha (VI, 3, 5); he records two musical perfor-
mances in the temples of Rāma (Balarāma or Saṅkarṣaṇa) and Keśava
or Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (II, 2, 34); finally, he notes the existence, in his own
time, of mimes and plays representing the murder of Kaṁsa by Vāsu-
deva (III, 1.26).

The inscriptions bear witness to the expansion of the Viṣṇuite cult, not


only in Vidiśā and Mathurā, cradle of the religion, but also on the east coast and in the Deccan.

In the year 14 of the fifth Śuṅga, King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra (the Bhadraka of the Purāṇa), the Greek Heliodorus, son of Dio lived in Taxila and was named ambassador to the Śuṅga court by the great king Antalikita (Antialcidas, ca 125-100 B.C.). As a devout Bhāgavata, he erected in Vidiśā (Besnagar) a pillar with a Garuḍa in honour of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), god of gods, and recalled on that occasion the “three immortal principles (trīṇi amutapadāṇī) which lead to salvation: moderation (dama), generosity (tyāga) and diligence (apramāda)” (Lüders, 669).

In the year 12 of the ninth Śuṅga, Bhāga or Bhāgavata, a certain Bhāgavata, son of Gotamī, erected a second pillar with a Garuḍa, still in Vidiśā, near the great Temple of the Lord (Vāsudeva) (Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep. 1913-14, p. 190 sq.).

A little later, in Ghasundī (district of Chitorgarh in Rājpūtana), a certain Gājāyana, son of Pārāṣarī, built a pūjāsilāprākāra, a votive wall for the sacred stone of the Nārāyanavātaka, in honour of Sāmkarśana and Vāsudeva “Invincible lords and supreme sovereigns” (Lüders, 6).

In the reign of Śoṣāsa the great satrap of Mathurā, who is believed to have been a contemporary of Azilises (10 B.C.-5 A.D.), “the statues of the five heroes, Lords of the Vṛṣṇi family (bhagavatāṁ Vṛṣṇināṁ pāṁcavīrāṇāṁ pratimāḥ) were installed in a stone temple (sailadevagrha) in Morā (in the neighbourhood of Mathurā) (EI, XXIV, p. 194). These are clearly the Viṣṇuite heroes Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sārana and Vidyairatha. — At the same time and place, a certain Vasu erected a gateway (torāṇa) and a balustrade (vedikā) in the great temple of the Bhagavat Vāsudeva, in the hope that the Bhagavat Vāsudeva, propitiated by that offering, would show his favour to the great satrap Śoṣāsa (EI, XXIV, p. 208).

At Nānāghāt, in Northern Mahārāṣtra, Queen Nāyanikā, the wife of the Lord of the Deccan Śatakarnī (ca 27-17 B.C.), invoked the gods Sāmkarśana and Vāsudeva, as well as the old Vedic deities such as Indra and Varuṇa (Lüders, 1112). Her example was to be followed by several of her descendants.

Laconic though these indications are, they show that the grammarians Patañjali and the pious donors were familiar with the moral doctrines of Viṣṇuism and that, for example, the three immortal principles recalled by Heliodorus are in line with the moral homilies of the Mahābhārata (V, 43, 22; XI, 7, 23), particularly the Bhagavadgītā (XVI, 1-3). The Bhāgavatas of the second century B.C. seem to be fully aware of the
doctrine of the *vyūha* or manifestations of Viṣṇu, as it is formulated in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 39, 73): “From the upper form of Viṣṇu, called Vāsudeva, would emerge the Saṃkarṣaṇa bound to cosmic matter by the individual soul; from the Saṃkarṣaṇa would spring the Pradyumna which corresponds to the organ of the cosmic mind (*manas*); from the Pradyumna would come the Aniruddha, cosmic egotism (*ahaṃkāra*). In the navel of the Aniruddha grew a lotus in which was born Brahmā to whom all moving and unmoving beings owe their existence”. These *vyūha* moreover, are the transposition into the cosmic level of genealogical relationships, real or imaginary, in the history of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi clans: Vāsudeva is Kṛṣṇa himself, Saṃkarṣaṇa is his eldest brother Balarāma, Pradyumna is his son and Aniruddha, his grandson.

First for their kin, then for their sectaries, these heroes, deified and identified with Viṣṇu, are the object of exclusive attachment which was soon to turn to total devotion (*bhakti*). The bhāgavata adherent turns from the external world in order to commune with himself and find the divine presence within himself. This sublime attainment is most often conceived as an equation between the soul and God enabling one to see oneself in all beings and to see all beings within oneself. Personal effort, or *yoga*, is indispensable for finding that union, but does not constitute the only means of salvation. God, in this case Viṣṇu, aids the devotee with his grace (*prasāda*); he works continually for the welfare of the world and, in the event of imminent danger, he becomes partially or wholly incarnate in the form of an animal, a man, a hero or a god in order to go to the help of threatened beings. These divine descents, called *avatāra*, are indeterminate in number. Ten main ones are known to us; among them is Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava tribe, a native of Mathurā.

As far as we are concerned, this is the first time that Buddhism was confronted with a living theist doctrine positing in precise terms the problems of God, the soul and their interrelationship. It is not that India had never posited them before, since in the ancient *Upaniṣad*, all possible and imaginable solutions to philosophical and religious questions are set out in a more or less meaningful form. However, early Buddhism arose in an environment which was alien to those speculations or, if it was aware of some of them, it relegated them immediately to those indeterminate points (*avyākrtavastu*) about which it is useless, even dangerous, to express an opinion. Throughout the Buddhist canon, there is only a single passage (*Aṅguttara*, I, p. 174) in which the problem of the Lord God is considered, and it is resolved merely in the negative: “Those who attribute everything to the creation of the Lord (*issaranimmāna*) have no
further desire for action, make no further effort to do this or avoid that”. As for the Buddhist attitude regarding the soul, it is — to say the very least — resolutely anti-spiritualist, since all the phenomena of existence are said to be transitory, painful and devoid of substance (anātman).

When Viṣṇuite propaganda put theism and spirituality back in the forefront of actuality, the Buddhists were compelled to reconsider the problem. They began by getting information about the theories of their adversaries, without trying to minimize their importance. To the old list of heretical sects drawn up in the Anguttara (III, p. 276), the canonical commentaries (Mahānīddesa, I, p. 89) were henceforth to add the sectaries of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. The great Buddhist scholars were fully informed about the implications, whether Viṣṇuite or Śivaite, of Hindu theism and Brāhmanical speculations concerning the Trimūrti: Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Here, we will merely give as an example three passages from the Upadeśa of Nāgārjuna:

“Mahēṣvara, the Great Lord, has eight arms (aṣṭabhuja), three eyes (trinetra) and his mount is the white bull (Nandini). Viṣṇu, ‘Universal Hearing’, has four arms; he holds a conch (śaṅkha) and a disk (cakra), he is mounted on the golden-winged bird (Garuda). The god Kumāra holds a cock (kukkūta), a handbell (ghanṭā), a red standard (lohitapatākā) and his mount is a peacock (śikhagata)” (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 73a). — “After the Kalpa’s fire, everything is empty; then, through the causal power of beings’ merits, winds arrive from the ten regions and, colliding and touching, can uphold the great waters. On the waters, there is a man with a thousand heads, two thousand arms and two thousand feet, named Viṣṇu. From his navel issues a precious lotus with a thousand leaves and golden in colour, the brilliance and rays of which are like the combined light of ten thousand suns. On that lotus, there is a man seated, his legs folded, who in turn possesses infinite light. He is named Brahmā, the king of the gods. That Brahmā mentally gives birth to eight sons, and those eight sons engender the sky, earth and men. Brahmā has completely eliminated all desire and all hatred” (Ibid., ch. 8, p. 116a). — “There are gods who claim supremacy and who, in their arrogance, assert that they are the creators of the beings and things of heaven and earth. Thus Brahmā, the king of the gods, said to the other Brahmās: ‘It is I who created you’. The god Viṣṇu said: ‘All the rich, noble and glorious men in the universe are portions of my person. It is I who created the universe and it is I who destroy it (cf. Gītā, VII, 6). The creation and destruction of the universe is my work’. By speaking thus, those gods destroy the doctrine of the dependent origination of all phenomena” (Ibid, ch. 10, p. 128a).

Many similar passages could be quoted in other Buddhist works such as the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 374, ch. 19, p. 476b), the Madhyamakasāstra by Nāgārjuna (T 1564, ch. 1, p. 1b), the Sataśāstra of Āryadeva (T 1569, ch. 1, p. 168a) as well as his Treatise on the Nirvāṇa of the
Heretics (T 1640, p. 157c), the Commentary on the Šataśāstra by the Parthian Chi tsang (T 1827, ch. 1, p. 244a), etc.

It now remains for us to discover to what degree the Buddhists allowed themselves to be influenced by the rival propaganda. Distinctions need to be made. The great scholars of the Mahāyāna and the Hinayana, versed as they were in the study of canonical texts, showed themselves to be resolutely unwilling to accept spirituality or creationist theism, whether it was of Viṣṇuṣṭe or Śivaite origin. Not content with repeating afresh the refutation of the Ātman — see, for example, chapter IX of the Koṣa — they did not hesitate to attack the great gods of Hinduism and the philosophical concepts which supported them.

The verses cited by Nāgārjuna in his Upadesa (T 1509, ch. 2, p. 73a) say in substance that the wise man, whatever his particular devotion for the unpretentious minor gods may be, does not believe in God and does not rely on God. The great gods of Hinduism, those of painting, sculpture, tradition and hymns, always appeared armed, and that warlike attitude can only be explained by fear and wickedness. In fact, they can do nothing for men: those who revere them do not avoid suffering or death; those who scorn them may well enjoy good fortune on earth. The truth is that in this world the destiny of mankind has no other explanation than action which automatically finds maturation, and gods play no part in that.

The argument developed by Vasubandhu in his Abhidharmakośa (II, pp. 311-13; V, p. 19) is more philosophical. It can be summarized as follows: To say that things occur through a single cause, or through God, Mahādeva or Vāsudeva, is not acceptable for several reasons: 1. If things occurred through a single and immutable cause, they would all occur at the same time, whereas everyone knows that they occur successively. If the order of their occurrence in time depended on causes outside God, God would no longer be the single cause. — 2. God creates for his own satisfaction or for the satisfaction of creatures. If the creates for his own satisfaction, that is because there is something to be gained, and he is not god. If he creates for the satisfaction of others, how is it possible to explain that the latter remain subject to all kinds of suffering? — 3. To assert the creative activity of God is gratuitously to posit an invisible and uncontrollable cause, while neglecting the visible causes the efficacy of which can be ascertained at any time.

The clarity of this position adopted on the philosophical level in no way prevented good neighbourliness between the Buddhists and the Vaiṣṇavas. Both religions have many points in common: each gives the same importance to ahimsā, and the doctrine of the Viṣṇuṣte avatāra has
its counterpart in the Buddhist concept with regard to the Buddhas of the past which is attested in the canonical texts (cf. Mahāpadāna Suttanta, Digha, II, pp. 2-8) and depicted on the ancient sculptures of Bhārhut and Sānci26. Although they were still very close to the original Buddhism, certain Hinayānists sects, particularly that of the Mahāsāṃghikas whose presence in Mathurā is confirmed by the Lion Capital (Konow, p. 48), were to some extent influenced by Viṣṇuiste doctrines: the Lokottaravāda which proclaims the transcendence of the Buddha was possibly provoked and at any rate favoured by the devotional atmosphere with which the Bhāgavatas, in Śaurasena country or Avanti, surrounded their chosen deities.

However, it is particularly the Mahāyānists who were influenced by Hindu theism; in the Lotus of the Good Law, the Buddha, who impartially displays identical concern for all creatures, is the brother of the Nārāyana who declares in the Gītā (IX, 19) : “I make no difference between all creatures; none do I hate, none do I love”, and it is symptomatic that the Lotus so often qualifies the manifestations of the deeds of the Buddhas as vyūha (pp. 117, 146, 209, 219, etc.). A curious Buddhist text which has yet to be edited, the Śuklavidarśanā, does not hesitate to explain certain theories by worldly quotations and to resort to the authority of the Gītā. Finally, the great Buddhist scholars such as Āryadeva (T 1640, p. 157c), Chi tsang (T 1827, ch. 1, p. 244a), P’u kuang (T 1821, ch. 7, p. 140a) were the first to note the strange resemblance which connects the Mahāyānist theory of the Three Bodies of the Buddha with the Viṣṇuiste and Śivaiste elucubrations on the three bodies of Īśvara.

However, it took centuries for this assimilative phenomenon to put the two religions on practically the same level. Under the Śuṅgas, the Buddhists were able to maintain the message of Śākyamuni in its original integrity better than under the Guptas.

3. — THE GREAT VIHĀRAS OF THE ŚUṆGA PERIOD

Neither the persecution by Puṣyamitra nor the success of the Viṣṇuiste propaganda prevented the sons of the Śākya from ensuring themselves powerful positions in the Indian sub-continent which were as many centres of influence. To the old vihāras founded in ancient times, as well as the more recent ones built under the Mauryas, were added new ones which rivalled the old. Unfortunately, the Sinhalese chronicle is the sole

26 Cunningham, The Stūpa of Bhārhut, pl. XXIX, XXX; J. Marshall, etc., Monuments of Sānci, pl. XV, XXI, XXXIX, XLV, LIV.
source of information on this prosperity, and the exaggerations it
bestows on the subject are hardly of a nature to inspire confidence.

We saw above how the Sinhalese king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi celebrated his
victory over the Cola Elāra by erecting, among other monuments, the
Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura. The laying of the foundation stone took
place in the year 382 after the Nirvāṇa (104 B.C.), at a time when the
Indo-Greek king Antialcidas, in Taxila, entered into diplomatic relations
with the Śunga Kāśīputra Bhāgabhādra. On that occasion, fourteen
monasteries in Jambudvīpa were represented at the ceremonies by large
deglegations. The Dipavamsa (XIX, 5-7) merely notes the names of the
leaders, while the Mahāvamsa (XXIX, 29-43) indicates the monasteries
where they came from as well as the number of Indian monks who
participated in those delegations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaders of the delegates</th>
<th>Monastery of origin</th>
<th>Size of the Delegation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Indagutta</td>
<td>Rājagaha</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dhammasena</td>
<td>Isipatana</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Piyadassi</td>
<td>Jetārāmavihāra</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Urubuddharakkhita</td>
<td>Mahāvana of Vesālī</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Urudhammarakkhita</td>
<td>Ghositārāma of Kosambi</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Urusamgharakkhita</td>
<td>Dakkhināgiri of Ujjēnī</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mittinā (Mittanna)</td>
<td>Asokārāma of Pupphapura</td>
<td>160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Uttinā (Anattana)</td>
<td>Kasmira</td>
<td>280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mahādeva</td>
<td>Pallavabhoga</td>
<td>460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Yonamahādhammarakkhita</td>
<td>Alasande Yona-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Uttara</td>
<td>Vattaniya senāsena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Viṁjhātāvī</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Cittagutta</td>
<td>Bodhimāṇḍavihāra</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Candagutta</td>
<td>Vanavāsa</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Suriyagutta</td>
<td>Kelāsavīhāra</td>
<td>96,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                             |                     | 1,436,000              |

The leaders of the delegates are not purely fictional. Indagutta and
Piyadassi are assured of a place in the Buddhist legend (Mahāvamsa Comm., pp. 531, 550). The others took as religious names those which
had already been borne by famous predecessors: Mahādeva continued
in Pallavabhoga the part played formerly by his homonym in Mahisa-
The three Rakkhitas (Buddha-, Dharma- and Samgharakkhita) carried on the glorious lineage of the Rakkhitas who distinguished themselves in Vanavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahāraṭṭha and Yonakaloka. Even before Asoka, a series of religious whose names ended in Gutta represented in the Kukkuṭārāma of Pātaliputra an ancient tradition the origins of which date back to Mahā Kassapa; a list of them is provided by the Saṃyutta Commentary (III, p. 143) : Candagutta, Suriyagutta, Assagutta, Yonakadhammarakkhita, and Tissa, the younger brother of Asoka.

Of greater interest is the list of the fourteen monasteries which were represented at the inauguration of the Mahāthūpā. At least five of them were founded in early times : 1. Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadha; 2. the Isipatana on the outskirts of Vārānaṣī, where the Buddha had expounded his first discourse; 3. the Jetaṟāmavihāra founded in Śrāvasti by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika; 4. the Mahāvana of Vaisālī, better known by the name of Kūṭāgārasālā; 5. the Ghosīrāma in Kauśāmbī founded by the banker Ghosita.

Other more recent monasteries, which dated from the time of Asoka and owed their creation either to the emperor himself, or to Buddhist missionaries from the Mauryan period : 1. the Dakkhināgiri of Ujjenī, situated in the province of Avanti where Asoka was viceroy and where his son Mahinda stayed for some months before his departure for Ceylon; 2. the Asokārāma of Pupphapura, a large monastery founded by Asoka in Pātaliputra on the site of the former Kukkuṭārāma; 3. Kasmīra, converted by Majjhantika and his companions; 4. Pallavabhoga, not the “Persian Kingdom” (Pahlavabhoga) as claimed by W. Geiger, but Pallavanad, present-day Palnod, in the district of Guntur in Andhra country, perhaps the region of Mahisamaṇḍala converted by the missionary Mahādeva; 5. Alasanda Yonanagara, Alexandria-under-the Caucasus, founded by Alexander in the Paropamisadas and capital of Yonakaloka, where Mahārakkhita preached the Good Law; 6. Vanavāsa, chief town of northern Kanara where Rakkhita was noted for his preaching; 7. the Kelāsavihāra, doubtless built in the Himalayan region, near the mythical Lake Anavatapta, by the founders of the Haimavata sect, Majjhima, etc., whose relics lie in Sāṇcī and its neighbourhood.

Two monasteries remain which are mentioned here for the first time : 1. the Bodhimalḍala can only be located in Bodh-Gayā, the small village immortalized by the wonder of the Enlightenment, but this vihāra should not be confused with the Mahābodhi monastery, also built in Bodh-Gayā but in the reign of Samudragupta (ca 335-375) at the
instigation of the Sinhalese king Sirimeghavanta (cf. Hsi yü chi, T 2087, ch. 8, p. 918b; Wang hsüan ts’e, T 2122, ch. 29, p. 502c). — 2. The Vattaniya senāsana was a hermitage situated in the Viñjhāṭavī, a forest on the Vindhaya. In the past, this forest extended much further east than at present and was traversed by a highway linking Pātaliputra and Tamralipti; it was this route that Aśoka took when he escorted the Bodhi tree to the sea (Mhv., XIX, 6). In the Śuṅga period, the Vattaniya senāsana served as a residence for the Venerables Rōhana and Assagutta, and it was there that they conferred ordination and gave the first instruction to a young man from Kajailgala (Skt. Kacailgala in Puṇḍravarndhana, present-day Mahāsthān, District of Bogra); that young man was destined to go to Sāgala in the eastern Punjab in order to convert King Menander (Milinda, pp. 10, 12, 14). The hermitage was the daily setting for a wonder which is recorded in the following terms by the Atthasālinī (p. 419) and the Visuddhimagga (p. 430; ed. Warren, p. 363): the Venerable Assagutta, on seeing that the monks were eating their food dry, expressed the wish that, each day before the meal, the neighbouring pool would take on the taste of curds. His wish was granted and from then on the water of the pool was transformed, before the meal, into curds but resumed its natural taste immediately afterwards. We add that the Chinese versions of the Milindaśāṅha do indeed mention a Vattaniya (transcribed as Ho tan) monastery located “in a mountain of the land” in which dwelled 500 Arhats, including E po yüeh, namely Aśvagupta27.

No one would dream of taking seriously the number of delegates sent to the inauguration of the Mahāṭhūpa; Ceylon would not have been able to contend with an invasion of 1,436,000 religious, however frugal they might have been. However, relatively speaking, it is interesting to note that the largest delegations were sent by Pallavabhoga or Andhra country (460,000), Kaśmīra here understood as North-West India (280,000) and, finally, Magadha (160,000). The importance of these Buddhist centres during the Śuṅga period is confirmed by what we know of the expansion of the Mahāśāṃghika sects in Andhra country, of the success met with by Buddhist propaganda in the Indo-Greek kingdoms, finally, of the support given by Aśoka to the Buddhist community in Magadha.

4. — THE ANCIENT CENTRAL INDIAN SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

PRINCIPAL CENTRES. — The growth of the Community inevitably

27 Cf. P. DEMIEVILLE, Versions chinoises du Milindaśāṅha, p. 84.
resulted in an increase in the number of stūpas, caityas and samghārāmas. It was no longer a matter, as in the early days, of rudimentary and provisional buildings due to the private initiative of some king or rich banker, but of extensive monuments for providing permanent shelter to generations of the religious. In order to enlarge and embellish them, the monks and the laity turned to the best artists of the period. It was as a result of this effort that, during the Śuṅga period, the ancient school of sculpture made its appearance and was to remain active for approximately two centuries, from 150 B.C. to 50 A.D. Its principal sphere of activity was central India, as is evident from sculptures discovered in Bhārhat, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñci, but it was also implanted in Andhra country, as evidenced by certain bas-reliefs from Amarāvatī.

The stūpa of Bhārhat, discovered in 1873 by A. Cunningham, is

28 Apart from general works noted earlier, here is a list of some studies and articles concerning the ancient school of sculpture:


situated in Northern India at Bagheikhand, one hundred kilometres south-west of Allahābād. Circular in shape, it is surrounded by a magnificent sculptured balustrade, interrupted by a gateway at each of the four cardinal points. The balustrade is hence divided into four quadrants, each comprising sixteen uprights surmounted by a handrail and linked to each other by three cross-pieces. The medallions which adorn those uprights were covered with sculptures representing scenes from Buddhist legend and history. The balustrade, as well as the eastern gateway is today to be found in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. The gateway and the sculptures were made “in the reign of the Śuṅgas” by order of the rājan Dhanabhūti Vāchiputra, with a contribution from his wife Nāgarakhitā and son Vādhapāla (LÜDERS, 687, 832, 869). The devout family was also involved in the work carried out around the caitya of the Ratanagṛha in Mathurā (LÜDERS, 125).

The architrave and part of the sculpted palisade which surrounds the Rājapraśādacaitya, built in Bodh-Gayā by Aśoka, also date back to the Śuṅga period. They were gifts presented by noble persons related to various Śuṅga feudatories, such as Kuramgī, sister-in-law of Imḍāgi-mitra (LÜDERS, 939-44) and Nāgadevā, sister-in-law of King Brahmapītra (Bodh-Gayā, p. 58).

Later, but infinitely richer in their motifs, are the bas-reliefs decorating the monuments of Sānci, in particular the four gates of the Great Stūpa 1 and the single gateway of stūpa 3. These monuments were the subject of a brief description in Chapter Three. Here, we will merely recall that the four gates of stūpa 1, belonging roughly to the same period, date from around the reign of the Andhran king Śrī-Śātakarṇi (ca 27-17 B.C.) and that the gateway of stūpa 3 betrays, through its decadent style, an even later date.

Some bas-reliefs discovered at Amarāvatī near Dhānyakaṭaka in Andhra country are closely related through their workmanship and style to the sculptures of central India. They were indubitably part of the decoration of an earlier stūpa erected in the ancient era, under the last Mauryas or first Śuṅgas. This early stūpa was completely rebuilt at the beginning of the second century A.D., but the ancient bas-reliefs were re-used in the decoration of the modernized stūpa. Hence, a tile sculpted on both sides represents on one side, the wonder of the Enlightenment of the Buddha in the schematic and aniconic style of the ancient Indian school; on the other, a reproduction of the modernized stūpa in which appears, in the embrasure of the gate, the draped figure of a Graeco-Buddhist Buddha.29

The ancient sculptures.* — The old central Indian school of sculpture has three main characteristics: it is Buddhist in inspiration, Indian in its motifs, archaic in its technique. We will give only a brief outline of these three characteristics.

1. The interest of the school is centred around the person of the Buddha, whose former lives (jātaka) and last existence it endeavours to represent.

On the medallions of the balustrade at Bharhut, a good forty jātakas have been identified during which the future Buddha, embodied in human or animal form, sometimes male and sometimes female, performs virtuous deeds of giving (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣānti) and vigour (vīrya) which were one day to lead him to supreme and perfect Enlightenment. The representation at Bharhut of the Bodhisattva in a female form is a demonstrated fact: over this point, the old sculptors plainly part company from the monastic compilers of the Jātaka, who excluded any female rebirth from their collection. Of the great deeds of the Bodhisattva, the artists at Bharhut gave preference to the exploits illustrating the “lay” virtues of the future Buddha: morality, patience, vigour and especially giving. The Mahāyānist theoreticians were to incorporate those virtues into the list of six perfections (pāramitā) which in their eyes constitute the crux of the bodhisattva path; they were to add the virtues of ecstasy (dhyāna) and wisdom (prajña), more appropriate to the religious and, for that very reason, not illustrated by the old artists.

In comparison with the number of jātakas, that of the episodes in the last life is relatively small, about ten: the conception, childhood contests, the cutting of his hair, the Enlightenment, the first discourse, the gift of the Jetavana, Indra’s visit, the visit of the Nāga Elāpatra, the worship by the Pārileyyaka elephants, the descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, the Parinirvāṇa and the worship by King Ajataśatru.

Justly distrustful of their talent, the depictors at Bharhut considered it indispensable to indicate the subject of each of their compositions with a short inscription, and these carvings have enabled archaeologists to identify with absolute certainty the great majority of the jātakas. In all probability, those artists worked from memory or from oral indications supplied by their clients who had their own folklore. Nevertheless, H. Lüders was of the opinion that they were already illustrating texts, as the sculptors at Borobudur were to do a thousand years later.

30 See the list in H. LÜDERS, Bharhut und die b. Literatur, pp. 132-5.
31 Id., ibid., pp. 136-76.
Moreover those texts may easily have existed then, but if the artists took their inspiration from them, it was certainly not from the Pāli Jātaka Collection. In fact, the bas reliefs and the Pāli Jātakatthakathā use different dialects, Prākrit on the one hand, Pāli on the other. They do not give similar titles to the narrated episodes; they frequently vary in details of the narrative; finally, they made use of different collections, since jātakas appear at Bhārhut which are completely unknown to the Pāli Collection.

At Bodh-Gayā, the number of jātakas and episodes from the last life tend to balance; on the palisade of the temple, there are a dozen jātakas — seven of which remain unidentified — and more or less the same quantity of later scenes: the first meditation, the grass-cutter’s gift, the cave of the Buddha’s shadow, the Dharmacakra, the return to Kapilavastu, the gift of the Jetavana, the wonder of walking on water, Indra’s visit, the homage paid to the Buddha by the Pārileyyaka elephants and, finally, the Stūpas of the Parinirvāṇa.

On the carved panels at Sāñcī, which are infinitely more numerous than the medallions at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā, there are no more than five jātakas, but they are particularly famous: Śaddanta-, Mahākapi-, Rṣyaśṛṅga-, Śyāma- and Viśvantarajājātakas. In contrast, the life of Śākyamuni, from his conception to the events which followed his funeral, is profusely depicted. Hence, the four Great Wonders, birth, Enlightenment, first discourse and Nirvāṇa, are represented no fewer than 53 times. This is the list of the 34 episodes in Śākyamuni’s life recorded by the oral and written legend which the artists at Sāñcī endeavoured to represent; they had no hesitation in repeating themselves:

I. Cycle of Kapilavastu: 1. the conception; 2. the first meditation; 3. the four encounters; 4. the great departure; 5. the return to Kapilavastu; 6. the gift of the Nyagrodhārāma; 7. the conversion of the Śākyas.

II. Cycle of Bodh-Gaya: 8. the six years of austerities; 9. Sujātā’s offering; 10. the grass-cutter’s offering; 11. the temptation and assault by Māra; 12. the great walk after the Enlightenment; 13. the intervention of the Nāga Muciśinda; 14. the offering by the two merchants; 15. the gift of the four bowls; 16. the rest at the Ratnagrha; 17. the invitation of the gods; 18. the conversion of the Jaṭilas; 19. the visits of the gods; 20. the victory over the serpent; 21. the wonders of wood and fire; 22. the wonder of the water; 23. Asoka’s visit to the Bodhi tree.

III-IV. Cycles of Vārāṇasi and Kuśinagara: 24. the war over the relics; 25. the transport of the relics; 26. the stūpa of Rāmagrāma.

V. Cycle of Rājagrha: 27. Bimbisāra’s visit; 28. Ajātaśatru’s visit; 29. Indra’s visit.

32 Monuments of Sāñcī, I, p. 196.
33 Ibid., I, pp. 200-22.
VI. *Cycle of Vaiśāli*: 30. the monkey's offering.

VII. *Cycle of Śrāvasti*: 31. the gift of the Jetavana; 32. the Great Wonder of Śrāvasti: the twin wonders; 33. the Great Wonder of Śrāvasti: the multiplication of the imaginary Buddhas.

VIII. *Śāmkāśya*: 24. the descent from the Trāyastrīṃśa heaven.

Among the bas-reliefs of Amarāvatī which were produced in accordance with the canons of the ancient school, we note some half dozen jātakas (Saḍdanta-, Mora-, Mahājanaka- Viśvantara- and Śibijātakas) and a few episodes of the last life: the conception, the birth, Asita's prediction, the great departure, the Enlightenment, the first discourse and the Parinirvāṇa.

In conformity with the canons of the ancient school applied at Bhārhatut, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and the first style of Amarāvatī, it is only in the jātaka scenes that the Buddha appears in the flesh in human or animal form. In the episodes concerning the last life, he is never presented as himself, but merely evoked by a certain number of symbols: a footprint, an empty throne, a parasol, a riderless horse, a fig-tree, an aerial walkway, etc. The four great wonders are also indicated by symbols: the birth by a lotus blossom; the Enlightenment by the Bodhi tree; the first discourse by the Wheel of the Law; the Parinirvāṇa by a Stūpa.

The first artists also avoided representing the features of the great disciples who in the beginning formed the nucleus of the Buddhist Samgha; among the adherents they depicted only the laity and, among the religious, only heretics before their conversion. A trident (*triśūla*) represents the Three Jewels: Buddha, Dharma and Samgha.

This radical aniconism with regard to the figures of Śākyamuni and the Buddhas of the past can be explained in several ways: the existence of an ancient interdict traces of which the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya has preserved, but which it does not try to justify, the desire to raise the person of the Master to a level higher than the image, the Indian custom of representing the ancient deities by symbols: Śūrya by a disk, Śiva by a linga, Lakṣmī by a Śrivatsa, etc. However, the simplest and most rational explanation seems to have been supplied by A. Foucher: right from the beginning of the first pilgrimages, visitors to the holy places used to buy small cheap models roughly representing those

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34 T 1435, ch. 48, p. 352a 8 sq. — Cf. HOBÖGRIN, 'Butsuzō', p. 212.
places. These modest mementos rapidly came to be considered as iconographical reproductions of the great wonders which had brought fame to those religious sites; from then on, it was accepted that, in order to recall any episode in the life of the Buddha, a symbol was enough to suggest his presence, a lotus, empty throne, wheel, tumulus, etc. "The subsequent development of the school", wrote A. Foucher, "was always affected by the manufactorial and religious turn it took from the beginning at the hands of the makers of devotional objects who settled at the holy places. It was owing to this false start that it was forbidden by custom to represent the main person who should have appeared at the centre of the compositions... Finally, it was the most unlikely person, namely the Indo-Greek artist who were destined to create the figurative prototype of the Buddha".

The legend of the Buddha, whether jātaka or last existence, did not constitute the only source of inspiration for the ancient school; the old artists borrowed several themes from the popular beliefs which the Buddhists shared with the rest of the Indian world. They were not content with reproducing in stone sculpture of the semi-mythical continent of the Uttarakurus, the heavenly abodes of the gods of the Kāmadhātu (Caturmahārājikas, Trāyastriṃśas, Yamas, Tuṣitas, Nirmānāratis, Paranirmitavāsavartins) and representing the Buddhist scenes for which they were the settings (descent from the Tuṣita heaven, Cūḍā festival in the paradise of Śakra, descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven); they also made a great many images of spirits, gods and demi-gods whose connection with the Good Law was more than suspect: hence, the presence at Bhārhat of Sīrimī Devatā, the goddess of fertility; at Bodh-Gaya, of the solar quadriga, possibly of foreign importation; at Sāñcī, of Kuvera, Hāritī and Pañcika; and everywhere the anonymous swarm of the Nāgas and Nāgīs, the invisible presence of whom is indispensable to the health of the Indian mind.

Even if all, or nearly all the donors, who financed the erection and ornamentation of the ancient monuments, were adherents of the Good Law and, as such, respectful of the requirements of the strictest morality, the artists whose services they hired were not restrained by the same scruples. While producing at will religious or wordly works, they were easily led astray by their art and on occasions confused the serious with the frivolous. If at Bhārhat they kept within the limits of strictest decorum, at Bodh-Gaya and Sāñcī they willingly yielded to the temptation to embellish the sacred art with audaciously unveiled nude figures.

or bold scenes in which duos or even trios of lovers appear. Their Buddhist clients, in their natural innocence, do not seem to have been shocked by these liberties taken in the name of art.

2. The interest of the old sculptures lies mainly in the living picture which they give us of ancient Indian civilization: "Urban and rustic architecture, furnishings, tools, weapons, musical instruments, banners, chariots, harnesses for horses and elephants, costumes and men and women's dress, etc. All that is needed is a designer to isolate all these concrete and precise details and use them as authentic illustrations in a future Dictionary of Indian antiquities. In addition to these material, but nonetheless precious details, we could gather much more about life itself at court, in the towns and monasteries, by looking in turn at those recluses busy round their sacrificial fires; those women attending to their domestic tasks; those kings seated in their palaces or walking in procession through the streets of their capital in great pomp under the curious eyes of their subjects, etc. Finally, much could be said about the equally important data provided by those sculptures on the external forms of worship and even beliefs; on the figure which, for popular imagination, was assumed by spirits and fairies, as well as on the way in which the religious conscience of the time conceived the written tradition of Buddhism?".

The ancient sculpture is a veritable encyclopaedia of Indian life, and it also constitutes an inexhaustible fund of ornamental themes. The place of honour is reserved for the lotus blossom which is the inspiration of innumerable medallions which decorate the balustrades at Bhārāhut, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñcī. This lotus is frequently embellished with symbolic motifs such as the wheel, the heifer, the shield and the palm-leaf. The fig-tree, the palm-tree, the mango-tree, the bignonia suaveolens and other Indian plants also appear frequently. The fauna was also widely used and all the animals of the jungle appear on the bas-reliefs at Sāñcī for purely decorative purposes, quite independent of the narrative. There are lions, elephants, horses, bulls, does, camels, rhinoceroses, boars and squirrels, tortoises and serpents with one or several heads. As if all this menagerie was not enough, creative imagination considered it appropriate to add quantities of fabulous animals: the deer with an elephant's head or a fish's tail, the marine monster with a crocodile's head and a whole range of griffons, winged lions with an eagle's beak or a human head. In fact, hybrid creatures ensured the transition from the

animal kingdom to the human being: Kīṃnaras, Suparṇas and Garudās, half-men and half-birds; Nāgas and Nāgis, at will assuming a human or serpent form. In conclusion we must mention the anonymous throng of anthropomorphic beings, engaged in furious battles or occupied in mysterious tasks: certainly the least prepossessing are not those pot-bellied but energetic dwarves, who seem to have assumed the rôle of Atlantes.

Among all these ornamental motifs, it is possible to discern here and there some that have been borrowed from the Iranian world (the Persopolitan column, the griffon and other fabulous creatures), even perhaps from the Hellenistic world (the Māra crowned in Greek style39, the vine-shoot, the bunch of grapes40 and a figure like Aphrodite adorning the balustrade of the Stūpa)41. Iranian influence was strong in India from the time of the accession of the Achaemenids to the Persian throne, and no tariff barriers prevented the free circulation of Greek merchandise. However, certain historians tend to exaggerate the importance of these borrowings which are of a superficial nature and in no way affect the specifically Indian character of the ancient sculpture.

3. Extremely prominent at Bharhut, much less so at Sāncī, the archaism of the old bas-reliefs is obvious both from the heaviness and clumsiness of the human representations and the naive technique of the sustained narration.

Alongside rural scenes of delicate and gentle realism which bear witness to a real talent as animalist artists, the Yakṣas42 which decorate certain uprights on the balustrade at Bharhut have an unnatural and forbidding aspect. More prepossessing are their female companions who, with bodies curved and hips swaying (tribhaṅga), raise their hands to grasp a branch of a flowering tree; nevertheless, they do not attain the soft, languid grace of the fairies, on the southern and eastern gates at Sāncī, who lean their elbows or backs against mango-trees or swing gently from the branches of trees which they grasp with both hands.

According to a technique frequently applied by Christian art of the

41 On pillar No. 22 of stūpa 2. — Cf. *Monuments of Sāṇchi*, III, pl. LXXVIII.
Middle Ages, the artists of Bhārhuṭ and Sāncī retrace the consecutive episodes of a given legend within the framework of one and the same bas-relief, to such a degree that the heroes of the action are reproduced on it two or even three times. One medallion at Bhārhuṭ contains no less than three episodes: “Below, the compassionate *ruru* stag saves the merchant’s son who was about to drown himself in the Ganges and carries him on its back to the bank, where one of his does is leaning over to drink from the river. Above, to the right, the king of Vārānasī, guided by a young merchant who is visibly serving him as path-finder, prepares, with bended bow, to kill the rare large stag, the object of his hunter’s covetousness. However, the words addressed to him by the stag cause him to drop his weapons, and we find him again a central figure in an edifying conversation with the marvellous animal, while the treacherous informer seems to be hiding behind the royal personage.”

At Sāncī, on the median lintel of the southern gate, the white six-tusked elephant is depicted four times in the composition from left to right: 1. it is bathing in a lotus pool in the company of bearers of a parasol and a fly-swatter; 2. it leaves its bath and goes towards the nyagrodha standing in the centre of the panel; 3. it continues on its way to the right, preceded by an ewer-bearer; it remains alone in the forest, with its profile turned to the left.

In the scene of the Great Departure sculpted on the median lintel of the eastern gate, the horse Kāntaka is represented no less than five times, from the moment of leaving Kapilavastu until its return: in the first three, it appears surmounted by a parasol which evokes the presence of the Bodhisattva who is riding it; in the fourth, with the charioteer Chandaka, it is bowing respectfully before its master, here symbolised by a double footprint; in the fifth, it is turning round to return mournfully to Kapilavastu.

The synoptic method is also applied by the sculptors at Amarāvati: in the centre of a medallion which is unfortunately damaged, appears King Śibi seated on his throne and surrounded by his ministers, women and guards; in his left hand he is holding a pigeon which has escaped from the claws of a sparrow-hawk; at the bottom of the medallion, to the left,
some cāndālas are gashing the king's arm to cut away from his flesh a weight equal to that of the pigeon, for the benefit of the sparrow-hawk deprived of its prey, but this flesh becomes so heavy that the king and his protégé have to be weighed; in the damaged right hand corner, one of the pans of the scales can still be seen.

No such process of continuous narrative is to be found at Bodh-Gaya where the technique seems to be even more rudimentary; whether jātaka scenes or episodes from the last life are concerned, the tale has hardly been outlined than it stops short, and this brevity makes the interpretation of the bas-reliefs on the palisade particularly difficult. However, at Sāñcī, the skilfully applied synoptic method is combined with a consummate art of composition and perspective and an unequalled dexterity in reproducing the holy legend down to the very last detail.

In these old sculptures which are not entirely devoid of naivety, the hearts and minds of the sons of the Sākya are laid bare; there, the bhikṣus and upāsakas reveal themselves much more than in their most scholarly works, and it is comforting to know that, despite the strict renunciations imposed upon them by their beliefs, and possibly because of them, those professional ascetics, jealously controlled their senses and retained a child-like spirit, capable of puerile amazement and enthusiasm for the spectacle of life and nature in all its forms.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.* — The ancient sculptures are accompanied by votive inscriptions, giving the name of the donor or donors, or descriptive ones, indicating the subject of the composition. 225 have been counted at Bharhut, 45 at Bodh-Gaya and 824 at Sāñcī. Apart from a few graffiti at Bharhut in Kharoṣṭhī script, they use the Brahmī alphabet. The greatest majority date from the Śunga period and, palaeographically, they are located between the edicts of Asoka on the one hand and the inscription of Soṇisā, the satrap of Mathurā (ca 5 to 19 A.D.), on the other. They are roughly contemporary with the inscriptions of Heliodorus on the pillar at Besnagar, of Queen Nāyanikā at Nānāghāt, and of King Khāravela at Hāthigumpha. In Sāñcī, those which cover the pavement, balustrades and reliquaries are older than those on the great gateways of Stūpa 1.

* A. Foucher, Les sculptures d'Amarāvatī, RAA, V, pl. VIII, 1; reproduced at the end of this volume.

48 From the palaeographic point of view, the ancient Brahmī inscriptions are generally classed in six groups. Lastly, see N.C. Majumdar, Monuments of Sāñcī, I, p. 264 sq.; III, pl. CXLI.
Their language is epigraphical Prakrit\(^49\). Both at Bhirhut (abbreviation, B) and Sānci (abbreviation, S), it is devoid of Māgadhisms, is of clearly western composition and has several features in common with the Aśokan edicts in Gīrṇār and Mysore, the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā, the rock-carved ones at Nāsik, and especially with Pāli. It is different from the latter particularly owing to a strong tendency to simplify geminate consonants.


\(^{50}\) In Pāli, the group is usually dissociated by means of anaptyxia; cf. Pāli *kasina* as against Skt. *kṛṣṇa*. 
454 Skt. śv = P. ss, cch : Kasapa (B, S).
Skt. śv = P. ss : Setaka (B), Asvadeva, Asadeva (S).
Skt. st = P. tth : thabhā (B, S), bahuhattika (B).
Skt. sn = P. nḥ : nhusā, nusā, sunhusā (S).
Skt. sm = P. mh : girimha (S).

The declension is very close to the Pāli, particularly themes in a.

Skt. nom. sg. -āḥ = P. -o : thabo (B, S).
Skt. inst. sg. -ena = P. -ena, -ā (Ved.) : Pautena, Samthatena, Puṭena (B).
Skt. abl. sg. -āt = P. -ā (devā), -asṇā (devasmā), -amhā (devamhā), -ato (devato) : Pātaliputā, Vedisā (B), Vedisā, Tubavāna, Viḍivahanā, Kamadigāmā (S). — Vedisāto (B), Viḍivahanāto, Kurarāto, Arapānāto, Bhogavāhanāto, Pokharāto.

— Also an abl. sg. in -atu : gāmatu (S).

Skt. gen. sg. -asya = P. -assa : devasa, Pusaṣa (B, S).

In the feminine themes in -ā, the gen. sg. is -iiyā in Skt., -iyya in Pāli. The inscriptions display a mixture of the forms attested on the eastern and western recensions of the Asokan edicts : -iiyā in deviiyā, Purikiiyā (B), -iyya in deviiya, āvāsikīyya, bhārīyīyya (B), -iye in datīye, Nāgāye (B).

The declension of masculine themes in -i is very close to the Pāli; in the sing. we note at Bhārhatu the nom. Kāḍari, Vijapi, the instr. Danabhūtīnā, the abl. kucimhā, girimhā (attested girimha at S.), the gen. atevāsino, gahapatino, girino, peṭakino and Dhanabhūtīsa.

In syntax, we would point out, as did Barua, some curious substitutions of case : the nom. for the instr. in Arahaguto Devaputo vokato (= Arhaguptena devaputrena vyavakṛtaḥ); the gen. pl. for the instr. sg. in Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānaṃ (= Vasugupto mukto Mahādevaṇa).

The donors at Bhārhatu and Sānci. — To judge from their names, the pious donors did not all come from Buddhist families, such as Arahā, Dhamadatta, Sagha, Budhita, etc., but also from circles which had formerly espoused the Vedic or Hindu rites : names of Nakṣatras, Asāḍa, Phaguna, Rohiṇī; of Vedic divinities, Agideva, Mahida, Mita; of popular deities, Nāga, Nāgila; names connected with Viṣṇuite rituals, Vinhukā, Visnurakkhitā, or Śivaite, Sivanadi, Nadiguta, etc.

This seems to indicate that in the Śunga period Buddhist propaganda had made in roads into the majority of the Indian religions and recruited followers from the widest of circles.

51 Endings in -a and -ato are also found at Nāsik; cf. vijayakhādhāvārā and khetāto (El, VIII, pp. 71, 77).
Of the 126 donors mentioned at Bhārhat, 7 were princes or princesses, 24 were bhikṣus, 14 were bhikṣṇis, 81 were lay sympathisers of whom 51 were men and 30 women. They came from 28 different localities, some of which are well-known, Kosaṁbi, Nāsika, Pāṭaliputra, Bhojakaṭa and Vidiśā.

The monks, who bear the title of Aya “noble” or Bhadamta “venerable”, readily record their religious functions, their “doctoral” titles, or even their particular practices or devotions: resident monk (avāsika), architect (navakamika), guest-master (bhatudesaka), knower of the Sūtrās (sutamtika), versed in the Piṭakas (piṭaki) or the Five Collections (paṃcanekāyika), reciter (bhānaka), wheel-bearer (bodhicaka), devoted to the application of mindfulness (saṭupadāna). For their part, the laity readily state their functions: gardener (ārāmaka), local chief (mahāmukhi), sculptor (rupakāraka).

At Sāṇcī, most of the donors came from the region of Mālwā: Kurara or Kuraghara, Ujeni, Navagāma, Nadinagara (Nandner) and Vidiśa. However, some of them were natives of distant regions: Paṭithana (Paithan), Gandhāra, Kāmboja, Cīrāti, without forgetting a Yona from Śvetapatha.

Besides the religious titles already noted at Bhārhat, we may also point out those of Thera “elder”, Dhamakathika “instructor of the Law”, Sadhivihārī “companion in the religious life”, Vināyaka “preceptor” and Sapurisa “worthy man”.

Among the laity, all positions and occupations are represented: a queen, a householder, nineteen bankers, five merchants, a craftmaster, a royal scribe, a governor, a soldier, a copyist, a weaver, a dressmaker, masons and craftsmen.

Besides the individual gifts, there were collective presentations made by families, villages and committees (gothi) — such as the “Buddhist Committee” of Dharmaśārthaka — sects and guilds such as the ivory-workers (damitakārā) of Vidiśā, and those mysterious associations from Ujjainī entitled Dhamaka, Magalakaṭiya, Sāphineyaka, Tāpasiya and Vākiliya.

Throughout the inscriptions and sculptures, the religious mentality of all these people is easily discernible. Their main interest concerned the life of Śākyamuni, Master of the Law in his last existence, and a model of the virtues — especially the lay virtues — in the course of his various jātakas. The taste for anecdotes about his former lives, is very strong at Bhārhat and Bodh-Gayā, but less so at Sāṇcī. However, Buddhist piety was not strictly limited to Śākyamuni, and the Buddhas of the past find

their place there as well as several gods and demi-gods: Devaputras, Devatās, Lokapālas, Yakṣas, Yakṣinīs, Nāgarājas and Apsaras.

At that ancient period, the mental attitude remained strictly orthodox, that is, in conformity with the spirit of the Buddha. The generous donors did not expect to accede to Nirvāṇa directly by means of their gifts, but merely to benefit from the five advantages of giving mentioned in the Aṅguttara (III, pp. 38-41): the generous donor is appreciated by everyone, loved by worthy people, renowned everywhere; he fearlessly enters any company and, after his death, he will be reborn in the heavenly world. Furthermore, they knew that those meritorious deeds were their property, their personal heritage, the womb that bore them (Majjhima, III, p. 203) and that, as they alone had accomplished them, they alone would reap their fruit (ibid., III, p. 179). There could be no question of transferring that merit to a third party, nor even of expressing intentions which the mechanism of the maturation of actions would render invalid. Among the many donors at Bhihrut and Sāncī in the Śuṅga period, Sagharakhita was the only one to have performed his pious deed "for the benefit of his mother and father" (BARUA, 79); all the others, hundreds in number, merely state their names, qualifications and the object of their offering, without attempting to direct the mechanism of maturation towards a particular end.

The three imprecatory inscriptions (MAJUMDAR, 389, 396, 404) engraved on the gateways of Stūpa I are also characteristic of the spirit of Sāncī. They proclaim that whoever destroys or causes to be destroyed at Sāncī a gateway (toranā) or a balustrade (vedikā), or again whoever transmits "to another school" (āna ācariyakula) any one of the above-mentioned monuments, will undergo the infernal punishment reserved for offenders guilty of the five "misdeeds of immediate (anantarya) retribution".

III. — HELLENISM AND BUDDHISM IN THE ŚUṅGA PERIOD

It is appropriate here to examine the important but difficult question of the relationship between the Indo-Greek sovereigns and their Indian subjects, in both the western kingdom (164-90 B.C.) and the eastern kingdom (167-30 B.C.). To what degree did the Greeks come under Indian and particularly Buddhist influence, and in what way did the Buddhists react when faced with foreign occupation?

I. — THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE GREEKS

The Greeks' faithfulness to their ancestral gods. — Greece has
always been interested in India. From the sixth century B.C., the colonists of Asia Minor, Scylax of Caryanda (522-486), Hecataeus of Miletus (ca 500), Herodotus of Halicarnassus (480-425) and Ctesias of Cnidos (415-397) supplied curious information on that distant land; the objectivity of this information is seriously counterbalanced by the search for fantastic details and concern over literary presentation. In the fourth century B.C., Alexander's raid on India which was both a military undertaking and a scientific exploration, put the Graeco-Macedonians into direct contact with the region of the North-West; and the details of this experience were recorded, with varying degrees of competence and truthfulness, by the specialists and scholars who took part in the expedition, or who collected the verbal accounts of eye-witnesses; among the main ones, are the pilots Nearcachis of Crete and Onesicritus of Aegina, the engineer Aristobulus of Cassandreia and the historian Clitarchus of Colophon. At the beginning of the third century, the ambassadors of the Seleucids and Ptolemies were the first Westerners to reach the heart of the Indian empire. Megasthenes, who stayed in the capital Pātaliputra from approximately 302 to 291, left a detailed description of India, the Indica which, apart from the geography, was to constitute the most outstanding document of western knowledge concerning the Indian world. None of these authors mention the Buddhists, and the description of the Sarmans (ṣramaṇa) given by Megasthenes applies more to the brāhmin ascetics than to the disciples of the Buddha.

The Graeco-Macedonian soldiers who took part in Alexander's raid showed a keen interest in the lands they were travelling through and in the strange populations they encountered; but, the further eastwards they advanced, the more they longed for their own country. This nostalgia was the deep-seated reason for the mutiny at the Hyphasis in 325, the revolt of the settlers in Bactria in 325 and 321, and possibly also for the haste with which the satraps Eudemus and Peithon abandoned, the former in 317, the latter in 316, their Indian governorships in order to rejoin the Diadochi in Susiana. The nostalgia was compounded by a feeling of being uprooted, and the soldiers reacted against this attempting to recreate the atmosphere of their homeland abroad. Near the river

54 The classifying of the Indian religious into Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (in Greek, Σαρμάναι and Βραχμάναι) was a commonplace in Greek and Latin literature: Megasthenes, frg. 40 and 41 (Strabo, XV, 1, 59; Clem. Alex., Strom., I, 15, 71, 5); Strabo, XV, 1 70; Bardesanes, Porph. frg. Περὶ ἁμυσύχου (ed. Nauck, BT, 1886, IV, 17 sq., p. 256); Philostratus, Vita Apollon., II, 14. All these texts are collected in B. BRELOER and F. BÖMER, Fontes Historiae Religionum Indicarum, Bonn, 1939.
Kabul, they came across a town named Nysa, where ivy grew and close to which rose a mountain called Mirus (Skt. Meru?); they concluded that the city had been founded by the god Dionysus during an expedition to India, and named Nysa by him in memory of his nurse Nyse. They also inferred that the mountain owed its name of μηρός “thigh” to the fact that Dionysus had grown in the thigh of Zeus. This was all that was needed to induce the Macedonian notables to offer a sacrifice to the Thracian god, crown themselves with ivy and devote themselves to Bacchic ecstasies (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 1-2). The third-century geographer, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, quoted by Arrian (*ibid.*, V, 3), supplies further details about this acclimatization of Greek legends on Indian territory: “The Macedonians, having found a cave in the Paropamisadae and having heard a native legend or possibly having invented it themselves, claimed that it was none other than the cavern in which Prometheus had been chained, that the eagle went there to devour the entrails of Prometheus, and that Heracles came to that place, killed the eagle and released Prometheus from his chains. As for the Caucasian massif, they must have mentally transferred it from the region of the Pontus to the eastern borders of the territory, in the land of the Paropamisadae, as far as the Indians. As for the Paropamisus mountain, they themselves must have called it Caucasus to the glory of Alexander, as though the latter had truly crossed the Caucasus. When they encountered oxen branded with the sign of the club on Indian land, they must have deduced from this that Heracles had arrived among the Indians” (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 3, 1-4). Eratosthenes also questioned the Indian excursion of Dionysus and attributed it to an invention by the soldiers, or flattery by the natives aimed at proving that Alexander went personally wherever the god had been.

The treaty of 305 concluded between Seleucus I and Candragupta momentarily kept the Greeks out of North-West India. They therefore did not witness the Buddhist penetration into Gandhāra, in the reign of Asoka the Maurya (268-231). The few contingents which remained in Bactria were not affected by the propaganda and when, in 256, Asoka undertook to disseminate his Dharma among the foreign kingdoms, he neglected to send his envoys to Bactria. When the latter seceded from the Seleucids in about 250, the first two kings, Diodotus I and II (ca

While Buddhist propaganda located a large number of jātakas in the territory of the North-West, the Graeco-Macedonians situated some episodes from classical mythology in the same region. The conjunction of these identical methods of propaganda is possibly not fortuitous.
250-225), were too occupied with their skirmishes with Tiridates, Antiochus II Theos and Seleucus II Callinicus to pay attention to the success of the Buddhist propaganda among their neighbours beyond the Hindukush. Bactria, over which they ruled, remained Iranian, both by its beliefs and its customs, but the kings, in memory of their mother-country, struck coins with the effigy of Zeus.

The victorious return of the Greeks to Indian territory took place at the end of the reign of Euthydemus of Magnesia (205-189). It seems that his son Demetrius had been in possession of Kapisa, Gandhara and the Western Punjab since 182. By that date, the last two regions had been won over to Buddhism. However, questions of a religious nature could not preoccupy a prince who nurtured the project of conquering the Indian empire and whose lieutenants in fact reached the walls of Pataliputra. There is nothing to prove that Demetrius paid the slightest attention to the beliefs of his Buddhist subjects.

The dissensions which broke out between the Greeks at the end of the reign of Demetrius (ca 167) resulted in the formation on Indian soil of two Indo-Greek kingdoms. The western one was established by Eucratides and the eastern one instituted by Menander. The former was conquered, in about the year 90, by the Sakas Mauzes, while the latter lasted until approximately the year 30 B.C. For the whole of that period, the Greek kings struck coins on the reverse of which appeared most of the gods of the Olympian pantheon: Hermes represented by his caduceus (Demetrius), Poseidon holding a palm-leaf in his right hand (Antimachus), Apollo and his tripod (Apollodotus I), Artemis (?) as "goddess of Puṣkarāvati" wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus in her right hand (Diomedes), the Nike of the battle of the Hydaspes (Eucratides), Athena Promachos (Menander), Heracles seated on a rock (Euthydemus) or standing with a head-dress of an elephant's scalp (Demetrius), standing Zeus, a coin characteristic of Bactria and Arachosia (Helioctles), the Zeus of the city of Kapiśi seated on a throne with emblems representing an elephant and a mountain (Eucratides), Zeus enthroned but without emblems (Helioctles), the charging Dioscuri (Eucratides) or the Pilei of the Dioscuri, a type from the region of Takṣasīlā (Eucratides), etc.56.

Once the monetary types were established they were transmitted from successor to successor, and most of them were adopted by the Sakas and Pahlava invaders of the first century B.C. Whatever ideological signi-

56 On these various monetary types and the kings who were their initiators, see the excellent tables drawn up by E.J. RAPSON in Cambridge History of India, pp. 586-92.
The conversion of Menander

Importance may be attributed to those coins, they prove that, during the time of the occupation of Indian territory, the Greek kings publicly acknowledged the traditional pantheon of their distant homeland. The numerous seals, medallions, gold and copper rings, terracotta statuettes discovered in the Greek city of Taxila-Sirkap and representing Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Heracles, Eos, Psyche, Nike and even the winged steed Pegasus prove that those ancient deities were not relegated to the level of mere monetary emblems.

Everything leads us to believe that the occupying authorities conceded only an official interest in the Indian religions. With regard to the princes of the western kingdom, Eucratides and his successors, it cannot be perceived that they favoured Buddhism in any way. One of them, Antialcidas, as we saw earlier, in order to win the favour of his Śuṅga colleague, the Indian king Kāśiputra Bhaṅgabhādra, considered it advisable to send him as an ambassador a certain Heliodorus who had entered the Viṣṇu sect of the Bhaṅgavatas.

The Euthydemids of the eastern kingdom, the capital of which was Śākala situated in the central Punjab, showed, more for political reasons than by conviction, that they were fervent sympathizers of Buddhism, and it is not impossible that one of them, Menander, was converted to the Good Law.

The conversion of Menander. — The powerful king who ruled from 163 to 150 over an extensive portion of North-West India was, before his accession to the throne, one of the most brilliant captains of Demetrius, and his victories led him to the gates of Pāṭaliputra. He was not personally a member of the royal lineage of the Euthydemids, but he always defended its interests, and was allied with it through his marriage to the princess Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrius or more probably of Apollodotus I. There is no doubt about his philhellenism: his palace was guarded by a troop of 500 Yonakas and his ministers were Greeks: Demetrius, Antiochus, Pacorus and Sabbadotus. Until the end of his reign, he struck coins of the "Athena Promachos", "Elephant-head and caduceus", "Victory of Nicaea-on-the-Jhelum", and "Ox-head (Bucephala)" types, thus bearing witness to his faithfulness to the gods of Olympia and Alexandrian glories.

Menander was Greek through his family, marriage and traditions, but he was nonetheless a "native of the village of Kalasi, in the dvipa of Alasanda", i.e. the town of Kāpiśī, in the district of Alexandria-under-

58 Milindapañha, p. 29.
59 Ibid., pp. 82-3.
the-Caucasus. Even though the Indian world may still have held some secrets for him, he did not feel in the least exiled; he never knew the nostalgia for the Greek homeland, which earlier had tormented Alexander’s officers and the first Seleucids. His profound understanding of the indigenous world explains both his success as a captain and the lustre of his reign.

When called upon by political circumstances to fight general Puṣya-mitra, the new ruler of the Indian empire, he was able to discern those among his subjects who were likely to support his action. He could obtain nothing from the brāhmins who did not forgive him for being a foreigner or, in any case, if he was born of a Greek father and a local mother, a “half-caste”. The kṣatriyas whom he had dispossessed of their ancestral duties could not be favourable to him. Menander therefore turned to the wealthy middle class of the towns: these people were free from xenophobia and caste prejudice, preoccupied with business rather than politics and ready to welcome anyone who would guarantee them peace and security. It was with this middle class that the Buddhist propaganda had found most favour, for, while revealing to the lay and religious alike a higher moral ideal, the doctrine of Śākyamuni in no way prevented them from watching over their material interests: the inner discipline which it inculcated in its followers found its application
in the practice of daily life, and even in the management of affairs. Menander made that middle class the best support of his military campaigns and of his throne and, in order to win its sympathies, was not sparing in his favours towards it.

Many are the sources which bear witness to Menander's Buddhophilia. Some are of Greek origin, others of Indian provenance.

To begin with the former, we note the epithet "Saviour" which appears, both in Greek and Prākrit, on the king's coins, as also on those of his colleague Apollodotus. Of whom could he have called himself saviour, if not of all those whom his enemy Puṣyamitra had fought, the supporters of the old Mauryan power, who had brought about the greatness of Buddhism, the bhikṣus and upāsakas who had been so cruelly persecuted by the Śuṅga usurper?

If it is true that his capital Śākala did indeed bear the name of Euthymedia, as seems to be indicated by a certain manuscript reading in the Geography of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 46), this may be an indication of Menander's conversion to the Good Law, his adherence to the Buddhist eightfold Path, one of the limbs of which is "right thought" [in Skt. samyaksampalpa, in Greek εὐθυμια].

A tradition relating to Menander's death and funeral was acquired in the first century A.D. by Plutarch of Chaeronea. The learned Boeotian seems to think that Indian towns shared his relics and built stūpas in his memory, an honour which the Buddhist Law reserves for Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas or those universal monarchs known as Cakravartins. It is a fact that the symbol of the eight-spoked wheel (cakra) appears on Menander's coins. Here, moreover, is the text taken from the Moralia (821 D-E) by Plutarch: "When Menander, who had ruled with moderation, met his death during an expedition, the (Indian) villages celebrated his funeral ceremony jointly; they put forth rival claims over his relics, and it was with difficulty that they came to the agreement that each city would receive an equal part of his ashes, and that each of them would have reliquaries (μνημεία) of that king". We will have to give up any attempt to discover through which implications, the episodes forming part of the life of the Buddha — war and distribution of the relics, erection of commemorative stūpas — were applied to the Indo-Greek king.

With the Indian sources, we are on much firmer ground. They at least prove that, from the time of Menander, the governors and officers on Indo-Greek land did not hesitate to profess the Buddhist religion publicly, a profession which would have been dangerous if their leader had not approved of it to a certain extent.
The stūpa at Shinkot in Bajaur, a district situated twenty miles west of the confluence of the Pañjkora and the Swāt, has yielded a much damaged soapstone casket. On the receptacle and its lid can be read fragments of five inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī which seem to indicate that the casket was consecrated twice; the original consecration was performed by Viyakamitra during Menander’s reign; as the relic which it contained had been broken, a reconsecration took place later through the good offices of Vijayamitra, probably a descendant of Viyakamitra. The inscription was published and discussed in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, 1937, pp. 1-7; XXVI, 1942, pp. 318-22; XXVII, 1947, pp. 52-8. The following is an attempt at a translation.

"On the 14th day of the month of Kārtikka, in the (reign) of the Mahārāja Menendra (in the year...), (a bodily relic of the Buddha), which is endowed with life... was installed. (The bodily relic) of Śākyamuni, which is endowed with life... (is the gift) of Viyakamitra, whom no king can rival. (By) Vijayamitra... the bowl was installed. — That relic, having been broken, is no longer honoured by homages; it is disintegrating with time; no one reveres (it) or conciliates the ancestors with offerings and water. After having removed the bowl from that (broken relic, installed in the past by Viyakamitra), a (new) relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, fully enlightened, has been installed here by Vijayamitra, whom no king can rival, on the 25th day of the month of Vaiśākha, in the year 5. — Written by Viśpila, on orders (δαναγκαίος)".

Whether the reconsecration in the year 5 also took place during Menander’s reign is a debatable question. The main point is that Viyakamitra, a vassal of the latter and ruler over the Indo-Iranian borderlands with the pompous title of apracaraja (Skt. apratyagrāja, cf. the *apadihata* of the Indo-Greek coins), had installed a relic of Śākyamuni in a stūpa, but that, since the container had been broken, the relic was no longer surrounded by the requisite veneration, which consisted mainly of offerings to ancestors. The Vijayamitra who later reconsecrated it and who bore the same title as Viyakamitra might be his son or one of his successors. Some rectangular copper coins discovered in Taxila-Sirkap bear the legend *Vijayamitrasya* written in Brāhmī on the obverse and in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse.\(^6\)

As their names indicate, Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra were Indians, but some of the Indo-Greek vassal kings were Meridarchs (Greek μεριδάρχης, Skt. meridakha) of Greek origin who also showed evidence of their Buddhist faith. A soapstone reliquary discovered in the village

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\(^6\) This Vijayamitra is presented as king of the Kulūs; the presence of the emblems of the *triratna* and the six-arched *caitya* seems to indicate that he was a Buddhist. Cf. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 170, 213; II, pp. 787, 820, 841; III, pl. 243, Nos. 252-7.
of Pathan in the Swāt valley bears an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī worded as follows: "These bodily relics of the Lord Śākyamuni were installed by the meridarch Theūdora (Theodorus), for the prosperity of many people" (KONOW, p. 4). A copper plate found near Taxila records that another meridarch, whose name is effaced, erected, with his wife, a stūpa "in honour of his mother and father, as a respectful offering" (KONOW, p. 5).

However, Menander does not owe his well-established reputation as a Buddhist sympathizer, to a few fragmentary inscriptions, but to a work which reports a dialogue that probably took place in Śākala between the sovereign and the Buddhist monk Nāgasena. This work, entitled Milinda-paññha "The Questions of Menander"61, existed in three Chinese translations made respectively in the third, fourth and fifth centuries. The second version, by an anonymous translator between 317 and 420, has come down to us in two recensions, the one complete and the other incomplete, both little affected by each other: it is called in Chinese "Sūtra of the Bhikṣu Nāgasena" (T 1670). Its original was probably composed in an Indian dialect (Prākrit of the North-West), and represented the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādin school62.

This version corresponds to the first part of the Pāli work entitled Milinda-paññha. Of the seven books which make up the latter, only the second, third and a small part of the first seem to be authentic. Books IV to VII were successively added in Ceylon, where the first of them existed since the fifth century. Adapted in this way, the work on the whole represents the views of the Sinhalese Theravādin school.*

Finally, under the title of Avādana of the discussion of King Nanda (sic) and Nāgasena, a chapter of the Tsao pao tsang ching (T 203, ch. 9, pp. 492c-493b), translated in 472, reproduces a fragment of the dialogue between Menander and Nāgasena, but it is a fragment taken from a different recension, which was known to Vasubandhu who refers to it in his Abhidharmakosa (IX, p. 263).

Disregarding interpolations and additions, the original work was divided into two parts: an introduction and the dialogue itself.

The introduction included a description of the setting (Śākala), a brief biography of the monk Nāgasena, the presentation of Menander, disappointed after his earlier conversation with the monk Āyupāla and,

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finally the meeting of the king and Nāgasena. The biography of Nāgasena amounts to so little that one would be quite right in wondering if the person really existed: “Nāgasena was born in a northerly region, at the foot of the Himālayas (in the village of Kajangala) according to the Pāli text, in Kaśmīr according to the Chinese text. He was instructed in the Buddhist doctrine by the Arhat Rohaṇa (Lou han), then by the Arhat Assagutta (E po yēeh) who lived in the monastery of Vattaniya (Ho tan) in the region where Nāgasena was born. He was guilty of some misdeed, had a new teacher, obtained the state of streamwinner and caused a lay man or woman to obtain it also, and attained arhattvam. He toured and preached, then, having become famous, settled at the monastery of Saṅkkheyya (Hsieh ti chia) in Sāgala (Shē chieh), a flourishing town in the land of the Yonakas (Ta ch’in) where Milinda (Mi lan) reigned. That sovereign had already held a debate with the Buddhist master Āyupāla (Yeh ho lo) and proved him to be wrong. Informed of the presence of Nāgasena, the king went to find him at the monastery. Next day the debate was held in the palace” 63.

The problems which were discussed during the dialogue are on the whole identical to those which already constituted favourite themes in the canon in general and the Kathāvatthu in particular: the non-existence of the individual, Sāṁsāra, the rebirth of the “Name-and-form”, Arhatship, the nature of Nirvāṇa, the existence of the Buddha and his superiority over all beings, etc. Only one was of a nature to interest the Indo-Greek king and seems to reflect contemporary concerns: that of the usefulness of the religious life. Menander had asked Āyupāla a question: “If by observing their moral habits, the laity acquire merit for the present and future, what is the good of becoming a monk?” Āyupāla remained silent (Milinda, pp. 19-20). The correct answer was given by Nāgasena: the religious attain holiness more surely and quickly than the laity (Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, ch. 9, p. 492c).

If the interview between Milinda and Nāgasena corresponds to some true fact, one might wonder what its result was. Book VII of the Pāli recension (p. 420) claims that, once the dialogue was over, Menander was immediately received as an upāsaka. He then placed his son on the throne, took up the religious life and attained Arhatship. Book III, which falls within the scope of the original text, provides another epilogue (p. 88), but which does not appear in the Chinese version: satisfied with the answers that had been given him, Menander allocated eight hundred daily meals to Nāgasena, confessed his desire to take up

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63 After Id., ibid., pp. 24-5.
the religious life, while regretting that political circumstances prevented from fulfilling his aspirations: "As a lion captured in a golden cage stretches its neck outwards, even so do I, while remaining in the world, aspire for solitude. But if I left the world to take up the religious life, I would not live long, for I have many enemies". A mere aspiration, not followed by any practical achievement, such is doubtless the limit of Menander's Buddhist experience. If he felt sympathy towards the sons of the Śākya, this was as much through policy as conviction. There was no trace of proselytism in him, for this was not the way with the Greeks.

Certain critics have been struck with the liveliness of the dialogue in the *Milindapañha* and they have attempted to see in it a more or less direct influence of the Platonic dialogue. In fact, the dialogue style was always well known in India, and the Upaniṣads, the epic, even certain canonical sūtras provide good examples of it. In any case, Nāgasena lacks that point of irony and apparent lightness which constituted the charm of Socratic conversation.

However, the *Milindapañha* as a dialogue between a sovereign and foreign sages is no novelty in the history of universal literature. The encounter between Alexander and some Indian gymnosophists is treated by several sources as a conversation in the course of which the king is supposed to have asked a group of ten sages a series of embarrassing questions and the letter by Pseudo-Aristeas narrates the interrogation in Alexandria to which Ptolemy II had subjected seventy-two Jewish scholars whom he had invited to translate their scriptures into Greek. Tarn, who pointed out some curious coincidences between these various compositions and the *Milinda*, concluded, perhaps overhastily, that the Indian author of the *Milindapañha* took his inspiration from a Greek source which dealt with the "Questions of Menander".

However, it may be, the *Milindapañha*, even in its later books, acquired such authority in the Buddhist world that, along with other compositions such as the *Nettipakarana*, the *Peṭakopadesa* and the *Suttasaṅgaha*, it is classed in Ceylon among the paracanonical works, and the Burmese consider it as part of the canon. In the fifth century, the learned Sinhalese commentator Buddhaghosa frequently quoted it in support of his arguments and on the subcontinent the great scholar Vasubandhu also consulted it as an undisputed authority.

Consequently there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Buddhists considered the Indo-Greek king as one of theirs, one of the few Yavanas to be converted, as against numerous Scythians, Parthians, Serindians

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and Chinese who were later to follow his example by also adhering to the Good Law.

Again in the eleventh century, the Kaśmirian author Kṣemendra, in his Avadānakalpa-lātā (ch. 57, v. 15), did not hesitate to transform a Buddhist legend, which in all likelihood dated from the Kuśāṇa period, in order to introduce the Indo-Greek king into it. This is the supposed journey of the Buddha in North-West India, a journey to which we will return, but where it is said that, on his arrival near Peshāwār, the Buddha predicted the erection on the spot of a gigantic stūpa and caitya by the great Kuśāṇa emperor Kaniṣka. In the history of Buddhism, Kaniṣka is looked on as a second Aśoka. However, Kṣemendra did not hesitate to remove him from the legend in order to substitute Menander for him. In fact, he claimed that on arrival at the village of Pātala, “the Blessed One said to Indra, who had come to that place to see, that a king named Milindra would build a stūpa in that country”.

That the Kaśmirians who, of all the Buddhists on the subcontinent, were the only ones to deal — very badly — with religious history insisted on taking over the memory of Menander, clearly appears in a passage by Tāranātha (p. 23) : “At that time, there lived in the land of Tukhāra a king named Minara. All the inhabitants of the country venerated the sky-god, but made no distinction between vice and virtue. At the time of their festivals, they offered the sky the thick smoke which came from the burning of rice, fabrics, precious stones and aromatic wood. Dhītika came through the air to the place of sacrifice with a throng of five hundred Arhats, and seated himself in the festival hall. They believed he was the sky god, bowed down at his feet and made him rich offerings. However, when he had expounded the doctrine, the king, at the head of a thousand persons, recognized the truth and innumerable persons were led to utter the formula of the Three Refuges and were introduced to the main points of the doctrine”. Dhītika is in fact a personage well-known to the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin schools where he plays the part of sixth patriarch, immediately after the first five Masters of the Law (Legend of Aśoka, T 2042, ch. 5, p. 121a 27; ch. 6, p. 126a 27; T 2043, ch. 7, p. 152c 16; ch. 10, p. 169b 29; Mūlasarv. Vinaya, T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411b 28. See also Ching tê ch’üan tièng lu, T 2076, ch. 1, p. 207c 20; Fo tsu t’ung chi, T 2035, ch. 5, p. 172b 24).

2. THE GREEK INFLUENCE ON BUDDHISM

THE MATERIAL RATHER THAN RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE. — We do not intend to examine here the huge problem of the Hellenic influence on the
Indian world. No one would dream of denying it, on the contrary it has been a great pleasure for some to point out the many Greek incidences on Indian life and thought: commercial relationships, religions and philosophies, sciences (mathematics, geometry, astronomy and astrology, medicine), art and literature (stories, fables and folklore). The general conclusion to be drawn from the research is that India incontestably underwent Hellenistic influences in various spheres, but that she assimilated them so perfectly that, with a few exceptions, the foreign origin of those influences gradually faded till it became imperceptible. Whatever may have been her contacts with other countries, India retained and upheld her own genius and, unlike so many countries of the Near and Middle East, never allowed herself to be Hellenized.

Without going into details of that vast research, we would like to examine here what the Buddhists of North-West India gained from the century and a half of Greek occupation which political circumstances imposed upon them. The Greeks founded a new city in Taxila, to be precise, in Sirkap, built according to the chequer-board layout of Hellenic towns of the time and defended by a stone wall equipped with bastions. The Scythian and Parthian towns which succeeded it have not effaced that first city to such a degree that one can no longer judge the enormous progress it represented in comparison to the Taxila of Bir Mound which was built of mud and crude bricks, without any pre-established plan. The excavations at Sirkap have yielded quantities of objects made of stone or metal, of a specifically Greek character, as much through the choice of stone or the nature of the alloy as through the form or destination: clay amphoras and pots with handles, embossed porcelain with a black-tinted varnish metal, stone disks modelled on the phiale mesomphalos, toilet utensils adorned with classically inspired bas-reliefs.

The coinage copied directly from Greek and Seleucid models, marks a considerable progress over the coins of Indian origin. The majority, particularly the oldest, are of great artistic value. The first Bactrian coins


66 On Greek Sirkap, J. MARSHALL, Taxila, I, pp. 112-36. It is probable that Menander's Śākala was also built according to the chequer-board plan.

bear only a Greek legend; but from the time of Demetrius, the legend is bilingual: Greek on the obverse and Prākrit in Kharoṣṭhī characters on the reverse. On the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, the Brāhmī alphabet replaces Kharoṣṭhī. The mint used concurrently Hellenic models and Indian symbols, such as the elephant, Indian buffalo, or local deities.

In order to administer their territories, the Indo-Greeks took their inspiration from Macedonian and Seleucid precedents, which in turn were copied from the ancient Achaemenid organization. The basic territorial division was the satrapy, and the satrap was himself assisted by "divisional officers" or meridarchs. The satraps, who often struck coins in their own name, seem to have enjoyed extensive authority. The Macedonians and Seleucids, even while appointing local people to the functions of satrap or governor, established in the principal centres garrisons and military colonies recruited from among their own nationals on whose faithfulness they erroneously believed they could count. This precaution seems to have been neglected by the Indo-Greek kings whose administration relied mainly on the goodwill and cooperation of the indigenous element. Despite being of Greek origin, the ruling aristocracy used only Indian Prākrit as their official language and means of communication. Apart from the legends on the coins, no Greek inscription appears in the archives. The only attested language is Prākrit of the North-West.

Even while making the most of the advantages of a materially superior civilization, the Indians were little impressed by the Western thought which those foreign soldiers, cut off from their mother-country, moreover represented only very imperfectly. Pondering incessantly over plans of conquest, shaken by internal battles, the Indo-Greek kings did not for an instant dream of converting their indigenous subjects to their religion or philosophies. Any attempt in that direction would have come up against Indian nationalism, carefully maintained by the brāhmins and firmly defended by the caste system. Of all those foreign conquerors, India has only retained the name of Milinda, for the sole reason that he was interested in Buddhism, and if the inhabitants of Vidiśā knew of Antialcidas, this was because an ambassador, claiming to be a follower of Viṣṇu, himself mentioned the name of his sovereign on the pillar at Besnagar. Of Alexander the Great there is no memory, except perhaps for the bronze panels fixed on the walls of the Iranian temple of Jaṇḍil (Taxila) and which, according to Philostratus (Vita Apollonii, II,

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88 Id., ibid., pp. 40-1.
THE GREEK INFLUENCE ON BUDDHISM

20, p. 62\textsuperscript{69}, apparently represented the prowesses of Porus and Alexander, or again that unseemly play on words by Bāṇa (Harṣacarita, p. 214) concerning a certain Alasaś Caṇḍakoṣaḥ in which S. Lévi ingeniously thought he had discovered an allusion to the Macedonian conqueror\textsuperscript{70}. In order to eradicate any trace of the foreign occupation, the Indians set about turning the Alexandrian glories to their profit: the towns of Nicaea and Bucephala founded on either side of the Hydaspes in order to commemorate the defeat of Porus were renamed by the Buddhists as Ādirājya and Bhadrasva and linked with the biography of the legendary king Mahāsammata, who is thought to have received the royal consecration at Ādirājya and the “jewel” of the fine horse at Bhadrasva (Gilgit Mss, III, 1, p. 3)\textsuperscript{71}. Little credit is paid to the “Hellenic sacrifices” which according to Plutarch (Vita Alex., LXII, 8) the kings of the Prasioi are thought to have performed regularly at the dozen altars built by Alexander, not far from the Hyphasis, at the farthest point of his advance eastwards (Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, ed. Kayser, II, 43, p. 84, 3). The expression used by Plutarch βυζωνς διαβαίνοντες σεβόνται “they honoured the altars while walking about them” recalls a Buddhist pradakṣiṇā rather than animal sacrifices\textsuperscript{72}.

Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable to claim that the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular were not influenced by their invaders, especially those with whom they were on friendly terms. We believe that the ancient piety somewhat washed over the Buddhist mentality, that the Greeks played a part in the invention of the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni and, finally, that the Hellenic presence on the North-West frontiers paved the way for a great many of tales and legends which the Indians welcomed eagerly. We hasten to say, however, that this influence took a long time to become apparent and that although it was implanted during the Indo-Greek occupation, it did not bear fruit until first the Śaka-Pahlava period, and then the Kuśāṇa. Furthermore, the considerable development of the communication routes in the first centuries A.D. intensified the relations between East and West: once they were established, cultural exchanges were maintained and amplified. This is precisely what makes it so difficult, if not impossible, to date what Buddhism borrowed from abroad, mainly in the realm of ideas.

\textsuperscript{69} B. BRELOER, FHRI, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{71} É. LAMOTTE, Alexandre et le bouddhisme, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50, I, pp. 156-8.
\textsuperscript{72} Id., ibid., pp. 148-9.
THE ANCIENT PRAYER. — The principal elements of the eightfold Path which leads to the cessation of suffering and to Nirvāṇa are morality, concentration and wisdom; no place is attributed to prayer. In the Buddhist outlook, prayer is nonsense. The destiny of beings is not governed by a deity but regulated mechanically by the process of the maturation of action. Deeds, as we have seen, are the sole assets of beings, they are their race and heritage; nowhere in the universe is there a place where one can escape the fruit of actions; one is alone in gathering the fruit of the actions which one alone has performed. Neither gods nor Buddhas intervene in the mechanism of moral maturation to which they are themselves subject. No doubt there are śramaṇas and brāhmīns who claim that everything that mankind experiences on this earth, whether happiness or sorrow, has its cause in the intervention of a sovereign (iśvaranirmāna). This, however, is an implicit admission that, if men are assassins, thieves, adulterers and liars, it is the fault of God. To explain everything through divine will is equivalent to denying human liberty; it is refusing man the possibility of choosing between what needs to be done and what does not need to be done. In truth, "everything that man experiences in this world, happiness, sorrow, the absence of happiness and sorrow, all that has its cause in previous action" (Anguttara, I, p. 173; Madhyama, T 26, ch. 3, p. 435a-b).

It ensues from this that if early Buddhism counselled good thought (kuśalacitta), concentration (samādhiṇa), the recollection (anusmṛtī) of the Buddha, the Law and the Community, firm resolve (adhimukti) and spiritual aspiration (prāṇidhiṇa) for correcting conduct or purifying the mind, it was completely unaware of the prayer of deprecation, propitiation and thanksgiving, which do not even have a name in its language. The rejection of prayer is not a prejudice of disillusioned philosophers, but results from a fundamental Buddhist attitude. Proof of this is to be found in the numerous dedicatory inscriptions engraved on the base of sculptures at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gaya and Sānci. The pious donors, simple people for the most part, do not formulate any requests on them, or discharge any vows; they merely specify the nature of their gift — upright (stambha), cross-piece (sūci), gateway (torana), coping (uṣṇīsa) or sculpture (śilākarmānta) — and state their identity, name, place of origin, qualities and profession. This step can in no way be explained as a gesture of vanity. The principle that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing does not apply to them, since the devout laity are advised to write down their meritorious works in a notebook, and the reading of this puṇya-pustaka is made for them on their death-bed; it comforts the dying and purifies their last thoughts in order to ensure a
good rebirth. When the Sinhalese king Duṭṭhagāmanī felt his end approaching, he ordered his scribe (lekha)(a) to read out loud his "notebook of meritorious deeds", in which were recorded in detail the monasteries that the king had founded, the temples he had erected, his alms to the Saṅgha and the numerous festivals he had organized. Comforted by those memories, he cast his eyes one final time on the Mahā Thupa, and breathed his last. After his death, he appeared in a heavenly form, standing, in a chariot which had come to fetch him from the Tuṣita heaven (Mhv., XXXII, 24-75; Manorathapūrṇi, II, p. 214).

Faith in the sovereign and exclusive virtue of action exempted the Buddhist from believing in gods. Therefore it is not surprising that the Buddhists of the North-West, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Yūeh chih, showed a less disinterested piety and that we see them formulating, on their dedicatory inscriptions, "intentions" which dangerously resemble petitionary prayers.

After the Aśokan edicts, the oldest known inscription in the North-West is probably that on the reliquary of Shinkot which was mentioned above. This reliquary was presented and replaced after some years interval by two Indians, Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra, one of whom was a vassal of the Indo-Greek king Menander. For those two devotees, the bodily relic (sarīra) of the Buddha is more than an element (dhātu) for commemoration: it is a living being "endowed with breath" (prāṇasameta), in the presence of which one may "conciliate the ancestors with offerings and water" (pindodakaih pitṛn grāhayati). It goes without saying that reverence for ancestors (pretadakṣiṇā), mentioned in the Dīgha (III, p. 189), Aṅguttara (III, p. 43) and Milindapañha (p. 294), is not absolutely alien to Buddhism. Nonetheless, it is only an inferior kind of worship, one of those many ceremonies of which Aśoka said that "even if they must be performed, they are of little use" (BLOCH, p. 114). The most curious thing here is that this worship was performed at the very shrine of the Buddha and that the commemorative stūpa was used as a βομός.

Worship implies prayer, and it is starting from this principle that other subjects and contemporaries of the Indo-Greek kings, Greeks by origin, but Buddhists by conversion, accomplished their pious deeds for particular ends and at the same time stating their intentions: the meridarch Theodorus installed relics "for the prosperity of many people" (KONOW, p. 4); another meridarch, whose name is effaced, erected with his wife a stūpa "in honour of his mother and father" (KONOW, p. 5); a certain Theodorus, son of Datia (Datis?), dug a well "in honour of all beings" (KONOW, p. 66).
The example set by the Greeks as early as the second century B.C. was followed blindly by the foreign Sakas, Pahlavas and Yüeh Chih who succeeded them on the territories of the North-West and who also embraced the Buddhist religion.

According to the evidence of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the donations by these new sons of the Śākya were intended as worship, pūjā. This pūjā is not addressed only to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, but also to many other venerable persons: a mother or father, relative or friend, master, dignitary — satrap or great satrap —, even “all beings” in general. The inscription on the Lion Capital of Mathurā is a pūjā “to the entire Scythian Country” (Konow, p. 48).

The intention of the donors is not always religious, nor exclusively so, attainment of Nirvāṇa (Konow, pp. 77, 158), the obtaining of a “Good Share” or agrabhāga (Konow, p. 170), a curious expression which does not belong to the technical vocabulary of Buddhism; E. Senart wondered whether it might not represent an attempt at a direct or indirect translation of the Greek αγαθή τύχη. The aims sought, the favours requested are generally more humble: āyurbalavṛddhi, an increase in life and strength (Konow, pp. 28, 145); aroga, good health for oneself or for someone else (Konow, pp. 77, 91, 114, 124, 129, 170, 172); hita-sukha, welfare and happiness (Konow, pp. 16, 65, 137, 141, 165), dīrghāyus, longevity (Konow, p. 176), and even the protection of young children in times of epidemic (Konow, p. 127).

Assiduous readers of Buddhist texts will not fail to notice that those self-interested donors may be guilty of quite serious deviationism. However, this lowering of the ideal is more difficult to explain.

It could, of course, be a matter of the resurgence of the autochthonous environment. Since Vedic times, India had known and practised all forms of prayer. The ancient hymns consist of praises and thanksgivings to the divinities of nature, myth and philosophy who “bring all favours”. They often conclude with a request “May we forever, happy at heart, happy in countenance, rich in children, free from wrong, free from complaint, day after day, living for a long time yet, see you rise, O potent Mitra, the Sun!” (Ṛgveda, X, 37). The wrongdoer does not hesitate to ask forgiveness for his faults: “If we have performed by speech, O god, or by mental inadvertence, a serious matter for anger, dispel those grievances, O just ones!” (ibid.)

However, the hypothesis of an Indian resurgence does not explain

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73 E. Senart, Notes d'épigraphie indienne, JA, XV, 8th series, p. 123.
74 Cf. L. Renou, La poésie religieuse de l'Inde antique, Paris, 1942, p. 34.
why self-interested piety first showed itself among Buddhists of likely foreign origin who were the least to be affected by local influences. The fact is all the more curious in that their Indian co-religionists do not seem to have followed suit at the same period. At the beginning of the era, the dānapati who left inscriptions in central India (Mathurā, Sārnāth, Bodh-Gayā), on the western coast (Bhājā, Kondāne, Pītālkhorā, the first caves at Ajañṭa, Junnar, Bedsā, Nāsik, Kārli, Kānheri) and in Andhra country (Jaggayyapeta, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) remained the spiritual inheritors of the early donors at Bharhut and Śānci and, persuaded by the mechanism of Pratityasamutpāda, did not formulate any requests, and were content to "note" their pious works.

Should we see in the self-interested pūjā of the North-West a natural evolution betraying the new tendencies of the nascent Mahāyāna? It is true that several Mahāyāna sects developed a genuine Buddhist devotion (bhakti) which was to find its most adequate mode of expression in works of higher mysticism such as the Sukhāvatīvyūha and Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. However, this is a depersonalized devotion, focussed on that initial aspiration which is the arousal of the thought of Bodhi (bodhicittotpāda) : to accede to supreme and perfect Enlightenment (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) in order to ensure the welfare and happiness of all beings (sarvasattvahitasukha).

The bodhisattva, an adherent of the Mahāyāna, practises the seven-fold supreme worship three times a day : 1-2. to honour (vandanā) and serve (pūjanā) the Buddhas, 3. to confess his misdeeds (pāpadeśanā), 4. to delight in the good action of beings (anumodanā), 5. to invite the Buddhas to expound the Law (adhyēśanā), 6. to arouse the thought of Bodhi (bodhicittotpāda), 7. to apply all merit to the welfare of creatures (parinamanā)\(^7\).\(^5\)

By so doing, he proves his perfect disinterest since, according to the formula of his Prātimokṣa, altruism is his only rule of conduct:

"I, of such-and-such a name, who have thus aroused the thought of Bodhi, adopt the infinite world of beings as my mother, father, sisters, brothers, sons, daughters, relatives of whatever degree and kinsfolk. Having adopted them, with all my power, all my strength, all my knowledge, I will implant the wholesome root in them. Henceforth, the gift I give, the morality I observe, the patience I retain, the vigour I use, the ecstasy I practise, the wisdom I develop, the beneficial skilfulness I evince : all that will be for the interest, welfare and happiness of all beings"\(^7\).\(^6\)

75 Dharmasamgraha, §14; Bhadracaripraṇidhāna, vv. 4-12. See also Upālipariprochā, quoted in Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 171, 1.5.
76 Bodhisattvapraṭīmokṣasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 275.
Such disinterestedness sets the adherent of the Mahāyāna well above the first Buddhists of the North-West whose piety, real though it may have been, was not free of personal motivations.

Hence, neither the resurgence of the Vedic prayer nor the later developments of Mahāyānist piety supply an adequate explanation for the religious mentality of the Yavanas who turned to Buddhism at the period of the Indo-Greek kingdoms.

Should we, however, reproach those foreigners and soldiers for not having grasped the mysteries of the theory of dependent origination, for not having understood that, if action constitutes the only explanation for existence, prayer is totally inefficacious? Taking the Three Refuges could not instantaneously eliminate their Hellenic atavism and, being Greek, they continued to pray in Greek. Based essentially on the anthropomorphic concept of divinity, the ἐυσέβεια, or pietas, found its natural expression in the petitionary prayer (αἰτία). It has been recognized since the time of Homer that “everything is in the lap of the gods” (ταύτα θεῶν γούνασι κείται).

The hero of the epic knows how to approach the gods. He washes his hands, puts on spotless garments, crowns himself with flowers and takes in his hands the attributes of the suppliant (ἰκετηρία) a palm-leaf surrounded by wool.

He adopts a ritual attitude, which varies according to the deities whom he is addressing: eyes raised skywards (ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύων) with hands raised in the air (χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν) when he is praying to the inhabitants of the sky; arms extended horizontally over the sea if he is addressing the gods of the waters; stretched over the earth and striking the soil with both hands when he is invoking the lords of the hells.

In order to make himself heard, the Greek prayed out loud (μεγάλ’ ἐιχέτο) and, to avoid any cause of equivocation, stated in full (ἐπικλησις) the titles of the gods whom he wished to interest in his cause.

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77 Homer, Iliad, XVII, 514; XX, 435; Odyssey, I, 267, 408; XVI, 129.
78 II., XVI, 230; Od., II, 261.
79 Od., IV, 750; XVII, 48.
80 II., VII, 178.
81 II., V, 174; VI, 257; VII, 130; XXIV, 301; Od., IX, 294; XIII, 355.
82 II., I, 351; Od., IX, 527; Pindar, Ol., I, 71; VI, 58.
83 II., IX, 568-70; XIV, 271-2.
84 II., I, 450, III, 275; VIII, 347; Od., XVII, 239.
85 II., I, 37-9, 451-2; XVI, 233-5.
The personal piety (εὐσέβεια) of the suppliant did not guarantee that his prayer would be answered. Originally at least, the prayer was like a bargain between man and deity, a bargain that could take several forms.

a. "If I do that for you, you must do this for me." — This is the first prayer of Chryseis to Apollo: "If I have ever erected a temple for you which pleased you, if I have ever burned to you fat haunches of bulls and goats, grant my wish: let your arrows pay for my pleas to the Danaans!" (Ib., I, 39-42).

b. "If you do that for me, I will do this for you." — As for example, in the prayer of Nestor to Athene: "Queen, be favourable to us! Grant us great renown, to me, to my children, to my worthy companion! I will sacrifice a one-year-old cow to you, an untamed beast, whose wide brow has never yet been yoked, and I will offer it to you, its horns plated with gold" (Od., III, 380-4).

c. "What you did for me in the past, do again for me now." — This is the second prayer of Chryseis to Apollo: "You have already heard my wishes not long ago; you paid homage to me, by striking the army of the Achaeans heavily. This time again, therefore, grant my wish: spare the Danaans from the scurrilous plague" (Ib., I, 453-6).

This ancient prayer, basically inspired by concern for the do ut des, travelled down the ages without undergoing any substantial changes. It is again found, scarcely modified, penned by the great Greek and Roman writers. No attention was paid to the objection raised by certain thinkers that the gods know what we need better than we do. Unlike the Buddhists, the ancient world was convinced that every man needs the gods, but that their aid had to be requested. Should we therefore be surprised that the Greeks who had strayed in the second century B.C. to the frontiers of North-West India combined petitionary prayer with the Buddhist pradaksinā?

The Image of the Buddha. — The artists of the ancient Central

86 However, see Il., I 218; Pindar, Ol., VIII, 8.
87 Cf. ERE, X, p. 184.
89 Il., VI, 115, 308-9; Od., III, 380-4; XIII, 358.
90 Il., I 453-6; V, 116-17; X, 278-80; Pindar, Isth., VI, 42.
92 The problem of its origin has been strongly debated, but no definite solution has yet settled the matter. The present state of the dispute can be summarized in a few lines:
"Mathurā is the bridge between the two types of Buddhist iconography [i.e. the symbolic representation or image of the Buddha]. Unfortunately, it is still not possible to synchronize satisfactorily the Kuśāna era with that — or those — of Gandhāra. That is why the
Indian school of sculpture had refrained from representing Śākyamuni in his last existence in his human form; they merely indicated his presence by symbols. However, the schools of sculpture at Gandhāra and Mathurā, which seem to have been started, the former towards the end of the ancient era, the latter a few decades later, did not hesitate to fashion images of the Buddha. The Gandhāran Buddha betrays its half-foreign origin by the folds of the drapery, the nimbus which surrounds his head and the very features of his face which often recall those of Apollo and Dionysius. The Mathurān Buddha — termed Bodhisattva on the inscriptions — is closer to the authentic Indian type.

The appearance of the image of the Buddha on the monuments constituted a revolution in the history of Buddhist art, and there have been unending discussions over its origin. Apart from some minor details, three theories obtain.

1. The Greek origin of the Buddha image was proposed in 1913 by A. Foucher and supported by various western archaeologists: Sir John Marshall, J.P. Vogel, W.W. Tarn, etc. 93

Debate remains open as to whether or not the Gandhāran type pre-dates the Mathurān type; some assumptions are in favour of the first hypothesis, but many archaeologists support the second” (after J. Auboyer, *Arts et Styles de l’Inde*, Paris, 1951, p. 64).

“The schools of Gandhāra (the lower Kābul Valley and the upper Indus, around Peshawar) and Mathurā, both of which flourished under the Kusāṇa kings, vie for the honour of having produced the first images of the Buddha. Most Indian authorities now believe that the Buddha image originated at Mathurā; most earlier Europeans supported Gandhāra, but some recent experts are less certain” (A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 367).

An analytical bibliography of the subject can be found in H. Deydier, *Contribution à l’étude de l’Art du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1950, pp. 46-64.*

The difficulty is that, if the idea of depicting the founder of Buddhism with a human aspect was best conceived in the mind of a Greek in the second century B.C., we do not, however, possess any Buddha image prior to the Christian era. Contrary to what is asserted by Tarn\(^{94}\), it is extremely doubtful whether the effigy of the Buddha appears on the coin of Maues (ca 90-53 B.C.) in the British Museum Catalogue, pl. XVII, No. 5\(^{95}\), and if it is true that the Buddha of the Bimaran reliquary was found together with three coins of Azes I (ca 38-10 B.C.), the experts now agree that this reliquary must be considered as a work of the second century A.D.\(^{96}\).

2. The Indian origin of the Buddha image was supported by A. Coomaraswamy, W. Goloubew and, following them, by a whole series of writers\(^{97}\). India has always worshipped images, and representations of the Indian sage or yogi date back to remote antiquity. The appearance of Buddhist devotion round about the beginning of the Christian era incited in reverers of the Blessed One the wish to possess a Buddha


\(^{94}\) The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 400 sq.


image. The Mathurā Buddha, fashioned in imitation of statues of Nāgas and Yakṣas, is of Indian inspiration and creation. It is possibly the ancestor of all the images of the Blessed One, and it survived the classical vogue represented by the Gandhāran school, without undergoing any basic alterations.

The problem is that the Mathurān sculpture, from the Kuśāna period, does not date further back into the past than about the middle of the first century A.D., whereas the Gandhāran production began at a considerably earlier date. Therefore it is difficult to see how the Mathurān Buddha could have been a prototype. Again, if the Buddha image is of Indian origin, an explanation will have to be given as to which event caused the Mathurāns to break suddenly with the Indian custom, firmly established in the ancient school of sculpture, whereby the Buddha in his last existence is represented only in symbolic form. The development of Buddhist bhakti is not enough to explain such an artistic revolution, since long after the creation of the statue of Śākyamuni, the cult of the image was completely unknown. The Pāli commentaries consider it a grave offence to destroy a caitya, attack the Bodhi tree or damage relics, but nowhere do they condemn harming images. A learned Sinhalese monk was still writing quite recently that, according to the Buddhist concept, an image is of no importance unless it contains relics; without them, the spiritual value of the image amounts to practically nothing.  

3. Finally, other writers decided in favour of two independent origins of the Buddha image. E. Waldschmidt believed that the Gandhāran Buddha dated from the beginnings of the Christian era, while the Mathurān Buddha, uninfluenced by the former, appeared a century later. He believed that the influence of the Greek Buddha was felt in Mathurā some twenty years after the creation of the Indian type and then disappeared, thus allowing the forming of the classical Buddhas of the Gupta period and of later ages, all of which were based on the Mathurān Buddha.

Nevertheless, however different the Greek and Indian types of statue may be, their general affinities are so pronounced that they enable us to drop the hypothesis of an independent creation; one of the two was necessarily derived from the other. Furthermore, it is difficult to see how the district of Mathurā, which was under the sway of the Indo-Greek

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kings until the invasion of the Śakas of Maues (ca 90-53), could have avoided the influence of Gandhāra.

The only way of setting the question and enabling everyone to come to an agreement would be for new archaeological discoveries to come to light. In the meanwhile, it might be thought that the idea of representing the Buddha with human features is more likely to have germinated in the brain of a Greek anthropomorphist than that of an Indian Buddhist whom the ancient central Indian school of sculpture had accustomed to aniconism. The initiative can hardly have come from the Śaka-Pahlavas who, before entering India, were completely, or almost completely, unaware of Buddhism. It may be attributable to the Greeks who, before them, had occupied the North West for nearly a century, and lived in close contact with the indigenous Buddhists of Gandhāra and the Punjab. Nurtured on anthropomorphism, the Greeks could only conceive gods in human form. They persuaded the locals to banish once and for all their aniconic scruples and represent the Buddha in person. The suggestion was all the more tempting because those advisers included in their ranks consummate artists, trained in the studios of painting and sculpture at Antioch, Palmyra, Susa and Seleuceia. They were expert at sketching in a few lines or carving with rapid blows of the chisel an artistic image of the Buddha Śākyamuni, so much more alive than the obscure symbols adopted by the old school in order to suggest the presence of the Master. The proposal was accepted, and the first image of the Buddha was painted or sculpted by a Greek artist tinged with Buddhism, possibly, as A. Foucher claimed, by a cross-bred artist of half-Greek and half-Buddhist birth. After some tentative experimentation, the Apollonian type of Buddha was definitively created.

This memorable invention which is not later than the first Śaka invasion in approximately 87 B.C., cannot be earlier than the death of Menander in about 150 B.C., since, to judge from the Milindapañha, that king, during his long conversations with the Buddhists, did not broach the artistic problem of the Buddha image with his interlocutors. His successor Strato, who had to cede Gandhāra and the Western Punjab to his rival Heliocles, hardly had time to extricate himself from his military concerns. Antialcidas, of the western Greek kingdom, who ruled in Taxila from 125 to 100, was led by political circumstances to be more interested in Viṣṇuism than Buddhism and had to find among his subjects a person who was sufficiently converted to Bhāgavata ideas to

100 See the remarks by L. Petech, Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu. Rome, 1950, pp. 63-80.
101 A. Foucher, La Vieille Route de l'Inde, II, p. 320.
be accepted as ambassador to the last Śuṅgas. It was therefore among the immediate successors of Antialcidas, particularly Archebius, the king of Taxila, who governed Gandhāra between the death of Antialcidas (100 B.C.) and the raid by the Śakas of Maues (87 B.C.), that we must situate the fortunate initiative that endowed the sacred art with an entirely new formula.¹⁰²

The cradle of Graeco-Buddhist art should necessarily be sought in regions where the Greeks and Buddhists were in continuous and prolonged contact. In this case, it was the districts of the North-West where the effective presence of the Good Law is confirmed before the arrival of the Indo-Greeks by the numerous Aśokan stūpas of the archaic type, as well as the proliferation of local legends, particularly jātakas, the acclimatization of which in the North-West possibly dates back to the first missionaries of the Mauryan period, Madhyāntika and his companions. In fact, as we saw earlier, ancient stūpas are recorded at Jaguḍa, Nagarahāra, in the district of Puṣkarāvatī, in Uḍḍiyāna and in the Western Punjab; jātakas have been located by the indigenous legend throughout the territory: Nagarahāra, Puṣkarāvatī, Varṣapura, Shahkot, Mangalapura, Mount Ilam, Sunigrām, Gumbatai, Girārai, the Adinzai Valley, Rohitaka, Takṣaśilā, Ādirāja and Bhadrāśva. The same sites have provided the most interesting and authentic examples of Graeco-Buddhist art. That is why A. Foucher,¹⁰³ relying both on the old indications, particularly the Memoirs of Hsüan Tsang, and the results of excavations, has been able to determine with precision the cradle of the school as well as its farthest limits: to the east Nagarahāra and Hāḍḍa, to the west Taxila, to the north the new Chitral road through the Malakand Pass and the bridge at Chakdarra, to the south the confluence of the Kurram and the Indus. Originally, neither Kapisa nor Bactria were part of the movement; it was not before the second century A.D., under Kaniśka and his successors, that they fully accepted the Good Law. With the exception of the old Pilu-sār stūpa in Kapisa, they show no trace of ancient constructions; finally, they were never included in the array of the old legends. It is therefore from within a relatively restricted area, Gandhāra in the old acceptance of the term, that the Graeco-Buddhist school was one day to radiate throughout the whole of India and extend its ramifications as far as China, Japan, the Malayan archipelago and Tibet. Furthermore, similarities have long since been noticed between certain statues of the Buddha and the first

¹⁰² For A. FoucheR, o.l., II, p. 321, the very first origins of the Indo-Greek School go back to before the year 75 B.C.
¹⁰³ La Vieille Route de l’Inde, II, p. 308.
representations of Christ: both robed in the himation, they are related to the type of Greek orator or philosopher the best example of which is the Sophocles in the Museum of Latran\textsuperscript{104}.

It is quite unlikely that, in the beginning, the Gandhāran artist made use of the formula they had invented on a large scale. The artistic taste of the Greeks kept them away from idolatry and fetishism, and the statues of their gods carved by renowned sculptors would not easily lend themselves, on account of their very value, to reproductions in series. The Šakas, who were less fastidious, possibly made copies of images but, as we saw above, no specimen of a Buddha of the Scytho-Parthian period has been attested with certainty, although future excavations still leave us hope. However, they kept intact the type of Apollonian Buddha draped in the himation which had been initiated in the Indo-Greek period, and transmitted it to the Tukhārans when the latter succeeded them in North-West India at the beginning of the Christian era. The Kuśāna dynasts were to favour the mass production of those Buddha images which were to multiply in statues in the round, bas-reliefs, reliquaries and coins. The intensity of this assembly-line work soon to lead to the decadence of the original type which, since the time of its creation, had benefited from all the perfections of the classical technique.

THE COMMUNICATION OF THE LEGENDS\textsuperscript{105}. — The setting up of the Indo-Greek kingdoms on the western marches of India resulted in the contact, across the Middle and Near East, of the Indian and Mediterranean worlds. The exchanges begun in the second century B.C. were extended still further during the first years of the Christian era due to the policy of peace initiated in Asia by the first Roman emperors, and the development of communication routes, both on land and at sea. Commercial trading went hand in hand with the exchange of ideas. The lovely dream nurtured by Asoka of a universal Dharma acceptable to all

\textsuperscript{104} See A. FoucHER, \textit{Art grèco-bouddhique du Gandhāra}, II, pp. 783-96.

men proved no doubt to be utopian; the Greeks, being particularists and sceptics, did not attempt to convince the Indians of the seriousness of their philosophies, nor did the Indians succeed in instilling their religions in the Mlecha-barbarians who occupied them. However, there is a point in the realm of ideas at which Easterners and Westerners were able to indulge, without scruples or mental reservations, in pleasant exchanges: that of fables, apologues, parables, versified tales, ballads, adventure stories, humorous yarns or fairy tales. The loquacious Greeks could not fail to amuse the Indians with their marvellous stories and, in return, the inexhaustible Indian folklore was unlikely to leave them indifferent. Just as in communicating vessels, the bottomless reservoir of Indian legends mingled with the almost equally rich supply of western tales. Hence, the creation of an immense universal narrative literature in continual expansion, a joint work of Graeco-Roman paganism, Iranian Mazdaism and Zoroastrianism, Syrian Judaism and Christianity, and finally, Indian Buddhism. The stories, tales, legends and fables, undergoing a perpetual interchange of ideas, were conveyed from one end of the world to the other and, if they ever had any local characteristics which might betray their origin, they soon eliminated them and acquired a universal aspect which made them to the taste and within the reach of everybody. In the course of time, the Buddhist legend derived part of its inspiration from this composite oral tradition and, in its biographies of the Buddha's former lives as well as of his last existence, there are numerous passages which recall, either closely or remotely, a Greek legend, a story by Herodotus, an Eastern or Biblical tale, or an evangelical pericope. We will return to the subject further on, but we should note now that the analogies are more superficial than profound; they decrease in a new context and most frequently just disappear. The Indians have an unequalled power of assimilation, and rethink in their own way whatever comes to them from abroad; long ago, the Arab historian al-Bīrūnī stated: "Say something to a Hindu, tomorrow he will repeat to you in Indian what you told him and you will hardly recognize it!".

In literature, as in the artistic field, the influences of the Greek environment are undeniable but, from the outset, difficult to discover, since every foreign contribution was rapidly assimilated.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE PERIOD OF THE ŠAKA-PAHLAVAS

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD. — In the course of this period, which covers roughly the years 100 B.C. to 75 A.D., were successively to appear the Scytho-Parthians (Šaka-Pahlavas) in the North-West, the Cedis and the first Šatavāhanas respectively in Kaliṅga and the northern Deccan and, finally, in Ceylon the group of the “Eleven Kings”. With regard to this period, one of the most obscure in the history of India, details are sparse, fragmentary and often contradictory: some brief indications scattered throughout Indian literature, particularly Jaina texts; a few inscriptions in Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī, doubtful in reading and in the main referring to unknown eras; finally, an excessive number of coins struck by the most obscure of dynasts. Thus, the sequence and dating of the reigns are still subject to discussion. The most recent publications, which do not always show progress over their predecessors, frequently differ from the remarkable works devoted to the period in question by E.J. Rapson, W.W. Tarn, A. Foucher and Sir John Marshall. It is advisable, for the sake of easy reading, to give a brief summary of the chronological system adopted in the present chapter.

1. In the preceding chapters, we saw how North-West India had successively to submit to the yoke of Achaemenid Persia (559-328), of the Macedonian soldiery (327-312) and, finally, of Seleucus I (312-306), before returning to the mother country in 305. For more than a century (305-190), it revolved in the orbit of the Indian empire of the Mauryas. The latter had not yet collapsed when the Greek kings of Bactria seized the Indian districts of the North-West by force, and established on their soil the Indo-Greek kingdoms, the last of which was to endure until approximately the year 30 B.C.

The progressive elimination of the Yavanas did not restore freedom to the North-West. The Greek domination was followed by that of the Šaka-Pahlavas whose appearance in India occurred in about the year 110 B.C. and continued in the North-West until approximately the year 60 A.D.

Between 174 and 129 B.C., the peoples of Central Asia, particularly the Yüeh chich, underwent a long period of disturbance. Under their impetus, the eastern Scythians (Šaka Tigrakhudas, including the tribes
THE PERIOD OF THE ŚĀKA-PAHLAVAS

of the Massagetae, Sacaraucæ and Dahae scattered between the Caspian and the Jaxartes), wrested Bactria from the Greek king Heliocles (140 B.C.) and, continuing their march southward, came up against the kingdom the Arsacid Parthians (between 128 and 120 B.C.). Having ravaged Parthia, they massively occupied the Persian province of Drangiana, on the banks of the Helmand, and so considerably reinforced their kinsmen, the Śaka Haumavarga (Amurgioi Scythians) who had transformed the land into ‘Scythian Country’ (Śakasthāna, Sijīstān, Seistān).

Expelled from that land by the Suren of the Parthian king Mithridates II, the Śakas moved eastward and, by the routes of Arachosia and Gedrosia, spread into the Sindh. That is how, in about the year 110 B.C (a doubtful date), the former Patalene became the cradle of an Indo-Scythia (the Śakadvīpa of the Indians, 'Ἰδοςχαθία of the Greeks) from whence the Scythians set out on the conquest of India.

Between 90 and 53 B.C., the Śakas of Mauves occupied Gandhāra (Puskarāvatī) and the Western Punjab (Taxila), and that thrust marked the end of the western Greek kingdom. Simultaneously, some Scythian satraps settled on the Upper Indus, in the region of Chukhsa, and on the banks of the Yamunā, at Mathurā.

Some time before the year 58 B.C., Scythian Śāhis overran Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt) and reached Avanti (Mālū, capital Ujjayinī). In 58 Vikramāditya, the king of Mālū and possibly vassal of a Śatavāhana from the Deccan, expelled them from Ujjayinī, and that victory marked the point of departure of the famous Indian era called the “Vikrama Era”.

[One hundred and thirty-five years later, in 78 A.D., the point of departure of the Śaka era, a return offensive by the Śakas was to cause the establishment in Western and Central India of two Scythian kingdoms : 1. the kingdom of the Kṣaharāta satraps, which was to be destroyed in 124 A.D. by the Śatavāhana king, Gautamīputra Śatakarnī; 2. the kingdom of the Great Satraps of Ujjayini which was to last until the end of the fourth century A.D. when it fell to the attacks of the Indian emperor Candragupta II].

Between the years 38 to 30 B.C., the Śaka Azes I conquered, to the east of the Jhelum, the last possessions of the eastern Greek kingdom (Śākala) and to the west, in Kapiša, gained the inheritance of the Greek king Hermaeus.

At the beginning of the Christian era, the Arsacid Parthians, having concluded a truce with the Romans, succeeded in imposing their authority over the Śakas in India. In approximately 19 A.D., the Pahlava
Gondophares was named Suren of the Parthian king Artaban III and, in about 25 A.D., he set out to attack Indo-Scythia and rapidly conquered nearly all the Śaka possessions. Of the kings of this period, Gondophares is the only one to emerge from the haze of numismatics and epigraphy and find a place in the literature. The Christian and pagan legend connects him with the apostle Saint Thomas and the Neopythagorean sage Apollonius of Tyana; these are, however, late and apocryphal traditions.

In approximately 60 A.D., at the end of the reign of Pacores, the successor to Gondophares, North-West India fell into the hands of the Kuśāna kings from Bactria.

2. While these events were taking place in the west, the collapse, around 40 or 30 B.C., of the Indian kingdom of the Śuṅga-Kāñyas led to the formation on the sub-continent of two new powers: the Śatavāhanas of the northern Deccan and the Cedis of Kalinga. The first three Śatavāhanas, who reigned between 60 and 17 B.C., triumphed in the battles against the Kāñyas and Śakas and, around Pratiśthāna, established a Deccan empire the dominion of which extended from Eastern Mālwa to the district of Aurangābād (Hyderābād) passing through Mahārāṣṭra. Under their king Khāravela (28-17 B.C.), the Cedis of Kaliṅga gained some quick but ephemeral successes.

3. Between the years 20 B.C. and 75 A.D., the successors of the famous Vaṭṭagāmanī who occupied the Sinhalese throne were eleven in number. Some were notable for their cruelty (Coranāga) or their excesses (Anulā), while others, in contrast, for their Buddhist devoutness and their generosity (Bhātikābhaya and Mahādāthika).

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Overcome by fear and stupor at the arrival of the Scythian hordes, the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular did not have much to complain about. The atrocities and destructions merely marked the making of contact. Having been civilized by their long stay in Parthia and also tinged with Hellenism, the Śakas continued in the North-West the policy inaugurated by the Yavanas and took as their own the established institutions and customs. Even while remaining faithful to their Iranian beliefs, they showed favour to the Buddhists, and the Scythian satraps of Chukhsa (Liaka Kusūlaka, Pāṭika, Arta, Khara-hostes, Manigula) as well as those in Mathurā (Rājuvula, his wife Ayasia Kamūa, and his son Śodāsa) appear in the lists of benefactors of the Community for having endowed in a princely way the establishments
of the Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsāṃghikas. As for the Pahlavas, they were noteworthy, if not within their own borders at least outside, for their extreme religious tolerance. It is difficult to see how Gondophares could have entered the Christian and pagan legend on an equal footing if he had shown sectarianism or narrow-mindedness.

Nevertheless, in order to reach those simple and superficially Hellenized minds, the Buddhist preaching had to modify its methods and replace its long and learned sūtras with more modest catechetics: short stanzas, supposedly endowed with magical power and expressing the quintessence of the doctrine in a striking manner, or again, alphabetical lists which enabled the basic truths to be easily remembered. Such somewhat childish procedures are doubtless evidence of the pliability and ingenuity of the propagandists, but they do not mark any special progress in the diffusion of the doctrine. However, the latter was soon to be explained at length and in detail to the Chinese, who were to have access, in translation, to an enormous amount of Buddhist literature.

In another field, it was at the period with which we are concerned, near the beginning of the Christian era — and not in the second century B.C., as it was long believed — that the Buddhists took up the habit, wherever the terrain permitted it and particularly in the western Ghāts, of carving for themselves caityagrha and vihāra in the living rock. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine here the first inventions of this rock-cut architecture which was to continue to be practised for many more centuries.

I. — HISTORICAL FACTS

I. — THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVAS


On the Parthians, Cambridge Ancient History, XI, Ch. 3, by M. Rostovtzeff; X, Ch. 14, by W. W. Tarn (with bibliography); N. C. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia.
originating from Central Asia who put an end to the Greek occupation of North-West India. Among those peoples who appeared in the course of the second century B.C., the foremost place must be accorded to the Yüeh chih and the Šakas.

Although the former, from the ethnographical point of view, have still not been properly identified, the latter, of Indo-European tongue and Iranian race, were known to history from the eighth century before the Christian era. Herodotus devotes a long account to them in his Histories (IV, 1-144). They were called Scythians by the Greeks, Sakas by the Iranians and Šakas by the Indians and these last associated them closely with the Pahlavas (Parthians).

The Scythians, being inveterate nomads, were dispersed into various tribes, each having its own king and subordinate chiefs. The latter were buried in wide graves (kurgan) with their horses and servants. The Scythian armies consisted of mounted archers, trained in the “scorched earth” tactic. They did not cultivate the soil but merely exploited the harvests of the sedentary populations who were exposed to their raids. In the region of the Black Sea, they sold the surplus to the Greeks of Pontus, and in exchange acquired pottery and metal utensils. Scythian tombs have yielded a profusion of ornaments made of gold (extracted from the Ural mines) which display a marked preference for animal motifs with representations of hunting scenes of excellent craftsmanship.

The inscription by Darius at Naqs-i-Rustam (KENT, p. 137), records three groups of Sakas:


More recent works tend to avoid Rapson’s chronological system: J.E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, The «Scythian» Period, Leiden, 1949, dates the Šakas of Ujjayini and Mathurā back to the beginning of the last century B.C., and has the Indo-Parthians reign in the second half of the same century (Maues between 60 and 50, Azes between 50 and 30; Gondophernes between 30 and 15 B.C.). — S. CHATTOPADHYAYA, The Sakas in India (Viśvabhārati Annals, VII), Santiniketan, 1955, situates the accession of Maues in approximately 32 B.C., and has him reign until 20 A.D. — In the History and Culture of the Indian People, II, The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1951, p. 127, D.C. SIRCAR proposes the following dates: Maues, ca 20 B.C.-22 A.C.; Azes I, ca 5 B.C.-30 A.D.; Azilises, ca 28-40 A.D.; Azes II, ca 35-79 A.D.*

On the language of the Šakas and Pahlavas, see below.
a. The *Saka Tigrakhauda* “weavers of pointed helmets”, including the powerful tribes of the Massagetae, Sacaraucae and Dahae, who were scattered over the territory which extended from the Caspian Sea to the Jaxartes. These are the Σάκαι Scythians mentioned by Herodotus (VII, 64) and who served in the army of Xerxes with their neighbours, the Bactrians. “They had on their heads”, says the historian, “caps ending in a point and which were straight and stiff” (περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλήσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθάς εἶχον πεπηγνίας).

b. The *Saka Haumavarga*, who are the Σαχαί ‘Αμφργιοι of Herodotus (VII, 64). In all likelihood they occupied, in the Persian province of Drangiana, the Helmand valley, a region which was subsequently to be designated by the name of “Saka Country” (Sakasthāna, Sijistān, Seistān).

c. The *Saka Paradraya* or “Scythians from overseas”, inhabitants of the Russian steppes to the north of the Black Sea.

In the seventh century B.C., these last travelled through the territories situated between the Carpathians and the Don and including to the east the arid steppes between the Don and the Dnieper, to the west the fertile plains of the “Country of black earth”. Between 650 and 620 B.C., a group of Scythian invaders conquered Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, while another wave advanced along the Carpathians as far as the Middle Danube. However, most of the Scythian forces remained in southern Russia. It was there that, in about 512, they triumphantly repulsed an invasion by the Persian king Darius and that, in 325, they destroyed the expeditionary force of Alexander’s general Zopyrion. However, after the year 300, they were driven from the Balkans and Central Europe by the Celts and, during the ensuing centuries, were replaced in Southern Russia by the Sarmatians. A few Scythians found refuge in the Crimea and Romania (Dobruja) but, under the Roman empire, the Scythians of Europe no longer played any political role.

The history of the Scythians of Asia was just as eventful. Under the impulse of other peoples of Central Asia, the Šakas of the Jaxartes and the Caspian invaded the Parthian empire during the second century B.C. Repelled by Mithridates II the Great, some of them went to reinforce the Šakas of Seistān, without, however, being able to hold their ground for long among them. Repulsed eastwards, the invaders crossed Baluchistān and went on to occupy the lower Sindh (Abiria and Patalene of the Greeks), which was then given the name of Šakadvipa. It was from this base that they set out in the first century B.C. to conquer North-West India: a first wave, proceeding up the Indus, extended its march as far Western Punjab and Taxila; a second, travelling in a south-easterly
direction, successively occupied Kacchā (Kutch), Surāṣṭra (Kathiāwār and Gujarāt) and the coastal region as far as the port of Baruckaccha (Broach); from there, crossing the Narmadā, it reached Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti.

The paragraphs which follow will deal in turn with the movements of the Yūeh chih and the Śakas in Central Asia, the invasion of the Parthian empire and, finally, the conquest of India.

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THE YŪEH CHIH AND THE ŚAKAS IN CENTRAL ASIA (174-129 B.C.). — We owe most of the information with regard to this movement of peoples to the Chinese histories: Chapters 110 and 123 of the Shih chi or Historical Memoirs of Ssū ma Ch‘ien (died in about the year 80 B.C.); Chapters 61 and 96 of the Ch‘ien Han shu or History of the Former Han, written by Pan Ku (died in 92 or 91 A.D.) and completed by Pan Chao (died after 102)².

At the beginning of the second century, the Yūeh chih were living "between Tun huang and the Ch‘i lien shan", in Western Kansu, where later the Greek geographer Ptolemy (VI, 16) was to note the existence of the people of the Thaguroi, a Mount Thaguron and a town Thogara. They were nomads, moving here and there with their flocks; they had the same customs as the Hsiung nu of Eastern Mongolia; their archers amounted to ten or twenty myriads. To begin with, they were strong and unbothered by the Hsiung nu. However, when Mao tun (209-174 B.C.) became king, he attacked and defeated the Yūeh chih. His successor, the Chen-yu Lao-chang of the Hsiung nu (174-160 B.C.) even killed the king of the Yūeh chih and made his skull into a drinking-cup. A small group of Yūeh chih separated from the main body and reached the mountains of North-East Tibet, the Richthofen Range, where they were henceforth to be known to the Chinese Annals by the name of Hsiao Yūeh chih "Little Yūeh chih". The larger mass, which emigrated westwards, was finally to reach Bactria: they were called the Ta Yūeh chih "Great Yūeh chih".

During their first campaign (ca 172-161 B.C.), the Ta Yūeh chih, marching eastwards, reached the region of Issik-kūl, between Ili and Ferghāna. They seized the land of the Wu sun and killed their king Nan

² These sources are studied in A. Wylie, Notes on the Western Regions, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, X, 1881, p. 20 (tr. of Ch. 96 (1) and 61 (1-6) of the Ch‘ien han shu); XI, 1881 (tr. of Ch. 96 (2) of the Ch‘ien han shu); P. Pelliot, Tokharien et Koutchéen, JA, 1934, pp. 23-106; Haneda Tōru, A propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Kouei-chouang, Bull. de la maison Franco-Japonaise, IV, 1933, pp. 1-28; R. Grousset, L’orientalisme et les études historiques, Revue historique, Bulletin Critique, CLXXXI, fasc. I, Jan.-Mar. 1937.
tou mi. Then, still continuing west, they repulsed the Sai (Šakas): the Sai wang (Šaka king), fleeing southwards, took possession of Chi pin.

Meanwhile, the son of the Wu sun king Nan tou mi, having been an orphan from the cradle, was miraculously fed by a she-wolf and a crow and was given hospitality by the king of the Hsiung nu. When that prince, who was named Kun mo, grew up, he attacked and defeated the Yüeh chih.

During a second campaign which took place between 133 and 129, “the Yüeh chih fled far away and entered Ta yüan (Ferghāna); to the west, they defeated the Ta hsia (inhabitants of Bactria) and subdued them. They then set up their headquarters to the north of the river Wei (Oxus)” (Shih-chi, Ch. 123). The Ch’ien Han shu adds that the king of the country of the Ta Yüeh chih held his seat of government in Chien chih ch’eng (perhaps Marakanda or Samarkand) and that the Ta hsia (Bactrians) submitted without resisting: “At the outset, the Ta hsia had no great leaders. In the towns and hamlets, they often established minor chiefs. They were a weak people and fearful of war. That is why, when the Yüeh chih came, they all submitted; they all received the Chinese envoys” (Ch’ien Han shu, Ch. 96 a). The subjection of Bactria was an accomplished fact, in 128, by the time of the journey of the Chinese envoy Chang Ch’ien in the western regions.

By that date, several years had already passed since the Greeks of the eastern kingdom had evacuated Bactria; in about 140, Heliocles, exhausted by his Indian campaigns, had withdrawn south of the Hindūkush, leaving the indigenous Bactrians undefended against incursions from the North. The classical historians allude to them briefly: “The best known of the nomad tribes which seized Bactria from the Greeks are the Asioi, the Pasianoi, the Tokharoi (the Yüeh chih of the Chinese Annals) and the Sakarauloi (a Šaka tribe), all peoples who had come from the regions situated on the other side of the Jaxartes, i.e. the bank which faces the [present] possessions of the Sakai and Sogdiana and which was then occupied by the Sakai themselves” (Strabo, XI, 8, 2). Pompeius Trogus in turn says that “the Saraucae and the Asiani, Scythian peoples, seized Bactra and Sogdiana” (Justin, Prologue XLI, ed. Chambry, II, p. 306).

By comparing these statements, we can assume that Bactria was wrested from the Greeks in about 140 by various nomad tribes including

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3 The identification of these various peoples has been much debated. See the bibliography on the subject and a constructive critique in H.W. Bailey, Recent Work in «Tokharian», Transactions of the Philological Society, 1947, pp. 126-53.
the Šakas, before passing, in approximately 129, into the hands of the Ta Yüeh chih or Tokharoi.

**The invasion of Parthia by the Šakas (128-110 B.C.).** — In the reign of Mithridates I (171-138), Parthia had become a powerful empire. Between the years 160 and 145, Mithridates had seized two satraps from the Bactrian king Eu克拉ides, conquered Media, penetrated as far as Mesopotamia and established his capital in Seleucia. Summoned to their aid by the Greeks of the region, the Seleucid Demetrius II Nicator was vanquished and captured (140-139) by him.

Mithridates I was succeeded by Phraates II (137-128). The new king had to face an attempt by the Seleucid Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129) who intended to free his brother Demetrius II and reconquer the lost provinces. The beginnings of the campaign were disastrous for the Parthians. Antiochus VII entered Mesopotamia, gained three successive victories and reached Ecbatana. Phraates II was forced to negotiate (129): he freed Demetrius II whom he had held captive for ten years, evacuated all the conquered provinces with the exception of Parthyene and agreed to pay tribute. However, the negligence of the Greeks reduced their successes to nothing. The demands of the Greek soldiery quartered in Media disgusted the population; the discontent was exploited by Parthian agents and an uprising broke out; the rout of Antiochus was total, he himself was killed and part of his army was incorporated into the Parthian troops.

Determined to exploit his victory, Phraates II resolved to make war against Syria, but the movements of the Scythians recalled him to the defence of his frontiers. "The Scythians had, with a promise of reward, called for the help of the Parthians against Antiochus [VII], the king of Syria; however, having arrived when the war was over, they saw themselves frustrated of any reward under the pretext that they had come too late. Annoyed at having made a long journey for nothing, they asked to be compensated for their weariness or else to be used against another enemy. Angered by the scornful answer they were given, they set out to ravage the Parthian territory... Phraates took to war with him a body of Greeks who had been taken prisoner in Antiochus' war, whom he treated with haughtiness and cruelty, without considering that captivity had not softened their hostile feelings and that rebellious grievances had exasperated them even further. Hence, seeing the Parthian army yielding, they entered the enemy ranks and avenged themselves for their captivity, as they had long wanted to do, with a bloody massacre of the Parthian army and of King Phraates himself" (Justin, XLII, 1, 2-5).

Phraates II was succeeded by his paternal uncle Artaban II (128-123). Having waged war on the Tocharians, he was wounded in the arm and died immediately (Justin, XLII, 2, 2).
There is every reason to suppose that, in about 130, the Scythians or Sakas conquered a large part of the Parthian empire. According to Herzfeld⁴, they founded the Scythian dynasty of Adiabene to the east of the Tigris and possibly Caracene (Muhammadarah) on the Persian Gulf. According to Ghirshman⁵, the invaders spread in two directions: some thrust directly west through Merv, Hecatompyllos, Ecbatana, while others turned southwards by descending from Merv to Herat, towards the rich province of Seistan. Justin (XLII, 2, 1) merely says that after having ravaged Parthia, the Scythians, satisfied with their victory, returned to their own country (in patriam revertuntur). However, we know from the information supplied above that this country was not only that of the Saka Tigrakhauda of the Caspian and the Jaxartes, but also of the Saka Haumavarga or 'Aµµeθiôt of Seistan. In this last province, the Scythians were very numerous; it is believed that Mithridates I had, some twenty-five years earlier, established his Saka mercenaries there and that that date—155 B.C.—was the point of departure of an early Saka era used by certain Indian inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī.

However it may be, it was the son and successor of Artaban, Mithridates II (123-88) who had to re-establish the situation: "His exploits earned him the epithet of Great; he waged some successful battles against the Scythians, and avenged the outrage done to his parents" (Justin, XLII, 2, 3 and 5). His vassal the Suren, who belonged to one of the seven great Parthian families, waged a continuing battle with the Šakas, expelled them from Parthia and Seistan and received as a reward a personal fief, Seistan, the capital of which was to be found at Alexandria-Prophthasia.

Expelled in about the year 120 from their second country, the Šakas, retracing in the opposite direction the route previously taken by Craterus, Alexander's general, followed the left bank of the Helmand, entered Arachosia and, through the passes of Bolan and Mulla, reached the districts of the Middle Indus (the Abiria of the Periplus, 41, and of Ptolemy, VII, 1 55) and the Lower Indus (the Patalene of Strabo, XV, 1, 13, of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55 etc.). The region of the Sindh, the conquest of which was completed in about 110 B.C., became the base of operations for the Scythians, from where they were to conquer North-West India. When several decades later, in about 62 B.C., they added to it the Kutch peninsula and Kāthiāwār, it rightly received the name of Indo-Scythia: "As for the entire region along the remaining part of the Indus, it bore

⁴ E. HERZFELD, Iran in the Ancient East, London and New York, 1941, p. 191.
⁵ R. GHIRSHMAN, L'Iran des origines à l'Islam, Paris, 1951, p. 221.
the generic name of Indo-Scythia; the portion which is parallel with the
mouths is Patalene; that which is above, Abiria; that which surrounds
the mouths of the Indus and the Kanthian gulf is Syrastrene” (Ptolemy,
VII, 1, 55).

THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY THE ŠAKAS AND PAHLAVAS (90 B.C.-50
A.D.). — For a century and a half, the North-West was in the hands of
Šaka invaders, who acted at times on their own behalf, at others in the
name of the central Parthian power which ended in frustrating them of
the fruit of their conquests. The Indians who, in their lists of tribes,
closely associate the Šaka-Pahlavas with the Yavanas, envelop them
with equal contempt: the Manusmṛti (X, 43-4) considers them as races
who gradually fell to the rank of Šūdras “through omission of the rites
and non-frequentation of the brahmins”.

MAUES (90-53 B.C.). — The first Scythian conqueror was named
Maues or Mauakes in Greek, Moa or Moga in Sanskrit, Mu k‘ua in
Chinese. Some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Mānšerā, district of Hazāra
(Konow, p. 20), Fatehjang in the district of Attock (Id., p. 22) and
Taxila (Id., pp. 28-9) and dated, the first two in the year 68, the third in
the year 78 of the former Šaka era which began in approximately 155
B.C., prove that before the years 87 and 77 B.C., “in the reign of the
Great King, the Great Moga”, the Šakas had taken possession of the
Western Punjab and Taxila. We are therefore justified in thinking that in
about 90 B.C. a Šaka horde, led by Maues, went up the Indus on both
banks and seized the Greek kingdom of Taxila from King Archebius(?).
The coinage of the period confirms such a conquest, since Maues, who
was still content with the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ struck coins of
the “Elephant Head: Cadeceus” and “Apollo: Tripod” types initiated
at Taxila, the former by Demetrius, the latter by Apollodotus I.

In 88, the king of the Parthians, Mithridates II the Great died and his
official title of “King of Kings” fell into disuse until the year 57, then to
be taken up again by Orodes I. Severing the last links which still
attached him to the Arsacids, Maues took advantage of the situation to
arrogate it himself. Henceforth he was to call himself, on his bilingual

6 As may well be believed, the point of departure of this old Šaka era is much debated:
155 B.C. (Tarn), 150 B.C. (Rapson); 129 B.C. (van Lohuizen de Leeuw); 123 B.C. (M.N.
Saka). For S. Konow, seven different eras were in use during the first centuries before and
after Christ: two Parthian eras, the ancient and the new; the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), the era
of Azes, the era beginning in 50 A.D., the Šaka era and the era of Kaniśka. See a
description and discussion of the question in van Lohuizen, The «Scythian» Period, pp. 1-
72.
coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΤΟΥ Ράजατिरά́जασα μα-
хатаса Μοάσα, and on the Kharoṣṭhī inscription at Taxila, Ма́ха́ра́йаса
махамтаса Могаса (Конов, p. 28). Some of these coins, of the
Poseidon with trident type, possibly commemorate a naval victory on
the Indus or the Jhelum.

The conquests of Maues to the west were very extensive; coins of the
“Elephant : Indian Buffalo” and “Goddess of Пу́шкара́вати : Indian
Buffalo” types prove that he ruled, not only at Taxila, but also at
Пу́шкара́вати in Gandhāra. Coins of the Kapiṣi “Enthroned Zeus” type
copied from Eucratides and Antialcidas, also lead us to believe that he
extended his domination over Капи́ша; notwithstanding, on his death
which occurred in about 53 B.C., it was not a Ṣaka but a Greek,
Αmyntas, who ruled over the Paropamisadae.

Maues governed part of the possessions through the intermediary of
satraps. The region of Chukhsa on the Upper Indus, including the
eastern valley of Peshāwār, and the present-day districts of Hazāra,
Attock and Miāṇwālī, obeyed the orders of the κσατραπά Liaka Kusūlaka
whose name appears on the copper plate of Taxila (Конов, p. 28)
which probably dates from the year 78 B.C., as well as on coins of the
“Pieî of the Dioscuri” type with the Greek legend ΑΙΑΚΟ ΚΩΖΟΥΛΟ.
This satrap, as well as his son Пātika, belonged to the Scythian family of
the Κσαθαράτας whose members reigned over Surāṣṭra and Avanti.

It is doubtful whether Maues’ empire extended east of the Jhelum.
Nevertheless, during his time, Ṣaka satraps ruled in Mathurā where they
struck coins. The latter, copied from the Indian princes whom they had
supplanted, bore the goddess Лакшмі on the obverse and a horse on the
reverse; these khatapas or mahakhatapas who followed each other
between 87 and 38 B.C. were named Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa
and Hagāna.

In his capacity of King of Kings (sāhānu sāhi) and suzerain (sāman-
tādhipati), Maues had under his orders a quantity of vassals (sāmanta),
bearing the title of kings (sāhi) but in fact merely tribal chiefs. Towards
the end of his reign, at all events shortly before the year 58 B.C.
(beginning of the Vikrama era), a sāhi defection resulted in the extension
of Scythian power in Western and Central India at a time when the
Kāṇya empire, already displaying signs of weakness, was about to
collapse under the impact of internal dissensions and Andhran arms.
A Jaina work of unknown date, the Kālakācāryakathānaka⁷, reports the
events as follows:

⁷ Ed. H. Jacobi, ZDMG, XXXIV, 1880, p. 247 sq.
The Jaina master Kālaka, whose sister had been abducted by Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjainī [in the service of the Andhras?], went to the kūla of the Sagakūlas [kūla of the Śakas, situated in the Sindh]. There, the vassals (sāmanta) were called Sāhis “kings” and their supreme chief (sāmantaḥiva) Sāhānu sāhi “King of Kings”. Kālaka stayed with one of those Sāhis, and when that chief, with ninety-five other Sāhis, fell into disgrace with the “King of Kings” [Maues?], Kālaka invited him to accompany him to Hindugades [Hindukadeśa, the Indian sub-continent]. They crossed the Indus (uttariṇa Sindhuṁ), went in boats (samaruhiṇa jānavaṭtesu), made their way to Surāṣṭra [Surāṣṭra, present-day Kāthiāwār and Gujarāṭ] and divided the country between them.

When autumn arrived, the master [Kālaka] took him to Ujjainī, where Gardabhilla was made prisoner. A Sāhi was established as King of Kings (rāyahiraya = rājātirāja), and in that manner the dynasty of the Śaka kings was founded.

Some time afterwards, Vikramāditya, the king of Mālavā [and doubtless a vassal of the Śatavāhanas of the Deccan] overthrew that Śaka dynasty and established his own era [the Vikrama era which began in 58 B.C.]. However, that dynasty was also overthrown by another Śaka king who founded his own era when 135 years of the Vikrama era had already passed [the Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D.].

It ensues from this passage that, shortly before the year 58 B.C., some Scythian sāhis, breaking away from the King of Kings of the Sindh, scattered in Aparānta and Avanti and that Ujjainī, the capital, was governed for some time by a new King of Kings, independently of the Sindh. Expelled from Ujjainī in 58 by the Indian king Vikrama, the Śakas nevertheless remained on the western coast, in Surāṣṭra and the ports of Bharukaccha and Śūrpāraka where their presence is recorded, in the first century of the Christian era, by the author of the Periplus (§ 41). One hundred and thirty-five years later, a Śaka king reconquered even Avanti and placed his capital in Ujjainī. This victory which occurred in 78 A.D., the point of departure of the new Śaka era, marked the beginnings of two separate Śaka kingdoms: that of the Kṣaharātā satrap kings occupying Surāṣṭra and Aparānta, and that of the great sattraps of Ujjainī established in Avanti. Both, we believe, adopted the new Śaka era in the year 78 A.D. and, if this calculation is correct, the first kingdom was overthrown in the year 124 A.D. by the Śatavāhana king Gautamiputra Śrī Śatakarni, while the sattraps of Ujjainī remained in power until approximately the year 390 A.D., a date at which their possessions were added to the crown of the Indian emperor Candragupta II.

In any case, at the beginning of the second half of the last century of the ancient era, the Śakas held a considerable portion of Indian territory:

1. The possessions of Maues extended over Arachosia, the Sindh,
Gandhāra and the Western Punjab. In these last two provinces, his states were wedged between the last representatives of the eastern and western Greek kingdoms. The second of these, reduced to the territory of the Paropamisadae or Kapiṣa, was governed, towards the end of Maues' reign, by a certain Amyntas who is believed to be Greek. Probably supported by the Yüeh chih princes who then occupied Bactria as far as the northern slopes of the Hindūkush, this Amyntas had seized Kapiṣa or had proclaimed his independence there; he struck coins of the "Enthroned Zeus" type with the legend in Kharoṣṭhī. He is believed to have ruled from 54 to 49 B.C., and was succeeded by Hermaeus.

2. The region of Chukhsa on the Upper Indus was under the command of the Kṣaharāta Liaka Kusūlaka, a vassal of Maues.

3. Śaka satraps governed the region of Mathurā in their own names.

4. Finally, some Scythian Sāhis, who had evaded the authority of Maues, had crossed the Indus and reached the western coast of Surāṣṭra by sea. From there they had gone on to Avanti and, for a time, occupied Ujjayinī from where King Vikrama expelled them.

An indication of Scythian power at that period is the fact that, according to Pseudo-Lucian (Macrobius, 15), the Sakaraukoi were able to impose on the Parthians a king of their own choice, Sinatruces (77-70), the brother of Phraates II or son of Arsaces Dikaius, who had lived among them for a long time. However, the division and rivalries of the Śaka princes, recorded by the Greek historians, was to cause their downfall.

SUCCESSORS OF MAUES. — Historians have given various opinions on the order of succession of the Śaka or Pahlava princes who followed Maues, but the coinage of Arachosia enabled Tarn and Marshall to establish this classification:

Some silver coins copied from Heliocles but of a special type, representing the prince on horseback on the obverse and, on the reverse, an effigy of Zeus standing, full-face, bearded and with head bent, were struck successively in Arachosia by:

a. Vonones and his legate Śpalahores given the purely honorific title of "brother of the Great King" : on the obverse, the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ; on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend, Mahārajabhrata dhramikasa Śpalahorasa.

b. Vonones and Śpalagadames.

c. Śpalirises alone.

d. Śpalirises and Azes I.

e. Azes I alone.
Some bronze coins, also struck in Arachosia, can be classed in two groups. The first represents on the obverse Heracles full face crowning himself with his right hand and holding in his left a club and a lion-skin; on the reverse, Athena standing to the left, with a shield and sword. They were struck by:

a. Vonones and Spalahores: on the obverse, the Greek legend \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ} \); on the reverse the Kharoṣṭhī legend, \( \text{Mahārajabhṛata dhramikasa Śpalahorasa} \).

b. Vonones and Spalagadames.

The second group represents on the obverse the king on horseback in a stippled square; on the reverse, Heracles, naked and with a diadem, seated on a rock, a club on his lap. These coins were successively struck by:

a. Śpalyris (= Spalahores?) and Spalagadames: on the obverse, the Greek legend \( \text{ΣΙΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \); on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend, \( \text{Śpalahora putrasa dhramiṣa Śpalagadamaṇa} \).

b. Azes I.

c. Azilises.

This sequence led Tarn and Marshall⁸ to reconstruct the succession of Maues in the following order: 1. Vonones and his legates Spalahores (or Śpalyris) and Spalagadames, 2. Śpalirises, 3. Azes I, 4. Azilises, 5. Azes II.

VONONES (53-40 B.C.). — The imperial title of King of Kings which became vacant on the death of Maues was assumed in about 53 by the Parthian Vonones, the Suren of Eastern Iran. In Arachosia, his suzerainty was recognized by Spalahores or Śpalyris, “Brother of the Great King”, and his son Spalagadames. Coins of both dynasts having been found in the Scythian layers at Sirkap, we may assume that they also functioned in Taxila as legates of Vonones. They perhaps came into conflict with Amyntas, the Greek king of Kapiṣa. However, on the death of the latter in approximately 49, Parthian domination over the Western Punjab was temporarily interrupted. Again it was a Greek, Hermaeus (49-38 B.C.), who succeeded Amyntas in Kapiṣa where he struck coins of the “Bust of the king: Enthroned Zeus” type with the legends \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, Mahārajasa tratārasa Heramayasa} \).

The same prince wasted no time in seizing Gandhāra and the Western Punjab where his coins are found in quite large numbers: on the obverse they bear the bust of the king to the right with a Greek legend

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erased; on the reverse, winged Nike holding a garland in her right hand and a palm in her left, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend Maharajasa Hera-
mayasa⁹.

After the decease of Śpalagadames which occurred in about 49, the Suren Vonones established Śpalirises as his legate and “brother”. On a silver coin of the “Standing Zeus” type, Śpalirises does in fact bear the title of brother of the king. However, it was not long before he gained his independence and took to himself the title of “Great King” in conjunction with his son Azes I, then after the death of Vonones, that of “Great King of Kings”:

ŚPALIRISES (45-38 B.C.). — The copper coins on which Śpalirises appears with his imperial title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΑΥ, Maharajasa mahamitakasa Śpalirisasa are of the “En-
throned Zeus” type characteristic of the town of Kāpiś. All the same, it is doubtful whether that prince really seized Kapiṣa, since the Paropamisades seem to have remained in the hands of the Greeks until the death of Hermaeus in about the year 30. It is probable that the Kapiṣi of Vonones was merely intended to assert in theory the rights of Parthia over the region of the Paropamisades.

At the time of Vonones, the more or less independent Śaka satraps continued to govern certain territories in the North-West: Hagāmāṣa and Hagāna in Mathurā; Pāṭika in Chukhsa. Pāṭika, of the Kṣaharāṭa family, was the son of Liaka Kusulaka, the vassal of Maues. The copper plate at Taxila (KONOW, p. 28) informs us that, during his father’s lifetime, he re-established to the north of Taxila a “dislodged” relic of the Bhagavat Śākyamuni as well as a monastery, thus earning him the Buddhist title of “Great Benefactor” (mahādānapati). The inscription on the Lion Capital of Mathurā (KONOW, p. 48) shows that he succeeded his father with the title of Mahākṣatrapa and that he doubtless had the kṣatrapa Mevaki Miyika as a colleague and neighbour.

AZES I (38-10 B.C.). — Azes I, the son of Śpalirises, was the most powerful Śaka dynasty after Maues. During his father’s lifetime, in about 45, he already bore the title of Great King. Having mounted the throne

⁹ Rightly or wrongly, Hermaeus has been identified with the Yin mo fu of the Chinese sources, that king of Chi pin who contended with the emperor of China Yuán ti (48-33 B.C.). These events are narrated in the Ch‘ien Han Shu, Ch. 96a (cf. A. WYLIE, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, X, 1881, p. 33 sq.; O. FRANKE, Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen für Kenntnis der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abhandl. d. preuss. Akad. zu Berlin, 1904, No. 1, p. 63 sq.). For interpretations, see S. KONOW, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, pp. XXIII-XXV; W. W. TARN, Greeks in Bactria, p. 340; J. MARSHALL, Taxila, I, pp. 48-9.
in approximately the year 38, he inherited the imperial title, as is proved by Arachosian coins of the "King on horseback: Standing Zeus" type, with the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ, Maharas-jasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa. It is not without astonishment that we see all the great figures of the Greek pantheon appearing on the coins of the Śaka king: Zeus, Poseidon, Pallas, Hermes, Hephaestus, the winged Nike and Demeter with the horn of plenty. His conquests were considerable:

a. From Hermaeus he retook Gandhāra (Puṣkaravatī) and the Western Punjab (Taxila). This is proved by the fact that he struck coins of the "City of Puṣkalavatī: Indian Ox" and "Elephant: Indian Buffalo" types, characteristic of those two regions.

b. To the east of the Jhelum, he captured the Greek kingdom of the Eastern Punjab, capital Śākala, from the last Euthydemids. Indeed, he overstruck certain coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus and adopted the "Athena Promachos" or "Athena" type which characterized the Euthydemid house.

c. Again, in all probability, he annexed Kapiṣa on the death of Hermaeus which took place in the year 30, since he himself, as well as his successor Azilises, struck local coins of the "Zeus Nikephorus, standing with sceptre" and "Zeus Nikephorus, seated on the throne".

d. The suzerainty of Azes also extended to the region of Mathurā, where the Indian era known as Vikrama was in use, and which began in the year 58 B.C. Azes seems to have adopted this calculation, while changing its name "Vikrama era" to "Era of Azes (Ayasa)". Dated in the era of Azes are the inscription of Śivarakṣita at Shahdaur (KONOW, p. 17) the number of which has been effaced, the copper plate at Kālawān (J. MARSHALL, Taxila, I, p. 327) in the year 134 (= 76 A.D.), and the silver scroll of Taxila (KONOW, p. 77) in the year 136 (= 78 A.D.).

Azes I governed his vast possessions through intermediaries:

a. In the satrapy of Chukhsa, Kharahostes is mentioned on the Lion Capital of Mathurā (KONOW, p. 48) as a yuvarāja, the son of Aṛṭa, husband of Abuhola and father of Ayasi Kamuia. The latter was to marry Rajula or Rājuvula, the satrap of Mathurā. Kharahostes, who doubtless succeeded Pāṭika as satrap of Chukhsa, struck coins representing on the obverse the king on horseback, with a pointed lance, and the Greek legend ΧΑΡΗΩΣΤΕΙ ΚΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑΟΥ, and on the reverse a lion to the right with the Kharoṣṭhī legend Chatrapasa pra Kharaōstasa Artasa putrasa.

b. Rājuvula, known both from inscriptions and coins, was the most
powerful satrap of the period. His many coins fall into at least four classes: 1. Silver coins bearing on the obverse the bust of the king to the right with the Greek legend (much effaced and incorrect) BACIALEI BACICEACOC COTHRHVOC PAZY; on the reverse, Athena Promachos carrying the aegis in her left hand and throwing a thunderbolt with her right; Kharoṣṭhī legend: Apratihatacakrāsa chatrapasa Rajuvulasa. It should be noted that the Athena Promachos type had been instituted in the Eastern Punjab (Sākala) by Menander and widely used by the whole Euthydemid lineage. — 2. Some lead coins struck in Mathurā and representing on the obverse the goddess Lākṣmī between two symbols with the Brāhmī legend Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa. — 3. Some lead coins bearing on the obverse a standing lion to the right and an erased Greek legend; on the reverse, Heracles (?) full-face, his arm extended, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend sa Raja/asa aprati. According to Marshall, this type was initiated by Maues in Taxila. — 4. Copper coins of the “King on horseback: Zeus Nikephoros” type with, on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend Chatrapa ... Rajuvula.

On the Lion Capital of Mathurā (KONOW, p. 48) and the Brāhmī inscription of Mora (LÜDERS, 14), Rajula, or again Rājūvula, bears the title of Mahākṣatrapa. It is probable that after the conquest of the Eastern Punjab (Sākala) by Azes I, Rājuvula first governed that region with the title of “satrap”. Later, his fief was enlarged in the east by the region of Mathurā and, in the west, by that of Taxila; from then on, he took the title of “Great Satrap”. It is believed that he lived until the year 17 B.C. After his death, his possessions were shared between various princes, including his son Śoḍāsa.

AZILISES (10 B.C.-5 A.D.) and AZES II (5-19 A.D.). The great King of Kings Azilises wielded power first under the aegis of his father Azes I, then alone, finally in association with his son Azes II. His very varied coinage attests the extent of his states: silver coins of the “Standing Zeus” type (Arachosia), copper ones of the “Standing or seated Heracles” type (Arachosia), “Goddess of the city and Zeus” (Gandhāra), “Elephant and Indian Buffalo” (Taxila). The coin which he struck in association with his son Azes II is of copper. The obverse represents Heracles, with the club and lion-skin, crowning himself, and bears the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ; the reverse represents a standing horse to the right, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend: Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa.

That Azes (II) left coins of the "King on horseback: Pallas Athena" type bearing on the reverse the Kharoṣṭhī legend Indravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa. From this it can be concluded that Azes II took as his lieutenant a certain Aśpavarma whose father, Indravarma, had already served under Azilises.

As for the rest, Azilises and Azes II resorted to the services of numerous vassals:

a. In the Western Punjab (Taxila), Indravarma under Azilises, Aśpavarma under Azes II. Indravarma, under the name of Iṃdravasa, struck coins of the "King on Horseback: Pallas Athena" type. As for his son Aśpavarma, he can perhaps be identified with that Īśparaka whose name appears on an inscribed ladle found in Mahal, near Taxila: "A gift from Īśparaka to the community of the four regions at the Uttarārāma of Takṣaśilā, in favour of the Kāsyāpiyas" (KONOW, p. 88).

b. In the Eastern Punjab (Śākala), Bhadrayaśa who, on his copper coins of the Athena Alkis type, took the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ 11.

c. In the satrapy of Chuhksa, Manigula (KONOW, p. 82), continuing the lineage of Liaka Kusūlaka, Pāṭika, Āṭa and Kharahostes (KONOW, p. 48).

d. Finally in Mathurā, Śodāsa, the son of Rājuvula, the great satrap of Azes I, and who seems to have succeeded his father, but only in the region of Mathurā, from the year 17 B.C. onwards. Śodāsa bears the title of Satrap then of Great Satrap on the Kharoṣṭhī and Brahmī inscriptions at Mathurā (Lion Capital, KONOW, p. 48; panel at Kānkālī Śilā, LÜDERS, 59; Jail Mound panel, LÜDERS, 82; jamb of the temple of Viṣṇu at Morā, El, XXIV, 1938, p. 208). On his coins of the Lākṣmī type, rediscovered in the region of Mathurā exclusively, he bears the titles of "Satrap Śodāsa, son of the Great Satrap", "Satrap Śodāsa, son of Rājuvula" and finally, "Great Satrap Śodāsa".

GONDOPHARES (19-45 A.D.). — During the final decades of the ancient era, the Arsacids, absorbed in the skirmishes with Rome, had no leisure to concern themselves with their eastern possessions and left the field open to the Sakas in their Indian undertakings.

The reigns of Orodes I (57-38 B.C.) and Phraates IV (37-2 B.C.) were marked by fierce battles against the Romans. In 53, the Suren of Orodes vanquished the legions of the triumvir Crassus in the famous battle of Carrhae (Harran) which cost the Romans twenty thousand dead and ten thousand prisoners. Crassus perished in the skirmish, and the Suren abused his corpse. The conquered man's right hand and head were cut

off and sent to Artaxata and the frightful trophy was cast by Sillaces at the feet of Orodes and his son Pacorus.

In 42, the Parthians invaded Syria and Judaea but, in 38, they were attacked in the Taurus by Antony’s general, Ventidius Bassus. At Gindarus, they suffered a serious defeat during which Pacorus met his death. Orodes then relinquished the power and his second son, Phraates IV, mounted the throne. He immediately had to confront a renewed Roman attack commanded by Antony in person. Eager to avenge the affront inflicted twenty years earlier on the Roman eagles and Crassus, the triumvir marched on the Euphrates; however, once again the expedition ended in defeat, followed by a disastrous retreat (36 B.C.).

The accession of Augustus and the policy of peace which the emperor inaugurated in the East protected the Parthians against the imperial eagles for nearly a century. Phraates IV sent an embassy to Augustus, returned the trophies captured from Crassus and Antony and had his four sons educated in Rome. Furthermore, the emperor having presented him with an Italian slave, Musa, he married her and elevated her to the rank of queen. From this union was born a son, Phraataces, and in order that he might accede to the Parthian throne, Musa had no hesitation in poisoning the old king.

Phraataces, under the name of Phraates V (2 B.C.-4 A.D.), ruled for some time jointly with his mother. In the end, a rebellion by the nobility forced him to retire to Roman territory.

Brought to power by the nobility, the usurper Orodes II occupied the throne for only four years (4-8 A.D.). He made himself unbearable through his cruelty and was assassinated during a hunting party.

The Parthian nobility asked Rome for one of the four sons of Phraates IV to be sent to occupy the throne, and the choice fell on Vonones I. His reign was brief (8-11 A.D.) since, having been educated in the West and therefore unfamiliar with Persian customs, he soon displeased his subjects. A rival, Artaban, prince of Media and an Arsacid through his mother, was given the power by the malcontents, and Vonones went to Armenia where he occupied the then vacant throne.

Artaban III was to rule for some thirty years (11-40 A.D.) in perfect harmony with the Roman Empire with which, in the year 18, he renewed the pact of friendship which had formerly been concluded by Phraates IV.

Orthagnes, Artaban’s Suren, governed Seistan with the title of Great King of Kings. His vassals in Arachosia were Gondophares and his brother Guda or Gada. Copper coins exist which bear on the obverse
the bust of Orthagnes with the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥϹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑϹ ΟΡΘΑΓΗΝΗϹ, and, on the reverse, a standing Victory, with the Kharoṣṭhī legend Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Gudasa.

The first vassal of the Suren, Gudaphara, was destined to a brilliant future and his exploits nourished the legend as much as the chronicle.

He was called in Iranian Vindapharna, “Conqueror of glory”, but his name appears in the most diverse forms : Gudaphara on inscriptions from the North-West, Guduphara or Gadapharna on the Kharoṣṭhī legends of coins, Undopheros, Undopherros or Gondopheros on the Greek legends of the same coins, and finally, Gūdṇasfar, Gundafor, Gundoforus and Goundaphorus in the apocryphal Acta.

In approximately the year 19 A.D., this Gondophares, as he is called by modern historians, succeeded Orthagnes as Suren of Eastern Iran. In that capacity, he governed the province of Aria, the districts situated between Lake Hamūn and the river Helmand (Drangiana and Seistān) and, finally, Kandahār or Arachosia, a region called “White India” (‘Ινδική Λευκή) in the Mansiones Parthicae (§ 19) by Isidorus of Charax (ca 26 A.D.).

Gondophares wielded power with the full agreement of the Arsacids, and the characteristic monogram which appears on his coins as well as those of the Parthian kings Orodes I, Phraates IV and Artaban III, is perhaps an indication of this allegiance.

While his predecessor, the Suren Orthagnes, had styled himself “King of Kings” after the example of his suzerains, Gondophares had first to be content with the more modest title of “Saviour King”; this is evident from coins of the “Bust of the King : Nike” type bearing the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩϹ ΛΥΤΗΡΟϹ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ, Maharajasa Gudapharnasa tratarasa.

It is generally believed that in about the year 25 A.D. Gondophares made an attack on Indo-Scythia, vanquished the Šaka Azes II and his general Aspavarma, and established his capital in Taxila. It was then perhaps that he assumed the imperial title of “Great King of Kings”, making him the equal of the Arsacid princes. From then on, he struck silver and copper coins of the “King on Horseback : Standing Zeus” type, sometimes alone, with the legens ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩϹΙϹΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΙ ΥΝΔΟΦΡΡ, Maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrata Gudapharasa, and sometimes in the company of a legate : Aspavarma (the former strategus of Azes II, retained in service by Gondophares) Sasan or Sasa and, finally, Abdagases or Avadagaśa, this last qualified as “nephew” (ἀδελφός, bhradaputra) of Gondophares.
Starting from Taxila, Gondophares extended his conquests towards the west and east. According to J. Marshall, his empire when at its largest, included Seistan (Sakasthāna), the Sindh (Śakadvipa) with prolongations to the Kutch peninsula (Kacchā) and Kāthiāwār (Surāśṭra), Arachosia, the Paropamisadāe, Gandhāra and the plains of the Punjab as least as far as Rāvi.

The Parthian dynasty administered its vast territories through the intermediary of strategoi and vassals whose names and titles are known from coins:

1. No doubt we should locate in Taxila the legates who have been mentioned above: the strategus Aśpavarma, Sasan and finally Abdagases “the nephew of Gondophares”.

2. In the ancient Scythian satrapy of Chukhsa made famous at the time of Maues by the Košaharāta satraps — Liaka Kusūlaka, Pātika, Arta and Kharahostes — then under Azes II by Manigula, Gondophares seems to have been represented by Manigula’s son. The latter appears with the name of Jihonīka on the inscription on the askos-vase dated in the year 191 of the ancient Śaka era, i.e. 36 A.D. (Konow, p. 82); he is called Zeionises on coins of the “Goddess of the City” type.

3. The monogram of Gondophares decorates the edge of silver coins of the “Bust of the King: Standing Nike” type found in Sirkap by Sir John Marshall and struck in the name of Rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedanasa or in that of Satavastrasa maharajasa. In all probability, these were feudatories of Gondophares whose fiefs were to be found in the lower Sindh or in Kāthiāwār. Sapedana (Sapedanes) is perhaps to be compared with the Sandanes who controlled the ports of the western coast of India, particularly Suppara (Śūrpāraka) and Kalliena (Kalyāṇa): “Since it has been in the hands of Sandanes, commerce is considerably disrupted, and Greek ships which berth in those places risk being taken under heavy guard to Barygaza (Bharukacca)” (Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, § 52). Doubtless, Gondophares exerted only nominal authority over those kings of the Sindh who survived him and continued to rule under his successor Pacores.

The inscription of Takht-i-Bahi (Konow, p. 62) in Gandhāra proves that Gondophares was still alive in the year 45 A.D. It commemorates
the building of a chapel by a certain Balasami (Skt. Balasvāmin) in the year 26 of the reign of the Mahārāja Guduvhara, corresponding to the year 103 of an unspecified era. If it is the era of Azes or Vikrama which began in 58 B.C., the inscription would be from 103-58 = 45 A.D., and Gondophares would have acceded to the throne 26 years earlier, i.e. in 19 A.D.

Of the countless Śaka-Pahlavas of Indo-Scythia, Gondophares is the only one to have emerged from obscurity to take his place in legend. His name and those of certain of his intimates, such as Guḍa and Abdagašes, are mentioned in the Christian and pagan traditions concerning the journey of the apostle Thomas to India, the visit to Taxila by Apollonius of Tyana, and the pilgrimage to Nazareth of the three wise kings.

**Gondophares and Saint Thomas. —** According to the *Acts of Thomas*¹² (also named Judas), the apostle purportedly went to the court of Gondophares and underwent martyrdom in the city of King Mizdai.

In Jerusalem the apostles had just allocated to one another the lands which they were to evangelize. Judas-Thomas, also called Didymus (twin), received India as his field of apostleship. Meanwhile, there arrived in the region of the South an Indian merchant, named Habbān (Abannes, Abban), charged by his master, the king of India Gundaphar (Goundaphoros, Gundaforus) with obtaining a skillful architect for him. While the merchant was walking about the market, Jesus appeared to him and proposed selling him one of his slaves who was an expert in the art of building for the price of twenty pieces of silver. This slave was none other than Thomas who was thus given the opportunity to reach India in the company of the merchant.

Driven by favourable winds, the two voyagers quickly reached the port of Sandarūk (Andrapolis on the western coast of India). They attended a feast offered by the king of the region on the occasion of his daughter's wedding. On this occasion Thomas sang a hymn celebrating the mystical union of the soul with eternal wisdom. The king invited him to bless the young newly weds. Thomas had only just left the nuptial chamber when Christ, with the features of the apostle, appeared to the young couple and converted them to the idea of continence within marriage. The king was furious and set up a search for Thomas and his companion, but they had already left the region.

Continuing his journey, the apostle arrived at Gundaphar's court. He was ordered to build a grandiose palace and he promised to complete the work in six months. However he spent the funds put at his disposal on charities. Informed of this mystification Gundaphar asked to see with his own eyes the building

being erected for him: he was appeased by a dream in which he saw the sacred palace being built at his expense in the skies. The king, his brother Gad and the entire court were converted; following them, a multitude of persons embraced the true faith. Signs and miracles were performed by the apostle.

The news of the wonders spread. In a neighbouring kingdom, King Mazdai (Misdaios, Misdeus) sent the general Sifur (Siphor, Sapor) in search of Thomas to deliver his wife and daughter who were possessed by a demon. Entrusting his converts to the guardianship of the deacon Xanthippus (Xenophon), Thomas reached Mazdai’s kingdom. There he carried out the conversion of Queen Tertia and a noble lady, Mygdonia, and pledged them to practise continence within marriage. Thrown into prison by the king, he freed himself of his own accord in order to complete the instruction of his catechumens. Finally, he was led out of the town and killed with spears by four soldiers. The apostle was interred in the burial-ground of the ancient kings, but his disciples removed the body in secret and transported it to the West.

The Acts of Thomas are an authentic product of Syriac literature, and it is proven that the Greek is not the original. They are especially in the hymns — hymn sung during the ceremony of baptism (Ch. 27), hymn for the celebration of Eucharist (Ch. 50), hymn of the soul (Ch. 108-13) — of of a pronounced Gnostic nature. The work is recorded by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries as being into the hands of heretics: Encratites, Apostolics, Manichaeans or Priscillianists. However, the Catholics did not deny themselves the reading of it. In 494, a decree by Pope Gelasius rejected it from the canon of holy books recognized by the Church.

The historicity of the journey and martyrdom of Saint Thomas in India has been much debated. The German Jesuits J. Dahlmann and A. Väth are in favour, while the Belgian Jesuit P. Peeters is against.

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15 Cf. É. Amman, Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, I, Paris, 1928, p. 501; Epiphanius, Haeres., XLVII, I, Migne PG, 41, 852 (Encratites); LXI, 1, ibid., 41, 1046 (Apostolics); Augustine, Cont. Faustum, XXII, 79; Cont. Adimant, XVII, 2 (Manichaeans), Migne PL, 42, 452 and 758; Turribius, Epist. ad Idac, Migne PL, 54, 694 (Priscillianists).

16 See the bibliography in L. de la Vallée Poussin, L’Inde aux temps des Mauryas, p. 277.

17 J. Dahlmann, Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des
In fact, tradition is inconsistent about the peoples evangelized by Saint Thomas, the nature of his death and possibly the site of his martyrdom. For the Valentinian Gnostic Heracleon (ca 145-180), cited by Clement of Alexandria (Strom., IV, 9, Migne PG, 8, 1281), the apostle purportedly died a natural death, after Saints Peter and Paul (Photius, Bibl., cod. 276; Migne PG, 104, 256): "All the Saved did not leave this world after having confessed the confession which is made by voice (ἡ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὀμολογία): for example, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others". In other words, not all the apostles died as martyrs.

According to Origen (185-254), Clement. Recognit., IX, 29 (Migne PG, 1, 1415) and Socrates (ca 450), Hist. Eccl., I, 19 (Migne PG, 67, 125), Saint Thomas took the Gospel to the Parthians. St. Jerome (331-420), in his De vitis apost., V (Migne PL, 23, 722) and the Pseudo-Dorothea, De LXX Dom. disc. (Migne PL, 92, 1072) mention, besides the Parthians, other peoples who were evangelized by the apostle, and give as his place of death Kalamina in India, a town which, to our knowledge, has not yet been identified.

From the fourth and fifth centuries onwards, the tradition which makes Thomas the apostle to and martyr in India is well established: Ambrose (340-397), In Ps. 45 (Migne PL, 14, 1143); Jerome (331-420), Ep. 59 ad Marcellam (Hilberg, 546); Gregory of Nazianzus (330-390), Or. 33 contra Arianos (Migne PG, 36, 228), Nicephorus, Hist. eccl., II, 40 (Migne PG, 145, 861); Paulinus of Nola (353-431), Carm. 18 fragm. (Migne PL, 61, 672).

We still do not know the age of the tradition of the Christians of Malabar, known as the Christians of Saint Thomas, in the terms of which the apostle came in 52 A.D. from Socotora to the island of Malankara, near Cranganor (Malabar) and supposedly founded the seven communities of Cranganur, Palur, North Palur, South Palliparam, Naranam, Nellakkul and Quilon; moving from there to Malaiapur (a suburb of Madras) in Coromandel, he apparently converted King Sagan; a brahmin put him to death with a lance on a nearby mountain. The saint's body was transported to Edessa, as in the other legend.

In Malaiapur (Maliyapur, near Madras), later San Thome, where the apostle was supposedly assassinated, was rediscovered, in 1547, a cross with a Pahlavi inscription which may date back to the tenth century. At least four copies exist in Travancore.


It should be noted that, according to other Apocrypha, Saint Bartholomew also supposedly evangelized India where his executioner was said to be King Polymius. Cf. the Martyre de Barthélémy in Acta Apostolorum apocrypha, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1851, p. 243; R.A. LIPSius and M. BONNET, Acta apostolorum apocrypha, II, 1, pp. 128-50; Abdiae Apostolicae historiae, ed. FABRICIUS, Hamburg, 1719, p. 669.

On Friday 5 May 1122, the Roman court of Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124) was much agitated by the unexpected arrival of a so-called Indian prelate whose exalted discourses gave credence in the West to the posthumous miracle of Saint Thomas. The Indian prelate's account is transmitted in two versions, of which the second is the only one to specify that the miracle occurred in Hulna, the capital of the Indian kingdom, traversed by the river Physon and near which stood a mountain bearing on its summit the church of Saint Thomas. That church, which is supposed to contain the body of the saint, was the setting each year for an outstanding miracle: "Every year, during the eight days preceding the feast of Saint Thomas and the eight days following it, the deep river which encircled the church half opened to give passage. On the feast day itself, the archbishop at the head of all his praying people, approached the saint's shrine and, assisted by his peers, withdrew the body and placed it on the pontifical throne; everyone set about presenting their oblation to the Apostle, whose arm extended and hand half opened, closing only to refuse offerings from heretics."^20

Although it is doubtful whether the apostle met his death in India — be it Indo-Scythia or Coromandel —, it would not be chronologically impossible for a Christian mission to have entered Indo-Scythia in the reign of Gondophares. However, if there was a mission, it had no tangible effect. We have to wait for the establishment of Christian dioceses on Indian territory and neighbouring regions for Christianity to attest its presence in an effective manner. However, the setting up of dioceses in Sassanid Persia and Gupta India is not attested before the fifth century. The Chaldaean bishoprics of Sarbaziyah (Gedrósia), Segest-tān (Seistān or Drangiana), Merv and Herāt (in Khorāsān) are recorded in 424 by the Synodicon Orientale^21. At the first council of Seleucia (410), it is believed that a number of bishops came from various provinces of the Sassanid empire; at the second (486), the bishop of Herāt attended^22.

A passage in the Topographia Christiana (III, p. 169 A-B)^23 by

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Cosmas Indicopleustes (Constantine of Antioch) constitutes the first valid evidence of the Christian presence in India. It dates from the sixth century (ca 520-526) and concerns the India of the Guptas, known for their policy of religious tolerance: "In Taprobane (Ceylon), in the interior of India, there is a Christian church, priests and faithful people; equally, in Male, where pepper grows. In the town called Kalliana, there is a bishop who was elected in Persia. Similarly, on the island of Dioscorides (Socotora), where the inhabitants speak Greek, there are priests chosen in Persia and sent among them, and crowds of Christians".

Nevertheless, in their Memoirs on Eastern Countries, the Chinese pilgrims, particularly Fa-hsien (402-410), Sung Yün (518-522) and above all Hsüan-tsang (627-645), who practically drafted a religious map of India, nowhere mention the presence of Christians. Possibly they confused them with the "followers of the devas".

To return to Gondophares, his name enabled him to be included among those Magi who came from the East to Jerusalem in order to worship the king of the Jews. Since the Middle Ages the Western tradition, which counts three Magi, has called them Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar. These names appear, for the first time it seems, in the Excerpta Latina Barbari of the sixth century. In the first, Gathaspar or Gathaspa, A. von Gutschmid has recognized the Pahlava Gondophares.

THE KING OF TAXILA AND APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. — Shortly before 217 A.D., Philostratus the Athenian devoted to Apollonius of Tyana [4-97 A.D.] a highly romanticised bibliography in which he expatiates at length on the visit which in 44 A.D. the Neopythagorian sage and his companion Damis paid to Phraotes, the king of Taxila. If the account is

24 Male-where-pepper-grows should be compared to the Mo la yeh (Malaya) of Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 932a 5). — Kalliana (the Kalliena of the Periplus §52, 53; Kaliour of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 91) is the Kalyāna of the Brāhmi inscriptions (Lüders, Nos 986, 988, 1000, 1001, 1013, 1014, 1024, 1032, 1177, 1179), present-day Kalyāna (19° 14' N., 73° 10' E.) on the eastern shore of the port of Bombay. I do not know why L. de la Vallée Poussin, Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde, p. 249, claims to see Cochin in it.

25 Published as appendix VI to the Chronicle of Eusebius by A. Schoene, Berlin, 1875, vol. I, p. 228.


not entirely fictional, this Phraotes (whose Parthian name must have been Frahāta or Frawarti) must be one of the many satraps of Gondophares who, at that time, was the Great King of Kings of Indo-Scythia.

Setting out from Babylon, Apollonius and Damis travelled towards the Iranian desert, passed through the Indian Caucasus (Hindūkush), forded the Kophēn (river in Kābul) and reached the Indus. There, an Indian satrap put a galley at their disposal and provided them with a letter of recommendation addressed to Phraotes, king of Taxila. After crossing the Indus, the travellers reached the walls of Taxila: "In front of the ramparts there was a temple one hundred feet high, made of stone covered with stucco; inside the temple there was a kind of altar which was small-sized in comparison to the towering temple, flanked by a peristyle, but nonetheless worthy of admiration. Indeed, on each wall were fixed bronze panels representing the exploits of Porus and Alexander" (Philostr., II, 20). The town of Taxila aroused the admiration of the visitors: "Its grandeur equals that of Nineveh. It is constructed symmetrically like Greek cities. The royal palace of the man who governed at the time the kingdom of Porus stood there" (Id., II, 20). "The houses were built in such a manner that, seen from the outside, they appeared to have only one storey but, when one entered them, one discovered rooms underground equaling in depth the height of the rooms situated at ground level" (Id., II, 66).

The details supplied by Philostratus apply exactly to the Graeco-Parthian city of Taxila-Sirkap, just as excavations have revealed it. According to Sir John Marshall, the hundred-foot high temple built at the gates of the town is none other than the Iranian temple of Jaṅdiāl. Instead of providing, as in the Greek temple, a room between the opisthodome (back porch) and the sanctuary, the monument is characterized by a solid mass of masonry obviously meant to support a high tower, and the foundations of which descended to a depth of twenty feet below ground level. An outside stairway going from the opisthodome to the back of the temple led to that tower. The two columns in Ionic style decorating the sanctuary are sufficient to rank among the oldest specimens of Hellenic art in India; it is known, in fact, that the Ionic order was the first to be introduced there and that, later, the Graeco-Buddhist school substituted the Corinthian order for it.

Excavations have unearthed this town of Taxila and its royal palace referred to by Philostratus. Built according to a symmetrical plan, the city was crossed from north to south by a central artery which was cut at right angles by transversal roads. Located in the south-east quarter, the royal palace formed a corner between the central artery and the

28 J. Marshall, Taxila, I, pp. 222-9; III, pl. 44.
29 Id., Taxila, I, p. 40; III, pl. 10.
thirteenth road. It consisted of numerous apartments: an andreion, a gunaikeion, a court of the guard, and assembly hall for private or public audiences\textsuperscript{30}.

Archaeologists are of the opinion that, shortly before Apollonius’ visit, the region was ravaged by an earthquake which had the effect of destroying the great Iranian temple, destroying the Dharmarājika stūpa as well as the small monuments that flanked it and, finally, of demolishing most of the houses\textsuperscript{31}. The city, or to be precise Sirkap, the second site of Taxila, was then rebuilt but on the basis of new methods. Succeeding the roughly cut quarry-stones, assembled with mud and covered with a layer of plaster, a masonry of the diaper type with carefully quarried cubical stones gave the buildings a solidity they had never known before\textsuperscript{32}. The foundations were dug deeper into the ground, and the dwelling houses were limited to two storeys, the lower storey being partly underground. This explains that “seen from outside, they appear to have only one storey”.

Obviously, among the sources used by Philostratus, one of them was familiar, in depth and in detail, with the Taxila-Sirkap of the Scytho-Parthians. However, the historicity of Apollonius’ journey to India is not guaranteed for all that. The precise references to the geography of ancient Greece which are found in the legend of Heracles do not prove the historicity of the Twelve Labours. It was at the request of the empress Julia Domna, the second wife of Septimius Severus who died in 217, that Philostratus compiled his Life of Apollonius of Tyana. By that date, legend had already transformed the Neopythagorean sage into a pagan god. Caracalla (211-217), the son of Julia Domna, erected a chapel or a monument to him\textsuperscript{33}; Alexander Severus (222-235), included him in his lararium alongside Christ, Abraham and Orpheus\textsuperscript{34}; Aurelian (270-275), gratified by an appearance of the sage, erected a temple to him at Tyana\textsuperscript{35}.

In his Discursus Philalethes, Hierocles, a proconsul of Bithynia under Diocletian (284-305), contrasts Apollonius with Christ and his miracles with those of the Gospel. He was at first opposed by Christian apolo-

\textsuperscript{30} Id., Taxila, I, pp. 171-80; III, pl. 33.
\textsuperscript{31} Id., Taxila, I, pp. 63, 118, 137, 237.
\textsuperscript{32} On these successive types of masonry, see J. MARSHALL, A Guide to Taxila, Delhi, 1936, pl. V.
\textsuperscript{33} Dion Cassius, Hist., LXXVII, 18.
\textsuperscript{34} Lampridius, Severus Alexander, XXIX (Scriptores Hist. Augustae, ed. D. MAGIE, II, p. 234).
\textsuperscript{35} Vopiscus, Aurelianus, XXIV.
gists such as Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340) and Lactantius (ca 315), preceptor of Constantine the Great. Later, however, Christian writers such as Jerome (348-420), Augustinus (354-430) and Sidonius Apollinaris (430-488) joined the pagan authors, Ammianus Marcellinus and Eunapius, in celebrating the merits of the sage, qualified as homo sanctus, venerabilis et divinus\textsuperscript{36}.

It is asserted that Philostratus made use in his biography, without the slightest attempt at criticism, of first- and second-hand sources: the Memoirs of the Assyrian Damis, the Lives of Apollonius compiled earlier by Maximus of Aegea and Maeregenes, the Correspondence and the Inspired Words attributed to the thaumaturge by apocryphal sources.

PACORES (50-60 A.D.). — In approximately the year 50 of the Christian era, the Pahlava Pacores succeeded Gondophares as the Suren of Eastern Iran. During this period, the Parthians were prey to discord and divided over the question of power (Tacitus, Ann., XI, 8-10; XII, 10-14). Throughout the five years which followed the death of Artaban III, his two sons, Vardanes and Gotarzes, quarrelled over the crown (41-45 A.D.). After the assassination of Vardanes during a hunting party, Gotarzes wielded power alone until 51 A.D. It was in vain that, at the request of the nobility who were tired of his cruelty and prodigality, the emperor Claudius had sent to Parthia to replace him Prince Meherdates, the grandson of Phraates IV and son of Vonones I. Meherdates, who was betrayed into the hands of Gotarzes, was maimed so that, in accordance with Persian custom, he was unable to occupy the throne. Vonones II, who succeeded Gotarzes in 51, ruled only for a few months and does not seem to have struck any coins. He was replaced by his son Vologeses I (51-78). A nationalist and anti-Hellenistic movement is taking form: on the king's coins appear Semitic characters, and the Greek legends gradually disappear; the prince had fragments of the Avesta collected. The question of Armenia brought Vologeses into conflict with the Romans. Domitius Corbulo, the proconsul of Asia, legate of Cappadocia and Galatia, seized and destroyed Artaxata, and took Tigranocerta without a struggle (51). Armenia thus once again became Roman, but only for a short time since Vologeses, through his victory at Arsamosata, re-established Tiridates on the vassal throne of the Parthians (53). Between the years 58 and 63, Corbulo attempted to reconquer Armenia and, despite the reverses of the general Caesannius Paetus, was successful in reaching an agreement with the Parthians over

\textsuperscript{36} M. A. CANNEY, Apollonius of Tyana, ERE, I, p. 611.
the Armenian question (63). During his long reign, Vologeses also had to repulse an invasion of Alani who ravaged Armenia and Media, to fight his own son Vardanes II who, in the year 55, rebelled against him, and finally, to quell, in 58, a revolt in Hyrcania.

The difficulties encountered by the central power left the field free for Pacores, the Suren of Eastern Iran. Doubtless established in Seistān, he struck coins of the “Bust of the King: Nike” type with the imperial title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΑΚΟΡΗΣ, Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasas. Beneath him or beside him, can be seen a certain Sanabares who, on his coins, bears the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

However, the authority of the Suren was no firmer than that of the Parthian emperors. It was exercised in only a nominal way over the Pahlava chiefs, Sasan, Sapedanes and Satavastra, who continued to govern the Sindh, without ever agreeing among themselves. Their port was Barbaricon (perhaps the present-day Bahardipur) on the Indus delta, but the capital of Scythia, or to be more precise of Indo-Scythia, was named Minnagara, to be identified with the Patala of Alexander’s expedition. According to the contemporary evidence of the Periplus (§ 38), “it was governed by the Parthians, who were continually pursuing one another”.

On the evidence of Jaina writers37, it is believed that the region of Taxila was devastated, in about 57 A.D., by an infectious disease. The community of Naḍḍulapura (Nodol in Rājputāna) put the holy Mānadevi Sūri in charge of fighting the plague. Shortly afterwards, the Yūeh chih seized Gandhāra and expelled the Śaka-Pahlavas once and for all from North-West India: “Three years after the plague, the great city (Taxila) was destroyed by the Turuṣkas, and brazen and stone images are still to be found in the subterranean houses [of the old city]”.

The conquest of North-West India by the Turuṣkas, otherwise called Kuṣānas, occurred between the year 103 of the era of Azes (45 A.D., the last attested date of Gondophares) and the year 122 of the same era (64 A.D.), the date of the Kuṣāṇa inscription of Panjtar in the Mahāban massif (Konow, p. 70). The silver scroll of Taxila (Konow, p. 77) from the year 136 of Azes (78 A.D.) proves that at that date Taxila was in the hands of the Kuṣāṇa Devaputras and, the conquest was later confirmed by the Chinese annalists. Ruined by the invasion, the city of Taxila, in approximately the year 80 A.D., was transferred from Sirkap to Sirsukh.

2. — THE FIRST ŚĀṬAVĀHĀNAS

Śāṭavāhana andhrajātiya. — At the time of Asoka, the Maurya empire extended over most of the Deccan, with the exception of the Kerala, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya territories situated to the extreme south of the peninsula. The last Mauryas still exerted sovereignty over certain districts of the Deccanese North, particularly Vidarbha or Berār where, in about 187 B.C., a certain Yajñasena, related to the Mauryan court, ruled. He nevertheless had to recognize the sovereignty of the first Śuṅgas, Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra, and share his states with Virasena, Agnimitra’s brother-in-law.

As we saw in the preceding chapter, the Indian empire as taken over by the Śuṅgas, who were weak and divided, was never able to maintain its unity and, in the first century B.C., two powerful houses asserted their independence: in Northern Deccan, that of the Śāṭavāhanas and, in Kalinga, that of the Cedis.

The Śāṭavāhanas (var. Śālivāhanas) belonged to the Śāṭavāhana family (Śāṭavāhanakula) and the Andhra tribe (Andhrajāti). Several sovereigns bore the name of Śātakarnī (in Prākrit, Sātakani, Sadakani, or again Sāṭa, Sada and Sati), or again the title of Vilivayakura.

J. Przyluski has explained these terms by the Munda words sada “horse”, han or hapan “son”, kon or koni “son”, kura “town”. According to him, the Śāṭavāhanas or Śātakarnīs were Sādahanas (Sādapahanas) or Sādakons “son of the horse”, and one of their capitals was Śādakura “town of the horse”. Hence the name of Hippokoura “town of the horse” assigned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 6), to a city of Ariake of the Sadenoī, and the title Vilivayakura “king of the town of the mare” (Skt.-Pāli, vaṭava, vaḷava “mare”) or Beleokouros (Ptolemy, VII,


1, 83), borne by certain kings of Ariake. In fact, several Śatavāhana coins bear the image of a horse.

Other etymologies have been proposed: the Śatavāhanas or Śatakarṇis were Śāta sailors, vāhana meaning "means of propulsion (oar or sail)" and karṇīn "helmsman". In fact, certain Śatavāhana coins bear the image of a ship.

For the Purāṇa, Simuka or Sindhuka, the first Śatavāhana sovereign, belonged to the Andhra tribe (andhrājātiya, P., p. 38), and the Śatavāhanas are Andhras (P., pp. 35, 38, 43) or Āndhrabhṛtyas "Servants of the Andhras" (P., p. 45). Andhra is the Telugu land situated between the lower Godāvari and the lower Krśnā, corresponding to the former Nizāmate of Hyderabad, but although the region formed part of the Śatavāhana possessions from the reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi (130-159 A.D.) onwards, it was not the birthplace of the Śatavāhanas, which should be sought further west.

Originally, the Andhras inhabited the region of Vindhya and the neighbouring Deccanese territories. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18, 2) locates them, along with other non-Āryan tribes, to the south of Āryāvarta. The thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka (BLOCH, pp. 130-1) gives them as neighbours of the Bhojas and Pitinikas occupying the north of the Deccan, including Vidarbha or Berār. Pliny (VI, 67) presents them as a powerful nation, possessing a large number of market-towns, thirty towns fortified with walls and towers, supplying its king with 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. Ptolemy (VII, I, 84) attributes to the Andres Peiratai (Andhra pirates) the cities of Koṅkan and the ports of the west coast. In the Buddhist texts, the village of Setakānīka marked the southern limit of Madhyadeśa (Vīn., I, p. 197; Sumanāgala, I, p. 173; Jātaka, I, p. 49), and Andhapura, the capital of the Andhras, was to be found on the river Telāvāha, a tributary of the Mahānadi, in the eastern Deccan (Jātaka, I, p. 111). Finally and above all, the very first inscriptions which mention the Śatavāhanas come from the caves of Nānāghāt (LÜDERS, 1113, 1114) and Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1144) in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, or again from Sāṇcī (LÜDERS, 346) in Eastern Mālwā. They are not in Telugu, but in Prākrit. Also in Prākrit are the

40 T.G. Aravamuthan, The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Samgam Age, Univ. of Madras, 1925, p. 51 n.

41 However, to judge from the parallel texts already noted above, p. 9, n. 3. The village of Setakānīka has doubtless nothing to do with the Śatakarṇis. The Sarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1435, ch. 25, p. 181c 29) and that of the Dharmaguptas (T 1428, ch. 29, p. 846a 6) translate «Village of the White Tree» (Pai mu = Śvetakhaṇḍaka?). Other sources speak of the land and river Šarāvati or Sarāvati, in Tib. Ḥdam bu can.
first coins to be struck in the names of Siri-Sâta or Raṃño Siri Sâdavâha(nasa).

Certain readings in the Purâna (P., p. 38, n. 2) call the founder of the dynasty Vṛṣala “man of low caste”, and according to the Dvātrimśat-puttalikâ, the Śālivâhanas were of mixed origin, Brâhmaṇa and Nâga. The Śātavâhanas perhaps belonged to a social class which had been degraded by practising a military profession, forbidden to brahmins, and by intermarriages with vṛṣalis of Dravidian or Scythian origin. However, in the prasasti of Nâsik (Lüders, 1123), King Gautâmiputra Śâtakarni (106-130 A.D.) is qualified as eka-bamhana “unique brâhmaṇa”, and ksatriya-darpa-mâna-madana “destroyer of the pride and self-conceit of the Kṣatriyas”.

In the Purânic tradition (P., p. 36), there are divergences over the number of princes and the duration of the dynasty. According to a first calculation, there were 17, 18 or 19 Andhras who ruled for approximately 300 years; according to the second, 30 Andhras who reigned for 411, 412, 456 or 460 years. It is generally believed, with R.G. Bhandarkar, that the first calculation refers only to the main branch of the family, while the second added to the list the reigns of the collateral princes. We would add that only half the Andhras catalogued in the Purâna are attested by inscriptions or coins and mentioned in literature.

The date of the start of the dynasty is still much debated, E.J. Rapson (CHI, p. 530) and J. Allan (CSHI, p. 58) traditionally place Simuka, the founder of the kingdom, at about 200 B.C. L. de La Vallée Poussin (L’Inde aux temps des Maurya, pp. 209, 215) expressed reservations over this chronological construction and brought Simuka nearer 100 B.C., in agreement with the common tradition of the Purâna. This shorter chronology was adopted by R. Grousset (Asie Orientale, p. 53), J. Filliozat (Inde Classique, I, pp. 240-68), A.L. Basham (Wonder that Was India, p. 61) and D.C. Sircar (HCIP, II, p. 195). Nevertheless, the long chronology still has its supporters, especially among Indian historians.

As testified by the Purâna (P., p. 38), “the Andhra Simuka and his followers, the servants of Suśarman [the last Kâñva], attacked the Kânpâyanas and Suśarman, destroyed the remains of Śuṅga power and took possession of the earth”. This event occurred 294 years after the

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42 Formerly, historians dated in about the year 200 B.C. the inscriptions of Nānâghât on which the first Śātavâhanas are mentioned. Nowadays, epigraphists place the inscriptions of Nānâghât among the palaeographic group 2 A, and assign them the date of 100-75 B.C. Cf. N.G. Majumdar, Monuments of Sâñchi, I, pp. 264, n.1., and 277.
accession of the Maurya Candragupta (137 years for the duration of the Mauryas, 112 for that of the Śuṅgas, 45 for that of the Kāṇvas), i.e. according to the calculation adopted here, in 324-294 = 30 A.D. It is possible this date is too late, since it is not certain that the Kāṇvas remained in power for 45 years. If, as certain Purānic readings would have it, Vasudeva ruled for 5 years (instead of 9) and Suśarman for 4 (instead of 10), the total duration of the dynasty would be reduced to 35 years, and its disappearance would have taken place in 40 B.C..

**The First Three Śatavāhanas (ca 60-17 B.C.).** — The duration of their reigns has again been supplied to us by the Purāṇa (P., pp. 38-9) : Simuka ruled for 23 years (ca 60-37), his young brother Kṛṣṇa for 10 (or 18) years (ca 37 to 27), and his son Śrī Śatakarnī for 10 years (ca 27-17 B.C.). The inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ (LÜDERS, 1112-18) enable us to establish their genealogy:

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\[\begin{align*}
\text{Śatavāhana-kula} & \quad \text{Amgiya (Ambhiya)-kula} \\
\text{Simuka-Śatavāhana} & \quad \text{Kṛṣṇa} \\
\text{Śatakarnī I, king of Daksināpatha} & = \quad \text{Devī Nāyanikā} \\
\text{Vediśri} & \quad \text{Śakti Śrīmat (Hakusiri)} \\
& \quad \text{Bhāya} \quad \text{Śatavāhana}
\end{align*}\]
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At the beginning of the reign of Simuka Śatavāhana (60-37 B.C.), some Scythian Sāhis, who had broken away from Maues, their supreme chief, crossed the Indus, reached the western coast of Surāṣṭra by boat and advanced as far as Ujjayinī in Eastern Mālwā. Having imprisoned King Gardabhilla, they established a "King of Kings" in Ujjayinī, who ruled only for a short while. In 58 B.C., Vikramāditya, the king of Mālwā and doubtless a vassal of Simuka Śatavāhana, overthrew the Scythian dynasty and marked his victory by inaugurating a new era, the Vikrama era. For 135 years, until 78 A.D., Mālwā was to remain in the hands of the Indian dynasts from the Deccan. It was by using it as his base of operations that, in about 40 B.C., Simuka Śatavāhana, in the words of the Purāṇa (P., p. 38), "attacked Suśarman, the last Kāṇva, destroyed the remainder of Śuṅga power and possessed the earth". It is

doubtful whether he pushed his conquests as far as the Ganges Basin and Pātaliputra, capital of Magadha; but he probably seized Eastern Mālwā and Vidiśā which, at the time of the Śuṅgas, had been the main centre of the Indian empire.

While lords of Mālwā, the Śātavāhanas sought outlets on the western coast of India, and their presence is recorded in the region of Bombay: the name of Simuka Śātavāhana appears on an epigraph at Nānāgāhāṭ (Lüders, 1113), and that of his brother and successor Kṛṣṇa (37-27 B.C.) on an inscription at Nāsik (Lüders, 1144). The Andhra thrust repulsed the Śaka invaders to the region of Surāśṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt).

The successor of Kṛṣṇa was Śātakarni I (ca 27-17 B.C.), the son or nephew of Simuka Śātavāhana. At the beginning of his reign, he seems to have been subjected to an incursion by his powerful neighbour from the east, the Cedi Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga. According to the Hāthigumpha inscription (§ 3), “in the second year of his reign, without any consideration for Śātakarni, Khāravela sent to the region of the West a great army of horses, elephants, infantry and chariots, and with that army, he reached the river KṛṣṇaVenā [doubtless the Wain-Gaṅgā, which has its source in Vindhyā] and struck terror into the town of Asīka [Ṛṣika].”

That lightning, short-lived raid in no way prevented Śātakarni I from building for himself a potent empire in Trans-Vindhyā. His power extended from Eastern Mālwā to the district of Aurangābād (Hydera-bād), passing through Maratha country.

An inscription from Nānāgāhāṭ (Lüders, 1112) which styles him the “Lord of the Deccan” (Dakṣināpathapati) informs us that he married the princess Nāyanikā (Nāganikā), the daughter of the mahārāthi Trana-kayira Kallāya “glory of the Āṃgiya (Ambhiya) family”, that he celebrated great Vedic sacrifices, particularly a Rājasūya and two Aśvamedhas, and that he distributed as fees to priests tens of thousands of cows, thousands of horses, entire villages and tens of coins. In any case, Mahārāṣṭra knew great prosperity under his rule since, according to the evidence of the Perīplus (§ 52), the ports of Souppara (Śūpāraka) and Kalliena (Kalyāṇa) constituted “in the period of Saraganus the Elder” (in Prākrit, Sādaganna, i.e. Śātakarni I) a veritable “lawful market” (ἐμπόριον ἐνθεσμον), wide open to navigation from the high seas. The Perīplus adds that the situation changed later on when the ports passed into the hands of Sandanes, whom we have compared above with the Pahlava Sapedanes, a feudatory of Gondophares during the first half of the first century of the Christian era.
Some indications, though rather feeble, enable us to attribute to Satakarni I the possession of Eastern Avanti. It is to him that are generally attributed the coins of “Malwā fabric” struck in the name of Sri Sāta. On the other hand, an inscription on the south gate of the great stūpa at Sānci (Lüders, 346) indicates that the upper architrave of the said gate is a “gift from Ananda, the son of Vasiṣṭhī, and head of the artisans of the Rāja Sri Sātakaṇi”.

Finally, Indian literature often mentions a Śatakarni (Śatavāhana or Śālivāhana) whose capital was at Pratiṣṭhāna (present-day Paithan, on the upper Godāvari) and whose son was the prince Saktikumāra. This could be Śatakarni I to whom the inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ attribute several sons, one of whom was named Hakuśīri or Śaktiśīri (Lüders, 1117). In any case, Pratiṣṭhāna long remained one of the capitals of the Śatavāhana empire, since in the second century, the Geography of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 82) again records “Baithana, the royal town of Siriptolemaius”, the Ptolemaius in question being none other than the Śatavāhana Śrī Pulumāvi, who ruled from about 130 to 159 A.D.

After the death of Śatakarni I, his widow, the Mahāraṭhī princess Nāganīkā, held the regency for some time as tutor of the crown princes. To judge from the epigraphs of Nānāghāṭ (Lüders, 1112, 1115, 1117, 1118), those kumāras were four in number: Vēdisīri (Vediśīri), Bhāya, Śatavāhana and Hakuśīri (Śaktiśīri), the last probably identical to the “Śaktikumāra, son of Śālavāhana”, mentioned in a Jaina work, the Viracaritra.

Temporary eclipse of Śatavāhana power (17 B.C.-106 A.D.). — The longest Purānic list (P., pp. 39-40) counts 19 Andhra sovereigns between the death of Śatakarni I (No. 3) which occurred in about 17 B.C. and the accession of Gautamīputra Śatakarni (No. 23) which took place in 106 A.D. Several of these princes, belonging to collateral lineages, ruled simultaneously. Only a few of them, such as Āpiḷaka (No.

44 The Sāta coins known as «Malwā fabric» are generally attributed to Śatakarni I. Certain coins of «West India fabric» originate from «the king Śatakarni». Finally, the name of Śatavāhana has been discovered on certain coins probably struck by Simuka Śatavāhana. Cf. S.L. Katare, King Śatavāhana of the Coins, IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 210-14; The Śatavāhana Kings Hāla and Sāti, IHQ, XXX, 1954, pp. 286-90.

45 However, the Sānci inscription is not definite proof of the occupation of Malwā by the Śatavāhanas. Ānanda, the head of the artisans of Śatakarni I, might very well have simply gone on a pilgrimage to Sānci. Cf. D.C. Sircar, King Śatakarni of the Sānci Inscription, Thomas Comm. Vol., Bombay, 1939, pp. 291-3.

46 References in H. Raychaudhuri, Political History, p. 417, n.3.

47 Cf. Indian Antiquary, VIII, p. 201; Arch. Survey of Western India, V, p. 62 n.
8). Kuntala Svātikarna (No. 13) and Hāla (No. 17), are known from other sources. In the literary tradition, Hāla appears to be a typical Śatavāhana, a great conqueror and distinguished poet.

According to the Prabandhakośa by Rājaśekhara (ed. JINAVIJAYA, pp. 72-3), Hāla, of the Śatavāhana family, ordered his general Kharamukha to seize Mathurā and the officer, not knowing exactly which town was meant, seized both of the two Mathurās known in his time, the Mathurā of the Pāṇḍavas in the extreme south of India and the Pūrva Mathurā of the North associated with Kṛṣṇa. At the announcement of victory, the king was overtaken by a fit of madness and gave orders for the victorious general to be beheaded, but the latter was saved by his colleagues and the king, having regained his senses, rejoiced that his order had not been carried out. According to the Līlāvai, Hāla, having fallen in love with a Sinhalese princess, sent his general Vijayānanda and his minister Poṭṭīsa to conquer Ceylon. In Southern India, the Śatavāhana army was victorious over the king of the Pāṇḍyas, Malayācala-ladhipa, and, consequent on this success, the projected marriage could be celebrated. It is pointless to add that these accounts are not corroborated by anything we know of the history of India.

Tradition also attributes to Hāla an anthology of lyrical poems in Mahārāṣṭri Prākrit, the Sattasai, or “Seven hundred strophes” 48. This is in reality a compilation of verses from different dates and signed by several authors. The work exists in six separate versions, and only 430 verses are common to all of them. Through the successive expansions of the anthology an early nucleus of remarkable uniformity can be surmised: short poems taken from the lips of the people and systematically classified by one or several authors. They describe the various aspects of the life and aspirations of the Marāthi population.

It was probably also the minister of a Śatavāhana, named Guṇāḍhya, who purportedly composed, at an indeterminate time, the amorous and marvellous epic of the Brhatkathā 49. Originally written in Paisāci prose, the work is now only available through three versions recast in Sanskrit verse: two Kaśmīrian versions and one in Nepalese. It deals with the amorous adventures of the Vatsa king Udayana and his son Naravāhana nadatta.

Finally, it was at the request of a Śatavāhana that the minister Āravavarman supposedly compiled an elementary Sanskrit grammar, the Kātantra. The king did not know Sanskrit and this failing provoked

48 On this work, see L. RENOU, Inde Classique, II, pp. 227-9.
49 Id., ibid., pp. 243-5.
humiliating laughter from his womenfolk. It was then that he asked the minister to compose a grammar, less complicated than that of Pāṇini.

In all these stories there is a concerted tradition which tends to present the Śatavāhanas as favourers of Prākrit, even official patrons of Prākrit literature. In fact, unlike their neighbours in the north, the satraps of Ujjayinī, who adopted the use of Sanskrit in their chancellery from the first half of the second century, the Śatavāhanas remained faithful to the use of Middle Indian until the end.

The exploits attributed to Hála, without any concern for chronology or verisimilitude, should not side-track us. During the first century of the Christian era, the Deccanese kingdom was eclipsed by the repeated blows of the Śaka invaders. Between the years 19 and 45 A.D., Sandanes or Sapedana, a vassal of Gondophares, wrested from the successors of Saraganus (Śatarkerī I) the trading places of the west coast, in particular Śūrprāraka and Kalyāna in Aparānta and, according to the Periplus (§ 52), severely restricted trading at the ports. In 78 A.D., the year which marked the beginning of the Śaka era in Central India, a Scythian incursion led to the creation of two new Śaka kingdoms: that of the western Satraps or Kṣaharātatas which, under the princes Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, spread from Kāthiāwār to Northern Koṅkan and was destroyed in 125 A.D. by Gautamiputra Śatarkerī; that of the Kārdamakas or great Satraps of Ujjayinī which resisted all the Śatavāhana attacks, to disappear only between the years 388 and 409 A.D., under the impact of the Indian emperor Candragupta II.

3. — THE CEDIS OF KALĪNGA

A second kingdom which disputed the hegemony of India with the Śakas at the beginning of the Christian era was that of the Cedis of Kaliṅga. Its territory extended from the districts of Puri and Gaṅjām, across that of Cuttack in Orissa, to the Telugu-speaking lands in the south. Kaliṅga had been part of the kingdom of Magadha under the Nandas and, after a bloody war, Asoka had attached it to the Indian empire of the Mauryas. The kingdom was then divided into two political and administrative constituencies: that of Tosali (present-day Dhaulig near Bhuvanesvar) and that of Samāpā near modern Jaugāda. In the first century A.D., Pliny the Elder (VI, 65-6) noted the existence of

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50 On the traditions which claim that the Śatavāhanas favoured Prākrit, GALROLLA, ZDMG, CVI, p. 155; La Kāvyāmānāmsā, tr. L. RENOU, Paris, 1946, p. 148, n. 31. However, there is little to be derived from these traditions which could have been invented after the event: L. RENOU, Histoire de la langue sanskrit, Paris, 1956, p. 99, n. 2.
Gangarides Kalingae near the mouths of the Ganges: “Their capital is named Pertalis (corruption of Tosali?); the king has 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 elephants, all ready to take to the field”.

We do not know at what moment or in what circumstances Kalinga regained its independence. The fact is that during the last century of the ancient era it constituted a powerful state under the family of the Mahā-Meghavāhanas of the Cedi clan. Mahā-Meghavāhana, founder of the Kaliṅgarāja-varvamśa, and a certain Vakradeva mentioned on an epigraph from Udayagiri (Lüders, 1347), were succeeded by Khāravela, whose fame endures in a long inscription from the Hāthigumpha cave on Mount Udayagiri, near Bhuvanesvar in Orissa. This is a much damaged panegyric (prāṣasti) which is very difficult to date: it informs us that in the fifth year of his reign, Khāravela extended as far as his capital a canal which had been dug by a King Nanda 300 (or 103?) years earlier (nandarājavatīrvaśśaśadoghāṭita). If it was indeed Nanda, the king of Magadha, whose reign ended in 324 B.C., the fifth year of Khāravela is placed in 24 B.C. at the latest.

Born in approximately the year 52 B.C., the prince devoted the first fifteen years of his life (52-37) to the games and exercises of his age. Promoted to the rank of heir apparent (yuvarāja), he concentrated for nine years (37-28) on study and in particular learnt writing, calculation and jurisprudence. In 28 B.C., when he was twenty-four years old, he was crowned Great King of Kalinga (Kaliṅga-mahārāja, -adhipati, -cakravartin). He married the daughter of a prince named Lālaka, a descendant of Hathisimha. Khāravela was a restless monarch and his numerous raids, complacently detailed by the inscription, earned him the epithet of Great Victor (mahāvijaya). However, he was also a peaceful king (kṣemarāja) and a righteous king (dharma-rāja), whose piety towards Jain monks never faltered. Styled by the latter as Mendicant King (bhikṣurāja), he nevertheless refrained from any partiality and protected all sects (sarvapāsaṇḍapūjaka) without discrimination.

51 On this long inscription which is extremely difficult to read and interpret, B. Barua, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 3-47; Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (Revised Edition), IHQ, 1938, pp. 459-85.*

The inscription was long considered as dating from the first half of the second century B.C. Epigraphists class it today in the palaeographic group No. 3 and date it from 50 to 25 B.C. (cf. N.G. Majumdar, Mon. of Sāñchī, I, pp. 264, n.1, and 277). — The Cambridge History (pp. 314-15, 534, 602) and the Cambridge Shorter History (p. 57) also place Khāravela in around the year 169 B.C. Nowadays, the Political History of H. Raychaudhuri (p. 419) and the History and Culture of the Indian People (II, pp. 215-16) locate his accession in about 28 B.C.; J. Filliozat in Inde Classique, I, p. 268, opted for the first century B.C.
In the first year of his reign (28 B.C.), he repaired the ramparts of the capital of Kalinga. — In the second year (27), without concern for his neighbour, King Śātakarni I, he sent a great army to the west, reached the river Krṣṇa and spread terror among the inhabitants of Asika. — The third year (26) was devoted to artistic performances of great variety. — In the fourth year (25), he occupied the capital of a prince named Vidyādharā, and subjugated the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas of Berār. — In the fifth year (24), he extended to his capital the canal inaugurated three hundred years earlier by King Nanda. — In the sixth year (23), he allowed his subjects large reductions in taxes. — In the seventh year (22), he paid a visit of great pomp to the holy place on Mount Samataka or Sameta, present-day Pareshnāth. — In the eighth year (21), he destroyed the Gorathagiri fortress in the Barābar hills and attacked Rājagṛha, present-day Rājgir in Bihār. Learning of this, a Greek king (whose name is partly effaced on the inscription, perhaps Dīmita or Dama) fled to Mathurā. — In the ninth year (20), he built at great cost, on both banks of the Prācī, the Great Palace of Victory (Mahāvijayaprāsāda). — In the tenth year (19), he set out on a conquest of Bhāratavarṣa. — In the eleventh year (18), he razed the city of Pithudā, the Pitoura of the Maisōloi recorded by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 93), the residence of the king of Masulipatam, in the State of Madras. — In the twelfth year (17), allied with the Śīvis, he caused consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha (North India) and panic among the people of Magadha, made his elephants and horses drink water from the Ganges, compelled the king of Magadha, Bahāsatimitra (Brhatsvātimitra) to prostrate himself at his feet, pillaged Āṅga and Magadha, meanwhile recovering Jaina statues which had been carried off from Kalinga by an early Nanda king. The same year, he overthrew King Pāṇḍya of the Extreme South.

The panegyric does not inform us of the death of Kharavela, and even less so of the end of his house. The kumāra Vaḍukha mentioned in the Mañchapurī cave in Udayagiri (Lüders, 1348) was possibly one of his successors. However, the Cedi kingdom of Kaliṅga was of only ephemeral success: among the geographers of antiquity, Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) was the only one to mention it; neither is it referred to in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (end of the first century) nor in Ptolemy who was active between 121 and 151 of the Christian era.

4. — CEYLON FROM 20 B.C. TO 75 A.D.

The succession of kings. — While Śakas, Śātavāhanas and Cedis were disputing the hegemony on the sub-continent, the island of Ceylon
lived through troubled times under the eventful reigns of the successors of Vaṭṭagāmiṇi. The Sinhalese chronicle (*Dīpaṃska, XX, 22-35; XXI, 1-33; Mahāvamsa, XXXIV*) devotes a chapter entitled "The eleven kings" to this period:

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<tr>
<th>Sovereigns</th>
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<th>Christian era</th>
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<td>25. Mahācūli-mahātissa</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>466-480</td>
<td>20-6 B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Coranāga</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>480-492</td>
<td>6 B.C.-6 A.D.</td>
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<td>27. Tissa</td>
<td>3 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Siva</td>
<td>1 year 2 months</td>
<td>495-496</td>
<td>9-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Vaṭṭuka</td>
<td>1 year 2 months</td>
<td>496-497</td>
<td>10-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Dārubhatikatissa</td>
<td>1 year 1 month</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Niliya</td>
<td>3 months</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Anulā</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Kuṭakaṇṇatissa</td>
<td>22 years</td>
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<td>13-35</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Bhātikabhaya</td>
<td>28 years</td>
<td>521-549</td>
<td>35-63</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Mahādāṭhika-mahānāga</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>549-561</td>
<td>63-75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these kings are mentioned on inscriptions: Mahācūli Mahātissa, in Sinhalese Mahasīḷu Mahatis or Mahadeḷīyā Tissa (EZ. I, p. 61; III, pp. 154-7; JCBRAS, XXXVI, p. 66; CJS, II, p. 150, n.1); Tissa, on the inscription of Āmanḍagāmiṇi (CJS, II, p. 179); Kuṭakaṇṇatissa, also called Makalan Tissa or Kāḷakāṇṇi Tissa, and Bhātikabhaya or simply Abhaya, on the inscription of Molāhīṭiyavelegala (EZ, III, p. 154).

**Mahācūli Mahātissa** (20-6 B.C.). — Son of Khallāṭanāga, he had been adopted after the latter's death by his uncle Vaṭṭagāmiṇi. Having mounted the throne, he distinguished himself by his extreme piety and ardent devotion to the Thera Mahāsumma. Not content with founding monasteries, he made a point of working at tillage and handed all his wages over to the Thera.

**Coranāga Mahānāga** (6 B.C.-A.D.). — Son of Vaṭṭagāmiṇi, he rebelled during the reign of his adoptive brother, and had to take refuge in concealment; however, the Buddhist monks refused to give him shelter. Once mounted on the throne, he avenged himself by persecuting the monks and destroying their monasteries. He was poisoned by his wife Anulā.

**Anulā** (6-13 A.D.). She was a true Messalina, her excesses knew no bounds. Having assassinated her first husband, Coranāga, in order to join her lover Tissa, the son of Mahācūli, she married in turn five kings whom she treated as playthings and got rid of with poison: her nephew
Tissa, Siva the palace-guard, the Tamil carpenter Vaṭuka, the woodcutter Dārubhatika Tissa, finally the Damila priest Niliya. Free at last of all conjugal bonds, she gave herself indiscriminately to thirty-two of her palace-guards.

**Kuṭakaṇṇatissa** (13-35 A.D.). — Second son of Mahācūli, he had entered the Order through fear of the infamous Anula but, seeing the misery of the people defenceless against the extravagances of a hysterical woman, he led a revolt and killed Anula. Having mounted the throne, he was noteworthy for his piety towards the theras and theris and for works of public welfare: he surrounded Anurādhapura with a wall seven cubits high and dug the Vaṇṇaka canal.

**Bhātikabhaya** (35-63 A.D.). — Son of the latter, he reigned for 28 years, and his whole life was devoted to paying homage to the Mahāsthūpa of the Mahāvihāra. He had it covered, from top to bottom, with the most precious materials: sandalwood paste, scented flowers which were sprinkled mechanically with water from Lake Abhayavāpi, covered with plaster mixed with cart-loads of precious stones, and a net of coral into the mesh of which were inserted gold lotus flowers as big as cartwheels. The king gave many festivals, arranged for offerings to the Bodhi tree and displayed the greatest hospitality to monks whatever their origin. He exempted his subjects from taxes due to him.

In his palace and residences, he gave hospitality to monks engaged in the «burden of books» (*ganthadhura*) and made sure that they lacked nothing (*Mhv.*, XXXIV, 65-6). This was the first time, it seems, that an intellectual vocation was officially recognized for the bhikkhus.

Another initiative of Bhātikabhaya was to have endowed certain communities with reservoirs and irrigation canals which brought in a considerable income for the religious. Inscription No. 1 of Molāhiṭiyavelagala (EZ. III, 1930, p. 154) is a testimony to this: «Greetings! King Abaya, the eldest son of King Kuṭakaṇṇa and grandson of the great King Devanapiya Tisa, has dedicated with the golden vessel [vessel used to pour water on to the hands of beneficiaries] the canal (*ādi*) of Gaṇa..taka, in the region of Ataragaga, to the monks residing in the Pilipavata monastery».

The king was happy to hand over to the religious or to ministers his duties as chief justice. Having heard of a skillful judgement passed by the Thera Ābhidhammika-Godha, he decided that all disputes would henceforth be settled by him (*Samantapāsādikā*, II, p. 307). On another occasion, an argument broke out between the Abhayagiri and the Mahāvihāra concerning accusations made by the nun Mettiyā against
the monk Dabba Mallapattra, so he entrusted his minister, the brahmin Dīghakārāyaṇa, with settling the difference. The monks of the Mahāvihāra won the case (*Sāmantapāsādikā*, III, p. 583).

**MAHĀDĀṬHĪKA MAHĀṆĀGA (63-75 A.D.).** — Brother of the above, he went so far in his generosity as to offer as a gift to the community his own person, his wife (a Damīḷa princess), his two sons, and the court elephant and horse. He had the road round and approaching the Mahāthūpa tiled, established pulpits in all the monasteries, and levelled the approaches to the Cetiya-giri, that most famous of all mountains where Mahinda and his companions had set foot in Ceylon.

On the summit of that steep mountain, he risked his life to build the Mahāthūpa of Mihintalē. He flanked it with four arches studded with precious stones and covered it with red cloth, with golden balls and festoons of pearls. This reliquary, which is still in a good state of preservation, is smaller in size than the great stūpa of Anurādhapura and without much artistic value. Nonetheless, its diameter at the base is 40 metres, and transporting the materials to the top of Mount Missaka represents an enormous task.

Once the construction was completed, Mahādāṭhika organized a festival which has remained famous in the annals of Ceylon: the *Giribhaṇḍapūja* or «offering of goods on the mountain» (*Mahāvamsa*, XXXIV, 75-81; *Manoratha*, I, p. 22; *Visuddhimagga*, ed. Warren, p. 316). A spiral track was laid out round the Cetiya-giri, and it was adorned with flags, banners and triumphal arches. On both sides of the track, booths provided food for the pilgrims. From the river Kadamba to the summit of the mountain, the track, lit by thousands of lamps, was covered with carpeting which enabled the faithful, after their ablutions, to keep their feet clean while ascending. An uninterrupted chain of lamps criss-crossed the entire island and continued out to sea to the distance of a *yojana*.

II. — THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVAS AND BUDDHISM

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ŚAKAS.** — The Śakas and Pahlavas, that is

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52 The *Dīpa* (XXI, 31) and the *Mahāvamsa* (XXXIV, 71) attribute to Mahādāṭhika the founding of the Ambaṭṭhala-mahāthūpa. However, according to Sinhalese tradition, the erection of the Ambaṭṭhala Dāgaba, which has been mentioned earlier (p. 271), should be attributed to King Utiya, the successor of Devānampiyatissa (cf. Parānavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 5). The monument built by Mahādāṭhika on the summit of Mount Missaka would therefore be the Mahāthūpa of Mihintalē, a reproduction of which is to be found in Parānavitana, o.l., pl. III a.
the Scythians and Parthians, who invaded North-West India near the beginning of the Christian era are given by Indian sources as two closely related peoples. Both were of Scythian origin and spoke a variety of Eastern Iranian.

Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the North-West and certain Indian inscriptions from Eastern Turkestan ranging up to the third century A.D. provide the oldest traces of the Śaka dialect: proper names and some borrowed words such as the title hinajha «army chief» borne by a king of Khotan. However, the most important material is supplied by Khotanese manuscripts discovered at the beginning of this century. They are written in a variety of Indian alphabet, Brāhmī, augmented by some additional characters; they contain documents of varying natures: Buddhist and medical works, fables and accounts translated or adapted from Indian originals. The Śaka language, or Khotanese Śaka as it is called nowadays, already appears to be dialectally differentiated and shows strong affinities with the language of Maralbaşi (Barçuq), to the east of Kašgar, known by some documents deposited in Berlin and Paris.

Herodotus (IV, 59-82) and Strabo (VII, 3, 9) devoted several interesting pages to the Scythians, but they are more concerned with the nomads of the Don and the Black Sea than with the eastern tribes between the Caspian and the Pamirs. The idyllic picture which the epic poet Choerilus (420-400) and the historian Ephorus (363-300) painted of the «virtuous and just» Scythians, pushing communism to its furthest extremes, should not side-track us: Scythian ferocity, culminating in characteristic acts of cannibalism, is deservedly legendary.

ATROCITIES OF THE SAKAS. — It was while fighting the Parthian kings Phraates II, Artaban II and Mithridates II, that the Šaka hordes cleared way through Eastern Iran as far as Sakastene. Contact with the Parthians enabled them to organize themselves on the model of Arsacid institutions: they had a King of Kings (sāhānu sāhī) commanding as suzerain (mahādhīpati) a quantity of vassals (sāmanta), who also assumed the title of king (sāhī). However, they had lost nothing of their ferocity when, under the leadership of Maues in about the year 90 B.C., they proceeded northwards up the Indus, entered Gandhāra and took possession of the Greek kingdom of Taxila. Equally fearsome was that second wave of invaders who, a few years later, proceeded to the South-East, successively occupied Kacchā (the peninsula of Kutch), Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt) and finally reached Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti. That the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular had to suffer from the first contact with the Šaka is not the least surprising. Towns were razed, stūpas violated, relics stolen and monasteries burnt. The Yugapurāṇa (vv. 124-30) describes the king of the Šakas as a person «avid for riches, violent, of a wicked nature, evil and with a destructive mind»; it foresees his defeat in the course of time, but notes that «when the Šaka kingdom is destroyed, the earth will be deserted». Indian sources, such as the Mahābhārata and the Kāmasūtra are in agreement with the Greek sources, such as the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, in condemning the immorality of the Scyths and deploving the corruption of morality introduced into the Punjab, Mathurā and Surāṣṭra by the Šaka customs authorizing prostitution and incestuous unions.

The Scythian invasion was regarded by the Buddhists as one of the precursory signs of the disappearance of the Good Law. It was then perhaps that the Aṣokāvadāna (T 2042, ch. 6, p. 126c), taking over the

823; The Oldest Dialect of Khotanese Saka, Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, XIV, 1947, pp. 156-90.*

54 S. CHATTOPADHYAYA, The Šakas in India, pp. 84-5; Periplus, §49. Cf. Herodotus, IV, 78.
ancient prophecy regarding this event (above, pp. 197-202), attributed Greek, Scythian and Parthian nationalities to the barbarian kings (*dasyu mleccha*) who came from the West to pillage India, destroy stupas, ravage monasteries and kill the religious:

In times to come, three cruel kings will appear: the first named Šaka, the second Yavana, the third Pahlava. They will persecute the people, destroy the Doctrine of the Buddha, the usṇīsa of the Tathāgata, as well as the teeth of the Buddha. They will invade eastern India. The Šaka will be in the region of the South, the Pahlava in that of the West, the Yavana in that of the North. Each at the head of a hundred thousand vassals, they will destroy stupas and monasteries and massacre the religious. At that time, demons without human form will also persecute men. There will be many pillagers and brigands. The cruel kings will in every way molest, chastise and terrify people.

**The Hellenization of the Šakas.** — The fears of the Indians in general and the Buddhists in particular turned out to be vain. Having dominated India by sword and fire, the Šakas quickly became civilized, taking their inspiration as best they could from the Greek political and cultural institutions which had been implanted in the country. They took over as their own the administrative system started by the Indo-Greek kings and retained the satraps, strategoi and meridarchs in their posts. They copied the Greek coinage and continued to use the dual Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legend. They adopted the Seleucid calendar introduced by Demetrius, but changed its initial date, going so far as to retain the Macedonian names of the months. At the beginning, they had no other artistic ideas than those which they had inherited from the Greeks.

In Taxila, the second city of Sirkap founded by the Bactrians in the second century B.C., was rebuilt by the Scytho-Parthians on the typical Greek chequer-board model, with streets at right angles and the housing sections evenly aligned. Probably under Azes I, there was added to the old clay rampart a defensive wall of stone, six kilometres long, supported at regular intervals by rectangular bastions. The new enclosure thus included the Hathihāl spur to the south, and for the first time Taxila took on the appearance of a Graeco-Asiatic city, with an acropolis or upper town, serving as a defensive centre, and a lower town, where the civilians lived and traded.

Half a mile from the gate of Sirkap, the temple of Jañāḍīlāl, also built at the time of Azes I, is very similar to a Greek temple, both in its

56 Id., ibid., pp. 113-14; 140.
general plan, with pronaos (front porch), naos (sanctuary) and episthedomos (back porch), as well as in the two pairs of columns in antis (between pilasters) of the Ionic order located at the entrances to the temple. Nevertheless, the monument differs in two points from a Western model: the peristyle or colonnade is replaced by a solid wall broken at regular intervals by wide windows: a large mass of masonry, the foundations of which go down twenty feet below ground level, separates the naos from the episthedomos. It can be supposed that it supported a lofty tower which was reached by an external stairway. From these particular characteristics and the fact that no image has been rediscovered inside, it ensues that it was an Iranian or Zoroastrian temple, sheltering the fire altar in the naos.

Other monuments of the Scytho-Parthian period also bear witness to the exclusive influence of Greece in the matter of ornamentation: the decoration of a small stūpa discovered in Block E of Sirkap consists entirely of acanthus leaves depicted in profusion, with more enthusiasm than sobriety.

As time passed, the imitation of Greek models, both numismatic and sculptural, became more and more clumsy. The Parthian barrier which separated India from the Western world prevented the art from being renewed, and the Greeks who formerly peopled the workrooms of the metal-casters and sculptors were not replaced by compatriots, but by vague local artisans. While the first coins struck by Maues are scarcely inferior to those of the last Indo-Greeks, those of Azes are no more than pale imitations of them. In the matter of decoration, alongside the painstakingly reproduced Yavana motifs, under the influence of Mathurā, Indian motifs are introduced, particularly that of the lotus. The Stūpa known as that of the double-headed eagle discovered in Block F in Sirkap is of mixed inspiration, half Greek and half Indian: in the interspaces between the eight Corinthian pillars which adorn the west face of the pediment are reproduced, two by two, the facade of a Greek temple, the arch called 'Bengali' and the ancient Indian toraṇa.

THE ŠAKAS AND BUDDHISM. — Not content with acquiring the Yavana heritage, the Šakas, continuing the policy of the Indo-Greek kings in the matter of religion, showed themselves to be tolerant towards indigenous beliefs and even benevolent with regard to the most powerful of them, Buddhism. The presence of the Iranian temple of Jāṇḍiāl proves that

57 Id., ibid., p. 225 sq.
58 Id., ibid., I, p. 158; III, pl. 27 a.
59 Id., ibid., p. 163, III, pl. 20 and 30 a.
they did not renounce their own personal beliefs on that account, but did not attempt to impose them on the Indians. Brahmins, Jainas and Buddhists were quite free to rebuild the ruins caused by the first days of the invasion. Furthermore, the Śaka satraps personally assisted them in this task of restoration.

According to the Taxila plaque engraved in 78, in the reign of Maues (77 B.C.), Pāṭika, the son of Liaka Kusūlaka, the Scythian satrap of Chukhsa, restored a relic of the Buddha Śākyamuni which had been «dislodged» (apratiṭhavita), and alongside built a monastery, in homage to all the Buddhhas, in honour of his mother and father and for the increase of the life and «power of the satrap» (Konow, pp. 28-9). In Bimarān, a certain Śivaraksita, the son of Mūjavat, during some work of restoration (niryātana), replaced with a steatite vase the ancient container which originally held the famous golden reliquary, preserved today in the British Museum (Konow, p. 52). In Mathurā, Ayasia Kamuīa, the wife of the great satrap Rājuvula, established a relic, a stūpa and a samghārāma for the Sarvāstivādin community; her son Śoḍāsa gave a series of plots of land «in homage from the whole Śaka country» to some Sarvāstivādin religious, among whom are mentioned, the Ārya Buddhadeva and the Bhikṣu Budhila «charged with teaching the truth to the Mahāsāmghikas» (Inscription on the Lion Capital at Mathurā, Konow, p. 48). S. Lévi compared the Ārya Buddhadeva of the Mathurā Lion with the scholar Buddhadeva, mentioned in the Vīhāra and Kośa (Index, p. 124), and identified Budhila with the Fo t’i lo of Hsüan tsang, the author of a Chi chen lun (Tattvasamuccayaśāstra) of the Mahāsāmghika school (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 888a 8).

Under the Śaka occupation, the Buddhists, whatever their origin, Indian or foreign, were able to devote themselves at leisure to their charitable deeds, such as digging wells «for the welfare and happiness of all beings»; this was the case for the Indian Saṃghamitra, son of Ānanda (Konow, p. 65) and the Yavana Thaidora, son of Datia (Id., p. 66).

As we saw earlier, Śoḍāsa, the great satrap at Mathurā during the time of Azes II, left his name attached to Buddhist, Jaina and Viṣṇuita foundations.

Many are the Buddhist establishments, in Taxila and its neighbourhood, which date back to the Śaka period. Sir John Marshall60 notes in Sirkap stūpas situated in Blocks E, F, G, C1 and E1; around the Aśokan foundation of the Great Dharmarājika, a series of thirteen small

60 Id., ibid., I, p. 58.
stūpas one of which, S 8, has yielded coins of Maues and Azes; to the north of the Jaṇḍīāl temple, two stūpas (A and B) and a monastery; to the east of the same temple, at Bajrāṇ, a stūpa with a gold plate dedicated to the name of a certain Sira (KONOW, p. 86); at the entrance to the village of Shāhpur, stūpa No. 13, erected by the brothers Sihila and Siharaksita (KONOW, p. 87), and stūpa No. 14, built by a meridarch of Taxila whose name is effaced (KONOW, p. 5).

The Pahlavas\(^1\). — The establishment of Pahlava suzerainty over Indo-Scythia in the reign of Gondophares (19-45 A.D.) had no repercussions on the destinies of Buddhism. Descendants of the Parni tribe which was part of the Dahae people, the Parthians, like the Śakas, were of Scythian origin. Rulers of Iran since 247 B.C., they considered themselves inheritors of the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Achaemenid Persia and the Asia of the Seleucids. In the reign of Mithridates I (171-137), Parthia had become a powerful feudalism divided into satrapies and including no less than eighteen vassal states. The directing influence was in the hands of seven great families, one of which was that of the Arsacids. Power was wielded by the Great King of Kings, assisted and supervised by a «senate» and an «assembly of wise men and magi».

As enclaves within the empire, a great many Greek cities, such as Seleucia on the Tigris or Seleucia on the Euleus (Susa), and some Jewish colonies enjoyed privileges and immunities which rendered them practically independent. In principle, kingship was hereditary and if a king died childless, his successor had to be chosen from among the nobles or Megistanes and designated by them. The prestige which surrounded the sovereign was quasi-divine: the king wore the tiara, introduced into the protocol by Mithridates, took the title of Theos or Theopator, and after his death became the object of a cult with temples and statues. The court was surrounded with the most sumptuous luxury, moving its residence, at the whim of the seasons or of fancy, to one of the four capitals of the empire: Arsak, Hecatompylos, Ecbatana and Ctesiphon.

If we lack Parthian texts for the beginning of the Arsacid period, this is because Greek was the official language of the empire until about 50 B.C. The legends on Arsacid coins in which, since the time of Mithridates, the kings regularly called themselves «Philhellenes» remained Greek for several centuries\(^2\), and the monuments built in memory of the

\(^1\) On the organization and administration of the Parthians, see R. GHIRSHMAN, *L'Iran des Origines à l'Islam*, Paris, 1951, pp. 234-7.

Shahs at Bīsutūn bore Greek inscriptions. Greek was currently used on legal and notarized deeds; for example, in a text on the law of succession from the Arsacid period discovered at Dura (Sālihīyeh), as well as two bills of sale found at Avromān, in Zagros, dating back respectively to the years 88 and 22 B.C. The ruling class read and spoke Greek, and we know from Plutarch (Life of Crassus, 33) that at the moment the fate of the Roman legions was sealed at Carrhae (53 B.C.), King Orodes attended a performance of the Bacchae by Euripides. Such snobbery provoked the astonished amusement of the Graeco-Roman world: "What does it mean," cries Seneca in the Consolatio ad Helviam (VII, 1), "those Greek towns in the midst of barbarian territories, and Greek being spoken between Indians and Persians?" In the opinion of Strabo (XI, 9, 2), the Parthians, through the number of people over whom they had command and the immensity of resources at their disposal, were, around the new era, veritable rivals of the Romans: "The cause of such an expansion should be sought", he said, "in the life-style led by the Parthians and in their institutions which, although still sullied by the influence of barbarian peoples, particularly the savagery of the Scythians, nevertheless seem to contain that indescribable something which serves to establish political hegemony and military supremacy".

We have little information on the religion of the Parthians. According to Scythian custom, they doubtless continued to worship natural phenomena and to pay homage to the Sun and Moon. During his stay in Rome, at the court of Nero, Tiridates of Armenia, the brother of Vologeses I, still performed bloody sacrifices (Tacitus, Annals, XV, 29). However, under Parthian domination, the Iranian people remained faithful to the Mazdaean triad represented by Ahuramazda, Mithra and Anahita, the last also being honoured under the name of Nanaia or Artemis. The cult of the goddess became wide-spread, as is proved by the numerous temples dedicated to her name at Arsak, Ecbatana, Kengavar, in Elymaide, Susa, Istakar and Šiz. The exposure of the dead as recommended by the Zoroastrian reformation does not seem to have been practised regularly. Archaeological excavations made at Nippur,

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63 E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien: Feldsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit, Berlin, 1920, pl. XXI-XXIII.
66 R. Ghirshman, L'Iran des Origines à l'Islam, pp. 239-43.
Kakze, Dura-Europos and Susa have revealed the existence of Parthian necropoli in which the dead were buried, with their funerary furnishings, in terra-cotta sarcophagi. This continued until the end of the ancient era. Unconcerned with proselytizing, the Parthians, far from attempting to convert the conquered peoples to their own beliefs, displayed perfect tolerance, both in their relations with the Greek colonies as well as the small Jewish states established in the empire. The liberal spirit which Gondophares evinced regarding his Indian subjects possibly earned him the title of «Saviour» (trātā) which appears on his coins. In the Christian and pagan legend, he appears as an enlightened prince, open to any foreign propaganda and welcoming at his court, with equally good grace, the apostle Saint Thomas and the sage Apollonius. The inscription of Takht-i-Bahi (KONOW, p. 62), on which his name appears in connection with the building of a chapel, proves that the Buddhists had no complaints about the foreign ruler. In the second and third centuries of the Christian era, among the first Buddhist missionaries in China, were to appear monks from An hsi, that is Arsacid Persia: An Chih kao, who was to give up the throne to enter the religious life, is credited with having been the first great translator of Buddhist texts into Chinese versions. He worked in Lo yang between 148 and 170 A.D.; however, of the 176 translations attributed to him by the catalogues, only a small number — four, according to P. Demiéville — can be held to be authentic. Among other translators of Iranian origin, there was also the layman An Hsüan (168-189) and the śramaṇa An Fa ch’in (281-306) who also worked in Lo yang. Nonetheless, for the vast majority, the Saka-Pahlavas attracted to Buddhism were ill-prepared to receive and understand the message of Śākyamuni.

NEW FORMS OF DISSEMINATING THE WORD. — In order to reach those simple minds, the Buddhist propagandists had to act like Scythians with the Sakas and like Parthians with the Pahlavas. The time had passed when Śākyamuni could teach the mysteries of the dependent origination of phenomena directly to his young contemporaries, «to the noble young people who gave up family life to adopt life without a family», when the missionaries of the Mauryan period carried out massive conversions in India by propounding to the laity the gradual teaching (anupūrvi kathā), a veritable compendium of the Buddhist doctrine, finally when Nāgasena and other wise scholars, whether real or purported, debated as equals with the Yavana kings who were experienced in the quibbles of sophistry. There could be no question of teaching fire-worshippers and the devotees of the goddess Anahita the immense Tripiṭaka. They could merely be inculcated with the spirit and initiated
into the essential truths by very simple means: a few suggestive stanzas or alphabetical exercises to be learnt by heart.

It had always been accepted that the slightest Word of the Buddha was of value, and the *Anguttara* (II, p. 178) already averred that «through knowledge of the letter and meaning of the Law — be it only a simple stanza of four feet — and through conduct in accordance with the Law, one deserves to be called learned and a good memorizer of the Dharma». However, during the period with which we are concerned, the documentary worth of a stanza took on a magical power, and Buddhist texts from both extremes of the two Vehicles, such as the *Vajracchedikā* (ed. Conze, p. 37), continually repeat that «every son or daughter who takes from a text of the Law be it only one stanza of four feet in order to teach and explain it to someone else gains through that very deed an enormous, immense and incalculable mass of merit».

Hence the famous stanza, formerly told to Śāriputra by Aśvajit and which summarizes the four noble truths so well, was raised to the level of a Buddhist tenet:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{All dharmas arise from a cause;} \\
\text{Of them all the Tathāgata told the cause;} \\
\text{He also told of their cessation:} \\
\text{Such is the doctrine of the great Śrāmaṇa}^{67}.
\end{align*}
\]

It is repeated endlessly on Buddhist monuments and images, in India, Serindia, and China where it is found on the inscribed bricks of Yunnan\(^{68}\). Enclosed in stūpas by way of a talisman, it protects and preserves them from destruction\(^{69}\). In texts it is often followed by a famous couplet:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Avoid all sins, practise the good,} \\
\text{Purify the thought: such is the teaching of the Buddhas}^{70}.
\end{align*}
\]

The description of the law of twelve causes, or *pratītyasamutpāda*, discovered by Śākyamuni during the night of Enlightenment, also

\(^{67}\) Pāli Vinaya, I, p. 40; Mahāvastu, III, p. 62:

\[ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato āha
tesaṁ ca yo nirodho evamvādī mahāsāmano.\]


\(^{69}\) Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka, ed. U. Wōghara, p. 207.

\(^{70}\) Digha, II, p. 49; Dhammapada, v.183; Nettipakarana, p. 43, etc.

\[sabbapāpapassa akaranam kusalassa upasampadā
sacittapariyodapanam etam Buddhāna sāsanam.\]
appears on a large number of monuments. In the year 20 of Kaniska, a recension in Prakrit of the North-West was engraved by a certain Maniphatia on the base of a copper reliquary destined for a Sarvastivadin monastery (Konow, p. 155).

In the North-West, the Sarvastivadin conception for foreigners a veritable religious propaganda of the stanza, supported by a mass of edifying literature, in which are celebrated the heroic efforts of such-and-such a king or brahmin to acquire the complete text of a gatha. Among those that found most favour, we can cite:

Transitory indeed are all formations,
They are characterized by rise and fall;
Having arisen, they cease;
Their appeasement is happiness.

or,

All accumulations end in destruction;
All elevations in falling;
Unions end in separation;
Life ends in death.

or again,

From a pleasant thing springs sorrow;
From a pleasant thing springs fear;
Relinquish the pleasant thing, and sorrow is no more;
From whence could come fear?

finally,

Practise the Law of good conduct,
Avoid that of wrong conduct;

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71 On this type of literature, references can be found in the Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, Louvain, 1949, p. 689, note.
72 Digha, II, p. 157; Sanyutta, I, pp. 6, 158, 200; II, p. 193, etc.
73 Udanaavarga, I, 22 (ed. Chakravarti, p. 4); Netipakarana, p. 146; Mahavastu, III, pp. 152, 183; Divyavadana, pp. 27, 100, 486:
74 Dhammapada, v.212; Avadanasataka, I, p. 191:
The Dharma practitioner lives in peace
In this world and the one beyond\(^5\).

The Mahāyānists were to turn to their own account his rudimentary form of message, not failing to complete the gāthā with a dhāranī, a magical formula in which significant but disconnected words are lost among a crowd of unintelligible syllables.

Already, the Hinayānist school of the Dharmaguptas which, before playing the leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in China, was active in western India, particularly in Uḍḍiyāna and Surāṣṭra, added two new baskets to the traditional Tripiṭaka: those of the dhāranī and of the bodhisattva\(^6\). It was perhaps the first to make use of mnemotechnical means (dhāranīmukha) to facilitate the study of the Good Law. The teaching contained as many articles as the alphabet contained letters, and each letter or syllable of the alphabet constituted the beginning of a word or phrase explaining an article of faith in a condensed form. Strangely, this teaching was addressed above all to foreign barbarians, Scythians or Parthians, since the alphabet on which it was based is not the Indian alphabet but a Śaka or Khotanese one. Copied from the Brāhmī syllabary, it differed from it by certain special graphisms serving to note sounds peculiar to Iranian, such as the letter ya rendering the voiced sibilant z\(^7\). The characters, only forty-two in number, were arranged according to a proper order: a, ra, pa, ca, na, etc.; hence the name of Arapacana given to this alphabet. The Dharmagupta Vinaya notes joint recitations performed by the religious and laity. Sometimes, it explains, the two men would recite together A lo po chih na without one being before the other; at other times, one of them would hardly have uttered a than the second repeated the first’s word: a\(^8\).

The Mahāyānists exploited the mnemotechnic of the Arapacana on a wide scale. They made use of it in particular to inculcate in their adepts their fundamental thesis of the emptiness of all dharmas: «The letter a», they say, «because all dharmas are originally unarisen (anuppanna); the letter ra, because they are free of stains (rajas); the letter pa, because they indicate the absolute (paramārtha); the letter ca, because they are

\(^5\) Dhammapada, v.169; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 220:
dharmam caret sucaritam nainam duṣcaritam caret
dharmacāri sukham śete asmiṁloke paratra ca.

\(^6\) P. Demiéville, L’origine des sectes bouddhiques, pp. 60-1.


\(^8\) T 1428, ch. 11, p. 639a 14.
free from death (cyavana) and birth; the letter na, because they have no name (nāman), etc.»  

The Prajñāpāramitā texts are full of these alphabetical teachings, samples of which are found in the Śatasāhasrikā, Pañcavimsatisāhasrikā and Aṣṭadāśasāhasrikā. In turn the Gaṇḍavyūha, a section of the Avatamsaka, resorts to the same procedure in order to illustrate the prerogatives of the bodhisattva. Finally, in Nepalese, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism, the first five letters of the Arapacana occur in the esoteric homage paid to the Bodhisattva Maṇjuśrī.

With the Śaka-Pahlavas, we reach a period in which Buddhism, wide open to every external influence, was moving rapidly towards the Mahāyāna. It is clear that the action of those foreigners was not limited to the few facts revealed here. The blossoming outside India of a powerful messianic movement was necessary in order to transform Maitreya and Ajita, two obscure disciples of Sakyamuni, into a Buddha of the future, a Saviour appearing as a Messiah, a Saoshiant. It is suspected that Amitābha, the most notable of the Mahāyāna Buddhas, the god of light, of brilliance and of infinite life, ruling over the Western Paradise, is none other than a Buddhist or Hindu replica of an Iranian solar god. Finally, there are curious analogies between the bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna and the Ameshaspentas of Mazdaism: in both cases,
they are benevolent spirits whose names alone are known, but whose histories and endlessly repeated accomplishments remain vague. It has sufficed to emphasize, in the light of precise and easily verifiable data, the far from negligible part played by the Greek, Scythian and soon Kušāṇa strangers in the history of Buddhism.

III. — THE BEGINNINGS OF ROCK-CUT ARCHITECTURE

Mention has been made in Chapter Three (pp. 311-313) of the Buddhist temples (caityagrha) and monasteries (vihāra). The bas-reliefs at Bhārhat and Sāñcī give an idea of those ancient constructions, the foundations of which were made of stone or bricks, and the superstructure of wood. The excavations carried out at Sāñcī have brought to light, in the southern part of the esplanade, the ruins of the famous temple No. 40 pertaining to three successive periods. The original construction, dating back to the Maurya period like the main core of Stūpa No. 1 and the Aśokan pillar, had the form of an apsidal hall resting on a rectangular terrace 3 m. 30 high by 26 long and 14 wide, access to which was made by two flights of steps built respectively on the east and west sides of the monument. The superstructure, which was made of wood, was probably destroyed during Puṣyaṃitra’s persecution, at the same time as the Aśokan stupa. The open air temples, constructed according to the same plan, have not resisted the ravages of time, and the few specimens that remain today, such as those at Ter (Tagara) in Hyderābād State, at Chezārla in Kistna District, are no earlier than the fourth century A.D.

However, alongside open air architecture, the Buddhists had for a long time turned to rock-cut architecture and, wherever the nature of the

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85 Monuments of Sāñcī, i, pp. 64-8; III, pl. 109, 110. Conjectural reconstruction, IABH, pl. 16, fig. 4.

86 Caitya of Ter, HIEA, I, p. 126, figs. 48, 49; AAI, p. 124, fig. 16; IABH, pl. 16, fig. 1. — Caitya of Chezārla, HIEA, I, p. 127, figs. 50-52; GIHK, pl. 35, fig. 147.
terrain permitted it, they carved caityagṛhas and vihāras in the living rock, ingeniously reproducing in stone the forms and style of the old wooden constructions.

The Buddhists were not alone in practising this new form of architecture. The Bihār caves, excavated during the Aśokan era, belonged, at least in the majority of cases, to the Ājīvika order; those in Orissa, probably started in the last century of the ancient era, were mainly occupied by the Jainas.

The Ājīvika caves of Bihār. — In Bihār, the best known caves are those at Barābar (25 km. north of Gayā), Nāgārjunī (1 km. N.E. of Barābar) and Śitāmarhi (20 km. south of Rājagṛha).

a. The Barābar caves were presented to the Ājīvikas by the lāja Piyādāsī Aśoka in the years 12 and 19 of his reign, that is, in 256 and 249 B.C. (BLOCH, p. 156). The cave of Karna Chaupār is a plain rectangular hall; those of Sudāma (or Nyagrodha) and Lomaśa Rṣi consist of a rectangular hall communicating, by means of a narrow passageway, with a circular room, in all likelihood destined to house an altar. The façade of the Lomaśa Rṣi is particularly well-preserved; under the porch, its doorway is adorned with a convex lintel — an aberrant form of the early wooden roof-ribs — decorated with strings of elephants and makara.

b. At Nāgārjunī, the caves known as Vahiyakā, Gopikā and Vaḍathikā were presented, still to the Ājīvikas, by a Devānampiya Daśalatha (LÜDERS, 954-6) who has been identified as Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka.

c. The oldest cave of Bihār is perhaps that of Śitāmarhi, rectangular in plan and oval in section.

The Jaina caves of Orissa. — In Orissa, near Bhubaneswar, the contiguous hills of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri are excavated with some thirty caves which mostly belonged to Jaina monks. This is what emerges both from the formal evidence of the inscriptions (LÜDERS,

88 Façade of the Lomas Rishi, CHI, pl. 11, fig. 25; HCIP, II, pl. 7, fig. 13; GIJK, pl. 9, fig. 28; AAI, pl. 7, fig. b; IABH, pl. 9, fig. 1. — Interior of the Sudāma, IABH, pl. 9, figs. 2 and 3. — Conjectural reconstruction of the caves in Bihār, of the Gūṇṭupalle temple (Madras) and the Pītalhorrā vihāra, IABH, pl. 8.
89 On the caves in Orissa, HIEA, II, pp. 9-19; IABH, pp. 36-8. — Plan and reconstruction of Rānī Gumphā, IABH, pl. 32. — Photographs of Maṇḍhapuri, Ananta Gumphā, Rānī Gumphā and Alakāpuri, CHI, pl. 27-28, figs. 73-80; Rānī Gumphā, AAI, pl. 20, fig. b; IABH, pl. 31, figs. 1-2. — The inscriptions have been published in full by B. BARUA, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, Calcutta, 1929.
1342-53) and the particular nature of the architecture, which is completely free of caityagṛhas.

The two caves which are seemingly the oldest are those of Ḥāthigumpha and Mañchapurī on Mount Udayagiri. Ḥāthigumpha is a natural cavern, artificially enlarged; it encloses the famous inscription of Khāravela the king of Kaliṅga (Lüders, 1345) who ruled, as we saw on p. 482, during the last decades of the ancient era. Mañchapurī is a cave on two floors containing, on the upper one, the inscription of the chief wife of Khāravela (Barua, p. 55), and on the lower, the inscriptions of King Vakadevasi (Śrī Vakradeva), Khāravela's predecessor, and of Prince Vādukha (Lüders, 1347-8). The veranda is decorated with a frieze in high-relief, of poor and clumsy workmanship, but of a more advanced technique than that at Bhārhut.

The Ananta Gumpha, on Mount Khandaṅgiri, has only one floor, but the arches and the frieze of the doorway are interesting for their sculptures: the goddess Ṭakṣmi standing on a lotus and surrounded by elephants; the quadriga of the Sun-God, with a crescent moon and stars in the ground.

The Rāni Gumpha is the most spacious and decorated of the Udayagiri caves. Its two floors are each provided with a veranda, with cells to the rear and on the sides. The lower veranda is 13 m. long, the upper only 6 m. They are both decorated with friezes showing evidence of a quite different technique and work, the upper frieze being the better through the coherence of its composition, the plastic workmanship, the movement and naturalness of the persons.

The bas-reliefs which adorn the verandas of the Ganesh Gumpha and the Jayavijaya on the Udayagiri bear witness to the rapid decadence of an art which could not be renewed.

ROCK-CUT BUDDHIST ESTABLISHMENTS. — With the Buddhists, rock-cut architecture reached a development and perfection which it had never attained with the rival orders. It is on the western coast of India and in the neighbouring Ghats that the Buddhist caves are most numerous, the terrain lending itself admirably to their renovation and successive enlargements.

Early archaeologists dated the first caves at the beginning of the second century B.C. However, more careful examination has shown that they cannot be monuments contemporary with Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā or Sānci which were constructed in the Śuṅga period, but esta-

90 Also see the chronological classification of Indian monuments in H. Marchal, L'architecture comparée, pp. 87-90.
blishments commenced near the beginning of the Christian era, under the Śaka-Pahlavas and the first Sātavāhanas.

«The composition of the sculptures [noted in the caves] is strangely bizarre and fanciful, and their style, generally is not of a high order; but it is easy to perceive from the technique of the relief work, from the freedom of the composition and of the individual poses, as well as from the treatment of the ornaments, that they are to be classed among the later efforts of the Early School, not among its primitive productions. Their date certainly cannot be much earlier than the middle of the last century before the Christian era.»

The examination of the inscriptions surveyed in the caves leads to identical conclusions. With the exception of those at Nānāghāṭ which, incidentally, are not Buddhist, they can be classed palaeographically in the last group of ancient Brāhmaṇ inscriptions.

N.G. Majumdar distinguishes five palaeographic groups:

1. Group I, represented by the Aśokan edicts at Sāṇcī, Gīrṇār, Rummorndi and the inscription on the reliquary of Pipāhwa.

2. Group 2, including the balustrade at ground-level of Stūpa 1 at Sāṇcī, the pillar of Heliodorus in Besnagar, the pillar of Ghasundi, the Bhīṣa pillar engraved in the year 12 of the Mahārāja Bhāgavata, the balustrade at ground-level of Stūpa 2 at Sāṇcī, the reliquaries of the same Stūpa and, finally, the balustrade of the Stūpa at Bhāhrut.

3. Group 2 A, in which are classed the Dhanabhūti inscription of the gateway of the Stūpa at Bhāhrut, the inscription of Queen Nāyanikā at Nānāghāṭ, as well as those on the palisade at Bodh-Gayā and the first inscriptions at Mathura (Yakṣa of Parkham, epigraphs of Brahavatimitra, Viṣṇumitra and Utrarāsaka).

4. Group 3, consisting of the inscriptions on the four gateways of Stūpa 1 at Sāṇcī, that of King Kāravela in Orissa and those of the kings Bahatsatimitra and Āśādhhasena at Pabhosa.

5. Group 3 A, including the epigraphs of King Dhanadeva in Ayodhyā, of Gotiputa at Kosam, of the satrap Šoḍāsa in Amohinī and, finally, of the satrap Nahapāna at Nāsik.

The first rock-cut Buddhist establishments do not apparently go any further back into the past than the last decades of the ancient era, but the type of architecture continued for centuries. Not only were the ancient sites regularly enlarged, but also new establishments were founded in various places on the western coast and the Deccan. The Buddhists excavated caves for more than seven centuries: from the year 50 before to the year 700 after the Christian era.

92 Monuments of Sāṇcī, I, p. 264, n.1; III, pl. CXLI.
93 These two extremes in date are accepted by J.P. Vogel, Buddhist Art, p. 57.
Every establishment had necessarily to consist of two separate caves: the temple (Skt. caityagrha; Pā. cetiyaghara) and the monastery (vihāra).

The caityagrha, or simply caitya, has many analogies with a Gothic cathedral. The screen or façade, closing the entrance to the cave, is pierced by a doorway surmounted by a horseshoe arch allowing air and light to pass. The caitya is a rectangular hall terminating in an apse and divided internally, into a central nave and two side-aisles, by two rows of columns which meet behind the apse. The rear of the nave is occupied by a reliquary, or dāgaba, the shape of which reproduces that of a stūpa. The nave is covered by a barrel-vault formed by a series of arched beams the lower ends of which rest on the two rows of columns. The side naves, which are lower, have half barrel-vaults.

The vihāra serving as a dwelling for the monks is split into three parts:

1. A veranda excavated in the rock and placed at the entrance to the cave. Its ceiling is usually supported by a row of sculpted pillars.

2. A central flat-roofed hall serving as the entrance-hall to a large number of cells the doorways of which, adorned with the «horseshoe» and linked by balustrades, constitute the usual ornament.

3. Cells surrounding this hallway on three sides: small and dark, they contain one or two stone beds, at least in the early viharas.

The old caves are still very close to the wooden constructions, the form and style of which they strove to reproduce. The decoration is distinguished by its simplicity and sobriety and resorts to no other motifs than traditional horseshoe and balustrade. The image of the Buddha is absent from them or, if it is found, it is obviously a later addition. The columns of the caitya are plain shafts, without capitals or bases; they slope sharply inwards as in the wooden constructions. In the first viharas, the ceiling of the central hall is hardly ever supported by pillars.

The old caves make a striking contrast with the more recent caves of the Gupta period, which are filled with sculptures and an increasing number of images of the Buddha. In the caityas, the entrance is flanked by a large porch, and the interior colonnade is provided with richly sculptured bases and capitals. The viharas likewise increase in comfort and beauty; the veranda is adorned with sculptures of various motifs; the ceiling of the central hall is supported by pillars, the number of which tends to increase incessantly; finally, the rear wall generally opens onto a chapel, a small-sized caitya, containing a statue of the Buddha.

Here, we will deal only with the oldest rock-cut establishments, the foundation of which may date back, on the evidence of the inscriptions, to the end of the ancient era or the beginning of the new.
BHĀJĀ. — The eighteen caves at Bhājā, in the western Ghāts, are situated between Bombay and Poona, near the village of Malavli, on the G.I.P. Railway. They are pronouncedly archaic, but the few inscriptions they contain (LÜDERS, 1078-85) do not enable them to be dated precisely.

Entirely devoid of sculptures, caitya No. 12 is 18 metres long. The vault, which scrupulously reproduces a series of barrel-arched beams, rests on 27 octagonal pillars, which have neither capital nor base, sloping sharply inwards. Of the wooden screen which once blocked the opening of the cave only the supports remain. On both sides of the caitya there are vihāras of little importance.

A few paces to the right, are to be found a group of curious dāgabas, nine in the open air and five inside a cave⁹⁴. They are monolithic stūpas of a diameter varying between one and two metres. They were erected to

⁹⁴ Caitya No. 12 at Bhājā: Section and plan, HIEA, I, p. 134, fig. 58; AAI, p. 64, fig. 6; IABH, pl. 20. — Photograph, HIEA, I, p. 135, fig. 60; GIK, pl. 9, fig. 29; AAI, pl. 28; IABH, pl. 22, fig. 1. — Photograph of two nearby stūpas, ASI, pl. 2, fig. b.
the memory of Bhaṇḍanta theras named Dhammagiri, Ampikiṇaka, Saṃghadinna, etc. (LÜDERS, 1080-82).

Further to the south is a very interesting vihāra called «Cave of the Sun». Its veranda, in ruins today, was supported by pillars of alternate square and octagonal sections. The central hall is an irregular square approximately 5 m. by 5 m. 25. It contains eight cells each equipped with a stone bed; four of them open onto the central hall; a fifth communicates with the veranda; the other three are provided with a separate entrance. The walls are adorned with interesting bas-reliefs: one of them, sculpted at the extreme west of the veranda, represents a four-horse chariot in which three persons are riding, a prince flanked by two women; the chariot is surrounded by military guards and, in front of the wheels, stands an amalgam of monstrous demonical forms. It was long believed that this bas-relief was a representation of the chariot of Śūrya, the Sun-God.

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95 Vihāra at Bhājā : Plan, HIEA, I, p. 177, fig. 96. — Photographs of the veranda and the interior, ASI, pl. 2, fig. a; pl. 3, fig. a. Conjectural reconstruction, IABH, pl. 30.
96 Photographs of this bas-relief : CHI, I, pl. 26, fig. 70; HCIP, II, pl. 20, fig. 49; GIIK, pl. 7, fig. 24; ASI, I, pl. 8, fig. b; AAI, pl. 18, fig. b.
KONDÄNE. — The caverns at Kondane, some fifteen kilometres to the north-west of Kärli, are more or less contemporary with the preceding ones. The caitya, 20 m. long, 8 high and 8 m. 50 wide, contains thirty undecorated pillars which still have the same inward slope. Its dāgaba, 2 m. 70 in diameter, is surmounted by an unusually high capital. The façade makes use of the palisade and horseshoe as its only decorative motifs.

As for the vihāra, it affords — with that of Pitalkhorā — the remarkable innovation of having introduced the colonnade into the central hall.

PITALKHORĀ. — The Pitalkhorā ravine in the Indhyādri hills, in Kändesh, has given shelter to Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain communities. The Buddhist caitya, in ruins today, has yielded a few inscriptions (LÜDERS, 1187-93) commemorating gifts made to the shrine by a certain Magila Vachiputa, the physician of a king (rājaiveja) not otherwise specified, and various families from Pratiṣṭhāna.

THE FIRST CAVES AT AJANTA. — The caves at Ajantā, in the north-west of the State of the Nizām of Hyderābād, are twenty-nine in number. They were excavated at various dates, from the end of the ancient era until the sixth century A.D., in the vertical rock-face of a high mountain, at the foot of which flows a river. The group known as Hinayānist, comprising caves Nos. 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13, occupies the centre of the complex and, whether they are caityas or vihāras, are in no way distinguishable from the earlier type.

Caiyās Nos. 9 and 10 remain faithful to the ancient formulae: a screen of wood or brick — of which nothing is left —, plain pillars without bases or capitals, wooden beams fitting the curve of the vault.

Caiyā No. 10 measures 29 metres in length by 12 in width and 11 in height. Its 39 columns support a triforium of abnormal height. The vault of the central nave was formerly lined with wooden roof-ribs, but the roofing of the two side-aisles is grooved with beams carved directly from the rock.

Caiyā No. 9 measures 13 m. 50 long by 7 wide and 7 high; its

97 Caiyā at Kondāne, HIEA, I, p. 137; IABH, p. 28. — Section and plan, IABH, pl. 20. — Photograph, CHI, I, pl. 26, fig. 69; HCIP, II, pl. 8, fig. 15; IABH, pl. 22, fig. 2; pl. 27.
98 Cf. HCIP, II, p. 505, n.2.
99 Caiyā No. 10 at Ajanta : Section and plan, IABH, pl. 21. — Drawings, HIEA, I, p. 149, figs. 71-2.
columns are 39 in number. The vault was formerly provided with wooden beams. The main interest of this cave is concentrated on the rear wall, which is rectilinear and no longer apsidal, and the roofing of the side-aisles which is flat and no longer half barrel-vaulted.

The same simplicity also characterizes caves Nos. 12 and 13, used as vihāras: no internal portico, nor colonnade inside the hall. Vihāra No. 12 is a square, 11 metres on each side. The three interior walls each communicate with four cells, the doors of which are surmounted by a canopy in the shape of a horseshoe. Each cell contains two stone beds. Vihāra No. 13, smaller in dimension, comprises only seven cells, equipped with a stone bed.

A considerable interval in time separates these ancient caves from the group known as Mahāyānist, the caverns of which were excavated in the Gupta or post-Gupta period. The latter are profusely decorated with fine sculptures, and the paintings which cover the walls, the colonnades and ceilings have made the name of Ajanṭā famous.*

JUNNAR. — The complex at Junnar, situated north-west of Ahmednagar in the Bombay area, contains no less than one hundred and fifty caves divided into five separate groups.

Its caverns mark the transition between the first rock-cut architecture (Bhāja, Kondāne, Pītalkhorā and the first caves at Ajanṭā) and the more evolved style which developed in the course of the first centuries of the Christian era.

Remarkable for its veranda supported by a row of octagonal pillars with Persepolitan capitals, the vihāra of the Gānēśa Leṇa is a vast rectangular hall 15 metres by 17, the ceiling of which is not yet supported by any colonnade.

Junnar is distinctive for the simplicity and sobriety of its style. Architectural types not known elsewhere are found there, particularly caityas with rectilinear backs, flat roofs and no colonnades. There is also a small circular caitya, the cupola of which rests on twelve plain pillars, arranged in a circle around the dāgaba. A similar construction is also

100 Caitya No. 9 at Ajanṭā: Section and plan, IABH, pl. 20. — Description, Murray's Handbook, p. 70.
103 Site of Junnar, HIEA, I, pp. 155-9; IABH, p. 29. — Photograph of the façades of the Mānmoda group, IABH, p. 126, fig. 1.
105 Veranda of the Gānēśa Leṇa, HCIP, II, pl. 12, fig. 24.
106 Circular caitya at Junnar: Plan and section, HIEA, I, p. 158, figs. 79-80, HCIP, II, p. 496.
found at Guṇṭupalle in Andhra country, and the bas-reliefs at Bhārhut had already given its shape.

The site has yielded numerous inscriptions (LÜDERS, 1150-83), one of which (1174) is from the year 46, during the reign of the satrap Nahapāna (ca. 124 A.D.). Likewise from the evidence of the inscriptions, many Buddhist sects inhabited the establishment: Dharmottariyās (LÜDERS, 1152), Caitikas (1171) and Apajītas or Aparājītas (1158, 1163). Among the donors several were of foreign origin, Greek or Scythian: the Yavana Irita of the Gata (1154), the Yavana Cīta of the Gata (1182), the Yavana Comda (1156), the Saka Aḍuthuma (1162) and the Saka Ayama, Nahapāna’s minister (1174).

BEDSĀ. — This site, a close neighbour of Bhājā, affords some remarkable innovations.

The caitya is covered with a ribbed vault resting on 26 octagonal pillars, 3 metres high. They are still plain shafts, without capitals or bases, but instead of sloping inwards, as in the old wooden construc-
tions, they return to the vertical. For the first time, it seems, the caitya is no longer obturated by a simple screen of wood or stone, but preceded by a high portico supported by four sculpted pillars: columns surmounted by a capital, of a pronounced Persepolitan type, and supporting groups of animals (horses, buffaloes, elephants) ridden by human couples. The interior wall of the portico is decorated with architectural motifs in which the *kudhu*, or horseshoe-shaped bay, alternates with the pali-sade. It is breached by two doors one opening onto the central nave, the other onto the left-hand side-aisle.\(^{107}\)

To the right of the caitya, there is a cave which is unique of its kind. The vaulted ceiling and the apsidal shape might be suggestive of a caitya, but the nine cells which communicate with the central hall clearly prove that it is a vihāra used by monks as living quarters.

Nāsik. — Near Nāsik, a thousand metres above the plain, stands a chain of mountains nowadays called the Trimbak, formerly Tiranāhu (Skt. Trirāśmi). At its eastern end, Hiṇayāna Buddhists fitted out thirty-three caves which were known as the Paṇḍuleṇa. They date from the first two centuries of the Christian era, as is shown by inscriptions going back to the reigns of the Śātavāhana kings and Kṣaharāta satraps: Kṛṣṇa Śātavāhana, ca 37-27 B.C. (Lüders, 1144), Gautamiputra Śatakarni, 106-130 A.D. (Id., 1125-6), Vāsiśṭhiputra Pulomā, 130-159 A.D. (Id., 1147, 1122, 1123, 1124), Yajñāśrī Śatakarni, 174-203 A.D. (Id., 1146); the satrap Nahapāna, 119-125 A.D. (Id., 1131-5).

The caves provided accommodation for various Buddhist sects: Pravrajitabhikṣus of the «Community of the Four Regions» (Lüders, 1128, 1131, 1133, 1137, 1139, 1140, 1146), Bhadrāyanīyas (Id., 1123, 1124) and Caitikas (Id., 1130).

Completed by a certain Bhaṭapālikā, the daughter of a royal official (Lüders, 1141), cave No. 18 is a caitya 12 m. long by 6 m. 50 wide and 7 m. high. It is divided into a central nave and two side naves by two rows of five octagonal columns, and the dāgaba which occupies the centre of the apse is in turn surrounded by five pillars. Whereas at Bedsā the entrance was covered by a portico, the caitya at Nāsik still consists only of a plain façade, but remarkably sculpted by villagers from Dhambhika (Lüders, 1142), and flanked by a guardian Yakṣa, the gift of a certain Nādasirī (Lüders, 1143). Excavated from the rock, in two

\(^{107}\) Caitya at Bedsā: description, HIEA, I, pp. 138-40; IABH, pp. 29-30. — Plan of the caitya and vihāra, HIEA, I, p. 138, fig. 63. — Section and plan of the caitya, IABH, pl. 20. — Photographs of the hall and veranda, GIJK, pl. 10, figs. 32 and 33; HCIP, pl. 9, fig. 17. — Reproduction of a pillar and the interior wall of the veranda, HIEA, I, pp. 139-40, figs. 64-5.
storeys, the façade harmoniously combines the traditional ornamental motifs: Buddhist palisade, stūpa, pillar (without base but with capital), a false horseshoe-shaped window. It is breached by two superimposed openings, a narrow rectangular door communicating with the central nave, and a large horseshoe-shaped bay enabling air and light to pass freely.  

Cave No. 8 is known by the name of the vihāra of Nahapāna, that Scythian satrap who ruled over the western coast between the years 119 and 125 A.D. The name of the satrap, like that of his son-in-law Uśavadāta, in fact appears on numerous inscriptions in the cavern (LÜDERS, 1131-5). It is entered beneath a huge veranda supported by six delicately worked pillars and, this time, provided with a base and capital. «The base has the shape of a large bulbous jar (ghaṭa) and the capital, bell-shaped like those of the Aśokan period, supports a stepped pyramid bearing two animals lying one in front of the other at an angle,
mounted by small persons» (after J. Auboyer). Three doors give access to the central hall, a square 12 meters on each side, without an interior colonnade. Sixteen narrow cells open onto the internal sides of the hall.

Cave No. 3, which is an exact reproduction of the preceding one, is a

\[\text{(After J. Burgess)}\]

\text{Nāsik. Vihāra n°15.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize 109 Vihāra No. 18 at Nāsik (cave of Nahapāna) : description, HIEA, I, pp. 184-6. — Plan, HIEA, I, p. 184, fig. 102. — Photograph of the veranda, ASI, I, pl. 3, fig. b; HCIP, II, pl. 9, fig. 22. — Reproduction of one of the veranda pillars, HIEA, I, p. 185, fig. 103.}\]
vihāra from the era of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi who ruled from 106 to 130 A.D. (Lüders, 1125-6)\(^{110}\).

Excavated at an early period by the ascetic Bopaki, vihāra No. 15 was enlarged and finished by the Lady Vāsu, wife of the commander-in-chief of King Yajñāśrī Sātakarṇi who ruled, it is believed, from 174 to 203 A.D. (Lüders, 1146). The central hall has the shape of an irregular rectangle, 11 m. 25 at the base, 13 m. 20 at the summit and 18 m. 30 on the sides. It is onto these last that the majority of the cells open, eight on each side\(^{111}\). At the rear of the vihāra, a hallway, supported by two richly sculpted pillars\(^{112}\), communicates with a shrine containing a colossal statue of the seated Buddha, surrounded by a retinue of servants and dwarves. Their presence indicates that this is a later enlargement, due to Mahāyānist initiative.

KĀRLI. — Near Malavli Station, on the railway line linking Bombay with Poona, there are some caves called Valūraka Leṇa by the ancient inscriptions (Lüders, 1099, 1100, 1105). Inhabited since the first century by Mahāsāṃghika monks (ID., 1105, 1106), they were later enlarged or endowed by a large number of religious and lay people from Dhānyakata, in Andhra country, where the sect had many adherents. Among those donors from Dhenukāṭaka, we note the names of the perfumer Simhadata (ID., 1090), the carpenter Sāmi (1092), the Yavana Sihadhaya (1093), Dhamma Yavana (1096) and a certain Mitadevānaka (1097). Other sects, however, branches of the Sthāviras, contributed to the renovation of the site: the Dharmottariyas in the person of the preacher Sātimita (Lüders, 1094-5), the Sauvarśakas in that of a certain Haraphaṇa (1106). Some inscriptions are dated from the reigns of the satrap Nahapāna, 119-125 A.D. (Lüders, 1099), of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, 106-130 A.D. (ID., 1105) and of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulomā, 130-159 A.D. (ID., 1100, 1106).

Among all these caves, the famous caitya of Kārlī, justifiably known as the loveliest of all the rock-cut temples (selaghara) in Jambudvīpa, was founded by the banker Bhutapāla of Vaijayantī (Lüders, 1087)\(^{113}\).

\(^{110}\) Vihāra No. 3 at Nāsik (cave of Gautamiputra Sātakarni): description, HIEA, I, p. 186; IABH, p. 35. — Photograph of the veranda, ASI, I, pl. 9, fig. a; HCIP, II, pl. 12, fig. 23; IABH, pl. 29, fig. 1. — Reproduction of one of the veranda pillars, HIEA, I, p. 185, fig. 104.


\(^{112}\) Reproduction of one of these pillars, HIEA, I, p. 188, fig. 106.

\(^{113}\) Caitya at Kārlī: description by J. Marshall, CHI, I, pp. 635-6; by P. Brown, IABH, pp. 30-2. — Section and plan, HIEA, I, p. 143, figs 67-8; AA1, p. 66, fig. 7; IABH,
In front of the entrance, there once stood two «lion-pillars» (sihat-habha); the right-hand one has been replaced by a Hindu temple; the left-hand one, a «gift by the Mahārāṭhi Agimitraṅaka, son of Goṭi», (LÜDERS, 1088) is a fluted shaft without a base, but with a capital, supporting four lions back-to-back.

The entrance is flanked by a porch 18 metres high by 4 m. 50 in depth. Its external wall consists of two superimposed rows of octagonal pillars, separated by a screen of living rock, once decorated with wooden
sculptures. The internal wall is breached by three doors respectively communicating with the central nave and the side naves. The middle door is surmounted by a vast horseshoe-shaped bay through which air and light penetrate.

The caitya proper has the form of a Gothic basilica: it is 37 m. 50 in length, 13 m. 50 in width and 13 m. 50 in height, from the floor to the top of the vault. It has 37 columns. The seven columns which border the apse are octagonal shafts without capitals or bases, as in the ancient constructions. Conversely, the two rows of fifteen columns which separate the central nave from the side-aisles are provided with jar-shaped bases and fluted bell-shaped capitals supporting kneeling elephants, horses or tigers, accompanied by their drivers. The central nave is 7 m. 50 wide, while the side-aisles are only 3 m.

While the rest of the monument is hidden in shadow, the dagaba which occupies the centre of the apse attracts all the light from the outside. Remarkable in its simplicity, this dagaba is of the traditional shape: two superimposed circular drums marked on their upper rims with the balustrade design, a hemispherical dome free of any sculpture, a cube-shaped box (harmikā) with an overhanging stepped cornice, and finally the pole supporting a parasol.

KĀNERI. — On Salsette Island, 25 kilometres north of Bombay and 10 kilometres north-west of Thānā, are the caves of Kāneri, formerly Kanhasala or Kṛṣṇaśaila (Lüders, 1013, 1024). Numbering one hundred and nine, they appear to have been excavated and adopted from the second to the ninth centuries A.D., for various Buddhist sects: Bhikṣuśaṅgha (Lüders, 1021), Caturdiśaśaṅgha (Id., 1006, 1016, 1024), Bhadraṇyaṇīyas (987, 1018) and Aparaśailas (1020). The devotees who financed the works came, not only from the immediate neighbourhood such as Nāsika (Lüders, 985) or Śūrpāraka (995, 1005), but also from distant regions such as Kalyāṇa in Kārṇaṭa (986, 998, 1000, 1001, 1013, 1014, 1024, 1032) or Dhāṇyakata (Dhenukāta) in Andhra country (corrected 1020). Among the kings or princes who took part in the donations, we note the names of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulomā, 130-159 A.D. (Lüders, 994), Yajñāśri Śatakarni, 174-203 A.D. (Id., 987, 1024) and a certain Mādhariṇa Sakasena (Id., 1001, 1002) known from some coins discovered at Tarhala. Even later, the Cūṭukulānanda of inscription 1021, whose name, or that of a homonym, also appears in Vanavasi (Lüders, 1186) and Maḻavalli (1195).

Inscription 998 constitutes a veritable punyapustaka, merit book in which Buddhists noted the list of their meritorious deeds: «An en-
dowment was presented to the monks (pavayita); approximately three objects were made in Sopārakāhāra (a district in Śūrpāraka); a sanctuary (cetiaghara), a reception-hall (upathānasālā) and cells (ovaraka) were constructed at the Abālikāvihāra (Ambālikāvihāra) in Kāliaṇa (Kalyāṇa); a sanctuary and thirteen cells were constructed and endowed at some vihāra in Patiṭhāna (Pratiṣṭhāna); a temple (kutā) and a hall (kodhi) were excavated at the Rājatalāka Paithānapatha (Pratiṣṭhānapatha); an endowed monastery (saghārāma) was built at the Sadasevāju vihāra).

Cave No. 3 is a caitya of considerable size: 26 metres long by 12 wide by 11 high. It was excavated, in the reign of Yajñāšri Śātakarnī (174-203 A.D.), by two merchants, the brothers Gajasena and Gajamita, for the benefit of the Buddhist sect of the Bhadrāyanīyas. Six architects (navakārmika), five of whom were monks and one a layman, supervised the works which were carried out by various bodies of craftsmen, under the direction of the Bhadanta Bodhika (Lüders, 987).

The thirty-four pillars of the interior colonnade are surmounted by capitals covered with a mass of sculptures employing the most varied of motifs: stūpas, trees and sacred footprints, elephants, etc. At the two extremities of the porch, stand two statues of the Buddha, one of which was a gift from the Śākyabhikṣu Buddhaghosa, Tripiṭaka master charged with the guardianship of the great temple (mahāgandhakutīvārika) (Lüders, 989).

Images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas are frequently found at Kānheri, but those which decorate the oldest monuments are clearly later additions, due to Mahāyānist initiative.

It is appropriate to stop here the description devoted to the beginnings of rock-cut architecture. This type of architecture was to reach its apogee during the Gupta and post-Gupta period, with the caves at Bāgh, Ajañṭā (second manner), Ellora and Aurangābād, to mention only the most famous.

114 Caitya No. 3 at Kānheri: description, HIEA, I, pp. 162-4; Murray’s Handbook, p. 31; IABH, p. 32. — Plan, IABH, pl. 21.
115 Reproduction of one of these pillars, HIEA, I, p. 164, fig. 85.
CHAPTER SIX

THE BUDDHIST SECTS

I. — ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECTS

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE SECTS. — One of the Buddha's concerns was to ensure the harmony of the community he had founded. In fact, however, centrifugal forces soon appeared and threatened the unity of the Saṅgha. The absence of a hierarchy and leadership made it difficult to protect Buddhism from disjunctive tendencies and actions.

During the Buddha's own lifetime, two schisms occurred: that of Kauśāmbī which was quickly reabsorbed, that of Devadatta which culminated in the creation of a dissident order, traces of which still survived in the seventh century at the time of Hsüan-tsang. In the age of

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Aśoka, the progress made by the order was counteracted by dissensions amongst the religious, and the emperor was compelled, in his edicts at Kosam, Sāncī and Sārnāth, to threaten the instigators of the schism with excommunication. It was however in his reign that the great Mahā­sāṃghika schism was accomplished, resulting in the scission of the original Sāṃgha into two main branches: that of the Sthaviras, the traditionalists, and that of the Mahā­sāṃghikas, the dissident majority and supporters of the five points of Mahādeva. Ceylon itself was not without dissension and, in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmanī, some monks at the Mahāvihāra separated from their colleagues and founded at the Abhayagiri a rival community which broke off all relations with the original community started by Mahinda.

The Buddhists had a very clear conception of dissidence (saṃgharājī) and schism (sāṃghabheda). According to the Pāli Vinaya (II, p. 204), there is a schism when a group of at least nine bhikṣus, possessed of all the religious privileges, belonging to the same persuasion and living in the same district, knowingly and willingly profess a proposition contrary to the Law and discipline and, who after a properly established vote, separate from their colleagues in order to perform the ceremonies of uposatha, pravāraṇā and other official functions of the community on their own. If the number of dissenters is less than nine, there is no schism, but only dissidence.

It was subsequent to a properly established vote that, in the Mauryan period, the Mahā­sāṃghikas separated from the Sthaviras. The completion of the schism did not interrupt the process of disintegration and, following further divergences, the two sections were in turn subdivided into a series of nikāya. The term Nikāya, which is usually translated as sect, designates a «grouping», a school, which professes particular opinions on certain points of the doctrine and discipline.

Nikāyas do not necessarily originate as the result of a schism. The majority of them developed spontaneously at the heart of the Community of the four quarters (caturdiśasamgha) widespread throughout the whole of India. They show up the stages of doctrinal evolution undergone by the message of Śākyamuni during its extension in time and space. The Nikāyas could be compared to the religious orders which developed in the bosom of Christianity, or even better, to the Reformed Churches which live side by side without antagonism: a Calvinist does not quite share the opinions and practices of a Lutheran, but nevertheless participates in the same movement.

Generally, there was no violent opposition between the adepts of the various Buddhist sects. They all considered one another as disciples of
the Śākyas, enjoying the same rights and prerogatives. They all professed the reality of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa and as one man adhered to the law of the dependent origination of phenomena. They only differed over secondary points of the doctrine and discipline, either because they rejected certain propositions advanced by their neighbours, or because they avoided expressing an opinion on problems which they considered of little urgency or interest. Relations were cordial and easy between members of the different sects²: a bhikṣu on his travels had the right to stay at Buddhist establishments he encountered on his journey; he was certain to be welcomed as a guest and treated according to the rules of monastic courtesy, and no one would ask him for his personal opinions². This protocol always remained effective, and the Chinese pilgrims who had occasion to visit India from the fourth to the seventh centuries frequently encountered in one and the same monastery bhikṣus of different sects apparently living in perfect harmony.

The formation of the sects was due mainly to the geographical extension of the community over the entire Indian territory. In the region which it occupied in its own right, each Saṃgha was confronted by particular problems. The presence in its ranks of a famous scholar inevitably led it to be interested in one matter rather than another. The religious of a particular monastery tended to specialize in a specific branch of learning: the memorization of the Sūtras, the Vinaya or the oral instruction; the teaching of the doctrine; the recitation of a particular body of writings; the practice of meditation or textual learning. At the heart of a given monastery, certain practical customs inevitably developed; usages were not the same everywhere: some communities were especially strict in the application of the rules, others tended towards laxity. Relations with lay circles gave each community its particular atmosphere: one could count on the benevolence and protection of a prince, another had to defend itself against his hostility; one opened its doors wide to the outside world, another enclosed itself in isolation. The Saṃgha was marked by the infinite variety of territories which it occupied: Āryan India in the Gangetic Basin, Dravidian in the south, Graeco-Scythian in the north and west. The environment determined the use of language and dialect, the type of clothing and food. Certain particularly rich regions, such as Magadha, Avanti and Gandhāra, could give shelter to numerous monasteries; the jungle could feed

² Pāli Vinaya, II, pp. 207-12, 219; Mahāsāsaka Vin., T 1421, ch. 27, pp. 178c 5-179a 26; Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 19, p. 381a 18-c 24; Dharmagupta Vin., T 1428, ch. 49, pp. 930c 7-931c 28; Sarvāstivādin Vin., T 1435, ch. 41, p. 300a 11-b 15, c 7-19.
only a few religious. The great number of ordinands, as at the Aśokā-
rāma in Pātaliputra, compelled several monasteries to migrate, some-
times to a great distance, and it was natural for the new foundations to
preserve the mentality and habits of the mother house.

The majority of the Hinayānist schools developed during the second
and third centuries after the Nirvāṇa, that is, in the short chronology,
during the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era. However, the
sources which inform us of their history are of a much later date. These
are, on the one hand, certain inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī from
the Kuśāna period which indicate the presence of this or that school in
various places; on the other, disputations compiled in the first centuries
of the Christian era in which are formulated and sometimes refuted
series of doctrinal propositions pertaining to various sects. Among these
disputations, we can point out the Pāli Kathāvatthu, the Samayabheda-
paracanacakra by Vasumitra (second century?)\(^3\), the Nikāyabhedavib-
haṅga by Bhavya (fourth century) and the Samayabhedoparacanacakra-
nikāyabhedoropadarsanasamgraha by Vinītadeva (eight century).

As we will see further on, these disputations were to some extent
preoccupied with describing the state of the Saṅgha during the very
period in which they were compiled. Notwithstanding, they are widely
dependent on the pseudo-historical tradition concerning the formation
of the sects.

In them we find indications, mostly fanciful, of the origin of the
names of the sects. These take their titles from four different origins :

a. A professed doctrine : Sthāviravādin «professing the doctrine of the
Elders»; Lokottaravādin «stating the supramundane dharmas»; Ekavya-
vahārika «maintaining that Samsāra and Nirvāṇa are nothing but
fictitious denominations»; Prajñāptivādin «separating the real teaching
from the fictitious denomination»; Vibhajyavādin «making distinctions»;
Saṃkrāntivādin-Sautrāntika «professing the passage of the five skandha
through existences and acknowledging no authority except the Sūtras».*

b. The composition of an assembly : Mahāsāṃghika «school of the
Great Assembly»; Bahuṣrutīya «school of those who have heard much»;
Dharmottariya «school of the elevation of the Law»; Bhadrāyanīya
«school of the Vehicle of the Sages».

c. The localization of the sect : Haimavata «dwelling in the Snowy
Mountains»; Saṅmagarika «dwelling in the Six Towns», or again, Saṅ-

\(^3\) No less than five Vasumitras are known (cf. WATTERS, I, pp. 273-4; J. MASUDA, I.c.,
p. 7). The author of the disputation is generally identified with the Vasumitra who lived 400
years after the Nirvāṇa and took part, in the reign of Kanīśka, in the compilation of the
Mahāvibhāṣā.
\textit{dagairika} «dwelling in the Dense Forest»; \textit{Caityaśaila} or \textit{Caitika}, \textit{Caityikā} «dwelling on Mount Caitya», in Andhra country; \textit{Pūrvaśaila} and \textit{Aparāśaila} Eastern and Western Highlanders, in Andhra country.

d. The founder of the sect, generally a fictitious person invented to supply the etymology: \textit{Mahiśāsaka}, disciples of a brahmin «Governing the land»; \textit{Vātisīputriya}, disciples of an Arhat named «Son of the Inhabitant» (Vatsayputra?) or «Son of the Heifer (Vātisīputra); \textit{Sammatiṭya}, whose founder was called «Right Measure» (Sammita); \textit{Dharmaguptaka}, founded by a pupil of Maudgalyāyana whose name was Dharmagupta; \textit{Sauvarṣaka-Kāśyapiya}, going back to a person called «Good Year» (Suvarṣaka), of the Kāśyapiya family.

It sometimes happens that the name of a sect is not perfectly established, but the exegeticists were not at a loss on that account. Thus the \textit{Gokulika} «sect of the herd of cows» are also called \textit{Kukkuṭika} «of the posterity of the Cock» because they included a cock (kukkūṭa) in their ancestry, and \textit{Kukkulika}, either because they inhabited the Mount of Embers (kukūlā; Pā. kukkuḷa), or because they taught that «all condition (dharmas) are absolutely nothing but a pile of embers».

We cannot avoid the impression that the old authors built history, even philosophy, with popular etymologies, for apart from a few well-known scholars such as Kātyāyanīputra, author of the \textit{Jñānaprasthāna} of the Sarvāstivādins, the supposed founders of the sects are all fictitious persons. Furthermore, the rôle which they might have played is overshadowed by the constant concern of the old writers to have the sects date back to the very time of the Buddha and to give them an immediate disciple of Sākyamuni as their leader: Mahākāśyapa for the Sthaviras; Bāśpa for the Mahāsāṃghikas; Yajñavalkya (?) for the Bahuśrutiyas; Mahākātyāyana for the Prajñaptivādins; the Kāśyapa-Ānanda-Madhyāntika-Śaṅvāsīn-Upagupta-Pūrṇa-Mecaka-Kātyāyanīputra lineage for the Sarvāstivādins; the Śāriputra-Rāhula-Vatsiṣputra lineage for the Vātisīputrīyas; Suvarṣa, the son of Kālodāyi and the nun Guptā, for the Suvarṣakas. Were a modern historian to adopt this point of view, he would have to accept that all the Hinayānist sects were constituted at the beginning of Buddhism, whereas the old writers themselves acknowledge that they developed in the two and three hundred years which followed the Nirvāṇa.

Alongside this pseudo-historical information, the disputations also contain a list of the various doctrinal propositions adopted by the sects. Thus we have the terms and sometimes, in the \textit{Kathāvatthu}, the refutation of approximately 500 theses distributed among a good twenty schools. A. Bureau has rightly remarked that, as much in the wording of
a proposition as in its attribution to a sect, «the sources very rarely contradict each other, no more than some ten times at the most»

This remarkable agreement shows that the compiler or compilers of the Kathāvatthu and the authors of the disputations, Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinitadeva, represent a common tradition and cultivate the same literary style which could be entitled sectarian dogmatics.

We should consider to what degree the dogmatics as described correspond to historical reality.

It will readily be acknowledged that the disputations provide an exact idea of the doctrinal orientation of the great Buddhist sects. No one can deny the importance which the Sthaviras attach to the prerogatives of the Arhat, the realist viewpoint adopted by the Sarvāstivādins, the supranaturalist tendencies of the Mahāsāṃghikas and their sub-sects, the disguised animism which caused the Vātsiputriya-Saṃmatīyas to adopt an indescribable pudgala.

However, it is doubtful whether the sects themselves established the list of propositions which the disputations attribute to them and even more doubtful that they imposed adherence to them on all those who, for historical or geographical reasons, belonged to the same creed as themselves or lived in their district. Nowhere does the Buddhist tradition mention restricted synods in which the schools were expected to define their positions.

Throughout all Buddhist literature, there is no systematic attempt to explain or prove, as a whole and in detail, the doctrines professed by a given sect. The great authors display absolute freedom in the choice of theories which they describe, and reveal themselves in general to be eclectic. They are not sectarians working for a school, but scholars giving their personal opinions. Tradition makes Asvaghoṣa a Sarvāstivādīn and pupil of the Vaibhāṣika Pārśva; but Asvaghoṣa himself asserts, in the Saundarananda, XVII, 18, that «existence succeeds non-existence», a thesis that was formally condemned by the Sarvāstivāda. In his edition of the Buddhacarita (p. xxxiii), E.H. Johnston notes points where Asvaghoṣa seems to come closer to the Bauhuṣrutīyas, but this is not a reason to conclude, as he does, that «the natural inference is that [our poet] was either a Bauhuṣrutika or an adherent of the [Kaukulika?] school from which the Bauhuṣrutikas issued». The great Vasubandhu was, in principle, a Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika, but in his Abhidharmakośa, he frequently adopts the Sautrāntika point of view. The Sāriputrābhidharma is given by Vasumitra as a basic text of the Vātsiputriya school;

4 Tr. from Les Sectes bouddhiques, p. 290.
however, in the work that has come down to us with that title (T 1548),
the main thesis of the Vātsiputriya-Sammatīyas concerning the existence
of a pudgala subject to rebirth is formally denied, and this led A. Bareau
to seek elsewhere than the Vātsiputriyas for the origin of this Abhi-
dharma. It ensues from these statements that, working from documents, the
authors of the disputation designed an ideal table of the doctrinal
position of the sects. Followers were not expected to adhere to these
disputations and scarcely took them into account in their own personal
works.

Geographical distribution of the sects. — The presence of the
sects in various places on Indian territory is confirmed by inscriptions in
Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī which date from 100 before Christ to 200 or 300
after. There is no doubt that the dispersion of the sects is prior to this
date and goes back to the last two centuries of the ancient era. It is not
anachronistic to give here the list of these inscriptions.*

In the table which follows, the references are taken from Kharoṣṭhī
Inscriptions by S. Konow (Konow), from Lüders List of Brāhmī Inscrip-
tions (Lüders), from Epigraphia Indica (EI) and from Amarāvatī Sculptures by Śivarāmamūrti (Mūrti).

I. — Sarvāstivādins

1. Sarvāstivātra (Konow, p. 48) : Mathurā, Lion Capital (1st cent.).
2. Sarvāstivātra (Konow, p. 48) : ibidem.
3. Sarvāstivātin (Konow, p. 137) : Shāh-jī-ki Dherī, Reliquary of Kaniśka,
   year 1 of Kaniśka (ca 128-151).
4. Sarvāstivādanat (Konow, p. 145) : Stone of Zeda, from the year 11 of
   Kaniśka (ca 128-151).
5. Sarvāstivāda (Konow, p. 155) : copper Stūpa at Kurram, from the year 20
   of Kaniśka (ca 128-151).
7. Sarvāstivādi (Lüders, 12) : Buddhist statue from Kāman, from the year 74
   of an unspecified era.
8. Sarvāstivādin (Lüders, 918-19) : Buddhist statue in Śravastī from the reign
   of Kaniśka (ca 128-151).
9. Sarvāstivādin (Lüders, 929a-929b) : Buddhist balustrade at Sārnāth (Vāra-
   nāsi), undated.
10. Šavasthidiya (Lüders, 125°) : Buddhist statue at Mathurā, undated.

II. — Haimavatas (of the Sthavira group)
11. Hemavata (Lüders, 156) : Crystal box from Stūpa 2 at Sonārī, from the
    Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).

* See earlier, p. 190, in the notes.
12. *Hemavata* (Lüders, 158) : Soapstone box from Stūpa 2 at Sonārī, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).
13. *Hemavata* (Lüders, 655; Majumdar, 3): Soapstone box from Stūpa 2 at Sāncī, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).

III. — Vātsiputriyas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)
14. *Vātsiputrika* (Lüders, 923) : Buddhist pillar at Sārnāth (Vāraṇasī, from the Gupta period (4th cent.).

IV. — Mahāsākas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)
15. *Mahāsāsaka* (EI, XX, p. 24) : Pillar at Nāgarjunikonda, from the year 11 of Ehuvela Śāntamūla II of the Ikṣvākus (end of 3rd cent.).
16. *Mahāsāsaka* (EI, I, p. 238) : Kura pillar in the Salt Range (Punjab), from the reign of Toramāna Shāha Jāvlā (end of 5th cent.).

V. — Kāśyapiyas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)
17. *Kā...* (Konow, p. 63) : Inscribed pottery from Takht-i-Bahi, undated.
18. *Kāśāvia* (Konow, p. 88) : Copper ladle from Taxila, the gift of Īṣparaka, probably Āspavarma, vassal of Azes II, ca 5-19 A.C. (see above p. 460).
21. *Kāśāpiya* (Lüders, 904) : Buddhist (?) cave at Pabhosā, from the year 10 of Udāka, probably the fifth Śuṅga (see above, p. 358).
22. *Sovasa* (Lüders, 1106) : Cave at Kārli, from the year 24 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).

VI. — Sautrāntikas (Sarvāstivādin subsect)
23. *Sutāmita* (Lüders, 797) : Pillar at Bhārhut, from the Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B.C.).
24. *Sutātiya* (Lüders, 635) : Sāncī, from the Śuṅga period.

VII. — Dharmottarīyas (Vātsiputriya subsect)
26. *Dhamutariya* (Lüders, 1094-5) : Gift, to the caitya at Kārli, of two pillars, by the thera Sātimita belonging to the Dharmottarīya school in Śūrparaka, undated.
27. *Dhammunatariya* (Lüders, 1152) : Cave at Junnar, undated.

VIII. — Bhadrāyanīyas (Vātsiputriya subsect)
28. [Bhādéyaṭañ̄ñiya] (Lüders, 987) : Cave at Kānheri, in the reign of Yajñaśrī Śātakarnī (ca 174-203).
29. *Bhādrajanīya* (Lüders, 1018) : Cave at Kānheri, undated.
30. *Bhadavaniya* (Lüders, 1123) : Cave at Nāśik, from the year 19 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).
31. *Bhadavaniya* (Lüders, 1124) : Cave at Nāśik, from the years 19 and 22 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā (ca 130-159).

* However, as we will see, it is doubtful whether the term *sautrāntika* used by these inscriptions designates an adherent of the Sautrāntika school.
IX. — Sammatîyas (Vâtsîputrya subsect)

32. **Sammitiya** (Lûders, 923): Buddhist pillar at Sârnâth (Vârâņasî), from the Gupta period (4th cent.).

X. — Mahâsâmghikas

33. **Mahasaggha** (Konow, p. 48): Mathurâ, Lion Capital (1st cent.).

34. **Mahasangghika** (Konow, p. 170): Vessel of Wardak, from the year 51 of the Kaniśka era (ca 179 A.D.).

35. **Mahâsagghiya** (Lûders, 1105): Cave at Kârli, from the year 18 of Gautamiputra Sâtakarnî (ca 106-130).

36. **Mahâsagghiya** (Lûders, 1106): Cave at Kârli, from the year 24 of Vâsiṣṭhîputra Pulomâ (ca 130-159).

37. **Ayirahagha** (EI, XX, p. 17): Pillar at Nâgârjunikônda, from the year 6 of Mâtharîputra Virapurusadatta of the Ikṣvâkus (ca 250-275).

38. **Ayirahagha** (EI, XX, p. 20): Pillar at Nâgârjunikônda, dated as the preceding one.

XI. — Bahuśrutiyas (Mahâsâmghika subsect)


41. **Bahusutiya** (EI, XXI, p. 62): Pillar at Nâgârjunikônda, from the year 2 of Ehuvula Sântamûla II of the Ikṣvâkus (end of 3rd cent.).

XII. — Caitikas or Śailas (Mahâsâmghika subsect)

42. **Cetikiya** (Lûders, 1248): Inscribed stone from Amarâvatî, from the reign of Vâsiṣṭhîputra Pulomâ (ca 130-159).

43. **Cetika** (Mûrti, No. 33, p. 278): Tile from Amarâvatî, n.d.

44. **Cetiyavândaka** (Lûders, 1233): Sculpture at Amarâvatî, n.d.

45. **Cetiyavâdaka** (Lûders, 1263): Sculpture at Amarâvatî, n.d.

46. **Cetika of Râjaâgiri** (Lûders, 1250): Sculpture at Amarâvatî, n.d.


48. **Cetika** (Lûders, 1130): Cave at Nâsik, n.d.

49. **Cetiya** (Lûders, 1171): Cave at Junnar, n.d.

50. **Seliya** (Lûders, 1270): Pillar of Amarâvatî, n.d.

51. **Mahâvanaseliya** (Lûders, 1230): Pillar of Amarâvatî, n.d.

52. **Mahâvanasela** (Lûders, 1272): Sculpture at Amarâvatî, n.d.

XIII. — Purva- and Aparasêlas (subdivisions of the Śailas)

53. **Puvaseliya** (EI, XXIV, p. 259): Pillar with dharmacakra at Dharanikota, probably dating from Vâsiṣṭhîputra Pulomâ (ca 130-159).


55. **Aparamahâvinaseliya** (EI, XX, p. 17): Pillar at Nâgârjunikônda, from the year 6 of Mâtharîputra Virapurusadatta (ca 250-275).

56. **Aparamahâvinaseliya** (EI, XX, p. 19): Pillar at Nâgârjunikônda, from the year 6 of the same king.

57. **Aparamahâvinaseliya** (EI, XX, p. 21): Temple at Nâgârjunikônda, from the year 18 of the same king.

58. **[Apajraseliya** (EI, XXVII, p. 4): Tile from Ghaṇṭâsâlâ, formerly Ukhasirivadhamâna, the Bardamana of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 93).
59. *Aparīśela* (Lüders, 1020, with the correction in IHQ, XVIII, 1942, p. 60): Cave at Kānheri, n.d.

**XIV. — Andhaka subsects**


**XV. — Sinhalese Theras**


The present list, drawn at random from epigraphical finds, is presumably incomplete, and new discoveries will contribute to its enrichment. We should be careful not to draw hasty conclusions from it, but we can nevertheless try and interpret it in the light of the literary sources.

From the end of the ancient era, the Sarvāstivādins (Nos. 1-10) were firmly established in the North-West and the district of Mathurā, and were also represented in Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasi. In the second century B.C., Avanti honoured the remains of the Haimavata saints (Nos. 11-13), also known by the name of Mūlāsthaviras.

According to Vasumitra, the Sarvāstivādins gave birth to four daughter schools: 1. the Vātsiputriyas and their subsects: Dharmottariyas, Bhadrāyanīyas, Sammatīyas and Śaṅnagarikas; 2. the Mahīśāsakas and their Dharmaguptaka sub-sect; 3. the Kāśyapīyas, also called Suvarṣakas; 4. the Sautrāntikas.

From the inscriptions we see, in the Gupta period, the Vātsiputriya-Saṃmatīyas (Nos. 14 and 32) replace the Sarvāstivādins in Vārāṇasi. — The Mahīśāsakas (Nos. 15 and 16) are recorded only at Kura in the Salt Range, and at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra country, where they formed an islet in the middle of the Mahāśāṅghikas; furthermore, their Vinaya was discovered in Ceylon by Fa hsiin. — The Kāśyapīyas (Nos. 17-21) were fairly numerous in the North-West and were represented at Prabhōsa near Kauśāmbi; a Suvarṣaka (No. 22) with an Iranian name, Harapharaṇa and living in Abulāmā, presented a pavilion with nine cells to the community at Kārli. — As for the Sautrāntikas, they represented a philosophical movement rather than a homogenous sect: up until now the existence of Sautrāntika monasteries has not been attested by any inscriptions. The expressions *sutarṭika*, *sutarātkiṇī* recorded by Nos. 23-25 seem to be epithets applied to particular people «versed in the Sūtras», rather than names of sects.

Of the four sects which sprang from the Vātsiputriyas, only three
appear on the inscriptions: the Dharmottariyas (Nos. 26-27), in Śūrpa-raka and Junnar; the Bhadrāyanīyas (Nos. 28-31), at Nāsik and Kānhe-ri; finally, the Saṃmatiyas (No. 32) in Vārānasī. We do not know where to localize the Saṅnagarikas, whose name means «dwellling in the Six Towns», but which can also be interpreted as Saṅdagaairika «dwellling in the Dense Forest».

The same obscurity envelopes the Dharmaguptakas, a separate sect from the Mahiśāsakas. No inscription mentions them as a sect, Dharmagupta always being a proper name applied sometimes to the laity (LÜDERS, Nos. 615, 727, 1185) and sometimes to the religious (LÜDERS, Nos. 154, 288). At the time of Hsüan tsang and I ching, small groups of Dharmaguptakas were mentioned in Udāiyāna, Central Asia and China. They were especially influential in this last country where their Prāti-mokṣa was the rule for a long time.

Even while maintaining most of their strength in Magadha until the time of I ching (end of the seventh century), the Mahāsāṃghikas, during their long history, had already migrated to Mathurā, in Śūrasena country (No. 33), Wardak in the North-West, where they possessed the Varamaregra Vihāra (No. 34), and also to Kārli on the west coast (Nos. 35-36), where they were neighbours of the Dharmottariyas. However, in the first centuries of the Christian era, the Mahāsāṃghikas' main fief was Andhra country, in particular the district of Guntur: there the sect often assumed the title of Ayirahamgha «Holy Community» (Nos. 37-38). It split into numerous subschools, in particular the Bahuśrutiyas, Caitikas or Śailas.

The Bahuśrutīya sect had its monastery in Andhra country, at Nāgārjunikonda (Nos. 40-41), but also migrated to the North-West, to Pālāṭu Dhēri (No. 39).

The Caitikas or Caityavandakas (Nos. 42-47) were numerous in Andhra country, where they had built the finest shrines of the period, known by the name of mahācaitya. The inscriptions mention the Mahācetiya of Dhānyakatāka or Dharanikota, which should doubtless be identified with the famous stūpa at Amarāvāti (LÜDERS, 1243; MÜRTI, No. 45, p. 282), the Mahācetiya of Velagiri-Jaggavyapeṇa (LÜDERS, 1202), the Mahācetiya of Nāgārjunikonda-Nibaguṭṭa (EI, XX, p. 22), the Mahācetiya of Rājagiri (LÜDERS, 1225) and, finally, the Mahācetiya of Kaṇṭakasela (EI, XX, p. 22) in which J.P. Vogel recognized the Kantakossyla emporium mentioned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 15) and located by him near the mouth of the river Maisolos (= Krṣṇā). During the era of the great Śatavāhanas, namely in the second century A.D., some
Caitikas shared the caves at Nāsik (No. 48) with the Bhadrāyaniyās, and those at Junnar (No. 49) with the Dharmottāraiyās.

Some Mahāsāṃghika religious occupied the wooded mountains near Dhānyakataka and took the name of Śailas (No. 50) or of Mahāvavasailas (Nos. 51-52). Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 10, p. 930c) relates that, on a mountain situated to the east of Dhānyakataka, there was the monastery of the Pūrvasaila «Eastern Mountain», while, to the west of the city, stood the monastery of the Aparaśaila «Western Mountain». In fact, the inscriptions carefully distinguish the Pūrvasailas of Dharanikota (No. 53) — also represented at Allūru, district of Kistna (No. 54) — from the Aparaśailas known in Nāgārjunikōṇḍa by the name of Aparamahāvinaseliya (Nos. 55-57). The latter also occupied, in the district of Kistna, the site of Ukhasirivadhamāna, at the location of the present-day village of Ghanṭāsālā, thirteen miles west of Masulipatam (No. 58). Moreover, they migrated to Kânheri (No. 59) on the western coast, where they were neighbours to the Bhadrāyaniyās; their remoteness did not prevent their compatriots, the laity of Dhenukākata or Dhānyakataka, from continuing to support them financially.

The Amarāvatī inscriptions also mention the Sidhatas (No. 62) and Rājagirinivasikas (Nos. 60-61), known to the Pāli sources by the names of Siddhatthakas (Dpv., V, 54; Mhv., V, 12) and Rājagiriyas (ibid.). They formed part of the Andhaka sect.

The religious donations recorded by the inscriptions came not only from individuals, but also from clans (kula), groups (gana) and associations (sahaya). Among the latter, some could have been Buddhist sects not mentioned in literature: Saphineyakas (= Savinayakas) and Tāpa-siyas from Ujjayini (LÜDERS, 198, 229, 219, 220, 228, 307, 409), Aparājītas and Aparaguriyas from Junnar (1158, 1163, 1152), Laṃkudiyas from Bharukaccha (1169) and aîra (ārya) Utayipabhāhis from Amarāvatī (1276). This seems to indicate that the fragmentation of the Saṃgha went much further than the traditional lists lead us to suppose.

The filiation of the sects. — The sects already had a long history behind them when certain chroniclers, both Chinese and Indian, conceived the idea of compiling their genealogical tree, drafting their history, or rather legend, and listing their doctrines. As they had insufficient material to do this, they supplemented the lack of information with treasures of the imagination, ceaselessly returning to the work in order to bring it up to date and adapt it, after a fashion, to the situation of the moment. The compilation continued for centuries, it could even be said that it is still going on if we consider the efforts of modern historians to
draw up a table of the filiation of the sects. Here, we would like, without further complicating a matter which is already sufficiently confused, merely to set out the state of the sources.

«The number of sects», wrote Kern, «is fixed by convention at eighteen; just as in theory, there are eighteen Purāṇa, and eighteen castes are sometimes accepted. The facts are, in all three cases, contrary to theory. If we add up the names in the different lists, of which no two agree, the total is higher than the official figure. In one of those lists (Dpv., V, 51), the oldest of all, it is expressly said that there are eighteen sects and, at the same time, it is asserted that there are twenty-four of them».

However, if the chroniclers maintained the figure of eighteen, it is because of its traditional value and because the first official list, or that considered to be such, stopped at that number. Subsequently, new sects were to be added to the old ones.

The interest of the early chroniclers was above all focused on the subdivisions to be established between the sects, whether they were eighteen in number or twenty-four. Thus we see successively appearing, in chronological order, lists with two, three, five, then four subdivisions. They present, roughly, the internal situation of the Saṅgha at different centuries in its history.

1. — LISTS WITH TWO SUBDIVISIONS

1. LIST BY THE STHAVIRAS. — In his History of Indian Buddhism (pp. 270-1), which appeared in 1608, the Tibetan compiler Tāranātha reproduces a list of eighteen sects with two subdivisions which he attributes to the Sthaviras or Elders:


Tāranātha does not cite his source, but several early lists adopted the same subdivision.

2. LIST BY VASUMITRA. — A certain Vasumitra who lived in the fourth century after the Nirvāṇa (first or second century A.D.?) and

7 See, in A. BAREAU, Les Sectes bouddhiques, p. 30, a table “which should represent with near certainty the real filiation of the sects”.
who, rightly or wrongly, has been identified with the great Sarvāstivādin master of the Vibhāṣā and the Kośa (V, p. 53), wrote a Samayabheda-
racanacakra which was translated three times into Chinese and once into Tibetan:

a. Shih pa pu lun, T 2032, p. 17b-c; tr. in the fifth cent., attributed to Kumārajīva (cf. P. DEMIÈVILLE, Versions chin. du Milinda, p. 48, n.1.).

b. Pu chih i lun, T 2033, p. 20a-b, tr. by Paramārtha between 557 and 569. Paramārtha’s version and commentary have been translated into French by P. DEMIÈVILLE, Origine des sectes, MCB, I, 1931, pp. 15-64.

c. I pu chung lun lun, T 2031, p. 15a-b, tr. by Hsūn tsang in 602. This version has been translated into English by J. MASUDA, Origin and Doctrines of Buddhist Schools, Asia Major, II, 1925, pp. 1-78; into French by A. BAREAU, Trois traités sur les Sectes bouddhiques JA, 1954, pp. 235-66.

d. Gžun lugs-kyi bye-brag bkod-pahi Ḥkhor-lo, Tanjur, Mdo XC, 11 (CORDIER, III, p. 414; LALOU, p. 117b). The colophon gives the author as Vasubandhu or Vasumitra, the translator as Dharmakara. This version has been translated into German by M. VASSILIEV, Der Buddhismus, Berlin, 1860, p. 224 sq.

e. I pu chung lun shi chi, TKS, A, LXXXII, 3, 217a sq. : Chinese commentary by K’uei chi on Hsūn tsang’s version «according to instructions received from the latter, as the translation proceeded».

According to the version by Hsūn tsang, which differs only a little from those by Kumārajīva and Paramārtha, Vasumitra divided the sects in the following way:

I. Mahāsāṃghikas:
raśālīs, 8. Uttaraśālīs.

II. Sthāviraśādins:

1. Sarvāstivāda or Hetuvāda

2. Vātsīputrīyas

7. Mahāsāmakas

9. Kāśyapīyas or Sauvārṣakas

10. Sautrāntikas or Saṃkrāntivādins

11. Mūlasarvāstivāda or Haimavatas

Still according to Vasumitra, it was the heresy provoked by Mahādeva I, in the year 116 of the Nirvāṇa, which led to the final scission of the Saṃgha into Mahāsāṃghikas and Sthāviras⁹.

⁹ See above, pp. 275-276, 288.
In the second century after the Nirvāṇa, the Mahāsāṃghikas, who had withdrawn north of Rājagṛha, split into four schools: Ekavyavahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Kaukkutikas and Bahuśrutīyas, the latter having as their master a certain Yajñavalkya, who was versed in the profound meaning of the writings. — In the third century after the Nirvāṇa, the controversies aroused over the subject of ordination by Mahādeva II led to further dissension: the partisans of the heresiarch made for the mountainous regions (of Andhra country?) where they formed the Caityaśaila sect which soon divided into Easterners (Pūrvaśailas) and Westerners (Uttaraśailas).

During the two centuries which followed the Nirvāṇa, the Sthavira school preserved its homogeneity under the authority of famous masters who transmitted the holy word: Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śānavāsin, Upagupta, Pūrṇa, Mecaka and Kātyāyaniputra. After the death of the latter, at the beginning of the third century after the Nirvāṇa, the Sthaviravāda split into two: 1. the traditionalist Sthaviras, who remained faithful to the teaching of the sūtras and who, having withdrawn to the Snowy Mountains, took the name of Haimavatas; 2. the Sarvāstivādins, adherents of Kātyāyaniputra whose research in the field of Abhidharma appeared as ominous innovations.

During the third century after the Nirvāṇa, and at the beginning of the fourth, the Sarvāstivādins engendered four schools: Vātsiputriyas, Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas and Sautrāntikas.

The founder of the Vātsiputriyas was the brahmin Vātsiputra whose master Rāhula had taught him the Śāriputrābhidharma in nine parts, or Dharmaśāntābhidharma. His disciples attempted to complete its meaning by means of sūtras, and this enrichment of the doctrine caused the blossoming of four new schools: Dharmottariyas, Bhadrāyanīyas, Saṃmatiyas (founded by the Arhat Saṃmita) and Channagirikas.

The Mahīśāsakas were started by a brahmin who, before taking up the religious life, «rectified the earth» as a district governor; having become an Arhat, he made use of the Vedas and Sanskrit grammar in order to adorn the sūtras of the Buddha. Springing from the Mahīśāsakas, the Dharmaguptakas compiled a «Basket of the Bodhisattvas» and justified this innovation by invoking the authority of Maudgalyāyana.

The Kāśyapīyas or Sauvarṣakas owe their origin to the Arhat Suvarṣaka Kāśyapa, purportedly a contemporary of the Buddha and author of a both apologetic and moralizing collection of texts.

The Sautrāntikas or Saṃkrāntivādins, as their names indicate, acknowledged no authority except that of the sūtras and taught the passage of the skandha through existences.
We have already pointed out the factitious nature of the information supplied by Vasumitra.

3. **List in the Śāriputraparipṛcchā.** — The twofold subdivision also appears in a Mahāsāṃghika compilation, a mediocre Chinese translation of which was made by an unknown hand between the years 317 and 420 A.D. : the Śāriputraparipṛcchā, T 1465, p. 900c.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vyavahāras</td>
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<td>2. Lokottaras</td>
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<td>3. Kukkulikas</td>
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<td>4. Bahuśrutakas</td>
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<td>5. Prajñaptivādins</td>
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<td>6. Mahādevas</td>
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<td>7. Caitras (Caitikas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Sarvāstivādins</td>
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<td>2. Mahāśāsakas</td>
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<td>3. Dharma-guptakas</td>
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<td>4. Suvārṣas</td>
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<td>5. Dhamottarikas</td>
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<td>7. Bhadrāyanīyas</td>
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<td>8. Sammatiyas</td>
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<td>9. Śānāgarikas</td>
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<td>10. Kāśyapīyas</td>
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<td>11. Sūtravādins</td>
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4. **Pāli List.** — The Pāli and Sinhalese sources, Dīpavāmsa (V, 39-54); Mahāvamsa (V, 1-13), Kathāvatthu-āṭṭhakathā (pp. 2-3, 5 and passim) which date from about the fifth century; the Mahābodhi-vamsa (pp. 96-97) from the end of the tenth century, the Nikāyasamgraha (pp. 6-9) from the fourteenth century; finally, the Sāsanavamsa (pp. 14, 24-5) from the end of the nineteenth century, set out the genealogy of the sects in an identical fashion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Mahāsāṃghikas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gokulikas</td>
<td>2. Panṇattis</td>
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<td>5. Ekavyohārikas</td>
<td>3. Bahuśrutakas or Bahulikas</td>
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<td>4. Cetiyas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Sabbatthivāda → 3. Kassapiyas</td>
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<td>1. Mahīṃsāsakas</td>
<td>4. Saṃkantikas</td>
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<td>5. Suttavādas</td>
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<td>II. Theravāda</td>
<td>6. Dhammaguttikas</td>
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<td>8. Dhammuttariyās</td>
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<td>9. Bhadrāyānikas</td>
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<td>7. Vajjiputtakas</td>
<td>10. Chandāgārikas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11. Saṃmātimiyyas</td>
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</table>
With regard to the date of the formation of the sects, the chronicle
(Mhv., V, 2, 11-13) supplies the following facts:

1. During the first hundred years after the Nirvāṇa (486-386 B.C.),
the school of the Theras was «one and united».

2. During the second century, between the second council (100 p.
Nirv. = 386 B.C.) and the third (236 p. Nirv. = 250 B.C.), the eighteen
(var. seventeen) sects listed above were formed.

3. During the third century p. Nirv. (286-186 B.C.), six new sects
developed on the Indian subcontinent: Hemavatas, Rājagiriyas, Siddhatthikas, Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas and Vājiriyas. Some of these, as
we saw, are mentioned on the Amarāvati inscriptions. According to the
Nikāyasamgraha (tr. C. M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908, p. 9), these were
six Mahāsāṃghika subsects which emerged from the main body in the
year 255 p. Nirv. (231 B.C.) and which later led to three further sects:
Vetulyas, Andhakas and Anya-Mahāsāṃghikas 10.

4. In 236 p. Nirv. (250 B.C.), the Theravāda migrated to Ceylon,
under the leadership of Mahinda. It was represented on the island by
monks from the Mahāvihāra who occupied, to the south of Anurādhapa-
pura, the Mahāmeghavana which had been placed at their disposal by
King Devānampiyatissa. The holy enclosure contained the Thūpārāma
Dāgaba built by Devānampiyatissa (cf. p. 269), the Bodhi tree, a branch
of which had been brought from Gayā by Samghamittā (cf. pp. 269-
270), the uposatha hall of the Lohapāsāda constructed by Duṭṭhagā-
manī and the greatly renowned Mahāthūpa, or Ruvanveli Dāgaba,
erected by the same sovereign (pp. 363-364). Nowadays the monks of
the Mahāvihāra still consider themselves to be the most authorized
holders of the Buddhist doctrine and discipline. It would be wronging
them to confuse them with the other schools: «The Theravāda», they
say, «like a giant fig-tree, contains, without omissions or additions, the
integral teaching of the Victorious One; the other schools grew (on it)
like thorns on a tree» (Dpv., V, 52).

However, internal dissensions destroyed the unity of the Theravāda
even in Ceylon.

1. In the reign of Vaḍṭaṭagāmaṇī, in the year 454 p. Nirv. (32 B.C.)
exactly, in circumstances recorded above (pp. 370-371), some laxist
monks separated from their colleagues at the Mahāvihāra and went to
occupy, to the north of Anurādhapura, the newly established monastery
of the Abhayagiri where they formed the Dhammarucika sect (Mhv.,
XXXIII, 97).

10 See above, pp. 288-289.
2. In the reign of Vohārikatissa (746-768 p. Nirv. = 260-282 A.D.), the Mahāyānist heresy, known in Ceylon by the name of Vetullavāda, made its appearance on the island. Contested by the minister Kapila (Dpv., XXII, 43-4; Mhv., XXXVI, 41), it retained some more or less overt adherents among the Dhammarucikas.

3. In the reign of Gothakābhaya (785-798 p. Nirv. = 299-312 A.D.), a Dhammarucika faction formed itself into a separate body, at the monastery of the Dakhināvihāra, where it took the name of Sāgaliya (Mhv., V, 13). According to the Nikāyasamgraha, the scission, provoked by the Thera Sāgala, occurred in the year 795 p. Nirv. (309 A.D.).

4. In the reign of Mahāsena (808-835 p. Nirv. = 322-349 A.D.), these Sāgaliyas went to occupy the new Jetavana monastery founded in Anurādhapura on the instigation of the monk Tissa of the Dakhinārāma (Mhv., XXXVII, 32-3). From then on, they took the name of Jetavanīyas.

5. List in the Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā. — This work (T 468, p. 501a-c), translated into Chinese by Saipghabhara in 518, contains a list of eighteen sects arranged into two groups and presented as each emerging from one another at a century’s interval.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Mahāsāṃghikas</th>
<th>II. Sthaviras</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ekavyavahārikas</td>
<td>1. Sarvāstivādins</td>
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<td>2. Lokottarāvādins</td>
<td>2. Haimavatas</td>
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<td>4. Bahuṣrutīyas</td>
<td>4. Dharmottarīyas</td>
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<td>5. Caitikas</td>
<td>5. Bhadrāyanīyas</td>
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<td>7. Uttařaśailas</td>
<td>7. Saṇḍagārīkas</td>
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<td>8. Mahīśāsakas</td>
<td>8. Mahīśāsakas</td>
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<td>11. Sautrāntikas</td>
<td>11. Sautrāntikas</td>
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6. List I of Bhavya. — There exists in the Tanjur, Mdo XC, 12 (Cordier, III, p. 414) a Nikāyabhedavibhangavyākhyāna, translated into Tibetan by Dipamkaraśrijñāna (Atiśa) (981-1054 A.D.) with the title of Sde pa tha dad par hbyed pa dañ nram par bṣad pa. Its author was a certain Bhavya, possibly the same as the great writer Bhāviveka or Bhāvaviveka, who lived in the second half of the sixth century A.D. and was the founder of the Svātantrika-Sautrāntika branch of the Madhyamakā.


List I (ROCKHILL, p. 182; WALLESER, pp. 78-9; BAREAU, p. 168), which reproduces the traditional Sthavirian scheme, begins with the following
information: «one hundred and sixty years after the Parinirvāna of the Bhagavat Buddha, when King Dharmāsoka was ruling in Kusumapura (=Pātaliputra), a great schism broke out in the Saṃgha, consequent to some controversies, and at first the community divided into two schools, the Mahāsaṃghikas and the Sthaviras».


7. THE SAṀMATĪYA LIST (=List III of Bhavya, list III of Tāranātha). — The Saṃmatiyyas’ concept of the origin and filiation of the sects is known from the concordant information supplied by Bhavya’s list III (ROCKHILL, p. 186; WALLESER, p. 81, BAREAU, JA, 1956, pp. 172-3) and Tāranātha’s list III (pp. 271-2).

The genealogical tree of the schools is preceded by the famous passage regarding the Mahāsaṃghika schism in 137 after the Nirvāṇa, and which has been examined above (pp. 281-282, 288).

As for the sects this is how the Saṃmatiyyas understood their filiation:

I. Mahāsaṃghika trunk

1. Ekavyāvahārikas
2. Gokulikas
3. Bahuṣrutiyas
4. Prajñaptivādins
5. Caitikas

II. Sthavira trunk

1. Mūlasthaviras
2. Sarvāstivādins
3. Vibhajyavādins
4. Mahīśāsakas
5. Dharmaguptakas
6. Tāṃrasatīyas
7. Kāśyapiyas
8. Saṃkrāntivādins
9. Vātsiputriyas
10. Mahāgiriyas
11. Dharmottarīyas
12. Bhadrāyaniyas
13. Śaṃnagarikas
14. Saṃmatīyas
15. Haimavatas

2. — LISTS WITH THREE SUBDIVISIONS

While the lists with two groupings were still in circulation, a list with
three subdivisions was issued which accepted as the forerunners not only the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas, but also the Vibhajyavādins, supporters of some distinctions introduced by certain schools into the philosophical debate.

1. MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA LIST. — Tāranātha (p. 271) presents a list with three subdivisions as being of Mahāsāṃghika origin.

I. Sthaviras

1. Sarvāstivādins
2. Mūlasarvāstivādins
3. Sautrāntikas
4. Vātsiputrīyas

II. Mahāsāṃghikas:
1. Mūlamahāsāṃghikas
2. Pūrvaśailas
3. Aparaśailas
4. Rājagirikas
5. Haimavatas
6. Caitikas
7. Siddhārthikas
8. Gokulikas

III. Vibhajyavādins:
1. Mahīśāsakas
2. Kāśyapīyas
3. Dharmaguptakas
4. Tāmrasāṭīyas

The somewhat late nature of this listing is evident from the mention of the Rājagirikas and Haimavatas recorded in the Mahāvaṃsa (V, 13) as sects of the third century after the Nirvāṇa. The Tāmrasāṭīyas, also called Tāmaraparnīyas, are the religious of Taprobane (Ceylon); they included in their ranks famous scholars whose theories were to be discussed by Vasubandhu and Asāṅga.

LIST II OF BHAVYA. — Bhavya’s list II (ROCKHILL, p. 186; WALLESER, p. 81; BAREAU, JA, 1956, p. 171) reproduces the foregoing, word for word.

3. — LISTS WITH FIVE SUBDIVISIONS

1. THE FIVE SCHOOLS. — From the fourth century of the Christian era onwards, we find in the Indian and particularly the Chinese texts many allusions to five schools, always the same, as though they were, if not the only ones, at least the most important:

1. T 1470, ch. 2, p. 925c 29 : Ta pi ch’iu san ch’ien wei i, a translation of which, attributed to An Shih kao (148-170 A.D.), probably dates from the fourth or fifth century. This passage deals with the colour of the monastic robe: red for the Sarvāstivādins, black for the Dharmaguptakas, magnolia for the Kāśyapīyas, blue for the Mahīśāsakas, yellow for the Mahāsāṃghikas (cf. LIN, AM, pp. 80-1).

2. T 1465, p. 900c : Śāriputraparipṛcchā, translated into Chinese by an anonymous scholar between 317 and 420. It deals with the same colours: yellow
for the Mahāsāṃghikas, dark red for the Dharmaguptakas, black for the Sarvāstivādins, magnolia for the Kāśyapīyas, blue for the Mahiśāsakas (cf. LIN, AM, pp. 81-2).

3. T 397, ch. 22, p. 159 : Mahāsammīpatasūtra, translated into Chinese between 414 and 421. It contains a prediction by the Buddha regarding various classes of disciples : Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas, Mahiśāsakas, Vātsiputriyas and Mahāsāṃghikas. However, even while differentiating six groups, the passage concludes with a general remark on the five schools (cf. LIN, AM, pp. 299-300).


5. T 2145, ch. 3, pp. 20-1 : Ch' u san tsang chi chi by Sēng yu (444-518), in which the Chinese scholar compiled the history of five Vinayas : 1. Sarvāstivādin Vin. or Shih sung lū (T 1435), 2. Dharmaguptaka Vin. or Ssū fēn lū (T 1428), 3. Mahiśāsaka Vin. or Wu fēn lū (T 1421), 4. Mahāsāṃghika Vin. or Mo ho sēng ch'i lū (T 1425) which he identifies with that of the Vātsiputriyas, 5. Kāśyapīya Vin. which has not been translated into Chinese (cf. LIN, AM, pp. 297-8).


7. T 190, ch. 60, p. 932a 17 : Abhinīkramāsūtra translated into Chinese by Jñānaṅgaṇa in 597. The colophon lists five parallel but separate biographies of the Buddha, belonging to five different schools : Mahāsāṃghika, Sarvāstivādin, Kāśyapīya, Dharmaguptaka and Mahiśāsaka.

8. T 1852, p. 10a : Saṅ lan hsüan i by Chi tsang, a Chinese of Parthian origin who lived from 549 to 623. He speaks of five contemporary Masters who, at the time of Upagupta, separated and founded five schools : Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahiśāsaka, Kāśyapīya and Vātsiputriya.


10. T 2131, ch. 4, p. 1113 : Fan i ming i chi, a kind of Mahāvyutpatti compiled by the Chinese Fa yün (1088-1158). It refers to the five disciples of Upagupta who divided a single great Vinayapītaka into five classes : Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivādin, Kāśyapīya, Mahiśāsaka and Vātsiputriya.

This evidence, which could easily be added to, shows the vogue the theory of the Five schools enjoyed in India and especially China.

2. LIST BY SĒNG YU. — The Chinese Sēng yu (444-518), in his Ch' u san tsang chi chi (T 2145, ch. 3, p. 20a), made use of this tradition which was universally accepted in his time in order to attempt a new classification of the sects by taking the five schools as the forerunners.
LISTS WITH FOUR SUBDIVISIONS

1. DISAPPEARANCE OF THE DHARMAGUPTAKAS. — In the list of the five schools drawn up in China, it was the Dharmaguptakas who most frequently occupied the place of honour. There is nothing surprising in this considering the rôle played by that school in the diffusion of the Vinaya in China. The first formularies (karmavācanā) such as the T’ān wu tē lū pu tsa chieh mo (T 1432), translated in 252 by the foreign monk Saṅghavarman, and the Chieh mo (T 1433), translated in 254 by the Parthian Dharmasatya, pertained to that school. According to I ching, China followed mainly the Dharmagupta Vinaya and, from the evidence of J. de Groot, the Prātimokṣa of that school was considered to be the paramount code of Hinayānist Buddhism until the final years of the Empire 11.

An apocryphal tradition recorded by Tao shih in his Fa yūan chu lin (T 2122, ch. 89, p. 944c) which he compiled in 668, claims that, under the Han, in the first chien ning year (168 A.D.), five śramaṇas from North India, three Yüeh chih — including Fa ling — and two Indians, had translated the Prātimokṣa and Karmavācanā of the Dharmaguptakas at Ch’ang an 12. However, as Fa ling lived at the end of the fourth century, he could not have played the part attributed to him by this tradition 13; however the legend is true in that the disciplinary works of

13 Cf. P. PELLIO, Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés, TP, 1920, No. 5, pp. 344-6. The first authenticated translation of the Prātimokṣa is that made by Dharmakāla in 250 A.D., but the work is lost. We do, however, possess a Tsa chieh mo (T 1432) and a Chieh mo (T 1433) of the Dharmaguptakas, translated, the former by Saṅghavarman in 252, the latter by T’an ti in 254.
the Dharmaguptakas reached China through the intermediary of monks from the North-West.

With the exception of that last region, the Dharmaguptakas played only an unobtrusive rôle on the Indian subcontinent. Buddhist inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī make no mention of them. The Hinayānists who, at the time of Fa hsiien (beginning of the fifth cent.), had 500 samghārāmas in Uḍḍiyāna, were supplanted during the next two centuries by the Mahāyānists. In approximately 630, Hsūan tsang in his Hsi yü chi (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 882b), notes their disappearance:

«On both banks of the Šubhavastu river, there were formerly 1,400 samghārāmas, most of which are already deserted. In the past, the monks in that land numbered 18,000; now they have gradually diminished. They all study the Mahāyāna and are engaged in the practice of meditation on quietude. They are skilful at reciting the texts, but do not seek to understand their profound meaning. Their disciplinary conduct is pure, and they are especially versed in magical formulae». The Master of the Law adds that those religious read the five Vinayas, particularly that of the Dharmaguptakas: this is the only allusion to that school in the Hsi yü chi.

Half a century later, when I ching arrived in about 671, the situation had not improved: the town of Kučā in Central Asia, Khotan and Uḍḍiyāna contained no more than a few Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka and Kāśyapīya monks, lost in the mass of Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins.

Hence, from the sixth century A.D., the Dharmaguptakas had ceased to count as an Indian sect and, great though their influence had formerly been in China, they could no longer be retained in the lists as leaders. Hsūan tsang and I ching therefore forebore from mentioning them again, and replaced the old list of five groups with a new one which counted no more than four.

2. THE FOURFOLD CENSUS BY HSÜAN TSANG. — The Hsi yü chi contains abundant information on Buddhist India of the seventh century. Without attempting to establish the filiation of the schools, Hsūan tsang merely records, wherever he passed, the number of monasteries and monastics, occasionally indicating the qualities of the latter.

Employing a purely descriptive method, he distinguishes eight categories of religious in India:

1. Mere bhikṣus, not belonging to any definite school and scattered in small groups in lands more or less hostile to the Good Law; they generally had no precise doctrine and observed the precepts of their order only very imperfectly.
2. Hinayānist bhikṣus whose school is not specified.
3. Mahāsāṃghikas and Lokottaravādins.
5. Sthaviras proper and Mahāyānasthaviras, the latter influenced to a certain degree by Mahāyānist theories.
6. Saṃmatīyas, whose influence proved to be increasing.
7. Mahāyānists en masse occupying certain regions such as Uḍḍiyāna (18,000), the Ghazni area (10,000), Magadha (10,000), Orissa (10,000), and Southern Kośala (10,000).
8. Bhikṣus «studying both the Hīna- and Mahāyāna»: these were probably Mahāyānists living in former Hinayānist monasteries, whose rules they continued to observe.

According to this census, we note that during Hsüan tsang's time only four Hinayānist schools were still represented: 1. Sthaviras and Mahāyānasthaviras, 2. Mahāsāṃghikas and Lokottaravādins; 3. Sarvāstivādins; 4. Saṃmatīyas. There were a further several thousand Hinayānists whose sect or school could not be specified.

This is the record established by Hsüan tsang:

I. Sthaviras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of monasteries</th>
<th>Number of religious</th>
<th>References to T 2087</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Samatata</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>2,000+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 927 c 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Drāvida</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>10,000+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 931 c 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bodh-Gayā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahābodhisamghā-rāma</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>ch. 8, p. 918b14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kaliṅga</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>500+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 929a3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ceylon</td>
<td>200+</td>
<td>20,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 934a14-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bharukaccha</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>300+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 935c1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Surāśṭra</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>3,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 936c15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>401+</td>
<td>36,800+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## II. Mahāsaṃghikas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of monasteries</th>
<th>Number of religious</th>
<th>References to T 2087</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Andar-āb</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>some tens</td>
<td>ch. 12, p. 940a2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hindūkush)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kaśmīra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 888a7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dhānyakaṭaka</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 930c14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>24+</td>
<td>1,100+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II*. Lokottaravādins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of monasteries</th>
<th>Number of religious</th>
<th>References to T 2087</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bāmyān</td>
<td>several tens</td>
<td>several thousands</td>
<td>ch. 1, p. 873b12</td>
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## III. Sarvāstivādins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of monasteries</th>
<th>Number of religious</th>
<th>References to T 2087</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agni</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>2,000+</td>
<td>ch. 1, p. 870a11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Qarašahr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kučā</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>5,000+</td>
<td>ch. 1, p. 870a24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bharuka</td>
<td>some tens</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 1, p. 870c18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Aqṣu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chieh-chih</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>300+</td>
<td>ch. 1, p. 873a27-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gaz Valley)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kabhanda</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>500+</td>
<td>ch. 12, p. 941c9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tāś Kurgān)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Wu-sa</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 12, p. 942b16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ch'ia-sha</td>
<td>some hundreds</td>
<td>10,000+</td>
<td>ch. 12, p. 942c19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kašgar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tamasāvāna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 889b29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S. Kaśmīr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Matipur</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>800+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 891b25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bijnōr District)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Navadevakula</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>500+</td>
<td>ch. 5, p. 896a19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S-E of Kanyākubja)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. In Magadha</td>
<td>Kapotavihāra</td>
<td>200+</td>
<td>ch. 9, p. 925b17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Īrānaparvata</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 926a18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Monghyr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Gūrjarātra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 936c25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gujarāṭ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>158+</td>
<td>23,700+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### IV. Sammatīyas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of monasteries</th>
<th>Number of religious</th>
<th>References to T 2087</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ahicchatra</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 892c29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kapitha (Sāmkāśya)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 893a19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ayamukha (in Oudh)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 5, p. 897a10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Viśoka (in Oudh)</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>3,000+</td>
<td>ch. 5, p. 898c12-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Śrāvastī</td>
<td>some h. in ruins</td>
<td>very small number</td>
<td>ch. 6, p. 899a9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kapilavastu</td>
<td>1,000 in ruins</td>
<td>3,000 (var., 30)</td>
<td>ch. 6, p. 900c26-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vārānasi ¹⁴</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>ch. 7, p. 905b 4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mṛgadāva (Sārnāth)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ch. 7, p. 905b17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Vaiśāli</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>very small number</td>
<td>ch. 7, p. 908b5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Īraṇaparvata (Monghyr)</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>4,000+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 926a15-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Karnasuvarṇa</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>2,000+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 928a20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mālava (Baroda)</td>
<td>some hundreds</td>
<td>20,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 935c11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Valabhi (in Kāthiāwār)</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>6,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 936b19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ānandapura</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>1,000-</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 936c8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sindh</td>
<td>some hundreds</td>
<td>10,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 937a28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. A-tien-p‘o-ch‘ih-lo (Indus delta)</td>
<td>80+</td>
<td>5,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 937c22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pi-to-chih-lo (delta area)</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>3,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 938b4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. A-fan-t‘u (Middle Sindh)</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>2,000+</td>
<td>ch. 11, p. 938b17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,351+</td>
<td>66,500+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴ According to the *Life of Hsüan tsang* (T 2053, ch. 3, p. 235c 3), Vārānasi contained more than 30 monasteries inhabited by over 2,000 Sarvāstivādin religious. However, we know from an inscription at Sārnāth (LÜDERS, 923) dating from the Gupta period that in Vārānasi the Sammatīyas had taken over from the Sarvāstivādins.
### Table: Regions Number of monasteries Number of religious References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of monasteries</th>
<th>Number of religious</th>
<th>References to T 2087</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bactra</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>3,000+</td>
<td>ch. 1, p. 872c 4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Puṣkarāvati</td>
<td>(in ruins) 1</td>
<td>a few religious</td>
<td>ch. 2, p. 881a 17-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Po-lu-sha (Sāhbāz-Garhī)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>ch. 2, p. 881b 10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Śākala</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 889b 4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kulūtā</td>
<td></td>
<td>small number</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 890a 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pāryātra (Bairāt)</td>
<td>8 (in ruins)</td>
<td>very small number</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 890a 25-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sthāneśvara</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>700+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 890c 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Śrughna</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 891a 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Matipur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 891c 17-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Goviśana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>ch. 4, p. 892c 19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Prayāga</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>very small number</td>
<td>ch. 5, p. 897a 24-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Kauśāmbī</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>300+</td>
<td>ch. 5, p. 898a 3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Chan-chu (Ghāzipur?)</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>1,000−</td>
<td>ch. 7, p. 907c 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Magadha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>ch. 9, p. 925c 13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Campā</td>
<td>some tens</td>
<td>200+</td>
<td>ch. 10, p. 926c 20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>145+</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,700+</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It ensues from this that, at the beginning of the seventh century, the adherents of the Hinayāṇa were distributed as follows:

- Sthaviras: 401 monasteries, 36,800 religious
- Mahāsāṃghikas: 24 monasteries, 1,100 religious
- Sarvāstivādins: 158 monasteries, 23,700 religious
- Saṃmatīyas: 1,351 monasteries, 66,500 religious
- Unspecified: 145 monasteries, 6,700 religious

2,079 134,800

Incomplete though these statistics are, they nevertheless enable us to draw some interesting conclusions.

1. Of the eighteen-plus traditional schools which are regularly mentioned by the disputations, four played the part of forerunners to such an extent that they overshadowed all the others. The most important one was unquestionably that of the Saṃmatīyas who alone totalled half the Hinayāṇist Samgha. On the Indian subcontinent, the other three schools were clearly declining. Of the 36,800 Sthaviras, 20,000 were to be found in Ceylon and 10,000 in the Deccan. The Mahāsāṃghikas were in the
process of disappearing, except in the Hindukush, where the imposing site of Bāmyān still sheltered several thousand Lokottaravādins. The Sarvāstivādins, formerly so powerful in the North-West, held their own there only with difficulty: of the 23,700 of them recorded, 19,800 were scattered in the oases of Central Asia: Kašgar, Taš Kurgan, Aqsu, Kučā and Qaraṣahr.

2. Of the 134,800 Hinayānists monks counted, 6,700 did not belong to any definite school. Had it been otherwise Hsüan-tsang, with his characteristic concern for exactitude and precision, would not have failed to mention it.

3. Both in India and Central Asia, the respective importance of the Small and Great Vehicle was palpably the same. According to the information supplied by Hsüan-tsang (cf. É. Lamotte, *Sur la formation du Mahāyāna*, Asiatica, Festschrift Weller, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 394-5), the pure Mahāyānists and the mixed Mahāyānists (studying both the Small and Great Vehicle) together totalled 2,521 monasteries and 119,430 religious. These figures are quite close to those which could be produced by the Hinayānists with their 2,079 monasteries and 134,800 religious.

3. The Fourfold Census by I Ching. — Less than a century after Hsüan-tsang, the Chinese pilgrim I ching, who visited India and the South Seas from 671 to 695 of the Christian era, records in his *Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan* (T 2125, ch. 1, p. 205a-b) the following precise details:

As for the division into various Nikāyas (schools), according to the Western (Indian) tradition, there are only four great systems. With regard to their appearance and disappearance, and the diversity of their names, there is no agreement on such matters... Thus it is that in the five parts of India and in the islands in the South Seas, four Nikāyas are spoken of everywhere. Nevertheless, the number of their adherents varies according to the locality...

1. The Ārya Mahāsāṃghikaniyāya is subdivided into seven sects. Each of the 3 Piṭakas contains 100,000 stanzas [i.e. $3 \times 100,000 = 300,000$ stanzas], which, in the Chinese tradition, makes nearly a thousand scrolls.

2. The Ārya Sthaviranikāya is subdivided into 3 sects, and its Tripitaka is the same size as that of the preceding school.

3. The Ārya Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya is subdivided into 4 sects [but on p. 206c 1-2, I ching mentions only three: 1. Dharmaguptakas, 2. Mahiśāsakas, 3. Kāśyapiyas]. Its Tripitaka is also of the same size.

4. The Ārya Saṃmatiyanikāya is subdivided into 4 sects and its Tripitaka is subdivided into 200,000 stanzas, 30,000 of which are Vinaya Stanzas.

There are, however, many divergences with regard to the doctrinal traditions of these schools: it is in accordance with the present state of affairs that 18 sects are spoken of. As to the division into five main schools, I have heard nothing of that in the West.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{15}\) Translation after Lin.
In connection with the geographical expansion of the four schools, I ching adds a few precise details: The Mahāsāṃgha is followed in Magadha (Central India), a little in Lāṭa and Sindhu (Western India), a little to the N. and S. of India; it coexists with other schools in eastern India, but is rejected in Ceylon. — The Sthavira predominates in the South, especially in Ceylon; it is followed in Magadha and, to some extent, in Lāṭa and Sindhu; it coexists with other schools in Eastern India. — The Mūlasarvāstivāda flourishes in Magadha and has asserted itself throughout the North; it has a few adherents in Lāṭa and Sindhu and coexists with other schools in Eastern India. — The Sammatiya is above all represented in Lāṭa and Sindhu; it is practised in Magadha and, a little, in the South of India; it coexists with other schools in eastern India.

4. The Sarvāstivādin List by Vīṇātadeva. — The Sarvāstivādins and Vīṇātadeva in particular recorded the state of affairs noted by Hsūan tsang and I ching by establishing a fourfold division of the Sāṃgha in which they inserted the eighteen traditional sects while replacing some of them with other later ones. This list with four groupings appears:

a. in a passage in the Samayabhedoparacanacakranikāyabhedopadarśanasamgraha by Vīṇātadeva, an author who lived between the end of the eighth century and the first part of the ninth. The work, the Sanskrit original of which is lost, exists in a Tibetan version in the Tanjur, Mdo XC, 13 (CORDIER, III, p. 414; LALOU, p. 117b). It has been translated, in whole or in part, by ROCKHILL, Life, pp. 181-93; LIN, AM, p. 185, note; BAREAU, JA, pp. 192-200.

b. in the Mahāvayutpatti (Nos. 9077-98), from approximately 800 A.D.

c. in the Histories of Buddhism by Bu-ston (II, p. 99) and Tāranātha (p. 272), the latter attributing a Sarvāstivādin origin to the list.


The mention of Jetavanīyas proves that this list postdates the fourth century. In fact, it was only in the reign of Mahāsena (322-349 A.D.) that the Sāgaliyas, who were installed at the monastery of the Jetavana-vihāra, took the name of Jetavanīyas.
5. THE LIST IN THE TWO PRĆCHĀŚ. — A somewhat similar list appears in a passage common to both the Bhikşuvarsāgrapṛćchā and the Śrāma-neravarśāgrapṛćchā, translated into Tibetan between the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh (Mdo XC, 21, and Mdo XC, 6; cf. CORDIER, III, pp. 416 and 412). This list, to which Bu-ston (II, p. 98) alludes, has been translated into French by LIN, AM, pp. 182-3.


This list is shoddy work: the Vibhajyavādins are Sthaviras and not Mahāsāṃghikas; the Bauhuśrutiyas, Mahāsāṃghikas and not Sammatiīyas, and so on. At quite a late date, the only concern of the compilers was to arrange the eighteen sects in four different classes, but the distribution was done at random and seemingly without the slightest criticism. In fact, the eighteen sects no longer existed except in theory.

5. — APOCRYPHAL TRADITIONS

Towards the end of the eighth century, when Indian Buddhism was showing clear signs of disintegration, Indo-Tibetan exegetes conceived the idea of attributing to each of the four great schools a given master, a special language, a particular cloak and characteristic religious names.

These facts appear in some later Indian works, such as the Bhikṣuvarsāgrapṛćchā, referred to above, and the Prabhāvaiti (Mdo LXXXIX, 3; cf. CORDIER, III, p. 410), a commentary by a certain Śākyaprabha from the eighth century on the Śrāmaneratritionatārikā. They were taken up and completed by the Tibetan historians Bu-ston (II, pp. 99-100) and Jam-yan bśad-pa (end of eighteenth cent.) in his Grub-mthah. The early indologists seem to have taken them seriously: A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS (Tibetan-English Dictionary, 1834, p. 276; Notices on the different Systems of Buddhism, J.As.Soc. Bengal, VII, p. 142 sq.), V. VASSILIEV (Bouddhisme, tr. La Comme, 1865, pp. 270-1), E. BURNOUF (Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien, 2nd ed., 1876, p. 397). More recently, the late lamented LIN LI-KOUANG (AM, pp. 176-87) still referred to them in the remarkable chapter he devoted to the original language of Buddhism. This is what they amount to:

1. The Sarvāstivādins had as their master the kṣatriya Rāhulabhadra; they
spoke Sanskrit, wore a cloak made from 25 to 29 strips of material, used the lotus as their emblem, and their names in religion ended in *mati, sri, prabha, kirti* and *bhadra*. — 2. The Mahāsāṃghikas had the Brahmin Mahākāśyapa as their master; they spoke Prākrit, wore a cloak made of 23 to 27 strips, and used a shell as their emblem, their names ended in *mitra, jñāna, gupta* or *garbha*. — 3. The Sāṃmatīyas had as their preceptor the śūdra Upāli; they spoke Aprabhramśa, wore a cloak made of 21 to 25 strips, and took an areca-leaf as their emblem; their names ended in *mitra, jñāna*. — 4. The Sthaviras vested their authority in the vaisya Katyāyana, spoke Pāniča, wore a cloak made of 21 to 25 strips, and emblems were like those of the Sāṃmatīyas; their religious names ended in *deva, ākara, varman, sena, jīva* or *bala*.

Nothing is worth retaining from these systems of classification.

6. — CONCLUSIONS

In all this mass of pseudo-historical elucubrations, a few true facts are revealed here and there. The inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmi show that, in the first two centuries of the Christian era, most of the Hinayānīst sects were disseminated throughout India. Several of them had already split up, and the Mahāsāṃghikas, for example, occupied points on the map as far apart as Wardak, to the west of Kābul, and Kārli in the District of Bombay. Others, after a game of ‘general post’, ended by merging and living together peacefully in the same establishments: there were Dharmottarīyas and Caitikas in Junnar; Bhadāyanīyas and Caitikas at Kārli; Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsāṃghikas in Mathurā and Wardak; Sarvāstivādins and Sāṃmatīyas at Śrāvastī; Mahāsāṃghikas, Bahuśrutīyas, Aparaśīyas, Mahīśāsakas and Tāmrapārṇīyas in Nāgārjunikonda. From then on, the interfacing of the sects becomes so complicated that all hope of unravelling it is lost.

However, it was at this time that the Sthavirian list with two subdivisions appeared; it was out of date on publication. Vasubandhu’s name was attached to it, but was taken up again, with a few variants, by the anonymous authors of the Śāriputra- and Mañjuśrī-Paripṛcchā, by the Sinhalese chroniclers and, also in the seventh century, by the compiler Bhavya. It is wholly dominated by the memory of the great schism, which, at the time of Aśoka, divided the community into two sections which were never to come together again: the Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas.

The latter soon replaced it with a list with three subdivisions which gave the most important place to the Vibhajyavāda in general and, more particularly, to the Sinhalese Tāmraśātiyas with whom they were in regular communication by the direct maritime route linking the Mahāsāṃghika fief in Andhra country to Cape Andrasimoundou on the west coast of Ceylon (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 3).
In the fourth century, the Chinese saw the Samgha from another angle; they were in regular contact with the North-West where the five Hinayānist schools which specialized in the study of the Vinaya and the biography of the Buddha predominated. In their eyes, the most illustrious was that of the Dharmaguptakas whose set of rules (prātimokṣa) and rituals (karmavācanā) they had adopted in the middle of the third century A.D. Hence, when the learned Sēng yu, in all good faith, undertook to inform his compatriots about the genealogy of the Indian sects, he chose a scheme with five subdivisions in which the five schools of the North-West acted as forerunners, the place of honour being reserved for the Dharmaguptakas.

In the seventh century, during their prolonged stays in India, first Hsūan tsang, and then I ching noted, with great astonishment, that the famous Dharmaguptakas of whom they had heard in China had practically disappeared from the map of India and consisted of no more than a few adherents in Kučä, Khotan and Udāiyāna. The influence over the subcontinent was shared by four great Hinayānist schools, overshadowing all the others: Sthaviras, Mahāsāṃghikas, Sarvāstivādins and Saṃmatiyas, the last being by far the most numerous. The fact had to be accepted and a new situation recorded. Being objective and realistic, the Chinese masters therefore erased the Dharmaguptakas from their records and only retained the four great schools. Thus, a fourfold classification replaced the list with five subdivisions which had formerly been compiled by Sēng yu.

This new distribution was adapted to Indian traditions and customs by the Sarvāstivādin Vinītadeva (ninth century) and other anonymous chroniclers. To each of the four great schools was reserved the role of head of the list; then, in those four lists were classed somewhat haphazardly — because they were no longer of importance — the eighteen sects, the number of which had been hallowed by tradition.

Finally, this scheme fell into the hands of Indo-Tibetan exegetes who, in a spirit of systematization, but without the least criticism, endeavoured to attribute to each of the four great schools a characteristic robe, their own emblems, special religious names and even a particular dialect.

But, since we are in India where all traditions, however outdated they may be, are piously preserved, the various lists with two, three, five and four subdivisions, instead of being withdrawn one by one as the next was published, were kept side by side and continued to be regularly reproduced. This is what makes the problem of the filiation of the sects so complicated and, it must be admitted, futile.
II. — THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SECTS

The achievements of the sects during the last three centuries of the ancient era can be summarized in a few words: the spiritual conquest of India. The activities undertaken by the disciples of Śākyamuni assumed the most varied forms: organization of missions, instructions, the building of the stūpas and caityas, the founding of monasteries, contacts with all levels of the population, both Indian and foreign in origin, relations with princes, in a word all the undertakings likely to ensure the propagation of the Good Law.

Of all those endeavours, which were crowned with success, we will concentrate on only two: the recourse to vernacular languages and Sanskrit to bring Śākyamuni's message within the reach of all, and the systematic exposition of that message due to an ever more extreme philosophical elaboration. The formation of Buddhist languages and the progress in Abhidharma studies were, to the credit of the religious, two of the most remarkable achievements. They were accomplished in collaboration with lay circles to whom some concessions had to be made.

1. THE FORMATION OF THE BUDDHIST LANGUAGES*

The main achievement of the sects was to have put the word of the Buddha into the vernacular. Open-minded and liberal, free from linguistic prejudices, they did not hesitate to transpose Śākyamuni's teaching into as many languages as necessary in order to ensure its widest dissemination. In the ancient period, when the use of Sanskrit was still reserved for the élite, they preferred to resort to Middle-Indian dialects. Later, when the use of the "polished language" tended to become more generalized, they employed more and more refined varieties of Sanskrit, based on Prākrit prototypes. Finally when Buddhist propaganda, overflowing its Indian borders, set out to conquer the Asiatic world, the missionaries unhesitatingly adopted the use of foreign languages: languages from Central Asia (Śaka or Khotanese, Sogdian, Kucheans, Agnean), Chinese, Tibetan and Turkish, to mention only the main ones.

We will examine here the early traditions concerning the use of languages; then we will inspect the principal Buddhist languages.

a. Traditions concerning the use of languages

THE LANGUAGE OF THE BUDDHA. — Mention is made of it in the

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various Vinayas and their commentaries which the different versions of the Vibhāṣā have devoted to them. Here is the list:

3. Ch’u yao ching (T 212, ch. 23, p. 734b).
5. Vibhāṣā (T 1546, ch. 41, p. 306c).
6. Vibhāṣā (T 1547, ch. 9, p. 482c).

It is quite natural that during his preaching tours in Rājagṛha, Śrāvasti, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Kauśāmbī, etc., the Buddha expounded the noble truths in the dialect(s) in use among the Māgadhans, Kosalas, Kāśis, Vṛjīś, Vatsas, etc., dialects which could be considered as varieties of the «polished language» (ārāvāc, chēng yū), or again, the «language of the Middle Region» (madhyadeśavāc, chung kuo chih yū, dbus paḥi tshig). This language is none other than Indo-Āryan.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Buddha possessed the gift of tongues and that occasionally, to make himself better understood or to respond to the preferences of his listeners, he used non-Āryan languages. This was particularly the case when, on the shore of Lake Mandākini, near Udumā, he converted the four Great Heavenly Kings, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka, Virūpakṣa and Vaiśravaṇa. The theme of his discourse consisted of three stanzas from the Udānavarga (Tib. ed. by H. BECKH, XXVI, 16-18, p. 88) : «When the body is worn out, sensation cooled, perception destroyed, volitions appeased, consciousness stilled : such is truly the end of suffering. Limit yourself to seeing what ought to be seen; to hearing, contemplating and knowing what ought to be heard, contemplated and known. — Anything that differs from that is painful, very painful : such is truly the end of suffering. — The absence of contact, the absence of joy, appeasement, universal renunciation : such is truly the end of suffering».

The Buddha began by uttering the first two stanzas in Sanskrit (ārāvāc, in most of the sources; madhyadeśavāc in T 212):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jīrṇah kāyo vedanā śūībhūtā} \\
\text{saṃjñā niruddhā saṃskārā vyupaśāntā} \\
\text{vijñānānam astamgatam esa evānto duḥkhasya.} \\
\text{Drśte drśtamātram bhavatu} \\
\text{ṛṣute cintite vijñāte vijñātamātram.}
\end{align*}
\]

Two kings, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūdhaka were able to understand; the
other two, Virūpakṣa and Vaiśravaṇa, could not. For their sake, the Buddha then used a «barbarian language» (dasyuvac, ḫkhoḥ paḥi tshig).

For Virūpakṣa, he spoke the Drāviḍian language (T 1546) or Tamil (T 212), defined by T 1545 as «the common language of the frontierlands in South India»:

\[ \text{Ene mene dasphe danḍasph eṣa evānto duḥkhasya.} \]

Finally, for Vaiśravaṇa, he used one of the kinds of Mleccha languages:

\[ \text{Māṣā tuṣā saṃsāmā survarta virāṭhi eṣa evānto duḥkhasya.} \]

Eventually, the four kings understood and were converted. They were given the mission of protecting the Good Law at the four cardinal points.

Commenting upon this episode, the Vibhāṣa (T 1545, ch. 79, p. 410b) remarks: «It is in order to show that he can express himself clearly in all languages that he expresses himself in various ways so as to dispel the doubts of those who suspect him of being unable to teach except in the holy language... The Tathāgata can express everything he wishes in any language whatever. If he expresses himself in Chinese, it is because that language is best for the inhabitants of China; similarly, if he expresses himself in the Balkh language... Furthermore, the word of the Buddha is light and pointed, the flow is rapid, and even though he speaks all sorts of languages, it can be said that he speaks them all at once: thus, if he expresses himself in turn in Chinese, in the Balkh language, in Śaka language, he pronounces all those languages uninterruptedly and, as it were, at the same time».

However, the «gift of tongues» is not the only prerogative of the Buddha’s utterances. An early stanza, the canonical status of which is doubted by the Vibhāṣa (l.c.) in fact asserts: «The Buddha makes use of a single sound to declaim the Law; and then beings, each according to his category, grasp its meaning. They all say: the Bhagavat is speaking the same language as myself; it is for me alone that he proclaims such-and-such a meaning». According to Vasumitra (Masuda, Origin..., p. 19), a Mahāsāṃghika thesis, disputed however by the Sarvāstivādins, is that «the Buddha makes use of a single sound (ekavāgudāhāra) to utter all doctrines». This view was adopted by the Mahāyānasūtras such as the Avatamsaka (T 279, ch. 80, p. 443c), the Vimalakīrti (T 475, ch. 1, p. 538a); and Nāgārjuna, in his Nirupamastava (v. 7), taking the
theory to extremes, cries: «Lord, you have not uttered a single syllable, but all the faithful have been nourished by the rain of the Dharma».

Such speculations derive from scholastics and not linguistics, and we must return to history.


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This question is dealt with in a famous and much-discussed passage, reproduced by the Vinayas.

1. Pāli Vinaya (II, p. 139):

At that time, there were the monks named Yamelutukulā, two brothers of brahmin birth, who had lovely voices (kalyāṇavacā) and good pronunciation (kalyāṇavākkaranā). They went to where the Buddha was to be found and said to him: «There are some monks with different names (nāman), from various clans (gotra), various origins (jāti), various families (kula); they are corrupting the word of the Buddha by repeating it in their own mode of expression (te sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam dūsenti). Let us put the word of the Buddha into chandas (buddhavacanam chandaso āropema)». The Buddha replied: «The word of the Buddha should not be put into chandas: whoever does that is guilty of a misdeed (dukkata). I command that the word of the Buddha be learned by each one in his own mode of expression (sakāya niruttiyā pariṣupunītum)».

The two expressions, chandas and sakā niruttī have been the objects of widely differing interpretations:

Chandas means «the mode of expression of fine language, such as the Veda» (vedaṁ viya sakkatabhāśāya vācanāmaggo): that is the Buddhaghosa's explanation (Samantapāsādika, VI, p. 1214). Modern commentators waver: «Sanskrit verse» (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg), «verse» (S. Lévi), «Sanskrit» (L. de La Vallée Poussin), «metre» (E.J. Thomas), «Sanskritization of Buddhist texts» (Lin Li-kouang), «versification in the Vedic manner» (J. Filliozat), «Vedic» (F. Edgerton), «not Sanskrit bhāṣā, but chandas, the only form of speech known at that time apart from the Middle-Indian dialects» (L. Renou). The latter was kind enough to let me know his opinion in a written note: [tr.] «The passage concerning chandas has always seemed somewhat enigmatic to me, how could the word of the Buddha be arranged according to Vedic verse? This must probably mean (cf. Helmer Smith, Saddanīti, p. 1131) conforming to the orthoepic rules for recitation, not precisely transpos-
ing into Vedic Sanskrit, which would have been an impossible enterprise. It must allude to intonation).

Sakāya niruttiyā is easier to interpret: «each in his own dialect» (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Edgerton), «each in his own manner of speaking» (S. Lévi), «each with his own pronunciation» (L. de La Vallée Poussin), «in its own grammar» (E.J. Thomas), «each in his own dialect» (Lin Li-kouang), «with his own verbal interpretation» (J. Filliozat), «each with his own mode of expression, i.e. in his own dialect» (L. Renou).

All things considered, it seems that the Buddha forbade the chanting of Buddhist texts with intonations used in the recitation of the Vedas, but ordered each disciple to teach the word of the Buddha in his own dialect.

That the word nirutti designates not only pronunciation, but also dialect as a whole, is what can be inferred from a passage in the Majjhima, III, pp. 234-5 (also cf. T 26, ch. 43, p. 703a), in which the Buddha recommends avoiding all prejudice in relation to local dialects (janapadaniruttiyā abhiniveso) and all exaggeration in relation to popular parlance (samaññāya atisāro). For example, one and the same utensil is called pāṭī, patta, vittha, sarāva, dhāropa, pōṇa or pisiila, according to the region. One should not insist on any single term, under the pretext that it is the only right one, but adopt the term in use in the region one is in.

In fact, nirukti means language. The Jñānaprasthāna, cited in the Kosāvyākhyā (ed. WOGIHARA, p. 52), when called upon to define the Tathāgata’s speech (vāc), amasses a whole series of synonyms among which is nirukti: Tathāgatasya yā vāg vacanāṁ, vyāhāro, gīr, niruktir, vākpatho, vāgghoṣo, vākkarma, vāgvijñaptiḥ.

Other Vinayas follow the interpretation given here.


It is permissible to read and recite in keeping with the dialectal pronunciation (kuo yin = pradesasvara), but taking care not to misinterpret or miss the Buddha’s concept. It is forbidden to transform the word of the Buddha into the language of heretical (bāhyaka) books.

3. Dharmaguptaka Vin. (T 1428, ch. 52, p. 955a):

A brahmin asked the Buddha for authorization to arrange (hsiu chi) the Buddhist sūtras in accordance with the fine language of the world (shih chien hao yen lun). The Buddha said to him: «To mix the Buddhist sūtras with the language of heretics (wai tao yen lun = tirthikabhāṣā) would be to destroy them. However, it is permissible to recite and learn the Buddhist sūtras according to the interpretation (so chieh) of vernacular regional languages (kuo su yen yin = pradesānāṁ prākṛtabhāṣā).
4. *Vināyamātrka* (T 1463, ch. 4, p. 822a):

Two brahmins asked the Buddha if they could draft and compile (*chuan chi*) the Buddhist sūtras according to the rules governing the lay out of chandas (*ch' an t'o ch'i h ch' i h lun = chandō/vijcitiśāstra*), by putting the syllables (*wēn = vyāñjana or aksara*) and phrases (*chū = pada*) in order, so that the sounds (*yen yin = svara*) would be detached (*pien liao = vivṛta*) and the meaning (*i = artha*) would also be clear (*hsien = vyakta*). The Buddha answered: «In my religion, there is no concern for fine language (*mei yen*). As long as the meaning and reasoning are not lacking, that is all I wish. You must teach according to the sounds which enable people to understand. That is why it is said one should act according to the country».

5. *Sarvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1435, ch. 38, p. 274a):

There were two brahmins who had been converted to Buddhism and given up the household life. Originally, they had recited the texts of the four heretical Vedas; after giving up the household life, they recited the Buddhist sūtras with the same intonations (*yin shēng = svara*). Then one of them died; the other remained alone and could no longer recite fluently the Buddhist sūtras as he had done in the past, because he had forgotten them. He sought for another companion, but could not find one. Sorrowful and wretched, he reported the matter to the Buddha. The Buddha said to him: «Henceforth, whoever recites the Buddhist sūtras with the intonations of heretical books will be committing a misdeed».


Two converted sons of brahmins, who had formerly learned, from a brahmin, the rules of intonation for Vedic melodies (*ko yung shēng = Sāmasvaradharma*), by habit now recited (the Buddhist sūtras) in their former style. Then, one of them suddenly died; the grief-stricken survivor forgot most of the sūtras. He asked several of the Buddha’s disciples to teach them to him again, but when they were recited to him he showed his displeasure: «The text is entirely wrong, the intonation (*shēng yūn = svara*) is not prolonged so something is lacking». Finally, he turned to Śāriputra, who prolonged sounds even more than he did himself, and whom he praised, saying that the others were all making mistakes in the recitation. The Buddha was informed and announced the following regulation: «The bhikṣus should not recite the Dharma of the sūtras with melodies (*ko yung = sāman*) and prolonged intonations (*yin shēng = āyatasa-vara*). If bhikṣus recite the sūtras with the intonation of the *chan t'o* (*chandas*), they will be guilty of the offence of transgressing the Dharma. However, if a regional pronunciation (*fang kuo yen yin = pradesasvara*) requires the intonation to be prolonged, it is not wrong to do that». [Note by the translator I ching]: «The *chandas* is the brahminical method of reciting. Intonations are prolonged. Gestures with the fingers in the air mark the beat; the master intones first and the others follow».
There is no doubt that the extracts from the six Vinayas the translation of which we have just summarized all refer to one and the same episode: two brahmins, converted to Buddhism, applied to the recitation of Buddhist sūtras the methods in use in the Vedic schools, namely the chandas which consists mainly of a melody (ko yung = sāman) and prolonged intonations (ch'ang shēng = āyatasvāra).

According to Lin Li-Kouang (AM, p. 220 sq.), the first four Vinayas forbid the adaptation of the Buddhist texts to the Sanskrit norm and permit the use of dialects; in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, this proscription and this permission are omitted, and the proscription concerns only intonations in the Vedic manner; finally, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, while abstaining as did the Sarvāstivādins from forbidding Sanskrit, nevertheless retained an echo of the permission to adopt local dialects.

In our opinion, these distinctions were not necessary and we strongly doubt whether Sanskrit was ever forbidden. The Vinayas forbid the bhikṣus to chant the Buddhist sūtras in the manner of the Vedas, in other words, to apply the chandas with prolonged melodies and intonations. Conversely, they allowed recourse to local dialects, on both matters of pronunciation and vocabulary.

If the faculty of using Middle Indian local dialects is not mentioned further in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, this is because the latter, as from a certain period — later than is generally believed — made constant use of Sanskrit. — It was therefore no longer necessary to reassure them of the legitimacy of the use of the Prākrits.

In practice, the Buddhist religious enjoyed total freedom in the use of languages, and the choice of dialect basically depended on inveterate habits or mere reasons of opportunity. The Indo-Tibetan sources noted earlier err through systematization claiming that the Sarvāstivādins spoke Sanskrit, the Mahāsāṃghikas Prākrit, the Śammatīyas Apabhramśa, and the Śthaviras Paisācī. The facts were certainly more complex, even in the mediaeval period. The Sanskrit manuscript of the Vimalaprabhā remarks that the Piṭakas were written in ninety-six different languages and that after the decease of the Buddha the compilers (saṃgītikāraka) had set down the doctrine of the three Vehicles in writing, in the form of books; on the Buddha’s order, the three Piṭakas were preserved in Magadhabhāṣā, the Sūtrāntas in Sindhubhāṣā, the Pāramitās in Sanskrit, the Mantras and Tantras in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhramśa and the barbarian tongue (mlecchab—

hāsā), Śabara, etc. Exaggerations and anachronisms apart, the Vimalaprabhā at least has the merit of drawing attention to the multiplicity of Buddhist languages, and this is confirmed by manuscripts found in Central Asia.

**Theravādin Conceptions Regarding the Language of the Tipiṭaka.** — The Theravādins of Ceylon deliberately chose to ignore the scriptural work carried out on the Indian mainland by their co-religionists, but they had very firm ideas concerning the history of their own Tipiṭaka.

Interpreting the passage from the Pāli Vinaya (II, p. 139) quoted above, in which the Buddha orders the bhikkhus each to learn the word of the Buddha in his own dialect (sakkāya niruttīyā), the famous Buddhaghosa, in his Samantapassādikā (VI, p. 1214), claims that the Buddha directed the monks to learn the word of the Buddha «in his own language», namely «the vehicular language of Magadha as it was practised by the perfectly Enlightened one» (sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhikavohāro).

It ensues from this interpretation that the Māgadhī of the sixth century B.C., as it was spoken by the Buddha, is the original language (mūlabhāṣā: cf. Saddhammasaṅgaha, pp. 55, 56, 57) in which the Pāli Tipiṭaka was recorded. In fact, Māgadhī would be the language of the pāli, i.e. the original sacred text in contrast to the atthakathā, i.e. the commentary (cf. Visuddhimagga, pp. 87, 381, etc.). It was in fact only quite late that the word pāli came to be accepted as «Pāli language»; for a long time it was synonymous with patha «text».

The Sinhalese tradition enables us to follow step by step the history of the sacred text, of which these are the main stages.

Three councils (samgītī) convened in the kingdom of Magadha proceeded one after the other with a compilation of the Law (dhammasaṅgaha) always in the Māgadhī language. In the year 1 of the Nirvāṇa (486 B.C.), the council of Rājagaha compiled «the twofold Vinaya and five Nikāyas» (Vin., II, p. 287; Dpv., IV, 32; V, 11), possibly even the Abhidhamma (Sumaṅgala, p. 17; Samanta, p. 18). In the year 100 of the Nirvāṇa (386 B.C.), the council of Vesāli returned to the same recitation, at least with regard to the Vinaya (Vin., II, p. 307; Dpv., IV, 52; Mhv., IV, 63). In the year 236 of the Nirvāṇa (250 B.C.), the council of Pāṭaliputta proceeded with another compilation, and it was then that

Moggaliputta Tissa produced the *Kathāvatthuppakarana*, an Abhidhamma work (*Dpv.*, VII, 56; *Mhv.*, V, 278).

That same year, after a brief stay in Avanti, Mahinda and his companions arrived in Ceylon, carrying with them those sacred texts (*pāli*) and also authentic commentaries (*aññakathā*). These commentaries had been at least partly incorporated into the canonical collections, such as for example, the *Sangītisuttanta* of the *Digha* (III, p. 207), the *Saccavibhaṅga* and *Madhupindikasutta* of the *Majjhima* (III, p. 248; I, p. 110), the *Niddesa* of the Khuddaka, etc., the exegetical nature of which is very obvious. However, other commentaries, possibly just as old, had been kept outside the canonical collections.

Mahinda changed nothing in the sacred texts (*pāli*), which were preserved in their original language, Māgadhi. Conversely, he translated the separate commentaries (*aññakathā*) into Sinhalese. The commentary on the *Majjhima* (I, p. 1) in fact says: «The *Āññakathā* brought to Ceylon (*Sīhaladīpa*) were put into Sinhalese (*sīhalabhāsā*) by Mahā-Mahinda for the benefit of the inhabitants of the island». This information is confirmed by the *Cūlavamsa* (XXXVII, 228-9): «The commentaries in Sinhalese are correct. The learned Mahinda, having verified the tradition (*kathāmaggam samekkhiya*) presented before the three councils, taught by the perfectly Enlightened Buddha and recited by Sāriputta, etc., put them into the Sinhalese language, and they are in circulation among the Sinhalese».

We know no more of these commentaries in Sinhalese today than the titles recorded by the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (JPTS, 1890, p. 55 sq.) and the *Gandhavamsa* (JPTS, 1886, pp. 59, 68): the *Mahā-Āññakathā*, a commentary upon the *Suttapiṭaka*, attributed to the «Ancient Masters» (*porāñcariya*); the *Mahāpaccūri*, a commentary upon the Abhidhamma, and the *Kurundi*, a commentary upon the *Vinaya*, both attributed to the *Ghandhācariyas*.

Mahinda did not only translate the old commentaries into Sinhalese. The very year of his arrival in Ceylon, he organized a council at the Thūpārāma of Anurādhapura the memory of which has been preserved by the *Samantapāsadikā* (p. 103; T 1462, ch. 4, p. 694a). On Mahinda’s invitation, Mahā-Ariṭṭha, the nephew of King Devānampiyatissa, occupied the Seat of the Law and, in the presence of 68 Arhats and 68,000 bhikkhus, recited the *Vinayapīṭaka*.

Time passed and, after the tragic years of war and famine which marked the beginning of Vaṭṭagāmanī’s reign, between the years 451 and...

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after the Nirvāṇa (35-32 B.C.), a group of bhikkhus assembled at the Aluvihāra near Mātale and put the text of the Tipiṭaka into writing. This memorable event has been related at length in the preceding pages (pp. 366-369).

From that moment, the text of the Tipiṭaka in Māgadhabhāṣā was drawn up in its final form. The commentaries in Sinhalese compiled by Mahinda and the Porāṇācariyas were transposed into Māgadhī in the fifth century, by the Mahāthera Buddhaghosa*: «The community, declaring him to be identical to Metteyya, gave him the books of the three Piṭakas, with the commentaries. Buddhaghosa withdrew to the isolated monastery of Ganthākara [a branch of the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura] and transposed (parivattesi) all the Sinhalese commentaries into the dialect of Magadha (māgadhāya niruttiyā) which is the fundamental language of all the others (sabbesam mūlabhāsā)» (Cūla-vamsa, XXXVII, 242-4).

The traditions which we have just summarized all have at least the merit of clarity. For the Sinhalese, Pāli means the sacred text of the Tipiṭaka and that text is written in Māgadhabhāṣā, the language of the Buddha. Westerners call Pāli the language of the Sinhalese Tipiṭaka and, as we shall see, they have grave doubts as to whether that language is the same as the Māgadhī dialect of the fifth century B.C.

b. The Buddhist languages

In accordance with the Sinhalese tradition, some linguists link Pāli with the Eastern Prākrits of the Middle Ganges. For T.W. Rhys Davids, it was based on the Kosala dialect, as it was spoken in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. M. Walleser saw in the term «Pāli» a derivative of Pāṭali, by virtue of which Pāli was none other than the Pāṭalibhāṣā in use at Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadhā. E. Windisch

21 On Indian languages in general and Buddhist languages in particular, the reader will find all the bibliographical information he may require in L. Renou, Bibliographie védique. Paris, 1931, pp. 222-302; Histoire de la langue sanskrīte, Paris, 1956; Introduction générale à l'Altindische Grammatik de J. Wackernagel (new ed.) Göttingen, 1957.


and W. Geiger saw in Pāli a Māgadhi developed so as to serve as a universal language for the educated élite in the region of the Middle Ganges; freed of the characteristic extremes of Māgadhi, it was closer, they believed, to the Ardhamāgadhi or Ārṣa of the Jaina canon. For J. Filliozat Pāli «could represent a true Māgadhi of the fifth century... but might have been called Māgadhi, even though it originated from a province of the immense Magadhan empire other than Magadha itself».

Before dealing with this question, it is appropriate to examine the Indian languages in which the Buddhist texts have been preserved for us. They are five in number: traces of eastern dialects, North-Western Pākrit, Pāli, hybrid Sanskrit and standard Sanskrit.

**Traces of Buddhist texts in Māgadhi.** — We find in the Buddhist texts, both Pāli and Sanskrit, phonetical and morphological processes which are alien to Pāli and Sanskrit, but which have some affinities with the known Māgadhi idioms: the language of the Aśokan administration of the eastern group (Ganges basin and Kālīnta), the Māgadhi of certain dramas by Aśvaghoṣa discovered in Central Asia, the Ardhamāgadhi or Ārṣa of the Jaina canon and, finally, the Māgadhi of the grammarians.

Māgadhisms were long ago noted here and there in the Pāli texts: the vocative plural bhikkhave (for bhikkhavo), the nominative singular in -e in expressions such as bāle ca pandite ca (Dīgha, I, p. 55) for bālo ca pandito ca «the wise man and the fool».

Lüders saw in these aberrant forms traces of an «Old Buddhist Ardhamāgadhi» coinciding on the whole with the language of the Aśokan administration but situated, at least in part, at a more advanced stage of linguistic evolution.

For his part, S. Lévi, through the examination of Buddhist texts

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28 H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 40; SBAW, 1913, pp. 994 sq., 1006 sq.; 1927, p. 123. — Lüders’ thesis has been disputed by T. Michelson, Am. J. Phil., XLII, 1920, pp. 264, 272, and J. Bloch, *Aśoka and Ardhamāgadhi*, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50 fasc. 1, p. 46, who nevertheless draws up a list of features common to the language of Aśoka and that of the Jainas, but concludes that the facts are too widely separated for the two dialects to be identified.

cited by Asoka in the Bhābrā edict (Bloch, p. 154) and the study of certain technical terms of Buddhist vocabulary, was led to posit a «precanonical language» of Buddhism worded in a more advanced Magadhan dialect than the language of the Asokan administration and marked by some original features: the appearance of an 1 instead of the Sanskrit r in Lāghula (for Rāhula), the voicing of the intervocalic voiceless occlusive and the retention of the palatal semivowel in a word such as adhigicya as against Skt. adhikṛtya and Pāli adhikicca.

These findings enabled S. Levi to clarify the etymology of several technical terms of obscure formation, such as the categories of misdeeds listed in the Prātimokṣa: the pārajikā dharmāh of the Sanskrit and Pāli would have been derived from *pārācika «misdeeds banishing (parāc-) from the community»; the saṅghāvasēsa of the Skt., saṅghādīsesa of the Pāli, came from *saṅghāttiṣesa «misdeeds leaving the offender a residual (avaṣeṣa or atiṣeṣa) of community life»; the pācittiya of the Pāli, prāyaścittika or pāyantika of the Skt., were derived from *praścittika «misdeeds committed prior (praś-) to any reflection».

Continuing the research in this field, Lüders left among his papers important notes which were recently published posthumously by E. Waldschmidt in a work entitled Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons (Berlin, 1954). It gives a very detailed description of «Old Buddhist Ardhamāgadhī», considered by Lüders as the language of the original canon of writings. The work begins with a study of two characteristic phenomena of the eastern dialect, but attested sporadically in the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. It is in the first place the retention of -e in the vocative plural bhikkhave (for bhikkhavo); terms such as seyyathā (for tadyathā), yebhuyyena (for yad-bhuyah), the very many nominative singulars in -e (ke ca chave sīgālē ke pana sīhanāde, in Dīgha, III, p. 25) and nominative plurals in -āse (ye keci buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gatāse, in Dīgha, II, p. 255; 30 Nevertheless, the equation adhigicya = adhikṛtya is only a philological hypothesis. "Could one not, relying on AMg vigirc- and its modern equivalents, understand the phrase in which adhigicya appears not as "the discourse to Lāghula expounded by the Blessed Lord Buddha taking falsehood as the point of departure", but "repulsing falsehood?" At the same time as the problem concerning the root of the word was solved, the problem of the suffix ya of the word was solved, the problem of the suffix ya of the absolutive would be avoided. Nothing exceptional would remain from the phonetic point of view but the gh in the name of the person Lāghula included in the title of the dhammapāliyyā (after J. Bloch, Trois notes, BEFEO, XLIV, 1947-50, fasc. 1, pp. 48-50).

31 On this work, see the reviews by V. Pisan, OLZ, 1955, pp. 403-4; D. S. Ruegg, JA, 1955, pp. 260-4.
Samyutta, I, p. 27). In the second place, it is the retention of the eastern l where Sanskrit and Pāli should normally have r : agalu (for agaru), antalikkha (for antarikṣa), Isigili (for Ṛṣigiri), etc.

Then follows a chapter on the phonetics of the language of the original canon. This is characterized by the weakness of intervocalic occlusives. Voiceless occlusives become voiced or are weakened to ya-śruti : k becomes g in elamuga (for edamuka); k becomes ya in dhaniya (compared to dhanika); t becomes d in yādeti (for yātayati; p becomes v in vyāvata (for vyāpria).

In intervocalic position, the voiced occlusives disappear : g is dropped in sārāṇiya (from *samrāgāniya); j is dropped in niya (for nija); d is dropped in sampāyati (for sampādayati).

There is the same weakness with regard to groups of consonants, which are voiced or assimilated : kkh becomes ggh in sagghati (for sakkhati from sakṣyati); nd and ny are assimilated into nn in Channa (for Chanda), sammannati (for sammanyate).

Considerations on the nominal inflection in the original canon concludes Lüders' study. In stems in -a he notes the ablative singulars in -am (instead of -ā, normal in Pāli), for example in verse 314 of the Dhammapada : akatam dukkatam seyyo, translated as «inaction is better than wrong action»; accusative plurals in -am (instead of -e, normal in Pāli), for example in verse 87 of the Dhammapada : kanhāṃ dhammaṃ vippahāya, translated by a plural : «having rejected bad dhammas»; locative plurals in -hi (instead of -su, normal in Pāli), in the stanzas of Vinaya II, p. 110, and Aṅguttara, II, p. 72 : Virūpakkehi me mettāṃ mettāṃ erāpatehi me, translated : «I have goodwill towards the Virūpakkas, I have goodwill towards the Erāpathas», etc. In the declension of present participles, alongside the normal forms in nt, forms are found without the nt, for example in sampajāno «the knower», passo «the viewer», etc.

It does indeed seem, in Lüders' concept, that all the characteristics noted by him belong to one and the same eastern dialect, the Old Ardhamāgadhi of the original canon which is very close to that of the known Māgadhi, but is distinguished from it by the use of s instead of š. Nevertheless, it is possible that these characteristics may derive from several eastern dialects.

In the language of the Ašokan administration, as in Pāli, the three Indo-Aryan sibilants š, ṣ, s, which remained differentiated in Sanskrit and the Ašokan edicts of the North-West, all become one and the same dental sibilant s. However, the existence of š in the eastern dialects is attested both by documents in pure Māgadhi and dramatic Māgadhi,
and by the old Brāhmī inscriptions of the Mauryan period. So, unlike the inscription of the Piprāvā reliquary (LÜDERS, 931) which replaces ś by s in salilanidhane (for sariranidhāne), an inscription of Rāmagā in Ghota-Nagpur (LÜDERS, 921) renders the original dental sibilant by s in devadaśikī «temple handmaiden» and balanaśeya «inhabitant of Vārāṇašī». The eastern language must therefore have appeared at an early date in at least two different aspects. This does not favour the homogeneity of Lüders’ Old Ardhamāgadhī. It is therefore not without reason that Lin envisaged the hypothesis of a multiplicity of the original languages of Buddhism.

It is the anomalies encountered in the Pāli and Sanskrit texts which enabled Lüders to reconstruct Old Ardhamāgadhī. The latter — and Lüders is the first to acknowledge it — can therefore in no way represent the linguistic substratum of Pāli.

However, according to Lüders, the texts in Ardhamāgadhī formed an original canon (Urkanon), a literary substratum of the Pāli and Sanskrit canons which were, at least in part, the translation or adaptation of it. However, such an assertion is not justified. The pages which we have devoted to the assessment of the tradition of the councils (pp. 128-140) and the formation of the early Buddhist writings (pp. 140-191) have shown sufficiently that there was no question of either a canon or a Tripitaka before the end of the Mauryan period and that, even with regard to the Pāli canon, the collections were not closed before the time of Buddhaghosa, in the fifth century of the Christian era.

While not expecting everyone to agree, we venture to assert that there was no canon, Magadhan or otherwise, before the period of Aśoka. There were Buddhist texts drafted in several eastern dialects which the collators of the Pāli and Sanskrit Tripitakas subsequently used in the elaboration of their canons, but those texts, or rather those recitations — for their dissemination was oral not written — bear witness only to the existence of a «precanonical language of Buddhism», as S. Lévi so aptly calls it.

PĀLI. — Pālibhāsā is the language of the sacred texts (pāli) of

32 LIN, AM, p. 227.

southern Buddhism. First used in central India, then confined to and preserved in the island of Ceylon, it spread from there to the various kingdoms which still today share the western two-thirds of the Indochinese peninsula. Pāli is «high Middle Indian», an «old Prākrit» derived from Sanskrit, but closer than the latter to the Vedic language because of a whole series of archaic features. Its use, which may go far back into the past, has continued until the modern period, but in practice is limited to the expression of the religious thought of Buddhism. It therefore does not have the suppleness of Sanskrit which lent itself to the demands of the most varied of literary genres. On the linguistic level, it has hardly kept up to date at all, merely eliminating archaisms and, here and there, betraying influences from eastern dialects («Magadhisms»), Sinhalese, Dravidian, but especially Sanskrit.

Although the oldest Pāli texts, those of the Buddhist canon, have been preserved only in Ceylon, no one would dream of seeking the cradle of Pāli on the island. It is certain that the language originated on the Indian mainland, but its home has not yet been determined with certainty. Arguments have been put forward in favour of Magadha (Buddhaghosa, Windisch, Geiger), of Kāliṅga (Oldenberg), of Taxila (Grierson), of Vindhya (K安定ow), of the Ujjayinī region (Westergaard, Kuhn, Franke) or of Kauśāmbī (Przyluski).

The multiplicity of the hypotheses can be explained by the composite nature of Pāli, which enables it to be compared in turn with the most distant of local dialects. The dialectical mixture is especially obvious in its phonology. To the Sanskrit vowel r correspond, without any fixed rule, the most varied substitutes : i in tīna (for trīna), a in kāta (for krīta), u in uju (for rju) and sometimes, apart from the vowel which develops, there is also the appearance of a consonantal r : iru (for rc). — The Sanskrit group ry, when it does not remain as such, is subject to the insertion of an i (ariya = ārya), or assimilation to yy (ayya = ārya), to ll (pallāṅka = paryāṅka), or it undergoes a metathesis which puts the y in contact with the preceding vowel with which it contracts (acchera = āśarya). — In initial position, the group ks gives kh (khetta = ksetra); inside a word, kk (cakkhu = caksus), kk (ikka = rkṣa) or cch (accha = rkṣa). Strangely enough, it is not uncommon for a specific sense to be attached to the choice of treatment : to mṛga corresponds maga «wild animal» and miga «gazelle»; to vṛddhi, vaddhi «success» and vuddhi «increase»; to kṣana, khana «moment» and chaṇa «festival»; to artha, atṭa «lawsuit» and attha «thing», etc.

The composite nature of Pāli therefore permits all sorts of comparisons with other Prākritis:

1. As we saw above, the Sinhalese tradition accepted by some historians sees the linguistic basis of Pāli in the Māgadhī of the Eastern Gangetic basin. However, this theory is untenable because Pāli does not share, or shares only exceptionally, the characteristic features of Māgadhī: the changing of r into l, -ah into -e, and with the reservations given above, the development in certain regions of the three sibilants ś, ś and s to š.

2. Arguing both from the frequency of communications between the island of Ceylon and the eastern coast, and from a vague resemblance between the inscription of King Aira Mahameghavahana found in Khaṇḍagiri and the Pāli texts, H. Oldenberg advanced the hypothesis that Pāli is the language of Kalinga. B. Barua, who edited and studied in detail the old Brāhmī inscriptions in the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Kalinga, asserts categorically that their language is Pāli and nothing but Pāli. However, those inscriptions share with Ardhamāgadhī certain characteristics which are alien to the Pāli norm: the retention of the retroflex ś instead of l in kāḍāra (= Pā. kāḷāra), tāḍāga (= Pā. tāḷāka) and vedūriya (= Pā. veḷūriya); the voicing of the voiceless occlusive in intervocalic position in padhame (= Pā. paṭhame), sāṃghāta (= Pā. saṃkhāta) and tāḍāga (= Pā. tāḷāka); finally, the use of absolutes in -tā (instead of -tvā) in acitayitā, ghaṭāpayitā, etc.

3. G. Grierson and S. Konow have discerned similarities between Pāli and Paisācī, a dialect spoken, according to the former, in the region of the North-West; according to the latter, in the area of the Vindhyas. Grierson considers Pāli to be the literary form of the Māgadhī dialect used generally in Kekaya and the scholarly language at the old university of Takṣāsilā; Konow looks to the Vindhyas for the origin of Paisācī and Pāli. Among the points of contact between the two languages, can be noted the voicing of voiceless occlusives, the retention of intervocalic consonants, the use of epenthesis (bhāriya, sināna), the changing of jī, ny and ny into ŋī, the retention of the intervocalic y, the nominative in -o of stems in -a, the preservation of r. However, these

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34 Pp. 555-57; 558-559.
similarities, being shared with other Prākrits too, are hardly enough to establish a direct connection between Pāli and Paśācī.

4. R.O. Franke endeavoured to draw up lists of the agreements and divergences between Pāli and the Western Prākritis of the North-West (Gandhāra), Madhyadeśa (Mathurā), the West (Kāthiāwār) and the South-West (Junnar and Nāsik). He concluded from this that the dialect which is at the base of Pāli must be located to the south or south-east of the area of extension of the Kharoṣṭhī script (the home of the North-Western Prākritis), to the south of Mathurā and perhaps Sānci and Bhārhut as well, to the west or south-west of the Eastern Prākritis, to the east of Girnār and north of Nāsik. He suggests, as the probable cradle of Pāli, the region extending between Western and Central Vindhya, more precisely Ujjayini. Returning to the arguments already developed by N.L. Westergaard and E. Kuhn, he recalls that, according to the Buddhist tradition, before his accession to the Magadhan throne, Aśoka was viceroy of Ujjayinī, that his wife, the mother of Mahinda, was a native of Cetiyagiri near Sānci, and that Mahinda himself lived there in his youth before his departure for Ceylon where he was to introduce Pāli literature.

5. We examined earlier (pp. 309-310) the value of the tradition concerning Mahinda and his wanderings. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that, among all the Aśokan dialects, that of the Girnār edict is the closest to Pāli. Among the isoglosses, more remarkable for their number than their nature, it suffices to point out here the development of u into a in garu (for guru) and of u into o in kho (for khalu); the replacement of the vowel r by a, i, or u; the retention of n in the stems at least (Girnār: gaṇanā, but mitrena); the changing of bh into h in instrumental cases such as bahūhi (for bahubhīḥ) and in certain forms of the verb to be, such as hoti (for bhavati); the development to s of the three sibilants: pasu (for paśu), dosa (for dośa); the shortening of long nasalized vowels, particularly in the genitive plural: bhūtānam (for bhūtānām), yesam (for yeśām); in the declension of stems in -a, the nominative singular in -o, the ablative in -ā, the locative in -e or -mhi, the accusative plural in -e; in the declension of stems in -an, certain oblique cases in ā (instrumental raṇā in Pāli, rāṇā at Girnār; genitive raṇño in Pāli, rāṇo at Girnār); in the demonstrative idam, the nominative ayam being able to function as feminine as well as masculine; the third person singular of the active

38 R.O. Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, Strasbourg, 1902.
optative in -e or -eyya, the middle optative in -tha (in contrast to Skt. -ta).

We saw in the preceding chapter (pp. 411-413) how closely the inscriptions in monumental Prākrit at Bārhut and Sāncī could be compared with Pāli, with which they have in common certain forms of the ablative singulars in -ādo (e.g. Vādivahānāto, Kurārāto, Arapānāto, Bhogavadhanāto, Pokharāto), an ending also attested at Nāsim (khetāto) and Mathurā, but completely absent from the Asokan inscriptions. The dominant characteristic at Bārhut and Sāncī is the total absence of those Magadhisms which considerably affected the Pāli texts and even the inscriptions of the North-West and Central India.

From all that precedes, and without wishing to underestimate the value of the points of comparison supplied by such scattered, badly dated and badly written epigraphical material, we can conclude that neither Māgadhī nor Ardhamāgadhī constitutes the linguistic basis of Pāli, and that the cradle of the latter — if we can speak of cradle for such a composite language — is to be sought among the Western Prākrīts, in the area of Avanti extending into Kathiāwar. The Magadhisms sprinkled throughout the Pāli texts doubtless originate from Buddhist recitations in Magadhan dialects used somewhat slavishly by the first compilers of the Pāli Tipiṭaka.

6. If this conclusion is justified, at about what date did the authors of the Tipiṭaka, working from Magadhan prototypes, produce the bulk of their effort? Was it long before the arrival of Buddhist missionaries in Ceylon, to which they carried the outline of the Pāli canon, or at a date relatively close to that event?

This is a delicate question and it would be unwise to advance on such slippery ground. On the one hand, the oral teaching of Pāli could date far back in the past: «Certain features relate it to the Vedic rather than the classical language. Hence it gives as the instrumental cases of pronouns the forms tehi and yehi which recall the Ved. tebhis and yebhis, the infinitive in -tave in relation to the classical in -tum; the absolute in -tvāna goes back to another type than that of standard Sanskrit in -tvā; forms such as idha and sabbadhi seem even earlier than Vedic». Furthermore, «in reasoning and preaching, the stylistic attachments are in keeping with Vedic prose, in particular with that of the Upaniṣads»40. This might lead us to think that, from the outset of Buddhism, when the original recitations in Magadha would normally have been made on the

40 After L. Renou, Inde Classique, I, pp. 76-7.
basis of an eastern dialect, it could have been coupled in Avanti with an oral teaching in Pāli by a Mahā-Kaccāyana and his school.

Conversely, it should be recognized that the form taken by this teaching in the oldest attested Pāli (Sīla, Pārīyāna, Aṭṭhakavagga, Pātimokkha and Nikāya) bears witness to a linguistic and morphological state more advanced than that of the Aśokan inscriptions of the North-West and even Gīrnār. This would enable us to conclude that the known Pāli texts represent a codification of the word of the Buddha at a more recent, post-Aśokan stage. Likewise, the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina canon apparently represents a linguistic state more advanced than would have been expected from the date of Mahāvīra (sixth-fifth centuries B.C.).

Here we will merely mention some archaisms of a phonetic and syntactic type in the Aśokan inscriptions which place them at an older linguistic stage than the Pāli texts:

1. The edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānehrā retain the three original sibilants which Pāli was to reduce to s. If they happen to replace the vowel r by an a, u or i, as in Pāli, they generally retain it in its liquid consonantal form accompanying the vowel: ra in graham̐ (Pā. ga-haṭṭha), ri in dri̐ha (Pā. dalha), ir in kir̐a (Pā. kata), ru in ūruṇeyu. The liquid r is generally retained in combination with the preceding vowel: dhrama (Pā. dhamma), dra̐ana (Pā. dassana); or with the following consonant: vagra (Pā. vagga), athra and ṛhra (Pā. attha), savra (Pā. sabba). Finally, some groups of consonants which Pāli never fails to assimilate are retained: kṣ in aks̐ati, kr in atikratam, gr in agra, dr in khudrakena, dhr in dhruva, etc.

2. Gīrnār, often so close to Pāli, is nevertheless differentiated from it by a considerable number of archaisms. Before two consonants it often retains the long vowel: āt̐a (Skt. ātma-, Pā. atta), asamāta (Skt. asamāpta, Pā. asamatta). It does not assimilate absolutely all consonantal groups since it retains tr alongside t (tr̐i or t̐i, tatra or tata), pr alongside p (pr̐a or p̐a), vy alongside v in verbal adjectives in -tavya or -taya. The st group remains in asti, nāsti, hasti; but st changes to s̐ in stītā.

A recent study by L. Renou⁴¹ of the evolution of nominal compounds in Sanskrit proves that the archaism of the Aśokan inscriptions in relation to the Pāli texts is not only phonetic, but also structural. In the use of nominal compounds, the edicts are prior to the linguistic revolu-

tion and contain hardly any compounds other than those with two members. In contrast «Pāli prose of the early type is clearly situated at the new stage, that is, at the stage of the Grhya- and Dharma-sūtra»42, in which the earlier structure with two members gives way to more and more complex combinations, either through insertion, or juxtaposition. The author notes in Di̇gha, I, p. 76, the combination aniccucchādanapari-maddanabhedenanaviddhamsanadhammo «an impermanent thing, subject to erosion, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration».

Therefore, from the viewpoint of linguistic evolution, the Pāli text belongs to a later stage than the edicts of Asoka. Its relatively late date would explain its permeability to Sanskrit influences which might have appeared very early, without even waiting for the time of Buddhaghosa who is suspected of having «revised the texts in consideration of a Sanskrit norm»43.

NORTH-WESTERN PRAKRIT. — We saw above (pp. 293, 332-337), the circumstances in which the Buddhist propaganda, powerfully support­ed by Asoka and his officials, reached many regions, including Kāsmīra-Gandhāra, that is North-West India. At the end of the Mauryan period, the region had been practically won over to the Buddhist religion.

Faithful to the advice of their master and to an already well-esta­blished tradition, the Buddhist missionaries who settled in that region adopted as their language-medium the form of Middle Indian known as North-Western Prākrit or also as Gāndhārī44. This wide-spread dialect embraces a whole series of both religious and lay documents, the chief of which are : 1. the Asokan edicts in Kharoṣṭhī script at Shāhbāzgarhī (Sh) and Mānsehrā (M)45; 2. The Prākrit Dharmapada (Dh) of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, brought to Khotan around the beginning of the Christian era46; 3. some hundred inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī mostly

42 After Id., ibid., p. 109.
dating from the Kuśāṇa period⁴⁷; 4. The documents from Niya, written on wood, leather or silk, dating from the third century, discovered at Kad’ota and representing the official language of Krorayina, capital of the Shan-shan kingdom in Southern Serindia (= Chinese Turkestan⁴⁸); 5. numerous borrowed words taken from Central Asian texts in Khota-nese, Kuĉean and Agnecan, as well as in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of Buddhist texts from the North-West, such as the Čchang a han (T 1), a translation of the Dharmaguptaka Dirghāgama.

The area of North-Western Prākrit coincides with Udicya which, according to the Kauśitakī Brāhmaṇa (VII, 6) was the region of fine speech, more so than the centre, east or south: «It is in the north that the language is used with the greatest discernment: people go to the north to learn the language and they like to hear those who come from there speak it». It was there, in fact, that the Aryan occupation penetrated most profoundly. However, Prākrit juxtaposed with classical Sanskrit is not ruled by the same norms: in the course of its long history it must have shown, in the vast domain that it covered, dialectal differentiations of which the documents at our disposal give only a vague idea. Because of its geographical position, it came under the influence of neighbouring languages, Eastern Iranian, possibly even Tocharian. Conversely, it left considerable traces in the vocabulary of the languages of Central Asia. The reader can consult the numerous and important works which H.W. Bailey has devoted to the subject⁴⁹.

Truth to tell, the Buddhist texts in North-Western Prākrit are not very numerous: apart from the Dharmapada, we can only point to the few short citations in certain Kuśāṇa inscriptions, such as the Kurram

⁴⁷ Edited by S. Konow, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1929.
⁴⁹ See above, p. 487, in the notes.
reliquary (Konow, p. 155), or the Wardak vase (Id., p. 170). We are justified, however, in believing that a certain number of originals have disappeared. The Chinese version of the Chang a han (T 1) seems to be based on an original in North-Western Prākrit, and it is probable that the Milindapañha, known only through its Pāli and Chinese recensions, was originally composed in the Eastern Punjab, where the hero it presents ruled. If those originals have disappeared, it is in all likelihood because the manuscript tradition began at a comparatively late period, at the time when Buddhist Sanskrit, of a mixed or relatively pure type, had already replaced Prākrit.

The Dharmapada of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript is all the more valuable. The majority of the maxims it contains have their parallels in the Pāli Dhammapada and the Dharmapada and Udānavarga in Tibetan (Ched-du-brjod-pahi-tshoms, ed. H. Beckh) and Chinese (T 210-213), although the classification is different.

The verses of the Dharmapada are the expression of Indian or universal wisdom. They are not all Buddhist in origin; many have found a place in such dissimilar works as the Laws of Manu, the Mahābhārata, Jaina texts or narrative literature (Pañcatantra, etc)\(^5\). There is no Buddhist monk who cannot recite them from memory. In such conditions, it is impossible to determine exactly the place where those maxims appeared for the first time. It is probable that certain of them were recited in Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but the existence of a Magadhān collection, a prototype of the Pāli Dhammapada and the Prākrit Dharmapada, has not been proved.

The fact that the language of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript is indeed North-Western Prākrit, is proved by its numerous points of contact with the idiom of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions: the consonant treatment of the vowel \(\mathbf{r}\) in certain positions: pradhavi alongside prádhavi (Skt. prthivī); the weakness of the intervocalic voiceless occlusives: sagarauda for Skt. saṁkāra-kūta, kṣiravaya for kṣīrapāka, ghadhedi for ghātayati, pave for pāpe; the tendency to omit the anusvara; the relative strength of the consonant groups with \(\mathbf{r}\) first or second: artha alongside atha, dharma alongside dhama, pridipramoju, prañasa, etc.; the changing of \(\mathbf{śy}\) into \(\mathbf{s}\) in manuṣa; the hesitation in the treatment of the \(\mathbf{kṣ}\) group, sometimes retained with the diacritical mark (value \(\mathbf{tś}\) or \(\mathbf{ṭśh}\)) in kṣaya, kṣiravayo, sometimes rendered by the western \(\mathbf{ch}\) in bhichave, bhichati.

\(^5\) On these parallels, see L. de L. Vallée Poussin, Essai d'identification des gāthās et des udānas en prose de l'Udānavarga de Dharmaśrīta, JA, 1912, pp. 311-30; R. O. Franke, Dhamma-Worte, Jena, 1923, pp. 93-119.
sometimes rendered by the eastern *kh* in *bhikhu, khaṇo, pradimukhe*. We could point out coincidences of the same type in the morphological sphere.

There are, however, some clear differences between the Prākrit *Dharmapada* and other documents originating from the North-West. In conformity with Sanskrit usage, the edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsāhrā, as well as the Kuśāṇa inscriptions, retain intact occlusives preceded by a nasal : *aṅṭaram* (Sh), *viyamjanate* (M), *paṃca, mahāṃtasa, puyamanto* (Patika). The Dharmapada, in contrast, voices the voiceless occlusives after omitting the nasal : *paga* (Skt. *panka*), *paja* (Skt. *paṇca*), *aṅḍara* (Skt. *anantara*), *subaśu* (Skt. *sampaśyan*), and, always after the nasal, omits or reduces the voiced occlusives : *kuṇāru* (Skt. *kuṇjara*), *daṇa* (Skt. *daṇḍa*), *vinadi* (Skt. *vindati*), *banha* (Skt. *bandha*), *gamhīra* (Skt. *gambhīra*). J. Bloch has noted that these phenomena, which contradict and go beyond the general evolution of Prākrit, are again found in certain dialects of modern India, particularly Punjabi and Sindhi. They are, furthermore, quite old in these dialects, since Alexander’s historians already transcribed as *Sāyγαλα* the name of the Punjabi town which is *Śāmkala* or *Śākala* in Sanskrit.

There are other characteristics which confer a particular aspect on the language of the Dharmapada. Alongside the short locative in *-e* (sometimes written *i*), the inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī had a long form of the locative, in *-aspi* or *-asi* at Shāhbāzgarhī (*oradhanaspi, apakaranasi*), in *-a(m)mi* or *-asi* in the Kuśāṇa inscriptions (*gahami, hasasi*), in *aṃmi* at Niya. This long form of the locative is lacking in the Dh. which goes so far as to replace it with the genitive : hence *asmi loke parasayi* as compared to the Pāli *asmim loke paramhi ca* «in this world or in the other».

In stems in *-a*, the nominative singular at Shāhbāzgarhī is sometimes in *-o* (*jano*), sometimes in *-a* through the dropping of the visarga (*jana*), sometimes in *-e* (*jane*). However, this *-e* is not a Magadhism since, in the Kuśāṇa inscriptions, it is found to the west of the Indus, except for Wardak (at Peshāwār, *kue khaṇavide* for *kūpah khanapitaḥ*), the ending in *-o* (var. *-a*) being the rule to the east of the same river (at Taxila, *parichago for purityāgaḥ; thuvo pratithavito for stūpah pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ*). The Prākrit Dharmapada has no nom. sing. masc. in *-e*, but only in *-o, -a, or -u* (*akrodhu anuvayasa vipramutu; kaṇa savrudo bhikhu*) : such a restriction classes it in the eastern (Punjabi) section of North-Western Prākrit.

51 JA, 1912, pp. 331-7.

* [Editors’ note : *asvi* ... according to Brough, Gândhārī Dhammapada, 135].
Finally, the Asokan inscriptions have the absolutive in -tu (śrutu = Skt. śrutvā), in -ti (tiṣṭhiti from the present tiṣṭhati, for sthitvā) and in -ya (saṃkhaya for saṃkhyā). That of the Kuśāṇa inscriptions is in -ta (karita for kṛtvā) and in -ya (likhiya). However, the Dharmapada retains kitva (Skt. kṛtvā, Pā. katvā), chitvana (Pā. chetvāna), and also uses nihai (Pā. nidhāya).

THE BUDDHIST LANGUAGES AT THE END OF THE PRE-CHRISTIAN ERA.*

— It seems that three conclusions can be drawn from the facts noted so far: 1. Up to a date which can be fixed approximately at the end of the ancient era, the Buddhists transmitted the word of the Buddha in their local dialects (sakāya niruttiyā), to be more precise, in the respective Prākritis of the listeners whom they addressed. We do not know the exact number of Prākritis adopted, but there are traces, even documents, of three of them:

a. Traces, in the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts, of recitations in one or more varieties of Māgadhī. The Bhābrā edict lists some titles which are in Māgadhī (above, pp. 234-237).

b. Recitations in Pāli, a composite Prākrit, the linguistic basis of which should be sought in a western dialect, possibly in Avanti, extending up to Kāthiāwār.

c. Recitations in North-Western Prākrit and more precisely the Prākrit of the Punjab, a specimen of which is supplied by the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript.

2. In the form or forms available to us, the Buddhist Prākritis, which are very clearly composite in aspect, are all at a more evolved linguistic stage than the Aśokan edicts to which they can respectively be compared.

a. The Magadhisms observed in the Buddhist texts by Lüders, Lévi and others are markedly more advanced than the language known as that of the Aśokan administration as it appears in the edicts of the Gangetic basin and in Kaliṅga.

b. The edicts of the North-West (Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā) and even those of the West (Gīrnār) all contain a whole series of archaisms of which there is no trace in Pāli.

c. Within the compass of the North-Western Gāndhārī, the language of the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript appears to be a local dialect, restricted to the region of the Punjab.

However, Buddhist teaching began before the time of Aśoka, 218 years according to the long chronology, 100 according to the short one. So how can it be explained that it appears in a linguistically more evolved form than the Aśokan Prākritis?
It is sometimes said that the language of the edicts is intentionally archaic, but this explanation does not hold good when confronted with the formal evidence of Asoka who published his edicts in order to be understood by everyone, and not only by linguists: «this text of the Dharma has been engraved by order of the king, beloved of the gods, amiable in look. It exists in summary, in medium length and in expansion... For vast is my empire and I have had many engraved and will have many more engraved. There are many repetitions in them because of the charm of certain subjects, so that they may be conformed to» (after Bloch, pp. 133-4).

The texts which we have at our disposal therefore do not reflect the state of the language which served for the preaching of the Buddha and his first disciples; they represent a codification at a more recent stage. This is, clearly, what has justified the search for an Urkanon. Nonetheless, although the Buddhist propaganda pre-dated Asoka by one or two centuries, the linguistic form in which it has reached us goes no further back than the Mauryan period.

3. Even if there were recitations in Māgadhī, North-Western Prākrit and Pāli during the Mauryan age, this does not prove that the recited texts constituted a canon of writings at that time.

We studied at length in Chapter Two (pp. 124-140) the Buddhist works concerning the speciality of the reciters (bhāṇaka) and the supposed compilation of the writings at the council of Rājagrha. We reached the conclusion that the facts given about the extent and content of that compilation are contradictory and hence apocryphal.*

Examination of the Buddhist languages does not argue in favour of an early canon. The few titles cited in the Bhābrā edict, and the few traces of Magadhisms in the Pāli and Sanskrit texts are not sufficient to establish the existence of a Magadhan Urkanon. Without prejudice to any discoveries that may be made in the future, should be acknowledged that, in the light of information available at present, the mere existence of the Dutreuil de Rhins Dharmapada does not allow us to infer the existence of a canon in North-Western Prākrit. As for the Pāli canon, it was not definitively fixed until the fifth century A.D.: as we saw above (pp. 149-150), post-canonical texts (Milindapañha, Visuddhimagga, Aṭṭhakathā, Divyāvadāna) are the first to mention the tipiṭaka or piṭakattaya. The terms peṭakin, paṇcanekāyika did not appear before the Śuṅga period on the inscriptions at Bhārhut and Śānci. We should recall that these are vague terms, which seem to qualify the religious who were versed in the Buddhist doctrine as a whole.
Mixed Sanskrit\textsuperscript{52}. — Alongside texts in various Prākrits, Buddhist literature has produced works in mixed Sanskrit, also called «quasi-Sanskrit», «the language of the gāthās» or «hybrid Sanskrit», a kind of idiom which juxtaposes Sanskrit forms with Prākrit forms.

These works, which do not figure among the oldest, on the whole date back to the first centuries of the Christian era and belong both to the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. They can be classified in two groups:

I. Works in which both verse and prose are in mixed Sanskrit:


The Bhikṣu- and Bhikṣuniprakīrṇaka, a fragment of which is quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall, pp. 154-7) and a complete manuscript of which, found in Tibet, is being prepared for publication (L. Renou, HLS, p. 209, n. 3).


2. Works in which only the verse is in mixed Sanskrit, the prose being in Sanskrit which is for the most part correct:


_Saddharmasṁrtiypasthāna_, a late Hinayānist work. The versified section, entitled _Dharmasamuccaya_, has been edited by Lin Li-kouang, I, Paris, 1946, and emended by D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, JRAS, 1955, pp. 37-54. These verses are in almost correct Sanskrit, but nevertheless have affinities with Middle Indian and the Pāli texts (LIN, _AM_, pp. 162-6).


_Saddharmapuṇḍarīka._ — There are considerable variations between the different editions published to date: ed. H. Kern-B. Nāṅjō, St. Petersburg, 1908-12 (Nepalese recension); R. Hoernle, _Manuscript Remains_, Oxford, 1916, pp. 132-66 (version from Kaśgar); U. Wogihara-C. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934-35; W. Baruch, _Beiträge zum Saddharm._, Leiden, 1938 (Gilgit fragments); N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1952 (with readings by Mironov). It is not true that the Saddharm was first written in Middle Indian and that the hybrid language of its verses constitutes an intermediary stage between Sanskrit and Pāli: cf. L. Renou, _Introd. à Wackernagel_, p. 81, n.281; p. 83, n.286; N. Dutt, _Manuscripts of the Saddharm._, _their linguistic Peculiarities_, IHQ, XXIX, 1953, pp. 133-48. — On what can be learned from the Tibetan versions, see N. Simonsson, _Indo-tibetische Studien_, I, Uppsala, 1957.


Numerous quotations of gāthās in hybrid language, in Śikṣaśamuccaya, ed. C. Bendall, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902.

This list is far from exhaustive. We should remark that the majority of these works have, through the hazards of transmission, undergone considerable changes. The Saddharmapuṇḍarika exists in at least three recensions originating from Nepal, Central Asia (Khotan) and Kašmīr (Gilgit), and Prākritisms are the most numerous in the Khotanese recension. Similarly, with regard to the Vajracchedikā and the Udānavarga, the proportion of Prākritisms in comparison to the Sanskrit varies considerably depending on the manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts. Often works which, on the basis of existing editions, appear to be in correct Sanskrit, prove to be in hybrid language when the manuscript tradition is thoroughly studied. This is particularly the case for the Kāraṇḍavyūha. The edition at present being prepared by M. Lalou and C. Regamey will point out a number of Prākritisms, the existence of which is in no way indicated in the old Calcutta edition, published in 1873. The degree of Sanskritization of texts in mixed Sanskrit can be at least, explained by partly the particular disposition of each scribe.

In one and the same work Middle Indian features are not all in equal proportion. The gāthās of the Mahāvastu are richer in Prākritisms than the passages in prose. This is undoubtedly because it was more difficult to standardize them than to standardize the prose. Nevertheless, Middle Indian forms such as the third person singular of the optative in -e could easily have been sanskritized in -et without harming the metre, but are nonetheless retained in the gāthās.

An appreciation of the linguistic facts is complicated by variations in style in one and the same work. H. Oldenberg distinguished at least two different styles of diction in the Mahāvastu. Style B, which is the oldest and closely related to canonical Pāli, abounds in personal verbs, particularly aorists and perfects, displays a marked preference for the joining particle khalu, and constructs its phrases on stereotyped models such as
adrāksit... dṛṣṭvā ca... prasīde and ekānte asthāsi, ekāntasthitaḥ... uvāca:
a set of formulae well-known to the Pāli sources. Style A, which is more
recent, prefers to use the nominal diction and favours long compounds;
the use of personal verbs is reduced and tends to be limited to the
present; the joining particle khalu gives way to dāni following some form
of the pronoun ta- or one of its derivatives.

Various hypotheses have been put forward about the origin of mixed
Sanskrit. Either the author, believing he was writing Sanskrit which he
knew only imperfectly, made a number of errors; or someone writing in
Prākrit believed it was advantageous to mix Sanskrit forms with Prākrit;
or else the authors had qualms about avoiding Prākrit when the Vinaya
invited them to resort to local dialects.

However, it is very important to realize that the achievement of the
writers did not consist in transposing Prākrit originals into mixed
Sanskrit, but in writing directly in the latter, using terms and turns of
phrase which appeared in the old canonical texts.

Buddhist Sanskrit of the mixed type appears as a stage on the
downward curve followed by Prākrit during the first centuries of the
Christian era before it disappeared in the third century in Northern
India. We must emphasize, as did L. Renou, the fact that mixed Sanskrit
is not a strictly Buddhist phenomenon, but is part of the general
evolution of the Indian language. Hybrid language, not identical but
similar, is found again in inscriptions (not all Buddhist) from the second
and third centuries, in some technical works preserved in fragments and
of partly Buddhist inspiration, such as the lexicographical fragment
called the Weber fragment, the sūtras of Bakhshāli, dealing with mathem-
tics, and the Bower manuscript devoted to medicine.

Making allowances for the gaps in the documentation, the broad
outline of the history of mixed Sanskrit in epigraphy can be surmised:

1. The Prākrits first used in the Asokan edicts, in the third century
B.C., were predominant in epigraphy until the end of the ancient era.
The Buddhist inscriptions on the stūpa at Bhārhut, on the old balu-
strade at Bodh-Gayā and the «Bhīlsa Topes» (Sāncī, Sonārī, Satdhāra,

53 These are discussed in J. MansiOn, Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanskrite, Paris,
1931, pp. 105-9.
54 Cf. L. Renou, HLS, p. 220, note; Introduction à Wackernagel, p. 82, n.286.
55 Id., Introduction à Wackernagel, pp. 20, and 83, nn.288-95. — On the literary
Prākrits, R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, Strasbourg, 1900; S. Sen, Compara-
tive Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Calcutta, 1951. On the epigraphical Prākrits,
M.A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prākrits, Poona, 1948 (and the
Bhojpur, Andher), and the Jaina inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khāṇḍa-giri are all in Prākrit. The only exceptions to this general rule are three inscriptions which appear to date back to the Śuṅga period: the Sanskrit inscription of Ayodhyā which cites Puṣyāmitra and his sixth son or successor (EI, XX, 1929, p. 57), and two inscriptions in mixed Sanskrit at Pabhosā (LÜDERS, 904-5) which refer to the reign of Udāka, possibly the fifth Śuṅga king.

2. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, Prākrit was strongly rivalled by mixed Sanskrit, and even by [pure] Sanskrit. However, the importance of the Sanskrit influence varied according to the region.

a. The Deccan remained faithful to the use of Prākrit. This was particularly the case in inscriptions in the bureaucratic and official style of the Śatāvāhanas and in the Buddhist inscriptions at Amarāvatī (second cent.) and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa which are in epigraphical Prākrit with touches of Paisācī.

b. The Kuśāṇa inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script also remained faithful to North-Western Prākrit almost until the end. However, inscription No. 21 at Peshāwār Museum (KONOW, p. 157), dated by the editor from the year 151-2 A.D., concludes with the Sanskrit formula: Danaṣya avaptir astu, and the even more recent inscription at Thor Dherai (KONOW, p. 176) is almost [pure] Sanskrit.

c. It was also Prākrit which very clearly dominated in the caves, mostly Buddhist, on the west coast and the region of Bombay. At Nānāghāt (LÜDERS, 1112-20), Bhājā (1078-85), Kondāne (1071), Pitalkhorā (1187-93), Junnar (1150-83), Bedsā (1109-11) and Kārli (1086-1108), Prākrit alone is attested. However, Nāsik is the exception in allowing a modest place to mixed Sanskrit (LÜDERS, 1131, 1136, 1137), and even to [pure] Sanskrit (1145).

At Nāsik there are five inscriptions by Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of the satrap Nahapāna who ruled, it is believed, from 119 to 125 A.D. Four (LÜDERS, 1132-5) are in Prākrit, but one (1131) is in mixed Sanskrit.

Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1132), is in Prākrit: Sidham rāmno Kṣaharatasa kṣatrapasa Nahapānasa dhitu Dīnkaputrasa Uṣavadātasa kudumbiniya Dakhamitrāya deyadhāmmam ovarako.

«Success! This cell is the gift of Daksamitrā, wife of Ṛṣabhadatta, the son of Dinika, daughter of King Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta kṣatrapa».

Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1131), is in mixed Sanskrit: Siddham rājñah Kṣaharatasa kṣatrapasya Nahāpanasya jāmātā Dīnkaputreṇa Uṣavadātena... dharmāimanā idam leṇam kāritaṃ imā ca paṭhiyo.
«Success! By Rṣabhadāta, son of Dīnīka, son-in-law of King Naha-pāna, the Kṣharātā kṣatrapa, inspired by the Law, was this cave fashioned, and these tanks».

Nāsik (LÜDERS, 1145), is in [pure] Sanskrit: \textit{Deyadharmmo yam upāsikāyā Mammāyā layanam}.

«This religious gift — a cave — is from the laywoman Mammā».

At Kānheri, where the caves were inhabited until the ninth century, the inscriptions (LÜDERS, 984-1034) are for the most part in Prākrit, but a few are in mixed Sanskrit (984, 1018) and [pure] Sanskrit (989-92, 994).

d. The linguistic situation is completely reversed in Central India where the Prākrits were clearly declining. Of the 133 Brāhmī inscriptions at Mathurā recorded in LÜDERS' list (Nos. 16-149), only eight are in Prākrit (Nos. 92, 93, 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 117), the others are in mixed Sanskrit, and a very few in [pure] Sanskrit (cf. 111, 147-8). Contemporary epigraphs at Śrāvasti (918-19) and Sārnāth (922-30) show that this state of affairs was valid for the eastern (Gangetic) part of the great Kuśāna empire.

The majority of the Mathurā inscriptions are undated. However, mixed Sanskrit appears in them very early, from the end of the Śaka occupation, since at least three of them (LÜDERS, 59, 82; EI, XXIV, 1938, p. 208) are from the reign of the satrap Sōḍāsa, vassal of Azes II (ca 5-19 A.D.). This is the text of the third, according to the reconstruction by D.C. SIRCAR (JBRS, XXXIX, 1953, p. 48):

1-5. ... ... ... ...
6. \textit{Vasunā bhagava [to Vāsude]}
7. \textit{vasya mahāsthāna [ke devaku]}
8. \textit{laṃ toraṇam ve[dikā prati]}
9. \textit{ś̄hapatam. Prīto [bha] [vatu Vāsu]}
10. \textit{devah. Svāmī[sy]a [mahākṣatra]}
11. \textit{pasya Šoḍā[sa] [syā śasanam]}
12. \textit{samvartayatam}.

«By Vasu a chapel, a gateway and a balustrade were erected in the great enclosure of Lord Vāsudeva. May Vāsudeva be content. May the authority of the lord, the great satrap Šoḍāsa, be maintained».

Here again is an inscription (LÜDERS, 925) in mixed Sanskrit, particularly well preserved, dating from the year 3 of the great Kuśāna emperor Kaniṣka (ca 130 A.D.) and which is in Sārnāth Museum:

1. \textit{Mahārajasya Kāniṣkasya sam 3 he 3 di 22}
2. \textit{etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Puṣyavuddhisya saddhyevi-}
3. \textit{hārisya bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya}
4. Bodhisatvo chatrayaṣṭi ca pratiṣṭhāpiṭo
5. Bārāṇasiye Bhagavato caṃkame sahā māt[ā]
6. pitihi sahā upadhyāyacerehi saddhyevihāri-
7. hi aṃtevāsikehi ca sahā Buddhāmitraye trepiṭika-
8. ye sahā kṣatrapena Vanasppareṇa Kkarapallā-
9. nena ca sahā ca ca[tu]hi pariṣāhī sarvasatvanam
10. hitasukkhārttham.

«In the year 3 of the great king Kaniṣka, in the third [month] of winter, on the twenty-second day, on the date [indicated] above, [a gift] from the monk Bala, Tripitaka master, a colleague of the monk Puṣya-

vṛddhi, [a gift consisting of] a [statue of the] Bodhisattva and a pole with a parasol, was erected at Vārāṇasi, on the walkway of the Lord. The [gift was made in collaboration] with his mother and father, his master and tutor, his colleagues and disciples, and the [nun] Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripitaka, with the satrap Vanasppara and Kharapallā, and with the four communities, for the welfare and happiness of all beings».

This digression devoted to the history of epigraphical mixed Sanskrit and its clear victory over the Prākṛits in Gangetic India during the first centuries of the Christian era is not a pointless one, since it is in that perspective that mixed Sanskrit in Buddhist literature should be put.

As L. Renou 56 remarked, «the hybrid language could not have been produced by poorly educated authors unable to attain to correct Sanskrit», but by authors handling, often with dexterity, a literary language in which the amount of Prākrit and Sanskrit was left to their personal judgement.

Just as the writers of the inscriptions drafted the epigraphs in the best interests of the foundations and donations to be commemorated, without adhering to any other rules than those established by usage, so the authors of the Mahāvastu, the Lalitavistara or the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka wrote their works directly in mixed Sanskrit, without necessarily always taking their inspiration, from pre-existing models. They acted as authors and not merely as translators or adapters.

Naturally, when the Mahāvastu cites in full the Discourse at Vārāṇasi, the Mahāgovindasutta, Dīghānakhasutta, Mārasamyuttasutta and whole passages from the Khuddaka, it stays as close as possible to the ancient originals memorized in Prākrit; but when it narrates a jātaka or elaborates the life of the Buddha, it knows how to give free rein to its own inspiration.

56 After Hist. de la langue sanskrite, p. 222.
It is taking far too dogmatic an attitude to claim, as did Hiān-lin Dschi, that Buddhist works in mixed dialect and Sanskrit are more or less perfect transpositions of the original canon compiled in Old Ardhamāgadhi\(^{57}\). Even in the early parts [in style B] of the Mahāvastu, we must distinguish what is text from what is quotation. It is even more unwise to assert, as did the same author, that «the prototype of the Saddharma puṇḍarikā and perhaps of other old Mahāyānist works was compiled in Old Ardhamāgadhi»\(^{58}\). By deduction this is condemning oneself — as the author indeed saw — to localising the origins of the Mahāyāna in the same place as those of the Hinayāna, namely Magadha. It would be highly unlikely that the whole literary output of both Vehicles in principle dates back to the first century of Buddhism, and that the following centuries were utterly barren. Furthermore, in order to explain the literary affiliation of the Sanskrit texts, we would have to posit a whole series of intermediaries between them and the supposed original canon. Hence, for certain sections of the Lalitavistara and Saddharma puṇḍarikā, in which the ending -am is replaced by -u, Hiān-lin Dschi has tried to prove that those texts could not have assumed their present form as a result of a translation made directly from an eastern prototype in Old Ardhamāgadhi, but presuppose the intermediary stage of a translation in a North-Western dialect.

Taking into account the inevitable variations in the manuscript tradition, we ourselves think that the authors of the texts in mixed Sanskrit and quasi-Sanskrit composed their works more or less in the form in which they have come down to us and that, if Prākritisms are more prominent in the verses than in the prose, this fact is due above all to reasons of a literary sort.

Through their technical vocabulary, turns of phrase and even certain grammatical forms, those texts are very close to the canonical production. In them we find passages, even entire pages, which have exact parallels in Pāli. This is because those authors, past masters in the Tripitaka, had memories bursting with the old canonical texts and because these texts returned ceaselessly to their lips. For those experts in teaching, the transposition into mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit of Prākrit was mere child’s play. However, the weight of tradition did not reduce them to the rôle of mere repeaters and they could, when required, add new to the old.

\(^{57}\) Hiān-lin Dschi, Die Verwendung des Aorists..., p. 295.

\(^{58}\) After Id., Die Umwandlung der Endung -am in -o und -u im Mittelindischen, NGAW, 1944, p. 141. — See also E. Waldschmidt, GGA, 1954, p. 99.
Linguists wonder about the origin of the Prakrit which the texts in hybrid language juxtapose with Sanskrit.

In his grammar of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, F. Edgerton pursued the practical aim of classifying the collection of hybrid forms encountered in some twenty works of mixed Sanskrit in the traditional frameworks of phonetics and morphology. This results in a disconcerting multiplicity, with regard to both phonetical changes and the use of noun and verb terminations. So the nominative masculine singular of stems in -a can assume the endings -o, -u, -ū, -a, -ā, -e or am, and, for stems in -i and -ī, there are up to twenty-five possible endings in direct cases. F. Edgerton's fine effort would gain if it were to be completed by a series of descriptive grammars based on each particular work.

For Hiān-lin Dschi, the Prakrit of the Mahāvastu betrays its Magadhan origin by at least five «eastern» features: the vocative masculine plurals in -āho (amātyāho), the particle yeva alongside eva, the first and second person of the optative singular in eham and -eha (tīṣṭheham, daheha) alongside -eyam and -eya, the occasional change from y to v (tāyo; -karāvo for -karāyo); the forms hoti and hosī of the verb to be. However, as Edgerton rightly remarked, these phenomena, which are found elsewhere besides in Māgadhī, in no way prove the eastern origin of Hybrid Prakrit.

More interesting is the point raised by Edgerton concerning formations which have no direct correspondent in Middle Indian: the locative singular of stems in -a in -esmin, -esmīn, or -esmi; the direct feminine case in -āvo (nouns in -ā), the verb endings of the third person plural in etsuḥ, -etsu, -ire and -ure; the absolutive in -i; verb forms such as sthiḥati (for tiṣṭhati), abhūṣi (for abhūt), gamśati (for Skt. gamiṣyati), etc.

From this state of affairs, Edgerton concludes: 1. that there is no reason to believe that the Prakrit chiefly underlying Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit was an eastern dialect; 2. that, as in the case of Pāli, there is no reason to question the essential dialectal unity of that same Prakrit.

In view of the composite and literary nature of the mixed Sanskrit used by the Buddhist writers, any attempt to determine its local origin would prove far too hypothetical. The handling of that language and more particularly the amount of Prakrit in relation to Sanskrit depended

59 F. EDGERTON, o.l., pp. 49-50 (for stems in -a); pp. 69-70 (for stems in -i).
60 HIĀN-LIN DSCHI, Die Verwendung des Aorists..., pp. 269-71.
61 F. EDGERTON, o.l., pp. 3-4.
63 Id., ibid., p. 11.
mainly on the personal taste of the authors, and geographical conditions had no significant effect.

Nevertheless, considering the success gained in Central India, especially at Mathurā, by the epigraphical Prākrit of a mixed nature, it was probably the Buddhists of Madhyadesa, rather than those of the Deccan or the North-West, who developed the literature in mixed Sanskrit.

**BUDDHIST SANSKRIT**64. — During the last centuries of the ancient era, the Buddhist literature used only Middle-Indian Prākrits: Māgadhī, North-Western Prākrit (Gāndhārī) and Pāli. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, these Prākrits were strongly rivalled by the use of mixed Sanskrit. Finally, from the beginning of the Gupta dynasty (fourth cent. A.D.), Buddhist Sanskrit, which was relatively correct, finally replaced the Prākrits and mixed Sanskrit. However, this final stage of evolution had been developing since the second century A.D., during the period of the great Kuśāṇas.

Here again, there is a close parallel between the history of the Buddhist language and that of epigraphical Sanskrit. In the first three centuries of the Christian era, when the Prākrits were holding their own in the South and mixed Sanskrit was triumphant in the North, a few Sanskrit inscriptions had already made their appearance. Most of them are documents concerning the construction of caityas and vihāras, gifts of land, development work; technically, they resemble legal documents. However, in the year 72 of the Śaka age (150 A.D.), on the famous rock of Junāgadh (Girnār, in Kāthiāwār), the rājan mahākṣatrapa Rudrādana had carved, in Sanskrit, a panegyric of himself (Lüders, 965), which by the amplitude of its phrasing, the length of its compounds and its figures of style attains the level of a -kāvyya, a literary composition of a learned nature.

The example given by the satrap of Ujjayinī was followed by the Gupta emperors, whose renown and merit were praised, in verse or in prose, by courtiers who hoped to rival in talent the greatest poets of the period, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. Among these most famous prāsasti we can mention the panegyric — in a single sentence of thirty-three lines — of Samudragupta by Harisena (Allahābād, ca 375-390: FLEET, No. 1, pp. 6-10); the panegyric of Kumāragupta by Vatsabhaṭṭi (Mandasor, ca 473-474: FLEET, No. 18, pp. 81-4); the panegyric of Yaśodharman by

64 Except for the hybrid language, we still lack a detailed grammar of Buddhist Sanskrit, but full information can be found in L. Renou, *Inde Classique*, I, p. 72; *Hist. de la langue sanskrite*, pp. 214-20. At a more general level, J. Filliozat, *Langues de relations et langues de culture dans l’Inde*, Travaux de l’Institut de Linguistique, I, Paris, 1956, pp. 135-54.
Vāsula (Mandasor, undated: Fleet, No. 33, pp. 146-7); finally, at a later date, the versified prāṣasti, in sixteen separate metres, of the Cālukyas and Pulakeśin II by Ravikirti (EI, VI, p. 4). These documents bear witness to the victory of Sanskrit in epigraphy, a victory which came more quickly and more readily than in literature.

The technical precision of Sanskrit, knowledge of which continued to spread among the various levels of the population, made it an ideal instrument for the propagation of doctrines and ideas. The time had passed when its use was reserved for a necessarily limited brahmanical élite. The reasons which had decided the Buddha to advise the use of local dialects were no longer valid. Henceforth, the Buddhists had no scruples about putting the word of the Master into Sanskrit.

Unfortunately, we do not know to whom this initiative should be attributed, nor where to situate it exactly in time and space.

Much is made of the tradition recorded above (p. 546-547), according to which the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit. This fact is true, but only at a certain date. Before finally adopting Sanskrit, the Sarvāstivādins may have turned to Prākrit. The same tradition attributes the use of Prākrit to the Mahāsāṃghikas. Nevertheless, even if they used mixed Sanskrit in their Mahāvastu, their Vinaya (T 1425) was in [pure] Sanskrit, as can be seen from some fragments discovered at Bāmyān. In time, all the sects on the sub-continent, and not only that of the Sarvāstivādins, yielded to the attraction of Sanskrit.

It was long believed that the compiling of the Sanskrit canon of writings and the Pāli canon occurred at the same time. J. Przyluski wrote: «The first canonical texts were written in the Magadhan dialect. When the Sthavira and Sarvāstivādin sects asserted themselves in the regions of Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, each of them drew upon a literary language which was a source of prestige and an instrument of propaganda. Thus, the Scriptures were eagerly translated, into Sanskrit at Mathurā, and into Pāli at Kauśāmbī». L. de La Vallée Poussin considered this opinion the most plausible: «At the time when the communities at Kauśāmbī-Sāñci-Mālava introduced the Pāli-language canon, the communities on the Yamunā and in the North-West, obeying the linguistic mode of those regions, put the old Magadhan tradition

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65 See in L. Renou, Anthologie sanskrite, Paris, 1947, pp. 383-90, a French translation of the panegyrics of Samudragupta and Pulakesin II.
66 Particularly Lin Li-Kouang, AM, pp. 197-201.
68 After J. Przyluski, La légende d'Asoka, p. 89.
into Sanskrit and enriched it with versions from Kauśāmbi-Sānci-Mālava; this work, begun well before the Christian era, was prolonged.  

We accept with those two authorities that, on the basis of texts in Māgadhi, the foundations of the Pāli canon were laid in the Mauryan period, although they belong to a stage linguistically more advanced than the Aśokan edicts (above, p. 567-568). Conversely, we do not consider as proven the assertion according to which the so-called Sarvāstivādin Sanskrit canon was more or less established at the same date, «well before the Christian era».  

Many Buddhist sūtras in Sanskrit have been found in Central Asia (see above, pp. 153-154), but the discovery of such manuscripts tells us nothing about the date the sūtras were put into Sanskrit. It is true that the Legend of Aśoka, partly reproduced in the Divyāvadāna, betrays links with Mathurā and glorifies its local hero Upagupta, Aśoka’s chaplain. However, the fact that the Divyāvadāna is in correct Sanskrit does not mean that Sanskrit was already employed in Mathurā during the Mauryan period and was applied generally to Buddhist texts.  

In fact, the first works in standard Sanskrit the date of which can be established with some degree of precision are those by Aśvaghōsa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Mātrceta whom tradition links with the reigns of the great Kuśāṇa emperors, from Kaniṣka to Vasudeva (ca 128-230 A.D.). The initiative for resorting to Sanskrit taken by these authors may very well have preceded in time the rendering into Sanskrit of the canonical writings of Buddhism.  

That transcription involved a great deal of work, and required concentrated and systematic effort. An undertaking of that type would necessarily leave traces in history.  

There is indeed a tradition, recorded in Kāśmir by Hsüan tsang, which informs us that, in the reign of Kaniṣka (ca 128-151), all the Buddhist writings were subjected to a general revision and given a learned commentary:  

A council convened in Kāśmir by Kaniṣka composed 100,000 stanzas of upadeśaśāstra in order to explain the Sūtrapitaka, 100,000 stanzas of vinaya-vibhāṣāśāstra in order to explain the Vinayapitaka and 100,000 stanzas of abhidharmaviṃśāsastra in order to explain the Abhidharmapitaka. In all, 300,000 stanzas, 9,600,000 words, were composed in order to explain the Tripitaka in full. Since the remotest of times, there has not been [a single text] «the branches and leaves» of which have not been investigated, the superficial  

69 After L. de La Vallée Poussin, Dynasties et histoire de l’Inde, p. 337.
and profound meaning of which has not been examined. The general meaning was again clarified, the smallest words explained. This publication was universally known and successors referred to it. King Kaniska ordered the texts of the sāstras to be engraved on copper plates; he enclosed and sealed them in stone caskets, built a stūpa and hid the caskets in the middle of it. He ordered Yakṣas to protect the site and not allow heretics to remove the sāstras from it; but those who wished to study them could do so on the spot (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 887a).

While not overestimating the value of this tradition, we may assume that the drawing up of the commentaries, of which our Vibhāṣā (T 1545-47) are examples, was accompanied by a general revision of the canonical texts and, since those commentaries were in Sanskrit, it is probable that the canonical texts were revised in the same language.

The works in Sanskrit are so numerous it would be impossible to list them all without overstepping the limits of this account. We will merely note a few of them:

1. The early Mahāyānasūtra. — In the section devoted to mixed Sanskrit (p. 575), we gave a list of works in which only the gāthās are in mixed Sanskrit, the prose being in generally correct Sanskrit. In the main these are Mahāyānasūtras some of which may date back to the first and second centuries of the Christian era. From the linguistic viewpoint, their composite nature represents the transition between hybrid Sanskrit on the one hand and correct Sanskrit on the other. The adherents of the Mahāyāna were opposed to traditional Buddhism because of an exaggerated mysticism, a different spiritual ideal (access to Buddhahood) and philosophically advanced positions (the dharma-rātmya) did not hesitate to overturn old practices in the field of discipline and the texts. Superimposing their Vaipulyasūtras on the old canonical sūtras, they were the first to turn to [pure] Sanskrit for their prose compositions. Even if they retained hybrid Sanskrit in the gāthās, this was doubtless for pedagogic reasons. These gāthās generally repeat in a condensed form the long explanations which precede them. It was easier to memorize them in a hybrid language, quite similar to dialects currently in use, than in [pure] Sanskrit which was subject to stricter phonetical and morphological demands.

Even in their prose sections, the early Mahāyānasūtras do not show the same degree of Sanskritization and this may vary from one recension to another within the same work.

Do these works which employ both hybrid and [pure] Sanskrit derive from an original work in a pure Prākrit dialect? This hypothesis has been upheld despite the extreme complications it would cause in the history of the texts. It is simpler and more natural to suppose that the
authors of the Mahāyānasūtras made us of a literary style which consisted of compiling the gāthās directly in hybrid and the prose in Sanskrit. The passages of canonical appearance with which their writings are sprinkled can be explained by scriptural reminiscences.

2. The Sanskrit canon. — The pages which we devoted to the formation of the canonical writings (pp. 140-191) showed that a Sanskrit canon existed in parallel with the Pāli canon. Both were derived from prototypes in a Magadhan dialect. The Sanskrit canon does not give the same impression of unity and homogeneity as its rival. The reason for this is that it was elaborated later and because, compared to the early texts, it included more recent output compiled after the establishment of the sects.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the Sarvāstivādins transposed, from Middle Indian to Sanskrit, the sūtra, prātimokṣa and karmaṇā, but that they themselves composed, directly in Sanskrit, their voluminous Vinaya and their Abhidharma books. We will deal here only with the transpositions, of which the characteristic features are as follows:

1. Sūtra fragments discovered in Central Asia which «while appearing to be in more or less correct Sanskrit, are the literal counterparts of the Pāli canon; the syntax agrees exactly with that of the Pāli version, the morphology gives the impression of having been sanskritized».

The exactitude of the Sanskrit translation goes so far as to adopt ready-made formulae word for word. E. Waldschmidt noted, in his edition of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (p. 517 sq.), a certain number of these «fixed idioms»:

«Then the Blessed One, having dressed at daybreak, carrying his bowl and robe, went with a group of monks to the dwelling of...; having entered it, he sat down on the seat which was assigned to him».

Pāli: 

atha kho bhagavaṁ pubbanhasamayaṁ niṁsamvatā paṭacīvaram ādāya saddhīṁ bhikkhusamghena yena... ten' upasamkami upasaṁka-mittā paññatte āsane niśidi.

Skt.: 

atha bhagavān pūrvāne nivasya pātraćīvaram ādāya bhikṣusamghaparive vō bhikṣusamghapuraskṛto yena... tenopajāgāma upetya pu-rastād bhikṣusamghasya prajñāpta evāsane nyāśadat.

Furthermore, Buddhist sūtras abound in stereotyped pericopes, explaining in an invariable form the main points of the doctrine of the Buddha. The Sanskrit text reproduces them faithfully. Here, from among thousands of other examples, is the wording of the «dependent origination»:

70 After L. RENOU, Hist. de la langue sanskrite, p. 207.
«From ignorance arise the formations; from the formations arises consciousness; from consciousness arise «name-and-form»; from name-and-form arise the six bases [of consciousness]; from the six bases arises contact; from contact arises feeling; from feeling arises thirst; from thirst arises grasping; from grasping arises existence; from existence arises birth; from birth arise old-age-and-death, sorrow-lamentation, suffering, grief and despair. This is the origination of the whole mass of suffering».

Pāli: avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā, saṅkhārapaccayā viññānam, viññānapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpapaccayā salāyatanam, salāyatanapaccayā phasso, phassapaccayā vedanā, vedanāpaccaya tanhā, tanhāpaccayā upādānam, upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhavapaccayā jāti, jātipaccayā jarāmaranaṃ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanti. evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa samudayo hoti.

North-Western Prākrit: avijapracagra sank'aram, sank'arapracagra viñana, viñanapracagra namaruva, namaruvapracagra șađrayadana, şadrayadanapracagra phasa, phasapracagra vedana, vedanapracagra taś'a, taś'apracagra uvdana, uvdanapracagra bhava, bhavapracagra jadi, jadipracagra jaramaranașograparidevadukkhadomanastāvagrasa. evam asa kevalassa dukhak’ Amanda sammudae bhavadi.

Sanskrit: avidyāpratayayāḥ samśkārah, samśkāraprathyayam viññānam, viññānaprathyayam nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpaprathyayam șadāyatanam, șadātanaprathyayāḥ sparsāh, sparsaprathyayā vedanā, vedanāprathyayā trṣṇā, trṣṇāprathyayam upādānam, upādānaprathyayo bhavo, bhavaprathyayā jātir, jātiprathyayā jarāmaranașokaparidevadukkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāh sambhavanti, evam asya kevalasya mahato duśkkhaskandhasyotpādo bhavati.

We will conclude this comparison with a verse from the Dharmapada (361): «Good is restraint of the body; good is that of speech; good is restraint of the mind, good is every kind of restraint; the monk who is restrained in every way is freed from all suffering».

Pāli: Kāyena saṃvaro sādhu, sādhu vācāya saṃvaro manasā saṃvaro sādhu, sādhu sabbattha saṃvaro sabbattha saṃvuto bhikkhu saddakkhā pamuccati.

North-Western Prākrit: Kaena saññamu sadhu, sadhu vayai saññamu manena saññamu sadhu, sadhu sarvatra saññamu sarvatra saññato bhikhu savadugatio jahi.

Mixed Sanskrit: Kāyena saṃvaro sādhu, manasā sādhu saṃvarah sarvatra saṃvīto bhikṣu sarvadukkhā pramucyte.
Sanskrit:

Kāyena saṃvaraḥ sādhu, sādhu vācā ca saṃvaraḥ
manasā saṃvaraḥ sādhu, sādhu sarvatra saṃvaraḥ
sarvatra samvṛto bhikṣuḥ sarvaduḥkhāt pramucyate.

2. Prākritisms are not completely eliminated from these transpositions into Sanskrit:

In the Sarvāstivādin Prātimokṣasūtra, Finot\(^{71}\) noted saṃanugāhyāmāna (= grāhyamāna), kāḍa (= kāla), vijñu (= vijña), kādiśāmo (= kālasyāma), adhīṣṭahet (= adhīṣṭhet), upalādayet (= upalālayet), and very frequently the nominative āyuśmaṇ in error for the vocative.

In the fragments of the Qoṭo manuscript, D 424, Waldschmidt\(^{72}\) points out as Prākritisms: sthāmaṇaḥ (= sthāmāṇa), purastima (= pūrva), suvaṇi (= suparṇi), putrebhiḥ (= putraḥ), šiṣyebhīḥ (= śiṣyaiḥ); occasionally, mahārājā for mahārājāḥ.

The Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa\(^{73}\) also retains forms such as poṣa (= puruṣa), doṣa (= dveṣa), mukuta (= makuṭa), āmantrayati for āmantrayate, futures formed on present stems: riṇciṣyaṃṭi (= rekṣyaṃṭe) and very many absolutes in -tvā in verbs with prefixes: praveṣayitvā, saṃdarśayitvā, etc.

There is no lack of strange forms. The Qoṭo manuscript has a marked tendency to unvoice voiced occlusives: koṣṭhākāra (= koṣṭhāgāra), saṃkrāma (= saṃgrāma), samutra (= saṃudra), motante (= modante). However, there are also examples of the reverse treatment: āmantrayati (= āmantrayati), vinipādaṃ (= vinipātam).

3. Negligence by scribes is responsible for quite a large number of faults or inaccuracies. Among the most frequent, we note 1. the tendency to generalize the anusvara even before gutturals and dentals: saṃgha, saṃnisannya; 2. the omission of the visarga; 3. faults against the sandhi; 4. negligence in the notation of long vowels; 5. the tendency to double consonants before r.

4. It is in these texts that the characteristic features of Buddhist Sanskrit in general are seen most clearly\(^{74}\):

a. A special vocabulary, incorporated with that of Pāli, and consisting

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\(^{72}\) E. Waldschmidt, Bruchstücke b. Sūtras, p. 5.

\(^{73}\) Id., Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, I, p. 7, n.1.

\(^{74}\) Features noted by L. Renou, Inde Classique, I, p. 72; Hist. de la langue sanskrite, p. 214.
of terms without any definite Sanskrit etymology (*tathāgata*), words taking on a new meaning (*rāṇa* «passion»), sometimes because of restrictions (*rddhi* «magic power») and sometimes because of expansions of the meaning (*dharma*, «law, doctrine, teaching, truth, thing»).

b. An impoverishment in means of expression, accompanied by slackness with regard to morphological and syntactical requirements (cf. *RENOU*, HLS, pp. 214-20).

c. An impoverished style, in which the sentence proceeds in small juxtaposed groups, and repetitive linking-up which make it akin to Pāli.

As time passed, the Sanskritization of the canonical texts became more and more perfect. In this respect, the collections of the Mūlaśarvāstivādins, particularly their *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* and *Vinaya*, large sections of which were among the discoveries at Gilgit, are far more advanced than the Sarvāstivādin compilations. Nevertheless, they too retain the indelible mark of the Prākrit prototypes on which they are based.

3. Extra-canonical literature in Sanskrit. — It is not only the fixing of Sanskrit that should be credited to the second century A.D.; the Kuśāṇa empire also marks the beginning of extra-canonical literature in Sanskrit, and this abounds in various styles.

a. The first chapters of the *Aśokāvadāna* were translated into Chinese by the Parthian Fa ch'iu in about the year 300 A.D., with the title of *A yū wang chuan* (T 2042). Part of this legend was repeated by Kumāralāta in his *Kalpanāṃanditikā* and by the compiler of the *Divyāvadāna*. On the other hand, the *Avadānaśataka* was translated into Chinese with the little of *Hsūn chi po yūan ching* (T 200), by Chih ch'ien, in the second quarter of the third century. These facts enable us to locate the beginnings of narrative literature in Sanskrit in the second century of the Christian era.

In both the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Divyāvadāna* the language of

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75 Concerning this term, see the bibliography in the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, I, p. 126, note; since then, J. *FILLIOZAT*, JA, 1952, p. 266.
76 Cf. J. *PRZYLUSKI*, *La légende d'Asoka*, pp. xi and 434.
79 Numerous corrections have been made to the old COWELL-NEIL edition of the *Divyāvadāna* (Cambridge, 1886) by J. S. *SPEYER*, WZKM, XVI, 1902, pp. 103 sq., 340 sq.; R. *WARE*, JAOS, XLVIII, 1928, p. 159 sq.; E. J. **THOMAS**, BSOAS, X, 1940, pp. 654-6; D. R. *SHACKLETON-BAILLY*, JRAS, 1950, pp. 166-84; 1951, pp. 82-102. Also see the studies concerning particular chapters: R. *WARE*, *Studies in the Divyāvadāna*; I. *Sukārikāvadāna*, JAOS, XLVIII, pp. 159-65; II. *Dānādhikāra*, JAOS, XLIX, pp. 40-51; III. *The Preamble to
the *avadāna* is «gauche and naive» (Renou) and certain collections, such as the *Vicitrakārnīkā* and the *Dvāvimśatāvadāna*, betray Middle Indian influences. On the one hand, the *Avadāna* are derived from the early canonical tradition and cite whole passages from the *Parinirvāṇasūtra* and other Sanskrit sūtras; on the other hand, they have freed themselves from stylistic practices imposed by the Prākrit prototypes and they initiate new formulae and new stock phrases which have no parallels in the post-canonical Pāli works, but which the Mahāyānasūtras occasionally repeat.

L. Feer and J.S. Speyer compiled a list of the stock phrases repeated again and again by the *Divya* and *Avadānāsataka*. Here, as an example, is the physical description of the Buddha repeated thirty-two times in the *Avadānāsataka*:

> Atha [N] bhagavantām dadarśa dvātrimśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣanañaiḥ samalaṅkṛtām aṣṭīyā cānuvyañjanair virājītagātram vyāmaprabhālaṅkṛtam sūryasahasrātirekaprabhaṃ jaṅgamam iva ratnaparvataṃ samantato bhadrakam.

«N. perceived the Lord adorned with the thirty-two marks of the great man, his body effulgent with the eighty minor marks, adorned with a fathom-wide brilliance, more resplendent than a thousand suns, like a mountain of jewels in motion, auspicious in every way».

b. Āśvaghoṣa, a brahmin from Śāketa and a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka (ca 128-151), was the founder and practically the only representative of lyrical epics of Buddhist inspiration. His *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* are on a level with the classical *mahākāvyya*. The scholastic parts remain faithful to the traditional vocabulary and phrasology; the narrative and descriptive parts abound in brilliant images, figures of style, complicated metres and learned grammatical forms. The author seems to have wanted to dazzle his less knowledgeable colleagues by fully deploying his brahmanical virtuosity. His search for effect and

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81. J.S. Speyer, ed. II, p. XVI sq.; ZDMG, LIII, 1899, p. 120 sq.; H. Oldenberg, ZDMG, LII, p. 672; NGGW, 1912, p. 168 sq.
his conciseness, taken almost to the point of unintelligibility, give the impression of a decadent art.\textsuperscript{84}

c. Slightly later than \textit{Aśvaghoṣa}, his disciple \textit{Mātrceṭa} specialized in Buddhist eulogies\textsuperscript{85}. This was a minor genre combining mysticism and scholasticism. The poetry, simpler than in the lyrical epic, is nonetheless not free from grammatical tricks.

In the same style is the \textit{Catuḥstava}\textsuperscript{86}, rightly or wrongly attributed to Nāgarjuna: this is a collection of four eulogies, only two of which are known to us in the original.

\textit{Mātrceṭa} and Nāgarjuna also practised the epistolary form, always in Sanskrit: the \textit{Mahārājakānikakalekha} addressed by \textit{Mātrceṭa} to Kaniṣka II (ca 270) and the \textit{Suḥrillekkha} sent by Nāgarjuna to King Jantaka, known as Śatavāhana, in South India.\textsuperscript{87} We only know these epistles through their Tibetan and Chinese translations. Teaching by letter, perhaps in imitation of foreign propagandists, did not meet with much success in India.

d. Also very early on, the theoreticians of Buddhism adopted Sanskrit as a scholarly language, and until the very end they were to remain faithful to that choice. Buddhist scholasticism is presented in a twofold form: that of the philosophical treatise in prose (sāstra) with a few quotations or summaries in verse, and that of the «memory verses» (kārika) summarizing, in concise sūtras, the material to be taught, sūtras which in principle required some explanation by commentaries (bhāṣya).

The Arhats of Kaśmir, who worked after Kaniṣka’s council, collaborated together in compiling the most complete encyclopedia of Hinayānist Buddhism, the \textit{Mahāvibhāṣā}. The work has been preserved only in Chinese (T 1545), but was, beyond a shadow of doubt, originally written in Sanskrit. It claims to be a commentary upon the \textit{Jñānaprasthāna} of


Kātyāyaniputra, a fundamental book in the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma-piṭaka. It is not impossible that the latter had already been composed in Sanskrit. If this were so, the origins of the «śāstra in Sanskrit» could date back even further than the second century.

The oldest memory verses are the Madhyamikakārikā by Nāgārjuna. They were accompanied by their author’s commentary, the Akutobhaya, which now exists only in a Tibetan version, but which can be replaced by the Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti (sixth cent.). We also possess part of the Catuḥśataka by Āryadeva, a disciple and emulator of Nāgārjuna. These two works, which explain the basic theories of the Mahāyānist school of the Sūnyavāda, are written in language of admirable clarity and concision. Rarely has a philosophical system found such a perfect instrument of expression.

It follows from all these facts that, at the time when Rudradāman was having the panegyric of himself carved on rock at Gīrnār, Sanskrit was becoming accepted on the Indian sub-continent as the paramount Buddhist language. All the disciples of Śākyamuni, whether they were narrators, poets, letter-writers or philosophers, resorted to it in order to glorify the person and thought of their Master.

This privilege, which Sanskrit was never to lose, was to become even more evident during the Gupta period, because of the talents of the Vasubandhus, the Āsaṅgas and their emulators.

2. — Progress in the Abhidharma*

We saw, in Chapter Two, the rôle played by the sects in the formation of the canonical writings or Tripiṭaka: codification of the Sūtras which constituted a common heritage for all the schools, development of the Vinaya and elaboration of the disciplinary collections to which remain

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Hesitation by J. Takakusu, On the Abhidharma Literature, JPTS. 1905, p. 84: “In what language, however, the original text (of the Jñānapraṣṭhāna) was composed we have no means of ascertaining. All we can say is that the text brought by Saṃghadeva and Dharmapiya from Kaśmira seems to have been a dialect akin to Pāli, whereas the text used by Hsuan-tsang, as in other cases, seems to have been in Sanskrit. But this supposition rests solely on the phonetic value of Chinese ideographs employed in these translations and is not corroborated by any other evidence”.

Nonetheless, the Kośavyakhya by Yaśomitra, who refers to the Jñānapraṣṭhāna eight times, quotes a long passage from it which is in Sanskrit (cf. Wogihara, ed., p. 52, lines 15-22). A Sanskrit recension of the Jñānapraṣṭhāna must certainly have existed.

Ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin; St. Petersburg 1903.

attached the names of the most famous of the sects. — Theravādins, Mahiśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins — and, finally, the publication of the Abhidharma books which explain systematically the teaching scattered throughout the sūtras. The Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins excelled in Abhidharmic compilations, and the schools which rejected the Abhidharma as apocryphal, such as the Sautrāntikas for example, were obliged to compose philosophical treatises which had in practice, if not officially, the value of Abhidharma books.

The disputations of the Kathāvatthu, of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinitadeva record approximately 500 theses summarizing the doctrinal and disciplinary positions of the eighteen Hinayānist sects. Here we will confine ourselves to extracting from this mass of information a few characteristic theses which show undeniable progress in the elaboration of the doctrine. All or nearly all of them are in conformity with the early teaching as it appears in the sūtras: they are explanations of doctrine and not deviations. Their contribution is to clarify the full details of the four noble truths propounded by the Master in his discourse at Vāraṇasī.

**Classification of Dharmas**. — In the terms of the first truth, all formations (samskāra) are transitory, painful and devoid of personality. The rule applies to all phenomena connected with the life and salvation of a person: the five aggregates (skandha), twelve bases of consciousness (āyatana) and eighteen elements (dhātu). However, to these ancient classifications proposed in the canonical writings, the schools added a new one embracing all the elements of existence (dharma) distributed into two groups: conditioned (samskrta) dharmas, i.e. those arising from causes and subject to becoming, and the unconditioned (asamskṛta) dharma or dharmas unaffected by the process of causality.

The Theravādins drew up a list of 82 dhammas: 81 sankhata, conditioned, and one asankhata, unconditioned.


92 See above, pp. 30-4.

93 List drawn up in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, tr. S. Z. Aung, *Compendium of

I. *Rūpa* includes everything material in the universe, in all 28 dharmas:

The four *dhātu*, primary elements: earth (*paṭhavi*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*) and wind (*vāyo*), whose characteristics are respectively solidity, liquidity, heat and movement.

24 derived phenomena, distributed in the following way:

1-5) Five physical sense organs (*indriya*) constituting the internal bases (*ajjhatika āyatana*) of consciousness: organs of the eye, ear, nose, tongue and body.

6-10) Five material sense objects (*visaya*) constituting the external bases of consciousness (*bāhira āyatana*): form or appearance, sound, odour, taste and the tangible.

11-12) Sexual characteristics: feminity and masculinity (*itthi-, purisa-indriya*).

13) *Hadayavatthu*, the heart, as the physical foundation of mental processes.

14-15) Corporal and vocal intimations (*viññatti*), in other words, gestures and words which manifest externally and materially the reasoned and voluntary actions from which they derive and with which they are associated.

16) Physical vitality (*rūpa-jīvita*).

17) Space (*ākāsa*) as the limit of physical bodies.

18-20) Three physical properties: lightness (*lahutā*), softness (*mu-dutā*) and workableness (*kammaññatā*).

21-23) The three characteristics of the *dhamma saṅkhata*: development (*upacaya*), continuity (*santati*) and old-age-and-impermanence (*jarā-aniccattā*), mentioned in the old suttas (*Aṅguttara*, I, p. 152) by the names of arising (*uppāda*), disappearing (*vaya*) and stability-change (*ṭhitasa anñathattam*).

24) Material nutriment (*āhāra*).

II. The 52 *cetasika*, psychical, mental factors derived from the thought (*citta* or *viññāna*) to which they are concomitant. They are classed in three categories:

1) 25 morally good (*kusala*) *cetasika*: faith (*saddhā*), etc.

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(2) 14 morally bad (akusala) cetasika : mental delusion (moha), etc.

(3) 13 morally indeterminate (avyākata) cetasika, the quality of which depends on the nature of the thought with which they are associated. The first seven, contact (phassa), etc., are common to all conscious action; the last six, reflection (vitakka), etc., are peculiar (pakinnaka) to special states of consciousness.

III. Citta is pure thought, consciousness or the state of consciousness; it is synonymous with manas, mind, and viññāna, consciousness.

In normal life, thought never appears alone, but in conjunction with other dhammas : material dhammas which serve it as organs and objects, mental dhammas or states of consciousness which immediately precede it. It is comparable to a river which flows continuously and the waters of which are ceaselessly renewed.

For Buddhists, the material dhammas and mental factors which collaborate with thought constitute so many autonomous and separate elements. The three characteristics of the conditioned dhamma accompany thought and determine its arising, duration and disappearance, but without becoming merged with it : these are external elements and not mere properties. The mental factors have this superiority over material dhammas in that they determine the karmic value of thought and mark its progress on the path of deliverance. The Theravādins differentiate 89 states in all in which consciousness can be found because of its association with mental and psychic factors. These states of consciousness, called cittāni, appear sometimes as good (kusala), sometimes as bad (akusala) through association with one of the three unwholesome roots, craving (lobha), hatred (dosa) or delusion (moha), finally, sometimes as morally indeterminate (avyākata) as mere results of action (vipāka) or as independent functions (kriyā). They embrace all levels of life from the World of Desire (kāmadhātu) and its five destinies to the four stages of the Buddhist path, passing through the World of Subtle Matter (rupadhātu) and the World of Formlessness (arupadhātu).

In this system, important though the action of physical dhammas and mental factors is, it is thought that is central and determines the process of re-becoming. Hence, the Theravādins endeavoured to specify its functions. They distinguished in consciousness 14 activities called viññānakicca:

95 Detailed list, ibid.
1. *Paṭisandhi*, consciousness at the moment of returning to existence. This does not pass from the previous existence to the present one, but comes into existence by virtue of conditions incurred in the past existence: actions, volitions, propensities, objects, etc. An echo reverberated by a mountain is not the cry made by the passerby, yet it would not occur if no cry had been made. In this process, there is neither identity nor difference: thought at the time of rebirth is not the same as thought at the time of death, but is derived from it. Similarly, butter is not milk, but without milk there would be no butter.

2. *Bhavaṅga*, the subliminal consciousness which immediately succeeds the *paṭisandhi* and reproduces its object as a result of voluntary action, performed in the preceding existence and memorized immediately before death.

3. *Āvajjana*, advertence. When a material object reaches the field of the senses, it acts upon the organs and provokes a reaction from the subconscious. Immediately the “mind” element (*manodhātu*) or “mental consciousness” element (*manoviññānadhātu*) emerges from the subconscious and notes the presence of an object.

4–8. *Dassana*, vision, etc. A visual, auditive, gustatory, olfactory or tactile sensation, resulting from a good or bad action, is experienced by the corresponding sense. Nonetheless, if there is seeing and hearing, there is still no consciousness of what is seen or heard.

9. *Sampaṭicchana*, reception. The object perceived by the senses is “received” by the “mind” element (*manodhātu*).

10. *Santirana*, investigation. The object received by the mind is “investigated” by the “mental consciousness” element (*manoviññānadhātu*).

11. *Votthapana*, determination. The object investigated is mechanically “determined” by the “mental consciousness” element.

12. *Javana*, swift perception. The object thus determined is correctly grasped or known by one or other state of consciousness.

13. *Tad-ārammanā*, identification. The known object is identified and registered. Once the operation is complete, consciousness is lost in the bhavaṅga or subconscious.

14. *Cuti*, the thought at the moment of death. It interrupts the stream of the subliminal (*bhavaṅgasota*), but conditions the appearance of consciousness of the return to existence (*paṭisandhi*).
The Sarvāstivādins have a list of dharmas somewhat similar to that of the Theravadins. It contains 72 *samskṛta* dharmas and 3 *asamskṛta*.

I. 11 *rūpa*, material dharmas, namely 5 *indriya*, organs, 5 *viśaya*, objects, and *avijñāpti*, non-intimation. This last term requires an explanation. Action is volition (*cetanā*), i.e. purely mental action. This volition can lead to a bodily action (gesture) or a vocal action (speech), which is an external and material manifestation of that volition: these are the *vijñāpti*, intimations. At the same time, the volition thus manifested leads to an invisible but material action derived from the great elements, which continues to exist and grow and in fact constitutes a state of moral responsibility: such is *avijñāpti*.

For example, murder can reside in the will to kill, manifested externally by a bodily *vijñāpti*, the gesture of killing. However, it is also obtained in the case of a man who orders an assassin to perform the homicidal gesture: at the moment when the assassinated person dies, an *avijñāpti* of murder arises in the instigator of the crime, even if at that moment he is distracted or unthinking; that invisible but real *avijñāpti* makes him guilty of murder.

II. A *citta*, thought, also called *manas*, mind, or *vijñāna*, consciousness. This is a state of pure consciousness, without any content.

III. 46 *caitta*, mental factors, or psychic concomitants to thought and co-operating with it. They are grouped in six classes:

1. 10 universal (*mahābhūmika*) *caitta* which accompany every thought whatever: feeling (*vedanā*), etc.
2. 10 *caitta* accompanying every good thought (*kusala-mahābhūmika*): faith (*sraddhā*), etc.
3. 6 *caitta* accompanying every impassioned thought (*kleśa-mahābhūmika*): delusion (*moha*), etc.
4. 2 *caitta* accompanying every bad thought (*akusala-mahābhūmika*): lack of respect (*āhnikya*), etc.
5. 10 *caitta* accompanying minor passion (*parīttakleśa-bhūmika*): anger (*krodha*), etc.
6. 8 undetermined (*aniyata*) *caitta*, which are sometimes associated with a good thought, sometimes with a bad or undetermined thought: remorse (*kaukṛtya*).

IV. 14 dharmas dissociated from thought (*cittaviprayuktasamskāra*) and which are neither material nor mental.

1. *prāpti*, possession, a power linking an acquired object with its owner.

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CLASSIFICATION OF DHARMAS

(2) aprāpti, dispossession, a power separating an acquired object from whoever owned it.

(3) sabhāgatā, or type, causing the resemblance of living beings.

(4-6) āsāṃjñika, āsāṃjñisamāpatti and nirodhasamāpatti or powers causing the cessation of thought and mental factors in the “Non-perceptive” gods and ascetics who have entered the attainment of non-perception or the attainment of cessation.

(7) jīvitendriya, vital organ, the support of heat and consciousness, and the cause of life.

(8-11) the four “characteristics of the conditioned dharma” (saṃskṛta-lakṣaṇa) : birth (jāti), old age (jarā), stability (sthiti) and impermanence (anityatā), by virtue of which conditioned dharmas are born, last for a brief instant, deteriorate and immediately disappear.

(12-14) nāma-, pada- and vyañjana-kāya, collections of words, phrases and phonemes which give rise to an idea, a judgement.

The pluralism of the Sarvāstivādins, which breaks up reality into separate elements, of infinitesimal duration, also finds room for an atomic theory differing from other similar Indian systems in that the atom is never presented as an eternal substance.

As a rule, the school distinguishes between three kinds of atoms:

1. the paramāṇu, subtle, indivisible atom, conceivable only by the mind;
2. the anu, atom in the proper sense, consisting of a minimum of seven paramāṇus, and cube-shaped;
3. the rajas, dust atom, formed of seven atoms in the proper sense and visible only to the eyes of a bodhisattva.

It should be noted that the rūpa-dharma do not consist of atoms, but conversely the atom, conceived as the smallest part of space, is made up of a certain number of rūpa-dharma which are themselves devoid of extension.

Sarvāstivādin realism was far from being shared by all the Buddhist schools. A Mahāsāṃghika sect, that of the Prajñaptivādins, asserted that conditioned dharmas are no more than denominations (prajñapti) or that the twelve bases of consciousness (āyatana) are not finished and complete realities, which comes to the same thing.

98 See Kośa, I, pp. 89-92; II, pp. 144-9; III, p. 213.
100 J. Masuda, Origin and Doctrines, p. 36; A. Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques, p. 85.
While not pushing nominalism to that extreme, the Sautrāntikas undertook a severe but constructive criticism of the Sarvāstivādin system. They denied the objective reality of bodily action and *avijñapti*\textsuperscript{101}. They admitted the existence of thought, but rejected the *caitta* wholly or partly\textsuperscript{102}. Finally, they considered the 14 dissociated dharmas (*viprayuktasamskāra*) as purely mental inventions. In particular, the birth, duration, old-age and impermanence of conditioned dharmas are not things in themselves, distinct from the dharma which arises and perishes, but mere modifications of the series which begins, is prolonged, modifies and perishes\textsuperscript{103}. For the Sautrāntikas, destruction is spontaneous (*ākasmika*): the dharma perishes incessantly by itself and re-arises incessantly by itself in normal conditions\textsuperscript{104}.

These divergences in viewpoint led the schools to formulate different opinions concerning the very nature of a dharma.

**the nature of the dharma.** — In every dharma the great Hinayānist schools saw a real entity (*dravya*), a self-nature (*svabhāva*) but transitory (*anitya*). A dharma is both cause and effect. At a time when it was not [existent], it arises in functional dependence on other dharmas and, after having carried out its activity, it is no more.

This general outlook, which was later to be disputed by the theoreticians of the Mahāyāna, is nevertheless open to numerous interpretations.

The Theravādins did not expatiate upon the transcendental nature of a dharma. They accepted the fact as it was presented to them, without attempting to seek further, or dispute the degree of its reality. In advance they conformed to the advice of Goethe: “Suche nichts hinter den Phänomenen; sie selbst sind die Lehre” [Do not seek beyond phenomena; you yourselves are the teaching]\textsuperscript{105}.

Every dharma carries out its activity in time, but with regard to this awkward problem, the Theravādins confined themselves to distinctions which earned them, among others, the epithet of Vibhajyavādins: “He is a Vibhajyavādin who asserts the existence of the present and part of the past, namely of the action which has not yielded its fruit; and the non-existence of the future and part of the past, namely, of the action which

\begin{footnotes}
\item[102] Kośa, II, p. 150, note.
\item[103] Kośa, II, pp. 226-38.
\item[104] Kośa, IV, pp. 5-8.
\item[105] Quotation by H. von Glasenapp, *Philosophie*, p. 327.
\end{footnotes}
has yielded its fruit”\textsuperscript{106}. In other words, the dharma is at the moment it acts or insofar as it has still to act.

In fact, and as the Buddha already noted (Aṅguttara, IV, p. 137; I, p. 10), the dharma does not last for long: “A river does not stop; there is no second (khana), minute (laya), hour (muhutta) when the river stops; likewise, the flux of thought...”. Sixteen moments of thought arise and perish while one material dharma lasts. No example can give an idea of the shortness of their time. Thus the Bhagavat said that he could see no dharma the “revolving” of which was as short (lahuparivatta) as that of a thought\textsuperscript{107}.

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The Sarvāstivādins “adherents of the existence of everything” were more realistic; they owe their name to that fact that they asserted the existence of everything, past, present and future\textsuperscript{108}. According to them, a dharma exists in the three time-periods, and they support their arguments with proof taken from texts and from reason.

1. The past and future exist because the Bhagavat said (Majjhima, III, p. 188) that the knowledgeable, holy Śrāvaka does not take past rūpa into consideration and does not delight in future rūpa.

2. The Buddha also said (Samyutta, II, p. 72) : “Consciousness arises because of two things : 1. the organ of sight (cakṣurindriya) and the visible (rūpa), 2. the mind (manas) and things (dharma)”. However, mental consciousness immediately follows visual perception. If the visible, perceived before by the organ of sight and therefore past, were no longer to exist, mental consciousness would not arise because of it.

3. If the object perceived, in the past, by the organ were no longer to

\textsuperscript{106} Kośa, V, p. 52. In fact, in their Kathāvatthu, I, 6-8 (pp. 115-55), the Theravādins disputed, against the Sarvāstivādins, the existence of the past and future; against the Kāśyapīyas, the existence of a certain past and a certain future (cf. A. Bareau, pp. 213-14); but the orthodox tradition claims that the Theravādins themselves, at the council of Pātaliputra, proclaimed they were Vibbajyavadins (above, p. 188). Nevertheless, the exact philosophical meaning of the epithet is not clear; cf. Kośa, V, pp. 23-4, note; L. de la Vallée Poussin, Études Asiatiques, I, Paris, 1925, p. 345, n.1.

\textsuperscript{107} L. de la Vallée Poussin, Notes sur le moment ou kṣaṇa des bouddhistes, RO, VIII, 1931, pp. 1-9.

exist at the moment of consciousness, the latter would not arise, since there is no consciousness without an object.

4. If the past does not exist, how can a good or bad action, in the future, yield its fruit? In fact, at the moment when the fruit is produced, the cause of maturation (vipākahetu) — i.e. the action — is past.

Hence the paradoxical position adopted by the Sarvāstivādins: As a unit (dravya) or as self-nature (svabhāva), a dharma always exists, but traverses the three time-periods.

The Sarvāstivādin scholars proposed four different explanations for this process of thought:

1. Dharmatrata defended the transformation of the mode (bhāva-nyatātva). When a dharma crosses from one time-period to another, its substance (dravya) is not altered, but its mode (bhāva) is changed. It abandons the future (anāgata) bhāva and acquires the present (pratyutpanna) bhāva when it moves from the future to the present; it abandons the present bhāva and acquires the past (atiśa) bhāva when it moves from the present to the past. However, its substance always remains the same. Thus a gold vase which is broken and transformed changes shape (ākṛti) but not colour; and milk changed into curd loses certain qualities (guna), taste, etc., but not its colour.

2. Ghoṣaka defended the difference in characteristics (lakṣāṇanāyatātva). When a dharma is past, it is endowed with a characteristic (lakṣaṇa) of the past, but it is not deprived of the characteristics of the present and future. When future, it is endowed with the characteristics of the future, but it is not deprived of the characteristics of the present and past. When present, it is endowed with the characteristic of the present without being deprived of those of the past and future. It is therefore of three time-periods... Just as a man attached to a woman is not detached with regard to other women.

3. Vasumitra, later supported by Vasabandhu, defended the difference in conditions (avasthānyathātva). A dharma traversing the time-periods, having assumed such-and-such a condition, becomes different through the difference in the condition, not through a difference in substance (dravya). Hence, a token is called one, ten or a hundred depending on whether it is placed in the ones, tens or hundreds.

4. Buddhadeva defended the process of reciprocal (anyonyathātva). A dharma traversing the time-periods assumes different names in relation, i.e. it is called past, future, present in relation to what precedes and

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109 Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 77, p. 396a sq.; Kośa, V, pp. 52-55.
what follows. Example: one and the same woman is both daughter and mother.

However if, by right, the self-nature of a dharma always exists, in fact the dharma is momentary (kṣanika). It lasts the time necessary for the four characteristics of the conditioned (samskṛtalakṣana) — birth, duration, old age, impermanence — to complete their activity. This time is so brief that no one is capable of understanding it. A rough example can give an idea of the measure of a kṣāṇa: 64 kṣañas pass in the time that a strong man can snap his fingers (acchaṭāmātra)\(^{110}\).

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The later Mahāsākas were the only ones to support the Sarvāstivādins in their thesis that everything exists\(^{111}\). Most of the sects protested at the existence of the three time-periods, and the Sautrāntikas subjected them to pitiless criticism.

They remarked in a famous stanza: "[According to you] the self-nature [of a dharma] always exists, but you do not want a being to be eternal or a being to be different from that self-nature; that is clearly acting in the manner of a lord, [without supplying any justification]"\(^{112}\). For us, said the Sautrāntikas, only the present exists; the past is what did exist (yad bhūtapūrvam); the future is what, the cause being given, will exist (yad bhaviṣyati); but past and future do not exist substantially (dravyatās) as does the present\(^{113}\).

Not satisfied with confining the dharma to the present alone, the Sautrāntikas reduced its duration to zero: its moment (kṣāṇa) is "the time in which the dharma in motion moves the distance of an atom"\(^{114}\); "there is no forward part or backward part, as the atom has no spatial parts". In fact, birth, duration, old-age and impermanence, given by the Buddha and accepted by the Sarvāstivādins as characteristics of the conditioned, are merely entities of reasoning, without any reality of their own. A dharma perishes spontaneously and immediately after having arisen\(^{115}\). A dharma-cause produces a dharma-effect, just as one arm of a balance rises when the other descends.

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\(^{110}\) Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 136, p. 701b 14; Nyāyānusāra, T 1562, ch. 32, p. 521c 13-14; Kośa, III, p. 178; Madh. vṛtī, p. 547; Divyā, p. 142; Mahāvyutpatti, 8226.

\(^{111}\) J. Masuda, p. 62; A. Bareau, p. 187.


\(^{113}\) Kośa, V, p. 58.

\(^{114}\) Kośa, III, p. 177.

\(^{115}\) Kośa, IV, p. 4.
It ensues that an entity is only an uninterrupted chain of juxtaposed instants (kṣaṇa). As such, the objects of the external world cannot be perceived directly since, being instantaneous, they have disappeared long before they can have been grasped. One only perceives what is already in the past.

Under such conditions, wondered the Sautrāntikas, what is the thing that cognizes (vijñāti) and to what should cognition (kasya vijñānam) be attributed? Cognition in respect of the object does nothing at all; quite simply, it “arises like the object”, in the same way as the fruit, although it does nothing, is said to correspond to the seed, reproduce the seed, because it emerges like it. Having already passed, the object is not perceived directly, but it leaves an image in the consciousness which reproduces it, and that reproduction causes belief in the present existence of something which already pertains to the past.

For the preceding Buddhists, consciousness was no more than pure cognition, without any content. The Sautrāntikas, in contrast, asserted that it is full of images (ākāra). This decisive step set Buddhist speculation on the path of idealism.

It can be seen how, simple though it may be in appearance, the first noble truth proclaiming the universality of suffering was able to supply Buddhists with ample material for reflection.

The second truth concerning the origin of suffering (above, pp. 33-40) poses even more awkward problems. It amounts to saying that transitory, painful and impersonal dharmas do not arise by chance, but according to the strict mechanism of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda). The twelve links of this causal chain condition one another and show how passion (kleśa) provokes action (karman) and how action calls for maturation (vipāka). It remains understood that maturation throughout existences operates outside any transmigrating entity and that the Ātman (substantial soul) is non-existent.

Scholars were to discuss at length the nature of the causality which rules the links of the causal chain as well as the process of transmigration without the intervention of a transmigrating entity.

The nature of causality. — The concept of causality is evoked on every page of the canonical writings and there is no lack of terms to express it: hetu, kāraṇa, niḍāna, sambhava, pratyaya, etc. Nevertheless, in the description of dependent origination, the phraseology remains

116 Kośa, I, p. 86.
117 Kośa, IX, pp. 280-1.
vague: "This being, that is; through the arising of this, that arises: namely, the formations are conditioned by ignorance, etc".\footnote{118}

The schools endeavoured to specify the nature of the manifold causes and conditions which intervene in the arising of phenomena, and rarely in the history of human thought has analysis been pushed so far. There is, however, no room to enter into details. It will have to suffice to note that, in their Patthana\footnote{119}, the Theravādins distinguished between up to 24 kinds of conditions (paccaya): condition of cause (hetu), of object (ārammaṇa), of predominance (adhipati), of priority (anantara), of contiguity (samanantara), etc. They accept that they do not exclude one another and that many of them are identical. According to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, they can be reduced to only four: object (ārammaṇa), decisive support (upanissaya), action (karma) and presence (atthi). Action, it is specified, consists of good or bad worldly volition (cetanā), manifested bodily, vocally or mentally as good or bad action. The condition called "of presence" is verified in every phenomenon the presence of which conditions the existence of other phenomena.

Even while acknowledging the synonymity of the words hetu and pratyaya, the Sarvāstivādins distinguished between them in their explanations\footnote{120}. They proposed six hetu: 1. kāranahetu, reason for being; 2. sahabhūhetu, mutual cause; 3. sabhāgahetu, homogenous cause; 4. samprayuktakahetu, associated cause; 5. sarvatragahetu, universal cause; 6. vipakahetu, cause of maturation; and counted four pratyayas: 1. hetupratyaya, condition as a cause; 2. samanantarapratyaya, as a contiguous and immediate antecedent; 3. ālambanapratyaya, as object; 4. adhipati, as predominant condition. The general principle is that all dhammas are causes with respect to all the conditioned dhammas, with the exception of themselves, because no dharma constitutes an obstacle to the arising of dhammas which are susceptible to arising\footnote{121}. Such a vast extension of the concept enables theoreticians to discover in all things innumerable implications by virtue of which they are both cause and fruit.

Anatman and the Series. — The Hinayāna is a system which is based on two fundamentals: the assertion of the existence of psychophysical phenomena (skandhavāda) and the denial of the existence of the

\footnote{118} Samyutta, II, pp. 28, 65.  
\footnote{120} For example, Kośa, II, p. 244 sq.  
\footnote{121} Kośa, II, p. 246.
self or individual (nairatmyavāda). The latter thesis is lucidly expressed in
the Canon\(^{122}\), but it rested with the schools to supply its proof.

The Theravadins in the Kathāvatthu and Milinda-panha, the Sarvāstivādins-Vaibhāṣikas in the Vijñānakāya and Vibhāṣā, the Sautrāntikas in
the Kośa\(^{123}\), did not lack arguments in order to establish that the
substantial and autonomous self (ātman), as conceived by the sectaries,
does not exist as such but is only the designation of the series of
aggregates (skandhasamitāna). They showed that the belief in a self, by
favouring the birth of the passions, prolongs existence indefinitely and
makes deliverance impossible. No proof establishes the existence of a
self independent of the aggregates, neither proof of authority (āgama),
nor proof of evidence (pratyakṣa), nor proof of induction (anumāna).

While the objects of the five sense-consciousnesses and mental con-
sciousness, i.e. matter and thought, are known through evidence, while
the five material organs, which are subtle matter, are known through
induction — even in the presence of a visible object, vision does not
occur if the organ is absent —, the self, independent of the aggregates,
equally avoids both evidence and induction. Like a pitcher or a garment,
an irregular assemblage, it does not exist as an entity (dravyatā), but
simply as a denomination (prajñaptitas).

However, although the self does not exist as such, the maturation of
action remains an indisputable tenet. To repeat the words of Buddhaghosa,
there is no agent, but action is a fact; no one suffers, but suffering — the
fruit of action — exists. If I am only an ever-renewed sequence, of
momentary phenomena, how could action concern me and, in particu-
lar, how could I undergo its maturation?

The sects resolved this serious problem within the framework of their
particular systems.

1. The Sarvāstivādins, as we saw above, were realists who believed in
the existence of the three time-periods and acknowledged the reality of
the 14 dharmas dissociated from matter and thought (cittaviprayuktasaṃskāra) and, among them, prāpti or “the possession of action”\(^{124}\).

Considered, voluntary, action necessarily incurs maturation, but that
maturation is not always immediate. The Divyāvadāna rightly comments:
“Actions do not perish, even after millions of cosmic periods. Encoun-
tering the complex of causes and conditions and the favourable time,

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\(^{122}\) Above, pp. 27-29.

\(^{123}\) Detailed references in the preliminary notes by L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN to Ch. IX of the Kośa, pp. 227-9.

\(^{124}\) Kośa, II, p. 179.
they fructify”125. At the moment when it is accomplished, the action “takes hold of” (pratigṛhnāti) or “projects” (ākṣipati) its fruit, but it is only when it is past that it “yields” (dādāti, prayacchati) that fruit126.

Action at the moment it is accomplished creates, in the psycho-physical series of the entity responsible, a “possession” (prāpti) of itself. This possession is a transitory dharma which perishes as soon as it has arisen, but engenders a possession similar to itself. We incur this possession at the moment when the action “projects” its fruit and we will continue to retain it, always being renewed, until the moment when the action “yields” its fruit. At that moment, the incessant generating of that possession is interrupted and we have then received its maturation. Thus, action yields its fruit to the benefit of whoever has accomplished it and retained possession of it.

2. The Sautrāntikas ridiculed the existence of the past which “would yield” its fruit and the preposterous role assigned to the prāpti, which are purely gratuitous inventions.

They did not admit that the fruit is engendered directly by past action — since the latter, after having been, no longer exists —, but indeed from a special state of the series (sattanaviśesa), a state which precedes action127. By series they meant the material and mental aggregates which succeed one another without interruption in a sequence, the original cause of which is action. At the moment an action is accomplished it transforms the series, and that transformation determines an evolution (parināma). The last moment of that evolution possesses special or culminating efficacy, the capacity to produce the fruit immediately: it is distinguished, in that connection, from other moments; it is therefore named viśesa, supreme moment of evolution.

It is therefore wrong to say, as did the Sarvāstivādins, that action projects its fruit when it is present and yields it when it is past. It is enough to say that present action transforms the series of aggregates; the series thus transformed evolves, and the ultimate end of that evolution consists in the maturation of action. Similarly, in nature, a fruit does not grow directly from the seed: it is at the end of a long evolution, which originates in the seed, but which pre-supposes as intermediaries the shoot, stem, leaf and, finally, the flower which brings the fruit into existence.

125 Divya, pp. 54, 131, 141, 191, 282, 311, 504, 582, 584; Pañjikā, p. 468; Madh. vṛtti, p. 324.
126 Kośa, II, p. 293; Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa, MCB, IV, 1936, p. 81 of the off-print.
127 Kośa, II, pp. 185, 272; V, p. 63; IX, p. 296; Karmasiddhi, p. 88.
One Sautrāntika category went so far as to admit the existence of a subtle thought (sūkṣma-citta), the fruit of maturation endowed with all the seeds (sarvabijaka) of the phenomenal world. By the very fact of maturation, it continues in a series, from the taking of existence until death, and after death passes (samkrāmati) to a new existence. It is thus prolonged in various aspects (ākāraviśeṣa) until Nirvāṇa, when it is definitively destroyed. This subtle thought of the Sautrāntikas is close to the "store-consciousness" (ālayavijñāna) as it was later to be conceived by the idealist scholars of the Mahāyāna. There is however more difference namely that the Sautrāntikas still believe in the reality of an external object, while the Vijñānavādin only accepts the existence of thought alone.

3. Such as it was conceived by the Sarvāstivādins and Sautrāntikas, the theory of the series (saṃtāna) left the old Buddhist principle of Anātman intact. We may wonder whether the latter was not gravely threatened by the doctrine of the "indefinable individual" (avaktavya pudgala) of which the Vātsiputtīya-Sammatiyas were the protagonists. This school met with great success from the fourth to the seventh centuries of the Christian era and its adherents were in the majority when Hsūan tsang visited India.

It accepted a Pudgala, i.e., an individual, a person, while acknowledging that it is neither identical to the aggregates (skandha) nor different from them. It is not identical to the aggregates, for it would be susceptible to annihilation (uccheda); but it is not other than the aggregates, for it would be eternal (sāsvata) and therefore unconditioned (asamskrta). It reacts to the aggregates as fire does to kindling: fire is not identical to the kindling, since the "kindled" would be the same as the kindler; it is not different from the kindling, since the kindling would not be hot.

128 Karmasiddhi, pp. 100-3.

129 J. Masuda, p. 53; A. Bareau, p. 115. — The Pudgala theory is described in the Saṃmītyānākāyasāstra, T 1649; it is explained and refuted in the Kathāvatthu, I, 1 (pp. 1-69); Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 9, p. 42c; ch. 11, p. 55a; Kośa, IX, p. 232; Satyasiddhīsāstra, T 1646, ch. 3, p. 259a; Upadesa, T 1509, ch. 1, p. 61a; Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā, T 1521, ch. 9, p. 69b; Mahāyānasamgrahabhāṣya, T 1595, ch. 2, p. 160c; Siddhi, pp. 14-16.

130 One of their scholars was perhaps the Arhat or Bhikṣu Gopa who composed a Sheng chiao yao shih lun. Treatise on the essential truths of the Holy Doctrine, in which he taught the existence of the Ātman. Hsūan tsang, who places him in Viśoka, makes him a contemporary and rival of Devasarman, the author of the Vijñānakāyapāda of the Sarvāstivādins (T 2053, ch. 3, p. 234c 7-8; T 2087, ch. 5, p. 898c 16-17).

131 Kośa, IX, p. 234.
Among the arguments invoked as authoritative by the school is the Sutta of the Bearer of the Burden (Samyutta, III, p. 25), in which the Buddha explains that the burden consists of the five aggregates, and the bearer of the burden, such-and-such a person (pudgala) with such-and-such a name and from such-and-such a clan.\(^{132}\)

For the Vātsiputriya-Saṃmatīyas, that person is the only dharma to pass on (samkrāmati) from this world into the other, and it does indeed seem that it is to them that can be attributed the curious theory of “non-perishing” (avipraṇāsa) intended to explain the mechanism of maturation.\(^{133}\) A good or bad action perishes as soon as it arises, but not until it has deposited in its agent a “non-perishing” of itself, comparable to the acknowledgement of a debt and a true right to the fruit. This avipraṇāsa is a dharma dissociated from thought; neutral from the moral point of view, it can affect equally the offender and the holy one. It continues to exist as long as it has not yielded its fruit in one of the four worlds: kāma-, rūpa- ārūpya- or anāsrava-dhātu. It no longer acts when it has yielded its fruit or when one avoids its fruit by reaching a world higher than that in which it would normally have fructified.

All the Buddhist schools joined forces against the indefinable Pudgala of the Vātsiputriya-Saṃmatīyas, in which they suspected a rehabilitation of the Ātman of the heretics and ‘which they considered to be blemished with the belief in individuality (satkāyadrśṭi) condemned by the Buddha. There are two possibilities: either the Pudgala exists as an entity (dravyatas) and is eternal and unconditioned — which is a non-Buddhist doctrine —, or it exists as a denomination (prajñaptitas) and then all Buddhists are in agreement.

**The Asamkrśta and Nirvāṇa.**\(^{134}\) — The third noble truth asserts the cessation of suffering, i.e. Nirvāṇa. In contrast to the phenomena of existence, dharmas of becoming conditioned (samskṛta) by the process of cause and fruit, Nirvāṇa is unconditioned (asamskṛta), an Absolute, not arising from any cause.

The Theravādins accepted only one asamskṛta, Nirvāṇa; the Sarvāstī-
vādins recognized three:\textsuperscript{135} 1. space (ākāśa) which does not hinder matter and is not disturbed by it; 2-3. two kinds of Nirvāṇa: the cessation of suffering due to discriminating wisdom (pratīsāṃskṛtyānirodha) consisting of the comprehension of the truths and separation from impure dharmas; the cessation of suffering not due to discriminating wisdom (apratisāṃskṛtyānirodha) consisting of the absolute stopping of the arising of future dharmas.

Certain schools, such as that of the Mahāsāṃghikas\textsuperscript{136}, multiplied the asamskṛta: not only space and the two kinds of Nirvāṇa were unconditioned, but also the formless spheres and even dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda): to which one can reply, with the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, that, if each of the twelve links (aṅga) of that origination is conditioned, it is difficult to see how the whole could be unconditioned.

The Sautrāntikas denied the real existence of unconditioned things, including Nirvāṇa\textsuperscript{137}. They accepted, however, the end of suffering — without which they would not have been Buddhists —, but refused to consider that pure absence as an entity.

On the nature of Nirvāṇa, the Absolute situated beyond experience, opinions vary.

1. It is possible, as L. de La Vallée Poussin claimed, that according to the ancient concept held by the Buddha and his disciples, Nirvāṇa was understood to be an immovable abode, conceived in the manner of the mystical worlds of the Yogins\textsuperscript{138}. The latest research by M. Eliade is in favour of this interpretation.

2. The Nirvāṇa of the Sarvāstivādins is an entity (dravya), the only one worthy of that name — "everything is false, except Nirvāṇa" —, the unborn, release. Nonetheless, whatever is "nirvānized" does not exist\textsuperscript{139}. This last proposition is in keeping with Buddhist logic. If rebirth takes place without the intervention of an individual, of a person, Nirvāṇa, which marks its end, cannot in any way be the abode of the "nirvānized".

The holy one whose defilements are all destroyed (kṣīṇāsrrava) possesses "Nirvāṇa with residual conditioning" (sopadhiśeṣa): he is freed from

\textsuperscript{135} Kośa, I, pp. 7-8.
\textsuperscript{136} J. Masuda, p. 29; A. Bareau, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{137} Kośa, II, pp. 278-9.
\textsuperscript{138} L. de La Vallée Poussin, Une dernière note sur le Nirvāṇa, Mel. Linossier, II, pp. 329-54.
the conditioning of passion (kleśopadhi), but still retains that of the body received at birth (janmakāyopadhi). He continues to live as long as the series of the great elements and form is not severed, as long as the series of thoughts based on the five organs continues 140.

After the decease of the holy one, as life has been destroyed, and as the psycho-physical series has been severed never to occur again, there is a complete destruction of the fetters: this is what is called Nirvāṇa “without residual conditioning” (nirupadhiśeṣa).

3. The Sautrāntika, as we have just seen, asserts that the threefold unconditioned is not real: space is only the absence of a resisting body, Nirvāṇa is, after the destruction of the passions and the dharmas of existence, the absence of their renewal. Nirvāṇa is the conclusion, negative and unreal, of dependent origination which was positive and real; it is a paścādabhāva, non-existence succeeding existence, a nirodha, cessation and nothing more 141.

If he were to be told: “The Buddha taught an Unborn, a Nirvāṇadhātu, and your Nirvāṇa is only an absence”, he could reply, as did a commentator on Āryadeva: “The Sūtra says that there is a Nirvāṇa-dhātu, but that is in order to reprove people who deny Nirvāṇa; people who think that Sāṁsāra, which had no beginning, will have no end. There is in fact a complete cessation of the fire of the passions and of suffering” 142.

4. The Vātsīputrīya-Saṃmatīyas who considered the Pudgala as a real entity (dravya), although indefinable in its relationship with the aggregates, remained consistent with themselves by extolling a kind of Nirvāṇa-existence in which the “nirvāṇized” dwells in some way. Here again, they were prudent in formulating their thesis in order not to provoke too strong a reaction. “It cannot be said”, they asserted, “that Nirvāṇa is identical to all things (dharma), nor that it is truly differentiated from them. It cannot be said that it truly exists nor that it truly does not exist” 143.

MĀRGĀ. — The object of the fourth noble truth is the path leading to the cessation of suffering, i.e., the path of Nirvāṇa. It consists of eight branches (āṣṭāṅgika) or eight “tracks”, which obviously should not be trodden successively, but simultaneously, and which in the end converge on right view (samyagdṛṣṭi). The latter, starting from the most slender

140 Kośa, VI, p. 211, note.
141 Kośa, II, pp. 282, 284.
142 L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSEIN, Madhyamaka, MCB, II, 1932, p. 28.
143 M. WALLESER, Sekten, p. 87; A. BAREAU, p. 117.
germ of faith and knowledge, gradually increases until it reaches the highest stage of Enlightenment and direct insight (vīpāśyānā) : it is therefore the indispensable condition for acquiring the fruits of the path and attaining Nirvāṇa.

The Buddha and the early canonical texts analyzed the path in its three essential and inseparable elements : morality (śīla), concentration (saṃādhi) and wisdom (prajñā). They also defined the four great fruits of the religious life which free the srotāpanna from all delusion concerning the nature of things, in particular the nature of the self; the sakṛdāgāmin, from the first six categories of fetters pertaining to the world of desire (kāmadhātu); the anāgāmin, from all fetters pertaining to that same world; and, finally, the arhat, from all fetters pertaining to the two higher worlds.

However, it lies with the Buddhist schools to elucidate for us the various stages of the supramundane (lokottara) path, which does not lead to the possession of a world or paradise of any kind, but causes one to pass beyond the worlds to the other shore of the ocean of existences, namely Nirvāṇa.

Each sect had its own particular concepts concerning the path, but here we cannot enter into the details of their discussions. We will merely give a brief description of the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika system which seems to be, if not the clearest, at least the best constructed.

The path is conceived as both an intellectual discipline (meditation on the truths) and a moral and spiritual discipline (disgust, detachment from the passions). Its main factors are perfect mental quietude (saṃmatha) and transcendental insight (vīpāśyānā). It is basically characterized by concentration (saṃādhi) on the four noble truths (āryasatya) in their sixteen aspects (sodadasākāra):

1. The four aspects concerning suffering (duḥkha) : a. impermanent (anitya), b. painful (duḥkha), c. empty (śūnya), d. selfless (anātmaka).
2. The four aspects concerning the origin (saṃudaya) of suffering : a. cause (hetu), b. origin (saṃudaya), c. product, (prabhava), d. combined condition (pratyaya).

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144 See above, pp. 42-47.
145 Two descriptions of remarkable clarity can be found in L. de la Vallée Poussin, Note sommaire sur le Chemin, Foreword to Kośa, V; E. Obermiller, The Path of the Śrāvaka, in The Doctrine of Prajñā-Pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālamkāra of Maitreya, Acta Orientalia, XI, 1932, pp. 18-26.
146 This list, which is not canonical, nevertheless has its own place in the School : Saṃyuktābhidharma of Dharmatāra, T 1552, ch. 6, p. 918a-b; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 79, p. 408c; Kośa, VI, p. 163; VII, pp. 30-4; Mahāvyutpatti, 1190-1205.
3. The four aspects concerning the cessation (*nirodha*) of suffering:
a. cessation (*nirodha*), b. calm (*sānta*), c. excellent (*prāṇīta*), d. salvation (*niḥsaraṇa*).

4. The four aspects concerning the path (*mārga*):
a. path (*mārga*), b. correct method (*nyāya*), c. progress (*pratīpad*), d. definitive release (*nairīyānika*).

In order to obtain perfect understanding of these truths and simultaneously the eradication of all the passions, the candidate or, according to the traditional expression, the Śrāvaka (Auditor, disciple) must traverse five stages. During the first two, he remains a worldling (*prthagjana*); as from the third, he is already a holy one (*ārya*).

I. Path of the accumulation of merits (*sambhāramārga*).

By nurturing in himself disgust for existence and an aspiration for Nirvāṇa, the Śrāvaka plants the wholesome roots leading to deliverance" (*mokṣabhāgiya kuśalamūla*).

Proceeding as a monk or at least an upāsaka, he combats desire within himself by practising the moral qualities which place him in the lineage of the holy ones (*āryavamśa*) i.e. being satisfied with (little) clothing (*cīvara*), alms-food (*pindaśāta*), seating (*śayanāsana*) and delighting in Nirvāṇa and the path which leads to it.

Meditation on the repulsive (*aśubhābhāvanā*) — the contemplation of a decomposing body — and control of the breath (*ānapānasmrīti*) enable him to fight efficiently against desire and distraction and prepare him for meditation.

This meditation consists of four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), the objects of which are respectively the body (*kāya*), feeling (*vedanā*), the mind (*citta*) and dharma. These practices consist of wisdom (*prajñā*) derived from listening (*śruti*), reflection (*cintā*) and contemplation (*bhāvanā*), which enables one to see things according to their particular and general features (*svasaṃānyalaksana*): "All dharms are impermanent (*anītya*), painful (*duḥkha*), empty (*śūnya*) and selfless (*anātmaka*)". However, this knowledge is impure and imperfect, because it is not absolutely free of all passion (*kleṣa*) and all delusion (*viparyāsa*)

II. Path of practice (*prayogamārga*).

While the ascetic is plunged into meditation — pre-ecstatic (*anāgamya*), inter-ecstatic (*dhyānāntara*) or ecstatic (*dhyāna*) —, he acquires,

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147 Dīgha, III, p. 224; Aṅguttara, II, p. 27; Kośa, VI, pp. 146-8.
after the dharma-smṛtyupasthāna described above, the four “wholesome roots contributing to penetration” (nirvedhahāgiya kuśalamūla) : heat (usmagata), heads (mūrdhan), patience (kṣānti) and supreme worldly dharmas (laukhikāgradharma)\(^1\). These are smṛtyupasthāna of a higher quality whose object is no longer the general marks of dharmas, but the four noble truths and their sixteen aspects. The latter appear even more clearly to the ascetic, but the knowledge of them, even at the summit of the supreme worldly dharmas, remains impure.

III. Path of vision (darśanamārga).

This stage, which marks the beginning of the path proper, is characterized by the vision (darśana) of the noble truths in their sixteen aspects and by the abandoning (prahāṇa) of a category of passions (kleśa)\(^2\).

This vision is direct comprehension (abhisamaya) and undefiled wisdom (anāsravā prayāṇa), because it is free from all delusion (viparyāsa), especially the false view of individuality (saṅkhyāpradṛṣṭi), and consists of the elimination of the passions which oppose the vision of the truths, and as such, can only be abandoned by [correct] vision (darśanaheya).

Direct comprehension is gradual (anupūrva abhisamaya) because it develops in sixteen thought-moments: four for each of the four truths. The truths in fact apply to the lower world of desire (kāmadhātu) and to two higher worlds called that of subtle matter (rupa dhiitū) and that of formlessness (āruppyadhātu).

We will begin with the first truth, that of suffering (duḥkha), which concerns first the world of desire and then the two higher worlds. The comprehension which applies to it consists of four moments or four thoughts\(^3\):

1. Patience with regard to knowledge about suffering (duḥkhe dharma-majñānakṣānti), affecting the Kāmadhātu. This patience (kṣānti) is an acquiescence, not yet exempt from doubt or passion, but eliminating precisely that doubt and that passion. The ascetic reflects: “Doubtless in the Kāmadhātu, all dharmas are impermanent, painful, empty and selfless”. This patience eliminates a certain doubt, a certain category of passions; that is why it constitutes a path of abandonment (prahāṇamārga), also known as uninterrupted path (ānantaryamārga). Through that abandonment, the Śrāvaka stops being a wordling (prthagjana) and

\(^1\) The expression nibbedhahāgiya is canonical (Dīgha, III, pp. 251, 277; Aṅguttara, III, p. 427), but the list of the four kuśalamūla is not. It is found in Divyāvadāna, pp. 50, 79-80; Jñānaprasthāna, ed. Sastri, pp. 6-7; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, ch. 6, p. 29c; Kośa, VI, p. 169; Pañjikā, p. 426; Sūrālāṃkāra, p. 93; Mahāvyutpatti, 1211-15.

\(^2\) Kośa, VI, p. 185.

\(^3\) Kośa, VI, pp. 189-91.
is transformed into a holy one (ārya), anchored in the certainty that one day he will acquire the absolute good (samyaktvaniyāmāvakrānti), i.e. Nirvāṇā.

2. Knowledge in respect of suffering (duḥkhe dharmajnāna), affecting the Kāmadhātu. When ksānti has eliminated every element of doubt in the ascetic concerning the suffering of the Kāmadhātu and has thus discarded the category of passions relating to that Kāmadhātu, the ascetic takes possession of the disconnection from that doubt and passion through a knowledge (dharmajnāna) which is firm (niṣcita) and free from doubt: "Certainly, in the Kāmadhātu, all dharmas are impermanent...". This knowledge delivered from the passion in question, is named the path of deliverance (vimuktimārga).

3 and 4. Afterwards, the ascetic comprehends the truth of suffering, this time concerning the two higher worlds of the Rūpa- and Ārūpyadhatuś with two further thought-moments, one of ksānti, the other of jñāna, both of which are known as subsequent (anvaya) because they succeed the previous two. They are called: 1. subsequent patience over suffering [pertaining to the higher worlds] (duḥkhe 'nvayajñanaksāntiḥ), 2. subsequent knowledge of suffering [pertaining to the higher worlds] (duḥkhe 'nvayajñāna).

The sixteen thought-moments of the gradual comprehension can therefore be classed in the following way:

I. Duḥkhe

1. dharmajnānakṣānti
2. dharmajnāna
3. anvayajñanaksānti
4. anvayajñāna

Kāma
Rūpa and Ārūpya

II. Samudaye

1. dharmajnānakṣānti
2. dharmajnāna
3. anvayajñanaksānti
4. anvayajñāna

Kāma
Rūpa and Ārūpya

III. Nirodhe

1. dharmajnānakṣānti
2. dharmajnāna
3. anvayajñanaksānti
4. anvayajñāna

Kāma
Rūpa and Ārūpya

IV. Mārge

1. dharmajnānakṣānti
2. dharmajnāna
3. anvayajñanaksānti
4. anvayajñāna

Kāma
Rūpa and Ārūpya

Therefore, in all there are eight thought-moments of ksānti and eight thought-moments of jñāna. Among the latter, four dharmajnāna are
connected with the Kāmadhātu and four thought-moments of anvayajñāna concern the two higher worlds.

The sixteenth thought-moment, marge 'nvayajñāna, is no longer a part of the path of vision (darsanamārga), but initiates the path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga)\textsuperscript{153}. In fact, from that instant the ascetic possesses the destruction of all the passions to be abandoned through vision (darsanaheya). He then acquires the first fruit of the religious life (śrāmyaphala), that of the Srotāpanna, from which he cannot regress (at least according to the Sarvāstivādin theory). His deliverance is assured and will be rapid, since he will attain Nirvāṇa after seven rebirths at the most.

IV. The path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga).

The path of the vision of the truths destroys only those passions "to be abandoned by vision" (darsanaheya) which opposed the vision of the truths. These are thirty-two impassioned tendencies (anuśaya), the main one being the false view of individuality (satkāyadrsti)\textsuperscript{154}. However, the path of vision leaves intact the countless natural passions, craving (rāga), hatred (dveśa), etc., the object of which, unlike the "Self", can be real. Pleasant feeling, the object of greed, is real.

These passions, which can be qualified as "innate" (sahaja kleśa) are "to be destroyed by meditation" (bhāvanāheya)\textsuperscript{155}. Hence the necessity for the path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga) defined as repeated confrontation (punah punar āmukhiṣkaraṇa) and prolonged effort (abhyāsa) in respect of the Buddhist truths.

The innate passions are dispersed throughout the nine spheres of the triple world (1. Kāmadhātu, 2-5. Four dhyāna of the Rūpadhātu, 6-9. Four āyatana of the Ārūpyadhātu), and in each of those spheres appear under nine different modalities (strong-strong, strong-middling, strong-weak; middling-strong, middling-middling, middling-weak; weak-strong, weak-middling, weak-weak)\textsuperscript{156}. Thus there are 81 categories of passions each to be destroyed by a thought-moment of abandonment or expulsion (prahāṇa- or ānantaryamārga) and by one thought-moment of deliverance (vimuktimārga) by means of which the ascetic takes possession of the abandonment of passion. Those 162 thought-moments constitute the path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga).

At the 12th moment of meditation, the ascetic is freed from the sixth

\textsuperscript{153} Kośa, VI, pp. 191-2.
\textsuperscript{154} Kośa, V, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{155} Kośa, VI, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{156} Kośa, VI, pp. 198-9.
category of passion (middling-weak) of the Kāmadr̥tu. He then obtains
the second fruit of the path and becomes a Sakṛdāgāmin, i.e., he will be
reborn only once in the Kāmadr̥tu\textsuperscript{157}.

At the 18th moment of meditation, the ascetic is freed from the ninth
and last category of passion (weak-weak) of the Kāmadr̥tu. He thus
obtains the third fruit of the path and becomes an Anāgāmin, assured of
not being reborn again in the Kāmadr̥tu, but only among the gods of
the two higher worlds\textsuperscript{158}.

At the 161st moment of meditation, the ascetic abandons the 81st
passion which is at the same time the ninth and last passion of the
fourth and last sphere of the Ārūpya, known as \textit{Naivasamjñānasamjñāyatana}, “Sphere of neither perception nor non-perception”, or
again \textit{Bhavāgra} “Summit of existence”. This abandonment bears the
name of \textit{Vajropamasamādhī} “diamond-like concentration”\textsuperscript{159}. This aban-
donment is immediately followed by a 162nd moment which is:

V. The path of the Āsāikṣa (\textit{aśaikṣamārga}) or Arhat.

The Vajropamasamādhī is followed by a moment of deliverance by
means of which the ascetic takes possession of the destruction of the last
passion and, through that very deed, of all the passions (\textit{kleśa}) and
defilements (\textit{āsrava}). He is henceforth an Arhat, “holy one worthy of the
respect of all”, or an Āsāikṣa, “holy one who no longer has to train
(\textit{sikṣ}-) with a view to the destruction of the defilements”\textsuperscript{160}. He
possesses the knowledge of the destruction (\textit{kṣayajñāna}) of the defile-
ments\textsuperscript{161} and, when he is unshakable (\textit{akopya}) — which, according to
the Sarvāstivādins, is not always the case —, the knowledge of the non-
arising (\textit{anutpadajñāna}) of the defilements\textsuperscript{162}. To put it more simply, he
knows that all the defilements are destroyed in himself and will never
recur.

The path described here is the undefiled (\textit{anāsrava}) or supramundane
(\textit{lokottara}) path in which the path of meditation (\textit{bhāvanā}) follows that
of the vision of the truths (\textit{darśana}). However, this undefiled and
supramundane path can be combined with a defiled (\textit{sāsrava, samala})
and worldly (\textit{laukika}) path.

In fact, while the passions to be abandoned by vision (\textit{darśanaheya
kleśa}), belief in individuality, etc., can be cut off only by direct compre-

\textsuperscript{157} Kośa, VI, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{158} Kośa, VI, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{159} Kośa, VI, pp. 227-9.
\textsuperscript{160} Kośa, VI, p. 230.
\textsuperscript{161} Kośa, VI, p. 230.
\textsuperscript{162} Kośa, VI, p. 240.
hension (abhisamaya) of the truths, the passions to be abandoned by meditation (bhāvanāheya klesa) — with the exception of the nine categories of passions of the Naivasaṃjñāyatana or Bhavāgra\textsuperscript{163} — are likely to cut off by a defiled or worldly meditation (laukikā bhāvanā) preceding the comprehension of the truths. In fact, every ascetic, even if he is not a Buddhist, can, by means of simple natural disgust, become detached from the coarse pleasures of the World of Desire and even from the subtle pleasures of the two higher worlds, with the exception of the Bhavāgra.

This was particularly the case for the Buddha Śākyamuni. When he sat under the Tree of Enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya, he was only a worldling (prthajana), but a worldling who, through purely mundane meditation, had already become detached from all the innate passions pertaining to the three worlds, with the exception of the nine categories of passions of the Bhavāgra.

From there, in order to reach Enlightenment, Śākyamuni had to devote himself to two endeavours. The first consisted of passing through, in sixteen thought-moments, the path of the pure vision of the truths (satyadarśana) which freed him from the passions to be abandoned by vision (darśanaheya). The second had the effect of freeing him from the nine categories of innate (sahaja) passions connected with the Bhavāgra: he obtained that result by applying to each of them a thought of abandonment (prahānamārga) and a thought of deliverance (vimuktimārga), i.e. eighteen thoughts.

Sixteen thoughts of abhisamaya plus eighteen thoughts of pure bhāvanā add up in all to thirty-four thoughts which the Buddha had to achieve under the tree in order to reach Enlightenment. That is the figure accepted by the Vibhūṣaṇī (T 1545, ch. 153, p. 780a 27, c 5) and the Kośa (II, p. 206; VI, p. 177).

The Buddhist Path, as it was conceived by the Sarvāstivādins, represents an admirable monument of scholastics. It is based on the conviction that comprehension of the truths (abhisamaya), and hence the advance along the way of deliverance, is progressive or gradual (anupūrva). This conviction, formulated by the Sarvāstivādins in the Vibhūṣaṇī (T 1545, ch. 78) and Kośa (VI, pp. 185-9), was shared by the later Mahisāsakas (J. Masuda, p. 32), Andhakas, Saṃmatiyas and Bhadrāyanīyas (Comm. on Kathāvatthu, II, 9, pp. 212-20). It may be based on a solemn declaration made by the Buddha asserting that the comprehension of the four truths is progressive and not once for all (caturnām

\textsuperscript{163} On the reason for this restriction, Kośa, VI, p. 233.
āryasatyanām anupūrvābhīsamayo na tv ekābhīsamayah), the idea of which was developed in various places in the writings: Dhammapada v.239; Suttanipāta, v.962; Āṅguttara, IV, pp. 200-1; and above all the three comparisons of the storied mansion (kūṭāgāra), the stairway with four flights (catuskaṭevara sopāna) and the ladder with four rungs (catuspadikā niḥśrenī), all of which are elaborated in the Samyuktāgama (T 99, Nos. 436-7, ch. 16, p. 113a-b), Samyuttanikāya (V, pp. 452-3) and Kośavyākhya (pp. 543-4).

However, the system commended here appeared too unwieldy and complicated to some sects: the Theravādins (Kathāvatthu, II, 9, pp. 212-20), Mahāsāṃghikas (J. Masuda, p. 21), early Mahiśāsakas (J. Masuda, p. 59) and Vibhajyavādins (Vibhaśa, T 1545, ch. 103, p. 533a 22-3) were adherents of a once for all and total comprehension of the truths: the clear understanding of a single instant would immediately lead to knowledge of all the aspects of the four truths. We might recall in the wording of Mahādeva's fifth heretical proposition (above, p. 275) adopted by the Mahāsāṃghika schools, that the exclamation: "ō suffering!" could lead instantly to the Path, the path of meditation (bhāvanāmārga) as much as the initial stage of the path of vision (darśanāmārga). Nevertheless, the few scriptural texts upon which those sects based their thesis (Samyutta, V, p. 437; Suttanipāta, v.231; Vinaya, I, p. 11 = Samyutta, IV, pp. 47, 107 = Āṅguttara, IV, p. 186: texts quoted in Kathāvatthu, I, p. 220) are not clearly established, and Vasubandhu had no trouble in interpreting them as he wished (Kośa, VI, pp. 185-9).

However that may be, from the first centuries of Buddhism, two great theses confronted each other in the field of mystics: that of progressive (anupūrva) comprehension and that of once for all (eka) or "sudden" (yugapat) comprehension. Having smouldered for a long time, the argument became more heated and finally erupted in the eighth century in Tibet, during the reign of Khri sroṅ lde bce. The council of Lhasa opposed the "school of the sudden method" (Tun mën pai) represented by the Chinese master Hva ṁaṅ, known as Mahāyāna, to the "school of the gradual method" (Chien mën pai) whose protagonist was the Indian Kamalaśīla. A voluminous study, which is a model of clarity and erudition, has been devoted to this memorable event by P. Demiéville.

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When we compare the very simple explanation in the discourse at Vārānasī with the entire scholastic output, we cannot but respect and admire the efforts made by the sects to clarify the message of the four noble truths in all its most unexpected details. We should also note the perfect faithfulness of the disciples to the spirit of their Master. The progress made in Abhidharma constitutes more an explanation of the doctrine than an evolution or especially a deviation. It is the work of scholars labouring in cells, far from the noisy crowd which would be incapable of grasping the import of the work carried out and discussed among specialists.

Nevertheless, the influence of the surrounding atmosphere was felt as far as the very interior of the monasteries and compelled the Buddhist theoreticians to come to terms with lay aspirations over certain points and to a certain degree.

3. — CONCESSIONS TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE LAITY

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAY SPHERE. — Buddhism is not only a spiritual philosophy for the use of candidates to Nirvāṇa. It is also a religion which overflowed the limited area of the monasteries and permeated all levels of the population. Doubtless, with regard to certain points of doctrine and ritual, the monks did not have to come to terms with the aspirations of the laity.

We saw, at the end of the first chapter, the efforts made by the Upāsakas, unofficial members of the community, to win equal religious rights and to raise themselves to the level of the bhikṣus. We should recall that the long and arduous struggle resulted in victory for the laity; in a partial victory for the Hinayāna schools, certain of which acknowledged the possibility for the laymen to attain holiness and agreed to limit the privileges of the Arhat-religious; in a total victory for the Mahāyāna, where the “son of good family”, just like the monk, could aspire to Buddhahood.

We will not return here to the doctrinal concessions agreed to on that occasion by the Abhidharma masters. The problem envisaged will be more general. As will be seen in the next chapter, the increasing success of the propaganda had the effect of transforming Buddhism from the philosophico-mystical message which it was to begin with into a true religion including a God (more exactly, a deified Buddha), a pantheon, holy ones, a mythology and a worship. This religion soon infiltrated the monasteries and influenced, though only slightly, the learned scholars. For we must not forget that the bhikṣus made their recruits among the
people, and renouncing the world did not suffice to sever automatically every worldly bond: inside the yellow robe, the monk remains a man of his times and environment. However, the learned monastics who, at the beginning of the Christian era, compared the ancient doctrine of the sūtras with ideas that were current in the fourfold assembly, could not help noticing the changes undergone by the Good Law under the influence of the lay sphere, both Indian and foreign. They lacked the necessary authority to oppose innovations of a doctrinal and disciplinary kind; all the same, they were skillful enough to direct the movement and maintain the essential part of Śākyamuni's message, while partially yielding to the new ideas from which Mahāyāna Buddhism was eventually to emerge.

The struggle between the original orthodoxy and the innovatory tendencies was particularly marked on the subcontinent; the remoteness of Ceylon protected her for a long time from foreign influences. It is true that, under the protection of their founder kings, the disciples of Mahinda conformed widely to external pomp: we have previously seen the grandiose ceremonies which marked the founding of the Mahāvihāra by Devānampiyatissa (250–210 B.C.), the erection of the Lohapāsāda (Brazen Palace) and the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli Dāgaba) by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (104–80 B.C.), and the inauguration of the Abhayagirivihāra by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (32 B.C.). However, all this external pomp, organized by the kings and monks, remained in line with the most strict orthodoxy and no popular superstition was involved. It was only for disciplinary reasons that, in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the religious from the Abhayagiri, separated from the community of the Mahāvihāra, taking with them in their secession the monks of the Dakkhiṇavihāra. Those schismatics, reinforced by a contingent of Vajjiputtakas who had come from the mainland under the leadership of Dhammaruci, were no different from the orthodox Theras except with regard to disciplinary practices of minor importance. Mahāyānist ideas did not infiltrate into Ceylon until the second half of the third century, during the reign of Vohārikatissa (260–282 A.D.); the monastics at the Abhayagiri openly adopted the heretic Piṭaka of the Vettulla; but, on the intervention of the king and his minister Kapila, those apocryphal writings were burned and the monks of the Abhayagiri fell into disgrace. From its foundation in 250 B.C. until the end of the third century A.D., the Sinhalese community was therefore effectively shielded from the new ideas which, in an overt or covert form, so profoundly altered the communities on the mainland.

So, in North-West India, the Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṃghika com-
munities, subjected to all the alien influences, both political and religious, had to come to terms time after time with the innovatory tendencies and constantly modify their positions. Under the impulse of popular feeling, they were led to emphasize ever more strongly the attributes and privileges of the transcendental Buddha, his achievements in his career as a Bōdhisattva, the place to be given to minor gods in Buddhist piety, the importance of external practices and the legitimacy of the worship. All these questions are of a religious kind and only very indirectly concern the philosophical elaboration of the doctrine to which the Abhidharmas are devoted; they therefore deserve to be treated separately.

689 **SARVĀŚTIVĀDIN AND MAHĀŚĀṂGHIKĀ BUDDHOLOGY.** — In the Pāli Nikāyas and especially the Sanskrit Āgamas, it is already possible to discern a tendency to distinguish between three bodies in the Buddha: a corruptible body (pūtikāya), born from the womb, formed of the four elements, subject to old-age-and-death; mind-made bodies (manomaya-kāya) with which he visits the higher worlds, becoming a Māra among the Māras, a Brahmā among the Brahmās, etc.; finally and above all, a Doctrinal-body (dharmakāya), defined by the teaching itself and revered above all by the devout: “I am”, they say, “the son of the Bhagavat, born from his lips, born from the Dharma, created by the Dharma, inheritor of the Dharma.” Why is that so? Because the Buddhas have as bodies the Dharma, the Brahman, are the Dharma, the Brahmā.”

It serves no purpose to see the Buddha in his material body (rūpakāya), in his corruptible body (pūtikāya); he should be seen in his dharmakāya, i.e., in his teaching. To see the Pratītyasamutpāda which is the axiom of the teaching, is to see the Dharmakāya, to see the Buddha. Although very important, these are only sparse notions which the Sarvāśṭivādins had to systematize. They attributed three separate bodies to the Buddha: 1. a body resulting from maturation (vipāka-

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165 References collated by P. DÉMIEVILLE, Hōbōgirin, s.v. ’Busshin’, p. 174 sq.
166 Digha, III, p. 84; comp. Samyutta, II, p. 221; Itivuttaka, p. 101.
167 Digha, III, p. 84; Majjhima, III, p. 195; comp. Theragāthā, v.491.
168 Samyutta, III, p. 120; Divyāvadāna, pp. 19, 396-7. While meditating on impermanence in his cave, Subhūti was the first to greet the dharmakāya of the Buddha; he thus preceded the nun Utpalavarnā who had gone to Sāmkāśya to greet Śākyamuni’s jānma-kāya (references in Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, II, p. 635, note).
169 Majjhima, I, pp. 190-1.
170 Explanation and references in L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSET, Siddhi, pp. 766-73.
kāya), also called material body (rūpakāya) or body obtained by birth (janmakāya), born of Māyā in the Lumbinī garden, with all the marks imprinted in him through the practice of the perfections. Although endowed with extraordinary strength, that body which emerged from the womb by true birth, and which was not simply apparitional (aupapāduka), is defiled (sāsrava), in the sense that the passion of others, craving, hatred or delusion, can be nurtured by it. — 2. Above the physical person of the Buddha, the Sarvāstivādins posited a Dharmakāya, a collection of conditioned (samskṛta) but undefiled (anāsrava) dharmas, the possession of which turns the bodhisattva into a Buddha: morality (śīla), concentration (samādhi), wisdom (prajñā), deliverance (vimukti) and the knowledge and vision of that deliverance (vimukti-nānadarsana). An adherent seeks refuge, not in the physical person of the Buddha, but in his undefiled dharmas. The latter, identical in all the Buddhas, possess a threefold accomplishment: a. accomplishment of causes (hetussaṃpad): equipment in merit and knowledge (punyajñānasambhāra); b. accomplishment of effect (phalasaṃpad): omniscience, the dispelling of every passion or hindrance, power; c. accomplishment of the service of beings. According to a scholarly tradition recorded by Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 8, p. 912b), Aśoka built five special stupas in honour of the fivefold Dharmakāya. — 3. As for the bodies created by transformations (nirmanakāya) which the Buddha manifests and multiplies in certain circumstances, they depend on that power of transformation (nirmana) and sustainment (adhiśṭhāna) enjoyed by great magicians and which enables them to revive, even keep after their death, doubles of themselves which they make talk and act at will.

Those scholastic speculations on the triple body, which the Mahāyāna experts were to turn to their own account while allowing for certain modifications, appeared to the Sarvāstivādins as a compromise enabling them to reconcile the historical existence of Śākyamuni with the transcendent nature with which popular piety vested the Buddha. The Mahāsāṃghikas and their descendents did not hesitate to sacrifice the former to the latter by proclaiming the Buddha to be “supramundane” (lokottara).

The Mahāsāṃghikas laid emphasis on a passage from the Saṃyutta (III, p. 140) in which it is said: “The Tathāgata born in the world, matured in the world, whether he moves or stands still, is not tainted by worldly dharmas (anupalitto lokena).” From this they concluded that everything in the Buddha, including his birth-body, is undefiled (anāsrava): his birth is purely apparitional (upaḍukā), his existence,
mere fiction; his body is mind-made and, if externally he manifests human qualities and gestures which in reality are alien to him, it is solely in order to conform to the world (lokānuvartana).

Mahāsāṃghika docetism is clearly formulated in the preface to the *Mahāvastu* which, it is true, does not constitute the oldest part of the text: "In the fully and perfectly enlightened Buddhas, there is absolutely nothing in common with the world; therefore, for those great sages, everything transcends the world (sarvam lokottarum); their very birth is supramundane" (I, p. 159). "It is at the end of ten months that all the bodhisattvas appear in their mother's womb by entering through the right side, but without causing harm" (I, p. 148). "Transcendent is the conduct of the Blessed One, transcendental his wholesome roots! Moving, standing still, sitting or lying down are transcendent in the Sage. The body of the Sugata who accomplishes the destruction of the fetters of existence is also transcendent: the fact is beyond doubt. The wearing of robes by a Sage is transcendent: the fact is beyond doubt; the eating of food by the Sugata is likewise transcendent. The teaching given by those heroic men is deemed wholly transcendent and, in conformity with the truth, I shall proclaim the greatness of those eminently wise men. When they encounter the favourable place and time and the appropriate maturity of action, the Leaders expound the truthful and beneficial Law. The Buddhas conform in a human way to worldly customs, while also acquiescing to supramundane convention. Those pre-eminent men adopt the four bodily attitudes, but no fatigue affects those beneficent beings. They wash their feet, but no dust ever adheres to them, and their feet are like lotus-leaves: this is mere conformity. The Sambuddhas bathe, but there is no dirt on them, and their aspect is like a golden disc: this is mere conformity... Masters at suppressing karma (if they so wish), the Victorious Ones manifest karma and conceal their sovereign power: this is mere conformity. They take nourishment, but hunger does not distress them: this is in order to provide mankind with the opportunity to give, and through mere conformity... Even though the body of the Sugata is not the result of sexual union, the Buddhas mention their mothers and fathers: this is mere conformity" (I, pp. 1667-70).

Sarvastivādin in origin, but very similar to the Mahāyānist vaipulya, the *Lalitavistara* (Ch. VIII, pp. 118-19) gives the young Śākyamuni equally resonant stanzas to utter: "When I was born, this trichiliocosm shook; Śakra, Brahmapā, the Asuras, Mahoragas, Candra, Śûrya, as well as Vaiśravana and Kumāra, lowering their heads to my feet, paid homage to me. What other god could be distinguished from me by his pre-eminence?... I am the god above gods (devātideva), superior to all
gods (uttamaḥ sarvadevaiḥ); no god resembles me; how could there be a superior one? By conforming to the world, this is how I shall go... Gods and men will agree that: 'He is a god by himself' (svayam eva deva').

Mahāsāṃghika docetism found fervent supporters, not only among the adherents of the sect, Caitikas, Pūrva- and Aparaśailas, settled in the mountainous regions of Andhra country, but also among the northern Buddhists known by the vague term of Uttarāpathakas. Disputed in vain by the Sinhalese Therāvāda and the mainland Sarvāstivāda, docetism was one of the basic positions of Mahāyānist Buddhism, both in its Sinhalese form (Vettullavāda) and its Indian (schools of the Śūnyā- and Vijnānavāda).

The treatises on the sects by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinitadeva record some fifteen docetist propositions which they jointly attribute to the Mahāsāṃghikas and their subschools171: The Buddhas are lokottara; they are free from defiled (śārava) dharmas, all their discourses are in keeping with the teaching of the Law which they can explain in a single vocal utterance (ekavāgudāhāra); all the sūtras declaimed by them are precise and definitive in meaning (nītārtha); their material bodies (rūpakāya), their might (prabhāva) and their life-spans (āyus) are unlimited; plunged into continuous concentration (samādhi), they experience no fatigue in propounding the Law, answering questions, constructing their sentences; they understand all things in a single instant of thought; until their entry into Parinirvāṇa, they are always in command of the twofold knowledge of the destruction of the defilements (āsravakṣaya) and their non-re-arising (anutpādajñāna).

The Kathāvatthu attributes similar theses to the Mahāsāṃghikas, Andhakas, Uttarāpathakas and Vetulyakas: the Buddhas are present everywhere in all the regions of the universe (XXI, 6, p. 608) and can suspend all natural laws by their supernormal power (XXI, 4, p. 606), their conduct (vyavahāra) is transcendent (II, 10, p. 221); the very odour of their excrement surpasses all perfumes (XVIII, 4, p. 563); they have never resided in the world of men (XVIII, 1, p. 559).

NATURE AND CAREER OF THE BODHISATTVA.* — Before acceding to supreme and perfect Enlightenment, the Buddhas have to travel, in the course of innumerable existences, through the long and arduous career of the bodhisattva, or future Buddha. The growing interest people were showing in the former births of the Buddhas led the theoreticians of Buddhism to define the nature of a bodhisattva and the commitments he

171 J. Masuda, pp. 18-21; A. Barea, pp. 57-60.
had to undertake to win Buddhahood. In the Hinayāna, the bodhisattva’s career was still only of retrospective and not exemplary value: it concerned only the seven Buddhas of the past: Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni, whose history it was endeavoured to explain; the coming of the Mahāyāna was needed before the bodhisattva’s career could be proposed as an example to the faithful.

The bodhisattva is he who has aroused the thought of Enlightenment (bodhicitta) by making an aspiration to attain supreme and perfect Enlightenment (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) one day with a view to the welfare and happiness of all beings: an altruistic ideal particularly appreciated by the laity, as opposed to the concern for personal perfection cherished by the religious. Through the cittotpāda, arousal of the thought of Enlightenment, the bodhisattva is determined as to the result (the attaining of Enlightenment), but not as to the way (gati) towards that result. The true bodhisattva is he who is determined (niyata) both as to bodhi and gati, he who will certainly attain Enlightenment and whose way to bodhi is fixed as to the duration and nature of his rebirths. The Hinayānist scholars are not in agreement over the precise moment of that predetermination.

For the Sarvāstivādins, the bodhisattva’s career consists of three countless periods (asamkhyeyakalpa) followed by one hundred additional Kalpas. During the three Āsākhyeyas, the bodhisattva practises the heroic perfections: giving (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣānti), vigour (vīrya), ecstasy (dhyāna) and wisdom (prajñā). During the first Āsākhyeya, he cannot know for certain whether he will become a Buddha; at the end of the second Āsākhyeya, he does indeed know that he will become a Buddha, but does not dare proclaim it; at the end of the third Āsākhyeya, he performs actions which imprint in him the marks of a Great Man: he then arouses fearlessness and roars the lion’s roar: “I shall become a Buddha”. It ensues from this that, during the Āsākhyeyas, the bodhisattva is still only a worldling (prthagjana), determined with regard to bodhi, but not with regard to gati. It is only during the hundred additional Kalpas, in which he performs actions which give rise to the marks, that he is determined both with regard to bodhi and gati, that he is a true bodhisattva, recognized as such by gods and mankind. As a result of those actions, he eliminates five inferiorities

172 On this nyama, see Kośa, VI, p. 180.
and gains five superiorities: 1. he is freed from the unhappy destinies and acquires only happy ones; 2. the family into which he is born is not lowly, but noble; 3. he is always of the male sex; 4. he has no infirmities; 5. he never forgets anything and remembers his former existences.

While the Sarvāstivādins reserved the niyama for the Kalpas which followed the three Asaṅkhyeyas and placed the acquisition of Ārya status under the tree, immediately before bodhi, the Mahāsāṃghikas and their group said: "During the first Asaṅkhyeya, the bodhisattva is not a niyata, he is still a Prthagjana. He becomes an Ārya (therefore niyata) at the beginning of the second. At the start of the third, he receives the prediction (vyākaraṇa). During the first Asaṅkhyeya he makes the aspiration to be born in the unhappy destinies for the welfare of beings; but that aspiration does not bear fruit: the bodhisattva is born according to his actions. Subsequently, he is born as he wishes". Still according to the Mahāsāṃghikas, bodhisattvas, while in their mothers' womb, do not have to go through the normal stages of development of the embryo, kalala, arbuda, peśin and ghana; in order to become embodied, they assume the form of a white elephant and, as they are born, they emerge from the right side of their mothers; they have no thought or desire, no anger or ill-will; for the benefit of beings, they aspire to be born in the unhappy destinies; they are free to choose whichever destiny suits them. This last thesis was disputed by the branches of the Caityaśaila who thought that, as a worldling, the bodhisattva is still subject, because of his actions, to rebirth in the unhappy destinies (durgati), but the Kathavatthu (XXIII, 3, p. 623) attributes to the Andhakas a thesis, similar to that of the Mahāsāṃghikas, according to which the bodhisattva, of his own free will and in complete freedom, goes to the hells, enters the womb of his choice, practises the austerities and devotes himself to asceticism under the guidance of yoga masters.

Most of these ideas were taken up and adopted by the Mahāyānist scholars. Nevertheless, the practices assigned to the bodhisattva by the Mahāvastu (I, pp. 46-63) tally only imperfectly with subsequent speculations. These practices are four in number: 1. preparatory practice (prakṛticaryā) aimed at developing the natural qualities of the bodhisattvas; 2. the practice of aspiration (pranidhi- or pranidhānacaryā) consisting mainly of the arousal of the thought of bodhi; 3. the practice of conformity (anulomacaryā) by means of which the future Buddha

175 J. Masuda, p. 21; A. Bareau, p. 61.
176 J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 88.
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adjusts all his activity to the thought of bodhi; 4. the practice of irreversibility (avivartanacaryā), or assured and irreversible conduct until bodhi.

The third practice, called conformity, is carried out during the course of ten ‘grounds’ (bhūmi) or stages of perfecting (Mahāvastu, I, pp. 63-157) : the stages hard to attain (durāroha), binding (baddhamāna), adorned with flowers (puṣpamanḍitā), gracious (ruciṅa), extensive in thought (cittavistarā), beautiful (rūpaṅci), hard to conquer (durjayā), of demonstration of birth (janmanirdeśa), of the crown prince (yauvarājya), of unction (abhiṣeka).

Some authors have attempted to reconcile this still badly defined system with the bodhisattva’s career as it is formulated in the writings of the Mahāyāna, such as the Prajñāpāramitā, Madhyamakāvatāra, Daśabhūmika, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Mahāyānasūtraśāstra, Mahāyānasamgraha and Siddhi. However, to try and make everything tally would end in confusion. As we said above, the caryā of the Mahāvastu have a retrospective rather than an exemplary value: it is the religious history of the Buddhas of the past, and not a programme for life proposed to all “sons of good family”. The ten stages of the Anulomacaryā, durāroha, etc., the names of which have nothing in common with those of the ten Mahāyānist bhūmi, pramudita, etc., do not form a gradation and, with the exception of the last two, do not mark any progress in the spiritual ascent of the bodhisattva; unlike the Mahāyānist bhūmi, they bear no relation either to the practice of the perfections (pāramitā), or to the impediments (āvaraṇa) to be eliminated, or to the tenfold Dharmadhātu to be known. Finally and above all, the fourth practice, called of irreversibility (avivartanacaryā), as it is conceived in the Mahāvastu, is valid for all the ten stages without differentiation, and is not yet given as a privilege acquired once and for all by accession to a specific stage, generally the eighth.

It is clear that, for the Hinayānists, scholastic speculations concerning the nature and career of the bodhisattva have no scriptural foundation; unlike the scholars of the Mahāyāna, they do not even have the resourcefulness to refer to the authority of the Mahāyānasūtras.

The ten stages of the bodhisattva, from the joyous (pramudita) stage to that of the Cloud of the Law (dharmamegha), do not have their place here, but in the description of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna. We can, however, note here the attempt, probably of Mahāyānist origin, to group in a single table the stages pertaining to the three Vehicles:

177 Concerning all this, see N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, II, pp. 305-11.
178 This list in fact runs through the Prajñāpāramitā literature: Pañcavimsati, ed. Dutt,
Suklavidaf’sana “of bright vision” (or Sukkavidaf’sana “of dry vision”)
2. Gotrabhumi “of the clan”
3. Aṣtamaka “of the eighth”
4. Dārsana “of vision”
5. Tanu “of refinement”
6. Vitarāga “of renouncing”
7. Kṛtāvi “of one who has done”

Pratyekabuddhayāna: 8. the same as the above

Bodhisattvabhūmi: Stages of the bodhisattva, ten in number: Pramudita, etc.

Buddhabhūmi

This list of the stages common to (sādhārana) the three Vehicles presumably derives from the concern, often displayed in the Saddharma-puṭārīka, to render the Triyāna uniform. The Hīnayānists had no hand in the matter.

The sixth destiny. — Generally speaking, but with certain exceptions (Dīgha, III, p. 264), the canonical writings (Dīgha, III, p. 234, Majjhima, I, p. 73; Samyutta, V, p. 474; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 459) know of only five destinies or gati, to which beings can be led by the requirements of rebirth: three unhappy destinies (durgati) — those of the hell-born (naraka), animals (tiryagyoni) and hungry ghosts (preta) — in which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to see the Buddhas and hear the Law; two happy destinies (sugati) — those of mankind (manusya) and of gods (deva) — in which it is relatively easy to reach the path and attain deliverance. However, the introduction into the Buddhist pantheon of a great many Asuras, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas, objects of popular devotion, compelled the theoreticians of Buddhism to reconsider the problem. Where should those hybrid beings be placed, since several of them had embraced the Good Law as upāsakas and were leading a particularly meritorious life, such as the Asura Vemacitra, the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, the spirit Pānicika, or Hārīti the mother of demons?

The sects which remained faithful to the traditional number of five destinies — Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins and that of the Śāra-

[References and notes omitted for brevity.]
putrābhidharma (T 1548, ch. 26, p. 690b 4) — attempted to distribute those strangers in the existing gati, particularly those of the preta and deva. An attempt of this kind can be seen in the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch. 172, p. 867).

In contrast, other sects considered it preferable to reserve a separate place for those hybrid beings by creating for them a sixth gati, called that of the Asuras. This was the solution adopted by the Andhakas and Uttarāpathakas (Kathāvatthu, VIII, 1, p. 360), the Mahāsāṃghikas (Mahāvastu, I, pp. 42, 337; II, p. 368) and the Vātsiputriyas (as evidenced by T 1545, ch. 2, p. 8b 24; T 1546, ch. 1, p. 6a; T 1509, ch. 10, p. 135c 24). The Sanskrit Ṣaḍgatikārikā (st. 94)\(^{181}\) and the group of sūtras on the gati (T 723, 725, 726, 729) not included in the Āgama collection also deal with these six destinies.

The same irresolution and the same hesitation are found in the writings of the Mahāyāna : the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sometimes counts five (p. 131) and sometimes six gati (pp. 6, 9, 135, 346, 372) : the “Nāgārjuna” of the Madhayamakaśāstra lists five of them (pp. 269, 304), but that of the Suhrllekha (T 1673, p. 750c 1) and the Upadesa (T 1509, ch. 10, p. 135c) posits six.

As for the voluminous Smṛtyupasthiitastra, which occupies a separate place in Buddhist literature, it never speaks of more than five conditions of existence\(^{182}\). Clearly, the theoreticians hesitated to endorse the troublesome religious faun of ambient Hinduism.

Value of the Gift and Legitimacy of the Worship.* — The moralists were also led to take up a position regarding displays and ceremonies of worship, the importance of which continued to grow in relation to developments in religious devotion.

In the first chapter (pp. 72-74) we saw the importance of gift (tyāga) in the laity’s obligations and how they, rather than the religious, had to pay suitable homage to the mortal remainders of Tathāgata.

The Buddha himself supplied details of the advantages of charity : the generous donor is cherished by everybody, esteemed by honest men, unreservedly congratulated, welcomed everywhere and, after death, attains the higher heavens (Aṅguttara, III, pp. 38-41).

Giving, which is indispensable to the upāsaka who seeks the blisses of the other world, is less useful to the bhikṣu who aspires after Nirvāṇa. It is not included among the three essential elements of the path : morality,

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\(^{182}\) LIN, AM, p. 24.
concentration and wisdom. It is only in a subsidiary way that the religious is enjoined to develop within himself the infinite mental states (apramāṇacittas) of benevolence (maitrī), compassion (karunā) and joy (muditā) towards all beings, whether happy or unhappy. He is warned that “all the sufferings and woes, all the pains of this world in all forms derive from what is cherished by someone; where there is nothing more to be cherished, they do not recur: that is why those who have nothing cherishable in this world are rich in joy and free from sorrow” (Udana, p. 92).

The benevolence which the monk cultivates should never degenerate into sensual love or even natural sentiment. He should fight craving (rāga) with the practice of “meditation on the repulsive” (asubhāvanā): in a cemetery, in the open air, he should contemplate corpses in various stages of decomposition while considering that all human bodies, lovely though they may be, are inevitably destined to a similar fate. In order to keep his goodwill within the limits of strict impartiality, he should practise the upakṣā-brahmavihāra, the fourth and last of the infinite mental states (apramāṇacittas) recommended by the Buddha: he will shut himself off in complete equanimity (upekṣā) towards all beings, without ever giving a privileged place in his affections to his father, mother, children and relatives. Furthermore, the voluntary poverty embraced by the monk puts him beyond the possibility of practising charity or alms-giving; the only gift he may practise is that of the Law, i.e. religious teaching or preaching.

Meritorious though giving may be, it does not constitute the direct and immediate antidote to the delusions and passions which are at the basis of painful rebirth. In itself, it is unable to put an end to suffering and ensure Nirvāṇa. This is because, in ordinary life, giving is tainted by deleterious errors and illusions. For Buddhism, the Self, Ego, Personality (ātman) is a purely conventional expression (vyavahāravacana), not corresponding to any objective reality: there is no Self and nothing pertains to the Self; everything is summarized in the origin of physical and mental phenomena which arise and perish according to the eternal laws of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda). If I give alms, my blind consciousness tells me: “I am giving something to someone”, and setting myself up as a benefactor of a third party, I sink even further into the belief in individuality (satkāyadrṣṭi). In truth, there is neither donor nor beneficiary, since the Self does not exist. The Mahāyāna was to add that neither does the object given exist, since the elements of existence (dharma) are empty of a substantial mark (lakṣaṇaśūnya). That is why, at best, generosity, vitiated by a belief in the Self, can only lead
to a good rebirth in the world of the gods or of mankind; it does not win deliverance.

On the other hand, giving remains the main duty of the lay person, on whom it is incumbent to maintain the community of the religious by supplying it with clothing, food, seating and medicines. In the canonical writings there are many homilies praising the value of alms-giving.

Giving is a bodily and vocal action — that is to say a gesture and a word — resulting from generous volition which causes the donor to sacrifice his own welfare through a wish to pay homage or give service. Its value varies according to the qualities of the donor, the importance of the object given and the excellence of the beneficiary.

The donor is particularly well qualified when “imbued with faith, he gives with respect, at the right time, with good heart, without harm to himself or others” (Anguttara, III, p. 172). The intention is more important than the thing. Like the Gospels (Mark, XII, 41-44; Luke, XXI, 1-4), the Buddhist texts (Kalpanāmanditikā, T 201, ch. 4, p. 279c) praise the poor maiden who gave the two copper pieces she found in the dirt to the bhikṣus, since the value of charity lies in the intention.

However, the material aspect should not be neglected: the thing given is good when its colour, odour, taste and touch are perfect.

Nevertheless, the value of giving depends above all on the excellence of the beneficiary, since we should distinguish a twofold merit in the act of charity: that which resides in the donation itself (dānapuṇya) and that which results from the enjoyment derived from it by the beneficiary (paribhogapuṇya). The excellence of the “field of merit” (puṇyakṣetra), i.e. the recipient, varies according to his destiny, misfortunes, benefits and qualities. It is therefore better to give to men than to animals, to the poor rather than the rich, to kinsmen rather than to strangers, to holy ones rather than offenders (Majjhima, III, pp. 254-5).

It goes without saying that all this is debatable, and the sects did not fail to question it.

For the Rājagirīyas and Siddhārthikas (Kathāvatthu, VII, 4, pp. 339-40), giving is not material in nature, but mental, since it was not material offerings consisting of food, drink, clothing, etc., which were prescribed by the Buddha, but the observance of morality which constitutes the five great gifts and which keeps beings free from fear, hostility and malevolence (Anguttara, IV, p. 246).

For the Uttarāpathakas (Kathāvatthu, XVII, 11, pp. 556-7), the donor alone “purifies” the gift, and not the beneficiary since, in the opposite hypothesis, he would enjoy merit which he had not gained himself. However, we could counter this as did the Theravādins with a canonical
text in which the Buddha declares that a gift can be hallowed in four ways: by the donor alone, by the beneficiary alone, by both together or by neither (Majjhima, III, p. 256).

According to the Buddhist concept, worship (pūjā) is only a higher form of giving and enjoys the same advantages. It is addressed to those supreme fields of merit which are the Buddha, the Community of holy ones and the reliquaries (stūpas or caityas).*

A first question arises: to what degree is this homage fruitful and obligatory? According to the Sarvāstivādins (Kośa, IV, p. 234), worship is very useful to a man who has not yet entered the path of Nirvāṇa or who, having entered that path, is not detached from the world of desire (kāmadhātu): that worship, in fact, eases or arouses understanding of the truths and ensures a pleasant maturation: good rebirths in the world of desire. However, it is useless to a man who has entered the path and who, detached from the world of desire, is destined to be reborn in the higher spheres, since worship does not incur maturation in the higher spheres. Nonetheless, relics and stūpas, be it merely by acknowledgement, deserve homage of all.

A more difficult problem is that of the respective value of worshipping the Buddha (who has entered Nirvāṇa) and of worshipping the Saṅgha (assembly of living members of the Community).

The early texts showed some hesitation. For the Majjhima (III, p. 254), Divyavadāna (pp. 71, 166) and Kośa (VII, p. 85), the Tathāgatas are the supreme field of merit, yielding fruits which are certain, pleasant, abundant and excellent in result: “If someone plants a small wholesome root in the field of merit consisting of the Buddhas, he will first secure happy destinies and then attain Nirvāṇa” (Divya, p. 166; Ekottara, T 125, ch. 24, p. 678a 1-2).

However, for the Dīgha (III, p. 255) and the Suttanipāta (v. 569), the beings who are worthy of offerings are the eight categories of pudgalas in possession of the fruits of the path, and gifts made to the Saṅgha are the most advantageous of all. In the Majjhima (III, p. 253), the Buddha refuses two pieces of clothing which Mahāprajāpatī offers him and says: “Gotamī, give it to the Saṅgha; by giving it to the Saṅgha, you will do me honour and you will honour the Saṅgha”.

Confronted by such hesitation, the sects each went their own way: the Theravādins (Kathāvatthu, XVII, 10, p. 555; XVII, 9, p. 553) and Sarvāstivādins (Kośa, IV, p. 238) were of the opinion that a gift to the Buddha and a gift to the Saṅgha both yielded a great fruit. On the one hand, the Buddha is the peerless being, located at the summit of all beings worthy of offerings; on the other hand, “men who make an
offering, beings who seek merit and who consider merit as the basis of a better existence should give to the Saṅgha in order to acquire a great fruit” (Samyutta, I, p. 233).

For the Mahiśāsakas, the Buddha is included in the Saṅgha, but as he has long since entered Nirvāṇa, he cannot in any way enjoy the gift offered to him; that is why a gift made to the Buddha in Nirvāṇa is less advantageous than a gift made to the Saṅgha which consists of living persons.

Conversely, for the Dharmaguptakas, the Buddha is not included in the Saṅgha. Since the Buddha is the supreme and peerless being, a gift made to him greatly surpasses that of a gift made to the Saṅgha. In fact, the merit of the gift is in proportion to the value of the one to whom it is given.

However, the question arises of knowing if an offering to stūpas and caityas, which contain the relics of the Buddha, is advantageous or not. Yes, replied the Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins, because the relics symbolize the Buddha, because the latter declared that there is no difference between the relics and himself and because at the moment of his Nirvāṇa, he accepted in advance all the gifts made to stūpas. It is true that no one receives a gift made to a stūpa, but if the gift produces merit when someone receives it, why should it not produce merit when no one receives it? Therefore, a gift to a stūpa is meritorious.

The Caitikas, Pūrva and Aparāśailas and later Mahiśāsakas, however, were of the opposite opinion. Because both reliquaries and shrines are lifeless things, they cannot experience the benefit of a gift which is made to them. Under such conditions, the only value of gift to relics comes from the internal dispositions of the donor.

Nevertheless, the bhikṣu and the upāsaka who take their refuge (sārana) in the Buddha and the Saṅgha take their refuge in the dharmas of the Saikṣa (moral qualities of future holy ones and holy

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183 J. Masuda, p. 62; A. Bareau, p. 185.
184 J. Masuda, p. 64; A. Bareau, p. 192. — It was doubtless by mistake that Vasumitra said that, according to the Dharmaguptakas, the Buddha is included in the Saṅgha.
185 J. Masuda, p. 64; A. Bareau, p. 192.
186 Kośa, IV, p. 156.
187 A. Bareau, p. 154.
188 J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 88.
189 J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 100.
190 J. Masuda, p. 38; A. Bareau, p. 105.
191 J. Masuda, p. 63; A. Bareau, p. 188.
ones) which constitute the Buddha and the Saṅgha (Kośa, IV, pp. 77-8); in contrast, a gift made to the Buddha, or the Saṅgha, is addressed to “persons” (pudgala) and not to the holy qualities which constitute them. A group of Vetullakas, known by the name of Mahāsuññatāvādins, concluded from this that, from the absolute point of view (paramatthato), the Buddha and the Saṅgha are not in a position to accept or purify gifts which are made to them, that offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha are unfruitful and that the gift is hallowed only by the donor and not by the beneficiary (Kathāvatthu, XVII, 6-11, pp. 549-57).

Neither in the Kathāvatthu nor in the disputations by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, is there a question of images (pratimā) of the Buddha. The early Central Indian school of sculpture, at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, at Sāñcī and in the first style at Amarāvatī, avoided representing the human features of the Buddha in his last existence. A passage in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1435, ch. 48, pp. 351c-352) alludes to a prohibition “to make images of the body of the Buddha”; other Vinayas, such as those of the Mahāsāṃghikas (T 1425, ch. 33, pp. 496c-497a) and Dharmaguptakas (T 1428, ch. 50-51, pp. 936 sq.) authorized the decoration of stūpas and monasteries with images, but these were paintings of devas, monks, dragons, animals and landscapes rather than images of the Buddha.

In the opinion of A. Foucher, “we do not possess an image of the Buddha earlier than the Christian era”. Therefore, there are anachronisms in the texts according to which the original image of Śākyamuni was made during his lifetime, either at the request of the banker Anāthapiṇḍada (Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1442, ch. 28, p. 782b; T 1452, ch. 5, p. 434b), or at the demand of King Bimbisāra (T 1442, ch. 45, p. 874a = Divyāvadāna, p. 547) or, finally, on the intervention of the kings Udayana and Prasenajit (Ekottara, T 125, ch. 28, p. 796a). We should also treat with extreme reservation the Sinhalese tradition according to which Asoka, wishing to contemplate the features of the Blessed One, received from the Nāga Mahākāla a complete statue of the Buddha, with the marks and minor marks (Mahāvaṃsa, V, 87 sq.; Samanta, I, p. 43), while in Ceylon King Devānampiṭiyatissa, a contemporary of Asoka, installed in the Thūpārāma a “great stone statue” (urusilāpa-ṭimā) of the Buddha Śākyamuni (Mahāvaṃsa, XXXVI, 128).

Conversely, no objection can be made to the evidence of the same chronicle when it attributes to the Sinhalese king Vasabha (121-165 A.D.) the erection of a paṭimāghara sheltering four statues of the Buddha (Mahāvaṃsa, XXXV, 89), and to King Vohārikatissa (260-282
A.D.) the installation of two bronze statues in the Bodhighara (Mahāvaṃsa, XXXVII, 31).

Nevertheless it is a fact that no “temple with statue” is mentioned in the Pāli commentaries compiled in the fifth century of the Christian era. Buddhaghosa and his school called upon the bhikkhus to sweep and clean the funerary monuments (cetiya, bhadhighara), the temple of the Bodhi tree (bodhighara), the halls of the chapter-house (uposathaghara) and other residences (parivena), but nowhere do they mention a patimāghara. Homage was addressed exclusively to thūpas and the Bodhi tree, and to damage them would be a serious offence (ānantariyakamma). In contrast, no threat is made to those who destroy or damage a statue. An image is not holy unless it contains a relic. In the early days, the joy derived from contemplation of the Buddha (buddhālambanapatī) came, not from the contemplation of images — as is the case nowadays —, but from attentive consideration of a cetiya or sacred tree.

There is no doubt, however, that from the Kuśāna period on, images of the Buddha were made in great quantities and that, under the influence of Mahāyānist ideas, holy depictions played a more and more important part in popular and individual devotion. According to I ching (T 2125, ch. 3, p. 221b), in the seventh century of the Christian era, the monks of India and the Southern Seas all had in their cells, in a window or niche, an image of the Buddha which they surrounded with respect and veneration. Each morning they bathed it and offered flowers and incense to it; at midday, they presented part of their meal to it; they covered it with a tapestry while they themselves ate or slept.

Despite this fervour, homage to images never enjoyed the same orthodoxy as homage to relics (sarīra, dhātu), and so an attempt had to be made to justify it: “If one bows down before clay statues of the immortals, one is not thinking of the clay; one is bowing down while thinking of the immortals”. The argument which had already been developed in the Legend of Aśoka (Divya, p. 363; T 2042, ch. 5, p. 120a; T 2043, ch. 8, p. 160c) was to be repeated by the writers of the two Vehicles (Kalpanāmanditikā, T 201, ch. 9, p. 309b; Upadesa, T 1509, ch. 1, p. 64c, etc.). The danger of fetishism and trafficking in images did not escape the attention of the theoreticians. Emphasis was therefore laid on the fact that “an image made of wood or stone, if harmed, does not feel pain; if offerings are made to it, it does not feel pleasure, since it is empty in nature” (T 1796, ch. 20, p. 784b), and the manufacture for commercial purposes of images of the Buddha in ivory, wood, copper or bronze was forbidden, since “selling an image of the Buddha is the same offence as selling one's father or mother” (T 2122, ch. 33, p. 540a).
On the whole, when confronted with the manifold demands of popular feeling, the monastic reaction lacked neither astuteness nor flexibility: astuteness, by maintaining the ancient message of Śākyamuni more or less intact in spirit and broad outline; flexibility, by adapting it to the new time and place in order to attract the greatest number of devotees. In ordinary life, the spiritual authorities avoided taking a position, tolerated without entitling, conceded without concurring; when confronted by awkward problems — such as that of homage to be paid to the Buddha in preference to the Saṅgha or vice versa — they left it in the hands of the schools and scholars who, while not condemning it as such, did not hesitate to propose diametrically opposite solutions. Everyone was free to make his own choice.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE BUDDHIST RELIGION

It is appropriate at the end of this volume to assess the path followed by the Good Law during the first five centuries of its history and to show how it was transformed from the philosophico-mystical message that it was at the beginning into a true religion.

I. — THE STAGES TRAVERSED BY THE GOOD LAW

**THE ACTION OF ŚAKYAMUNI.** — Buddhism could not be explained unless we accept that it has its origin in the strong personality of its founder. While not wishing to engage in useless polemics, we are not one of those who attempt to minimize Śākyamuni’s action. We are told that he hardly taught anything and that his words, contained in the sūtras, are a later creation of subsequent scholastics: “What was the doctrine of the Buddha and the first holy ones, his disciples? This is impossible to say with certainty. It was an oral doctrine of which we have no satisfactory evidence. The codification of the writings did not take place until many centuries after Śākyamuni’s decease, when the religion had already been profoundly changed and generations of scholars had already added considerably to the holy words. The essential point was the feeling of veneration for the Master, a feeling which united men of all conditions into one brotherhood. This feeling, sometimes experienced instantaneously, opened the mind to universal charity; it was really a matter of a new life and, without any study or novitiate, the new convert became a “son of the Śākya”, that is, a spiritual brother of Śākyamuni. It was a religion without any clergy or monasteries”.

It goes without saying that Buddhist scholasticism was not elaborated in a single day and that India was not suddenly covered with stūpas, vihāras and caityas. But to present early Buddhism as a simple spiritual confraternity, in which regard for the Master took the place of doctrine would be an exaggeration.

Even though it is true that the codification of the writings came later, it is nonetheless a fact that, in order to appreciate early Buddhism, the only valid evidence — or indication — which we possess is the basic agreement between the Nikāyas on the one hand and the Āgamas on the
other. This evidence or indication carries more weight than academic hypotheses put forward after an interval of twenty-five centuries.

For anyone who is willing to take it into consideration, it appears from this that Śākyamuni, after Enlightenment, discovered the noble truths which could lead his disciples to the end of suffering and to Nirvāṇa. He taught those truths for the forty-five years of his public ministry and, to enable his disciples to reap all the fruit thereof, he instituted an assembly of religious, a bhikṣusamgha, whose rule of life, centred on the destruction of desire, would lead as rapidly as possible to the spiritual end they sought. In parallel with that assembly of bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs, he organized a lay fellowship of upāsakas and upāsikās entrusted with the material and financial support of the assembly.

The high intellectual and moral qualities of Śākyamuni, the support he received from the ruling families in Kosala (Prasenajit) and Magadha (Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru) enabled him to triumph over obstacles: the hostility of rival orders (Nirgranthas and Ājivikas) and heretical masters (Pūraṇa-Kāśyapa, etc.), the indiscipline of certain monks (the Kausāṃbi schism), the jealousy and intrigues of certain members of his family (Devadatta).

After forty-five years of effort, the dual role which he had assigned himself — that of a teacher and a founder of the order — was fulfilled. A few hours before his decease, in approximately 486 B.C., he was able to say to himself: “I am entering Nirvāṇa now that my bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs, upāsakas and upāsikās have become wise, disciplined, skilful and knowledgeable preachers... capable of reciting, teaching, promulgating, expounding, explaining and developing the Law, capable of refuting objections, capable of teaching the Law in a persuasive way... I shall enter Nirvāṇa now that this religious life (brahmaṇacarya) of mine is prospering, expanding, wide-spread, manifold, increasing and well-proclaimed among mankind (manuṣyebhyah samyakprakāṣita)”.

The Magadhan period. — During the first two centuries which followed the Nirvāṇa, Buddhism did not meet with spectacular success. It remained practically confined within the limits of Magadha, with a few extensions to Avanti and the western coast.

Like all the religious orders of the time, it was able to benefit from the goodwill or neutrality of the ruling families: Haryāṅkas, Śiṣunāgas, Nandas and the first Mauryas.

The main achievement of the monks was to have compiled the Word of the Buddha in the local dialects in use, first Māgadhi, then Pāli and Sanskrit. This compilation, which served as a basis for the formation of the canon of texts, succeeded in fixing the broad outline of the dharma and vinaya, that is to say, the Buddhist doctrine and discipline.

The initiative was taken by a group of Arhats who wished to monopolize the religious teaching for their own benefit. Agreement was easily reached over the texts of the doctrinal sūtras, but in the disciplinary field, there was some resistance: should they retain or omit the minor unimportant precepts formulated by the Buddha? Should they oppose the laxist practices in use in certain communities, particularly the Vṛjiputraṅkas of Vaiśālī? The strict solution seemed to prevail. In any case, it was that which was adopted by the old Vinaya masters, the list of whom has been preserved for us by the Sinhalese chronicle.

The Arhats committed the blunder of claiming the right to Nirvāṇa for themselves alone, they allowed the laity no more than accession to the first fruits of the religious life. They thus lost the sympathy, not only of the upāsakas and upāsikās who supported them, but also of the imperfect religious, who remained at the level of worldlings (prthâgjana).

Discontent simmered for a long time before flaring up, but wrangling between the religious can already be discerned in the biographies of masters of the Law found throughout the subcontinent.

AŚOKA. — Like so many other communities, Buddhism would doubtless have remained an obscure sect if it had not received the sympathy and support of the great emperor Aśoka. The latter, as we know, undertook to establish among his subjects and neighbours a universal Dharma, which was not identical to the Good Law, but which coincided to a large extent with the advice to the laity already formulated by the Buddha. The Buddhists took advantage of this initiative to intensify their propaganda, and their missionaries followed closely in the steps of the royal functionaries, bearers of the edict of the Dharma. They met with considerable success, and the Community of the Four Quarters was soon represented all over India. However, its influence varied notably in the different regions, and a clear distinction must be made between the island of Ceylon and the Indian mainland.

THE CONVERSION OF CEYLON. — The few religious who landed in Ceylon in 250 B.C. under the leadership of Mahinda, were imbued with Sthavirian or conservative ideas. As a son of the emperor Aśoka, Mahinda opened relations directly with the Śimhala royal family who had been established on the island for five generations. King Devānām-
piyatissa, Queen Anulā and Prince Aritṭha welcomed the missionaries with open arms and embraced their cause. The conversion of the island, in fact of the royal family, was carried out with all haste. Mahinda was able to profit from these eminently favourable circumstances to pursue in Ceylon the objectives which the Buddha had previously sought in Gangetic India: the recruiting of numerous ordinands and the establishment of the Saṅgha on a solid basis. The Mahāvihāra monastery was founded with royal largesse at the very gates of the capital Anurādhapura; for centuries, it was to rule the religious life of the island and control its policies. The kings of Ceylon competed in generosity to the community, and the Sinhalese chronicle of the Dipa- and Mahāvamsa, when all said and done, is merely a gigantic “honours list” aimed at glorifying the religious foundations and pious works of the great sovereigns: Devānampiyatissa, Uttiya, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi and Mahādāṭhika, to mention only the main ones.

Peace was disturbed only by the repeated invasions of the Tamil hordes but, after more or less long intervals of foreign occupation, the kings of Ceylon, strongly supported by the monks, always succeeded in regaining their throne.

In the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, between the years 35 and 32 B.C., the Sinhalese religious, assembled at the Ālokavihāra, put their canonical texts into writing, and that action greatly contributed to the fixing of the doctrine. However, at about the same date, a quarrel among the religious caused a scission in the community, and the monks of the Abhayagiri no longer associated with those of the Mahāvihāra. The quarrel became more bitter in the reign of Vohārikatissa (260-282 A.D.), when the Abhayagiri adopted the Vetullavāda heresy.

The Conversion of the Subcontinent. — On the Indian mainland, events occurred in a very different way. For reasons of expediency, the propagandists and missionaries were led to change their objective and turn to the masses rather than the élite. The number of conversions was considerably higher than that of ordinands.

The difficulties to be overcome were enormous. The vast subcontinent was still not properly unified and the peoples to be converted were not only of Indian (Ārya and Drāviḍa) origin, but also foreign, Greek or Scythian.

Buddhist propaganda often came up against the hostility of princes: the last Mauryas (236-187 B.C.) withdrew their favours from the sons of the Śākya; Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.) persecuted them; the last Śungas and the Kāṇvas (ca 100-30 B.C.) embraced the Bhāgavata religion. It
was among foreign princes, Menander (163-150 B.C.), some Scythian satraps (ca 90-17 B.C.) and Gondophares (19-45 A.D.), that the Buddhists found most sympathy, although it was not always disinterested.

The other Indian religions did not remain inactive. Everywhere, the brahmins, worshippers of devas, Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas attempted to recruit followers. In the Śunga period, Viśnuite sects launched a powerful theistic movement which met with great success and influenced even the Buddhists themselves.

Despite all these obstacles, the Good Law continued to make progress. The ancient and rudimentary vihāras of the early times were joined by new saṅghārāmas, inhabited by many monastics. The Indian soil, from the Himālayas to the Deccan, from Gandhāra to Champā, was covered with commemorative stūpas. In the second century before Christ, their ornamentation gave rise to the flourishing of the Central Indian school of sculpture, while the bas-reliefs at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, Śānci and Amarāvatī were to remain the most characteristic and original achievements of ancient Indian art. Towards the end of the pre-Christian era, wherever the ground was suitable and particularly in the Western Ghāts, the Buddhists were to adopt the habit of excavating their caityas and vihāras in the living rock; the temple at Kārli shows the perfection which that rock-cut architecture soon attained.

The dispersion of the “Community of the Four Quarters” over an area as extensive as the Indian subcontinent made it impossible to maintain its unity. From the time of Asoka, the old rivalry between the Arhats on the one hand and the worldly religious (prthagjana) and the laity on the other culminated in the Mahāsāṃghika schism. The community divided into two branches: Sthaviras and Mahāsāṃghikas. They engendered a whole series of subschools which soon reached the traditional number of eighteen. In contrast to what happened in Ceylon, they all, to varying degrees, came under the influence of lay circles, particularly the upāsakas and upāsikās whose ideal differed appreciably from that of the religious.

Sākyamuni’s message was addressed to a chosen flock of noble young people who “left home to take up the homeless life”; he propounded to them an ideal of individual perfection which was only fully attainable within the limited framework of the religious life.

The activity of the Buddhist missionaries, intensified in the Asokan period, resulted in the popularization of that message by transmission to the masses. The latter were ill-prepared to receive it and could not apply it without first changing it considerably. The lay person requires a god, whereas the religious needs a master. The lay person, who has to live in
the world, wishes to please and to give, while the monk, withdrawn into solitude, pursues by himself the work of self-perfection. Using appropriate rituals, the lay person hopes to conciliate the superior powers whose intervention is called for because of his needs and woes, whereas the monk places his hope and trust in the observance of rules and the efficacy of spiritual practices.

It seems clear, and we hope to demonstrate this in the following pages, that if Buddhism, from the philosophico-mystical doctrine that it was originally transformed into a true religion, with a pantheon, mythology, hagiography and worship, this is due to the progressive penetration of the Good Law among the mass of the people, who were more devout than well-informed. The beginning of this evolution occurred at the end of Asoka's reign, which was marked by the expansion of Buddhism throughout the whole of India; but, once it had begun, the popularization of the Good Law was to continue throughout the centuries, become intensified in the Buddhism of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna and reach its culmination in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, at a time when the doctrine of the Śākya, dulled by compromise and deviation, was absorbed by the surrounding Hinduism.

II. — THE DEIFIED BUDDHA

THE GOD, SUPERIOR TO THE GODS. — In the early canonical texts discussed in the first chapter (pp. 23-27), Šākyamuni is presented as a fully enlightened sage, who discovered the truth and taught it to mankind. The Dharma which he devised is not to be confused with him. He limited himself to discovering and teaching it. "There is", he told the brahmin Moggallāna, "a Nirvāṇa and a path which leads to Nirvāṇa, and I am here as adviser. However, among the disciples whom I exhort and instruct in this way, some attain the supreme goal, Nirvāṇa, others do not attain it. What can I do in this matter, O brahmin? The Tathāgata, O brahmin, is merely a shower of the path (mārgakhyāyin)". His instructing was limited by time; after some years, the great voice fell silent and the Wheel of the Law ceased to turn, for the Master himself entered Nirvāṇa, "like a lamp going out when the oil is exhausted". From then on, he was out of sight. Left to themselves, the disciples had nothing but the Law as their one and only refuge. The prospect was all the more sombre because the appearance of Buddhas in this world is something as rare as the flowering of a fig-tree: it is only at

2 Majjhima, III, p. 6.
very remote intervals (kadācit karhicit) that the Tathāgatas, the holy and perfectly Enlightened Ones, manifest themselves on earth.

On the other hand, we saw in Chapter Six (pp. 622-625) the importance given to Buddhology by the sects. The Sarvāstivādins laid the foundations of the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha; the Mahāsāṃghikas devised a transcendent Buddha, a supernormal being having nothing further in common with the world and whose terrestrial life was no more than a fiction. All the scholars studied the career of the bodhisattva, the countless periods and additional Kalpas during which he multiplied virtuous feats in order finally to attain Buddhahood.

Between the old canonical texts and the learned constructions of those scholars, there is a gap which was filled thanks to a surge of popular feeling.

If monks, devoted to a life of study and meditation, are able to resign themselves to regarding their founder only as a sage who had entered Nirvāṇa, lay followers who are exposed to the difficulties of their times, require something other than a “dead god” of whom only the “remains” (śarīra) could be revered. They want a living god, a “god superior to the gods” (devātideva)* who will continue his beneficial activity among them, who can predict the future, perform wonders, and whose worship (pujā) will be something more than more recollection (anusmṛti).

This state of mind, which had an influence on certain later works in the Pāli canon, such as the Apadāna, the Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, appeared widely in the post-canonical literature in hybrid and pure Sanskrit. The Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Buddhacarita, Saundarananda, Aṣokāvadāna, Divyāvadāna and Avadānasūrya like to represent the Buddha, no longer only as a sage, but as an extraordinary being “adorned with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, his body resplendent with the eighty minor marks, nimbused by a fathom-wide radiance, more brilliant than a thousand suns, like a great mountain of jewels in motion, attractive in every way”3. It is this sublime image, not that of the shaven and tonsured bhikṣu, that the chisel of the Gandhāran artists preferred to represent.

Far from hesitating to perform wonders, this marvellous being is a living miracle. On seeing him, automatically, “the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the mad recover their reason, nakedness is

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3 This description of the Buddha is found in thirty-two stories in the Avadānasūrya (e.g. I, pp. 3, 18, 37, etc.), and sometimes twice in some of them. It is also to be found in the Divyāvadāna (e.g. pp. 46-7, 75, etc.).
covered, hunger and thirst are appeased, the sick cured, the infirm regain their wholeness”4.

The Blessed One is no longer a lover of solitude, fleeing from the worries of mankind and withdrawing into the Pārīleyyaka forest in the company of wild beasts. Everywhere he dwells, he is “respected, venerated, esteemed, worshipped by kings, kings’ ministers, the wealthy, the inhabitants of towns, bankers, caravaneers, Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Gāruḍas, Kīṃnaras and Mahorāgas; thus honoured, the Blessed Lord Buddha, illustrious and filled with merit, is overwhelmed with gifts of clothing, food, bedding, seats, refreshments, medicaments and ornaments”5.

The texts emphasize the beneficial power of the Buddha, the embodiment of knowledge, omnipotence and compassion:

Nothing escapes the knowledge, sight, learning and comprehension of the Blessed Lord Buddhas. It is in fact a rule that the Blessed Lord Buddhas, endowed with great compassion, devoted to the welfare of the world, accepted protectors, plunged into tranquillity and analysis, skilled in the three domains of discipline, avoiding the four floods, firmly established in the four bases of supernormal power, long since familiar with the four means of winning over beings, freed from the five hindrances, having gone beyond the five destinies, endowed with the six qualities [of equanimity], having fulfilled the six perfections, covered with the flowers of the seven factors of Enlightenment, teaching the eightfold path, versed in the nine successive attainments, endowed with the ten forces, renowned in the ten regions, superior to tens and hundreds of “Autonomous” gods, — it is a rule that, three times at night and three times in the day, they examine the world with the Buddha-eye and that knowledge and vision develop in them: “Who is declining”, they ask themselves, “and who is prospering? Who is in pain, danger or trouble? Who is leaning, bending or slipping towards the bad destinies? Who might I save from the bad destinies and establish in heaven and deliverance? Who is it that is being sucked into the mire of desire and to whom I might extend my hand to draw him out of it? Who is it that has no noble riches and whom I might set in full and complete possession of noble riches? Who is it whose eyes are covered by the shadows and mote of ignorance and whose eyes I might cure with the eye-lotion and lancet of knowledge? Who is it in whom have not yet been planted the wholesome roots which I might plant? He in whom are planted wholesome roots which I might cause to ripen? He in whom they are ripened and to whom I might give deliverance?”.

The ocean, the abode of marine monsters, may forget the time of the tide; but never will the Buddha allow the hour for converting his dearly beloved sons to pass.

4 Lalitavistara, pp. 278-9; Mahāvyutpatti, 6306-9; Divyāvadāna, p. 365 (more developed). — This stock phrase is reproduced in the Mahāyānasūtras, such as the Pañcavimsāti, pp. 9-10; Śatasāhasrika, pp. 18-19, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, ed. Nobel, pp. 8-9.

5 This preamble is usual at the beginning of all the Avadānas.

6 This passage is repeated in fourteen stories in the Avadānasūtaka (e.g., I, pp. 16-17, 30-1, 72, etc.). It is also found in the Divyāvadāna, pp. 95-6, 124-5, 264-5.
This new-style Buddha is no longer as loquacious as the śramaṇa Gautama of Kapilavastu. He no longer expatiates in long dogmatic and highly technical sūtras, but frequently intervenes to reveal their past actions to his listeners or announce their future rebirths. These predictions (vyākaraṇa) take place according to a fixed ceremonial.

The Buddha smiles. It is in fact a rule that when the Buddhas smile, blue, yellow, red and white rays of light issue from their lips: some go downwards, some go upwards. Those that go downwards descend to the depths of the hells and, depending on the case, cool or warm the hell-bound, who change into Devas. The rays which go upwards enter the twenty-three heavenly spheres and the gods, seized with admiration, exclaim:

Begin, leave your dwellings; apply yourselves to the Law of the Buddha; annihilate the army of death, just as an elephant overturns a hut made of reeds.

Whoever moves undistractedly under the discipline of that Law, evading birth and the cycle of the world, will put an end to suffering.

Then those rays, after enveloping the Trichiliomegachiliocosm, return to the Blessed One from behind. If the Buddha wishes to explain an action performed in the past, the rays disappear into his back. If it is a future action that he wishes to predict, they disappear into his chest. Depending on whether he is predicting a birth in the hells, among animals, among Pretas, among mankind, among Balacakravartin, Cakravartin kings or among Devas, the rays disappear respectively under the sole of his feet, into his heel, into his big toe, into his knee, into the palm of his left hand, into the palm of his right hand or, finally, into his navel. If he wishes to predict to someone that he will have the intelligence of a Śrāvaka, they disappear into his mouth; if it is the intelligence of a Pratyeka-buddha, they disappear into his ears; if it is the supreme wisdom of a perfectly accomplished Buddha, they disappear into his cranial protuberance.

Ānanda then asks the Buddha the reason for his smile and the return of the rays: “No, it is not without reason that the Victorious Ones, who have triumphed over the foe, who are free from frivolity, who have renounced pride and discouragement, and who are the cause of the happiness of the world, have a smile like the yellow fibres of the lotus...”

The Buddha answers him that in fact his smile is not unmotivated and that such-and-such a person, because of a thought he has conceived or because of an offering he has made, will incur such-and-such a rebirth or might even become, in this world, a perfectly accomplished Buddha with a specific name.

It is equally the rule that, after having benefited from a spiritual favour, one should thank the Buddha with a thrice-repeated eulogy:

7 The long development summarized here is found in twenty stories of the Avadānasātaka (e.g., I, pp. 4-7, 10-12, 19-22). It also appears in several places in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 67-9, 138-40, 265-7, 366-8, 568-70), as well as the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vin. (T 1442, ch. 46, p. 879a-c; T 1448, ch. 8, p. 36a-b).
Venerable One, what has been done for me by the Blessed One has never been done by my mother, or my father, or the king, or the deities, or the crowd of relatives and associates, or ancient Pretas, or śramanas or brāhmīns. The ocean of tears of blood is dried up, the mountain of bones is crossed, the doors of the unhappy destinies are closed, the gates of heaven and deliverance are open wide. The foot has been diverted [from the dreadful fate] of the hell-bound, animals and Pretas, and placed among gods and mankind.

Through your compassion, the path of the bad destinies, a cruel and woeful path, has been closed, and the highly meritorious way to heaven has been opened; I have attained the path of Nirvāṇa.

Through your support, I have today acquired the unblemished eye, the pure eye, perfectly pure; I have reached the tranquil place, cherished by the holy ones, and I have crossed the ocean of suffering.

O you, who are revered by the world of Daityas [demons], mankind and gods; you, whose appearance is so rare, even during thousands of existences, the sight of you has been fruitful for me today, O Muni.

Seen from that angle and in that perspective, the last life and former existences of the Buddha Śākyamuni appear in a more legendary than historical guise. It is no longer a matter of a simple biography, as we attempted to sketch earlier (pp. 15-23), but a true chivalric romance all the subjective elements of that literary style. It is appropriate to examine the development of the legend, with regard to both the last life and former existences of Śākyamuni.

THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE LEGEND OF THE BUDDHA. — By somewhat accentuating the angles, it is possible to distinguish five successive stages in the legend of Śākyamuni: 1. biographical fragments incorporated into the early Sūtras; 2. complete or fragmentary biographies included in the Vinayās; 3. autonomous but incomplete “Lives”, elaborated by various Buddhist schools at the beginning of the Christian era; 4. a complete biography in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and related texts, dating from approximately the fourth century; 5. the Nidānakathā and an outline of annals compiled in the fifth century by Sinhalese commentators.

1. Biographical fragments incorporated in the Sūtras. — In the Majjhimanikāya, four suttas which repeat and complement one another all tell us of an important phase in Śākyamuni’s life, namely, the period which extends from the flight from Kapilavastu until the Enlightenment: these are the Ariyapariyasena (M., I, pp. 163-73; T 26, No. 204, ch. 56, pp. 776b-778c), the Dvedhāvitakka (M., I, p. 117), the Bhayabherava (M.,

I, pp. 17-23; T 125, ch. 23, pp. 665b-666c) and the Mahāsaccakasutta (M., I, pp. 240-9). The following is a summary of the contents of these texts.

Having meditated on birth, old age, disease, death and defilement, Śākyamuni made the decision to seek the absence of defilement, incomparable security and Nirvāṇa. Against the will of his parents, he left home and donned the yellow robe of the religious; he studied successively under Ālāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra; the former taught him the way of nihilism, the latter that of neither-perception-nor-non-perception; however Śākyamuni, considering their doctrines to be imperfect, abandoned them. passed through Magadha and withdraw into solitude, in the neighbourhood of Uruvilvā (M., I, pp. 163-7; T 26, ch. 56, pp. 776b-777a).

Greatly superior to other monks and brahmans, the newly isolated man passed his retreat in purity and knowledge. During the auspicious nights, he overcame the horrors of the wilderness, in all his attitudes triumphing over fear and dread; he was aware of being one of those men without illusions, born into the world for the welfare of many people (M., I, pp. 17-21; T 125, ch. 23, pp. 665b-666b).

Three similes borrowed from the respective action of wet wood and dry wood came to his mind and made him understand that he should control his body, restrain his passions and rid his mind of desire. He therefore gave himself over to fearful mortifications: he clenched his teeth and pressed his tongue against his palate; he stopped his breathing through his mouth, nose and ears; he undertook so strict a fast that his life was in danger. Recalling the first time he meditated under the rose-apple tree, when he was still only a child, he wished to make a final effort and practise the ecstasies; to that end, he decided to have a substantial meal, and the five companions who had accompanied him in his retreat abandoned him (M., I, pp. 240-7).

Plunged into meditation, Śākyamuni successively passed through the four ecstasies (dhyāna) which were to lead him to Enlightenment. During the first night watch, he acquired the knowledge which consists of recalling his former existences (pūrvanivāsanusmrtiţjñāna); during the second watch, the knowledge of the death and birth of beings (cyutypapādajñāna); during the third and last watch, he acquired the certainty that all his defilements were destroyed (āsravakṣayajñāna). By means of that threefold knowledge, he penetrated the four noble truths concerning suffering, etc., and was finally able to award himself the palm of holiness: “I have found deliverance; all new birth is destroyed; holiness has been achieved, what had to be done has been done; I will return here no
more” (M., I, pp. 21-3, 117, 247-9; T 26, ch. 25, p. 589c; T 125, ch. 23, p. 666b-c).

The Buddha, judging his doctrine too difficult to be understood wished to keep it to himself; however, after repeated entreaties from the god Brahmā, he consented to propound it to mankind. He wanted first of all to approach his former masters Āḷāra and Udraka, but he was told they were dead, so he decided to go to Vārānasī and rejoin the five companions who had witnessed his austerities. While on the way there, he met the Ājīvika Upaka and confided his plan to him. He finally reached Vārānasī and, in the Deer Park, was acknowledged as a Buddha by the Group of Five and taught them the four noble truths (M., I, pp. 167-73; T 26, ch. 56, pp. 777a-778c).

Another period of the Buddha’s life is the subject of a Sanskrit sūtra, the Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, discovered in Šorčuq (Chinese Turkestan) by the third German expedition to Turfan, and analyzed and edited by E. Waldschmidt. It does not appear in the Chinese Āgama collections, but has its correspondent in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Dulva, IV, p. 52 sq., T 1450, ch. 5, p. 124c sq.). This sūtra contains no less than twenty-eight episodes which can be classified in four sections: 1. the events at the foot of the Bodhi tree in Gayā (Nos 1-9), 2. the Buddha’s first entry in Vārānasī (Nos 10-21), 3. the conversions at Gayā, on the return from Vārānasī (Nos 22-26), 4. the conversions at Rājaγṛha (Nos 27-28).

A special sūtra, the Mahāparinirvānasūtra, is entirely devoted to the last days of the Buddha. It has come down to us in a Pāli version (Dīgha, II, pp. 71-168), a Sanskrit recension (analyzed and edited by E. WALDSCHMIDT), a Tibetan translation (Dulva, XI, pp. 535b-652b) and some Chinese versions (T 1, ch. 2-4, pp. 11-30; T 5-7; T 1451, ch. 35-38, pp. 382b-402c), not to mention the many extracts scattered throughout all the canonical and post-canonical literature.

Professor Waldschmidt arranged the fifty-one episodes which make up the plot of the account in four classifications: 1. episodes reproduced in substantially the same way in the majority of the sources; 2. episodes

9 References above, p. 154, note.
10 References above, p. 154, note.
related by the majority of the versions, but in a different way; 
3. episodes attested to in only a small number of sources; 4. episodes 
attested to in a single version.

If an authentic tradition ever did exist, in the course of time it was 
subjected to considerable alterations. It is represented more faithfully, it 
seems, by the Sanskrit version than by the Pāli one.

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The biographical sūtras prove to be very sparing in details concerning 
the life and childhood of Śākyamuni; the Sūnandā (Dīgha, I, p. 115; 
T 1, ch. 15, p. 95a 2) merely says: “The recluse Gautama was well-born 
on both sides, of pure descent through his mother and father for seven 
generations, unblemished and irreproachable with regard to his birth”.

However, the Mahāvadānasūtra (Pāli version, Dīgha, II, pp. 1-54; 
Sanskrit recension analyzed and edited by E. Waldschmidt 11; Chinese 
versions, T 1, ch. 1, pp. 1-10; T 2-4; T 125, ch. 45, pp. 790-1), devoted to 
the glorification of the last seven Buddhas, contains detailed indications 
about the life of the Buddha Vipāśyin from his conception until his 
deeds as a Buddha.

Vipāśyin descended from the Tuṣita heaven in the midst of earthqua­ 
k es and great light. He became embodied in the womb of a perfectly 
pure mother, who was able to contemplate the child within her womb. 
During her pregnancy, she observed the five precepts.

After six months had passed, Vipāśyin was born: earthquakes and 
luminous signs accompanied his birth. The Bodhisattva immediately 
stood upright and took seven steps towards the four cardinal points, 
proclaiming that he was the eldest in the world and that this birth would 
be his last. Two miraculous jets of water flowed over the mother and 
child. The gods manifested their joy (Dīgha, II, pp. 12-15).

The Bodhisattva was then presented to his father, who had him 
examined by seers; the latter discovered the thirty-two “Marks of a 
Great Man” on him and declared that later the child would either 
become a powerful cakravartin king or a perfectly enlightened Buddha 
(Dīgha, II, pp. 16-19).

The child, whose upbringing was entrusted to nurses, was quick to 
display extraordinary qualities: his comeliness, the brilliance of his look, 
the gentleness of his voice and his talents attracted general sympathy. 
His youth was spent in luxury and pleasure: three palaces, one for each 
season, were placed at his disposal (Dīgha, II, pp. 19-21).

11 References above, p. 154, note.
However, during his outings, the Bodhisattva successively encountered an old man, a sick man, a dead man and a monk. Filled with disgust for this world and its vanities, he left the town of Bandhumati, shaved his head, donned the yellow robe of the religious and withdrew into solitude (Dīgha, II, pp. 21-30).

While in retreat, he discovered the Law of the twelve causes or the dependent origination of phenomena; triumphing over suffering, he acquired mental liberation which made him a Buddha (Dīgha, II, pp. 30-5).

Considering his doctrine to be too difficult to be understood, he wanted to keep it secret; however, yielding to the repeated pleas of the god Brahmā, he agreed to preach it. He went to the Deer Park in Bandhumati and set turning the Wheel of the Law for the kṣatriya Khanda and the brahmin Tiṣya. Both attained Arhatship. This example was followed by 80,000 inhabitants of Bhandhumati who donned the yellow robe of the religious and acquired holiness. The Buddha Vipaśyin sent his monks out on missions, and this continued for six years. After which, the monks returned to Bandhumati, and Vipaśyin informed them of the monastic rules (Dīgha, II, pp. 37-47).

This biography, strongly tinged with legend, is given as typical and is valid, apart from a few details, for all the Buddhas indiscriminately. Started by Vipaśyin, it was relived successively by his successors, the other Buddhas. Śākyamuni, the last of the line, repeated it in turn (Dīgha, II, p. 51). The wonders which marked the conception and birth of Vipaśyin were reproduced for him; just like Vipaśyin, he was raised in luxury and had three palaces at his disposal. In short, everything occurred as if the devout biographers, unaware of the precise details of Śākyamuni’s coming into the world, had after the event attributed a marvellous conception and birth to him, by applying to him a legend intended to glorify the Buddhas and cakravartin kings, a legend the themes of which were fixed in advance.

2. Biographical fragments incorporated into the Vinayas. — The Vinayas in our possession narrate a mass of episodes concerning the public ministry of Śākyamuni but, with the exception of the Mūlasarvāstivādin

12 Cf. the Acchariyyabhutadhammasutta, Majjhima, III, pp. 119-24; T 26, No. 32, ch. 8, pp. 469c-471c.
13 Majjhima, I, p. 504; Aṅguttara, I, p. 145; T 26, No. 117, ch. 29, p. 607c 8.
14 It is true that, theoretically, we could uphold the opposite thesis and claim that the life of Śākyamuni served as a model and point of departure for the legend in the Mahāvadānasūtra. This would mean that at the same time we would have to accept blindly all the miracles of the golden legend of Buddhism.
Vinaya, the anecdotes recorded in no way form a continuous account: they are introduced occasionally to narrate the circumstances which decided the Buddha to formulate an order or impose a prohibition.

However, in three Vinayas, the section devoted to the Skandhakas opens with a more or less long section of Śākyamuni's life: the Pāli Vinaya (I, pp. 1-44) records events from the Enlightenment to the conversion of Śāriputra. The Vinaya of the Mahāsāsaka (T 1421, pp. 101a 10-110c 10) and the Dharmaguptaka (T 1428, pp. 779a 5-779b 24) devote some ten pages to narrating the antecedents and genealogy of Śākyamuni, his birth and life up to the Enlightenment and, in conclusion, the beginning of his public ministry until the conversion of Śāriputra.

In the same Vinayas, the Skandhaka section ends with the beginning of an ecclesiastical history: the Pāli Vinaya (II, pp. 284-308) and the Mahāsāsaka Vinaya (T 1421, pp. 190b 13-194b 20) gives an account of the first two councils; the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (T 1428, pp. 966a 15-971c 2) briefly relates the funeral of the Buddha and continues with an account of the two councils.

Neither the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1435) nor that of the Mahāsāṃghika (T 1425) contains a continuous biography of the Buddha. Furthermore, the two Buddhist councils the vicissitudes of which they narrate, the former in the postface by Vimalākṣa and the latter right in the middle of the Skandhaka, appear as annexes to the general theme of the explanation.

This is why it seems difficult for us to posit, as did E. Frauwallner, the existence of an original "Old Skandhaka", beginning with an account of the Buddha's life, from his antecedents until the start of his public ministry, and concluding with the narration of his decease and funeral and an outline of the ecclesiastical history.

However that may be, the Vinayas and particularly that of the Sarvāstivādins include numerous stories and anecdotes concerning Śākyamuni's public ministry which cannot be found elsewhere. Some give evidence of a new spirit, announcing the coming of the Mahāyāna, such as the curious miracle of languages which has been alluded to above (pp. 549-552).

3. Autonomous but incomplete "Lives". — Towards the beginning of the Christian era, new development appeared in the legend of the

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15 See above, pp. 167-171, the analysis of the six Vinayas.
16 Cf. above, pp. 133-136.
17 See above, pp. 176-179.
Buddha: the biography of the Blessed One stands out from the mass of doctrinal and disciplinary texts in which it was drowned and becomes the subject of autonomous compositions. Two have come down to us in Sanskrit: the *Lalitavistara* (ed. S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902) and the *Mahāvastu* (ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1892-97); others are in Chinese (T 184-191; 195-197). The oldest translations date from the end of the second century (T 184 is from 197) or the beginning of the third (T 185 is from 222-229), so we can assume that the first original compositions date from the beginning of the Christian era.

These Lives are incomplete: they are no more than an account of the first return to Kapilavastu, do not mention the great missionary tours of the Buddha and are silent over his decease. Depending on the point at which they stop their narrative, they can be divided into five categories:

a. Lives which conclude with the victory over Māra: *Hsiu hsing pên ch'î ching* (T 184), five chapters.


c. Lives concluding with the conversion of the three Kāśyapa brothers: *Mahāvastu* (cf. III, pp. 425 sq.); *T'ai tsû jui ying pên ch'i ching* (T 185).

d. Lives finishing with the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, followed or not by the meeting with Mahākāśyapa: *P'u yao ching* (T 186), tr. in 30 chap. of a *Lalitavistara*, carried out in 308 by Dharmarakṣa; *Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching* (T 189).

e. Lives ending with the first return to Kapilavastu: *Fo pên hsing chi ching* (T 190), in 60 chap.\textsuperscript{18}; *Chung hsü mo ho ti ching* (T 191).

Alongside these continuous accounts, there are also extracts or anthologies which merely relate certain events in the life of the Buddha: the *Shih êrh yu ching* (T 195), tr. in 392 by Kālodaka, tells briefly of the first twelve years of his public ministry; the *Chung pên ch'i ching* (T 196), tr. in 207 by T'an kuo and Mung hisiang, is a selection of fifteen episodes which occurred between the Discourse at Vārānasī and the stay in Vāraṇjā when the Buddha was forced through famine to eat “horse com”; the *Hsing ch'i hsing ching* (T 197), tr. in about 207 by K'ang Mung hisiang, relates ten torments endured by the Buddha in expiation of former faults.

The Lives borrow the outline of their account from canonical sources:

\textsuperscript{18} This life has been translated into English by S. Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha*, London, 1875.
the wonders of the conception and birth are taken from the Mahāvadānasūtra; the episodes of the cycle of the Enlightenment, from the departure from Kapilavastu to the arrival at Bodhi, are borrowed from biographical suttas in the Majjhima; finally, the beginnings of the public ministry are taken from the Vinaya. However, the account is embellished with new and unpublished details which give it a more dramatic appearance: the Bodhisattva’s first meditation under the rose-apple tree is combined with the marvel of the shadow which remained motionless over the child’s body; the Bodhisattva’s meditation on the mysteries of life and death are replaced by a more lively account of the four encounters; the departure from Kapilavastu is enlarged by new episodes: leaving the town with the connivance of the deities, the farewells to the charger Kanthaka and the charioteer Chandaka, the cutting of his hair, and exchange of clothing with the hunter, etc.; the walk to the Bodhi-mañḍa and the arrangement of the seat of Enlightenment take on the solemnity of a carefully regulated rite; finally, the Bodhisattva has to repulse the assaults by Māra three or four times.

All these Lives contain numerous references to the jātaka, former existences of the Buddha and his disciples. The Lalitavistara (pp. 163 sq.), summarizes a whole series of them. In the Mahāvastu and the Fo pen hsing chi ching (T 190), however, these jātaka become true motives of the account: each episode of the last life of the Buddha is given as the result and distant repetition of an event in his former existences. This constant concern for reference to the past shows to what degree belief in rebirth was deep-rooted in the minds of Buddhists. On each page, the Mahāvastu interrupts its narrative to inform us that it was not the first time the Buddha acted in such a way or was the hero of such an adventure; already in one of his former existences, an event of the same kind had occurred. This narrative process, mixing fable with legend, was subsequently to become generalized, and we find it again in particular in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya which inaugurates a new stage in the formation of the legend of the Buddha.

4. Complete Lives of the Buddha. — We have to wait until the second century of the Christian era to find, at last complete biographies which take Śākyamuni from his descent from the Tuṣita heaven through to his Nirvāṇa and funeral ceremony.

The initiative seems to have been taken by contemporaries of King Kaniska. With the title of “Buddhacarita compiled by Saṅgharakṣa”, a certain Saṅgharakṣa19, a native of Surāśṭra (Kāthiāwār) and Kanishka’s

19 On Saṅgharakṣa, see P. Demiéville, La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa, BEFEO, XLIV, pp. 363-8.
teacher, composed in Gandhāra a complete biography of the Buddha in a mixture of verse and prose with a fairly developed version of the legend of Aśoka in appendix. This work was translated into Chinese in 384 by Samghabhadra, with the title of Sēng ch‘ieh lo ch‘a so chi ching, or better Sēng ch‘ieh lo ch‘a so chi Fo hsing (T 194).

Another contemporary of Kaniska, the brahmin Aśvaghoṣa, a native of Sāketa who had been converted to Buddhism, also composed a Buddhacarita in twenty-eight chapters, in Sanskrit verses of scholarly workmanship. The first of these deals with the birth of the Blessed One; the last is devoted to the distribution of the relics. The complete work exists only in a Tibetan version (Mdo XCIV, 1) and in Chinese (T 192), the latter translated by Dharmakṣema between 414 and 421. We possess the Sanskrit original of chapters I to XIV, as well as Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia (III, 16-29; XVI, 20-36) 20.

There also exists a third poem in verse which narrates, in thirty-one chapters, the complete life of the Buddha up to the distribution of the relics. Its author is unknown and the work now exists only in a Chinese version, the Fo pên hsing ching (T 193) translated by Pao yun between 427 and 449.

We mentioned above (pp. 170-171) a complete biography of Śākyamuni and the beginning of an ecclesiastical history incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. That “historical” section covers the chapters of the Samghahedavastu and the Vinayakṣudrakavastu which exist in Chinese (T 1450, 1451) and in a Tibetan version, the latter translated into English by W.W. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, London, 1884. Only a few fragments or extracts from the Sanskrit original have come down to us 21. With the exception of a few leaves of the Samghahedavastu, the “historical” section is missing in the publication of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya edited by N. Dutt (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, 1937, pp. 1-128; F. Weller, Zwei Zentralasiatische Fragmente des Buddhacarita, ASAWL, XLVI, 4, 1953, pp. 1-26.


21 For the Samghahedavastu, the Sanskrit text of the Catuspariṣatsūtra, edited by E. Waldschmidt, corresponds to T 1450, ch. 5-7, pp. 124c 27-136c 27; the few leaves from Gilgit edited by N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, III, part 4, pp. 225, 16-248, 11, correspond to T 1450, ch. 10, pp. 147c-153a.

For the Vinayakṣudrakavastu, the Prāthīhāryaśūtra, incorporated into the Divyāvadāna, Ch. XII, pp. 143-66, corresponds to T 1451, ch. 26, pp. 329a-333c; the beginning of the Māndhātāvadāna, incorporated into the Divyāvadāna, Ch. XVII, pp. 200-9, corresponds to T 1451, ch. 36, pp. 387c 4-389a 2; finally, the Mahāparinirvānasūtra, edited by E. Waldschmidt, corresponds to T 1451, ch. 35-38, pp. 382b 29-402c 4.
4 parts, Srinagar, 1942-50). Through one of those sensational discoveries to which he alone holds the key, G. Tucci has recently discovered the Sanskrit original in Afghanistan. We can rest assured he will publish it without delay.

The date of the Vinaya of which this section forms part can be established approximately. It contains a prediction concerning Kaniska (T 1448, ch. 9, p. 41b-c), and the manner in which it celebrates the sovereign's merits as well as the splendours of the Peshâwâr stûpa already presuppose the remoteness of their history. In fact, the present tendency is to delay the accession of Kaniska until the second century A.D. (128 according to J. Marshall, 143 according to Ghirshman). Furthermore, the Sâkyamuni who is brought onto the scene by the Mûlasarv. Vin. is no longer the sage of Kapilavastu known to the early canonical texts, but the "god superior to the gods" celebrated by the Avadâna literature (above, pp. 644-645) and the Mahâyâna. Finally, Fa hsienc, who visited India between 402 and 411 in search of copies of the Vinayas, does not seem to have known of the Mûlasarv. Vin., and it was only in the first decade of the eighth century that it was (partly) translated into Chinese by I ching. For all these reasons, we cannot attribute to this work a date earlier than the fourth-fifth centuries of the Christian era.

The Mûlasarv. Vin. is presented as an enormous compilation. It repeats all the earlier facts from the Sûtras, the Vinayas (particularly that of the Sarvâstivâdins) and the autonomous Lives, which enables it to follow Sâkyamuni from his conception until the return to Kapilavastu six years after the Enlightenment (T 1450, ch. 12, p. 159a 8-9). In order to narrate the rest of his public life, it had to make a summary choice between the accounts in the earlier Vinayas, then classify them chronologically, with the help of guide marks. As to the Nirvâna and the funeral ceremony, it conveniently repeated the Sanskrit version of the Mahâparinirvânasûtra word for word.

Nevertheless, the Mûlasarv. Vin. is not free of neologisms, it sometimes enriches the legend with details, even apparently new episodes. According to it, Sâkyamuni did not have one, but three wives simultaneously, without counting the sixty thousand courtesans in their service; they were named Yaśodharâ, Gopâ and Mrîgajâ (T 1450, ch. 3, pp. 11lc, 112c, 114b).

The struggle between the Buddha and his cousin Devadatta also becomes the object of long developments, already partly manifested in

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\[22\] A different opinion in E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya, pp. 27 sq.; 196.
the *Sarvāstivādin Vin*. The Pāli sources were more restrained over the schismatic; the Suttas merely presented him as a man of malevolent desires (*Samyutta*, II, p. 156), destined for hell (*Majjhima*, I, p. 393); the Pāli *Vinaya* (II, pp. 182-203), extracts from which are quoted word for word in the *Aṅguttara* (II, p. 73; III, p. 123; IV, pp. 160, 164), gives a brief account of his collusion with Ajātaśatru, the schism which he provoked in the community and the three plots he hatched against the Buddha. The separate Lives say even less about him: they consider that Śākyamuni refused to welcome his former companion and childhood rival into his order (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 181; T 190, ch. 59, p. 923c). In contrast, the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (T 1450, ch. 13-14, pp. 168a-174a; ch. 20, p. 203; T 1464, ch. 2, pp. 859-60) and related sources (T 1435, ch. 36-37, pp. 257a-266b; T 1509, ch. 14, pp. 164c-165a) conspicuously expand the history of the schismatic: Devadatta, having entered the order with five hundred other Śākyas, proved to be an exemplary monk for twelve years, but ambition was his downfall. Having acquired, not without difficulty, possession of supernormal powers, he put them to use in order to win the friendship of Prince Ajātaśatru; assisted by the latter, he attempted to supplant the Buddha at the head of the community and to that end committed three offences of immediate maturation: he provoked a schism, wounded the Buddha in the foot by throwing a rock at him and punched the nun Utpalavallī till she was unconscious. Finally, he took up with heretics. Feeling his end approaching, he again tried to scratch the Buddha with poison-coated fingernails. However, the ground opened under his feet and he was flung alive into the hells.

Certain episodes in the life of the Buddha take on the appearance of an apotheosis. In Śrāvasti, Śākyamuni no longer limits himself to the twin wonders (*yamakapratīthārya*) in the sky — common prodigies within the reach of all holy persons —; he also conducts a grandiose multiplication of fictitious Buddhas, by creating doubles of himself which rise in tiers as far as the heaven of the Akaniṣṭha gods (T 1451, ch. 26, p. 332a-b; *Divya*, pp. 161-2).

Eclectic tendencies, already at work in the separate Lives, continue to act and sometimes entirely transform certain old legends, however well established. Nothing is more characteristic in this respect than the story of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. According to known tradition, their teacher, before their conversion to Buddhism, was the heretic Sañjaya Vairatīputra, who professed agnostic ideas; the two young men, having finally discovered the Buddha, decided to take up his Law and tried to take their teacher with them. However, Sañjaya refused to follow them and even tried to hold them back; being unsuccessful and finding
himself abandoned, he spat blood in vexation and died. In contrast, in the *Mulasarv. Vin.* (T 1444, ch. 2, p. 1026a-c; *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, part 4, pp. 20-5) and related texts (*Ch’u fên shuo ching*, T 498, ch. 2, p. 768a-b; *Upadeśa*, T 1509, ch. 11, p. 136b-c; ch. 40, p. 350a; ch. 42, p. 368b), Sañjaya no longer has much in common with the heretic of the same name: he belongs to a wealthy Kauṇḍinya family and, far from professing agnosticism, he prepares the way for Buddhism by preaching the religious life, non-violence, chastity and Nirvāṇa; as he is dying, he denies before his two disciples that he has already found the way of deliverance by himself, but announces the impending arrival of the Buddha and urges them to join him.

In previous publications, I have already raised the matter of the dual tradition concerning Sañjaya: one presenting this person in an unfavourable light as a heretic, the other in a favourable one, as the precursor of the Buddha. However, possibly I was wrong to term the first tradition early and the second later. E. Waldschmidt quite rightly remarked that these traditions are difficult to date and that, if it is important to establish the differences between them, "it is dangerous to consider one as early and the other as late." Professor Waldschmidt, however, sees in the *Mulasarvāstivādin Vinaya* "einen aus jungen und alten Bestandteilen stark gemischten Text" [a text with a strong mixture of recent and earlier components], and it is this composite nature which we wish to emphasize here.

Another tendency of this Vinaya is to bring the biography of Śākyamuni into line with the lives of the previous Buddhas. It draws up a list of the actions which every Buddha must necessarily accomplish (*avasyā-karaṇīya*). They are five in number (T 1451, ch. 26, p. 329c 26) or ten (Divyāvadāna, p. 150): The Buddha does not enter complete cessation

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25 E. Waldschmidt, *Festschrift Schubring*. Hamburg, 1951, p. 120.

26 The list of the five obligatory actions is again found in the Ekottarāgama, T 125, ch. 28, p. 703b 17-20.
as long as another person has not been told by him that he will be a Buddha one day; as long as he has not inspired in another being a thought capable of not turning back from the supreme state of a perfectly accomplished Buddha; as long as all those whom he should convert have not been converted; as long as he has not exceeded three-quarters of the duration of his existence; as long as he has not fixed the limits of his parish; as long as he has not designated two of his auditors as the foremost of all; as long as he has not shown himself descending from the heaven of the Devas at the town of Śaṃkāśya; as long as, assembled with his auditors near the great Anavatapta Lake, he has not displayed the interweaving of previous actions; as long as he has not established his father and mother in the truths; as long as he has not performed a great wonder in Śrāvastī.

5. The Sinhalese compilations. — As might well be expected, the monks of Ceylon did not cease to be interested in the person of their founder. They transmitted intact the Pāli texts which doubtless contain the oldest and most authentic fragments on the life of the Master. They enlarged that heritage to a considerable degree, but refrained from distorting it too much. While attributing a large part to the marvellous, they kept within reasonable limits and did not lapse into the exaggerations and improbabilities to which the separate Lives, the sanskrit Avadānas and Mahāyānasūtras have accustomed us. We know that the monastics at the Mahāvihāra had always been opposed to the Mahāyānist elucidations known in Ceylon by the name of Vetullavāda, and that disposition is enough to explain the relative reticence they displayed in the matter of miracles.

The Suttanipāta, which forms part of the Pāli Khuddakakas which were closed quite late (above, pp. 156-159), contains in Sections No. 3, the Mahāvagga, some suttas which are archaic in style and respectively relate the first encounter with Bimbisāra (Pabbajjāsutta, Sn. III, 1), the assault by Māra on the banks of the Nerāṇjanā (Padhānasutta, Sn. III, 2) and the prediction by the old Asita (Niilakasutta, Sn., III, 11). However, Section No. 3, in which these suttas appear, does not prove much: unlike Sections No. 4 (Aṭṭhakavagga) and 5 (Pārāyanā), it was cited by name in the first four Nikāyas, it has not been the subject of a Chinese translation and it is not explained in the Mahāniddesa, an ancient commentary considered as canonical by the Sinhalese. I am therefore inclined to see, in these three biographical suttas, a Pāli adaptation of fragments borrowed from northern sources, probably the "Lives" in Sanskrit, in which the episodes in question are narrated.

The Nidānakathā “Account of Events”, which serves as an introduc-
tion to the long commentary on the Pāli Jātakas (I, pp. 2-94) and it is derived from ancient Sinhalese glosses, is a continuous narrative of the Buddha's deeds. It consist of three sections: 1. “Remote events” (dūrenidāna), from the birth of the Śākya as Sumedha until his entry into the Tuṣita heaven; 2. “Less remote events” (avidūrenidāna), from his decease among the Tuṣitas and his birth as Siddhārtha until his Enlightenment. 3. “Recent events” (santikenidāna), from the beginnings of the public ministry until the donation of the Jetavana by Anāthapindika. Again, this is an incomplete biography, modelled on the separate “Lives” which were widespread on the mainland. To our Western tastes, the compilers seem too well informed on the ancient facts and too little documented on the last existence. The latter includes a considerable part of marvels, but it nonetheless remains within reasonable limits: we sense a desire to present Śākyamuni as an incomparable master rather than a god.

Finally, the spirit of systematization took hold of the biography of the Buddha. A contemporary of Buddhaghosa, namely Buddhadatta (fifth century A.D.), attached to the Bhūtamaṅgalagāma monastery in Coromandel but who studied at the Mahāvihāra, attempted, in his Commentaries on the Buddhavamsa (p. 2), to compile annals of the first twenty years of Śākyamuni’s public ministry. Not only are these annals incomplete — since they cover the first half of his public life exclusively — but they are also apocryphal, for they are based on both canonical data and legends incorporated at a later date into the Sinhalese commentaries. If the majority of modern authors adopt the chronology proposed in these annals, it is only as a last resort and because they are unable to substitute another for it.

Like the Sarvāstivādins, the Sinhalese Theras sought to specify the resemblances and differences between the Buddhas. All of them are expected to accomplish, during their careers, thirty identical deeds (samatīṃsavīdhi dhammatā), for example, renouncing the world after the four fateful encounters, practising austerities for at least a week, eating milk-rice on the day of their Enlightenment, etc. (Buddhavamsa Commentary, p. 248); they are all obliged to frequent the same places (avijahita thāna): the Bodhimaṇḍa at Bodh-Gayā, the Deer Park in


28 This is why, in the few pages devoted to the life of the Buddha (above, pp. 15-23), we opted for a geographical classification.
Vārānasī, the Jetavana in Śrāvastī and Sāmkāsya (Sūmaṅgala, II, p. 424; Buddhavaṁsa Comm., p. 247). The Buddhas differ among themselves only over points of detail, the exact list of which was known to the chroniclers (Buddhavaṁsa Comm., pp. 2 sq., 246 sq.). However, by stereotyping the legend in this way, scholasticism finally killed it.

**CAUSES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND.** — There are many causes which decided or favoured the development of the legend of the Buddha as we have just sketched it. For more than ten centuries, the ancient facts were subjected to successive adaptations and expanded with new episodes. Whether it is eliminated, modified or added, each detail has its own justification and in principle requires an explanation. However, this can only be found after a detailed search, and the discovery of new sources generally revealed its falseness. Moreover, work has only just begun. For the research to succeed, we would need a synopsis of all the lives of the Buddha, for this alone would yield a fruitful comparison.

In the meantime, among the causes which contributed to the expansion of the legend, we can point to the need to justify such-and-such a detail in the tradition, the influence of holy places on the development of the texts, the incidence of religious imagery on the written tradition, the borrowing from outside sources, the claim of regions which were not converted until late that they had been visited by the Buddha and, finally, the desire of the great families to be connected with the Śākyan lineage.

1. *The justification of detail.* — When a given source is in contradiction with a universally accepted tradition over a point of detail, the old biographers, never at a loss, invented a new story to explain the contradiction.

It is generally accepted that Rāhula, the Buddha’s son, was seven years old when his father returned to Kapilavastu29. According to the *Nidānakathā* (p. 62) and the *Buddhacarita* (II, 46), Yaśodhara gave birth to Rāhula seven days before the Bodhisattva’s departure, and Śakyamuni caressed his son before leaving. Śakyamuni withdrew into solitude and practised the austerities for six years and finally attained Enlightenment. Then, after spending the rainy season in

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29 I only know of one dissenting voice, recorded by the Fo pên hsing chi ching (T 190, ch. 55, p. 909a 27, c 24-27) : according to the Kāśyapiyas and other masters, Rāhula was two years old when his father left home to devote himself to the austerities, and fifteen when the latter returned to Kapilavastu and ordained him as a śrāmaṇera. That is the prescribed age since, according to the Vinaya, one cannot receive the *pravrajyā* before the age of fifteen and the *upasampadā* before twenty (cf. Pāli Vinaya, I, pp. 78-9).
Vārānasī, three months in Uruvilvā and two months in Rājagṛha, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his native town. At his mother’s instigation, young Rāhula, who was more than six years old, tried to obtain the inheritance due to him from the Buddha. However, the Buddha’s only reply was to have Śāriputra confer the first ordination on him, i.e. the pravrajyā of the novice (*Vinaya*, I, p. 82).

Up until now, everything tallies, but according to a whole series of sources the Buddha’s return to Kapilavastu did not take place until six years after the Enlightenment. In that case, Rāhula would have been ordained at the age of twelve, which is contrary to tradition. The biographers were faced with the following problem: in view of the fact that Śākyamuni had abstained from all conjugal relations since his departure from home, six years before the Enlightenment, and that he returned twelve years later to Kapilavastu, there to ordain his son, how could the latter still be only six years old when he was ordained?

The solution to the problem is childishly simple and this is how the devout biographers resolved it:

1st. Śākyamuni had his first and last conjugal relations with Yaśodharā only seven days before leaving home, and Rāhula was as yet only conceived when his father left Kapilavastu.

2nd. Yaśodharā carried Rāhula in her womb, not for nine months, but for six years. She gave birth to him the very night that the Buddha won Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā.

3rd. Six years later, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu to visit his family and had his son ordained. The latter was only six years old: this fact had to be demonstrated.

However, our curiosity is still not satisfied. How can it be explained that Rāhula remained in his mother’s womb for six years? A jātaka provides the answer. A king died, leaving two sons. The elder became...

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30 In particular, see Mūlasarv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 12, p. 159a 8-9.
33 Mahāvastu, III, p. 172; Tai tzü jui yung pên ch’i ching, T 185, ch. 1, p. 475a 20; Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 55, p. 908a 14-15; Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, No. 117, ch. 10, p. 496b 26; Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 17, p. 365c 12-16.
35 Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 55, p. 906b 26-28; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, p. 182c 3.
36 This jātaka, with some variations in the names of the characters, is related in the Liu tu chi ching, T 152, No. 53, ch. 5, p. 30a-b (cf. CHAVANNES, Contes, I, pp. 197-201); Fo pên hsing chi ching, T 190, ch. 55, pp. 907a-908a (cf. BEAL, Romantic Legend, pp. 360-3); Fo wu po ti tzü ching, T 199, No. 25, p. 199a-b; Mahāsāṃghika Vin., T 1425, ch. 17, p. 365c...
a recluse, while the younger one mounted the throne. The recluse made a vow never to take anything, not even a drop of water, without it being given to him. However, one day on territory ruled by his brother, he inadvertently drank some water without having asked permission. Considering himself a thief, he demanded that his brother chastise him as he believed he deserved. The king, in order to please him and free him from his scruples, agreed to inflict a punishment on him. After which, he returned to his palace where he remained for six days without going out. All that time, the recluse suffered from hunger and thirst. At the end of the six days, the king left his palace and apologized to the recluse for his distraction. The recluse forgave him, but as a punishment for his fault, for five hundred existences the king regularly remained in his mother's womb for six years. That king, whatever the name attributed to him by the sources, was none other than Rāhula in one of his former existences.

One might also ask how the mother could endure that prolonged pregnancy. When she gave birth to her son, six years after her husband's departure, the Sākyas of Kapilavastu were scandalized and claimed that Rāhula was not the son of the Buddha.

Poor Yaśodhara was called upon to prove her innocence. Cast onto a pyre to be burnt alive, she invoked the Buddha, and the fire was instantly transformed into a pool of clear water, in the middle of which Yaśodharā, holding little Rāhula in her arms, was seated on a lotus blossom 37. Or again, she took Rāhula, seated him on a truth-stone and placed the stone in the middle of the pool. Having done so, she formulated the following aspiration: “If that child is truly the son of the Bodhisattva, may he float; if not, may he sink to the bottom”. She spoke and Rāhula, and the stone which bore him, floated together 38.

However, it was for the Buddha and Rāhula to demonstrate Yaśodharā's innocence. When, six years later, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his former wife attempted to win him back with a potion. She made a magic sweet-meat (modaka) and asked Rāhula to present it to his father. The latter had understood the stratagem and knew that Yaśodharā, on giving birth to Rāhula, had been the subject of reproach. Wishing to put an end to those calumnies, he produced through metamorphosis five hundred persons who looked exactly like him. Rāhula, the sweet-meat in his hands, inspected that regiment of fictitious

12-16; Mūlasārv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 12, p. 162b-c; Mahāvastu, III, pp. 172-5; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, p. 182c.
37 Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, No. 117, ch. 10, p. 496b sq.
38 Mūlasārv. Vin., T 1450, ch. 12, pp. 158c-159a.
Buddhas, but arriving in front of the true Buddha he had no hesitation and offered him the sweet-meat. Blood spoke to blood and the son had recognized the father. The latter accepted the sweet-meat, but immediately returned it to Rāhula who took it and swallowed it.39

The story is not finished, and the early biographers inform us that, already in her previous existences, Yaśodharā had always tried to win back her husband40. *

Here the reader can vividly sense the manner of the old narrators. A minor detail or an unimportant question of chronology requires an explanation. The explanation is enough to start the legend off again and provoke new stories, invented out of nothing or recovered from goodness knows where. One story calls for another. Each recent event must produce a corresponding episode in previous lives. The life of Śākyamuni is a skein of interwoven legends, and cunning indeed is he who could unravel it.

2. The influence of the holy sites. — As A. Foucher correctly remarked, it is not possible to separate the biography of the Buddha from the sacred topography of Buddhism. A visit to the holy places, ever increasing in popularity since the pious tours of Asoka, incited the guides to perfect their patter and recall new “memories”. This, they said, is the “Elephant Hole”, caused by the fall of the animal which was thrown over the walls of Kapilavastu by Prince Siddhārtha; here is the “Arrow Well”, where the arrow shot by the prince stuck in the ground; here again is the shrine of “Chandaka’s Return”, where the Bodhisattva laid aside his precious clothing and took leave of his charioteer. Pilgrimage guide books (māhāmya) existed from which certain “Lives” of the Buddha drew inspiration. The Lalitavistara, for example, is presented as an enlarged — and badly corrected — edition of several pilgrimage guide books placed end to end: the information which it contains often coincides, even down to details of expression, with the words of guides collected at the holy places by Hsüan tsang and other pilgrims during their reverent visits.41

3. The incidence of religious imagery. — The ancient Central Indian school of sculpture took advantage of thirty-four episodes in the last life of Śākyamuni (above, pp. 405-406). However, the necessity to resort to symbols for representing the Buddha and the rudimentary carving of the

39 Id., ibid.; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 17, pp. 182c-183a.
40 Cf. the Ṛṣyaśṛṅgajātaka, the story of the recluse who was seduced by a courtesan. — References in Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse. II, p. 1009, note.
41 See A. FOUCHER, La Vie du Bouddha, p. 108.
early statues still consisted of only a far from perfect illustration of the golden legend. In contrast, the first centuries of the Christian era saw the flourishing of the Graeco-Buddhist school in Gandhāra, which produced many images of the Buddha and no longer hesitated to present him in human form. Not content with having created a statue, that school also wanted to illustrate the entire life of Śākyamuni on bas-reliefs. Its repertory is much richer than that of the early artists at Bhāhrut and Sānci and the subjects depicted number nearly one hundred: there are scenes of the birth, childhood and youth, a detailed reproduction of the taking up of the religious life and the Enlightenment, a varied selection of episodes taken from the public ministry and, finally, a representation of the Parinirvāṇa and the events which accompanied it.

Here it is no longer a matter of rough outlines or sketchy representations, but of full and developed designs, taking the depiction to its most concrete detail. Before laying hands on a chisel, the Graeco-Buddhist artists undoubtedly consulted one or other biography of the Buddha in order to refresh their memories and ascertain this or that detail of the scene to be reproduced. It is no less certain that they questioned their employers and tried to meet the demands and preferences of their clients. Alongside the literary tradition recorded in the "Lives" of the period, there was also an oral tradition, publically widespread, which had to be taken into account. There was necessarily much interaction between the two. The artists drew inspiration from the texts, but the texts in turn were influenced by the works created by the sculptors.

An old Indian belief, probably earlier than any carved representation, claims that perfectly enlightened Buddhas and Cakravartin Kings are endowed with the thirty-two physical marks of a "Great Man" (mahāpurusālakṣaṇa). The list of them is attested to in the earliest canonical works, such as the Mahāpadānasuttanta (Dīgha, II, pp. 17-19; cf. Mahāvadānasūtra, ed. WALDSCHMIDT, p. 101 sq.), Lakkhaṇasuttanta (Dīgha, III, pp. 143-4), Brahmāyusuttanta (Majjhima, II, pp. 136-7), etc.42. In the terms of one of those marks, the Buddha is jālāngulihiṣṭapāda, i.e. his fingers and toes are marked with a net. The net in question probably designates the veinous network which grooves the hand, the red lines of which appear when the hand is held towards sunlight.

However, in several lists which I have recorded elsewhere43, we find another explanation: jāla, web, does not mean a veinous network but a

42 Other references in Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, I, p. 271, n.2.
43 Ibid., p. 274, note.
membrane, and the epithet jālāṅgulihastapāda is glossed by the peri-
phrase rājahamsavaj jālāvanaddhāṅgulipānipādatā, "like the royal swan
the digits of whose feet are linked by a membrane".

The semantic glide of the term jāla, passing from the meaning of
network to that of membrane and which would relegate the Buddha to
the genus of palmipeds, can be explained by a mistaken interpretation in
the sculptures. The technical process of welding the fingers of statues,
the hands of which are separate from the body and extended, with the
sole aim of making them more solid, led to the Buddha being given
webbed hands and feet, and in the end the texts confirmed that
whimsical explanation. Again similarly, the turban which adorns the
head of a statue was interpreted as being a cranial protuberance (uṣṇīṣa),
and the precious stone set in the middle of the brow passed for a natural
tuft of white hair (ūrṇā) between the eyebrows.

In order to explain the bas-reliefs, which were difficult to interpret,
there was no hesitation in altering the original legend and adding new
details to it. Thus, a panel at Loriyān-Tangai representing the Budddha’s
descent at Sāmkāśya introduces, to the left of the viewer, a royal
personage shielded by an emblematic parasol and seated on a richly
caparisoned elephant. This can only be Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha,
or Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, who came on purpose to Sāmkāśya
to welcome the Buddha on his descent from the Trāyastrimśa heaven.
However, this explanation would be too easy, and a whole series of
texts inform us that the enigmatic person is none other than the nun
Utpalavallī. She had also come to Sāmkāśya, disguised as a cakravartin
king so that she could make her way to the front row and be the first
to greet the Buddha. The explanation given here is doubtless only a
modification of the original version of the legend caused by this type of
bas-relief.

4. Borrowings from outside sources. — The early sūtras contain
considerable sections of the life of the Buddha repeated in part and

44 This question has been discussed by A. FOUCHER, J.N. BANERJEA, W. F. STUTTERHEIM
45 A. FOUCHER, Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, I, p. 540, fig. 265.
46 Asokāvadāna (Tsa a han, T 99, ch. 23, p. 169c; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 105b; T 2043, ch. 3,
p. 140b; Divya, p. 401); Tseng i a han, T 125, ch. 28, p. 707c; Karmavibhaṅga Comm., ed.
S. LÉVI, pp. 159-60. — The Buddha did not at all appreciate the nun’s alacrity and declared that
Subhūti, who had remained calmly in his cave on the Grdhraukṣaparvata meditating
on universal emptiness, had been the first to greet him: T 125, ch. 28, p. 707c; T 198, ch. 2,
p. 185c; T 694, ch. 1, pp. 792c-793a; T 1507, ch. 3, pp. 37c-38a; T 1509, ch. 11, p. 137a;
T 2087, ch. 4, p. 893b.
completed by the Vinayas. If some later Vinayas or those that were
closed later, such as that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, added greatly to the
legend, the Pāli Vinaya, the most restrained of them all, remains in line
with the early biographical sūtras. It might be suggested that the most
characteristic events in Śākyamuni’s life were already fixed by the end of
the Magadhan period, at which time Buddhism did no more than
vegetate in the region of the Middle Ganges.

Later, under the Mauryas and Śuṅgas, the Good Law made a
spiritual conquest of the whole of India and, in the North-West, its
adherents entered into prolonged contact with Western civilizations
represented by the Macedonian conquerors, the Seleucid officials and,
lastly, the Indo-Greeks in Bactria and the Punjab. The Śaka-Pahlavas
who replaced the Indo-Greeks in the Indus basin also considered
themselves as representatives of Hellenic culture. That some fusion
occurred in the field of ideas and traditions between the Eastern and
Western worlds cannot be doubted. Extreme though Indian xenophobia
was, it could not prevent the circulation and exchange of ideas. As we
remarked above (pp. 441-442), stories from the inexhaustible Greek
repertory could not fail to amuse the Indians, no more than could
Indian folklore leave the foreigners uninterested.

The exchange of ideas increased even more during the first three
centuries of the Christian era, under the Kuśāna dynasty which united
under its sceptre Iranian, Indian and Serindian territories and was in
constant contact with the Mediterranean West. It was precisely during
this period that the “Lives” of the Buddha proliferated which, while
repeating earlier facts, embellished the account with new details and
unprecedented episodes. Without the slightest concern for historical
truth, they invented or welcomed anything that could glorify the person
of the Master, both during his last life as well as throughout his former
existences.

Some people have suggested that there might be similarities between
the many revised, enlarged editions of the life of the Buddha and
Western sources. Such-and-such an episode might recall a story by
Herodotus[^47], a Jewish tale[^48], a passage from the canonical or apocry­
phal Gospels[^49], or might translate an ancient myth inspired in our

[^48]: K. Mitra, Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels, IHQ, XIX,
1943, pp. 225-33; 344-54.
[^49]: A description and bibliography in E.J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, pp. 237-48, 287-
8; M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 402-23.
Aryan ancestors by the grandiose spectacles of nature or again might emerge from the ancient heritage common to the human species, the original mumblings of which are to be sought among savages, Melanesians or others.\(^{50}\)

Without getting involved in that path, we will note only two things. The biographical fragments incorporated in the early sūtras — which fragments have been analysed above (p. 648) — do not betray any foreign influence. In contrast, if certain episodes of secondary importance introduced into the Lives of the Buddha at the beginning of the Christian era suggest a parallel with a Western source and if we glimpse the possibility of an influence, the latter, for reasons of chronology, should be credited to the West rather than the East.\(^{51}\)

It is necessary to study each particular case in order to know first whether a parallel exists and, secondly, whether it can be explained only by a borrowing from an outside source.

Nowhere in the canonical sources is there a question of a presentation at a temple. However, according to the *Legend of Aśoka* (Divya, p. 391; T 99, ch. 23, p. 166c; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 103c; T 2043, ch. 2, p. 137a), the Bodhisattva, at the time of his birth, was taken to Kapilavastu, to the temple of the gods (devakula) in order to pay homage to the god Śākyavardha “Prosperity of the Śākyas”; when he entered, all the deities fell at the Bodhisattva’s feet and, because of that, Śuddhodana gave him the name of Devātideva, “god superior to the gods”. — In the *Mūlasarvatvāstivādin Vin.* (T 1450, ch. 2, p. 108c), the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, seeing from afar the Bodhisattva approaching the pagoda, rose from his seat, prostrated himself full length on the ground and bowed his head before the Bodhisattva’s feet. — In the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 26), it is the goddess Abhaya “Fearless” who bows down before the Bodhisattva. — The *Lalitavistara* (pp. 118-20) gives more details: No sooner has the Bodhisattva placed the sole of his right foot in the temple than, although inanimate, the images of the gods — namely, those of Śiva, Skanda, Nārāyana, Kuvera, Candra, Śūrya, Vaishravana, Śakra, Brahmā, Lokapāla, etc. — all rose from their places and fell at the Bodhisattva’s feet... The deities represented in images all appeared in person and sang a hymn in his honour... That is how thirty-two hundred thousand deities received the call to supreme and perfect Enlightenment. — Finally, Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 6, p. 902a) was still able to visit the temple in Kapilavastu where the Bodhisattva was presented to the gods in accordance with Śākyan custom. When the infant entered the temple, the stone statue descended from its throne in order to pay homage to him; it returned to its place when the prince left the shrine.

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\(^{50}\) See in A. Fouché, *Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha*, pp. 3-7, a criticism of the positions formerly adopted by the school of comparative mythology on the one hand, and the anthropological school on the other.

\(^{51}\) Cf. A. Fouché, *La Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 20-1, 36, 57, etc.
This legend has been compared with a passage in the *Pseudo-Matthew* concerning the flight to Egypt:

The Virgin and Child entered a town known as Sotinen; and because they knew no one of whom to ask hospitality, they entered the temple which the Egyptians call Capitol. In that temple were placed 365 idols to each of which in turn sacrilegious honour was paid every day of the year. When the blessed Mary entered the temple with the small child, all the idols toppled to the ground... And then was accomplished the word of the prophet Isaiah (XIX, 1): "Behold the Lord rideth on a swift cloud... and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence".

The presentation of the new-born at a temple, imposed by Jewish law, is not part of the Indian rites specified on the occasion of births. Hsüan-tsang tells us that it was a custom of the Śākyas. Nevertheless, we can but think that a presentation at a temple is more appropriate to a Judaeo-Christian text than an Indian one. That being so, to infer a dependence of the latter on the former is but a step. However, before taking this step, it is appropriate to note the basic opposition between the theses face to face. The Indian tradition is unanimous in presenting the Buddha as the "instructor of gods and men" (*śāstā devamanuśyā-nām*). Although he did not on that account neglect beings in the other destinies, the hell-born, animals and pretas, nor even the hybrid creatures classed in the sixth destiny (Nāgas, Asuras, Amanuṣyas), the Buddha preferred to address the gods and mankind in order to show them the way, teach them what should be done and what should not be done, and what is good and bad, since the gods and mankind are the most capable of understanding and following his advice. Far from fighting the gods, the Buddha wished to convert and lead them to take the threefold refuge in him. His visit to the temple in Kapilavastu had no other aim and effect than to make the guardian deities of the Śākyas acknowledge his superiority and conform to his teachings. Very different is the attitude attributed to the Child-God by the *Pseudo-Matthew*: it is no longer a matter of compromising with the deities, but of destroying the image of false gods and sweeping away the works of pagans.

Among the parallels drawn between the Gospels and the Buddhist texts, the most striking is that of the old man Asita, the "Buddhist Simeon". The text of Saint Luke (II, 25-35) is remarkable for its sobriety:

> And behold there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and the

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Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel". And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, "Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed".

The child Jesus is presented to Yahweh by a temple priest who receives a fee of five shekels (Numbers, XVIII, 15-16) and proclaims the redemption of the new-born child of Israel. Simeon, who is not a priest, does not take part in the ceremony. His rôle is that of a mere individual, and his intervention is not requested by the parents of Jesus. While the text of the Gospel informs us of the exact age of Anna the prophetess — eighty-four years —, it is silent about that of Simeon; it presents him merely as a just and devout man awaiting the Messiah and inspired by the Holy Ghost. It was under the impulse of the Holy Ghost that Simeon was in the temple at the time when Joseph and Mary brought the Child to the temple in Jerusalem to perform for him the prescriptions of the law.

On his own initiative, Simeon takes the child in his arms, and blesses God. His first words are a canticle of thanksgiving: Simeon can die in peace now that he has seen with his own eyes the salvation prepared by God before the face of all people, a salvation which is both a light for the Gentiles and, a glory for Israel. The parents are lost in admiration but Simeon's words do not tell them anything they did not know before, for they had been informed by the previous events.

As a second step, Simeon "blesses" (εὐλογησεν) or congratulates the parents and announces to Mary that the new-born child will be exposed to contradictions — in which Mary will take part —, such contradictions will reveal the profound aspirations of many people and will culminate in the downfall of some and the rise of others. However, it was already known from Isaiah (VIII, 14) that the Lord would be a stumbling-block and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, a gin and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

The episode of Asita narrated by the Buddhist texts only remotely resembles the scene from the Gospel. The numerous sources which mention it have not yet been studied in detail, but J.W. de Jong has
devoted a profound investigation, which is a model of its kind, to three versions of the *Lalitavistara*.

The old *Mahāpadānasūtra* presents the drawing up of the horoscope as an obligatory event in the legend of the Buddhas. On the birth of the Bodhisattva, his retinue has the new-born boy's horoscope drawn up in accordance with ancient Indian custom. This is not an astrological process based on the position of the stars at the time of birth, but a physical examination of the child which enables his future to be foreseen. The king alone (Skt. recension), or through the intermediary of brahmins skilled in signs (Pāli version), discovers the thirty-two physical marks of a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣalaksana*) on his son's body. A man with such marks will become a Universal Monarch if he remains in the world; if he takes up the religious life, he will become a Buddha. Faced with these two eventualities, the brahmins and gods are perplexed.

Several "Lives" of the Buddha claim that on that occasion the aged recluse Asita intervened to fix the family's ideas firmly and predict the future accession of Śākyamuni to Buddhahood.

In texts translated into Chinese before 450 A.D., Asita goes alone to Kapilavastu; he arrives from the Himalayas or from the kingdom of Śuddhodana. In texts translated into Chinese after 580 A.D., as well as all the Sanskrit and Pāli sources, he is accompanied on his journey by his nephew Naradatta, sometimes identified as Mahākātyāyana, the future missionary in Avanti. In that case, he comes, not from the Himalayas, but from the Vindhya mountains situated to the south of Avanti.

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54 *Mahāpadānasūtra*, ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 94, n.2.
55 *Dīgha*, II, p. 16.
56 *Hsiu hsing pên ch'i ching*, T 184, ch. 1, pp. 464a 28-465a 11; *T'ai tsü jüe ying pên ch'i ching*, T 185, ch. 1, p. 474a 4-25; *Fo shuo p'u yao ching*, T 186, ch. 2, pp. 495b 4-496b 15; *P'u sa pên ch'i ching*, T 188, p. 618a 26-6 6; *Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching*, T 189, ch. 1, pp. 626c 12-627c 3; *Fo so hsing tsan*, T 192, ch. 1, pp. 2c 2-3c 1; *Fo pên hsing ching*, T 193, ch. 12, pp. 60b 1-61c 16; *Upadeśa*, T 1509, ch. 29, p. 274b; Translations of the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra*, T 374, ch. 27, p. 528b, T 375, ch. 26, p. 773a.
58 Buddhacarita of Āśvaghōsa, I, 81; *Lalitavistara*, pp. 101-8; *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 30-45; *Nālakasutta in Suttanipāta*, 679-723; *Nidānakathā*, pp. 54-5.
The Buddhist texts, while not always agreeing over details, describe Asita’s venture complacently and rather verbosely:

On the birth of the Bodhisattva, the great rśi Asita perceived a number of marvels, prodigies and miracles. In the sky the Sons-of-the-gods, full of joy, ran hither and thither, waving their sashes. Encompassing the whole of India with his divine eye, Asita observed that in the house of Śuddhodana, in the town of Kapilavastu, a young prince had been born with his body adorned with the thirty-two marks characteristic of a Great Man. Then the great rśi, soaring into the sky as would a swan, flew towards Kapilavastu. Once he had arrived, he withdrew his supernormal power, entered the great town of Kapilavastu on foot and went to the residence of King Śuddhodana. The gate-keeper informed the king of this unexpected visit: “Know, sire, that a very aged rśi is standing at the gate and asks to see the king”. Śuddhodana gave the recluse the best of welcomes and asked him why he had come. Thus questioned, Asita replied to the king: “A son has been born to you, O great king, what brings me here is a desire to see him”. The king said: “The young prince is sleeping, O great rśi, be patient for a while until he awakens”. The rśi said: “Such great men, O great king, do not sleep for long; such virtuous men are accustomed to remain awake”.

Thereupon, the Bodhisattva, through condescension for the great rśa Asita, made a sign that he was awake, and King Śuddhodana took the young prince in both hands and presented him to the great rśi Asita. When the latter examined the Bodhisattva and saw that his body was adorned with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, he exclaimed: “Truly it is a wondrous personality that has appeared in this world!” Rising from his seat and bowing, he prostrated himself at the Bodhisattva’s feet; then, he walked around him keeping him to the right, took him in his lap and contemplated him.

Thereupon, he began to wail and weep and heave great sighs. On seeing which, King Śuddhodana, shaking all over, said to the great rśi Asita: “Why do you wail and weep and heave great sighs? Let us hope that nothing threatens the child!” Asita replied: “It is not for the young prince that I weep, and nothing threatens him. No, it is for myself that I weep. — And why is that? — It is because, O great king, I am already very old and worn out by age; the young prince Sarvārthaśiddha will not fail to be enlightened by supreme and perfect Enlightenment, and once he has become perfectly enlightened, he will set the peerless Wheel of the Law in motion. For the welfare and happiness of the world, including the gods, he will teach the beneficial Law. [Then follows a list of all the categories of beings who, without exception, will benefit from that teaching]. This young prince will cause hundreds of thousands of millions of myriads of millions of beings to cross to the other shore of the ocean of rebirth and will establish them in the Deathless. When I tell myself that I will not see that jewel of a Buddha, then, O great king, I weep and, greatly distressed at heart, I sigh deeply”.

King Śuddhodana in turn prostrated himself at the feet of the Bodhisattva
and paid homage to him. Then the great rishi Asita, thanks to his supernormal power, flew away through the air and returned to his hermitage.

The texts listed above (p. 672, nn. 57-8) introduced Naradatta into the episode of Asita. The great rishi was dwelling on his mountain in the company of Naradatta, his sister's son, and it was in his company that he flew to Kapilavastu. The presence of the nephew in question can be noted on the bas-reliefs in Gandhāra. The introduction of this new character into the most recent texts results from an interaction between the Buddhist legend and the ancient Indian tradition. Asita and Naradatta were already known to the Vedic texts and closely associated by the Mahābhārata (XII, 267) which records a conversation between Nārada and Devala Asita on “the origin and destruction of creatures (bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam). Asita's visit to Kapilavastu sufficed to give him a place in the Buddhist texts and, in order to confer a similar honour on Nārada, the Vedic sage, various sources had no hesitation in identifying him with the famous Mahākātyāyana, the missionary in Avanti.

Nobody would dream of denying the parity of the situations described by the Gospel text on the one hand and the Buddhist sources on the other. In both cases, there are declarations or predictions made by an old man concerning the marvellous future of a new-born child. Once this basic concordance has been accepted, it must be recognized that all the details are radically dissimilar.

Simeon is a person inspired by the Holy Ghost and who, under the impulse of the Spirit (ἐν πνεύματι), goes to the temple in Jerusalem to welcome the Infant Jesus. Seeing God’s salvation in that child, he rejoices and thanks the Lord, for now he can die in peace. He announces to Mary that the child will be exposed to contradictions and that his coming will be the downfall of some and the rise of others.

Asita is an aged rishi whose practice of yoga has given him possession of supernormal powers. Discovering with his “divine eye” the birth of the Bodhisattva, he flies through the air (vihāyasā) to Śuddhodana's palace in Kapilavastu. The king does not as yet know whether his son, endowed with the thirty-two marks, will be a Universal Monarch or a Buddha. Asita examines the child and, far from rejoicing, bursts into

60 Cf. MacDonell and Keith, Vedic Index, s.v. Asita and Nārada; Caland, Jaiminiya-Brāhamaṇa, s.v. Asita Daivala.
61 T 191, ch. 3, p. 941c 9; T 1450, ch. 3, p. 110b 3-4; T 1451, ch. 20, p. 299c 6; Mahāvastu, II, p. 43, 1.2; III, p. 386, 1.8.
tears, because he is too old to hope to be a witness of the future Enlightenment of the young prince. For he knows and predicts that Siddhārtha will one day be a fully Enlightened Buddha and will set the Wheel of the Law in motion. However, that teaching will not culminate in the loss of some and gain of others; it will profit all beings without distinction. Whatever their personal dispositions, gods and humans by the thousands will be established beyond the ocean of rebirth and in the deathless.

More divergent viewpoints could hardly be imagined. If the later introduction of Naradatta into the plot of the story shows that the Buddhist traditions concerning Asita evolved within the Indian framework, no outside influence, that of the Mediterranean world in particular, can be discerned.

A comparative study of Buddhist texts and Christian sources shows that the two traditions do not move on the same level. "If, instead of reasoning in the abstract," wrote A. Foucher, "you compare the corresponding passages and no sectarian partiality clouds your critical sense, you will note that, beneath the apparent conformity in preoccupations or situations, neither the letter nor (which is still more important) the spirit of the two texts, once placed side by side, resemble each other at all. As you continue with your reading, the supposed analogy fades and finally disappears. It was only a fantom which vanished the moment one tried to grasp it; and since this experience is repeated each time, one is forced to conclude that the two traditions are absolutely independent".62

With regard to the tales, fables and apologues used to advantage by both India and her immediate or distant neighbours, comparison is easier. Each little story in fact has a "moral" which is sufficient to authenticate it. But how can it be decided which is the borrower and which the lender? Establishing any priority comes up against insurmountable difficulties. One and the same story may have been invented independently by various narrators. It could also have been passed by word of mouth from one end of the world to the other. How can it be recognized after passing through all those intermediaries and how can we be sure we possess all the known versions?

An identical moral can be taught in such diverse ways that we often hesitate to establish a link between the various developments it has provoked. Here, for example, is a story by Herodotus (VI, 129-30) which has been compared to an old Pāli jātaka.

62 After A. Foucher, La Vie du Bouddha, p. 21.
Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, wishing to give the hand of his daughter Agariste in marriage, invited a number of suitors of Greek origin to his court. For a year, he entertained them magnificently and tested them in every way. He did not hide his preference for Hippocleides, a Phyle-member from Athens. During the final banquet when Cleisthenes had to make his choice, the suitors took part in musical competitions and held matches of polite conversation.

Hippocleides, continues Herodotus, held the attention of the public strongly. He asked the flute player to play him a dance tune; the flutist obeyed, and Hippocleides began to dance. He was, I suppose, personally satisfied with his dancing, but Cleisthenes, on seeing that performance, took umbrage at everything that was going on. After stopping for a while, Hippocleides ordered a table to be brought into the hall and, when the table had arrived, he began to perform Laconian miming dances on it, then other Athenian ones; and, in the third place, resting his head on the table, he waved his legs in the air... When Cleisthenes saw him behaving like that, unable to contain himself, he said: “Son of Teisandros, your dancing has just lost you your marriage”. To which Hippocleides replied: “Hippocleides doesn’t care!” That is where that expression comes from.63

The Naccajātaka (Pāli Jātaka, No. 32, I, pp. 207-8) narrates a story of the same type, but this time in the form of a fable:

During the first cosmic period, the swan Suvaṇṇa, elected king of the birds, invited his daughter to choose a husband. All the birds assembled on the Himavat. The princess examined them in turn and her choice fell on a peacock, because of the bird’s magnificent colours. Overcome with joy, the peacock spread his tail and began to dance, shamelessly exposing his nakedness to the eyes of all. The king of the birds, shocked by that lack of modesty, gave his daughter to a young swan.

This fable was related by the Buddha in connection with a young monk who had bared himself before his colleagues. It is depicted, with the name of Hamsajātaka, on a bas-relief at the Bhirhut stūpa (Cunningham, Bhirhut, pl. XXVII, 11).

Despite the identity of the situations, a connection between Herodotus’ tale and the Indian fable remains doubtful.

However, it happens that the identity of the situations is increased by a close concordance in the details of the account. The Ucchānagajātaka of the Pāli collection (Jātaka, No. 67, I, pp. 306-7) tells how in the kingdom of Kosala, three farmers, busy tilling a field, were taken to be thieves, arrested and led before the king. As the king was about to give

63 Translation after LeGrand, vol. 6, p. 120.
judgement, a woman presented herself at the palace and, in tears, asked to be given protective covering (acchādana). The king gave her a cloak (sātaka). The woman refused it: the protective covering she wanted was not a cloak, but a husband (sāmika). Touched by that reply, the king asked what her relationship was with the three prisoners. "The first", she said, "is my husband, the second is my brother and the third is my son". The king declared that he was disposed to pardon one of the three and asked the woman to choose the one she wanted. She answered: "O king, in the course of my life, I could still find a husband and have a son; but, since my parents are dead, another brother would be impossible to find; therefore, give me my brother, O king". Charmed by that reply, the sovereign released the three farmers.

The Indian woman's answer coincides in every detail with that given to Darius by the wife of Intaphernes (Herodotus, III, 119): "O king, I could have another husband, if the deity wishes it, and other children if I lose these; but my father and mother no longer being in this world, it is quite impossible for me to have another brother". The same reasoning is placed by Sophocles, or an interpolator, in the mouth of Antigone (verses 905-912).

It seems hard to believe that such a circumstantial anecdote could have been invented twice; but it is practically impossible to know which came first. Exegeticists have opted successively for a Greek, Indian, Persian or Perso-Indian origin. The same story, depending on whether it appears in a Western or Indian source, is presented in a different light and is subject to diametrically opposed interpretations.

A small bas-relief, probably from the excavations at Mardān, in Gandhāra, depicts, before the walls of a fortified city, four persons, and a horse mounted on a small chariot with rollers. To the left of the relief, in front of the city gate, a woman is standing with her arms raised to the sky in a sign of distress or astonishment; naked to the waist, she is wearing a double necklet, and heavy bracelets encircle her arms; she is, it seems, wearing a mural crown on her head. The second person is a man of mature age, dressed in a chlamys knotted over his tunic with caligae on his feet; with both hands, he is driving a pike into the horse's

breast, with the clear aim of forbidding it entry into the town. The horse occupies the centre of the bas-relief. Between the wall and the horse, one can see a bearded old man, half hidden by the animal's right flank. Finally, to the extreme right of the bas-relief, a young man is standing, pushing at the horse's rump with both hands.

Although the small horse, mounted on a chariot, evokes the idea of a child's toy rather than a terrifying stratagem of war, Hellenists have no hesitation in identifying the Gandharan bas-relief as a tabula i/liaca, a servile copy of a Graeco-Roman model. The scene depicted takes place before Troy and the Skaian Gate, and classical memories enable us to identify in turn Cassandra vainly raising her hands to the sky in a gesture of impotence, Laocoön striking the cavernous flanks of the wooden animal, Priam, the old king of Troy, and finally, the perfidious Sinon, left behind by the Greeks to lull the Trojans' trust. Need we recall, in support of this identification, the well-known passage in the Orationes of Dio of Prusa (ed. DINDORFF, II, p. 165) in the words of which “the Homeric epic was also sung by the Indians, when they had translated it into their own dialect and language”?

However, the Trojan legend has its Indian counterpart in the legend of the wooden elephant of Pradyota, king of Avanti (Dhammapada Comm., I, pp. 192-3; Pratijñāyaugandharāyana of Bhāsa, Kathāsaritsā-gara, II, ch. 12). While not denying that the origin of the bas-relief should be sought “in a more or less direct imitation of one of those illustrations of the Homeric epic which were in circulation in the first century of the Christian era in the Mediterranean basin”, Indologists believe they can see in it “an Indian plagiarism of the classical legend” (after FOUCHER). In other words, the tabula i/liaca was transformed into a jātaka. The besieged town was not Troy, but Vārāṇasī, the favourite city of the jātaka literature. The female person who defends the gate is a nagara-devatā, the guardian goddess of the city. The bearded old man is Brahmadatta, the king of Vārāṇasī. The young man who is pushing the horse towards the town is the malign Devadatta. As for the main character, who is piercing the horse's breast, he can be none other than the Bodhisattva himself. Since the future Buddha is always victorious, we can justifiably conclude that, unlike the Trojan city, the Indian town easily triumphed over the war stratagem and the famous wooden monster was revealed to be as harmless as a mere child's toy.

This reconstruction of the jātaka, attempted by Indologists, will remain hypothetical as long as no written document can be found to support it. However, it had to be mentioned it here, since once again it
illustrates the skill displayed by the Indians in assimilating foreign legends to the point of making them unrecognizable.

5. The distant journeys of the Buddha. — Another cause contributed even more to the development of the legend of the Buddha: the desire of distant regions, which did not come under the influence of the religion until late, to have been visited by the Master as well. To judge from the early sources, the farthest Sākyamuni ever reached in the west was Varañjâ, a small place near Mathurā; later, however, many journeys are attributed to him, both in India and abroad.

a. We saw above (pp. 334-335) how Gandhâra claimed to have been the setting of former lives of the Bodhisattva; now it is claimed that Sākyamuni went there in person. Of all the apocryphal journeys attributed to the Buddha, the most notable is the one he is supposed to have undertaken in North-West India.

The first part, made in the company of Ānanda, consisted of six stages: Hastinapura (former Kuru capital), Mahânagara, Śrughna (District of Sugh), Brâhmaṇagrâma (on the western border of Madhyadesa), Kâlanagara and finally Rohitâka, on the eastern bank of the Indus. No outstanding event marked this part of the itinerary.

Leaving Ānanda in Rohitâka, the Buddha continued on his way in the company of the Yakṣa Vajrapâṇî, his compulsory bodyguard in the western districts. The second part of the journey was made through Uḍḍiyâna and Gandhâra, and consisted of no less than sixteen stops. Having crossed the Indus at Udabhânda (Uṇḍ), the Buddha went through the Shâhkot pass near the “Monastery of the Rṣi (Ekaśṛṅga)”, ascended the left bank of the Swât to its source and tamed the dragon Apalâla. Retracing his steps, he reached Dhârâyapura or Maṅgalapura (Manglaor), where he converted the mother of King Uttarasena. Four further stages southwards brought him close to Nagarahâra (Jelâlabâd): in Pâlitakûṭa, he converted the dragons Gopâlaka and Uccâṭaka and left his shadow in their cave; that “Cave of the Shadow”, as it is called, was
a centre of pilgrimage for centuries. Reaching the Indus in short stages, the Buddha also stopped in Nandivardhana, between Jelalābād and Peshāwār; there he converted King Bhavadeva and, in a pool near the town, left an image (pratimā) of himself for the dragons Asvaka and Punarvasuka. At Kharjurikā, a small village south of Peshāwār, the Buddha announced to Vajrapāṇī that “four hundred years after his Nirvāṇa, King Kanisṭha of the Kuśāna dynasty will build on that spot a stūpa which will be known by the name of the Stūpa of Kanisṭha”: this monument was discovered in 1908 in the tumuli at Shāh-jī-kī Dheri; it contained the famous reliquary of Kanisṭha. Crossing the Indus again, the Buddha returned to Rohitaka, thus ending the second part of his journey.

After three days' rest, he continued on his way in the company of Ānanda and, by stages, reached the town of Mathurā, visiting on the way the localities of Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva: these were probably the two Alexandrian establishments on the Jhelum: Nicaea-on-the-Hydaspes and Bucephala, but the Buddhist tradition connects them with the memory of the legendary king Mahāsammata.

b. In the course of a journey to Kaśmir, the Buddha won over the rṣi Revata (in Chinese, Li yūeh or Li po t'o) in honour of his guest, the latter erected a stūpa containing some hair and nail clippings of the Buddha, as well as the large monastery of the Śālavihāra, not far from Biratha, the capital. The Arhat-bhikṣu Revata is well-known in the Kaśmiri legend: he was accused of having stolen an ox and was thrown into prison; one of his disciples freed him and, to punish the Kaśmirians for such a high-handed accusation, buried their capital under a shower of ash.

c. At the invitation of Pūrṇa and his brother, the Buddha, with five hundred disciples, flew to the port of Śūrpāraka, the capital of Northern Konkan. He stayed in the sandalwood pavilion built specially for him by Pūrṇa; on his return, he converted the dragons of the Narmadā and left the imprint of his feet on the banks of the river.

d. The Buddha's three visits to Ceylon have already been mentioned earlier (p. 123).

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68 On Revata or Revataka, see Divya, p. 399 (cf. T 99, ch. 23, p. 169a-b; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 105a; T 2043, ch. 3, p. 139c); Chiu tsa p'i yūeh ching, T 206, ch. 1, p. 516a; Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, ch. 2, p. 457b; Vibhāṣa, T 1545, ch. 125, pp. 654c-655b; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 9, p. 126c; Avadānakaipalatā, ch. 105 (ed. S.C. Das, II, p. 979).

The few journeys recorded here — and the list is not complete — will be enough to familiarize the reader with the literary style. During these various journeys, the Buddha no longer seeks to recruit monks for his order and limits his discourses to the strict minimum. He is more interested in the construction of stūpas and building of monasteries than the conversion of minds; he predicts than preaches, and addresses Nāgas and Yakṣas rather than human beings. He is no longer the śramana Gautama of the early days, but a living advertisement for accompanied pilgrimages.

6. The lineage of the Śākyas. — If the new holy lands considered it indispensable for their prestige to grant “citizenship” to the Buddha, the ruling families sought to include him in their genealogical tree and claimed to be blood relations of the Śākyan family.

While brahmanical and Jaina sources attribute an obscure origin to the Mauryas, the Buddhist texts declare that they were related to the Buddha’s family. After the massacre of the Śākyas by Vīrūḍhaka, the Mauryas took refuge in the Himalayan region, where they founded Mauryanagara, the City of Peacocks. Its first king met his death at the hands of a neighbour; his widow fled in disguise to Puṣpapura (Pātaliputra), and it was there that she gave birth to Candragupta.

Other ruling families also claimed a blood tie with the Śākyas. When Vīrūḍhaka, the king of Kosala, set out to wage war against the Śākyas, the latter, who had taken the upāsaka precepts, shut themselves up in Kapilavastu, determined to put up a passive resistance only. However, the Śākyan prince, Śambaka or Śāma, was outside the town when this decision was made. He furiously attacked Vīrūḍhaka’s troops and put them to flight. When he wanted to return to Kapilavastu, the inhabitants repulsed him claiming that, by spilling enemy blood, he had broken the precepts. Śambaka therefore had to leave his country. Taking with him the relics of the Buddha, he went to the land of Bakūḍa where he erected a stūpa which took the name of Śambaka-stūpa. The population immediately chose him as their king.

According to the oral traditions collected in Nepal and Udādiyāna by Hsüan tsang, the resistance offered to Vīrūḍhaka was not the action of Śambaka alone, but of four Śākyan princes. The four heroes, banished by their compatriots, reached the Snow Mountains and the North-West region. The first was king of Wu chang na (Uḍādiyāna), the second of Fan...
yen na (Bāmyān), the third of Hi mo ta lo (Himatala, in Kaśmir), the fourth of Shang mi (Śāmbi). The first of them, travelling on the back of a wild goose, finally arrived in Udḍiyāna, on Mount Lan pu lu, near the Dragon Lake (Aushiri valley). He married the daughter of a dragon, assassinated the king of Udḍiyāna and ruled in his stead. He had a son, Uttarasena, whose mother was converted by the Buddha and cured of her blindness. In the sixth century of the Christian era, that family still included among its descendants the śramaṇa Vimokṣaprajña. A native of Udḍiyāna in North India, he came from the kṣatriya nobility and was a descendant of the Śākya clan. As a missionary in China, he reached Lo yang in 516 and, from 541, worked at Yeh with Prajñāruci.

The glorious lineage of the Sinhalese kings also goes back, at least in part, to the Śākya family. If we believe the legend (Dpv., X, 1, sq.; Mhv., VIII, 18 sq.), the second sovereign Pañduvāsudeva (447-417 B.C.) married the Śākyan princess Bhaddakaccānā, the daughter of Pañdu, first cousin of the Buddha. Forseeing the fall of Kapilavastu when it was besieged by Virūdhaka, Pañdu left Nepal and settled with his family on the banks of the Ganges. Seven claimants disputed his daughter’s hand. Not knowing to whom to give her, Pañdu made her enter a boat with thirty-two companions, some of whom wore the monastic robe. Entrusted to the winds, the boat finally reached Ceylon. Bhaddakaccānā met King Pañduvāsudeva on the island, and he took her to wife. Subsequently, the six brothers of Bhaddakaccānā were reunited with their sister in Ceylon. This legend is possibly a duplicate of the disembarkation in Ceylon of Saṃghamitta and her companions.

The Bodhisattva of the Former Lives. — It must be clearly recognized that the legend of the Buddha had been so greatly enlarged upon that the devout public was saturated with it. Multiply as it might wonders and miracles, invent or borrow new episodes, the hero it was meant to glorify remained nonetheless a bhikṣu, beardless, shaven headed and wearing the yellow robe, a brother of those innumerable religious who lined the roads, congested the streets and always engaged in seeking public alms. There is no doubt that those monks were examplars of all the virtues, albeit the “passive” virtues of renunciation and recollection, whom the people admired while not being able to imitate them. Here and there, among the considerably enlarged ranks of disciplined bhikṣus, were some black sheep whose disorderly habits,
idleness, greed and quibbling were scandalous: in the blessed time of the Buddha, quarrels broke out among the monks in Kausāmbī, and we know the difficulties Asoka experienced in restoring harmony to the monks of the Aṣokārāma. Among the strictly observant monks, circulated ascetics in rags, clothed in red, out and out vagabonds, penitents and wonder-workers. They sometimes looked “demoniacal” or like “demon-worshippers” (pisācillika), living in hollow trees or branches, carrying skulls as alms-bowls. In short, when approached by a religious, one never knew exactly what to do. “What fault have I committed”, Kātyāyana asked King Pradyota, “that I am to be killed”? The king of Ujjain replied: “Shaven-headed man, the sight of you brings misfortune, and that is why I wish to put you to death”. When the ship that was carrying Fa hsien to Canton was assailed by a violent storm, the brahmins who were on board took counsel: “The presence of this śramaṇa brings misfortune upon us; we should disembark this beggar on the shore of an island in the sea”.

Whether favourable or hostile to the monks, the people were particularly aware of disinterested and active deeds of virtue of which they themselves were often the heroes: to the six years of austerities on the banks of the Nairājana, they always preferred the charity of a Śibi who gave his flesh for a pigeon, the morality of a Sutasoma who preferred to die rather than break a promise, the patience of a Kṛnti who underwent unjust torture without complaint, the vigour of a Mahātyāgavat who, in order to save his companions, vowed to empty the sea of water with his own hands, the meditation of a Śaṅkha in whose topknot a bird laid its eggs and who remained immobile until the little ones flew away, the wisdom of the minister Govinda who succeeded in dividing Jambudvīpa into seven equal parts.

Since people wanted stories in which they could recognize themselves; it was decided to tell them such stories and the religious literature was literally invaded by tales of the jātaka (former lives of the future Buddha), of the avadāna (feats of the Bodhisattva and great holy ones of Buddhism) and of the vyākarana (explanations concerning the future) from which it appears that a present action is both a pledge of the past and a guarantee of the future, and that history is only a continual recommencement and occurs in accordance with the most strict laws of moral determinism. In fact, “actions do not perish even after hundreds

75 J. LEGGE, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Oxford, 1886, p. 113.
76 On these jātakas, see Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, I, pp. 255-67.
of millions of cosmic periods; encountering the complex of conditions and the favourable time, they fructify for their authors”, in the sense that “the maturation of entirely black actions is entirely black, that of entirely white actions is entirely white, that of mixed actions is mixed”.

Although rare in early sūtras and the Pāli Vinaya, the jātaka stories progressively invade the Lives of the Buddha (Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu and Abhinīśkramaṇasūtra) and the biographical sections of the large Vinayas, such as that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. These stories were soon assembled in special collections compiled in prose, in verse or a mixture of the two. Among the Pāli collections, we must mention the Jātaka containing 547 stories of former lives, the Cariyāpiṭaka which has 35, the Apodāna which narrates the biographies of some 590 disciples (550 men and 40 women). In the same kind of literature, but compiled in Sanskrit, the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra (34 jātakas), the Avadānaśataka (10 tens), the Divyāvadāna (mostly extracted from the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya), the Bhadrakalpavādāna (34 legends), the Vicitrakarnikāvadāna (32 stories), and the Avadānakalpalatā (107 legends) which is a work by the poet Kṣemendra in the eleventh century. All these texts have been repeated and translated in the Tibetan and Chinese Tripiṭakas which also contain many other texts the originals of which have been lost, such as, for example, in Tibetan, the Las brya tham pa (Karmaśataka), the Hdzans blun (Damamūka, 51 stories) and, in Chinese, the Liu tu chi ching (T 152), the Sheng ching (T 154) and other collections to which Edouard Chavannes devoted his great work on the Cinq cents contes et apologies extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois.

Enthusiasm for the jātakas reached its climax in the middle of the second century B.C.; it was then that they were depicted wholesale on the bas-reliefs of stūpas at Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and doubtless Amarāvatī, and that the golden legend attempted to set them in the districts of Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna and the Western Punjab.

In the centuries that followed, this taste persisted, but the number of jātakas painted or sculpted was considerably reduced: the repertory at Sāṇci included no more than half a dozen; that of the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra and its extensions in Mathurā, Nāgārjunikona, Goli, Ajanṭā and Aurangābād, is hardly any richer. The jātakas which remain known and appreciated are the Viśvantara, Saḍḍanta, Dīpaṃkara, Śyāma, Candra Kinnara, Ekaśrīga, Śibi, Śaṣa, Vyāghrī, Māndhā-

Stock phrases in the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna, etc.
The subjects dealt with on the Central Asian frescoes, particularly at Qizil, are much more numerous.  

III. — SECONDARY FORMS OF THE RELIGION

Religious mentality is complex, especially in India. The deification of the Buddha and his elevation to the rank of "god superior to the gods" was not enough to satisfy all the aspirations of Buddhists. His person was surrounded with a veritable religion consisting of a mythology, a hagiography and a ritual of homage, only the broad outlines of which can be sketched here.

THE GODS OF THE TRIPLE WORLD. — According to the Buddhist concepts mentioned earlier (pp. 32-33), the triple world — that of Desire, Subtle matter and of Formlessness — is inhabited by gods: the Devaloka includes the six classes of gods of the World of Desire; the Brahmaloka contains the seventeen classes of the Brahmā gods distributed in the four Dhyānas; finally, the formless gods inhabit the Ārūpyadhātu.

This religious cosmology, which seems to have been instituted at the time of the most ancient texts, forms the setting in which the Buddha's deeds are played out. The gods take part in this as spectators rather than actors: they surround the Buddha rather than serve him.

As their name indicates, the Caturmahārājika-devas, the lower class of the Kāmadevas, are four in number: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravana. Their function is that of guardians of the world (lokapāla): each month, they go among mankind to examine their religious conduct and report on this to the Trāyastrimśa gods. Having been converted by the Buddha in the circumstances related above (pp. 550-551), they were given the mission of protecting the Good Law, Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the east, Virūdhaka in the south, Virūpākṣa in the west and Vaiśravana in the north.  

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is the chief of the Gandharvas, the heavenly musicians, the most famous of whom is Pāncaśikha. Virūdhaka commands the Kumbhāṇḍas, inferior spirits characterized by large stomachs and huge genital organs. Virūpākṣa is king of the Nāgas, serpent or dragon

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78 Cf. A. Von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, VI, Berlin, 1928.
79 Dīgha, II, p. 207; III, p. 194.
80 Dīgha, II, p. 225; Aṅguttara, I, p. 142.
81 T 2042, ch. 3, p. 112a; T 2043, ch. 6, p. 150b.
deities, endowed with supernatural powers, colossal strength and capri-
cious dispositions. Vaiśravaṇa, who is identified with Kubera, the god of
wealth, holds sway over the host of Yakṣas, a kind of demi-god, spirits
of woods and earth, endowed with great power, sometimes beneficial
sometimes formidable. Although the Yakṣas set themselves up as protec-
tors of the Buddha and his disciples, their wives, the Yakṣinīs, are
ogresses who devour children and feed on flesh and blood.

This religious fauna represents an ancient power which was later to be
replaced by that of the Caturmahārājikas. Although not fully tamed,
these spirits nevertheless found their place in Buddhist texts which
delighted in drawing up a list of them.

The Trāyastriṃśas, or "Thirty-three gods", form the second class of
the Kāmadevas. They live in a palace on the summit of Mount Meru,
strongly fortified against incursions by the Asuras; it contains a meeting
hall called the Sudharmā, numerous parks, including the Nandana, a
miraculous tree, the Pārijāta, and the elephant-king Airāvana. The
Buddha stayed there for three months to preach the Law to his mother
who had been reborn among the Trāyastriṃśas. The leader of those
gods is Śakra devānāṃ indraḥ "Śakra, the king of the gods". This
Buddhist Indra occupies an important place both in the early sūtras and
in the jātaka and avādāna literature. He held conversations with the
Master which are still famous.

It is in the heaven of the Tuṣitas, the fourth class of Devalokas, that
the Buddhas pass their penultimate existence, and it is there that
Maitreya, the future Buddha, is residing at present.

The sixth class of the Kāmadevas is that of the Paranirmitavaśavart-
tins, gods who have the use of desirable objects created by others. Their
leader, Māra, is sovereign of the World of Desire. As such, he was the
sworn enemy of the Buddha and was known to be a tempter of the
monks and nuns. He made several assaults on Śākyamuni, sometimes on
his own and sometimes with his army and daughters: he contended with

82 Cf. Mahāsamarasuttanta (Digha, II, p. 257 sq.); Āṭānātiyasuttanta (Digha, III, pp.
194-206); Āṭānātikasūtra (ed. H. Hoffmann, Leipzig, 1939); Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājī (S. Lévi, Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa, JA, 1915, pp. 20-138). — See the studies by
J. Przyluski and M. Lalou, Notes de Mythologie bouddhique, HJAS, III, 1938, pp. 40-6;
128-36; M. Lalou, Ganesa-Vaiśravana, JA, 1937, pp. 301-2; Mythologie indienne et
peinture de Haute-Asie, I. Le dieu bouddhique de la Fortune, Art. As., 1946, pp. 97-111; Le
culte des Nāga et la thérapeutique, JA, 1938, pp. 1-19; Four Notes on Vajrapāṇi, Adyar
Library Bulletin, XX, pp. 3-4, 287-93. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, 2 vol., Washington,
1928-31.
him for the throne of Enlightenment, opposed his teaching and twice tried to tempt him to enter Nirvāṇa forthwith.

The Rūpa- and Ārūpyadhātus are inhabited by the gods of the Brahmaloka. These Brahmās are free from desire and immersed in the joys of meditation which constitutes their one and only nourishment. However, they are not free from illusions and often wrongly believe themselves to be the creators of the universe; however, like everyone else, they are subject to the law of Karma and bound to be reborn. The Buddha and a few disciples occasionally visited the Brahmaloka; in return, certain great Brahmās, such as Sahampati, manifested themselves in the world of mankind. It was at the invitation of Brahmā that Śākyamuni decided to expound his Law for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

The Gods in Popular Devotion. — The distribution of the gods in the spheres of the triple world is the work of scholastics, and its artificial nature escapes no one. Devatās as subtle as the Anabhṛarakas, or as abstract as those of the Akāśāṇāntya and the other formless spheres have doubtless never been invoked by anyone. Regarding the other gods — such as those of the Kāmadhatu, nearer to mankind —, the texts are somewhat reticent: they emphasize the Buddha and pay only slight attention to the divine spirits which gravitate around him.

Hence, to get some idea of the place occupied by the gods in everyday life, we have to consult the religious imagery which certainly cannot be doubted. The work has been carried out in a masterly fashion by A. Foucher in volume II of Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra.

Adherence to the doctrine of the Buddha did not turn believers away from their ancestral cults.

The lower castes continued to worship demons and spirits, which were deeply rooted in popular superstition. Gandharvas, Kumbhāṇḍas, Nāgas and Yakṣas are represented in great numbers on the Gandhāra bas-reliefs. Like their humble worshippers, they are most frequently dressed in draped robes and covered with a single cloak. It is difficult to distinguish one from another or identify them; some, however, emerge from their anonymity and betray characteristic features or attributes. One such example is the Yakṣa Guhyaka Vajrapāṇi, the thunderbolt-bearing spirit and recognized protector of the Buddha; sometimes he comes in the form of a beardless youth, sometimes as an unkempt adult. He appears in the air, ready to hurl his thunderbolt at anyone who

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might oppose the Master’s undertakings. Unseen by the crowd, he is visible only to the eyes of the Buddha and to his occasional adversary.

At Gandhāra, Vajrapāṇi replaces the gentle Ānanda in looking after the Buddha. He is no longer merely an assistant (upasthāyaka), but a guardian spirit, one of those “divine companions” as they were imagined by ancient mythology. We might be inclined to view this as something borrowed from the Graeco-Roman world were it not that we know he had his worship not only in the North-West, but also in Rājagṛha, at the very heart of India. Buddhaghosa identifies him with Śakra and the Sinhalese tradition gives him as the great vanquisher of the Asuras. The adherents of the Mahāyāna make him a bodhisattva and attribute the compilation of Mahāyānasūtras to him. The Tantras, which identify him with Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva, introduce him into their speculations concerning the Ādibuddha. The maṇḍala locate him on the north side of Mount Meru, crushing Mahēśvara (Śiva) with his right foot, and Umādevi with his left foot.

The middle castes, the generous donors who financed the Buddhist establishments, needed other gods than the somewhat disturbing fauna of the Nāgas and Yakṣas. Devotion was preferably directed to minor gods, such as Candra and Sūrya, the gods of the moon and sun, and those Lokāpalas, world-guardians, entrusted by the Buddha to watch over the destinies of the Good Law, at the four cardinal points. These deities were conceived in the image and resemblance of the middle class, they were clad in middle-class clothing, namely the loin-cloth (paridhāna, today dhoṭī) and the cloak (uttarīya, today chaddar), skilfully completed in the North-West by a tunic with sleeves.

In the world of the Vaiṣyas, bankers and merchants, the god of wealth enjoyed unequalled popularity, and, according to I ching, his image could be found in every monastery. However, the Buddhist devotion was addressed less to the Caturmahārājika Vaiśravaṇa, King of Uttarakuru and leader of all the Yakṣas (sarvayakṣādhīpa), identical to Kubera the god of treasures, than to his army chief (seniipall), known to the Buddhist sources as Pāñcika, Pānduka or Paṇḍaka. His basic attribute

84 Dīgha, I, p. 95; Majjhima, I, p. 231.
86 Cūḷavāṃsa, ch. 96, 37.
87 Abhisamayālaṁkārāloka, ed. WOGIHARA, p. 5; Bu-ston, II, p. 101, Tāranātha, p. 62.
89 Pāñcika (Divya, p. 447); Pānduka (Divya, p. 61); Paṇḍaka (Mahāvamsa, XII, 21). — Other references in Mūlasarv. Vin. (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, part I, p. 24, 1.15; T 1448, ch. 10, p. 45a 9; ch. 13, p. 61c 20; T 1451, ch. 31, p. 361a 8); Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203,
is a pouch or skin which is wide open and spilling coins. On the monuments at Gandhāra, he appears sometimes in the form of a charming young prince, sometimes under the aspect of an adult spirit, bearded, unkempt and more than half naked.  

Pāñcika is the husband of Hāritī, the “mother of demons”. Her conversion to Buddhism, recorded in the Mahāvamsa (XII, 21), is narrated at length in a whole series of Buddhist texts. Originally, Hāritī was an ogress who devoured men’s children. One day the Buddha carried off her youngest son, Piṅgala, and hid him in his alms-bowl. The desperate ogress hunted for her child and, when she finally found him, she understood that she should do no more harm to the sons of men. This devourer of children then became a giver of children. She is still invoked in Nepal as the goddess curing smallpox, and the monks are expected to ensure her daily nourishment. Images of her are extremely widespread, the most famous being that at Skarah-Dheri, eight miles north of Chārsadda, where the goddess had her stūpa. She carries a standing child in her hand and two others on her shoulders; the plinth is engraved with an inscription, from the year 179 (or 399) of an unknown era, begging the goddess to take smallpox away into the sky (Konow, p. 127).

Pāñcika and Hāritī form the tutelary couple, often represented on the bas-reliefs of Gandhāra, sometimes seated and sometimes standing. “Nearly always, Hāritī lends Pāñcika some of her numerous children and perhaps at the same time, the power to produce them; conversely, she sometimes borrows his pouch and his wealth-giving quality.”

While the middle castes invented or adopted special gods formed in their image, the higher castes were content with the ancient Āryan deities, inherited from a millennial tradition and very early on incorporated into Buddhist cosmogony. Whether or not converted to the Good Law, the Kṣatriyas, who are “gods through convention”, and the Brāhmaṇas, who are “gods on earth”, continued to worship the Mahādevas of the Āryan world, particularly Indra the warrior and Brahmā the priest. Worn out by centuries of brahmanical speculation, those deities had aged and were unable to force upon worshippers that

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90 A. Foucher, Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, II, p. 102 sq.
91 Tsa pao tsang ching, T 203, ch. 9, p. 492a; Mo ho mo yeh ching, T 383, ch. 1, p. 1006c; Kuei tzu mu ching, T 1262, p. 290c; Mūlasarv. Vin. T 1451, ch. 31, p. 361a sq.
93 After Id., ibid., II, p. 143.
juvenile devotion with which the fierce Āryan warriors surrounded them in the past. It matters little, the tradition remained, and the great gods were still to appear on the Gandhāra bas-reliefs, decked out in rich costumes and precious jewels which are the prerogatives of their noble worshippers. Since it was not forgotten that before his departure from Kapilavastu, Śākyamuni was also a prince, a god through convention (samvrtideva), he was invariably dressed as a deva by the Gandhāran artists when they wanted to depict him prior to his entry into the religious life.

THE BUDDHIST HOLY ONES. — The question of knowing whether or not a holy one exists after death was considered by the Buddha to be among the undeterminate points (avyākrtavastu)94. However, he did not hide the fact from us that, once the holy one’s body is broken and his life departed, “gods and men will no longer see him”95; once he has entered into appeasement, the holy one disappears from all sight: “No one can measure him; there are no words to speak of him; what the mind might conceive vanishes and all ways of speaking vanish”96. After his death, the holy one has a right to silence; during his life, he can claim no privileges within the Community, since the Buddha refused to institute an official hierarchy or a supreme spiritual authority in his order: each person had to be his own island and his own refuge97.

However, there is a wide gap between theory and practice. The Buddha presented himself as a spiritual guide, “he who shows the way”, and his disciples made him a “god superior to the gods”; he had included the deities in the cycle of rebirth and reduced them to the rank of subordinates but his disciples remained faithful to the rites of their ancestors and classes. Nothing could prevent the Buddhists from having their own holy ones as well, from writing their histories and even immortalizing a certain number of them; nothing could prevent the communities from preserving the memory of the scholars of the Law whose authority they acknowledged and who had rendered them illustrious.

1. The disciples of the Buddha have been listed in the Etadaggavagga of the Aṅguttaranikāya (I, pp. 23-6) and the Ekottarāgama (T 125, ch. 3, pp. 557a-560b). The chapter contains a list of forty-two bhikṣus, thirteen bhikṣunīs, ten upāsakas and ten upāsikās, with an indication of their

94 See above, p. 48, n. 97.
95 See above, p. 41, n. 75.
96 See above, p. 41, n. 76.
97 See above, pp. 62-65.
dominant feature: Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya is the foremost of the members of the order; Śāriputra, the foremost of the great sages; Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the foremost of those possessed of supernormal powers; Mahā-Kāśyapa, the foremost of those who practise strict observance; Ānanda, the foremost of the learned, etc.

In the commentaries concerning this chapter, there are some fairly detailed biographies of these disciples. The Manorathaparīṇī, the commentary upon the Aṅguttara compiled in the fifth century by Buddhaghosa, contains seventy-five biographies (I, pp. 124-458); the Fèn pieh kung tê lun (T 1507, ch. 4, pp. 40b-45b), a special commentary upon the Ekottarāgama, translated into Chinese under the Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.), contains a good twenty biographies.

The Thera- and Therī-gāthā, the eighth and ninth books of the Pāli Khuddakanikāya, consist of 107 poems in 1,279 stanzas and 73 poems in 522 stanzas respectively placed on the lips of the male and female Elders by anonymous authors. In highly lyrical accents, the Holy Ones celebrate the beauty of their ideal: the renunciation of desire, the destruction of passions, the cessation of suffering and the peace of Nirvāṇa. These poems in Pāli no doubt had their counterparts in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, but the Sthavira- and Sthavirī-gāthā, often mentioned in the Sanskrit Āgamas, have not come down to us. The Pāli collection was commented upon and explained in the fifth century of the Christian era by Dhammapāla, a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. The Paramatthadīpanī shows in which circumstances the male and female holy ones were led to chant the poems which are attributed to them, and adds to this information a few biographical indications. The latter are most often deduced from the stanzas which they claim to explain, borrowed from apocryphal works or even entirely made up: their historical value is practically nil.

The Āpadāna, the twelfth book of the Khuddakanikāya, is a verse composition in which 550 Theras and 50 Therīs tell of some of their former lives and their final accession to Arhatship. These narratives betray the influence of the popular and lay sphere since, instead of explaining their winning of holiness through the observance of the practices of the eightfold path, these monks and nuns seek the cause for it in pious actions which they performed in their previous existences, by offering flowers, water, fruits and fans to the Buddhas of the past who, in exchange, gave them the "prediction". There exists a commentary upon the Āpadāna called the Visuddhajanavilāsī; its author and date

98 See above, pp. 161-162.
are unknown, but it betrays a strong influence of Sanskrit erudition, particularly in the grammar.

In Sanskrit a composition, similar but not identical to the Pāli *Apadāna*, is the *PañcasatasastHAVIRĀVADĀNA*, “Deeds of five hundred Elders”. Shortly before the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa, five hundred disciples flew through the air to the shores of Lake Anavatapta and there, in the presence of the Master, they, each in turn, described in verse their deeds in their former existences or, to use their expression, the “weave of actions” (*karmaploti*) which finally led them to holiness. In fact, they do not all speak and only the explanations supplied by thirty of them are retained. The Avadāna anthology was translated into Chinese in 303 A.D. by Dharmaraksā with the title of *Fo wu po ti tsū tsū shuo pēn ch'i ching* (T 199); it was incorporated, with some additions, into the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarv. Vin.* (Gilgit Manucripts, III, part 1, pp. 162-218; Narthang Dulva, II, pp. 505a-557b; Peking Dulva, FTBN, vol. 95, pp. 260a-291a; T 1448, ch. 16-18, pp. 76-94)\(^{101}\).

From among the host of disciples, the post-canonical literature isolated certain groups; the most famous, at least in Central Asia and China, is that of the “Ten Great Disciples” consisting in order of Śāriputra, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Mahā-Kāśyapa, Subhūti, Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaniputra, Aniruddha, Mahā-Kātyāyana, Upāli, Rāhula and Ānanda. This is an iconographical group which appears in particular in the caves of Tun-huang. It is mentioned in literature in a collection of twelve sūtras, collated and translated under the title of *Kuang ting ching* (T 1331, ch. 8, p. 517c) by Śrīmitra, the crown prince of Kučā, who worked in Nankin from 317 to 322 A.D. The *Fan i ming i chi* (T 2131, ch. 1, pp. 1063a-1064a), a twelfth century compilation, devotes a notice to the ten great disciples.

2. Most of the great disciples followed their Master into Nirvāṇa, and the tradition claims that, immediately after the Buddha’s decease, a number of Arhats living on mountain tops, in watercourses, fountains and ravines, considering that they had done “what they had to do”, entered Nirvāṇa by the thousands\(^{102}\). It was only with great difficulty that Mahā-Kāśyapa persuaded five hundred Arhats to continue living in order to participate in the council of Rājagrha and compile the texts.

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\(^{100}\) This assembly at Lake Anavatapta is also mentioned in the Ekottarāgama, T 125, ch. 29, pp. 708c-710c; P’u sa pēn hsing ching, T 155, ch. 1, p. 112b; Divya, p. 150; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 45, p. 384b-c; Hsi yū chi, T 2087, ch. 6, p. 899c.

\(^{101}\) A critical edition and French translation of these sources are found in M. Hofinger, *Le congrès du lac Anavatapta*, I, Louvain, 1954.

However, these too, sooner or later, submitted to the lot common to mortal humanity.

There were, however, some exceptions, and the Sanskrit sources mention the case of an Arhat whose Nirvāṇa will be delayed until the end of time, as long as the Law survives on earth.

There were references earlier (pp. 206-207, 210), to Mahā-Kāśyapa, guardian of Śākyamuni’s robe which he was to hand over to Maitreya, the future Buddha. Hiding in the depths of Mount Kukkutapāda, Kāśyapa, clothed in the Blessed One’s pāṃśukūla, is plunged in nirodha-samāpatti, but will awaken at the end of time, on the arrival of Maitreya, in order to accomplish his mission.

Another Arhat, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, the Kauśāmbī missionary, must also remain on earth as long as the Good Law persists. As a punishment for his faults, particularly his greed and ill-considered prodigies (above, p. 323), he is banished from Jambudvīpa but continues his ministries on foreign continents, in Apara Godāniya, Pūrva Videha or again Uttarakuru (on Mount Gandhamādana, to the north of Lake Anavatapta)\(^{103}\). As long as his nourishment is provided, he appears willingly to those who call upon him: to the emperor Aśoka in order to describe the beauty of the Tathāgata to him\(^{104}\); to Vasubandhu to explain the Hinayānīst doctrine of emptiness to him\(^{105}\).

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Two centuries after the Buddha’s decease, his disciple Kuṇḍopadhāniya intervened effectively to destroy the treasures of the Śuṅga king, Pusyamitra, who was persecuting Buddhism and massacring the monks (above, pp. 389-390).

Finally, although the Pāli tradition\(^{106}\) has him die before his father Śākyamuni and his teacher Śāriputra, Rāhula is especially qualified to be the inheritor and continuer of his father’s work.

Based on these isolated cases, the idea arose that some Arhats, in punishment for a former fault or in the expectation of a future mission, enjoyed prolonged life which still allowed them some activity. They were soon to be considered as the recognized protectors of the Dharma, along with the Caturmahārājikadevas upon whom this rôle normally devolved. They will remain here on earth without entering Nirvāṇa. At the time of the “counterfeit religion” (pratirūpaka dharma), and during persecutions,

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\(^{103}\) On this localization, see S. Lévi, Les seize Arhat, JA, 1916, p. 112 of the off-print.

\(^{104}\) See the Legend of Aśoka : Divya, p. 400; T 99, ch. 23, p. 169b; T 2042, ch. 2, p. 105b; T 2043, ch. 3, p. 139c.


\(^{106}\) Sumangalavilāsinī, II, p. 549; Sāratthappakāsinī, III, p. 213.
they will be the witnesses of the faith; they will cause images of the Buddha or of monks to appear; they will utter words in the air, produce gleams of light, give consistency to dreams, etc. When Maitreya descends on earth, they will finally be permitted to enter Nirvāṇa.

At first, these Arhat protectors of the Law were four in number and later increased to eight, sixteen and eighteen.


In the first lists, the Arhats, according to their own legends, all appear to be specially marked out to play the rôle of protectors of the Law which devolved upon them. Conversely, in the last lists, the reasons which determine their choice escape us, since alongside the great disciples there appear a number of unknown persons. In their case, the function has absorbed the personality: these Arhats are no more than figureheads, mere divine spirits scattered to all points of the compass. The Mahāyāna, which took these sixteen Arhat protectors into its mythology, was often to replace them by sixteen bodhisattvas of Indian origin, promoted to the same function and designated by the name of Śodāsaṣatpurusa, "the sixteen worthy persons" 109. These were lay bodhisattvas designated, not by their own or clan names, but by the title of their function: the vaiśya Bhadrapāla of Rājagrha, the prince Ratnākara of Vaiśālī, the merchant's son Śubhagupta of Champā, the vaiśya Sārthavāha of Śrāvasti, the brahmin Naradatta of Mithilā,

108 I adopt here the reconstructions by S. LÉVI, Les seize Arhat, l.c., p. 9.
etc.\textsuperscript{110}. Led by Bhadrapāla, they precede the countless hosts of bodhisattvas who come from the Buddha fields in foreign regions, and who have as their leaders Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, etc. We have here reached the intersection point of the Hīna- and Mahāyāna, and can see how the long-living Arhats invented by the Hīnayānists have opened the way to the countless and depersonalized throng of bodhisattvas honoured by the Mahāyāna.

3. We referred above (pp. 206-212) to the five Masters of the Law who, during the Magadhan period and at the beginning of the Mauryan age, transmitted the sacred trust of the doctrine to one another. Although unknown to the Sinhalese tradition, the legend of the five Masters was firmly implanted on the Indian mainland.

The time of Aśoka was marked by the dispersion of the Samgha throughout the whole of India and the formation of the Buddhist schools and sects. Each one had its own particular masters and scholars. However, the latter, in order to have themselves recognized as orthodox, claimed they were the direct successors of the five Masters of the Law, whose authority remained uncontested.

The Sarvāstivādins made their Dhītika a sixth master of the Law, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins added a further two of their scholars, Kṛṣṇa and Sudarśana. The son of a brahmin from Ujjayinī, Dhītika received ordination at the hands of Upagupta and, after the latter's death, reached the land of the Tukhāras where he converted King Menander (Tāranātha, pp. 22-4). Born into a wealthy family of sailors from Bengal (Anga), Kṛṣṇa fought the personalist heresy of the bhikṣu Vatsa in Kaśmir and revived the religion in the island of Simhala or Ceylon (Tāranātha, pp. 43-5). Sudarśana, the son of a kṣatriya noble from Bharukaccha, succeeded Kṛṣṇa as head of the Community of the Four Quarters; in the region of Sindh, he overcame the Yakṣini Hiṅgalācī, converted many unbelieving Nāgas and Yakṣas to the Law and, in the southern region and the neighbouring islands, went on a fruitful preaching tour (Tāranātha, pp. 45-7). It should be recalled however, that the information collected by the Tibetan historian contains so many problems of chronology that it is hardly worth believing.

A Sthavirian tradition\textsuperscript{111} explains the Sarvāstivādin scission in the following way. During the two centuries that followed the Nirvāṇa, seven masters succeeded one another: the five Masters of the Law, followed by Pūrṇa and Mecaka. Until then there had been no schism.

\textsuperscript{110} Cf. Upadeśa, T 1509, ch. 7, p. 111a.

\textsuperscript{111} Cf. P. Demiéville, \textit{L'origine des sectes bouddhiques}, pp. 53-4.
However, while the first five masters had mainly propagated the sūtras, Pūrṇa and Mecaka, neglecting fundamentals and propagating secondary matters, made the Abhidharma their principal teaching. At the beginning of the third century after the Nirvāṇa, Kātyāyaniputra, the well-known author of the Jñānaprasthāna (above, pp. 184-185), held the Abhidharma in high esteem and founded the school of the Sarvāstivāda. On four occasions the Sthāviras called upon the Sarvāstivādins to abandon their reformative theses, but they met with refusal. It was then that, in order to move away from those innovators, the Sthāviras transferred their residence to the Snow Mountains where they took the name of Haimavata.

Among the Indian masters who contributed to the formation of the Indo-Chinese school of Yoga or Dhyāna, we should mention Saṃgharakṣa, Dharmatrāta, Buddhhasena and Buddhhabhadra. Saṃgharakṣa was a native of Śrutastra; he was born there in the second century A.D.; he was well-travelled and reached Gandhāra where King Candana Kaniska made him his master. He composed, among other works, a Yogācārabhūmi, at present known through two Chinese translations (T 607, made by An Shih kao between 148 and 170; T 606, carried out by Dharmarakṣa in 284)\(^{112}\). — Dharmatrāta and Buddhhasena seem to have taught in Kaṃśir around the beginning of the fifth century; Dharmatrāta composed a Yogasamasanasūtra, lost today\(^{113}\); Buddhhasena wrote a Yogācārabhūmi which was translated into Chinese (T 618) by Buddhhabhadra in about 413\(^{114}\).

The masters we have just mentioned were also connected, through one or two intermediaries, with the first five Masters of the Law.

Here, to illustrate this description, are six lists of the Acāryas:

1. Śāriputraparipṛcchāsūtra (T 1465, p. 900a) : Mahāsāṃghika list, claiming authority from the first five Masters of the Law.

2. Aśokasūtra (T 2043, ch. 7, p. 152c) : Sarvāstivādin list, adding one scholar (Dhitika) to the first five masters.

3. Mūlasarv. Vin. (T 1451, ch. 40, p. 411b-c) : Mūlasarvāstivādin list, adding three scholars (Dhitika, Kṛṣṇa and Sudarśana) to the first five masters.

4. San lun hsüan i (T 1852, p. 9b) by Chi tsang (549-623 A.D.) : Sthāviran list, adding three scholars (Pūrṇa, Mecaka and Kātyāyaniputra) to the five masters.


\(^{114}\) Id., *ibid.,* pp. 315, 341-51.
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\textsuperscript{115} Puṇyamitra or Prajñāmitra.
\textsuperscript{116} Cf. LIN, AM, p. 349, note.
\textsuperscript{117} Puṇyamitra or Prajñāmitra?
\textsuperscript{118} Bhadra or, more likely, Bhuddhabhadra, who introduced the text of the Yogācārabhūmi into China (cf. LIN, AM, p. 349, note).
5. Yogācārabhūmi (T 618, p. 301a) by Buddhasena: a list linking four further scholars with the five masters.

6. In the Ch’u san tsang chi chi (T 2145, ch. 9, p. 66c), a preface by Huei kuan (early fifth century) to the Yogācārabhūmyāsūbhāvanāsūtra: a list connecting five further scholars with the first masters.

4. The five Masters of the Law are again found at the head of the lists of patriarchs set out in some Mahāyānist sūtras, such as the Mahāmāyāsūtra (T 383, ch. 2, p. 1013b-c) and the general histories of Buddhism compiled by Chinese authors: Kao sêng chuan “Biographies of Eminent Monks” (T 2059, ch. 3, p. 345b), published by Huei chiao between 519 and 544; Li tai san pao chi “Chronicle of the Three Jewels” (T 2034), completed in 597 by Fei Chang fang; Fo tsu t’ung chi “General Memoirs on the Buddha and the Patriarchs” (T 2035, ch. 5, p. 169a), compiled by Chih p’an (1269-1271); Fo tsu li tai t’ung tsai “General Annals of the Buddha and the Patriarchs” (T 2036, ch. 3-6, pp. 496b-525a), brought out by Nien ch’ang at the end of the Mongol period (1344).

As it appears in its present form, the Fu fa tsang yin yüan chuan (T 2058) is an apocryphal work compiled in China in the sixth century and based on Indian documents partly extant (Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Aśokāvadāna) and partly lost. It contains the history of twenty-four patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to the bhikṣu Simha.

In order not to be too incomplete, we should also mention two Sarvāstivādin lists — without appended biographies — of Arhats and Bodhisattvas, incorporated by Sēng yu (435-518 A.D.) into his catalogue, the Ch’u san tsang chi chi (T 2145): the first list (ch. 12, p. 89a-b) contains fifty-three names; the second (ch. 12, pp. 89c-90a), fifty-four.

The Chinese documentation on the Indian origins is of poor quality and without historical interest. However, the Indian biographers of the fourth and fifth centuries were scarcely better informed about earlier facts. The separate “Lives” of Aśvaghosa, Nāgārjuna and Deva (T 2046-48) compiled by Kumārajīva, and that of Vasubandhu (T 2049) written by Paramārtha are of little value.

These sources draw a portrait of the “patriarch” which only faintly recalls the traditional “Master of the Law”. The patriarch is more like a
wonder-worker than a sage, and his conduct is far from irreproachable. Generally poor and badly dressed, he owes his prestige to the subtility of his mind and the power of his wonder-working. He penetrates the secrets of the doctrine and reads his disciples' thoughts. He can, thanks to his supernormal powers, move through the air, walk on water, provoke rain, transmute metals, predict the future and defy the sword and poison. However, he places his intelligence and powers at the service of the Good Law which he champions. A patriarch is necessarily chosen by his predecessor; once designated, he enjoys uncontested authority.

MAITREYA THE BUDDHIST MESSIAH. — The sixteen Arhats just referred to constitute an excellent field of merit. The wholesome roots which kings, ministers and ordinary people will plant in it will certainly come to maturity. “Thanks to the might of those excellent roots, at the time when the Tathāgata Maitreya realizes complete enlightenment, one will acquire with great excellence human body and, at the third assembly of that Buddha, with a calm and believing heart, one will renounce the rules of household life; one will leave the world to be homeless; with purity one will cut off beard and hair; one will dress in the religious robe; one will become a member of the holy company; through the power of previous vows, one will then reach Nirvāṇa” (Nandimitrāvadāna, T 2030, p. 14c).

That Buddha of the future whose coming is awaited like a Messiah is Ajita Maitreya “the Compassionate Invincible One”; homage to him in India and beyond met with unexpected spectacular success. Buddhist literature makes frequent allusions to him and devotes whole works to him. The vast amount of information it supplies about him is involved and often contradictory. However, even if we have to give up the attempt to establish a chronology of Indian messianism, there is nothing to prevent us from trying to make a systematic classification of the sources which mention him.

1. Ajita and Maitreya, disciples of Bāvari. — The Pārāyana (Suttani-pāta, Ch. V, vv. 976-1149) dates from the very dawn of Buddhist literature. It is one of the few sources of the Nikāyas and Āgamas, which frequently refer to it. In this ancient work, Ajita and Maitreya play only and unobtrusive part. They belonged to the group of the sixteen disciples of Bāvari who were converted by the Buddha.

Bāvari was a brahmin ascetic who went to Śrāvastī in Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Deccan) and settled on the banks of the River Godāvari, in a hermitage near the possessions of King Assaka and Alaka. The ascetic, who enjoyed revenues from a neighbouring village, offered up a great sacrifice and distributed all his goods as charity. A brahmin with a fierce expression came to see him and demanded five
hundred pieces of money from him. Reduced as he himself was to total indigence, he could not satisfy him. Enraged by this refusal, the brahmin cursed him and announced that his head would burst into seven pieces. Bāvari, much disquieted, was reassured by a deity who told him that the malevolent brahmin did not even know the meaning of the words “head” and “bursting of the head”. — “Who does know the meaning then?” asked Bāvari. — “The Buddha”, replied the goddess, “the Buddha who has just appeared in the world”. Wishing to verify that fact, Bāvari sent to the Buddha his sixteen disciples, the first two of whom were Ajita and Tissa-Metteyya (Tiṣya-Maitreya). After a long journey which took them from Andhra country to Vaisāli, the sixteen disciples met the Buddha and greeted him in their teacher’s name. They noted with satisfaction that Śākyamuni possessed the characteristic marks of a Great Man. The sixteen disciples, beginning with Ajita, each asked the Buddha a question in turn, and he answered them. According to the commentary, at the end of the conversation, they all became Arhats except Pīḷgiya, Bāvari’s nephew, who only became an anāgāmin. He returned to his uncle and told him what had happened. He was still speaking when the Buddha appeared in all his glory before the uncle and nephew; Bāvari became an Arhat and Pīḷgiya in anāgāmin.

In the Pārāyāna (v.1019), the ascetic Bāvari is 120 years old and possesses three of the marks of a Great Man. This information is confirmed by the Upadeśa (T 1509, ch. 4, p. 92a 9; ch. 29, p. 273a 25) which lists those marks: the ūrṇā, the tongue covering the face and the cryptorchis. While the Pārāyāna makes Bāvari a brahmin from Śrāvastī who moved to the Deccan, the Hsien yū ching (T 202, ch. 12, p. 432c 1-2) gives him simply as a great teacher from the area of Pātaliputra. The A lo han chū tê ching (T 126, p. 832a 4) emphasizes his moral qualities: the Śrāvaka who is endowed with great generosity is Bāvari.

For the Pārāyāna, Ajita and Maitreya are, with fourteen others, pupils (māṇava) of Bāvari, but their origins are not specified.

Ajita was the son of a brahmin from Śrāvastī, the first assessor of the king of Kosala (Theragāthā Comm., I, p. 73 sq.); he was also Bāvari’s nephew (Apadāna, I, p. 337, v.28; Āṅguttara Comm., I, p. 335).

With regard to Maitreya, the sources hesitate between a northern and southern origin: “At the time of the Buddha, the son of the brahmin Kapāli was called Maitreya; his body was golden-coloured, and had thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks” (Pu shih jou ching (T 183, p. 457c). — “Maitreya was born in the kingdom of Vārāṇasī (Banaras), in the village of Kapāli, into the family of the great brahmin Bāvari” (Kuan Mi lè, T 452, p. 419c 14-15). — “Maitreya was the son of a brahmin from South India” (Chu wei mo chieh ching, T 1775, ch. 1, p. 331b 9). — in the Gaṇḍavyūha (ed. D.T. SUZUKI, p. 527, 11.8-9; T 278, ch. 60, p. 782c 12; T 279, ch. 79, p. 438a 28-29; T 293, ch. 38, p. 835c 10-11),
Maitreya declares to the young Sudhana: “I was born in Dakṣiṇāpatha, in the land of the Māḷās, in the village of Kūṭagrāmaka”.

2. Maitreya receives the prediction. — According to a prediction by Śākyamuni, it is universally accepted that the next Buddha will be Maitreya. The prediction appears in the Nikāyas and Āgamas: “When man’s life-span has reached 80,000 years, the Lord Maitreya will be born in the world, holy and perfectly enlightened” (Dīgha, III, pp. 75-6; Dīrgha, T I, ch. 6, p. 41c 29; Ekottarāgama, T 125, ch. 44, p. 788b 1). It is accepted by all sects (cf. Milinda, p. 159; Visuddhimagga, ed. Warren, p. 367; Jānānaratthāna, T 1543, ch. 27, p. 898c 17-18; Vibhāṣa, T 1545, ch. 135, p. 698b; Kośa, IX, p. 269).

The Maitreyavyākaraṇa describe at length and in detail the coming of the future Buddha. These texts are special in that Śākyamuni issues his prediction in the abstract, without any reference to anyone present in the assembly. The prediction applies to the future Maitreya, not otherwise specified. There is never any question of his codisciple Ajita.

In the future, when human longevity has reached 80,000 years, there will be in Ketumati (the future name of Vārāṇasī) a cakravartin king named Śāṅkha. He will possess the seven jewels of a Cakravartin and will rule the land as far as the ocean borders. That king’s chaplain will be the brahmin Brahmāyus (var. Subrahman), and the brahmin’s wife will be Brahmāvatī. Radiating benevolence (maitreyaśphuritvā), she will give birth to a son who will be called Maitreya “Benevolent One”. Like his father, he will teach brahmanical mantras to 80,000 students. However, at the spectacle of the frailty of human things, he will withdraw into the forest and radiating benevolence, will attain the supreme knowledge; from then on, he will be called Maitreya samyaksambuddha. That same day, the seven jewels of the king of Vārāṇasī will disappear. King Śāṅkha and his wife Viśakhā, followed by an immense crowd of subjects, will take up the homeless life under the guidance of Maitreya. Surrounded by the crowd of converts, Maitreya will go to Mount Gurupādaka (var. Kukkuṭapāda), near Rājaśrā. The mountain will open, disclosing the skeleton of the bhikṣu Kāśyapa. Maitreya will place it in his left hand and explain that this minute skeleton is that of Kāśyapa, a disciple of Śākyamuni, who lived at a time when the human life-span did not exceed one hundred years. That Kāśyapa was the foremost of those who were content with little and professed strict observance; after the decease of Śākyamuni, he had collated the doctrine. This revelation causes astonishment among those assembled, and they all attain Arhatship.

These Maitreyavyākaraṇa, which do not vary much one from another, are extremely numerous. Some of them have been incorporated into the Āgama and Vinaya, others were the subject of separate publications. The following is a list of them which makes no pretence at being complete:


6. *Maitreyasamiti* in the Khotanese language, copied, on the order of the lady Phārṣavatā (in Skt., Parusapadi) of the noble family of the Kṣyars (Kaisars), by a scribe assisted in his work by the bhikṣu Puyabhadra, who served to jog his memory. Chapter XXIII of the *Maitreyasamiti* has been published by E. Leumann, *Maitreyasamiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten*, I, Leipzig, 1919.

3. *Ajita, the future Cakravartin, and Maitreya, the future Buddha*. — Another category of sources, partly known to the preceding ones, presents the prediction in a more lively and dramatic light. Maitreya is present in the assembly when Śākyamuni announces to him that he will be the next Buddha and as proof gives him the tunic made of golden

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\(^{121}\) Cf. W. B. Henning, *The Name of the “Tokharian” Language*. Asia Major, New Ser., I, part II, 1949, pp. 158-62: The name of Twgry found in the Uighur colophons of Buddhist texts and which appears to be applied to the language of Karašahr (ancient kingdom of Agni, A-chi-ni for Hsüan tsang) has caused that language to be confused by many authors with *Tocharian*, the language of Tocharestan (former Bactria). This opinion seems to be confirmed by an indication in the colophons of the Uighur *Maitrisimit* of *N’krydyš* (= Nagaradeśa = Jelalābād in Eastern Afghanistan) as the homeland of the author of the text in Twgry which served as a basis for the Uighur text (F. W. K. Müller). But the reading should be corrected to “*Krdyš* = Agnideśa, the “land of Agni”. Twgry is indeed the language of Agni, Agnean, not Tocharian (*Bibl. bouddhique*. XXI-XXIII, No. 507).
thread which his aunt Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī had just offered to the Saṁgha. This time, Ajita, Maitreya's co-disciple, is not forgotten: Śākyamuni announces to him that on the coming of Maitreya, he will be King Śāṅkha of Ketumātī.

The episode of the golden tunic is well-known to the canonical sources, but it is narrated by them without any reference to Maitreya. The Buddha is in the Nyagrodhārāma in Kapilavastu. Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī approaches him and offers him a pair of new robes which she has woven with her own hands. The Buddha refuses: “Give them to the Saṁgha, Gautamī: when one gives to the Saṁgha, I am honoured and the Saṁgha is honoured”. This little story is told in the Dākkhina-vibhaṅgasutta (Majjhima, III, p. 253; T 26, ch. 47, pp. 721c-722a; T 84, p. 903b-c) and the Mahīśasaka Vin. (T 1421, ch. 29, p. 185b-c), and reproduced in the Milinda, p. 240.

Part of the Maitreyan literature made wide use of it in the sense indicated above. Here are some references:

a. A Maitreyan sūtra which is not included in the Pāli Nikāyas is the Purvāparāntakasūtra “Sūtra of the beginning and the end”. Its Sanskrit title is known from two quotations in the Karmavibhaṅga (ed. S. Lévi, pp. 39 and 67). It is also cited in the Maitreyavākaraṇa, v. 2 (Shon daĩ phyi mtha'i mdo) and the Upadesa (T 1509, ch. 1, p. 57c 25 (Pên mo ching). We know it through two Chinese versions: 1. the Shuo pên ching incorporated in the Madhyamāgama (T 26, No. 66, ch. 13, pp. 508c-511c); 2. the Ku lai shih shih ching (T 44, pp. 829b-830c), dated from the dynasty of the Eastern Chin (317 to 420).

The Buddha is in the Mrgadāva in Vārānasī. Addressing the monks, he praises the merits of alms-giving. In order to support his Master’s theme, Aniruddha narrates his own avadāna: having given a bowl of food to a Pratyekabuddha, he enjoyed immense advantages during successive rebirths. Aniruddha concludes his account with a series of stanzas (p. 509b) which are the same as those in the Theragāthā (vv.910-919).

The Buddha speaks again in order to make a prediction: when human longevity reaches 80,000 years, there will be in Vārānasī a powerful cakravartin king named Śāṅkha. Ajita, present in the assembly, expresses a wish to be that king Śāṅkha (p. 510a 3-4) and is promised it shall be so (p. 510b 7-9).

The prophecy continues: when human longevity reaches 80,000 years, the Buddha Maitreya will appear in the world. Venerable Maitreya, also present in the assembly, expresses a wish to be that Buddha (p. 510c 10-13), and the Master accedes to his desire (p. 511a 14-15).

The Buddha then asks Ānanda to give him the tunic of golden thread (offered to the community by Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī). Ānanda obeys. The Buddha takes the tunic and gives it to Maitreya: “Here, Maitreya, take from the hands of the Tathāgata this tunic of golden thread which was given to the Buddha, the
Dharma and the Community. Why? Because the Tathāgatas, who are free of attachment and perfectly enlightened, are the protectors of the world; they seek to ensure benefit, welfare, security and joy” (p. 511b). Maitreya accepts the tunic.

b. The Chinese version (but not the Tibetan) of the Hsien yu ching, compiled in about 445, contains a similar account, based on both the Pārāyanā and the Pārvaparāntakasūtra. The narrative is entitled Bāvari-sūtra (T 202, No. 57, ch. 12, pp. 432b-436c)\(^\text{122}\).

In Vārāṇasi King Brahmadatta is ruling; his prime minister begets a marvelously handsome son who is named Maitreya because his mother, at the time she was pregnant with him, had shown herself to be kind and compassionate. That child grows up and his reputation for wisdom becomes so great that the king, fearing a future rival, sends for him intending to have him killed; in order to save him, he is sent to his uncle Bāvari who, in the kingdom of Pātaliputra, was a revered master and always surrounded by five hundred disciples. The child makes great progress in his studies; to celebrate this, Bāvari decides to hold a banquet; he sends one of his disciples to invite the young man’s father to the feast; that disciple dies on the way and is reborn as a deva.

The banquet takes place; a brahmin named Raudraka arrives late; he demands the gift of five hundred gold pieces which has been made to all the other guests and, since Bāvari is unable to give them to him, declares to him that in seven days time his head will burst into seven pieces. Bāvari is gripped with fear, but a deva, who is none other than his former disciple, comes to console him and informs him that the brahmin is powerless and that the Buddha alone deserves to be trusted.

Bāvari then sends sixteen of his disciples to the Buddha; among them is Maitreya. Maitreya and his companions all become śramaṇas, and the Buddha visits old Bāvari and after that King Śuddhodana.

The Buddha’s aunt and foster-mother, Mahāprajāpati, offers the Buddha a golden tunic which she has woven herself. The Buddha refuses Gautamī’s gift and advises her to present it to the Community, since she will win more merit by doing so. Mahāprajāpati then goes among the monks with that garment; she offers it to them beginning with the oldest, but none of them dares accept it. When Maitreya’s turn comes, he accepts the garment; then, having put it on, he enters the town of Vārāṇasi to seek alms (p. 434a).

He receives food from a pearl-stringer who, while listening to his teachings, neglects his craft and loses an important sum. However, the gain that craftsman obtains, by listening to an explanation of the Law, is infinitely greater; to prove this, Aniruddha recounts his avadāna.

Then follows the Buddha’s prophecy: when human longevity has reached 80,000 years, there will appear (in Vārāṇasi) a cakravartin king named Śāṅkha and the Buddha Maitreya, the son of Śāṅkha’s chaplain (p. 435c). Venerable Maitreya, present in that assembly, expresses the wish to be that figure Buddha;

\(^{122}\) Translation taken from the summaries by P. DEMIÉVILLe in E. CHAVANNES, Cinq cents contes, IV, p. 209, and by S. LÉVI, Maitreya le Consolateur, p. 362.
his co-disciple Ajita makes a wish to be King Śāṅkha (pp. 435c-436a). Then follows another return to the past to explain Maitreya’s merits: he was formerly Dharmaruci.

c. The essential elements of this story are again found in the *Vibhāṣā* (T 1545, ch. 178, pp. 893c-894b) which brings out its moral significance. A twofold prediction by the Buddha; the bhikṣu Ajita expresses the wish to be the cakravartin king Śāṅkha and the bodhisattva Maitreya expresses the wish to be the Buddha Maitreya; the Buddha has Ānanda gives him the gold-coloured tunic offered to the Saṃgha by Mahāprajāpati and compels Maitreya to accept it. By wishing to be a Cakravartin, Ajita seeks to benefit himself; by wishing to be a Buddha, Maitreya wants only the welfare of others; that is why the Buddha censures the former and congratulates the latter.

d. The *Tsa pao tsang ching* (T 203, No. 50, ch. 4, pp. 470a-471a), translated in 472 by Chi chia yeh and T’an yao, contains a story entitled “Mahāprajāpati gives the Buddha the robe made of gold thread; the story of the pearl-stringer”. E. Chavannes has made a French translation of this (Cinq cents contes, III, pp. 46-53). The story follows closely that in the *Hsien yü ching*, but there is no mention of Ajita.

e. However, Maitreya and Ajita are clearly distinguished in the Chinese *Dharmapada*, translated in 383 with the title of *Ch’u yao ching* (T 212, ch. 6, p. 643b 27-28) by Chu Fo nien: “Of the sixteen brahmācārins with naked bodies, fourteen entered Parinirvāṇa and two did not: Maitreya and Ajita”.

4. Maitreya called Ajita (Invictus). — In conclusion, in a final series of sources, apparently later than the preceding ones, no difference is made between Ajita and Maitreya: Ajita becomes the personal name (nāmaṇ) and Maitreya the family (gotra) name of one and the same person, Ajita-Maitreya, i.e. Mithras Invictus. These are some references:

a. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 51: The Buddha declares: “Just as I am now, after me that bodhisattva Ajita will be a Buddha in the world, with Ajita as his personal name (nāmaṇa), and Maitreya as his family name (gotreṇa), in the royal town of Bandhumā”. — *Ibid.*, III, p. 246: Ajita, in a family of brahmans, where many treasures have been piled up, will renounce plentiful desires and that brahmin will take up the mendicant life. Then, in a prosperous family, enriched with a good state of mind, he will be Maitreya on this earth in the future”.

b. In the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (ed. F. Max MüLLER, §40) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ed. Kern, p. 309, 11.1-2), the Buddha always addresses the bodhisattva Maitreya by calling him Ajita.
c. The *Kuan Mi lê p’u sa* (T 452) is a kind of *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* translated by Ching shêng in about 455. We read in it (p. 418c):

The Buddha was residing in Śrāvasti, at the Jetavana... In the assembly, there was a Bodhisattva named Maitreya who listened to the Buddha’s words. While doing so, he acquired a hundred myriads of millions of dhāranīmukha. He then rose from his seat, adjusted his garment and, with joined hands, stood before the Buddha. Then Upāli also rose from his seat and, having prostrated himself, said to the Buddha: “Formerly, the Bhagavat said, in the Vinaya and the Basket of Sūtras, that Ajita in turn would be a Buddha. The Ajita here present is still only a worldling (prthagjana) and has not yet cut off the defilements. Where will this man be reborn, after his death? Today, although he has taken up the homeless life (pravrajita), he does not cultivate the dhyāna and samāpatti and has not cut off the passions (kleśa). The Buddha predicted that this man would doubtless would be a Buddha. After his death, in which country will he be reborn?” — The Buddha said to Upāli: “Listen and reflect carefully! The Tathāgata knows everything exactly. Today, in this assembly, I have said that the bodhisattva Maitreya will win supreme and perfect Enlightenment. The man here present will die in twelve years; he will assuredly be reborn in the Tuśita heaven... [After staying there for millions of myriads of years], he will be reborn here on earth, in Jambudvīpa, as it is said in the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*”.

d. In his commentary upon the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T 1775, ch. 1, p. 331b 8-9), Sêng chao, a disciple of Kumārajíva, remarks: “Maitreya is his family name (hsíng); Ajita is his personal name (tzū)

e. The *Anāgatavamsa* is a Pāli poem of a hundred and fifty stanzas recited by the Buddha at Śāriputra’s request. Its date is unknown, and its author was a thera Kassapa from Cola country. It deals with the former existences of Metteyya under the three Buddhas Sumitta, Metteyya and Muhutta, under twenty-seven Buddhas and finally at the time of the Buddha Gotama. In that last period, Metteyya was the prince Ajita, son of Ajātāsattu (*JPTS*, 1886, p. 34). Here again, Ajita and Metteyya are not differentiated. Verse 43 (ibid., p. 46) defines his identity: *Ajita nāma nāmena Metteyyo “Metteyya, called Ajita”*

* Maitreya, as the Buddha of the future, always finds a place in Buddhism. His name and antiquity suggest a connection with the Vedic Mitra and the Iranian Mithra, a sovereign god, but also a social and obliging deity, with a beneficent and judicial aspect

From the outset, he appears in the long list of the Buddhas of the past

and future who preceded or will follow Śākyamuni. Maitreya is no
different from his colleagues, he will be a Buddha like all the others.

The Pārāyana places a certain Maitreya or Tisyā-Maitreya at the time
of Śākyamuni and makes him a pupil of Bāvari. With fifteen other
companions, including Ajita, he is converted by Śākyamuni and attains
Arhatship. The author does not as yet establish any relationship be­
tween the student Maitreya and the Buddha of the future.

However, from among the whole lineage of the Tathāgatas, it was
naturally Maitreya who was to awaken interest and hold the attention.
Once Śākyamuni was in Nirvāṇa, it was from his immediate successor
that the coming of the golden age of mankind was to be expected. The
Maitreya-vyākaraṇa endeavoured to describe the marvellous events and
mass conversions which will mark the coming of Maitreya into his
world.

These predictions, however, remained too impersonal and abstract. In
order to present them in a more lively and realistic way, it was claimed
that they were made by Śākyamuni concerning his contemporaries. By
his very name, Maitreya, Bāvari’s disciple, was clearly named as bene­
ficiary. In a whole series of texts, of which the Pūrvaparāntakasūtra
is the most characteristic, a solemn assembly was devised during which
Śākyamuni formulated his predictions regarding Maitreya and his com­
panion Ajita. Handing over to Maitreya the golden tunic which Ma­
haprajāpatī had offered to the Saṅgha, Śākyamuni announces to him
that he will later be the Buddha Maitreya; Ajita, his companion,
receives the assurance that, at the same date, he will be the Cakravartin
Śaṅkha.

Finally — if there ever was a final point — Ajita and Maitreya were
fused into one and the same person: Ajita-Maitreya. This fusion is not
in the least surprising if we note, as did J. Filliozat, that Maitreya, the
“Benevolent”, is derived from maitṛī, “benevolence”, and that the
property of maitṛī is to render its possessor invulnerable and ajita,
“unsubdued” 124.

Through his name, Maitreya the unsubdued, the Buddha of the
future, became a counterpart or replica of the Iranian god Mithra — Sol
Invictus 125 and was drawn into the great movement of messianic

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125 The application of the epithet Invincible to Maitreya might be explained by Iranian
influence: cf. J. Przyluski, La croyance au Messie dans l’Inde et dans l’Iran, RHR, t. C,
1929, pp. 1-12; Un dieu iranien dans l’Inde, RO, VII, 1931, pp. 1-9; S. Lévi, Maitreya le
Consolateur, i.e., p. 360 — For M. Abegg, Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran, Berlin
1928, Indian messianism is independent of Iranian eschatology.
expectation which, under various symbols, pervaded the whole of the East at the end of the pre-Christian era. The syncretism which was dominant culminated, in the Manichaean texts in Uighur, in a vast synthesis in which were fused "Mithras Invictus", "Jesus the Son of God" and "Maitreya-Ajita".

Belief in Maitreya flourished particularly in Central Asia until the advent of Islam\(^{126}\). The sources collected by the various archaeological missions are plentiful: statues and frescoes, historical texts, documents concerning the founding of temples and monasteries, formulas of donations, religious and literary texts such as the *Maitreyasamiti*, confessions of sins, Manichaean fragments and, finally, hymns to Maitreya, and they all attest to the presence of a new god around whom were crystallized the aspirations of the Eastern world.

From this belief was born a Buddhism which was almost exclusively a religion of pure devotion (*bhakti*), a monotheism. It was no longer in line with the earlier orthodoxy. The adherent no longer acquired merit with a view to a good rebirth in the world of the gods or of mankind; the ascetic no longer trained in the eightfold path in order to acquire an incomprehensible Nirvāṇa. The doctrine of the maturation of actions was, if not forgotten, at least minimized. The only means of salvation was henceforth divine compassion, considerate and efficacious.

Devotion to Maitreya was common to the two Vehicles — and this is why we speak of it here.

Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 858a) and Hsüan tsang (T 2087, ch. 3, p. 884b) saw, on the borders of the Himalayas and the Darel, a colossal statue of Maitreya erected some three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa by Madhyāntika. "According to an ancient tradition", remarks Fa hsien, "śramanas from India began to carry the holy books of the Buddha across the river (Indus) from the time when the image of Maitreya was erected. That image was in fact erected about three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa. Therefore, it can be said that the diffusion of the doctrine can be attributed to the influence of that image".

As with Śākyamuni before his Enlightenment, Maitreya is the bodhisattva most often depicted on monuments by the Graeco-Buddhist school: at times he appears standing, while at others he is seated in Indian or European style, wearing a topknot as a coronet (*jaṭāmukūṭa*) and holding in his left hand the water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) of the brahmīns\(^{127}\). Elsewhere, in Śāṇḍi, Konkan and Bengal, the golden-centred frangipani flower (*nāgapuspa*) is his main characteristic. His image is


\(^{127}\) A. Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, figs. 418-422.
particularly widespread on the borders of India and Iran, especially on the site of Bāmyān\(^{128}\).

As evidenced by the Śāriputraparipṛcchā (above, pp. 389-391), Maitreya took part in the persecution of Puṣyamittra in order to save the Buddhist texts from total destruction: he transported them to the Tuṣita heaven and, once the danger was over, had them brought back among mankind.

Ceylon did not remain behind in the cult paid to Maitreya. The holy Mahā-Sangharakkha did not practise vipassanā and delayed his accession to holiness in the hope of seeing him before he died (Visuddhi-magga, ed. WARREN, p. 38). The last thought of King Duṭṭhadārāmaṇī (104-80 B.C.) was for the Tuṣita heaven where the bodhisattva Maitreya is enthroned, and it was in that heaven that he was reborn (Mhv., XXXII, 71-5). King Dhātusena (513-522 A.D.) embellished an image of Maitreya with royal ornaments and placed a guard round it within a radius of seven yojana (Cūlavamsa, XXXVIII, 68). Statues of Maitreya were erected by Dappula I, Parakkamabāhu I and Kittisirirājasīha. In Anurādhapura, Fa hsien (T 2085, p. 865c) heard a monk who had come from India reciting from the top of a pulpit a prophecy concerning Śākyamuni’s alms-bowl. Formerly in Vaiśālī, the pātra is now in Gandhāra. It would pass from country to country and finally reach the Tuṣita heaven where Maitreya would receive it. The pātra would disappear and the Law of the Buddha would deteriorate. Human life-span would be reduced to five years. However, men would be penitent, and life would gradually be prolonged until it lasted for 80,000 years. At that time, the Buddha Maitreya would appear on earth, set turning the Wheel of the Law and convert the three assemblies. Fa hsien wanted to note down that prophecy, but the speaker explained to him that it was not a sūtra, but merely a recitation he had learned by heart.

According to the evidence of Hsuan tsang, recorded by his pupils Tao shih (in T 2123, ch. 1, p. 6c-7a) and K’uei chi (in T 1772, ch. 1, p. 277c; T 1964, p. 106c), the wish to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven, Maitreya’s paradise, was common to the two Vehicles, while only the Mahāyānists believed in the Sukhāvatī, Amitābha’s paradise. The Tuṣita heaven is located in the World of Desire and is relatively easily reached; the Sukhāvatī is a Pure Land and very difficult to accede to.

Maitreyism was developed further in the Mahāyāna, but to speak of it here would be a digression from the subject we have assigned ourselves. Maitreya appears in it as a god of light\(^{129}\), a consoler receiving the


"confession of sins"\textsuperscript{130}, and a guide of spirits after death\textsuperscript{131}. Above all, he is an inspirer, the support of masters of the Law in their doubts and crises of discouragement: entering into absorption, the scholars can ascend to the Tuṣita heaven to see Maitreya and receive his clarifications; if necessary, Maitreya himself descends to earth, there to recite texts. Aware too of what they owe him, it was not unusual for certain scholars to attribute the paternity of their own works to the "Master Maitreya" (Maitreyanātha). It goes without saying that this master was in no way a historical person\textsuperscript{132}.

Great minds, such as the Chinese master Hsiian tsang, lived in perpetual communion of mind and heart with Maitreya. We will conclude with an adventure which happened to Hsiian tsang during his travels in India, and which is narrated in his biography (T 2053, ch. 3, p. 234a), and summarized as follows by P. Demiéville\textsuperscript{133}:

Hsiian tsang was decending the Ganges when he was attacked by brigands, who decided to sacrifice him to Durgā; they prepared a mandala where they intended to cut his throat, and were already brandishing their knives. Hsiian tsang asked them for a moment in which to meditate and "pass away in joy". The master of the Law concentrated his mind on the palace of the Tuṣitas. He thought of the bodhisattva Maitreya and made the aspiration to be reborn near him in order to worship him and receive the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra from him... Then it seemed to him in his imagination that he ascended Mount Sumeru then, having passed beyond the first, second and third heaven, that he could see the palace of the Tuṣitas, with the bodhisattva Maitreya on his sublime terrace of jewels, surrounded by his assembly of deva. At that moment, his heart was filled with joy; the mandala and the brigands were all forgotten... A storm saved him, but Maitreya always remained an object of particular veneration for him.

What else is there in common between this Maitreyan mysticism and the cold reality of the sage of Kapilavastu? That sage who declared:

\begin{quote}
All accumulations end in ruin; \\
All elevations end in downfall; \\
Unions end in separation; \\
Life ends in death.
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
* \\
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{130} On these formulas of confession, see W. Baruch, op. cit., pp. 75-6.


\textsuperscript{132} All these matters have been dealt with in detail by P. Demiéville, in BEFEO, XLIV, 1954 : Maitreya l'inspirateur (pp. 376-87), Le paradis de Maitreya (pp. 387-95).

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., p. 388.
ADDENDA

New edicts of Aśoka and the bilingual inscription of Kandahār.

Three new edicts of Aśoka have been discovered in recent times:

1. The inscription at Gujarrā, in the district of Datia in Vindhaya Pradesh. Discovered in 1953 by Lal Chand Sarma, it was identified as an Aśokan edict by Dr. B. Ch. Chabra and published with a facsimile by D.C. SIRCAR, Gujarrā Inscription of Aśoka, Epigraphia Indica, XXXI, 1956, pp. 204-10. It is the first of the Minor Inscriptions on rock, various recensions of which have been noted above (p. 225). It begins with the words Devānā mpiyasa Piyadasino Aśokarājasa, and is therefore the second recension known until now in which the name of Aśoka is given, the first being the Maski recension (cf. BLOCH, p. 145). From the grammatical point of view, we note the verb *smi (Skt. asmi) instead of sumi attested to at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Maski and Gāvimāth. The other peculiarities conform to the linguistic habits of the Aśokan administration: the termination in -e in the nominative masculine singular, and in the nominative and accusative neuter singular; the ending in -mīna of the middle present participle and the old infinitive endings in pāpotave and ārādhayitave.

2. The inscription at Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the taluk of Pattikoṇḍa in the district of Kurnool. Discovered in 1946, this inscription was published by D.C. SIRCAR, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri Inscription of Aśoka, Epigraphia Indica, XXXI, 1956, pp. 211-18. It consists of fifteen very mutilated lines, derived from the first two Minor Inscriptions on rock. This new recension is practically identical to that of Yerraguḍi, discovered in the same district in 1929 (see BLOCH, pp. 145-51).

3. The bilingual Graeco-Aramaic inscription of Kandahār in Afghanistan. This sensational discovery dates from the early months of 1958 and has already been the subject of two Italian publications: U. SCERRATO, An Inscription of Aśoka discovered in Afghanistan: the bilingual Greek-Aramaic of Kandahār, East and West, IX, 1958, pp. 4-6; Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka (la prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan). Testo, traduzione e note a cura di G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI e di G. LEVI DELLA VIDA con prefazione di G. TUCCI e introduzione di U. SCERRATO (Serie Orientale Roma, XXI), Rome, 1958.*

Greek script was known in Iran from the end of the fourth century B.C. until the time of the Sassanids; however, under the Achaemenids it consisted as yet of only unimportant scribblings. The oldest text is an
epitaph of a Greek, Nicocles of Sinope, possibly prior to Alexander's conquest. The bilingual inscription at Kandahār is the only Āsokan edict compiled in Greek as well as the first Greek inscription found in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, the importance of Aramaic, both as a language and a script, during the first six centuries of the pre-Christian era and the first centuries of the new era, has long been recognized. Under the Achaemenids, alongside the Old Persian noted in cuneiform characters, Aramaic, used by specialized scribes, served as the universal language in the Near and Middle East. Aramaic texts have been discovered in Egypt, Lydia, Iran and Transcaucasia.

Even in India, the influence of Aramaic was shown by the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and the presence of some inscriptions in Aramaic language and script.

The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, a derivative of the Aramaic script, was used in North-West India, from the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D., for writing down Indian texts in Prākrit and Sanskrit. It served to note down the edicts of Āsoka promulgated in Shābāzgarhī (District of Peshāwār) and Mānsehrā (District of Hazāra) in the third century B.C. It then appeared on the inscriptions and coins of Yavana, Śaka-Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa dynasts who succeeded one another in West India. It was again used in manuscripts and archival documents in Central India.

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9 Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, above, p. 568, n. 46.

10 The Niya documents, see above, p. 569, n. 48.
Asia during the first centuries of the Christian era. Finally, the most recent fragments in Kharoṣṭhī script have been found in the region of Kučā, mixed with documents from the seventh century.

However, North-West India has not only given us Indian texts in writing derived from Aramaic, but has also supplied some inscriptions in the Aramaic language and script.

The first is a mutilated inscription found in 1915 at Taxila-Sirkap by Sir John Marshall. It consists of a dozen lines and was composed in honour of a high official named Rōmedōtē, who owed his advancement to the patronage of the viceroy or governor Priyadarśī. In all likelihood, this was Aśoka, who was governor of Taxila before his accession to the throne (see above, pp. 223, 239).

A second Aramaic inscription, of eight mutilated lines, was discovered in Lampaka (Laghmān), at Pūl-i-Darunteh, near Nagarahāra (present-day Jelālabād). This is an edict of Devānāmpriya (Aśoka), in Aramaic script and language, with a few terms borrowed from Middle Indian and which are found again in particular on the 5th, 9th and 13th rock Edicts, as well as the 3rd and 5th pillar Edicts.

The third inscription in Aramaic language and script is the bilingual edict of Kandahār, in Afghanistan. According to the traditional interpretation, Kandahār represents Alexandria of Arāchosia. It is true that, on the basis of the evaluations of the ancient bematists, Droysen and Tarn located the metropolis of Arachosia in Ghazni and identified Kandahār with the Alexandropolis near Sakastene recorded by Isodorus of Charax in the Stationes Parthicae, 18 and 19. However, E. Bazin-Foucher, on geographical grounds, protested at that "fantastic
error” and A. Foucher\textsuperscript{16}, after a new scrutiny of the matter, saw mediaeval Kandahār as a successor to Alexandria of Arachosia. The discovery of the bilingual edict at Shar-i-Kuna proves the existence of a Greek settlement near Kandahār.

We have already given an outline of the history of Arachosia. Organized as a satrapy by Alexander the Great, it was governed successively by Menon from 330 to 325 (p. 111), and by Sibyrtius, host and friend of the historian Megasthenes, from 325 to 316. Sibyrtius succeeded in retaining his post during the three successive partitions of the satrapies, by Perdiccas in 323 (p. 113), Antipater in 321 (p. 113) and Antigonus in 316 (p. 116). In 311, Arachosia and the other higher satrapies passed into the hands of Seleucus I Nicator (pp. 116) but the latter, after his unsuccessful attack against Candragupta, had to surrender it, at least in part, to his adversary (pp. 116-118). For more than a century, from approximately 304 to 200, Arachosia lived within the orbit of the Indian empire of the Mauryans. The two Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka, that of Būl-i-Darunteh in Lampaka and that of Kandahār in Arachosia, probably marked the western limit of the Mauryan empire. In about the year 200, shortly before the collapse of that empire, Arachosia fell into the hands of the Greek king of Bactria, Euthydemus of Magnesia (p. 372).

The bilingual edict of Kandahār is dated in the tenth elapsed year after the consecration of Aśoka, i.e. according to the calculation adopted here, the year 228 after the Nirvāṇa = 258 B.C. It would therefore be the oldest Aśokan edict known until now and would antedate by two years the first two inscriptions at Barābar, in 256 B.C., and by four years that of the fourteen great rock Edicts of 254 B.C. (see above, pp. 225-226). It was in the tenth year of his reign that Aśoka, inspired with extreme zeal, set out for the Enlightenment, initiated the Dharma tour (dharmayātra) with audiences, preachings and the distribution of gold to the religious and the old : 256 nights passed in that tour (see above, pp. 226-227).

We reproduce here the Greek text of the bilingual edict, as read and translated by G. Pugliese Carratelli:

\begin{quote}
δέκα ἐτῶν πληρη [...\(\omega\)ν βασιλεύς
Πιοδασσης εὐσέβειαν ἔδηλεξεν τοῖς ἄν-
θρώποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου εὐσεβεστέρους
τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ἐποίησεν καὶ πάντα
εὐθηνεὶ κατὰ πάσαν γῆν \· καὶ ἄπεχεται
\end{quote}

THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF KANDAHĀR 715

baσιλεύς τών ἐμψύχων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὅσοι θηρευταὶ ἢ ἀλλεῖς βασιλέως πέπαυνται θηρεύοντες· καὶ ἔτες τίνες ἄκρατεῖς πέπαυνται τῆς ἀκρασίας κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνήκουν πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρὰ τὰ πρότερον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λόιον καὶ ἁμείνων κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες διαξούσιν.

"Compiutisi (?) dieci anni (di regno, o dalla consacrazione), il re Piodasses (Piyadassi) ha fatto conoscere la (dottrina della) pietà agli uomini, e da questo momento ha reso più pietosi gli uomini e tutto prospera per tutta la terra; e il re si astiene da(l’uccidere) gli esseri animati, e gli altri uomini e quanti (sono) cacciatori e pescatori del re hanno desistito dal cacciare; e se alcuni (erano) intemperanti han posto freno all’intemperanza quant’era in loro potere; e, obbedienti al padre e alla madre e agli anziani, in confronto al passato anche per l’avvenire più gradevolmente e meglio (= meglio e più felicemente che per il passato anche nell’avvenire), in tutto così agendo, vivranno”.

The Greek text, translated from an original in the Prākrit of the Asokan administration, abounds in stock phrases but does not correspond to any known edict. It is clearly one of those rescripts of the Dharma “in abridged form” (samkhittena) to which the 14th R(ock) E(dict) refers (Bloch, p. 133).

As in all the edicts, the “ten elapsed years” (δέκα ἔτον πληρωθέντων) are counted from the date of the consecration. See, for example, the 8th R. E. dasavassābhīsitte (Bloch, p. 112).

Βασιλεύς Πλοδόσποτος (pronounced vasilefs Piodassiss) hides an original Piyadassi lājā with the r dropped in Piyadassi, and the r treated as l in lājā as at Kāls ē and Dhauli, in contrast to the edicts of the North-West (Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā) which have Priyadraśī raja (Bloch, p. 110).

euotheia is a good rendering of the Indian and Asokan concept of dhamma “Law of a religious nature”. The conjecture eσείεσεν, with the meaning of “made known”, corresponds to the expression dhammānu-satthi (Bloch, p. 125) or dhammānu-sāsanam (Bloch, p. 100) of the edicts. τοῖς ἀνθρώποις can render jana as well as munisā (Bloch, p. 110, lines 17 and 18).

Taken absolutely, the comparative eσεβεστέρους can correspond to the expression dhammayutta “attached to the Law” (Bloch, p. 103). καὶ
πάντα εὐθηνεί κατά πάσαν γῆν “and everything prospers throughout the whole earth” refers, in this context, to the flourishing state of the Dharma all over the world, that dhammavaddhī spoken of by the edicts (BLOCH, pp. 103, 167, 168, 169, 172).

As Pugliese Carratelli notes, the expression ἀπέχεται ἐμψύχων recalls the title of a minor work by Porphyry περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων. This abstention (from the flesh) of animals is none other than pānānām avihisā presented by the 4th R.E. as one of the forms of the practice of the Dharma (BLOCH, p. 99). The slaying of ἐμψυχα or pānānā for religious or culinary reasons is strictly regulated by the 1st R.E. (BLOCH, pp. 90-3), then radically forbidden by the 2nd and 5th P(illar) E(dicts) (BLOCH, pp. 162, 165-7). Following the example of the king, continues the bilingual edict, “other men and all the huntsmen (θηρευται) and fishermen (ἀλιεῖς) of the king ceased hunting”. This phrase is not found word for word in the edicts, but the 8th R.E. condemns the hunts (migaviyā = Skt. mrgayā) formerly held by the kings (BLOCH, p. 111), and the 5th P.E. forbids the killing on certain dates of creatures in the fishing-grounds (kevattabhoga = Skt. kaivarabhoga) (BLOCH, p. 166).

The continuation of the Greek text, καὶ ἐὰν τινὲς ἀκρατεῖς πέπαυνται τῆς ἀκρασίας κατὰ δόναμιν, is understood by Pugliese Carratelli as: “and if a few of them were intemperate, they restrained their intemperance as much as it was in their power to do”. Intemperance, he remarks, indicates the absence of sa(m)ya “control of the senses”. It is true that, taken absolutely, the terms ἀκρασία (or ἀκράτεια) and asamyama can mean intemperance, and when the 13th R.E. recommends sa(m)ya among other virtues such as security, equanimity and gentleness, it obviously means mastery of the senses (BLOCH, p. 129). However, ἀκρατῆς can also designate a person who uses something to excess (Xenophon, Oeconomicus, XII, 111 : ἀκρατῆς οἶνου, who uses wine to excess). In the present context, ἀκρατῆς probably means “using the flesh of animals to excess”, and ἀκρασία means lack of abstinence Sa(m)ya has precisely that restricted meaning on the 9th R.E. (BLOCH, p. 115) : sādhu pānānāṃ (or pānesu) saṁyaṁe, “It is good to refrain (from the flesh) of living beings”. We can therefore understand the Greek phrase as: “And if a few were lacking in abstinence (or sobriety), they put an end to that lack of abstinence as much as possible”.

καὶ ἐνίκοιοι πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων can only mean: “obeying their father, their mother and their elders”. Taking into account the inversion of the Indian order “mother-father”, this phrase is the word for word translation of the recension at Shāhbāzgarhī on the
4th R.E., *matapitusu vuḍhanam suśruṣa*, “obedience to father and mother and the elders” (BLOCH, p. 99). As Pugliese Carratelli remarks, the Indian redaction may have exerted an influence on the change of case, genitive (πρεσβυτέρων) instead of dative.

The last three lines are the only ones which really cause a problem. G. Tucci (p. vi) wonders whether, in the Greek παρά τὰ πρότερον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, there is not an echo of the *hidalokiko paralokiko* of the R.E. Nos. 11 and 13. He is perfectly right and, for my part, I see, in the two comparatives λῶτον καὶ ᾠμεινον, a rather crude attempt to render the expression *hitasukham*. The separate edict of Kalinga includes in two places (BLOCH, pp. 137, 141) a phrase which may clarify the Greek text: *āthā pajāye icchāmi hakaṃ kiṃti savvena hitasukhena hidalokikapālalokikena yūjevū ti tathā savamunissesu pi icchāmi* : “Just as I desire that my children be endowed with all welfare and happiness in the present world and the world to come, so do I desire this for all men”. We can therefore understand the Greek phrase in the following way: “Acting thus (ταῦτα ποιοῦντες), during the former <existence> and the future <existence> (παρά τὰ πρότερον καὶ ἤπειρο ψευδοῦ = hidaloke pāraloke), they will live (διάξουσιν) in the best and happiest way in everything (λῶτον καὶ ᾠμεινον κατὰ πάντα = savvena hitasukhena)”.

I am not competent to discuss the Aramaic part of the Kandahār inscription. The language is imperial Aramaic with a few terms taken, not from Middle Indian as in the inscription at Piil-i-Darunteh, but from Iranian. These foreign words are printed in italics in the translation by G. Levi Della Vida which I reproduce here:

“1. Nell’anno 10 fu fatta la giustizia (o : conversione?) di Nostro Signore il re Priyadars, secondo rettitudine ben diretta. 2. Da poco tempo egli ha abolito il male per tutti gli uomini et tutti gli esseri viventi(?), 3. e in tutta la terra e anche daperitutto(?). E anche coloro che si occupano(?) del passo per Nostro Signore il re 4. uccidono poco; questo affinché tutti gli uomini cacciatori e pescatori vedano 5. quegli uomini proclamare così; coloro che sono insani(?), quelli cacciano; chi 6. è devoto e obbediente a sua madre e a suo padre e agli uomini anziani 7. secondo che essi lo hanno ammonito, 7-8. costui accrescerà fortemente per tutti gli uomini la (buona) sorte e l’incolpabilità da parte di tutti, con accrescimento e aumento”.

Here, for the record, is the translation established by those scholars (loc. cit., pp. 33-4):

**Greek**

Ten years having elapsed, King Piodasses showed Piety to men.

And since then, he has made men more pious, and everything prospers throughout the earth.

And the king abstains from living beings, and other men and all the huntsmen and fishermen of the king have ceased to hunt.

And those who were not masters of themselves have ceased, as much as it is in their power to do so, not to master themselves.

And they have become obedient to their father and mother and old people, which is the reverse of what was the case before.

And henceforth, by acting in that way, they will live in the best and most profitable way in everything.

**Aramaic**

Ten years having elapsed (?), it came about that our lord Priyadarśi the king made himself promoter of the Truth.

Since then, evil has diminished for all men, and he has caused all misfortunes (?) to disappear, and all over the earth (there is) peace (and) joy.

And, moreover, (there is) this with regard to food: for our lord the king, only a few (animals) are killed; on seeing this, all men have ceased (to kill animals); even (?) those who take fish (=fishermen), such men are subject to a prohibition.

Similarly, those who were unrestrained, have ceased to be unrestrained.

And (there is) obedience to one's father and mother and to old people in conformity with the obligations imposed on every one by destiny.

And there is no judgement for all pious men. That (=the practice of the Law) has been profitable for all men and will continue to be profitable.

For the last two lines of the Greek text, we retain the translation proposed above, p. 717. By observing the prescriptions of Aśoka, men will ensure for themselves a better life (destiny) in this world and in the next.
ABBREVIATIONS

AB: — Ars Buddhica.
AI: — Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Calcutta.
AJA: — American Journal of Archaeology.
Art. As.: — Artibus Asiae. Ascona.
ASAWL: — Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.
Buddhist Studies: — Buddhist Studies, ed. by B.C. LAW, Calcutta, 1931.
CHI: — Cambridge History of India, ed. by E. RAPSON, I, Cambridge, 1922.
CSHI: — The Cambridge Shorter History of India, ed. by H.H. DODWELL, 1934, The pre-Muslim period by J. ALLAN.
GGA: — Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeige.
IC: — Indian Culture. Calcutta.
IHQ: — Indian Historical Quarterly. Calcutta.
ISS: — Indian and Iranian Studies presented to G.A. GRIERSON (= BSOS, VIII, 2-3).
JIH : — Journal of Indian History. Trivandrum.
Mbh : — Mahābhārata (Bombay ed.).
McB : — Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Bruxelles.
Abbreviations

NAWG: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.
NIA: New Indian Antiquary.
NKGWG: Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
OAZ: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
OC: Transactions (Verhandlungen, Actes) of International Congresses of Orientalists.
OLZ: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Periplus: Périple de la Mer Érythrée, ed. by J. Frisk, Göteborg, 1927.
PG: Migné, Patrologie grecque.
PL: Migné, Patrologie latine.
PO: The Poona Orientalist.
PTS: Pâli Text Society.
Rajat: Kalhana, Rājatarāginī, tr. by A. M. Stein, 2 vol., Westminster, 1900.
RH: Revue historique.
RUB: Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles.
SBAW: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
Strabo: Strabo, Geography, ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig (Teubner), 1852.
Tāranātha: — Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus, transl. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.
TOCS: — Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society.
TP: — T'oung Pao. Leiden.

Unless otherwise stated, Pāli texts are quoted after the editions of the Pāli Text Society of London.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS

AAWG = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, dritte Folge.
AWLM = Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Mainz.
DAWB, 10 = Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung.
IsMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.
JAAR = Journal of the American Academy of Religion.
JIABS = Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.
JOIB = Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda.
NAWG = Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse.
PIOL = Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve.
SII = Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Reinbeck.
FOREWORD

The following bibliographical notes do not claim to be exhaustive, neither always up to date. Nevertheless, we hope they will supply the students of Buddhism with some new information.

The notes are indicated by one or several asterisks inserted into E. Lamotte’s text, and are quoted according to the paging of the French edition, followed, in brackets, by the reference to the pagination of the English translation.


A. Bareau has devoted years of research to the historical data concerning the life of the Buddha in the legendary traditions and has expounded the results of his investigations in the following studies: Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinaya-pitaka anciens, vol. I: De la quête...
Regarding the Great Departure, see E. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque* (Śūraṅgamasaṃāṭhisūtra), MCB, 13 (1965), p. 176-177, n.147.


We have adapted our terminology according to: J.P. MacDermott, *Undetermined and Indeterminate Kamma*, I I J, 19 (1977), 1-2, p. 31-36.


**See E. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque*, p. 14-26: Le Samādhi dans le véhicule des Śrāvaka. For a more general approach to the subject, see P. Griffiths, *Concentration or Insight: the Problematic of Theravāda Buddhism*, JAAR, 49 (1981), 4, p. 605-624.**

**See W.L. King, *The Structure and Dynamics of the Attainment of Cessation in Theravāda Meditation*, JAAR, 45 (1977), 2, supplement, p. 707-725.**


**New text, see Duncan, J., and M. Derrett, *A Textbook for Novices. Jayaraksita’s Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana*, Turin, 1983 (Explanation of the Ten Rules by a later commentator (ca. 500 AD), belonging probably to the Mahāsāṃghika school).**

**See M. Hofinger, *Le vol dans: la morale bouddhique*, in Indianisme et Bouddhisme, p. 177-189.**

**Concerning the brahmacarya, see J. Dantinne, *La Splendeur de l’Inébranlable (Aṣṭobhyavyūha)*, PIOL, 29, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983, p. 166-168, note as.**


Concerning the upasampadā, see J. DANTINNE, La Splendeur de l’Inébranlable (Aśobhyavyūha), PIOL, 29, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983, p. 269, note (X); C.S. UPASAK, Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, Varanasi, 1975, p. 50; 101-102.

Regarding the manifold use of śalākā, see H. DURT, Chu, in: Hōbōgirin, fasc. V, 1979, p. 431a-456a.


About the four different kinds of punyakṣetra, see E. LAMOTTE, La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque, p. 231-233, note 266; Id., L’Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdesa), Louvain, 1962, p. 158 (the aspiration to become a punyakṣetra is condemned by the Mahāyāna followers); J. VAN DEN BROECK, La Saveur de l’Immortel (A-p’i-t’ān Kan Lu Wei Lun), PIOL, 15, Louvain, 1977, p. 85-89 (different kinds of gifts).


M. WUJAYARATNA, Le moine bouddhiste selon les textes du Theravāda, p. 177 ff.

This point of view is now disputed. See G. SCHOPEN, Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions, I I J, 21 (1979), 1, p. 1-19; Id., Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: the Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrine of the Transference of Merit, in: Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, 11 (1985), p. 9-47. The statistical analysis of epigraphical data shows that «the Mahāyāna was a monk dominated movement».
Regarding the bhūmi of Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, see E. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque*, p. 155-158, note 112, and p. 246-251, note 299.


BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT


p. 192 * New translation: Shih, R., Biographie des Moines Eminents (Kao seng tchouan) de Houei-Kiao, traduites et annotées (Bibliothèque du Museon, 54), Louvain, 1968.


In this field of research, E. Lamotte's account is now outdated, since numerous new epigraphical findings have been published:

— M R E:


3— new version of Pāngurāriā (Sehore District, Madhya Pradesh), discovered in 1976, and located on a hillside studded with remains of thirty monasteries and of a big stūpa. See D.C. SIRCAR, op. cit., p. 94-103.

4— new version of Niṭṭūr (Bellary District, Karnataka), discovered in 1977, and mentioning the name (Aśoka) of the king, using the same royal title as in the Gujarā and Maski inscriptions. See D.C. SIRCAR, op. cit., p. 123-128.


— P E (Pillar Edicts):
Very recent discovery is to be mentioned, i.e., a fragment of PE IV, engraved on a schist slab, from unknown origin, but probably from the North-West. The most interesting feature is that the text is written in Brāhmī script, which is less used in those regions than Kharoṣṭhī. See M. TADDEI, Una nuova iscrizione di Aśoka dal Nordovest, in: Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata, edited by G. GNOLI and L. LANCIOtTI, ISMEO, Serie Orientale Roma, 56, part 3 (forthcoming). The contents of this article were kindly communicated to us by the author before its publication.

— Greek and Aramaic-Iranian translations:


New editions and translations of the Edicts:

[= 224]


Some of these identifications are now disputed. See D. Schlüngloff, Āsoka or Māra? On the Interpretations of some Sāṃchi Reliefs, in: Indological and Buddhist Studies, p. 441-456.


The existence of an Aśoka's legend in the Burmese Lokapaññati has been highlighted by E. Denis, La Lokapaññati et la légende birmane d'Aśoka, JA, 264 (1976), p. 97-116; Id., La Lokapaññati et les idées cosmologiques du Bouddhisme ancien, 2 vols., Lille, Atelier de reproduction des thèses, chapter XIV, 6, vol. I, p. 141 ff. This legendary version includes features from both the Pāli and Sanskrit traditions, together with original episodes mostly concerning, on the one hand, protective devices built inside the first stūpa containing the Buddha relics, and on the other, the worship festival organized by Aśoka.


The whole problem has now been treated at length, and new solutions have been proposed. See J.J. Nattier and CH.S. Prebisch, Mahāsāṃghika Origins: the Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism, in: History of Religions, 16 (1977), p. 237-272.


The subject of the gandhakūṭi has been neglected by scholars in the past. See now J. STRONG, Gandhakūṭi: the Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha, History of Religions, 16 (1977), p. 390-406.

See KUMAR, D., Archaeology of Vaiśali, New Delhi, 1986.


The fire altar built on this occasion has been discovered. See J.M. VERPOORTEN, Archéologie et philologie védique. L’agnicayana dans les textes et sur le terrain, in Archéologie et philologie dans l’étude des civilisations orientales, edited by A. THEODORIDES, Louvain, 1986, p. 166 ff.


p. 465 * About the Milindapañha, see now T. POBOZNIAK, *Genesis of the Milindapañha*, in: *Sanskrit and World Culture* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orient, 18), Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p. 508 ff.


See Kant, S., The Hāthigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Bhābru Edict of Aśoka, Delhi, 1971.


Consult now Shizutani, M., Indo Bukkyō mokuroku (Catalogue of Buddhist Inscriptions), Kyōto, 1979.


Yoshimoto, S., Abidaruma Shisō (The thought of Abhidharma), Kyōto, 1982, pp. 9-164 (Development of Sarvāstivāda thought).

See J. Van den Broeck, La Saveur de l'Immortel, p. 16-21.


See J. Dantinne, La Splendeur de l'Inébranlable, p. 40 and note 198 (career of the Bodhisattva); p. 123-130 (energy of the Bodhisattva, irreversibility, the four conducts, the Perfections, the thought of Enlightenment).

Regarding the ten stages (bhūmi) and the career of the Bodhisattva, see E. Lamotte, La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque, p. 44 ff.; p. 155-158; p. 160-168.


Regarding this episode, see A. Barea, Un personnage bien mystérieux: l'épouse du Buddha, in: Indological and Buddhist Studies, p. 31-60.


Concerning Māra, see L.W. Bloss, The Taming of Māra: Witnessing the

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We have listed every Indian word followed by a French translation in Mgr. LAMOTTE's work. This index is compiled according to the Sanskrit alphabetical order adopted in Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Each item includes:
- The Indian term. We have made no distinction between Pāli, Sanskrit or Prākrit forms.
- Mgr. LAMOTTE's French rendering, quoted according to the pages and lines of the French edition.
- Our English translation, quoted according to the pages of the French edition.

In some cases, an English translation closer to the etymological meaning, or more in accordance with the trends of modern Buddhist terminology appears between brackets.

We would remind the reader that the page numbers of the French edition are noted in the margin of the English text.

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   → prohibition, 62 (23)

akusala
   → mauvais, 36 (13), 37 (14), 659 (35), 660 (26)
   → bad, 36, 37, 659, 660

akusala-mahābhūmika
   → (universal) accompanying every bad thought, 663

akopya
   → inébranlable, 684 (3)
   → unshakable, 684

akliṣṭa ajñāna
   → ignorance non-souillée, 300 (34)
   → undefiled ignorance, 300

akṣara
   → phonème, 160 (26)
   → syllable, 160

Agrabhāga
   → «Bonne part», 475 (29)
   → «Good Share», 475

āṅga
   → membre, 39 (8), 42 (11), 155 (15), 162 (18), 675 (33)
   → link, 39, 42, 675
   → constituent part, 155, 162
acchādana
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   → protective covering, 749
ajita
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   → unvanquished, 784
ajhattika
   interne, 659 (8)
   → internal, 659
aṭṭa
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   → lawsuit, 623
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   → commentary, 615, 616
anu
   atome, 664 (2)
   → atom, 664
anda
   dôme hémisphérique plein, 340 (19), 358 (24), 377 (11)
   → solid hemispherical dome, 340, 358, 377
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attha
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atthi
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adhipati

souveraineté, 670 (11)
en qualité de souverain, 670 (29)
→ predominance, 670; as predominant condition, 670

adhimukti

aspiration pieuse, 473 (31)
→ firm resolve, 473

adhisthāna

conservation, 690 (15)
→ sustainment, 690

adhyāropita

apocryphe, 180 (2)
→ apocryphal, 180

adhyāyesanā

inviter les Buddha à prêcher la Loi, 477 (10)
→ to invite the Buddhas to expound the Law, 477

anantara

antécédent immédiat, 670 (12)
→ immediate antecedent, 670

anāgata

futur, 667 (6)
→ future, 667

anāgamya < dhyāna >

pré-ecstatique, 680 (1)
→ pre-ecstatic, 680
(preliminary)

anāgāmin

qui ne revient plus, 51 (30), 683 (18)
→ non-returner, 51, 683

anātmaka

impersonnel, 29 (18), 678 (25), 679 (29)
→ selfless, 29, 678, 679

anātman

dépourvu de réalité substantielle, 48 (20)
dépourvu de substance, 435 (3)
→ devoid of substantial reality, 48, 435

anāsrava
pur, 680 (18), 684 (2), 690 (1,32)
→ undefiled, 680, 684, 690

anitya
impermanent, 29 (17), 33 (33), 678 (24), 679 (28)
transitoire, 48 (19), 665 (3)
→ impermanent, 29, 33, 678-79
transitory, 48, 665

anityatā
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→ impermanence, 85, 663

anīyata
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indéterminé, 663 (9)
→ undetermined, 60, 182, 663

anucāra
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→ appendage, 203

anuttarasamyaksambodhi
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→ supreme and perfect Enlightenment, 89, 477, 693

anuppana
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anupādajñāna
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connaissance de la non-reproduction, 692 (29)
→ knowledge of the non-arising, 52, 684
knowledge of the non-re-arising, 692

anupūrva
progressif, graduel, 685 (11)
succès, 686 (9)
→ progressive, gradual, 685
successful, 686

anupūrsvavīhāra
demeures successives de la pensée, 46 (20)
→ successive mental abodes, 46

anupūrvābhīsamaya
compréhension directe graduelle, 680 (23)
→ progressive direct comprehension, 680
(progressive adhesion)

anupūrvikathā
enseignement graduel, 84 (18)
→ gradual teaching, 84
(progressive-)

anuvāda

anumati
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    → approbation, 138

anumāṇa
    induction, 671 (19)
    → induction, 671

anumodanā
    se complaire <dans les bonnes actions des êtres>, 477 (9)
    → to delight <in the good actions of beings>, 477
    (rejoicing)

anulomacaryā
    pratique de conformité, 695 (15)
    → practice of conformity, 695

anuṣaya
    passion tenace, 682 (26)
    → impassioned tendency, 682

anusmṛtti
    commémoration, 473 (29), 714 (19)
    → recollection, 473, 714

antagrāhrāṇi
    croyance aux extrêmes, 55 (3)
    → belief in the extremes, 55

antevāsin
    élève, 61 (15)
    compagnon, 222 (26)
    → pupil, 61, 222

anyonyathātva
    jeu de la relation, 667 (27)
    → process of reciprocal relation, 667

anvaya
    consécutif, 681 (25)
    → subsequent, 681

Aparasāila
    Montagnards de l'ouest, 575 (24)
    Mont Occidental, 583 (18)
    → Western Highlanders, 575
    Western Mountain, 583

appābādhātta
    peu de tourments, 256 (10)
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apraṇihita
    non-prise en considération, 47 (26)
    → wishlessness, 47

aprañihavīta
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Nirvāṇa «comme s’il n’y résidait pas», 90 (9)
→ Nirvāṇa «as if he does not dwell there», 90

apratīṣṭhita nirvāṇa
suppression de la douleur non due à la sapience, 675 (25)
→ cessation of suffering not due to discriminating wisdom, 675

aprāpticcheda
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→ unlimited mental states, 698, 699

aprāpti
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→ dispossession, 663

aprāmada
diligence, 432 (36)
→ diligence, 432
(heedlessness)

abhijñā
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→ higher spiritual powers, 47

abhidhamma-cariya
maître de scholastique, 95 (21)
maître d’Abhidharma, 223 (11)
→ master of scholastics, 95
Abhidharma master, 223

Abhidharma
Dharma spécial, 197 (33)
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abhidyā
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→ covetousness, 37

abhiseka
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abhisamaya
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compréhension pure, 684 (14)
compréhension <des Vérités>, 685 (10)
→ direct comprehension, 680, 684
compréhension <of the Truths>, 685
(adhesion)

abhyāsa
effort prolongé, 682 (35)
→ prolonged effort, 682

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amṛta
  l'Immortel, 88 (11)
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Ayirahamgha
  Sainte communauté, 582 (31)
  → Holy community, 582

ayoniso manasikāra
  réflexion superficielle, 39 (27)
  → superficial reflection, 39
  (superficial mental activity)

arūpadhātu (arūpya-)
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  → world of formlessness, 34, 660, 680

arūparāga
  désir de l'existence immatérielle, 51 (14)
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aroγa
  santé, 475 (35)
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  (absence of illness)

artha
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  → meaning, 160, 190, 612

arhattva
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  → holiness, 44, 86, 89

avaktavya pudgala
  individu indéfinissable, 673 (31)
  → indefinable individual, 673

avatāra
  Descente <des dieux>, 372 (21), 434 (21)
  → Descent of the Gods, 372, 434

avadātavasana
  habit blanc, 72 (5), 260 (17)
  → white robe, 72, 260

avadāna (apadāna)
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  exploit, 757 (28)
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  d'ordre inférieur, 51 (17)
→ lower, 51 
(of lower status)

**avasyakaraniya**
actes que tout Buddha doit nécessairement accomplir, 730 (21)
→ actions that every Buddha must necessarily accomplish, 730

**avasthanyathatva**
différence des conditions, 667 (22)
→ difference in conditions, 667

**avasiska**
résident, 455 (16)
→ resident, 455

**aviksepa**
absence de distraction, 46 (18)
→ absence of distraction, 46

**avijнатпи**
non-information, 662 (11)
→ non-intimation, 662

**avidma**
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ignorance souillée, 300 (33)
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**avipranasta**
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→ non-perishing, 674

**avivartanacaryā**
pratique du non-recul, 695 (17), 696 (6)
→ practice of irreversibility, 695, 696

**avyakrta**
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indéfini, 40 (8)
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**asubhabhavanā**
méditation de l’horrible, 679 (18), 699 (8)
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**asaikśa**
savant, 313 (6)
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**asaikśamārga**

stade de l’Asaikśa ou de l’Arhat, 683 (28)
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ākāraviśeṣa
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   → prolonged in various aspects, 673

ākāśānanyāyatana
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   → sphere of unlimited space, 34, 47

ākāśa/ākāśa
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   → space, 659, 675

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ākṛti
   figure, 667 (10)
   → shape, 667
   (aspect)

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   prédication de la Loi, 213 (20)
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  authority, 671
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   résolution correcte, 415 (28), 463 (16)
   → right resolve, 415, 463

samyagdrṣṭi
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   → right view, 677

sarvatragahetu
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   → universal cause, 670

sarvapāśandapūjakaja
   protégea...toutes les sectes, 533 (18)
   → protected all sects, 533

sarvabijakaja
   muni de tous les germes, 673 (18)
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sarvayakṣādhipa
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   → leader of all the Yakṣas, 763

sahaja
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   → innate, 682, 684

sahabhūhetu
   cause mutuelle, 670 (24)
   → mutual cause, 670

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   → association, 583

sāṭaka
   manteau, 750 (1)
   → cloak, 750

sādhāraṇa
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   → vassal, 502, 539
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   suzerain, 501 (39)
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   règles d’intonation des Mélodies védiques, 613 (1)
   → rules of intonation for Vedic Melodies, 613

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sāmika
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sārdhavihārin (sadhiviḥārī)
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    → dry visioned, 216

sukha
    bonheur, 46 (34)
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sugati
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    → Knower of the Sūtras, 164, 455

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MAP 2.

ANCIENT INDIA

Regions and Peoples
KIRTHAR
Andhra

Mountains
KIRTHAR

Towns
PARJAPAURA

Rivers
MOKSHAELLS

ASOKA’S EDICTS

Modern names are quoted between brackets

SCALE

0  50  100 Kms

30°

0°
Plan of Anuradhapura (Ceylon)
II. — Sāñcī. Eastern gateway. Aśoka’s pilgrimage to the Bodhi tree.
VI. — Sārnāth. Lion Capital.
VII. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. View from the east.

VIII. — Sāñcī. Great Stūpa. View from the south-east.
XII. — Railing of the Stūpa of Bhārhut.
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Bhārhat. Yakṣāṇi.
XIX. — Bhārhat. Rurujātaka.

(Indian Museum, Calcutta.)
XXII. — Amarāvatī. Śibijātaka.
XXIV. — Bhājā. Caitya n. 12.
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XXVI. — Bedsā. Interior of the Caitya.
XXVII. — Nāsik. Front of Caitya n.18.
XXVIII. — Nāsik. Vihāra n.3 of Gautamīputra.
XXIX. — Kārli. Front of the Caitya.
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