

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ancient India

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Editorial Note in the manuscript published in the Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 3 by the Government of Maharashtra:

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had proposed to write a treatise, i.e., 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ancient India'. The table of contents has been printed in the chapter of schemes. He had originally planned to write seven books to be included under this broad title. The Committee was able to find some pages and few chapters in his collection. The chapters are also incomplete. After scrutiny, the Committee came to a decision that 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ancient India' is to be presented in this volume with the available material though incomplete. Dr. Ambedkar considered the rise of Buddhism as revolution. The Counter-Revolution pioneered by Brahmins' resulted into decline and fall of Buddhism.

As such the following chapters are included under this title.

1. *Ancient India on Exhumation*
2. *The Ancient Regime—The State of the Aryan Society*
3. *A Sunken Priesthood*
4. *Reformers and Their Fate*
5. *The Decline and Fall of Buddhism*
6. *The Literature of Brahminism*
7. *Triumph of Brahminism*
8. *The Morals of the House—Manusmriti or the Gospel of Counter-Revolution*
9. *Philosophic Defence of Counter-Revolution (Krishna and his Gita)*
10. *Analysis of Virat Parva and Uddyog Parva*
11. *Brahmins V/s Kshatriyas*
12. *The Shudras and the Counter-Revolution*
13. *The Women and the Counter-Revolution*

The readers may compare these chapters with the proposed plan given in the last chapters of Schemes.—Editors

CHAPTER 1

Ancient India on Exhumation

There are two typed copies of this Chapter. Both of them contain additions and corrections in the handwriting of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. After consideration, we decided that the latter version should be included here. This essay, consisting of three pages only, seems to be an introduction to a larger subject Dr. Ambedkar probably had in his mind.—Editors.

Much of the ancient history of India is no history at all. Not that ancient India has no history. It has plenty of it. But it has lost its character. It has been made mythology to amuse women and children. This seems to have been done deliberately by the Brahminical writers. Take the word *Deva*. What does it mean? Is the word *Jana Vishesh* representing a member of the human family? It is made to appear superhuman agency. By this the pith of history contained in it is squeezed out.

Along with the word *Deva* occur the names of *Yaksha*, *Gana*, *Gandharva*, *Kinnars*. Who were they? The impression one gets on reading the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayan* is that they are imaginary beings who filled the horizon but did not exist.

But the Yaksha, Gana, Gandharva, Kinnaras were also members of the human family. They were in the service of the Devas. The Yakshas were guarding the palaces. Ganas were guarding the Devas. Gandharvas were amusing the Devas by music and dancing. The Kinnaras were also in the service of the Gods. The descendants of the Kinnaras are even now living in Himachal Pradesh.

Take the name Asura. The description of Asura given in the Mahabharat and Ramayana make out as though they belonged to non-human world. An Asura is described to eat ten carts-load of food. They are monsters in size. They sleep for six months. They have ten mouths. Who is a Rakshas? He too is described as a non-human creature. In size, in his capacity for eating, in his habits of life he resembled the Asura.

There is a plenty of references to the Nagas. But who is a Naga ? A Naga is represented as a serpent or a snake. Can this be true ? Whether true or not, it is so and Hindus believe it. Ancient Indian history must be exhumed. Without its exhumation Ancient India will go without history. Fortunately with the help of the Buddhist literature, Ancient Indian History can be dug out of the debris which the Brahmin writers have heaped upon in a fit of madness.

The Buddhist literature helps a great deal to remove the debris and see the underlying substance quite clearly and distinctly.

The Buddhist literature shows that the Devas were a community of human beings. There are so many Devas who come to the Buddha to have their doubts and difficulties removed. How could this be unless the Devas were human beings

Again the Buddhist canonical literature throws a flood of light on the puzzling question of the Nagas. It makes a distinction between womb-born Nagas and egg-born Nagas and thereby making it clear that the word Naga has two-fold meaning. In its original sense it stood for the name of a human community.

The Asuras again are not monsters. They too are a Jan-Vishesh human beings. According to Satpatha Brahmana, the Asuras are the descendants of Prajapati the Lord of the creation. How they became evil spirits is not known. But the fact is recorded that they fought against the Devas for the possession of the earth and that they were overcome by the Devas and that they finally succumbed. The point is clear that the Asuras were members of the human family and not monsters.

With this exhumation of debris, we can see Ancient Indian History in a new light.

CHAPTER 2

The Ancient Regime : The State of the Aryan Society

This essay consists of 11 typed foolscap pages tagged into a file. From the last sentence it appears that the Chapter is incomplete. —Editors

Buddhism was a revolution. It was as great a Revolution as the French Revolution. Though it began as a Religious revolution, it became more than Religious revolution. It became a Social and Political Revolution. To be able to realise how profound was the character of this Revolution, it is necessary to know the state of the society before the revolution began its course. To use the language of the French Revolution, it is necessary to have a picture of the ancient regime in India.

To understand the great reform, which he brought about by his teaching, it is necessary to have some idea of the degraded condition of the Aryan civilisation at the time when Buddha started on the mission of his life.

The Aryan Community of his time was steeped in the worst kind of debauchery; social, religious and spiritual.

To mention only a few of the social evils, attention may be drawn to gambling. Gambling had become as widespread among the Aryans as drinking. Every king had a hall of gambling attached to his palace. Every king had an expert gambler in his employment as a companion to play with. King *Virat* had in his employment *Kank* as an expert gambler. Gambling was not merely a pastime with kings. They played with heavy stakes. They staked kingdoms, dependants, relatives, slaves, servants* [\[f1\]](#) King Nala staked everything in gambling with *Paskkar* and lost everything. The only thing he did not stake was himself and his wife Damayanti. Nala had to go and live in the forest as a beggar. There were kings who went beyond Nala. The Mahabharat [\[f2\]](#) tells how Dharma the eldest of the Pandavas gambled and staked everything, his brothers and also his and their wife Draupadi. Gambling was a matter of honour with the Aryans and any invitation to gamble was regarded as an injury to one's honour and dignity. Dharma gambled with such disastrous consequences although he was warned beforehand. His excuse was that he was invited to gamble and that as a man of honour, he could not decline such an invitation.

This vice of gambling was not confined to kings. It had infected even the common folk. Rig-Veda contains lamentations of a poor Aryan ruined by gambling. The habit of gambling had become so common in Kautilya's time that there were gambling houses licensed by the king from which the king derived considerable revenue.

Drinking was another evil which was rampant among the Aryans. Liquors were of two sorts *Soma* and *Sura*. *Soma* was a sacrificial wine. The drinking of the Soma was in the beginning permitted only to Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Subsequently it was permitted only to

Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Vaishyas were excluded from it and the Shudras were never permitted to taste it. Its manufacture was a secret known only to the Brahmins. *Sura* was open to all and was drunk by all. The Brahmins also drank *Sura*. Shukracharya the priest to the *Asuras* drank so heavily that in his drunken state he gave the life giving *Mantra* known to him only and with which he used to revive the *Asuras* killed by the *Devas*—to *Katch* the son of Brahaspati who was the priest of the *Devas*. The Mahabharat mentions an occasion when both Krishna and Arjuna were dead drunk. That shows that the best among the Aryan Society were not only not free from the drink habit but that they drank heavily. The most shameful part of it was that even the Aryan women were addicted to drink. For instance *Sudeshna*^[f3] the wife of King Virat tells her maid *Sairandhri* to go to *Kichaka's* palace and bring *Sura* as she was dying to have a drink. It is not to be supposed that only queens indulged in drinking. The habit of drinking was common among women of all classes and even Brahmin women were not free from it. That liquor and dancing was indulged in by the Aryan women is clear from the *Kausitaki Grihya Sutra* 1. 11-12, which says ; "Four or eight women who are not widowed, after having been regaled with wine and food are to dance for four times on the night previous to the wedding ceremony."

That the drinking of intoxicating liquor was indulged in by Brahmin women, not to speak of women of the lower *Varnas*, as late as the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. in the Central region of Aryavarta, is clear from Kumarila Bhatta's *Tantra-Vartika* I (iii). 4, which states, "Among the people of modern days we find the Brahmin women of the countries of Ahicchatra and Mathura to be addicted to drinking". Kumarila condemned the practice in the case of Brahmins only, but not of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas men and women, if the liquor was distilled from fruits or flowers (*Madhavi*), and Molasses (*Gaudi*) and not from grains (*Sura*).

The sexual immorality of the Aryan Society must shock their present day descendants. The Aryans of pre-Buddhist days had no such rule of prohibited degrees as we have today to govern their sexual or matrimonial relationship.

According to the Aryan Mythology, Brahma is the creator. Brahma had three sons and a daughter. His one son Daksha married his sister. The daughters born of this marriage between brother and sister were married some to Kashyapa the son of Marichi the son of Brahma and some to Dharma the third son of Brahma.^[f4]

In the Rig-Veda there is an episode related of Yama and Yami brother and sister. According to this episode Yami the sister invites her brother Yama to cohabit with her and becomes angry when he refuses to do so.^[f5]

A father could marry his daughter. *Vashishta* married his own daughter *Shatrupa* when she came of age. ^[f6] *Manu* married his daughter *Ila*. ^[f7] *Janhu* married his daughter *Janhavi*. ^[f8] *Surya* married his daughter *Usha*. ^[f9]

There was polyandry not of the ordinary type. The polyandry prevalent among the Aryans was a polyandry when kinsmen cohabited with one woman. *Dhahaprachetani* and his son *Soma* cohabited with *Marisha* the daughter of *Soma*. ^[f10]

Instances of grandfather marrying his granddaughter are not wanting. *Daksha* gave his daughter in marriage to his father *Brahma*. ^[f11] and from that marriage was born the famous *Narada*. *Dauhitra* gave his 27 daughters to his father *Soma* for cohabitation and procreation. ^[f12] The Aryans did not mind cohabiting with women in the open and within sight of people. The Rishis used to perform certain religious rites which were called *Vamdevya vrata*. These rites used to be performed on the *Yadnya bhumi*. If any woman came there and expressed a desire for sexual intercourse and asked the sage to satisfy her, the sage used to cohabit with her then and there in the open on the *Yadnya bhumi*. Instances of this may be mentioned. The case of the sage *Parashara* had sexual intercourse with *Satyavati* and also of *Dirghatapa*. That such a custom was common is shown by the existence of the word *Ayoni*. The word *Ayoni* is understood to mean of immaculate conception. That is not however the original meaning of the word. The original meaning of the word *Yoni* is house. *Ayoni* means conceived out of the house i.e. in the open. That there was nothing deemed to be wrong in this is clear from the fact that both *Sita* and *Draupadi* were *Ayonija*. That this was very common is clear from the fact that religious injunctions had to be issued against such a practice. ^[f13]

There was prevalent among the Aryans the practice of renting out their women to others for a time. As an illustration may be mentioned the story of *Madhavi*. ^[f14] The king *Yayati* gave his daughter *Madhavi* as an offering to his Guru *Galav*. *Galav* rented out the girl *Madhavi* to three kings, each a period. Thereafter he gave her in marriage to *Vishwamitra*. She remained with him until a son was born to her. Thereafter *Galav* took away the girl and gave her back to her father *Yayati*.

Besides the practice of letting out women to others temporarily at a rent there was prevalent among the Aryans another practice namely allowing procreation by the best amongst them. Raising a family was treated by them as though it was a breeding or stock raising. Among the Aryas there was a class of persons called *Devas* who were Aryans but of a superior status and prowess. The Aryans allowed their women to have sexual intercourse with any one of the class of *Devas* in the interest of good breeding. This practice prevailed so extensively

that the Devas came to regard pre libation in respect of the Aryan Women as their prescriptive right. No Aryan woman could be married unless this right of pre-libation had been redeemed and the woman released from the control of the Devas by offering what was technically called *Avadan*. The *Laja Hoame* which is performed in every Hindu marriage and the details of which are given in the *Ashwalayan Grahya Sutra* is a relic of this act of the redemption of the Aryan woman from the right of pre-libation of the Devas. The *Avadan* in the *Laja Hoama* is nothing but the price for theextinguishing of the right of the Devas over the bride. The *Saptapadi* performed in all Hindu marriages and which is regarded as the most essential ceremony without which there is no lawful marriage has an integral connection with this right of pre-libation of the Devas. *Saptapadi* means walking by the bridegroom seven steps with the bride. Why is this essential? The answer is that the Devas, if they were dissatisfied with the compensation, could claim the woman before the seventh step was taken. After the seventh step was taken, the right of the Devas was extinguished and the bridegroom could take away the bride and live as husband and wife without being obstructed or molested by the Devas.``

There was no rule of chastity for maidens. A girl could have sexual intercourse with and also progeny from anybody without contracting marriage. This is evident from the root meaning of the word *Kanya* which means a girl. *Kanya* comes from the root *Kam* which means a girl free to offer herself to any man. That they did offer themselves to any man and had children without contracting regular marriage is illustrated by the case of *Kunti* and *Matsyagandha*. *Kunti* had children from different men before she was married to *Pandu* and *Matsyagandha* had sexual intercourse with the sage *Parashara* before she married to *Shantanu* the father of *Bhishma*.

Bestiality was also prevalent among the Aryans. The story of the sage Dam having sexual intercourse with a female deer, is well known. Another instance is that of *Surya* cohabiting with a mare. But the most hideous instance is that of the woman having sexual intercourse with the horse in the *Ashvamedha Yadna*.

(INCOMPLETE)

CHAPTER 3 A Sunken Priesthood

This essay is numbered as Chapter III in the file of the Ancient Regime and contains 16 foolscap-typed pages. This Chapter also seems to be left incomplete.—Editors.

The priestly profession in the ancient Aryan Society was monopolised by the Brahmins. None except a Brahmin could become a priest. As custodians of religion, the Brahmins were the guides of the people in moral and spiritual matters. They were to set the standard for people to follow. Did the Brahmins act

up to the standard? Unfortunately, all the evidence we have, shows that the Brahmins had fallen to the utmost depth of moral degradation.

A Shrotriya Brahmin was supposed not to keep with him a store of provision lasting for more than a week. But they had systematically trampled upon this rule and were addicted to the use of the things stored up ; stores, to wit, of foods, drinks, clothing, equipages, bedding, perfumes, and curry-stuffs. The Brahmins were addicted to visiting shows such as :—

- (1) Nautch dances (nakkam).
- (2) Singings of songs (gitam).
- (3) Instrumental music (vadam).
- (4) Shows at fairs (pekham).
- (5) Ballads recitations (akkhanam).
- (6) Hand music (panisaram).
- (7) The chanting of bards (vetals).
- (8) Tam-tam playing (kumbhathunam).
- (9) Fair scenes (sobhanagarkam).
- (10) Acrobatic feats by Kandalas (Kandala-vamsa-dhopanam).
- (11) Combats of elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks and quails.
- (12) Bouts at quarter staff, boxing, wrestling. (13-16) Sham-fights, roll-calls, manoeuvres, reviews.

They were addicted to games and recreations; that is to say,

- (1) Games on boards with eight, or with ten rows of squares.
- (2) The same games played by imagining such boards in the air.
- (3) Keeping going over diagrams drawn on the ground so that one-steps only where one ought to go.
- (4) Either removing the pieces or men from a help with one's nail, or putting them into a heap, in each case without shaking it. He who shakes the heap, loses.
- (5) Throwing dice.
- (6) Hitting a short stick with a long one.
- (7) Dipping the hand with the fingers stretched out in lac, or red dye, or flour water, and striking the wet hand on the ground or on a wall, calling out 'what shall it be?' and showing the form required—elephants, horses .
- (8) Games with balls.
- (9) Blowing through toy pipes made of leaves.
- (10) Ploughing with toy ploughs.
- (11) Turning summersaults.
- (12) Playing with toy windmills made of palm leaves.

(13) Playing with toy measures made of palm leaves. (14, 15) Playing with toy carts or toy bows.

(16) Guessing at letters traced in the air, or on a playfellow's back.

(17) Guessing the playfellow's thoughts.

(18) Mimicry of deformities.

They were addicted to the use of high and large couches ; that is to say:

(1) Moveable settees, high, and six feet long (Asandi).

(2) Divans with animal figures carved on the supports (Pallanko).

(3) Goat's hair coverings with very long fleece (Gonako).

(4) Patchwork counterpanes of many colours (Kittaka).

(5) White blankets (Patika).

(6) Woollen coverlets embroidered with flowers (Patalika).

(7) Quilts stuffed with cotton wool (Tulika).

(8) Coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, & c., (Vikatika).

(9) Rugs with fur on both sides (Uddalom).

(10) Rugs with fur on one side (Ekantalomi).

(11) Coverlets embroidered with gems (Katthissam).

(12) Silk coverlets (Koseyyam).

(13) Carpets large enough for sixteen dancers (Kittakam). (14-16) Elephant, horse and chariot rugs.

(17) Rugs of antelope skins sewn together (Aginepaveni).

(18) Rugs of skins of the plantain antelope.

(19) Carpets with awnings above them (Sauttarakkhadam).

(20) Sofas with red pillows for the head and feet". The Brahmins were addicted to the use of means for adorning and beautifying themselves; that is to say :Rubbing in scented powders on one's body, shampooing it, and bathing it, patting the limbs with clubs after the manner of wrestlers, the use of mirrors, eye-ointments, garlands, rouge, cosmetics, bracelets, necklaces, walking-sticks, reed cases for drugs, rapiers, sunshades, embroidered slippers, turbans, diadems, whisks of the yak tail and long-fringed white robes. The Brahmins were addicted to such low conversation as these :

Tales of kings, of robbers, of ministers of state ; tales of war, of terrors, of battles ; talk about foods and drinks, clothes, beds, garlands, perfumes ; talks about relationships, equipages, villages, towns, cities and countries ; tales about women, and about heroes ; gossip at street corners, or places whence water is fetched ;ghost stories ; desultory talk ; speculations about the creation of the land or sea, or about existence and non-existence. The Brahmins were addicted to the use of wrangling phrases: such as:

"You don't understand this doctrine and discipline, I do." "How should you know about this doctrine and discipline?" "You have fallen into wrong views. It is I who am in the right." " I am speaking to the point, you are not." "You are putting last what ought to come first, and first what ought to come last."

"What you've ex-cogitated so long, that is all quite upset." " You are proved to be wrong." " Set to work to clear your views." " Disentangle yourself if you can."

The Brahmins were addicted to taking messages, going on errands, and acting as go-betweens; to wit, on kings, ministers of state, Kshatriyas, Brahmins, or young men, saying: 'Go there, come hither, take this with you, bring that from there.'

'The Brahmins were tricksters, drone out (of holy words for pray), diviners, and exorcists, ever hungering to add gain to gain.'

The Brahmins earned their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

(1) Palmistry—prophesying long life, prosperity, & c., (or the reverse from marks on a child's hands, feet, & c.)

(2) Divining by means of omens and signs.

(3) Auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents.

(4) Prognostication by interpreting dreams.

(5) Fortune-telling from marks on the body.

(6) Auguries from the marks on cloth gnawed by mice.

(7) Sacrificing to Agni.

(8) Offering oblations from a spoon. (9-13) Making offerings to gods of husks, of the red powder between the grain and the husk, of husked grain ready for boiling, or ghee and of oil.

(14) Sacrificing by spewing mustard seeds, & c., into the fire out of one's mouth.

(15) Drawing blood from one's right knee as a sacrifice to the gods.

(16) Looking at the knuckles, & c., and, after muttering a charm, divining whether a man is well born of luck or not.

(17) Determining whether the site for a proposed house or pleasure, is luck or not.

(18) Advising on customary law.

(19) Laying demons in a cemetery.

(20) Laying ghosts.

(21) Knowledge of the charms to be used when lodging in an earth house.

(22) Snake charming.

(23) The poison craft.

(24) The scorpion craft.

- (25) The mouse craft.
- (26) The bird craft.
- (27) The crow craft.
- (28) Foretelling the number of years that man has yet to live.
- (29) Giving charms to ward off arrows.
- (30) The animal wheel.

The Brahmins earned their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

Knowledge of the signs of good and bad qualities in the following things and of the marks in them denoting the health or luck of their owners : to wit, gems, staves, garments, swords, arrows, bows, other weapons, women, men, boys, girls, slaves, slave-girls, elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowls, quails, iguanas, herrings, tortoises, and other animals.

The Brahmins, earned their living by wrong means of livelihood by low arts such as soothe saying, to the effect that,

The chiefs will march out.

The home chiefs will attack and the enemies retreat.

The enemies' chiefs will attack, and ours will retreat.

The home chiefs will gain the victory, and ours will suffer defeat.

The foreign chiefs will gain the victory on this side, and ours will suffer defeat.

Thus will there be victory on this side, defeat on that. The Brahmins, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by such low arts as fore-telling:

- (1) There will be an eclipse of the Moon.
- (2) There will be an eclipse of the Sun.
- (3) There will be an eclipse of a star (Nakshatra).
- (4) There will be aberration of the Sun or the Moon.
- (5) The Sun or the Moon will return to its usual path.
- (6) There will be aberrations of the stars.
- (7) The stars will return to their usual course.
- (8) There will be a jungle fire.
- (9) There will be a fall of meteors.
- (10) There will be an earthquake.
- (11) The god will thunder.

(12-15) There will be rising and setting, clearness and dimness of the Sun or the Moon or the stars, or foretelling of each of these fifteen phenomena that they will betoken such and such a result."

The Brahmins earned their living by wrong means of the livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

Foretelling an abundant rainfall.

Foretelling a deficient rainfall.

Foretelling a good harvest.

Foretelling scarcity of food.

Foretelling tranquillity.

Foretelling disturbances.

Foretelling a pestilence.

Foretelling a healthy season.

Counting on the fingers.

Counting without using the fingers Summing up large totals.

Composing ballads, poetising.

Casuistry, sophistry.

The Brahmins, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood by low arts, such as:

(1) Arranging a lucky day for marriages in which the bride or bridegroom is brought home.

(2) Arranging a lucky day for marriages in which the bride or bridegroom is sent forth.

(3) Fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties of peace (or using charms to procure harmony).

(4) Fixing a lucky time for the outbreak of hostilities (or using charms to make discord).

(5) Fixing a lucky time for the calling in of debts (or charms for success in throwing dice).

(6) Fixing a lucky time for the expenditure of money (or charms to bring ill luck to an opponent throwing dice).

(7) Using charms to make people lucky.

(8) Using charms to make people unlucky.

(9) Using charms to procure abortion.

(10) Incantations to keep a man's jaws fixed.

(11) Incantations to bring on dumbness.

(12) Incantations to make a man throw up his hands.

(13) Incantations to bring on deafness.

(14) Obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror.

(15) Obtaining oracular answers through a girl possessed.

(16) Obtaining oracular answers from a god.

(17) The worship of the Sun.

(18) The worship of the Great One.

(19) Bringing forth flames from one's mouth.

(20) Invoking Siri, the goddess of Luck. The Brahmins earned their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

- (1) Vowing gifts to a god if a certain benefit be granted.
 - (2) Paying such vows.
 - (3) Repeating charms while lodging in an earth house.
 - (4) Causing virility.
 - (5) Making a man impotent.
 - (6) Fixing on lucky sites for dwellings.
 - (7) Consecrating sites.
 - (8) Ceremonial rinsing of the mouth.
 - (9) Ceremonial bathing.
 - (10) Offering sacrifices.
 - (11-14) Administering emetics and purgatives.
 - (15) Purging people to relieve the head (that is by giving drugs to make people sneeze).
 - (16) Oiling people's ears (either to make them grow or to heal sores on them).
 - (17) Satisfying people's eyes (soothing them by dropping medicinal oils into them).
 - (18) Administering drugs through the nose.
 - (19) Applying collyrium to the eyes.
 - (20) Giving medicinal ointment for the eyes.
 - (21) Practising as an oculist.
 - (22) Practising as a surgeon.
 - (23) Practising as a doctor for children.
 - (24) Administering roots and drugs.
 - (25) Administering medicines in rotation.
- (INCOMPLETE)

CHAPTER 4

Reformers and Their Fate

This is a typed bound copy consisting of 87 pages. The Ambatta Sutta starts at page 69 of the manuscript and after page 70, pages are numbered from A to Z. The beginning of page 71 starts with Lohikka Sutta.—Editors.

1. Aryan Society. II. Buddha and Reform. III. I

It was Sir T. Madhava Raw who speaking of Hindu Society of his time said :

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted or self-created, and therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu Community."

This view expresses quite accurately and without exaggeration the necessity of social reform in Hindu Society.

The first Social Reformer and the greatest of them all is Gautama Buddha. Any history of Social Reform must begin with him and no history of Social Reform in India will be complete which omits to take account of his great achievements.

Siddhartha, surname Gautama, was born in the Sakya clan at Kapilvastu in Northern India, on the borders of Nepal in 563 B.C. Tradition says he was a prince. He received education fit for a prince, was married and had a son. Oppressed by the evils and misery then prevalent in the Aryan Society he renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine and left his home in search for truth and deliverance. He became a mendicant and studied with two distinguished teachers, but finding that their teachings did not satisfy him he left them and became an ascetic. He gave up that also as being futile. By hard thinking he got insight into things and as a result of this insight he formulated his own

Dhamma. This was at the age of thirty-five. The remainder of his eighty years he spent in spreading his Dhamma and founding and administering an order of monks. He died about the year 483 B.C. at Kusinara surrounded by his devoted followers.

To the carrying out of his mission, the Buddha devoted all his days after the achievement of enlightenment. His time was divided between feeding the lamp of his own spiritual life by solitary meditation—just as Jesus spent hours in lonely prayer—and active preaching to large audiences of his monks, instructing the more advanced in the subtle points of inner development, directing the affairs of the Order, rebuking breaches of discipline, confirming the faithful in their virtue, receiving deputation, carrying on discussions with learned opponents, comforting the sorrowful, visiting kings and peasants, Brahmins and outcasts, rich and poor. He was a friend of publicans and sinners, and many a public harlot, finding herself understood and pitied, gave up her evil ways to take refuge in the "Blessed One". Such a life demanded a variety of moral qualities and social gifts, and among others a combination of democratic sentiments with an aristocratic *Savoir Faire* which is seldom met with. In reading the dialogues one can never forget that Gotama had the birth and upbringing of an aristocrat. He converses not only with Brahmins and pundits but with princes and ministers and kings on easy and equal terms. He is a good diner-out, with a fund of anecdotes and apparently a real sense of humour, and is a welcome guest at every house. A distinguished Brahmin is pictured as describing him thus :

'The venerable Gotama is well born on both sides, of pure descent..... is handsome, pleasant to look upon, inspiring trust, gifted with great beauty of complexion, fair in colour, fine in presence, stately to behold, virtuous with the virtue of the Arhats, gifted with goodness and virtue and with a pleasant voice and polite address, with no passion of lust left in him nor any fickleness of mind.

He bids all men welcome, is congenial, conciliatory, not supercilious, accessible to all, not backward in conversation. ' But what appealed most to the India of his time, and has appealed most to India through the ages, is expressed by the Brahmin in these words :

"The monk Gotama has gone forth into the religious life, giving up the great clan of his relatives, giving up much money and gold, treasure both buried and above ground. Truly while he was still a young man, without a grey hair on his head, in the beauty of his early manhood he went forth from the household life into the homeless state."

"Such a life as his, demanded not only pleasant manners, sympathy and kindness, but firmness and courage. When the occasion required it, he could be calmly severe with those who worked evil for the Order. Physical pain, he bore not only with equanimity but with no diminution of his inner joy. Courage also was needed and was found ; as, for example, in the Buddha's calm attitude during Devadatta's various attempts to assassinate him, in facing threats of murder, and in the conversion of the famous bandit in the Kingdom of Kosala, whom all the countryside feared, and whom the Buddha visited, alone and unarmed, in his lair, changing him from a scourge of the kindorn to a peaceful member of the Order. Neither pain, danger, nor insults marred his spiritual peace. When he was reviled he reviled not again. Nor was he lacking in tender thoughtfulness for those who needed his comfort and support."

He was beloved of all. Repeatedly he is described or describes himself, as one born into the world for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, for the advantage, the good, the happiness of gods and men, out of compassion for the world.

He left an indelible mark on the Aryan Society and although his name has gone out of India the impression of his teaching still remains.

His religion spread like wild fire. It soon became the religion of the whole of India. But it did not remain confined to India. It reached every corner of the then known world. All races accepted it. Even the Afghans were once Buddhists. It did not remain confined to Asia. There is evidence to show that Buddhism was the religion of Celtic Britain.^[15] What was the cause of this rapid spread of Buddhism? On this point what Prof. Hopkins has said is worth quoting. This is what he says:

"The cause, then, of the rapid spread of Buddhism at the beginning of its career lies only in the conditions of its teaching and the influential backing of its founder. It was the individual Buddha that captivated men ; it was the teaching that emanated from him that fired enthusiasm ; it was his position as an aristocrat that made him acceptable to the aristocracy, his magnetism that made him the idol of the people. From every page stands out the strong, attractive

personality of this teacher and winner of hearts. No man ever lived so godless yet so godlike. Arrogating to himself no divinity, despairing of future bliss, but without fear as without hope, leader of thought but despising lovingly the folly of the world, exalted but adored, the universal brother, he wandered among men, simply, serenely, with gentle irony subduing them that opposed him, to congregation after congregation speaking with majestic sweetness, the master to each, the friend of all. His voice was singularly vibrant and eloquent; his very tones convinced the hearer, his looks inspired awe. From the tradition it appears that he must have been one of those whose personality alone suffices to make a man not only a leader but also a god to the hearts of his fellows. When such a one speaks he obtains hearers. It matters little what he says, for he influences the motions, and bends whoever listens to his will. But if added to this personality, if encompassing it. there be the feeling in the minds of others that what this man teaches is not only a variety, but the very hope of their salvation ; if for the first time they recognise in his words the truth that makes of slaves free men, of classes a brotherhood, then it is not difficult to see wherein lies the lightning like speed with which the electric current passes from heart to heart. Such a man was Buddha, such was the essential of his teaching: and such was the inevitable rapidity of Buddhistic expansion and the profound influence of the shock that was produced by the new faith upon the moral consciousness of Buddha's people."

To understand the great reform, which he brought about by his teaching, it is necessary to have some idea of the degraded condition of the Aryan civilisation at the time when Buddha started on the mission of his life.

The Aryan Community of his time was steeped in the worst kind of debauchery: social, religious and spiritual.

To mention only a few of the social evils, attention may be drawn to gambling. Gambling had become as widespread among the Aryans as drinking. Every king had a hall of gambling attached to his palace. Every king had an expert gambler in his employment as a companion to play with. King *Virat* had in his employment *Kank* as an expert gambler. Gambling was not merely a pastime with kings. They played with heavy stakes. They staked kingdoms, dependents, relatives, slaves, servants.^[f16] King Nala staked everything in gambling with *Paskkar* and lost everything. The only thing he did not stake was himself and his wife *Damayanti*. Nala had to go and live in the forest as a beggar. There were kings who went beyond Nala. The *Mahabharat*^[f17] tells how *Dharma* the eldest of the *Pandavas* gambled and staked everything, his brothers and also his and their wife *Draupadi*. Gambling was a matter of honour with the Aryans and any invitation to gamble was regarded as an injury to one's honour and dignity. *Dharma* gambled with such disastrous consequences although he was

warned beforehand. His excuse was that he was invited to gamble and that as a man of honour he could not decline such an invitation.

This vice of gambling was not confined to kings. It had infected even the common folk. Rig-Veda contains lamentations of poor Aryan ruined by gambling. The habit of gambling had become so common in Kautilya's time that there were gambling houses licensed by the king from which the king derived considerable revenue.

Drinking was another evil which was rampant among the Aryans. Liquors were of two sorts *Soma* and *Sura*. *Soma* was a sacrificial wine. The drinking of the *Soma* was in the beginning permitted only to Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Subsequently it was permitted only to Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Vaishyas were excluded from it and the Shudras were never permitted to taste it. Its manufacture was a secret known only to the Brahmins. *Sura* was open to all and was drunk by all. The Brahmins also drank *Sura*. Shukracharya^[f18] the priest to the *Asuras* drank so heavily that in his drunken state he gave the life-giving *Mantras*—known to him only and with which he used to revive the *Asuras* killed by the *Devas*—to *Katch* the son of *Brahaspati* who was the priest of the *Devas*. The *Mahabharat* mentions an occasion when both *Krishna* and *Arjuna* were dead drunk. That shows that the best among the Aryan Society were not only not free from the drink habit but that they drank heavily. The most shameful part of it was that even the Aryan women were addicted to drink. For instance *Sudeshna*^[f19] the wife of king *Virat* tells her maid *Sairandhri* to go to *Kichaka's* palace and bring *Sura* as she was dying to have a drink. It is not to be supposed that only queens indulged in drinking. The habit of drinking was common among women of all classes and even Brahmin women were not free from it.^[f20] That liquor and dancing was indulged in by the Aryan women is clear from the *Kausitaki Grihya Sutra* 1. 1 1-12, which says, "Four or eight women who are not widowed after having been regaled with wine and food are to dance for four times on the night previous to the wedding ceremony."

Turning to the Aryan Society it was marked by class war and class degradation. The Aryan Society recognised four classes, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. These divisions were not merely horizontal divisions, all on a par with each other in the matter of social relationship. These divisions, had become vertical, one above the other. Being placed above or below there was both jealousy and rivalry among the four classes. This jealousy and rivalry had given rise even to enmity. This enmity was particularly noticeable between the two highest classes, namely, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas and there was a regular class *war* between the two, so intense that it would delight the heart of any Marxian to read the descriptions

thereof. Unfortunately there is no detailed history of this class war between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. Only a few instances have been recorded. Vena, Pururavas, Nahusha, Sudas, Sumukh and Nimi were some of the Kshatriya kings who came into the conflict with the Brahmins. The issues in these conflicts were different.

The issue between Vena and the Brahmins was whether a King could command and require the Brahmins to worship him and offer sacrifice to him instead of the Gods. The issue between Pururavas and the Brahmins was whether a Kshatriya King could confiscate the property of the Brahmin. The issue between Nahusha and the Brahmins was whether a Kshatriya king could order a Brahmin to do a servile job. The issue between Nimi and the Brahmins was whether the king was bound to employ only his family priest at the sacrificial ceremony. The issue between Sudas and the Brahmins was whether the king was bound to employ only a Brahmin as a priest.

This shows how big were the issues between the two classes. No wonder that the struggle between them was also the bitterest. The wars between them were not merely occasional riots. They were wars of extermination. It is stated that Parashuram a Brahmin fought against the Kshatriyas twenty-one times and killed every Kshatriya.

While the two classes were fighting among themselves for supremacy, they both combined to keep down the Vaishyas and the Shudras. The Vaishya was a milchcow. He lived only to pay taxes. The Shudra was a general beast of burden. These two classes existed for the sole purpose of making the life of the Brahmins and Kshatriyas glorious and happy. They had no right to live for themselves. They lived to make the life of their betters possible.

Below these two classes there were others. They were the Chandalas and Shwappakas. They were not untouchables but they were degraded. They were outside the pale of society and outside the pale of law. They had no rights and no opportunities. They were the rejects of the Aryan Society.

The sexual immorality of the Aryan Society must shock their present day descendants. The Aryans of pre-Buddhist days had no such rule of prohibited degrees, as we have today to govern their sexual or matrimonial relationship.

According to the Aryan Mythology, Brahma is the creator. Brahma had three sons and a daughter. His one son Daksha married his sister. The daughters born of this marriage between brother and sister were married some to Kashyapa the son of Marichi the son of Brahma and some to Dharma the third son of Brahma.^[21]

In the Rig-Veda there is an episode related of Yami and Yama brother and sister. According to this episode Yami the sister invites her brother Yama to cohabit with her and becomes angry when he refuses to do so^[f22].

A father could marry his daughter. *Vashishta* married his own daughter *Shatrupa* when she came of age^[f23]. *Manu* married his daughter *Ila*.^[f24] *Janhu* married his daughter *Janhavi*^[f25]. *Surya* married his daughter *Usha*^[f26]. There was polyandri not of the ordinary type. The polyandri prevalent among the Aryans was a polyandri when Kinsmen cohabited with one woman. *Dhahaprachetani* and his son *Soma* cohabited with *Marisha* the daughter of *Soma*^[f27].

Instances of grandfather marrying his grand-daughter are not wanting. *Daksha* gave his daughter in marriage to his father *Brahma*^[f28] and from that marriage was born the famous *Narada*. *Dauhitra* gave his 27 daughters to his father *Soma* for cohabitation and procreation^[f29].

The Aryans did not mind cohabiting with women in the open and within sight of people. The Rishis used to perform certain religious rites which were called *Vamdevya vrata*. These rites used to be performed on the *Yadnya Bhumi*. If any woman came there and expressed a desire for sexual intercourse and asked the sage to satisfy her, the sage used to cohabit with her then and there in the open on the *Yadnya Bhumi*. Instances of this may be mentioned; the case of the sage *Parashara* who had sexual intercourse with *Satyavati* and also of *Dirghatapa*. That such a custom was common is shown by the existence of the word *Ayoni*. The word *Ayoni* is understood to mean of immaculate conception. That is not however the original meaning of the word. The original meaning of the word *Yoni* is house. *Ayoni* means conceived out of the house i.e. in the open. That there was nothing deemed to be wrong in this is clear from the fact that both *Sita* and *Draupadi* were *Ayonija*. That this was very common is clear from the fact that religious injunctions had to be issued against such a practice.^[f30]

There was prevalent among the Aryans the practice of renting out their women to others for a time. As an illustration may be mentioned the story of *Madhavi*^[f31] The king *Yayati* gave his daughter *Madhavi* as an offering to his guru *Galav*. *Galav* rented out the girl *Madhavi* to three kings each a period. Thereafter he gave her in marriage to *Vishwamitra*. She remained with him until a son was born to her. Thereafter *Galav* took away the girl and gave her back to her father *Yayati*.

Besides the practice of letting out women to others temporarily at a rent, there was prevalent among the Aryans another practice namely, allowing procreation by the best amongst them. Raising a family was treated by them as though it was a breeding or stock raising. Among the Aryas there was a class of persons

called *Devas* who were Aryans but of a superior status and prowess. The Aryans allowed their women to have sexual intercourse with any one of the class of *Devas* in the interest of good breeding. This practice prevailed so extensively that the *Devas* came to regard prelibation in respect of the Aryan women as their prescriptive right. No Aryan woman could be married unless this right of prelibation had been redeemed and the woman released from the control of the *Devas* by offering what was technically called *Avadan*. The *Laja Hoame* which is performed in every Hindu marriage and the details of which are given in the *Ashwalayan Grahya Sutra* is a relic of this act of the redemption of the Aryan woman from the right of prelibation of the *Devas*. The *Avadan* in the *Laja Hoame* is nothing but the price for the extinguishment of the right of the *Devas* over the bride. The *Saptapadi* performed in all Hindu marriages and which is regarded as the most essential ceremony without which there is no lawful marriage has an integral connection with this right of prelibation of the *Devas*. *Saptapadi* means walking by the bridegroom seven steps with the bride. Why is this essential? The answer is that the *Devas* if they were dissatisfied with the compensation could claim the woman before the seventh step was taken. After the seventh step was taken, the right of the *Devas* was extinguished and the bridegroom could take away the bride and live as husband and wife without being obstructed or molested by the *Devas*.

There was no rule of chastity for maidens. A girl could have sexual intercourse with and also progeny from anybody without contracting marriage. This is evident from the root meaning of the word *Kanya* which means a girl. *Kanya* comes from the root *Kam* which means a girl free to offer herself to any man. That they did offer themselves to any man and had children without contracting regular marriage is illustrated by the case of *Kunti* and *Matsyagandha*. *Kunti* had children from different men before she was married to *Pandu* and *Matsyagandha* had sexual intercourse with the sage *Parashara* before she was married to *Shantanu* the father of *Bhishma*.

Bestiality was also prevalent among the Aryans. The story of the sage *Dam* having sexual intercourse with a female deer^[f32] is well known. Another instance is that of *Surya* cohabiting with a mare^[f33]. But the most hideous instance is that of the woman having sexual intercourse with the horse in the *Ashvamedha Yagna*.

The religion of the Aryan consisted of the *Yadna* or sacrifice. The sacrifice was a means to enter into the godhead of the gods, and even to control the gods. The traditional sacrifices were twenty-one in number divided into three classes of seven each. The first were sacrifices of butter, milk, corn, etc. The second class covered *Soma* sacrifices and third animal sacrifices. The sacrifice may be of short duration or long duration lasting for a year or more. The latter was called

a *Sattra*. The argument in favour of the sacrifice is that eternal holiness is won by him that offers the sacrifice. Not only a man's self but also his Manes stood to benefit by means of sacrifice. He gives the Manes pleasure with his offering, but he also raises their estate, and sends them up to live in a higher world^[134].

The sacrifice was by no means meant as an aid to the acquirement of heavenly bliss alone. Many of the great sacrifices were for the gaining of good things on earth. That one should sacrifice without the ulterior motive of gain is unknown. Brahmanic India knew no thank offering. Ordinarily the gain is represented as a compensating gift from the divinity, whom they sacrifice. The sacrifice began with the recitation : " He offers the sacrifice to the god with this text : 'Do thou give to me (and) I (will) give to thee ; do thou bestow on me (and) I (will) bestow on thee'. "

The ceremony of the sacrifice was awe-inspiring. Every word was pregnant with consequences and even the pronounciation of the word or accent was fateful. There are indications, however, that the priest themselves understood that, much in the ceremonial was pure hocus-pocus, and not of much importance as it was made out to be.

Every sacrifice meant fee to the priest. As to fee, the rules were precise and their propounds were unblushing. The priest performed the sacrifice for the fee alone, and it must consist of valuable garments, kine, horses or gold—when each was to be given was carefully stated. The priests had built up a great complex of forms, where at every turn fees were demanded. The whole expense, falling on one individual for whose benefit the sacrifice was performed, must have been enormous. How costly the whole thing became can be seen from the fact that in one place the fee for the sacrifice is mentioned as one thousand cows. For this greed, which went so far that he proclaimed that he who gives a thousand cows obtains all things of heaven. The priest had a good precedent to cite, for, the gods of heaven, in all tales told of them, ever demand a reward from each other when they help their neighbour gods. If the Gods seek rewards, the priest has a right to do the same.

The principal sacrifice was the animal sacrifice. It was both costly and barbaric. In the Aryan religion there are five sacrificial animals mentioned. In this list of sacrificial animals man came first. The sacrifice of a man was the costliest. The rules of sacrifice required that the individual to be slaughtered must be neither a priest nor a slave. He must be a Kshatriya or Vaishya. According to the ordinary valuation of those times the cost of buying a man to be sacrificed was one thousand cows. Besides being costly and barbaric, it must have been revolting because the sacrificers had not only to kill the man but to eat him. Next to man came the horse. That also was a costly sacrifice because the horse was a rare and a necessary animal for the Aryans in their conquest of India. The Aryans

could hardly afford such a potent instrument of military domination to be offered as sacrifice. The sacrifice must have been revolting in as much as one of the rituals in the horse-sacrifice was the copulation of the horse before it was slaughtered with the wife of the sacrificer.

The animals most commonly offered for sacrifice were of course the cattle which were used by the people for their agricultural purposes. They were mostly cows and bullocks.

The Yagnas were costly and they would have died out of sheer considerations of expense involved. But they did not. The reason is that the stoppage of Yagna involved the question of the loss of the Brahmin's fees. There could be no fees if the Yagna ceased to be performed and the Brahmin would starve. The Brahmin therefore found a substitute for the costly sacrificial animals. For a human sacrifice the Brahmin allowed as a substitute for a live man, a man of straw or metal or earth. But they did not altogether give up human sacrifice for fear that this Yagna might be stopped and they should lose their fees. When human sacrifice became rare, animal sacrifice came in as a substitute. Animal sacrifice was also a question of expense to the laity. Here again rather than allow the sacrifice to go out of vogue, the Brahmins came forward with smaller animals for cattle just as cattle had been allowed to take the place of the man and the horse. All this was for the purpose of maintaining the *Yagna* so that the Brahmin did not lose his fees which was his maintenance. So set were the Brahmins on the continuance of the Yagna that they were satisfied with merely rice as an offering.

It must not however be supposed that the institution of substitutes of the Yagnas of the Aryans had become less horrid. The introduction of substitutes did not work as a complete replacement of the more expensive and more ghastly sacrifice by the less expensive and the more innocent. All that it meant was that the offering may be according to the capacity of the sacrificer. If he was poor his offering may be rice. If he was well to do it might be a goat. If he was rich it might be a man, horse, cow or a bull. The effect of the substitutes was that the Yagna was brought within the capacity of all so that the Brahmin reaped a larger harvest of feast on the total. It did not have the effect of stopping animal sacrifice. Indeed animals continued to be sacrificed by the thousands.

The Yagna often became a regular carnage of cattle at which the Brahmins did the work of butchers. One gets some idea of the extent of this carnage of innocent animals from references to the Yagnas which one comes across in Buddhist literature. In the Suttanipat a description is given of the Yagna that was arranged to be performed by Pasenadi, king of Kosala. It is stated that there were tied to the poles for slaughter at the Yagna five hundred oxen, five hundred bulls, five hundred cows, five hundred goats and five hundred lambs and that

the servants of the king who were detailed to do the jobs according to the orders given to them by the officiating Brahmin priests were doing their duties with tears in their eyes.

The Yadna besides involving a terrible carnage was really a kind of carnival. Besides roast meat there was drink. The Brahmins had Soma as well as Sura. The others had Sura in abundance. Almost every Yadna was followed by gambling and what is most extraordinary is that, side by side there went on also sexual intercourse in the open. Yadna had become debauchery and there was no religion left in it. The Aryan religion was just a series of observances. Behind these observances there was no yearning for a good and a virtuous life. There was no hunger or thirst for righteousness. Their religion was without any spiritual content. The hymns of the Rig Veda furnish very good evidence of the absence of any spiritual basis for the Aryan religion. The hymns are prayers addressed by the Aryans to their gods. What do they ask for in these prayers? Do they ask to be kept away from temptation? Do they ask for deliverance from evil? Do they ask for forgiveness of sins? Most of the hymns are in praise of Indra.

They praise him for having brought destruction to the enemies of the Aryans. They praise him because he killed all the pregnant wives of Krishna, an Asura. They praise him because he destroyed hundreds of villages of the Asuras. They praise him because he killed lakhs of Dasyus. The Aryans pray to Indra to carry on greater destruction among the Anaryas in the hope that they may secure to themselves the food supplies of the Anaryas and the wealth of the Anaryas. Far from being spiritual and elevating, the hymns of the Rig-Veda are saturated with wicked thoughts and wicked purposes. The Aryan religion never concerned itself with what is called a righteous life.

II

Such was the state of the Aryan Society when Buddha was born. There are two pertinent questions regarding Buddha as a reformer who laboured to reform the Aryan Society. What were the chief planks in his reform? To what extent did he succeed in his reform movement? To take up the first question.

Buddha felt that for the inculcation of a good and a pure life, example was better than precept. The most important thing he did was to lead a good and a pure life so that it might serve as a model to all. How unblemished a life he led can be gathered from the *Brahma-Jala Sutta*. It is reproduced below because it not only gives an idea of the pure life that Buddha led but it also gives an idea of how impure a life the Brahmins, the best among the Aryans led.

Brahma Jala Sutta

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once going along the high road between Rajagaha and Nalanda with a great company of the brethren with about

five hundred brethren. And Suppiya the mendicant too was going along the high road between Rajagaha and Nalanda with his disciple the young Brahmadata. 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 Brahmadata, 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 of one to the other, were following, step by step, after the Blessed one and the company of the brethren.

2. Now the Blessed one put up at the royal rest house in the Ambalathika 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 Brahmadata. And there, at the rest houses, these two carried on the same discussion as before.

3. And in the early dawn a number of the brethren assembled as they rose up in the pavilion ; and this was the trend of the talk that sprang up among them as they were seated there. 'How wonderful a thing is it, brethren, and how strange that the Blessed One, he who knows and sees, the Arahata the Buddha Supreme, should so clearly have perceived how various are the inclination of men! For see how while Suppiya the mendicant speaks in many ways in dispraise of the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order, his own disciple, young Brahmadata, speaks, in as many ways, in praise of them. So do these two, teacher and pupil, follow step by step after the Blessed One and the company of the brethren, giving utterance to views in direct contradiction of one to the other.

4. Now the Blessed One, on realising what was the drift of their talk, went to the pavilion, 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:

5. 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."

6. But also, brethren, if outsiders should speak in praise of me, in praise of the Doctrine, in praise of the Order, you should not, 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."

7. It is in respect only of trifling things, of matters of little value, of mere morality, that an unconverted man, when praising the Tathagata, would speak. And what are such trifling, minor details of mere morality that he would praise?

(4) (The Moralities. Part 1).

8. "Putting away the killings of living things, Gotama 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, Gotama 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 in-chastity, Gotama the recluse is chaste. He holds himself aloof, far off, from the vulgar practice, from the sexual act."

9. Or he might say: "Putting away lying words, Gotama 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. Gotama 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 encourage 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, Gotama 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, Gotama 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."

10. Or he might say: "Gotama 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, adorning, or ornamenting himself with garlands, scents, and unguents.

He abstains from the use of the large and lofty beds.

He abstains from accepting silver or gold.

He abstains from accepting uncooked grain.

He abstains from accepting raw meat.

He abstains from accepting women or girls.

He abstains from accepting bondmen 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 mare.

He abstains from accepting cultivated fields or waste.

He abstains from the 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. '

Here ends the Kula Sila (the Short Paragraphs on Conduct).

II. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the injury of seedlings and growing plants whether propagated from roots or cuttings or joints or buddings or seeds—Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such injury to seedlings and growing plants. "

12. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of the things stored up; stores, to wit, of foods, drinks, clothing, equipages, bedding, perfumes, and curry-stuffs—Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such use of things stored up."

13. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to visiting shows ; that is to say,

- (1) Nautch dances (nakkarn),
- (2) Singings of songs (gitam)
- (3) Instrumental music (vaditam)
- (4) Shows at fairs (pekham)
- (5) Ballads recitations (akkhanam)
- (6) Hand music (paniseram)
- (7) The chanting of bards (vetala)
- (8) Tam-tam playing (kumbhathunam) (9) Fair scences (sobhanagarkarn)
- (10) Acrobatic feats by Kandalas (Kandala-vamsa-dhopanam)
- (11) Combats of elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams. Cocks and quails.

(12) Bouts at quarterstaff, boxing, wrestling.

(13)-(16) Sham-fights, roll-calls, manoeuvres, reviews. Gotama the recluse holds aloof from visiting such shows." 14. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to games and recreations, that is to say.

(1) Games on hoards with eight, or with ten rows of squares.

(2) The same games played by imagining such boards in the air.

(3) Keeping going over diagrams drawn on the ground so that one-steps only where one ought to go.

(4) Either removing the pieces or men from a heap with *one's* nail or putting them into a heap in each case without shaking it. He, who shakes the heap, loses.

(5) Throwing dice.

(6) Hitting a short stick with a long one.

(7) Dipping the hand with the fingers stretched out in lac or red dye, or flour water, and striking the wet hand on the ground or on a wall calling out 'What shall it be?' and showing the form requires—elephants, horses etc.,

(8) Games with balls.

(9) Blowing through toy pipes made of leaves.

(10) Ploughing with toy ploughs.

(11) Turning summersaults.

(12) Playing with toy windmills made of palm leaves.

(13) Playing with toy measures made of palm leaves.

(14, 15) Playing with toy carts or toy bows.

(16) Guessing at letters traced in the air, or on a playfellow's back.

(17) Guessing the playfellow's thoughts.

(18) Mimicry of deformities. Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such games and recreations."

15. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of high and large couches: that is to say,

- (1) Moveable settees, high, and six feet long (Asandi).
- (2) Divans with animal figures carved on the supports (Pallanko).
- (3) Goats' hair coverings with very long fleece (Ganako).
- (4) Patchwork counterpanes of many colour (Kittaka).
- (5) White blankets (Patika).
- (6) Woollen coverlets embroidered with flowers (Patalika).
- (7) Quilts stuffed with cottonwood (Tulika).
- (8) Coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, &c., (Vikatika).
- (9) Rugs with fur on both sides (Uddalomi).
- (10) Rugs with fur on one side (Ekantalomi).
- (11) Coverlets embroidered with gems (Katthissam).
- (12) Silk coverlets (Koseyyam).
- (13) Carpets large enough for sixteen dancers (Kuttakam).
- (14-16) Elephant, horse, and chariot rugs.
- (17) Rugs of antelope skins sewn together (Aginapaveni).
- (18) Rugs of skins of the plantain antelope.
- (19) Carpets with awnings above them (Sauttarakkhadam).
- (20) Sofas with red pillows for the head and feet."

16. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of means for adorning and beautifying themselves: that is to say:

Rubbing in scented powders on one's body, shampooing it, and bathing it patting the limbs with clubs after the manner of wrestlers. The use of mirrors, eye-ointments, garlands, rouge, cosmetics, bracelets, necklaces, walking sticks, reed cases for drugs, rapiers, sunshades, embroidered slippers, turbans, diadems, whisks of the yak's tail, and long-fringed white robes. Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such means of adorning and beautifying the person."

17. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to such low conversation as these:

Tales of kings, of robbers, of ministers of state, tales of war, of terrors, of battles; talk about foods and drinks, clothes, beds, garlands, perfumes, talks about relationships, equipages, villages, towns, cities, and countries. Tales about women, and about heroes; gossip at street corners, or places whence water is fetched: ghost stories; desultory talk; speculations about the creation of the land or sea, or about existence and non-existence.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low conversation."

18. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of wrangling phrases: such as:

"You don't understand this doctrine and discipline, I do."

"How should you know about this doctrine and discipline?"

"You have fallen into wrong views. It is I who am in the right."

"I am speaking to the point, you are not."

"You are putting last what ought to come first, and first what ought to come last."

"What you've excoriated so long, that's all quite upset."

"Your challenge has been taken up."

"You are proved to be wrong." "Set to work to clear your views."

"Disentangle yourself if you can."

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such wrangling phrases."

19. Or he might say, "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to taking messages, going on errands, and acting as go-betweens; to wit, on kings, ministers of state, Kshatriyas, Brahmans, or young men, saying. Go there, come-hither, take this with you, bring that from thence.'

Gotama the recluse abstains from such servile duties." 20. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, are tricksters, droners out (of holy words for pay), diviners, and exorcists, ever hungering to add gain to gain.

Gotam the recluse holds aloof from such deception and patter." Here ends the Majjhima Sila (the Longer Paragraphs on Conduct).

21. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

(1) Palmistry—prophesying long life, prosperity, &c., (or the reverse), from marks on a child's hands, feet, &c.

(2) Divining by means of omens and signs.

(3) Auguries had drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents.

(4) Prognostication by interpreting dreams.

(5) Fortune telling from marks on the body.

(6) Auguries from the marks on cloth gnawed by mice.

(7) Sacrificing to Agni.

(8) Offering oblations from a spoon. (9-13) Making offerings to gods of husks, of the red powder between the grain and the husk, of husked grain ready for boiling, of ghee and of oil.

(14) Sacrificing by spewing mustard seeds, &c., into the fire out of one's mouth.

(15) Drawing blood from one's right knee as a sacrifice to the gods.

(16) Looking at the knuckles, &c., and, after muttering a charm, divining whether a man is well born of luck or not.

(17) Determining whether the site, for a proposed house or pleasure, is lucky or not.

(18) Advising on customary law.

(19) Laying demons in a cemetery.

(20) Laying ghosts.

(21) Knowledge of the charms to be used when lodging in an earth house.

(22) Snake charming.

(23) The poison craft.

(24) The scorpion craft.

(25) The mouse craft.

(26) The bird craft.

(27) The crow craft.

(28) Foretelling the number of years that a man has yet to live.

(29) Giving charms to ward off arrows.

(30) The animal wheel.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts."

22. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

Knowledge of the signs of good and bad qualities in the following things, and of the marks in them denoting the health or luck of their owners to wit, gems, staves, garments, swords, arrows, bows, other weapons, women, men, boys, girls, slaves, slave-girls, elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowls, quails, iguanas, herrings, tortoises, and other animals.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts."

23. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood by low arts, such as sooth saying to the effect that:

The chiefs will march out.

The home chiefs will attack, and the enemies retreat.

The enemies' chiefs will attack, and ours will retreat.

The home chiefs will gain the victory, and ours will suffer defeat.

The foreign chiefs will gain the victory on this side, and ours will suffer defeat.

Thus will there be victory on this side, defeat on that.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts."

24. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by such low arts as foretelling:

- (1) There will be an eclipse of the Moon.
- (2) There will be an eclipse of the Sun.
- (3) There will be an eclipse of a Star (Nakshatra).
- (4) There will be aberration of the Sun or the Moon.
- (5) The Sun or the Moon will return to its usual path.
- (6) There will be aberrations of the Stars.
- (7) The Stars will return to their usual course.
- (8) There will be a fall of meteors.
- (9) There will be a jungle fire.
- (10) There will be an earthquake.
- (11) The God will thunder.

(12-15) There will be rising and setting, clearness and dimness of the Sun or the Moon or the stars, or foretelling of each of these fifteen phenomena that they will betoken such and such a result."

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts.

25. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of the livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

Foretelling an abundant rainfall.

Foretelling a deficient rainfall.

Foretelling a good harvest.

Foretelling scarcity of food.

Foretelling tranquility.

Foretelling disturbances.

Foretelling a pestilence.

Foretelling a healthy season.

Counting on the fingers.

Counting without using the fingers.

Summing up large totals.

Composing ballads, poetising, Casuistry, sophistry.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts." 26. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as:

(1) Arranging a lucky day for marriages in which the bride or bridegroom is brought home.

(2) Arranging a lucky day for marriages in which the bride or bridegroom is sent forth.

(3) Fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties of peace (or using charms to procure harmony)

(4) Fixing a lucky time for the outbreak of hostilities (or using charms to make discord).

(5) Fixing a lucky time for the calling in of debts (or charms for success in throwing dice).

(6) Fixing a lucky time for the expenditure of money (or charms to bring ill luck to an opponent throwing dice).

(7) Using charms to make people lucky.

(8) Using charms to make people unlucky.

(9) Using charms to procure abortion.

(10) Incantations to keep a man's jaws fixed.

(11) Incantations to bring on dumbness.

(12) Incantations to make a man throw up his hands.

(13) Incantations to bring on deafness.

(14) Obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror.

(15) Obtaining oracular answers through a girl possessed.

(16) Obtaining oracular answers from a god.

(17) The worship of the Sun.

(18) The worship of the Great One.

(19) Bringing forth flames from one's mouth.

(20) Invoking Siri, the goddess of Luck.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts."

27. Or he might say: "Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as these:

(1) Vowing gifts to a god if a certain benefit be granted,

(2) Praying such vows.

(3) Repeating charms while lodging in an earth house.

(4) Causing virility.

(5) Making a man impotent.

(6) Fixing on lucky sites for dwellings.

(7) Consecrating sites.

(8) Ceremonial rinsing of the mouth.

(9) Ceremonial bathing.

(10) Offering sacrifices.

(11-14) Administering emetics and purgatives.

(15) Purging people to relieve the head (that is by giving drugs to make people sneeze).

(16) Oiling people's ears (either to make them grow or to heal sores on them).

(17) Satisfying people's eyes (soothing them by dropping medicinal oils into them).

(18) Administering drugs through the nose.

(19) Applying collyrium to the eyes.

(20) Giving medical ointment for the eyes.

(21) Practising as an oculist.

(22) Practising as a surgeon.

(23) Practising as a doctor for children.

(24) Administering roots and drugs.

(25) Administering medicines in rotation.

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts.

"These brethren are the trifling matters, the minor details of morality, of which the unconverted man, when praising the Tathagata, might speak."

Here end the Long Paragraphs on Conduct.

III

This was indeed the highest standard for a moral life for an individual to follow. So high a standard of moral life was quite unknown to the Aryan Society of his day.

He did not stop merely with setting an example by leading a life of purity. He also wanted to mould the character of the ordinary men and women in society. For their guidance he devised a form of baptism which was quite unknown to the Aryan Society. The baptism consisted in the convert to Buddhism undertaking to observe certain moral precepts laid down by Buddha. These precepts are known as Panch Sila or the five precepts. They are;

(1) Not to kill, (2) Not to steal, (3) Not to lie, (4) Not to be unchaste and (5) Not to drink intoxicants.

These five precepts were of the laity.

For the Monks there were five additional precepts:

(6) Not to eat at forbidden times,

(7) Not to dance, sing, or attend theatrical or other spectacles,

(8) To abstain from the use of garlands, scents, and ornaments,

(9) To abstain from the use of high or broad beds, and

(10) Never to receive money.

These *Silas* or precepts formed the moral code which it was intended should regulate the thoughts and actions of men and women.

Of these the most important one was the precept not to kill. Buddha took care to make it clear that the precept did not merely mean abstention from taking life. He insisted that the precept must be understood to mean positive sympathy, good will, and love for every thing that breathes.

He gave the same positives and extended content to other precepts. One of the Buddha's lay followers once reported to him the teaching of a non-Buddhist ascetic, to the effect that the highest ideal consisted in the absence of evil deeds, evil words, evil thoughts, and evil life. The Buddha's comment upon this is significant. "If, said he, "this were true, then every suckling child would have attained the ideal of life. Life is knowledge of good and evil; and after that the exchange of evil deeds, words, thoughts, and life, for good ones. This is to be brought about only by a long and determined effort of the will".

Buddha's teachings were not merely negative. They are positive and constructive. Buddha was not satisfied with a man following his precepts. He insisted upon encouraging others to follow them. For example in the *Auguttara Nikaya* the Buddha is quoted as distinguishing between a good man and a very good man by saying that one who abstains from killing, stealing, in-chastity, lying and drunkenness may be called good ; but only he deserves to be called very good who abstains from these evil things himself and also instigates others to do the like.....

As has been well said the two cardinal virtues of Buddhism are love and wisdom.

How deeply he inculcated the practice of love as a virtue is clear from his own words. "As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so also let every one cultivate: a boundless loving mind towards all beings. And let him cultivate good will towards, the entire world, a boundless (loving) mind above and below and across, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity. This way of living is the best in the world." So taught Buddha^[f35].

"Universal pity, sympathy for all suffering beings, good will to every form of sentient life, these things characterised the Tathagath (Buddha) as they have few others of the sons of men ; and he succeeded in a most surprising degree in handing on his point of view to his followers. "^[f36]

Buddha held to the doctrine of wisdom as firmly as he did to the doctrine of love. He held that moral life began with knowledge and ended with wisdom. he "came to save the world, and his method for the accomplishment of this end was the destruction of ignorance and the dissemination of knowledge as to the true values of life and the wise way to live. "Buddha did not arrogate to himself the power to save people. People had to do that for themselves. And the way to save lay through knowledge. So much insistence did he place upon knowledge that he did not think that morality without knowledge was virtue.

There are three things against which Buddha carried on a great campaign.

He repudiated the authority of the Vedas..... Secondly he denounced the *Yudna* as a form of religion. The attitude of Buddha towards Yadna is well stated in the *Jatakamala* in the form of a story. The story runs thus :

THE STORY OF THE SACRIFICE

Those hearts are pure do not act up to the enticement of the wicked. Knowing this, pure-heartedness is to be striven after. This will be taught by the following:

Long ago the Bodhisattva, it is said, was a king who had obtained his kingdom in the order of hereditary succession. He had reached this state as the effect of his merit, and ruled his realm in peace, not disturbed by any rival, his sovereignty being universally acknowledged. His country was free from any kind of annoyance, vexation or disaster, both his home relations and those with foreign countries being quite in every respect; and all his vessels obeyed his commands.

1. This monarch having subdued the passions, his enemies, felt no inclination for such profits as are to be blamed when enjoyed, but was with his whole heart intent on promoting the happiness of his subjects. Holding virtuous practice (dharma) the only purpose of his actions, he behaved like a Muni.

2. For he knew the nature of mankind, that people set a high value on imitating the behaviour of the highest. For this reason, being desirous of bringing about salvation for his subjects, he was particularly attached to the due performance of his religious duties. 3. He practised almsgiving kept strictly the precepts of moral conduct (sila), cultivated forbearance, strove for the benefit of the creatures. His mild countenance being in accordance with his thoughts devoted to the happiness of his subjects, he appeared like the embodied Dharma.

Now it once happened that though protected by his arm, his realm, both in consequence of the faulty actions of its inhabitants and inadvertence on the part of the angels charged with the care of rain, was afflicted in several districts by drought and the troublesome effects of such a disaster. Upon this the king, fully convinced that his plague had been brought about by the violation of righteousness by himself or his subjects, and taking much to heart the distress of his people, whose welfare was the constant object of his thoughts and cares, took the advice of men of acknowledged competence, who were reputed for their knowledge in matters of religion. So keeping counsel with the elders among the Brahmans, headed by his family priest (purohita) and his ministers, he asked them for some means of putting an end to that calamity. Now they believing a solemn sacrifice as is enjoined by the Veda to be a cause of abundant rain, explained to him that he must perform such a sacrifice of a frightful character, inasmuch as it requires the massacre of many hundreds of living beings. But after being informed of everything concerning such a slaughter as is prescribed for the sacrifice, his innate compassion forbade him to approve of their advice in his heart; yet out of civility, unwilling to offend them by harsh words of refusal, he slipped over this point, turning the conversation upon other topics. They, on the other hand, no sooner caught the opportunity of conversing

with the king on matters of religion, than they once more admonished him to accomplish the sacrifice, for they did not understand his deeply hidden mind.

4. "You constantly take care not to neglect the proper time of performing your different royal duties, established for the sake of obtaining the possession of land and ruling it. The due order of these actions of yours is in agreement with the precepts of Righteousness (dharma).

5. "How then is this that you who (in all other respects) are so clever in the observance of the triad (of dharma, artha, and kama), bearing your bow to defend the good of your people, are so careless and almost sluggish as to that bridge to the world of the Devas, the name of which is 'sacrifice'?

6. " Like servants, the kings (your vassel) revere your commands, thinking them to be the surest gage of success. Now the time is come, O destroyer of your foes, to gather by means of sacrifice superior blessings, which are to procure for you a shining glory.

7. `Certainly, that holiness which is the requisite for a dikshita is already yours, by reason of your habitual practice of charity and your strictness in observing the restraint (of good conduct). Nevertheless, it would be fit for you to discharge your debt to the Devas by such sacrifices as are the subject matter of the Veda. The deities being satisfied by duly and faultlessly performed sacrifice, honour the creatures in return by (sending) rain. Thus considering, take to mind the welfare of your subjects and your own, and consent to the performance of a regular sacrifice which will enhance your glory.'

8. Thereupon he entered upon this thought: ' Very badly guarded is my poor person indeed, being given in trust to such leaders. While faithfully believing and loving the law, I should uproot my virtue of tender heartiness by reliance upon the words of others. For, truly.'

9. Those who are reputed among men to be the best refuge are the very persons who intend to do harm, borrowing their arguments from the Law. Alas! Such a man, who follows the wrong path shown by them, will soon find himself driven to straits, for he will be surrounded by evils.

10. What connections may there be, forsooth, between righteousness and injuring animals? How my residence in the world of the Devas or propitiation of the deities have anything to do with the murder of victims?

II. The animal slaughtered according to the rites with the prescribed prayers, as if those sacred formulas were so many darts to wound it, goes to heaven, they say, and with this object it is killed. In this way that action is interpreted to be done according to the Law. Yet it is a lie.

12. For how is it possible that in the next world one should reap the fruits of what has been done by others? And by what reason will the sacrificial animal mount to heaven, though he has not abstained from wicked actions, though he

has not devoted himself to the practice of good ones, simply because he has been killed in sacrifice, and not on the ground of his own actions?

13. And should the victim killed in sacrifice really go to heaven, should we not expect the Brahmans to offer themselves to be immolated in sacrifice? A similar practice, however, is nowhere seen among them. Who, then, may take to heart the advice proffered by these counsellors?

14. As to the Celestials, should we believe that they who are wont to enjoy the fair ambrosia of incomparable scent, flavour, magnificence, and effective power, served to them by the beautiful Apsaras, would abandon it to delight in the slaughter of a pitiable victim, that they might feast on the omentum and such other parts of his body as are offered to them in sacrifice?

Therefore, it is the proper time to act so and so.' Having thus made up his mind, the king feigned to be eager to undertake the sacrifice; and in approval of their words he spoke to them in this manner; 'Verily, well protected am I, well gratified, having such counsellors as Your Lordships are, thus bent on securing my happiness! Therefore I will have a human sacrifice (purushamedha) of a thousand victims performed. Let my officials, each in his sphere of business, be ordered to bring together the requisites necessary for that purpose. Let also an inquiry be made of the most fitting ground whereon to raise the tents and other buildings for the *sattra*. Further, the proper time for the sacrifice must be fixed (by the astrologers) examining the auspicious lunar days, *karanas*, *muhurtas*, and constellations.' The *purohita* answered; 'In order to succeed in your enterprise, Your Majesty ought to take the *Avabhrittha* (final bath) at the end of one sacrifice; after which you may successively undertake the others. For if the thousand human victims were to be seized at once, your subjects, to be sure, would blame you and be stirred up to great agitation on their account.' These words of the *purohita* having been approved by the (other) Brahmans, the king replied: 'Do not apprehend the wrath of the people, *Reverends*. I shall take such measures as to prevent any agitation among my subjects.'

15. After this the king convoked an assembly of the townsmen and the lands men, and said: 'I intend to perform a human sacrifice of a thousand victims. But nobody behaving honestly is fit to be designated for immolation on my part. With this in mind, I give you this advice. Whomsoever of you I shall henceforward perceive transgressing the boundaries of moral conduct, despising my royal will him I order to be caught to be a victim at my sacrifice, thinking such a one the stain of his family and a danger to my country. With the object of carrying this resolution into effect, I shall cause you to be observed by faultless and sharp-sighted emissaries, who have shaken off sleepy carelessness and will report to me concerning your conduct.'

16. Then the foremost of the assembly, folding their hands and bringing them to their foreheads, spoke:

'Your Majesty, all your actions tend to the happiness of your subjects, what reason can there be to despise you on that account? Even (God) Brahma cannot but sanction your behaviour. Your Majesty, who is the authority of the virtuous, be our highest authority. For this reason anything which pleases Your Majesty must please us too. Indeed, you are pleased with nothing else but our enjoyment and our good.'

After then, notables both of the town and the country had accepted his command in this manner; the king dispersed about his towns and all over his country, officers notified as such by their outward appearance to the people with the charge of laying hold of the evil doers, and everywhere he ordered proclamations to be made by beat of drum day after day, of this kind.

17. The King, a granter of security as he is, warrants safety to every one who constantly cultivates honesty and good conduct, in short, to the virtuous, yet, intending to perform a human sacrifice for the benefit of his subjects, he wants human victims by thousands to be taken out of those who delight in misconduct.

18. 'Therefore, whosoever henceforward, licentiously indulging in misbehaviour, shall disregard the command of our monarch, which is even observed by the kings, his vassals, shall be brought to the state as a sacrificial victim by the very force of his own actions, and people shall witness his miserable suffering, when he shall pine with pain, his body being fastened to the sacrificial post.'

When the inhabitants of that realms became aware of their king's careful search after evil-doers with the aim of destining them to be victims at his sacrifice-for they heard the most frightful royal proclamation day after day and saw the king's servants, who were appointed to look out for wicked people and to seize them. Appearing every now and then everywhere they abandoned their attachment to bad conduct, and grew intend on strictly observing the moral precepts and self-control. They avoided every occasion of hatred and enmity. and settling their quarrels and differences, cherished mutual love and mutual esteem. Obedience to the words of parents and teachers, a general spirit of liberality and sharing with others, hospitality, good manners, modesty, prevailed among them. In short, they lived as it was in the Krita Yuga.

19. The fear of death had awakened in them thoughts of the next world; the risk of tarnishing the honour of their families had stirred their care of guarding their reputation; the great purity of their hearts had strengthened their sense of shame. These factors being at work, people were soon distinguished by their spotless behaviour.

20. Even though every one became more than ever intends on keeping a righteous conduct, still the king's servants did not diminish their watchfulness in the pursuit of the evildoers. This also contributed to prevent people from falling short of righteousness.

21. The king learning from his emissaries this state of things in his realm, felt extremely rejoiced. He bestowed rich presents on those messengers as a reward for the good news they told him, and enjoined his ministers, speaking something like this :

22. The protection of my subjects is my highest desire, you know. Now they have become worthy to be recipients of sacrificial gifts, and it is for the purpose of my sacrifice that I have provided this wealth. Well, I intend to accomplish my sacrifice in the manner, which I have considered to be the proper one. Let every one who wishes for money, that it may be fuel for his happiness, come and accept it from my hand to his heart's content. In this way the distress and poverty, which is vexing our country, may be soon driven out. Indeed, whenever I consider my own strong determination to protect my subjects and the great assistance I derive from you, my excellent companions in that task, it often seems to me as though those sufferings of my people, by exciting my anger, were burning in my mind like a blazing fire.'

24. The ministers accepted the royal command and anon went to execute it. They ordered alms-halls to be established in all villages, towns, and markets, likewise at all stations on the roads. This being done, they caused all who begged in order to satisfy their wants, to be provided day after day with a gift of those objects, just as had been ordered by the king.

25. So poverty disappeared, and the people, having received wealth from the part of the king, dressed and adorned with manifold and fine garments and ornaments, exhibited the splendour of festival days.

26. The glory of the king, magnified by the eulogies of the rejoiced recipients of his gifts, spread about in all directions in the same way, as the flower dust of the lotuses carried forth by the small waves of a lake, extends itself over a larger and larger surface.

27. And after the whole people, in consequence of the wise measures taken by their ruler, had become intent on virtuous behaviour, the plagues and calamities, overpowered by the growth of all such qualities as conduce to prosperity, faded away, having lost their hold.

28. The seasons succeeded each other in due course, rejoicing everybody by their regularity, and like kings newly established, complying with the lawful order of things. Consequently the earth produced the various kinds of corn in abundance, and there was fullness of pure and blue water and lotuses in all water basins.

29. No epidemics afflicted mankind; the medicinal herbs possessed their efficacious virtues more than ever; monsoons blew in due time and regularly; the planets moved along in auspicious paths.

30. Nowhere there existed any danger to be feared, either from abroad, or from within, or such as might be caused by dangerous derangement of the elements. Continuing in righteousness and self-control, cultivating good behaviour and modesty, the people of that country enjoyed as it were the prerogatives of the Krita Yuga. By the power, then, of the king performing his sacrifice in this manner in accordance with (the precepts of) the Law, the sufferings of the indigent were put to an end together with the plagues and calamities, and the country abounded in a prosperous and thriving population offering the pleasing aspect of felicity. Accordingly people never wearied of repeating benedictions on their king and extending his renown in all directions.

One day, one of the highest royal officials, whose heart had been inclined to the (True) Belief, spoke thus to the king: "This is a true saying, in truth.

31. "Monarchs, because they always deal with all kinds of business, the highest, the lowest, and the intermediate, by far surpass in their wisdom any wise men.

"For, Your Majesty, you have obtained the happiness of your subjects both in this world and in the next, as the effect of your sacrifice being performed in righteousness, free from the blameable sin of animal-slaughter. The hard times are all over and the sufferings of poverty have ceased, since men have been established in the precepts of good conduct. Why use many words? Your subjects are happy.

32. "The black antelope's skin which covers your limbs has the resemblance of the spot on the bright Moon's surface, nor can the natural loveliness of your demeanour be hindered by the restraint imposed on you by your being a dikshita. Your head, adorned with such hair-dress as is in compliance with the rites of thediksha, possesses no less lustre than when it was embellished with the splendour of the royal umbrella. And, last not least, by your largesse's you have surpassed the renown and abated the pride of the famous performer of a hundred sacrifices.

33. "As a rule, Oh, you wise ruler, the sacrifice of those who long for the attainment of some good, is a vile act, accompanied as it is by injury done to living beings. Your sacrifice, on the contrary, this monument of your glory, is in complete accordance with your lovely behaviour and your aversion to vices.

34. "Oh! Happy are the subjects who have their protector in you! It is certain that no father could be a better guardian to his children." Another said:

35." If the wealthy practise charity, they are commonly impelled to do so by the hopes they put in the cultivation of that virtue; good conduct too, may be

accounted for by the wish to obtain high regard among men or the desire of reaching heaven after death. But such a practice of both, as is seen in your skill in securing the benefit of others, cannot be found but in those who are accomplished both in learning and in virtuous exertions. "In such a way, then, those whose hearts are pure do not act up to the enticement of the wicked. Knowing this, pure-heartiness is to be striven after." (In the spiritual lessons for princes, also this is to be said: 'Who to his subjects wishing good, himself exerts, Thus brings about salvation, glory, happiness. No other should be of a king the businesses.

And it may be added as follows: '(The prince) who strives after material prosperity, ought to act in accordance with the precepts of religion, thinking, a religious conduct of his subjects to be the source of prosperity.'

Further this is here to be said: 'Injuring animals never tends to bliss, but charity, self-restraint, continence and the like have this power; for this reason he who longs for bliss must devote himself to these virtues. 'And also when discoursing on the Tathagata : 'In this manner the Lord showed his inclination to care for the interests of the world, when he was still in his previous existences.')

IV

Another powerful attack against Yadna is contained in his discourses known as Kutadanta Sutta. It is as follows :

THE WRONG SACRIFICE AND THE RIGHT

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One once, when going on a tour through Magadha, with a great multitude of the brethren, with about five hundred brethren, came to a Brahman village in Magadha called Khanumata. And there at Khanumata he lodged in the Ambalatthika pleasance.

Now at that time the Brahman Kutadanta was dwelling at Khanumata, a place teeming with life, with much grassland and woodland and water and corn, on a royal domain presented him by Seniya Bimbisara the king of Magadha, as a royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king.

And just then a great sacrifice was being got ready on behalf of Kutadanta the Brahman. And a hundred bulls, and a hundred steers, and a hundred heifers, and a hundred goats, and a hundred rams had been brought to the post for the sacrifice.

2. Now the Brahmans and householders of Khanumata heard the news of the arrival of the Samana Gotama. And they began to leave Khanumata in companies and in bonds to go to the Ambalatthika pleasance.

3. And just then Kutadanta the Brahman had gone apart to the upper terrace of his house for his siesta; and seeing the people thus to go by, he asked his door-keeper the reason. And the doorkeeper told him.

4. Then Kutandanta thought: 'I have heard that the Samana Gotarna understands about the successful performance of a sacrifice with its threefold method and its sixteen accessory instruments. Now I don't know all this, and yet I want to carry out a sacrifice. It would be well for me to go to the Samana Gotama, and ask him about it.'

So he sent his doorkeeper to the Brahmans and householders of Khanumata, to ask them to wait till he could go with them to call upon the Blessed One.

5. But there were at that time a number of Brahmans staying at Khanumata to take part in the great sacrifice. And when they heard this they went to Kutadanta, and persuaded him on the same grounds as the Brahmans had laid before Sonadanda, not to go. But he answered them in the same terms as Sonadanda had used to those Brahmans. Then they were satisfied, and went with him to call upon the Blessed One.

9. And when he was seated there Kutadanta the Brahman told the Blessed One what he had heard, and requested him to tell him about success in performing a sacrifice in its three modes and with its accessory articles of furniture of sixteen kinds.

'Well then, O Brahman, give ear and listen attentively and I will speak.'

'Very well, Sir,' said Kutadanta in reply; and the Blessed One spoke as follows:

10. 'Long ago, O Brahman, there was a king by name Wide-realm (Maha Vigita), 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 Wide-realm 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. 'Twere well if I were to offer a great sacrifice that should ensure me weal and welfare for many days."

And he had the Brahman, his chaplain, called; and telling him all that he had thought, he said: "Be I would faun, O Brahman, offer a great sacrifice-let the venerable one instruct me how-for my weal and my welfare for many days."

11. Thereupon the Brahman who was chaplain said to the king: "The king's country, Sirs, is harassed and harried. There are decoits abroad who pillages the villages and townships, and who makes the roads unsafe. Were the king, so long as that is so, to levy a fresh tax, verily his majesty would be 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 license 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 their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors."

'Then King Wide-realm, O Brahman, 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.'

12. `So King Wide-realm had his chaplain called, 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."

' Then let his majesty the king send invitations to whomsoever there may be in his realm who are Kshatriyas, vassals of his, either in the country or the towns ; or who are ministers and officials of his, either in the country or the towns ; or who are Brahmans of position, either in the country or the towns ; or who are householders of substance, either in the country or the towns, 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 King Wide-realm, O Brahman, accepted the word of his chaplain, and did as he had said. And they each—Kshatriyas and ministers and Brahmans and householders—made alike reply: "Let his majesty the king celebrate the sacrifice. The time is suitable O King! " ' Thus did these four, as colleagues by consent, become wherewithal to furnish forth that sacrifice,

13. `King Wide-realm was gifted in the following eight ways:

`He was well born on both sides, on the mother's side and on the father's, of pure descent back through seven generations, and no slur was cast upon him, and no reproach, in respect of birth.'

' He was handsome, pleasant in appearance, inspiring trust, gifted with great beauty of complexion, fair in colour, fine in presence, stately to behold.'

' He was 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.'

' He was powerful, in command of an army, loyal and disciplined in four divisions (of elephants, cavalry, chariots, and bow men), burning up, methinks, his enemies by his very glory.'

' He was a believer, and generous, a noble giver, keeping open house, a well in spring whence Samanas and Brahmans, the poor and the wayfarers, beggars, and petitioners might draw, a doer of good deeds. '

'He was learned in all kinds of knowledge.' ` He knew the meaning of what had been said, and could explain, " This saying has such and such a meaning, and that such and such " .

' He was intelligent, expert and wise and able to think out things present or past or future.

' And these eight gifts of his, too, became where withal to furnish forth that sacrifice.'

14. `The Brahman, his chaplain was gifted in the following four ways :

' He was well born on both sides, on the mother's and on the father's, of pure descent back through seven generations, with no slur cast upon him, and no reproach in respect of birth.

' He was a student repeater who knew the mystic verses by heart, master of the three Vedas, with the indices, the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis (as a fourth), and the legends as a fifth, learned in the idioms and the grammar, versed in Lokayata (Mature-lore) and in the thirty marks on the body of a great man.

' He was virtuous, established in virtue, gifted with virtue that had grown great.

' He was intelligent, expert, and wise; foremost, or at most the second, among those who hold out the ladle. ' ' Thus these four gifts of his, too became wherewithal to furnish forth that sacrifice.'

15. 'And further, O Brahman, the chaplain, before the sacrifice had begun, explained to King Wide-realm the three modes:

Should his majesty the King, before starting on the great sacrifice, feel any such regret as : "Great, alas, will be the portion of my wealth used up herein, "let not the king harbour such regret. Should his majesty the King, whilst he is offering the great sacrifice, feel any such regret as : "Great, alas, will be the portion of my wealth used up herein "let not the king harbour such regret. Should his majesty the King, when the great sacrifice has been offered, feel any such regret as "Great, alas, will be the portion of my wealth used up herein, "let not the king harbour such regret.'

'Thus did the chaplain, O Brahman, before the sacrifice, had begun, explained to King Wide-realm the three modes.'

16. `And further, O Brahman, the chaplain, before the sacrifice had begun, in order to prevent any compunction that might afterwards in ten ways, 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 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 illwill 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, for them let the king gratify, in them shall our heart within find peace."

17. `And further, O Brahman, the chaplain, whilst the king was carrying out the sacrifice, instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened his heart in sixteen ways : "Should there be people who should say of the king, as he is offering the sacrifice : 'King Wide-realm is celebrating sacrifice without having invited the four classes of his subjects, without himself having the eight personal gifts, without the assistance of a Brahman who has the four personal gifts.' Then would they speak not according to the fact. For the consent of the four classes has been obtained, the king had the eight, and his Brahman has the four, personal gifts. With regard to each and every one of these sixteen conditions the king may rest assured that it has been fulfilled. He can sacrifice, and be glad, and possess his heart in peace."

18. `And further, O Brahman, 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 Dabha 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. Who so chose to help, he worked ; who so 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.

19. `And further, O Brahman, the Kshatriya vassals, and the ministers and officials, and the Brahmans of position, and the householders of substance, whether of the country or of the towns, went to King, Wide-realm, taking with them much wealth, and said, "This abundant wealth, Sire, have we brought hither for the king's use. Let his majesty accept it at our hands!"

"Sufficient wealth have I, my friends, laid up, the produce of taxation that is just. Do you keep yours, and take away more with you! "

When they had thus been refused by the king, they went aside, and considered thus one with the other: "It would not be seem us now, were we to

take this wealth away again to our own homes. King Wide-realm is offering a great sacrifice. Let us too make an after-sacrifice!"

20. ` So the Kshatriyas established a continual largesse to the east of the king's sacrificial pit, and the officials to the south thereof, and the Brahmans to the west thereof, and the householders to the north thereof. And the things given, and the manner of their gift, was in all respects like unto the great sacrifice of King Wide-realm himself.'

`Thus, O Brahman, there was a fourfold co-operation, and King Wide-realm was gifted with eight personal gifts, and his officiating Brahman with four. And there were three modes of the giving of that sacrifice. This, O Brahman, is what is called the due celebration of a sacrifice in its threefold mode and with its furniture of sixteen kinds.

21. `And when he had thus spoken, those Brahmans lifted up their voices in tumult, and said: "How glorious the sacrifice, how pure its accomplishment! "ButKutadanta the Brahman sat there in silence.

Then those Brahmans said to Kutadanta : ' Why do you not approve the good words of the Samana Gotarna as well-said?'

` I do not fail to approve ; for he who approves not as well-said that which has been well spoken by the Samana Gotama, verily his head would split in twain. But I was considering that the Samana Gotama does not say : "Thus have I heard," nor "Thus behoves it to be," but says only, " Thus it was then, " or "It was like that then".So I thought ; "For a certainty the Samana Gotama himself must a.t that time have been King Wide-realm, or the Brahman who officiated for him at that sacrifice. Does the Venerable Gotama admit that he who celebrates such a sacrifice, or causes it to be celebrated, is reborn at the dissolution of the body, after death, into some state of happiness in heaven ? "

'Yes, O Brahman, that I admit. And at that time I was the Brahman who, as chaplain, had that sacrifice performed.'

22. `Is there, O Gotama, any other sacrifice less difficult and less troublesome, with more fruit and more advantage still than this? ' ' Yes, O Brahman, there is.' 'And what, O Gotama, may that be?'

`The perpetual gifts kept up in a family where they are given specifically to virtuous recluses.'

23. 'But what is the reason, O Gotama, and what the cause, why such perpetual giving specifically to virtuous recluses, and kept up in a family, are less difficult and troublesome of greater fruit and greater advantage than that other sacrifice with its three modes and its accessories of sixteen kinds ? '

' To the latter sort of sacrifice, O Brahman, neither will the Arhata go, nor such as have entered on the Arhat way. And why not? Because in it beating with sticks takes place, and seizing by the throat. But they will go to the former,

where such things are not. And therefore are such perpetual gifts above the other sort of sacrifice.'

24. ' And is there, O Gotama, any other sacrifice less difficult, and less troublesome, of greater fruit and of greater advantage than either of these.' ' Yes, O Brahman, there is.' ' And what, O Gotama, may that be ? '

'The putting up of a dwelling place (Vihara) on behalf of the Order in all the four directions.'

25. And is there, O Gotama, any other sacrifice less difficult and less troublesome, of greater fruit and of greater advantage than each and all of these three?' 'Yes, O Brahman, there is.' ' And what, O Gotama, may that be ? '

' He who with trusting heart takes a Buddha as his guide, and the Truth, and the Order—that is a sacrifice better than open largesses, better than perpetual alms, better than the gift of a dwelling place.'

26. 'And is there, O Gotama, any other sacrifice less difficult and less troublesome, of greater fruit and of greater advantage than all these four?'

'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 largesses, better than perpetual alms, better than the gift of dwelling places, better than accepting guidance.'

27. 'And is there, O Gotama, any other sacrifice less difficult and less troublesome, of greater fruit and of greater advantage than all these five?' 'Yes, O Brahman, there is.' 'And what, O Gotama, may that be?'

(The answer is the long passage from the Samana-phale Sutta 40, p. 62 (of the text,) down to 75 (p. 74) on the First Ghana, as follows :

1. The Introductory paragraphs on the appearance of a Buddha, his preaching, the conversion of a hearer, and his renunciation of the world.

2. The Silas (minor morality).

3. The paragraph on Confidence.

4. The paragraph on 'Guarded is the door of his senses.'

5. The paragraph on ' Mindful and self possessed.'

6. The paragraph on Content.

7. The paragraph on Solitude.

8. The paragraph on the Five Hindrances.

9. The description of the First Ghana.) 'This, O Brahman, is a sacrifice less difficult and less troublesome, of greater fruit and greater advantage than the previous sacrifices,

(The same is then said the Second, Third, and Fourth Ghanas, in succession (as in the Samanna-phalo Sutas 77-82) and of the Insight arising from knowledge (*ibid* 83, 84), and further (omitting direct mention either way of 85-96 inclusive) of the knowledge of the destruction of the Asavas. the deadly intoxications or floods (*ibid*. 97-98).

' And there is no sacrifice man can celebrate, O Brahman, higher and sweeter than this.'

28. And when he had thus spoken, Kutadanta the Brahman said to the Blessed One :

' Most excellent, O Gotama, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent ! Just as if a man were to set up what has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms—just even so has the truth been made known to me in many a figure by the Venerable Gotama. I, even I, betake myself to the Venerable Gotama as my guide, to the Doctrine and the Order. May the Venerable One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth, as long as life endures has taken him as his guide. And I myself, O Gotama, will have the seven hundred bulls, and the seven hundred steers, and the seven hundred heifers, and the seven hundred goats, and the seven hundred rams set free. To them I grant their life. Let them eat green grass and drink fresh water, and may cool breezes waft around them.'

29. Then the Blessed One discoursed to Kutadanta the Brahman in due order; that is to say, he spoke to him of generosity, of right conduct, of heaven, of the danger, the vanity, and the defilement of lusts, of the advantages of renunciation. And when the Blessed One became aware that Kutadanta the Brahman had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, upraised, and believing in heart then did he proclaim the doctrine the Buddhas alone have won; that is to say, the doctrine of sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation and of the Path. And just as a clean cloth, with all stains in it washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did Kutadanta the Brahman, even while seated there, obtain the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth. And he knew whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution.

30. And then the Brahman Kutadanta, as one who had seen the Truth, had mastered it, understood it, dived deep down into it. Who had passed beyond doubt, and put away perplexity and gained full confidence, who had become dependent on no other for his knowledge of the teaching of the Master, addressed the Blessed One and said :

' May the venerable Gotama grant me the favour of taking his tomorrow meal with me and also the members of the Order with him. '

And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent. Then the Brahman Kutadanta, seeing that the Blessed One had accepted, rose from his seat, and keeping his right towards him as he passed, he departed thence. And at daybreak he had sweet food, both hard and soft, made ready at the pit prepared for his sacrifice and had the time announced to the Blessed One: 'It is time, O Gotama and the meal is ready. ' And the Blessed One, who had dressed early in the morning, put on his outer robe, and taking his bowl with him, went with the brethren to Kutadanta's sacrificial pit, and sat down there on the seat prepared for him. And Kutadanta the Brahman satisfied the brethren with the Buddha at their head, with his own hand, with sweet food, both hard and soft, till they refused any more. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed the bowl and his hands, Kutadanta the Brahman took a low seat and seated himself beside him. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed and aroused

and incited and gladdened Kutadanta the Brahman with religious discourse ; and then arose from his seat and departed thence.

V

Thirdly Buddha denounced the caste system. The Caste System in its present form was not then existing. The bar against inter-dining and inter-marriage had not then become operative. Things were flexible and not rigid as they are now. But the principle of inequality which is the basis of the caste system had become well established and it was against this principle that Buddha carried on a determined and a bitter fight. How strongly was he opposed to the pretensions of the Brahmins for superiority over the other classes and how convincing were the grounds of his opposition are to be found in many of his dialogues. The most important one of these is known as the Ambattha Sutta.

AMBATTHA SUTTA

(A young Brahman's rudeness and an old one's faith). 1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One when once on a tour through the Kosala country with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred brethren, arrived at a Brahman village in Kosala named Ikkhanankala ; and while there he stayed in the Ikkhanankala Wood.

Now at that time the Brahman Pokkharsadi was dwelling at Ukkattha, a spot teeming with life, with much grassland and woodland and corn, on a royal domain, granted him by King Pasenadi of Kosala as royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king.

2. Now the Brahman Pokkharasadi heard the news : `They say that the Samana Gotama, of the Sakya clan, who went out from a Sakya family to adopt the religious life, has now arrived, with a great company of the brethren of

his Order, at Ikkhanankala, and is staying there in the Ikkhanankala Wood. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad. The Blessed One is an Arahata, a fully awakened one, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed as a guide to mortals willing to be led, a teacher for gods and men, a Blessed One, a Buddha. He, by himself, thoroughly knows and sees, as it were, face to face this universe, including the worlds above of the gods, the Brahmans, and the Maras, and the world below with its recluses and Brahmans, its princes and peoples, and having known it, he makes his knowledge known to others. The truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, doth he proclaim, both in the spirit and in the letter, the higher life doth he make known, in all its fullness and in all its purity. 'And good is it to pay visits to Arahats like that.' 3. Now at the time a young Brahman, an Ambattha, was a pupil under Pokkharasadi the Brahman. And he was a repeater (of the sacred words) knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who had mastered the Three Vedas, with the indices, the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis (as a fourth), and the legends as a fifth learned in the idioms and the grammar, versed in Lokayata sophistry and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man—so recognised an authority in the system of the threefold Vedic knowledge as expounded by his master, that he could say of him: 'What I know that you know, and what you know that I know.'

4. And Pokkharasadi told Ambattha the news, and said: 'Come now, dear Ambattha, go to the Samana Gotama, and find out whether the reputation so noised abroad regarding him is in accord with the facts or not, whether the Samana Gotama is such as they say or not'. 5. 'But how, Sir, shall I know whether that is so or not?' There have been handed down, Ambattha, in our mystic verses thirty-two bodily signs of a great man,—signs which, if a man has, he will become one of two things, and no other. If he dwells at home he will become a sovereign of the world, a righteous king, bearing rule even to the shores of the four great oceans, a conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. And these are the seven treasures that he has the Wheel, the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the Treasurer, and the Adviser as a seventh. And he has more than a thousand sons, heroes, mighty in frame, beating down the armies of the foe. And he dwells in complete ascendancy over the wide earth from sea to sea, ruling it in righteousness without the need of baton or of sword. But if he go forth from the household life into the houseless state, then he will become a Buddha who removes the veil from the eyes of the world. Now I, Ambattha, am a giver of the mystic verses; you have received them from me.'

6. ' Very good Sir, said Ambattha in reply; and rising from his seat and paying reverence to Pokkharasadi, he mounted a chariot drawn by mares, and proceeded, with a retinue of young Brahmans, to the Ikkhanankala Wood. And when he had gone on in the chariot as far as the road was practicable for vehicles, he got down, and went on, into the park, on foot.

7. Now at that time a number of the brethren were walking up and down in the open air. And Ambattha went up to them and said: 'where may the Venerable Gotama be lodging now? We have come hither to call upon him.'

8. Then the brethren thought: This young Brahman Ambattha is of distinguished family, and a pupil of the distinguished Brahman Pokkharasadi. The Blessed One will not find it difficult to hold conversation with such.' And they said to Ambattha : 'There Gotama is lodging, where the door is shut, go quietly up and enter the porch gently, and give a cough, and knock on the crossbar. The Blessed One will open the door for you.'

9. Then Ambattha did so. And the Blessed One opened the door, and Ambattha entered in. And the other young Brahmans also went in; and they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took their seats. But Ambattha, walking about, said something or other of a civil kind in an off-hand way, fidgetting about the while, or standing up, to the Blessed One sitting there.

10. And the Blessed One said to him ; 'Is that the way, Ambattha, that you would hold converse with aged teachers, and teachers of your teachers well stricken in years, as you now do, moving about the while or standing, with me thus seated ? '

11. 'Certainly not, Gotama. It is proper to speak, with a Brahman as one goes along only when the Brahman himself is walking and standing to a Brahman who stands, and seated to a Brahman who has taken his seat, or reclining to a Brahman who reclines. But with shavelings, sham friars, menial black fellows, the off scouring of our kinsman's heels—with them I would talk as I now do to you.'

' But you must have been wanting something, Ambattha, when you come here. Turn your thoughts rather to the object you had in view when you came. This young Brahman Ambattha is ill bred, though he prides himself on his culture ; what can this come from except from want of training?'

12. Then Ambattha was displeased and angry with the Blessed One at being called rude; and at the thought that the Blessed One was vexed with him, he said, scoffing, jeering, and sneering at the Blessed One: ' Rough is this Sakya breed of yours, Gotama, and rude, touchy is this Sakya breed of yours and violent. Menials, mere menials, they neither venerate, nor value, nor esteem, nor give gifts to, nor pay honour to Brahmans. That, Gotama, is neither

fitting, nor is it seemly.' Thus did the young Brahman Ambattha for the first time charge the Sakyas with being menials.

13. `But in what then, Ambattha, have the Sakyas given you offence? '

Once, Gotama, I had to go to Kapilvastu on some business or other of Pokkharasadi's, and went into the Sakyas' Congress Hall. Now at that time there were a number of Sakyas, old and young, seated in the hall on grand seats, making merry and joking together, nudging one another with their fingers; and for a truth, methinks, it was I myself that was the subject of their jokes; and not one of them even offered me a seat. That, Gotama, is neither fitting, nor is it seemly, that the Sakyas, menials, as they are, mere menials, should neither venerate, nor value, nor esteem, nor give gifts to, nor pay honour to Brahmams."

Thus did the young Brahman Ambattha for the second time charge the Sakyas with being menials.

14. ' Why a quail Ambattha, little hen bird tough she be, can say what she likes in her own nest. And there the Sakyas are at their own home, in Kapilvastu. It is not fitting for you to take offence at so trifling a thing.'

15. `There are these four grades, Gotama,—the nobles, the Brahmans, the trades folk, and the work-people. And of these four, three—the nobles, the trades folk, and workpeople—are, verily, but attendants on the Brahmans. So, Gotama, that is neither fitting nor is it seemly, that the Sakyas, menials as they are, mere menials should neither venerate, nor value, nor esteem, nor give gifts to, nor pay honour to the Brahmans.'

1* Thus did the young Brahman Ambattha for the third time charged the sakyas with being menials.

16. Then the Blessed One thought thus: ' This Ambattha is very set on humbling the Sakyas with his charge of servile origin. What if I were to ask him as to his own lineage.' And he said to him:

`And what family do you then, Ambattha, belong to?' ' Yes, but if one were to follow up your ancient name and lineage, Ambattha, on the father's and the mother's side, it would appear that the Sakyas were once your masters, and that you are the offspring of one of their slave girls. But the Sakyas trace their line back to Okkakathe kings.'

' Long ago, Ambattha, King Okkaka, wanting to divert the succession in favour of the son of his favourite queen, banished his elder children—Okkamukha, Karanda, Hatthinika, and Sinipura—from the land. And being thus banished they took up their dwelling on the slopes of the Himalaya, on the borders of a lake where a mighty oak tree grew. And through fear of injuring the purity of their line they intermarried with their sisters.

Now Okkaka the king asked the ministers at his court : "Where, Sirs, are the children now?"

'There is a spot, Sire, on the slopes of the Himalaya, on the borders of a lake, where there grows a mighty oak (sako). There do they dwell. And lest they should injure the purity of their line they have married their own (sakahi) sisters.'

' Then did Okkaka the king burst forth in admiration: "Hearts of oak (sakya) are those young fellows! Right well they hold their own (parama sakya)! "

`That is the reason, Ambattha, why they are known as Sakyas. Now Okkaka had slave girl called Disa. She gave birth to a black baby. And no sooner was it born than the little black thing said, "Wash me, mother. Bathe me, mother. Set me free, mother of this dirt. So shall I be of use to you."

Now, just as now, Ambattha, people call devils, "devils", so then they called devils. "black fellows" (kanhe). And they said, "This fellow spoke as soon as he was born.' Tis a black thing (Kanha) that is born, a devil has been born! " And that is the origin, Ambattha, of the Kanhayanas. He was the ancestor of the Kanhayanas. And thus is it, Ambattha, that if one were to follow up your ancient name and lineae, on the father's and on the mother's side, it would appear that the Sakyas were once your masters, and that you are the offspring of one of their slave girls.'

17. When he had thus spoken the young Brahmans said to the Blessed One : ' Let not the Venerable Gotama, humble Ambattha too sternly with this reproach of being descended from a slave girl. He is well born, Gotama, and of good family; he is versed in the sacred hymns, an able reciter, a learned man. And he is able to give answer to the Venerable Gotama in these matters.

18. Then the Blessed One said to them: Quite so. If you thought otherwise, then it would be for you to carry on our discussion further. But as you think so, let Ambattha himself speak.'

19. ' We do not think so ; and we will hold our peace. Ambattha is able to give answer to the venerable Gotama in these matters.'

20. Then the Blessed One said to Ambattha the Brahman: `Then this further question arises, Ambattha, a very reasonable one which even though unwillingly, you should answer. If you do not give a clear reply, or go off upon another issue, or remain silent, or go away, then your head will split in pieces on the spot. What have you heard, when Brahmans old and well stricken in years, teachers of yours or their teachers, were talking together, as to whence the Kanhayanas draw their origin, and who the ancestor was to whom they trace themselves back? '

And when he had thus spoken Ambattha remained silent. And the Blessed One asked the same question again. And still Ambattha remained silent. Then the Blessed One said to him: ' You had better answer, now, Ambattha. This is no time for you to hold your peace. For whosoever, Ambattha, does not, even up to

the third time of asking, answer a reasonable question put by a Tathagata (by one who has won the truth), his head splits into pieces on the spot.'

21. Now at that time the spirit who bears the thunderbolt stood over above Ambattha in the sky with a mighty mass of iron, all fiery, dazzling, and aglow, with the intention, if he did not answer, there and then to split his head in pieces. And the Blessed One perceived the spirit bearing the thunderbolt, and so did Ambattha the Brahman. And Ambattha on becoming aware of it, terrified, startled, and agitated, seeking safety and protection and help from the Blessed One, crouched down besides him in awe, and said : 'What was it the Blessed One said ? Say it once again ! '

`What do you think, Ambattha? What have you heard, when Brahmans old and well stricken in years, teachers of yours or their teachers, were talking together, as to whence the Kanhayanas draw their origin, and who the ancestor was to whom they trace themselves back?'

`Just so, Gotama, did I hear, even as the Venerable Gotama hath said. That is the origin of the Kanhayana, and that the ancestor to whom they trace themselves back.'

22. And when he had thus spoken the young Brahmans fell into tumult, and uproar, and turmoil: and said : `Low born they say, is Ambattha the Brahman: his family, they say is not of good standing: they say he is descended from a slave girl: and the Sakyas were his masters. We did not suppose that the Samana Gotama whose words are righteousness itself, was not a man to be trusted! '

23. And the Blessed One thought: 'They go too far these Brahmans in their depreciation of Ambattha as the offspring of a slave girl. Let me set him free from their reproach. And he said to them : Be not too severe in disparaging Ambattha the Brahman on the ground of his descent. That Kanha became a mighty seer. He went into the Dekkan there he learnt mystic verses, and returning to Okkaka the king, he demanded his daughter Madda-rupi in marriage, To him the king in answer said: "Who forsooth is this fellow who son of my slave girl as he is asks for my daughter in marriage :" and angry and displeased, he fitted an arrow to his bow. But neither could he let the arrow fly nor could he take it off the string again.

Then the ministers and courtiers went to Kanha the seer, and said : "et the king go safe, Sir, let the king go safe."

"The king shall suffer no harm. But should he shoot the arrow downwards, then would the earth dry up as far as his realm extends." " Let the king, Sir, go safe, and the country too." "The king shall suffer no harm, nor his land. But should he shoot the arrow upwards, the god would not rain for seven years as far as his realm extends."

"Let the king, Sir, go safe, and the country too." "The king shall suffer no harm nor his land. But should he shoot the arrow upwards, the god would not rain for seven years as far as his realm extends."

"Let the king, Sir, go safe, and the country too: and let the god rain."

"The king shall suffer no harm, nor the land either, and the god shall rain. But let the king aim the arrow at his eldest son. The prince shall suffer no harm, not a hair of him shall be touched."

'Then, O Brahmins, the ministers told this to Okkaka, and said: "Let the king aim at his eldest son. He will suffer neither harm nor terror." And the king did so, and no harm was done. But the king, terrified at the lesson given him, gave the man his daughter Madda-rupi as wife. You should not, O Brahmins, be too severe to disparage Ambattha in the matter of his slave-girl ancestry. That Kanha was a mighty seer.'

24. Then the Blessed One said to Ambattha: 'What think you, Ambattha? Suppose a young Kshatriya should have connection with a Brahmin maiden, and from their intercourse a son should be born. Now would the son thus come to the Brahmin maiden through the Kshatriya youth receive a seat and water (as token of respect) from the Brahmins? ' Yes, he would. Gotama.'

' But would the Brahmins allow him to partake of the feast offered to the dead, or of the food boiled in milk, or of the offerings to the gods, or of food sent as a present? ' ' Yes, they would Gotama. '

' But would the Brahmins teach him their verses or not?' 'They would Gotama.' 'But would he be shut off or not from their women?' ' He would not be shut off.'

' But would the Kshatriyas allow him to receive the consecration ceremony of a Kshatriya?' 'Certainly not Gotama.'

Because he is not of pure descent on the mother's side.' 25. 'Then what think you Ambattha? Suppose a Brahmin youth should have connection with a Kshatriyamaiden, and from their intercourse a son should be born. Now would the son come to the Kshatriya maiden through the Brahmin youth receive a seat and water (as token of respect) from the Brahmins? ' 'Yes, he would, Gotama.'

' But would the Brahmins allow him to partake of the feast offered to the dead, or of food boiled in milk, or of an offering to the gods, or of food sent as a present? ' ' Yes, they would, Gotama.'

' But would the Brahmins teach him their verses or not?' 'They would, Gotama.'

' But would the Kshatriyas allow him to receive the consecration ceremony of a Kshatriya. ' 'Certainly not, Gotama.' 'Why not that?'

' Because he is not of pure descent on the father's side.' 26. ' Then, Ambattha, whether one compares women with women, or men with men, the Kshatriyas are higher and the Brahmans inferior.

' And what think you, Ambattha ? Suppose the Brahmans, for some offence or other, were to outlaw a Brahman by shaving him and pouring ashes over his head, were to banish him from the land from the township. Would he be offered a seat or water among the Brahmans ? ' ' Certainly not, Gotama.'

' Or would the Brahmans allow him to partake of the food offered to the dead, or of the food boiled in milk, or of the offerings to the gods, or of food sent as a present ? ' ' Certainly not, Gotama.'

' Or would the Brahmans teach him their verses or not ? ' `Certainly not, Gotama.'

`And would he be shut off, or not, from their women ?' 'He would be shut off.'

27. `But what think you, Ambattha? If the Kshatriyas had in the same way outlawed a Kshatriya and banished him from the land or the township, would he, among the Brahmans, be offered water and a seat ? ' `Yes, he would, Gotama.'

' And would he be allowed to partake of the food offered to the dead, or of the food boiled in milk, or of the offerings to the gods. or of food sent as a present ?'

`He would, Gotama.'

`And would the Brahmans teach him their verses ?' 'They would, Gotama?'

`And would he be shut off, or not from their women ?' ' He would not, Gotama.'

` But thereby, Ambattha, the Kshatriya would have fallen into the deepest degradation, shaven as to his head, cut dead with the ash-basket, banished from land and townships. So that, even when a Kshatriya has fallen into the deepest degradation, still it holds good that the Kshatriyas are higher, and the Brahmans inferior.

28. ' Moreover it was one of the Brahma gods, Sanam-kumara, who uttered this stanza.'

"The Kshatriya is the best of those among this folk who put their trust in lineage.

But he who is perfect in wisdom and righteousness, he is the best among gods and men."

`Now this stanza, Ambattha, was well sung and not ill sung by the Brahma Sanam-kumara well said and not ill said full of meaning and not void thereof. And I too approve it, ` I also ' Ambattha says:

"The Kshatriya is the best of those among this folk who put their trust in lineage,

But he who is perfect in wisdom and righteousness, he is the best among gods and men."

HERE ENDS THE FIRST PORTION FOR RECITATION

1. 'But what Gotama is the righteousness and what the wisdom spoken of in that verse?'

'In the supreme perfection in wisdom and righteousness, Ambattha. there is no reference to the question either of birth, or of lineage, or of the pride which says: "You are held as worthy as I", or "You are not held as worthy as I". It is where the talk is of marrying, or giving in marriage, that reference is made to such things as that. For whosoever, Ambattha, are in bondage to the notions of birth or of lineage, or to the pride of social position, or of connection by marriage. They are far from the best wisdom and righteousness. It is only by having got rid of all such bondage that one can realise for himself that supreme perfection in wisdom and in conduct.

2. 'But what Gotama is that conduct, and what that wisdom?' [Here follow, under 'Morality' (Sila)]

The introductory paragraphs (40-42 of the 'Samanaphala' pp. 62, 63 of the text) on the appearance of a Buddha, his preaching the conversion of a hearer, and his renunciation of the world: then come,

1. The Silas above pp. 4-12 (8-27) of the text. Only the refrain differs. It runs here, at the end of each clause, through the whole of this repeated passage: 'This is reckoned in him as morality.' Then under 'Conduct' (Karuna).

2. The paragraph on 'Confidence,' above, p. 69 of the text 63. The refrain from here onwards. This is reckoned to him as conduct.

3. The paragraph on 'Guarded is the door of the senses' above. p. 70 of the text, 64.

4. The paragraph on 'Mindful and self-possessed,' above, p. 70 of the text 65.

5. The paragraph on 'Content,' above. p. 71 of the text, 66.

6. The paragraph on 'Solitude,' above, p. 71 of the text, 67.

7. The paragraphs on the 'Five Hindrances,' above pp. 71-2 of the text, 68-74.

8. The paragraphs on the 'Four Rapt Contemplations' above, 73-76, pp. 75-82. The refrain at the end of each of them ('higher and better than the last') is here of course, to be read not as higher fruit of the life of a recluse, but as higher conduct.

UNDER WISDOM (VIGGA)

9. The Paragraphs on 'Insight arising from Knowledge' (Nana-dassanam), above, p. 76 of the text, 83, 84. The refrain from here onwards is: 'This is reckoned in him as wisdom, and it is higher and sweeter than the last.'

10. The paragraphs on the 'Mental Image,' above, p. 77 of the text 85, 86.

11. The paragraphs on 'Mystic Gifts' (Iddhi), above, p. 77 of the text, 87, 88.

12. The paragraphs on the 'Heavenly Ear' (Dibbasota), above p. 79 of the text, 89, 90.

13. The paragraphs on 'Knowledge of the hearts of others' (Kato-pariyānanam) above p. 79 of the text 91, 92.

14. The paragraphs on 'Memory of one's own previous births' (Pubbe-nivasa-anussati-nama) above, p. 81 of the text, 93, 94.

15. The paragraph on the 'Divine Eye' (Dibbakakkhu), above, p. 82 of the text, 95, 96.

16. The paragraphs on the 'Destruction of the Deadly Floods' (Asavanam Khaya-nanam), above, p. 83 of the text. 97, 98.

'Such a man, Ambattha, is said to be perfect in wisdom, perfect in conduct, perfect in wisdom and conduct. And there is no other perfection in wisdom and conduct higher and sweeter than this.'

3. 'Now, Ambattha, to this supreme perfection in wisdom and goodness there are Four Leakages. And what are the four?'

'In case, Ambattha any recluse or Brahman, without having thoroughly attained unto this supreme perfection in wisdom and conduct, with his yoke on his shoulder (to carry fire-sticks, a water-pot, needles, and the rest of a mendicant friar's outfit), should plunge into the depths of the forest, vowing to himself: "I will henceforth be one of those who live only on fruits that have fallen of themselves"—then, verily, he turns that out worthy only to be a servant unto him that hath attained to wisdom and righteousness.'

'And again, Ambattha in case any recluse or Brahman, without having thoroughly attained unto this supreme perfection in wisdom and conduct, and without having attained to living only on fruits fallen of themselves, taking a *hoe* and a basket with him, should plunge into the depths of the forest, vowing to himself: "I will henceforth be one of those who live only on bulbs and roots of fruits." Then, verily he turns out worthy only to be a servant unto him who hath attained to wisdom and righteousness.'

'And again Ambattha in case any recluse or Brahman without having thoroughly attained unto this supreme perfection in wisdom and conduct, and without having attained to living only on fruits fallen of themselves, and without having attained to living only on bulbs and roots and fruits, should build himself a fire shrine near the boundaries of some village or some town and there dwell serving the fire-god, then verily he turns out worthy only to be a servant unto him that hath attained to wisdom and righteousness.'

'And again Ambattha in case any recluse or Brahman without having thoroughly attained unto this supreme perfection in wisdom and conduct, and without having attained to living only on fruits fallen of themselves, and without having attained to living only on bulbs and roots and fruits, and without having

attained to serving the fire-god, should build himself a four-doored almshouse at a crossing where four high roads meet, and dwell there, saying to himself: "Whosoever, whether recluse or Brahman shall pass here, from either of these four directions, him will I entertain according to my ability and according to my power—then, verily, he turns out worthy only to be a servant unto him who hath attained to wisdom and righteousness."

'These are the Four Leakages, Ambattha, to supreme perfection in righteousness and conduct.'

4. 'Now what think you, Ambattha? Have you, as one of a class of pupils under the same teacher, been instructed in this supreme perfection of wisdom and conduct?'

Not that, Gotama. How little is it that I can profess to have learnt! How supreme this perfection of wisdom and conduct! Far is it from me to have been trained therein?'

'Then what think you, Ambattha? Although you have not thoroughly attained unto this supreme perfection of wisdom and goodness, have you been trained to take the yoke upon your shoulders, and plunge into the depths of the forest as one who would fain observe the vow of living only on fruits fallen of themselves?' 'Not even that, Gotama.'

'Then what think you, Ambattha? Although you have not attained unto this supreme perfection of wisdom and goodness, nor have attained to living on fruits fallen of themselves, have you been trained to take hoe and basket, and plunge into the depths of the forest as one who would fain observe the vow of living only on bulbs and roots and fruits?' 'Not even that, Gotama.'

'Then what think you, Ambattha? Although you have not attained unto this supreme perfection of wisdom and goodness, and have not attained to living on fruits fallen of themselves, and have not attained to living on bulbs and roots and fruits, have you been taught to build yourself a fire-shrine on the borders of some village or some town, and dwell there as one who would fain serve the fire-god?' 'Not even that, Gotama.'

'Then what think you, Ambattha? Although you have not attained unto this supreme perfection of wisdom and goodness, and have not attained to living on fruits fallen of themselves, and have not attained to living on bulbs and roots and fruits, and have not attained to serving the fire-god, have you been taught to build yourself a four-doored almshouse at a spot where four high roads cross, and dwell there as one who would fain observe the vow to entertain whosoever might pass that way, from any of the four directions, according to your ability and according to your power?' 'Not even that, Gotama.'

5. 'So then you, Ambattha, as a pupil, have fallen short of due training, not only in the supreme wisdom and conduct, but even in any one of the Four

Leakages by which the complete attainment thereof is debarred. And your teacher too, the Brahman Pokkharasadi, has told you this saying : "Who are these shavelings, sham friars, menial black fellows, the offscouring of our kinsman's heels, that they should claim converse with Brahmans versed in the threefold Vedic Lore! "he himself not having even fulfilled any one even of these lesser duties (which lead men to neglect the higher ones). See, Ambattha, how deeply your teacher the Brahman Pokkharasadi has herein done you wrong.'

6. 'And the Brhman Pokkharasadi Ambattha, is in the enjoyment of a grant from Pasenadi, the king of Kosala. But the king does not allow him to come into his presence. When he consults with him he speaks to him only from behind a curtain. How is it, Ambattha, that the very King, from whom he accepts this pure and lawful maintenance, King Pasendadi of Kosala, does not admit him to his presence? See, Ambattha, how deeply your teacher the Brahman Pokkharasadi, has herein done you wrong.'

7. ` Now what think you, Ambattha ? Suppose a king, either seated on the neck of his elephant or on the back of his horse, or standing on the footrug of his chariot, should discuss some resolution of state with his chiefs or princes, and suppose as he left the spot and stepped on one side, a workman (Sudra) or the slave of a workman should come up and, standing there, should discuss the matter, saying: "Thus and thus said Pasendadi the King." Although he should speak as the king might have spoken, or discuss as the king might have done, would he thereby be the king, or even as one of his officers ? 'Certainly not, Gotama.'

8. `But just so, Ambattha, those ancient poets (Rishis) of the Brahmans, the authors of the verses, the utterers of the verses whose ancient form of words so chanted, uttered, or composed the Brahmans of to-day chant over again and rehearse, intoning or reciting exactly as has been intoned or recited—to wit, Atthaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva, Yamataggi, Angirasa, Bharadvaja, Vasettha, Vessamitta, Kassapa, and Bhagu—though you can say : ' I as a pupil know by heart their verses `that you should on that account by a Rishi, or have attained to the state of a Rishi—such a condition of things has no existence! '

9. ` Now what think you, Ambattha? What have you heard when Brahmans, old and well stricken in years, teachers of yours of their teachers, were talking together—did those ancient Rishis whose verses you so chant over and repeat, parade about well groomed, perfumed, trimmed as to their hair and beard adorned with garlands and gems, clad in white garments, in the full possession and enjoyment of the five pleasures of sense, as you and your teacher too, do now ? 'Not that, Gotama.'

' Or did they live, as their food, on boiled rice of the best sorts, from which all the black specks had been sought out and removed, and flavoured with sauces and curries of various kind as you, and your teacher too, do now ? ' `Not that, Gotama.'

Or were they waited upon by women with fringes and furbelows round their loins, as you, and your teacher too, do now?

` Or did they go about driving chariots, drawn by mares with plaited manes and tails, using long wands and goads the while, as you and your teacher too, do now?' 'Not that Gotama.'

`Or did they have themselves guarded in fortified towns, with moats dug out round them and crossbars let down before the gates, by men girt with long swords, as you, and your teacher too, do now?' ' Not that Gotama.'

10. `So then, Ambattha, neither are you a Rishi, nor your teacher, nor do you live under the conditions under which the Rishis lived. But whatsoever it may be, Ambattha, concerning which you are in doubt or perplexity about me, ask me as to that, I will make it clear by explanation.'

11.. Then the Blessed One went forth from his chamber, and began to walk up and down that Ambattha did the same. And as he thus walked up and down, following the Blessed One, he took stock of the thirty-two signs of a great man, whether they appeared on the body of the Blessed One or not. And he perceived them all save only two. With respect to those two—the concealed member and the extent of tongue—he was in doubt and perplexity, not satisfied not sure.

12. And the Blessed One knew that he was so in doubt. And he so arranged matters by his Wondrous Gift that Ambattha the Brahman saw how that part of the Blessed One that ought to be hidden by clothes was enclosed in a sheath. And the Blessed One so bent round his tongue that he touched and stroked both his ears, touched and stroked both his nostrils, and the whole circumstance of his forehead he covered with his tongue.

And Ambattha, the young Brahman, thought: `The Samana Gotama is endowed with the thirty-two signs of a great man, with them all, not only with some of them.' And he said to the Blessed One : ' And now, Gotama, we would fain depart. We are busy and have much to do.'

`Do Ambattha, what seemed to you fit.'

And Ambattha mounted his chariot drawn by mares, and departed thence.

13. Now at that time the Brahman Pokkharasadi had gone forth from Ukkattha with a great retinue of Brahmans, and was seated in his own pleasance waiting there for Ambattha. And Ambattha came on to the pleasance. And when he had come in his chariot as far as the path was practicable for chariots, he descended from it, and came on foot to where

Pokkharasadi was, and saluted him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, Pokkharasadi said to him.

14. 'Well, Ambattha! Did you see the Blessed One?' 'Yes, Sir, we saw him.'

'Well! is the Venerable Gotama so as the reputation about him I told you of declares, and not otherwise. Is he such a one, or is he not?'

'He is so, Sir, as his reputation declares, and not otherwise. Such is he, not different. And he is endowed with the thirty-two signs of a great man, with all of them, not only with some.' 'And did you have any talk, Ambattha, with the Samana Gotama?' 'Yes, Sir, I had.' 'And how did the talk go?'

Then Ambattha told the Brahman Pokkharasadi all the talk that he had with the Blessed One.

15. When he had thus spoken, Pokkharasadi said to him: 'Oh, you wiseacre! Oh! you dullard! Oh! you expert, forsooth, in our threefold Vedic Lore! A man, they say, who should carry out his business thus, must, on the dissolution of the body, after death, be reborn into some dismal state of misery and woe. What could the very points you pressed in your insolent words lead up to, if not to the very disclosures the venerable Gotama made? What a wiseacre, what a dullard: what an expert, forsooth, in our threefold Vedic lore!' And angry and displeased, he struck out with his foot, and rolled Ambattha over. And he wanted, there and then, himself to go and call on the Blessed One.

1. But the Brahmanas there spake thus to Pokkharasadi: 'It is much too late. Sir, today to go to call on the Samana Gotama. The venerable Pokkharasadi can do so tomorrow.'

So Pokkharasadi had sweet food, both hard and soft, made ready at his own house, and taken on wagons, by the light of blazing torches, out to Ukkattha. And he himself went on to the Ikkhanankala Wood, driving in his chariot as far as the road was practicable for vehicles and then going on foot, to where the Blessed One was. And when he had exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, he took his seat on one side, and said to the Blessed One:

17. 'Has our pupil Gotama the young Brahman Ambattha, been here?' 'Yes, Brahman, he has.'

'And did you, Gotama, have any talk with him?' 'Yes, Brahman, I had.'

'And on what wise was the talk that you had with him?' 18. Then the Blessed One told the Brahman Pokkharasadi all the talk that had taken place. And when he had thus spoken Pokkharasadi said to the Blessed One:

'He is young and foolish, Gotama, that young Brahman Ambattha. Forgive him. Gotama'

`Let him be quite happy, Brahman, that young Brahman Ambattha' 19. And the Brahman Pokkharasadi took stock, on the body of the Blessed One, of the thirty two marks of a Great Being. And he saw them all plainly, save only two. As to two of them the sheath concealed member and the extensive tongue he was still in doubt and undecided. But the Blessed One showed them to Pokkharasadi, even as he had shown them to Ambattha. And Pokkharasadi perceived that the Blessed One was endowed with the thirty two marks of a Great Being, with all of them, not only with some. And he said to the Blessed One: `May the venerable Gotama grant me the favour of taking his tomorrow's meal with me and also the members of the Order with him ' And the Blessed One accepted, by silence, his request.

20. Then the Brahman Pokkharasadi seeing that the Blessed One had accepted, had (on the morrow) the time announced to him : `It is time. Oh Gotama, the meal is ready.' And the Blessed One who had dressed in the early morning, put on his outer robe, and taking his bowl with him, went with the brethren to Pokkharasadi's house, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And Pokkharasadi the Brahman. satisfied the Blessed One, with his own hand with sweet food, both hard and soft, until he refused any more, and the young Brahmans the members of the Order. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed the bowl and his hands, Pokkharasadi took a low seat, and sat down beside him.

21. Then to him thus seated the Blessed One discoursed in due order ; that is to say he spoke to him of generosity, of right conduct, of heaven, of the danger, the vanity, and the defilement of lusts, of the advantages of renunciation. And when the Blessed One saw that Pokkharasadi the Brahman, had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, upraised, and believing in heart, then he proclaimed the doctrine the Buddhas alone have won ; that is to say, the doctrine of sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation, and of the Path. And just as a clean cloth from which all stain has been washed away will readily take the dye, just even so did Pokkharasadi the Brahman, obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth, and he knew: `Whatsoever has a beginning in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution.'

22. And then the Brahman Pokkharasadi as one who had seen the Truth, had mastered it, understood it, dived deep down into it, who had passed beyond doubt and put away perplexity and gained full confidence, who had become dependent on no other man for his knowledge of the teaching of the Master, addressed the Blessed One and said :

`Most excellent Oh Gotama (are the words of thy mouth), most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the right

road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms,—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the venerable Gotama. And I, Oh Gotama, with my sons, and my wife, and my people, and my companions, betake myself to the venerable Gotama as my guide, to the truth, and to the Order. May the venerable Gotama accept me as a disciple, as one who from this day forth, as long as life endures, has taken him as his guide. And just as the venerable Gotama visits the families of others, his disciples at Ukkatha, so let him visit mine. Whosoever there may be there, of Brahmans or their wives, who shall pay reverence to the venerable Gotama or stand up in his presence, or offer him a seat or water, or take delight in him, to him that will be for long, a cause of weal and bliss.'

'It is well, Brahman, what you say.' Here ends the Ambattha Sutta.

VI

In the matter of his opposition to Caste, Buddha practised what he preached. He did what the Aryan Society refused to do. In the Aryan Society the Shudra or low caste man could never become a Brahman. But Buddha not only preached against caste but admitted the Shudra and the low caste to the rank of a Bhikku who held the same rank in Buddhism as the Brahman did in Brahmanism. As Rhys Davis points out: (Quotation not given)

In the first place, as regards his own Order, over which alone he had complete control, he ignores completely and absolutely all advantages or disadvantages arising from birth, occupation, and social status, and sweeping away all barriers and disabilities arising from the arbitrary rules of mere ceremonial or social impurity.

One of the most distinguished members of his Order, the very one of them who was referred to as the chief authority after Gotama himself, on the rules of the Order, was Upali, who had formerly been a barber. one of the despised occupations. So Sunita, one of the brethren whose verses are chosen for insertion in the TheraGatha, was a Pukkusa. one of the low tribes. Sati, the profounder of a deadly heresy, was of the sons of the fisher folk, afterwards a low caste, and even then an occupation, on account of its cruelty, particularly abhorred. Nanda was a cowherd. The two Panthakas were born out of wedlock, to a girl of good family through intercourse with a slave (so that by the rule laid down in Manu 31. they were actually outcasts). Kapa was the daughter of a deer-stalker, Punna and Punnika had been slave girls. Sumangalamata was daughter and wife to workers in rushes, and Subha was the daughter of a smith. More instances could doubtless be quoted and others will become known when more texts are published.

It does not show much historical insight to sneer at the numbers as small, and to suggest that the supposed enlightenment or liberality was mere pretence. The facts speak for themselves; and the percentage of low-born members of the Order was probably in fair proportion to the percentage of persons belonging to the despised jatis and sippas as compared with the rest of the population. Thus of the Theris mentioned in the Theri Gatha we know the social position of sixty, of whom five are mentioned above that is, 8 1/2 per cent of the whole number were base-born. It is most likely that this is just about the proportion which persons in similar social rank bore to the rest of the population.

Just as Buddha levelled up the position of the Shudras and the low caste men by admitting them to the highest rank namely that of Bhikkus, he also levelled up the position of women. In the Aryan Society women were placed on the same position as the Shudras and in all Aryan literature women and Shudras are spoken of together as persons belonging to the same status. Both of them were denied the right to take *Sanyas* as *Sanyas* was the only way open to salvation. Women and Shudras were beyond salvation. Buddha broke this Aryan rule in the case of women as he did in the case of the Shudras. Just as a Shudra could become a Bhikkuso a woman could become a nun. This was taking her to the highest status then conceivable in the eyes of the Aryan Society.

Another issue on which Buddha fought against the leaders of the Aryan Society was the issue of the Ethics of teachers and teaching. The leaders of the Aryan Society held the view that learning and education was the privilege of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The Shudras were not entitled to education. They insisted that it would be danger to social order if they taught women or any males not twice-born. Buddha repudiated this Aryan doctrine. As pointed out by RhysDavis on this question is "That everyone should be allowed to learn; that everyone, having certain abilities, should be allowed to teach ; and that, if he does teach, he should teach all to all ; keeping nothing back, shutting no one out." In this connection reference may be made to the dialogue between Buddha and the Brahman Lohikka and which is known as the Lohikka Sutta.

LOHIKKA SUTTA

(Some points in the Ethics of Teaching)

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One, when once passing on a tour through the Kosala districts with a great multitude of the members of the Order, with about five hundred Bhikshus, arrived at Salavatika. (Village surrounded by a row of Sala trees). Now at that time Lohikka the Brahman was established 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.

2. Now at that time Lohikka the Brahman was thinking of harbouring the following wicked view; 'Suppose that a Samana or a Brahmana have reached up to some good state (of mind), then he should tell no one else about it. For what can one man do for another? To tell others would be like the man who, having broken through an old bond, should entangle himself in a new one. Like that, I say, is this (desire to declare to others) ; it is a form of lust. For what can one man do for another?'

Now Lohikka the Brahman heard the news: 'They say that the Samana Gotama, of the sons of the Sakyas, who went out from the Sakya clan to adopt the religious life, has now arrived, with a great company of the brethren of his Order, on his tour through the Kosala districts, at Salavatika. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad : that Exalted One is an Arhat, fully awakened, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed as a guide to mortals willing to be led, a teacher for gods and men, an exalted one, a Buddha. He, by himself thoroughly knows, and sees as it were face to face. This universe-including the worlds above of the gods, the Brahmans and the Maras ; and the world below with its Samanas and Brahmans. Its princes and peoples and having known it, he makes his knowledge known to others. The truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in consummation, doth he proclaim both in the spirit

and in the letter. The higher life doth he make known in all its fullness, and in all its purity. And good is it to pay visits to Arhats like that.'

4. Then Lohikka the Brahman said to Bhesika the barber, 'Come now, good Bhesika, go where the Samana Gotama is staying, and on your arrival, ask in my name as to whether his sickness and indisposition is abated, as to his health and vigour and condition of ease; and speak thus : "May the venerable Gotama, and with him the brethren of the order, accept the tomorrow's meal from Lohikka the Brahman."

5. 'Very well, Sir, 'said Bhesika the barber, acquiescing in the word of Lohikka the Brahman and did so even as he had been enjoined. And the Exalted One consented, by silence, to his request.

6. And when Bhesika the barber perceived that the Exalted One had consented, he rose from his seat and passing the Exalted One with his right hand towards him, went to Lohikka the Brahman, and on his arrival spake to him thus :

'We addressed that Exalted One. Sir. in your name, even as you commanded. And the Exalted One hath consented to come.'

7. Then Lohikka the Brahman, when the night had passed made ready at his own dwelling place sweet food, both hard and soft, and said to Bhesika the

barber: 'Come now, good Bhesika, go where the Samana Gotama is staying, and on your arrival, announce the time to him, saying : " It is time, O Gotama, and the meal is ready."

' Very well, Sir ', said Bhesika the barber in assent to the words of Lohikka the Brahman: and did so even as he had been enjoined.

And the Exalted One, who had robed himself early in the morning, went robed, and carrying his bowl with him, with the brethren of the Order, towards Salavatika.

8. Now, as he went, Bhesika the barber walked step by step, behind the Exalted One. And he said to him :

'The following wicked opinion has occurred to Lohikka the Brahman ; "Suppose that a Samana or a Brahmana have reached up to some good state (of mind), then he should tell no one else about it. For what can one man do for another? To tell others would be like the man who, having broken through an old bond, should entangle himself in a new one. Like that, I say, is this (desire to declare to others) ; it is a form of lust", Twere well. Sir, if the Exalted One would disabuse his mind thereof. For what can one man do for another ?'

'That may well be, Bhesika, that may well be.' 9. And the Exalted One went on to the dwelling-place of Lohikka the Brahman, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And Lohikka the Brahman satisfied 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 Brahman brought a low seat and sat down beside him. And to him, thus seated the Exalted One spake as follows:

' Is it true what they say, Lohikka, that the following wicked opinion has arisen in your mind ; (and he set forth the opinion as above set forth)?' 'That is so Gotama.'

10. 'Now what think you, Lohikka? Are you not established at Salavatika ?' 'Yes. that is so, Gotama.'

'Then suppose, Lohikka. one were to speak thus: "Lohikka the Brahman has 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 danger-maker as touching the men who live in dependance upon you, or not?' 'Hewould be danger-maker, Gotama'

And making that danger, would he be a person who sympathised with their welfare, or not?'

' He would not be considering their welfare, Gotama.' ' And not considering their welfare, would his heart stand fast in love towards them. or in enmity ?' ' In enmity. Gotama.'

' But when one's heart stands fast in enmity, is that unsound doctrine, or sound?' ' It is unsound doctrine, Gotama.'

' Now if a man hold unsound doctrine, Lohikka, I declare that one of two future births will be his lot, either purgatory or rebirth as an animal.'

11. `Now what think you Lohikka? Is not King Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kasi and Kosala?' ' Yes. that is so. Gotama.'

`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 danger-maker Gotama.'

`And making that danger, would he be a person who sympathised with their welfare, or not?'

' He would not be considering their welfare, Gotama.' ' And not considering their welfare, would his heart stand fast in love toward them, or in enmity ?'

' 'In enmity, Gotama.'

' But when one's heart stands fast in enmity, is that unsound doctrine, or sound ?' ' ' It is unsound doctrine, Gotama.' ' ' Now if a man hold unsound doctrine, Lohikka, I declare that one

of two future births will be his lot, either purgatory or rebirth as an animal.

12 and 14. `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 any one else; and he who should say that King Pasenadi of Kosala, being in power over Kasi and Kosala, should therefore himself enjoy all the revenue and produce thereof, bestowing nothing on any one else— would be making danger for those living in dependence upon 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 for them. And that the man wanting in sympathy has his heart set fast in enmity. And that to have one's heart set fast in enmity is unsound doctrine.

13 and 15. `Then just so, Lohikka, he who should say : " Suppose a Samana or a Brahamana to have reached up to some good state (of mind), then should he tell no one else about it. For what can one man do for another? To tell others would be like the man who, having broken through an old bond, should entangle himself in a new one. Like that, I say, is this desire to declare to others, it is a form of lust ;"—just so he, who should say, thus, would be putting obstacles in the way of those clansmen who, having taken upon themselves the Doctrine and Discipline set forth by Him-who-has-won-the-Truth, have attained to great distinction therein—to the fruit of conversion, for instance, or to the fruit

of once returning, or to the fruit of never returning, or even to Arhatship—he would be putting obstacles in the way of those who are bringing to fruition the course of conduct that will lead to rebirth in states of bliss in heaven. But putting obstacles in their way he 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. Now if a man hold unsound doctrine, Lohikka, I declare that one of two future births will be his lot, either purgatory or rebirth as an animal.

16. `There are these three sorts of teachers in the world, Lohikka, who are worthy of blame ; And whosoever should blame such a one, his rebuke would be justified, in accord with the facts and the truth, not improper. What are the three?

`In the first place, Lohikka, there is a sort of teacher who has not himself attained to that aim of Samanaship for the sake of which he left his home and adopted the homeless life. Without having himself attained to it he teaches a doctrine (Dhamma) to his hearers, saying : " This is good for you, this will make you happy." Then those hearers of his neither listen to him, nor give ear to his words, nor become steadfast in heart through their knowledge thereof; they go their own way, apart from the teaching of the master. Such a teacher may be rebuked, setting out these facts, and adding : "You are like one who should make advances to her who keeps repulsing him, or should embrace her who turns her face away from him. Like that, do I say, is this lust of yours (to go on posing as a teacher of men, no one heeding,since, they trust you not). For what, then, can one man do for another ?"

'This, Lohikka, is the first sort of teacher in the world worthy of blame. And whosoever should blame such a one, his rebuke would be justified, in accord with the facts and the truth, not improper.

17. 'In the second place, Lohikka, there is a sort of teacher who has not himself attained to that aim of Samanship for the sake of which he left his home and adopted the homeless life. Without having himself attained to it he teaches a doctrine to his hearers, saying : "This is good for you ;, that will make you happy." And to him his disciples listen ; they give ears to his words ; they become steadfast in heart by their understanding what is said ; and they go not their own way, apart from the teaching of the master. Such a teacher may be rebuked, setting out these facts and adding : "You are like a man who, neglecting his own field, should take thought to weed out his neighbour's field. Like that, do I say, is this lust of yours (to go on teaching others when you have not taught yourself). For what, then, can one man do for another?"

This, Lohikka, is the second sort of teacher in the world worthy of blame. And whosoever should blame such a one, his rebuke would be justified, in accord with the facts and the truth not improper.

18. And again, Lohikka, in the third place, there is a sort of teacher who has himself attained to that aim of Samanaship for the sake of which he left his home and adopted the homeless life. Having himself attained it, he teaches the doctrine to his hearers, saying : " This is good for you, that will make you happy." But those hearers of his neither listen to him, nor give ear to his words, nor become steadfast in heart through understanding thereof; they go their own way, apart from the teaching of the master. Such a teacher may be rebuked, setting out these facts, and adding; "You are like a man who, having broken through an old bond, should entangle himself in a new one." Like that, do I say, is this lust of yours (to go on teaching when you have not trained yourself to teach). For what, then, can one man do for another?"

'This, Lohikka, is the third sort of teacher in the world worthy of blame. And whosoever should blame such a one, his rebuke would be justified, in accord with the facts and the truth, not improper. And these, Lohikka, are the three sorts of teachers of which I spoke.'

19. 'And when he had thus spoken, Lohikka, the Brahman spake thus to the Exalted One :

' But is there, Gotama, any sort of teacher not worthy of blame in the world ? '

' Yes, Lohikka, there is a teacher not worthy, in the world of blame.' ' And what sort of a teacher, Gotama, is so ? ' (The answer is in the words of the exposition set out above in the Samanna-phala, as follows :

1. The appearance of a Tathagata (one who won the truth), his preaching, the conversion of a hearer, his adoption of the homeless state.

2. The minor details of mere morality that he practises.

3. The Confidence of heart he gains from this practice.

4. The paragraph on 'Guarded is the door of his Senses.'

5. The paragraph on ' Mindful and Self-possessed.'

6. The paragraph on Simplicity of Life, being content with little.

7. The paragraphs on Emancipation, ill-temper, laziness, worry and perplexity.

8. The paragraph on the Joy and Peace that, as a result of this emancipation, fills his whole being.

9. The paragraphs on the Four Raptures (Ghanas).

10. The paragraphs on the Insight arising from Knowledge (the knowledge of the First Path).

11. The paragraphs on the Realisation of the Four Noble Truths the destruction of the Intoxications—lust, delusions, becomings, and ignorance—and the attainment of Arhatship.) The refrain through and the closing paragraph is : 'And whosoever the teacher be, Lohikka, under whom the disciple attains to distinction so excellent as that, that, Lohikka is a teacher not open to blame in the world. And whosoever should blame such a one, his rebuke would be

unjustifiable, not in accord either with the facts or with the truth, without good ground.'

78. And when he had thus spoken, Lohikka the Brahman said to the Exalted One :

`Just, Gotama, as if a man had caught hold of a man, falling over the precipitous edge of purgatory, by the hair of his head and lifted him up safe back on the firm land—just so have I, on the point of falling into purgatory, been lifted back on to the land by the Venerable Gotama. Most excellent, O Gotama, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent? Just as if a man were to set up what has been thrown down, or were to reveal what has been hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms—just even so has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Venerable Gotama. And I, even I, betake myself to the Venerable Gotama as my guide, to the Doctrine and to the Order. May the Venerable Gotama accept me as a disciple ; as one who, from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken him as his guide! '

Part II

[f1]Mahabharat— Vanaparva.

[f2]Mahabharat—Sabhaparva.

[f3]Vanaparva, Adh. XV. 10.

[f4]Mahabharat Adiparva. Adh. 66.

[f5]Rig. Veda.

[f6]Hari Vansha Adh. II.

[f7]*Ibid.* Adh. X.

[f8]*Ibid* Adh. XXVII,

[f9]Yask Nirutta Adh. V. Khanda VI.

[f10]Harivansha Adh. II.

[f11]*Ibid.* Adh. III

[f12]. *Ibid.*

[f13]Mahabharat. Adi Parva—Adh. 193.

[f14]2 *ibid.* Udyoga Parva—Adh. 106-123.

[f15]Jr. Donald A. Mackenzie. *Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain*, Blackie & Son. London, 1928.— Editors

[f16]1 Mahabharat Vanparva.

[f17]*Ibid*-Sabhaparva.

[f18]Mahabharat.

[f19]*Ibid.* Viratparva Ad. XV. 10.

[f20] That the drinking of intoxicating liquor was indulged in by Brahmin women, not to speak of women of the lower *Varnas*, as late as the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. in the Central region of Aryavarta, is clear from Kumarila Bhatta's *Tantra-Vanika* I (iii). 4. which states, "Among the people of modern days we find the Brahmin women of the countries of Ahicchatra and Mathura to be addicted to drinking." Kumarila condemned the practice in the case of Brahmins only, but not of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas men and women if the liquor was distilled from fruits or flowers (Madhavi), and Molasses (Gaudi) and not from grains (Sura).

[f21] Mahabharata Adiparva. Adh. 66.

[f22] Rig Veda.

[f23] Harivansha Adh. II. *Ibid.* Adh. X.

[f24] *Ibid.* Adh. X.

[f25] *Ibid.* Adh. XXVII.

[f26] Yask Nirukta Adh. V. Khanda VI.

[f27] Harivansha Adh. II.

[f28] Harivansha Adh. III.

[f29] *Ibid.*,

[f30] Mahabharat Adi Parva—Adh. 193.

[f31] Mahabharat Udyoga parva. Adh. 106-123.

[f32] Mahabharat Adhyaya 1-118.

[f33] *Ibid.*, Adhyaya 66.

[f34] This is taken from Hopkins- The Religions of India.

[f35] Sutta Nipata

[f36] Pratt—Buddhism p. 49.