

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS

Oxford

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

HIS MAJESTY CHULÂLANKARANA, KING OF SIAM

VOL. II

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

1899

DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA

TRANSLATED FROM THE PĀLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

AMEN CORNER, E.C.

1899

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
Note on the probable age of the Dialogues	ix
Note on this Version	xx
ABBREVIATIONS	xxiv
1. BRAHMA-GĀLA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	xxv
TEXT	i
(The Silas, 3-26.)	
2. SĀMAÑÑA-PHALA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	56
(Index to the paragraphs repeated in the other Suttantas, 57-59.)	
TEXT	65
3. AMBATTHA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION. (Caste)	96
TEXT	108
4. SONADANDA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	137
(The Arahāt the true Brahman.)	
TEXT	144
5. KŪTADANTA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	160
(The irony in this text, 160; Doctrine of sacrifice, 164; Lokāyata, 166.)	
TEXT	173

	PAGE
6. MAHĀLI SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	186
(The Indeterminates; Buddhist Agnosticism, 186; The Sambodhi, 190; Names in the texts, 193.)	
TEXT	197
7. GĀLIYA SUTTANTA	205
8. KASSAPA-SĪHANĀDA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	206
(Method of the Dialogues, 206; Tāpasa and Bhikshu, ascetic and wandering mendicant, 208; Indian <i>religieux</i> in the Buddha's time, 220.)	
TEXT	223
9. POTTHAPĀDA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION. (The Soul)	241
TEXT	244
10. SUBHA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	265
TEXT	267
11. KEVADDHA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION	272
(Iddhi, 272; Buddhist Idealism, 274.)	
TEXT	276
12. LOHIKA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION. (Ethics of Teaching)	285
TEXT	288
13. TEVIGGA SUTTANTA.	
INTRODUCTION. (Union with God)	298
TEXT	300
INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND PROPER NAMES	321
INDEX OF PĀLI WORDS	328
<hr/>	
Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Transla- tions of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists	331

Q41:22
C9.2
669

PREFACE.



NOTE ON THE PROBABLE AGE OF THE DIALOGUES.

THE Dialogues of the Buddha, constituting, in the Pāli text, the *Dīgha* and *Maggħima* Nikāyas, contain a full exposition of what the early Buddhists considered the teaching of the Buddha to have been. Incidentally they contain a large number of references to the social, political, and religious condition of India at the time when they were put together. We do not know for certain what that time exactly was. But every day is adding to the number of facts on which an approximate estimate of the date may be based. And the ascertained facts are already sufficient to give us a fair working hypothesis.

In the first place the numerous details and comparative tables given in the Introduction to my translation of the *Milinda* show without a doubt that practically the whole of the Pāli Piṭakas were known, and regarded as final authority, at the time and place when that work was composed. The geographical details given on pp. xliii, xliv tend to show that the work was composed in the extreme North-West of India. There are two Chinese works, translations of Indian books taken to China from the North of India, which contain, in different recensions, the intro-

duction and the opening chapters of the Milinda¹. For the reasons adduced (*loco citato*) it is evident that the work must have been composed at or about the time of the Christian era. Whether (as M. Sylvain Lévy thinks) it is an enlarged work built up on the foundation of the Indian original of the Chinese books; or whether (as I am inclined to think) that original is derived from our Milinda, there is still one conclusion that must be drawn—the Nikāyas, nearly if not quite as we now have them in the Pāli, were *known at a very early date in the North of India*.

Then again, the Kathā Vatthu (according to the views prevalent, at the end of the fourth century A. D., at Kāñkīpura in South India, and at Anurādhapura in Ceylon; and recorded, therefore, in their commentaries, by Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa) was composed, in the form in which we now have it, by Tissa, the son of Moggall, in the middle of the third century B. C., at the court of Asoka, at Pātaliputta, the modern Patna, in the North of India.

It is a recognised rule of evidence in the courts of law that, if an entry be found in the books kept by a man in the ordinary course of his trade, which entry speaks *against* himself, then that entry is especially worthy of credence. Now at the time when they made this entry about Tissa's authorship of the Kathā Vatthu the commentators believed, and it was an accepted tenet of those among whom they mixed—just as it was, *mutatis mutandis*, among the theologians in Europe, at the corresponding date in the history of *their* faith—that the whole of the canon was the word of the Buddha. They also held that it had been actually recited, at the Council of Rāgagaha, immediately after his decease. It is, I venture to submit, absolutely impossible, under these circumstances, that the commentators can have invented this information

¹ See the authors quoted in the Introduction to vol. ii of my translation. Professor Takakusu, in an article in the J. R. A. S. for 1896, has added important details.

about Tissa and the Kathâ Vatthu. They found it in the records on which their works are based. They dared not alter it. The best they could do was to try to explain it away. And this they did by a story, evidently legendary, attributing the first scheming out of the book to the Buddha. But they felt compelled to hand on, as they found it, the record of Tissa's authorship. And this deserves, on the ground that it is evidence against themselves, to have great weight attached to it.

The text of the Kathâ Vatthu now lies before us in a scholarly edition, prepared for the Pâli Text Society by Mr. Arnold C. Taylor. It purports to be a refutation by Tissa of 250 erroneous opinions held by Buddhists belonging to schools of thought different from his own. We have, from other sources, a considerable number of data as regards the different schools of thought among Buddhists—often erroneously called 'the Eighteen Sects¹.' We are beginning to know something about the historical development of Buddhism, and to be familiar with what sort of questions are likely to have arisen. We are beginning to know something of the growth of the language, of the different Pâli styles. In all these respects the Kathâ Vatthu fits in with what we should expect as possible, and probable, in the time of Asoka, and in the North of India.

Now the discussions as carried on in the Kathâ Vatthu are for the most part, and on both sides, an appeal to authority. And to what authority? Without any exception as yet discovered, to the *Pitakas*, and as we now have them, in Pâli. Thus on p. 339 the appeal is to the passage translated below, on p. 278, § 6; and it is quite evident that the quotation is from our Suttanta, and not from any other passage where

¹ They are not 'sects' at all, in the modern European sense of the word. Some of the more important of these data are collected in two articles by the present writer in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' for 1891 and 1892.

the same words might occur, as the very name of the Suttanta, the Kevaddha (with a difference of reading found also in our MSS.), is given. The following are other instances of quotations :—

Kathā Vatthu.	The Nikāyas.	Kathā Vatthu.	The Nikāyas.
p. 344 = A. II, 50.		p. 505 = M. I, 490.	
345 = S. I, 33.		506 = M. I, 485 = S. IV,	
345 = A. II, 54.		393 (nearly).	
347 = Kh. P. VII, 6, 7.		513 = A. I, 197.	
348 = A. III, 43.		522 = M. I, 389.	
351 = Kh. P. VIII, 9.		525 = Dh. P. 164.	
369 = M. I, 85, 92, &c.		528 = M. I, 447.	
404 = M. I, 4.		549 = S. N. 227 = Kh.	
413 = S. IV, 362.		P. VI, 6.	
426 = D. I, 70.		554 = S. I, 233.	
440 = S. I, 33.		554 = Vim. V. XXXIV,	
457 = D. (M. P. S. 23).		25-27.	
457 = A. II, 172.		565 = D. I, 156.	
459 = M. I, 94.		588, 9 = P. P. pp. 71, 72.	
481 = D. I, 83, 84.		591 = M. I, 169.	
483 = D. I, 84.		597, 8 = A. I, 141, 2.	
484 = A. II, 126.		602 = Dh. C. P. Sutta,	
494 = S. I, 206 = J. IV,		§§ 9-23.	
496.			

There are many more quotations from the older Pīṭaka books in the Kathā Vatthu, about three or four times as many as are contained in this list. But this is enough to show that, *at the time when the Kathā Vatthu was composed, all the Five Nikāyas were extant; and were considered to be final authorities in any question that was being discussed.* They must themselves, therefore, be considerably older.

Thirdly, Hofrath Bühler and Dr. Hultsch have called attention¹ to the fact that in inscriptions of the third century B. C. we find, as descriptions of donors to the dāgabas, the expressions dhammakathika, peṭakī, suttantika, suttantakinī, and pañka-nekā-

¹ 'Epigr. Ind.,' II, 93, and 'Z. D. M. G.,' xl, p. 58.

yika. The Dhamma, the Piṭakas, the Suttantas, and the five Nikāyas must have existed for some time before the brethren and sisters could be described as preachers of the Dhamma, as reciters of the Piṭaka, and as guardians of the Suttantas or of the Nikāyas (which were not yet written, and were only kept alive in the memory of living men and women).

Simple as they seem, the exact force of these technical designations is not, as yet, determined. Dr. K. Neumann thinks that *Peṭakī* does not mean 'knowing the Piṭakas,' but 'knowing the Piṭaka,' that is, the Nikāyas—a single Piṭaka, in the sense of the Dhamma, having been known before the expression 'the Piṭakas' came into use¹. As he points out, the title of the old work *Peṭakopadesa*, which is an exposition, not of the three Piṭakas, but only of the Nikāyas, supports his view. So again the Dialogues are the only parts or passages of the canonical books called, in our MSS., *suttantas*. Was then a *suttantika* one who knew precisely the Dialogues by heart? This was no doubt the earliest use of the term. But it should be recollected that the *Kathā Vatthu*, of about the same date, uses the word *suttanta* also for passages from other parts of the scriptures.

However this may be, the terms *are conclusive proof of the existence, some considerable time before the date of the inscriptions, of a Buddhist literature called either a Piṭaka or the Piṭakas, containing Suttantas, and divided into Five Nikāyas.*

Fourthly, on Asoka's Bhabra Edict he recommends to the communities of the brethren and sisters of the Order, and to the lay disciples of either sex, frequently to hear and to meditate upon seven selected passages. These are as follows:—

1. Vinaya-samukkamsa.
2. Ariya-vāsāni from the Dīgha (*Samgiti Suttanta*).
3. Anāgata-bhayāni from the *Āṅguttara* III, 105–108.
4. Muni-gāthā from the *Sutta Nipāta* 206–220.

¹ 'Reden des Gotamo,' pp. x, xi.

5. Moneyya Sutta from the *Iti Vuttaka* 67 = A. I, 272.
6. Upatissa-pasina.
7. Râhulovâda = Râhulovâda Suttanta (M. I, 414-420).

Of these passages Nos. 1 and 6 have not yet been satisfactorily identified. The others may be regarded as certain, for the reasons I have set out elsewhere¹. No. 2 also occurs in the tenth book of the *Ânguttara*. It is clear that in Asoka's time there was acknowledged to be an authoritative literature, probably a collection of books, containing what was then believed to be the words of the Buddha: and that it comprised passages already known by the titles given in his Edict. Five out of the seven having been found in the published portions of what we now call the *Piṭakas*, and in the portion of them called the Five *Nikâyas*, raises the presumption that when the now unpublished portions are printed the other two will also, probably, be identified. We have no evidence that any other Buddhist literature was in existence at that date.

What is perhaps still more important is the point to which M. Senart² has called attention, and supported by numerous details:—the very clear analogy between the general tone and the principal points of the moral teaching, on the one hand of the Asoka edicts as a whole, and on the other of the *Dhammapada*, an anthology of edifying verses taken, in great part, from the Five *Nikâyas*. The particular verses selected by M. Senart, as being especially characteristic of Asoka's ideas, include extracts from each of the Five.

Fifthly, the four great *Nikâyas* contain a number of stock passages, which are constantly recurring, and in which some ethical state is set out or described. Many of these are also found in the prose passages

¹ 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society,' 1896; 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1898, p. 639. Compare 'Milinda' (S. B. E., vol. xxxv), pp. xxxvii foll.

² 'Inscriptions de Piyadasi,' II, 314-322.

of the various books collected together in the Fifth, the Khuddaka Nikāya. A number of them are found in each of the thirteen Suttantas translated in this volume. There is great probability that such passages already existed, as ethical sayings or teachings, not only before the Nikāyas were put together, but even before the Suttantas were put together.

There are also entire episodes, containing not only ethical teaching, but names of persons and places and accounts of events, which are found, in identical terms, at two or more places. These should be distinguished from the last. But they are also probably older than our existing texts. Most of the parallel passages, found in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts, come under one or other of these two divisions.

Sixthly, the *Samyutta Nikāya* (III, 13) quotes one Suttanta in the Dialogues by name; and both the *Samyutta* and the *Āṅguttara Nikāyas* quote, by name and chapter, certain poems now found only in a particular chapter of the *Sutta Nipāta*. *This Suttanta, and these poems, must therefore be older, and older in their present arrangement, than the final settlement of the text of these two Nikāyas.*

Seventhly, several of the Dialogues purport to relate conversations that took place between people, cotemporaries with the Buddha, but *after the Buddha's death*. One Sutta in the *Āṅguttara* is based on the death of the wife of Munda, king of Magadha, who began to reign about forty years after the death of the Buddha. There is no reason at all to suspect an interpolation. It follows that, not only the Sutta itself, but *the date of the compilation of the Āṅguttara, must be subsequent to that event.*

There is a story in *Peta Vatthu* IV, 3, 1 about a King Pingalaka. Dhammapāla, in his commentary, informs us that this king, of whom nothing is otherwise known, lived two hundred years after the Buddha. It follows that this poem, and also the *Peta Vatthu* in which it is found, and also the *Vimāna Vatthu*, with which the *Peta Vatthu* really forms one whole work,

are later than the date of Pingalaka. And there is no reason to believe that the commentator's date, although it is evidently only a round number, is very far wrong. These books are evidently, from their contents, the very latest compositions in all the Five Nikāyas.

There is also included among the Thera Gāthā, another book in the Fifth Nikāya, verses said, by Dhammapāla the commentator¹, to have been composed by a *thera* of the time of King Bindusāra, the father of Asoka, and to have been added to the collection at the time of Asoka's Council.

Eighthly, several Sanskrit Buddhist texts have now been made accessible to scholars. We know the real titles, given in the MSS. themselves, of nearly 200 more². And the catalogues in which the names occur give us a considerable amount of detailed information as to their contents. No one of them is a translation, or even a recension, of any one of the twenty-seven canonical books. They are independent works; and seem to bear to the canonical books a relation similar, in many respects, to that borne by the works of the Christian Fathers to the Bible. But though they do not reproduce any complete texts, they contain numerous verses, some whole poems, numerous sentences in prose, and some complete episodes, found in the Pāli books. And about half a dozen instances have been already found in which such passages are stated, or inferred, to be from older texts, and are quoted as authorities. Most fortunately we may hope, owing to the enlightened liberality of the Academy of St. Petersburg, and the zeal and scholarship of Professor d'Oldenbourg and his co-workers, to have a considerable number of Buddhist Sanskrit Texts in the near future. And this is just what, in the present state of our knowledge of the history of Buddhist writings, is so great a *desideratum*.

¹ Quoted by Prof. Oldenberg at p. 46 of his edition.

² Miss C. Hughes is preparing a complete alphabetical list of all these works for the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1899.

It is possible to construct, in accordance with these facts, a working hypothesis as to the history of the literature. It is also possible to object that the evidence drawn from the *Milinda* may be disregarded on the ground that there is nothing to show that that work, excepting only the elaborate and stately introduction and a few of the opening chapters, is not an impudent forgery, and a late one, concocted by some Buddhist in Ceylon. So the evidence drawn from the *Kathâ Vatthu* may be disregarded on the ground that there is nothing to show that that work is not an impudent forgery, and a late one, concocted by some Buddhist in Ceylon. The evidence drawn from the inscriptions may be put aside on the ground that they do not explicitly state that the *Suttantas* and *Nikâyas* to which they refer, and the passages they mention, are the same as those we now have. And the fact that the commentators point out, as peculiar, that certain passages are nearly as late, and one whole book quite as late, as *Asoka*, is no proof that the rest are older. It may even be maintained that the *Pâli Piṭakas* are not therefore Indian books at all: that they are all Ceylon forgeries, and should be rightly called 'the Southern Recension' or 'the *Sinhalese Canon*.'

Each of these propositions, taken by itself, has the appearance of careful scruple. And a healthy and reasonable scepticism is a valuable aid to historical criticism. But can that be said of a scepticism that involves belief in things far more incredible than those it rejects? In one breath we are reminded of the scholastic dulness, the sectarian narrowness, the literary incapacity, even the senile imbecility of the Ceylon Buddhists. In the next we are asked to accept propositions implying that they were capable of forging extensive documents so well, with such historical accuracy, with so delicate a discrimination between ideas current among themselves and those held centuries before, with so great a literary skill in expressing the ancient views, that not only did

they deceive their contemporaries and opponents, but European scholars have not been able to point out a single discrepancy in their work¹. It is not unreasonable to hesitate in adopting a scepticism which involves belief in so unique, and therefore so incredible, a performance.

The hesitation will seem the more reasonable if we consider that to accept this literature for what it purports to be—that is, as North Indian², and for the most part pre-Asokan—not only involves no such absurdity, but is really just what one would *a priori* expect, just what the history of similar literatures elsewhere would lead one to suppose likely.

The Buddha, like other Indian teachers of his time, taught by conversation. A highly educated man (according to the education current at the time), speaking constantly to men of similar education, he followed the literary habit of his time by embodying his doctrines in set phrases, *sûtras*, on which he enlarged on different occasions in different ways. In the absence of books—for though writing was widely known, the lack of writing materials made any lengthy written books impossible³—such *sûtras* were the recognised form of preserving and communicating opinion. These particular ones were not in Sanskrit, but in the ordinary conversational idiom of the day, that is to say, in a sort of Pâli.

¹ As is well known, the single instance of such a discrepancy, which Prof. Minayeff made so much of, is a mare's nest. The blunder is on the part of the European professor, not of the Ceylon *pandits*. No critical scholar will accept the proposition that because *the commentary on the Kathâ Vatthu* mentions the Vetulyakâ, therefore *the Kathâ Vatthu itself* must be later than the rise of that school.

² North Indian, that is, from the modern European point of view. In the books themselves the reference is to the *Middle Country* (*Magghima Desa*). To them the country to the south of the Vindhya simply did not come into the calculation. How suggestive this is as to the real place of origin of these documents!

³ Very probably memoranda were used. But the earliest records of any extent were the Asoka Edicts, and they had to be written on stone.

When the Buddha died these sayings were collected together by his disciples into the Four Great Nikāyas. They cannot have reached their final form till about fifty years afterwards. Other sayings and verses, most of them ascribed not to the Buddha himself, but to the disciples, were put into a supplementary Nikāya. We know of slight additions made to this Nikāya as late as the time of Asoka. And the developed doctrine found in certain short books in it—notably in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Kariyā Piṭaka*, and in the *Peta-* and *Vimāna-Vatthus*—show that these are later than the four old Nikāyas.

For a generation or two the books as originally put together were handed down by memory. And they were doubtless accompanied from the first, as they were being taught, by a running commentary. About 100 years after the Buddha's death there was a schism in the community. Each of the two schools kept an arrangement of the canon—still in Pāli (or possibly some allied dialect). Sanskrit was not used for any Buddhist works till long afterwards, and never used at all, so far as we know, for the canonical books. Each of these two schools broke up, in the following centuries, into others; and several of them had their different arrangements of the canonical books, differing also no doubt in minor details. Even as late as the first century after the Christian Era, at the Council of Kanishka, these books, among many others then extant, remained the only authorities¹. But they all, except only our present Pāli Nikāyas, have been lost in India. Of the stock passages of ethical statement, and of early episodes, used in the composition of them, and of the Suttas now extant, numerous fragments have been preserved in the Hinayāna Sanskrit texts. And some of the Suttas, and of the separate books, as used in other schools, are represented in Chinese translations of the fourth and

¹ On the often repeated error that a Sanskrit canon was established at Kanishka's Council, see my 'Milinda,' vol. ii, pp. xv, xvi.

fifth centuries A.D. A careful and detailed comparison of these remains with the Pāli Nikāyas, after the method adopted in Windisch's 'Māra und Buddha,' cannot fail to throw much light on the history, and on the method of composition, of the canonical books, which in style and method, in language and contents and tone, bear all the marks of so considerable an antiquity.

Hofrath Dr. Bühler, in the last work he published, expressed the opinion that these books, as we have them in the Pāli, are good evidence, certainly for the fifth, probably for the sixth, century B.C. Subject to what has been said above, that will probably become, more and more, the accepted opinion. And it is this which gives to all they tell us, either directly or by implication, of the social, political, and religious life of India, so great a value¹.

It is necessary, in spite of the limitations of our space, to add a few words on the method followed in this version. We talk of Pāli *books*. They are not books in the modern sense. They are memorial sentences intended to be learnt by heart; and the whole style, and method of arrangement, is entirely subordinated to this primary necessity. The leading ideas in any one of our Suttantas, for instance, are expressed in short phrases not intended to convey to a European reader the argument underlying them. These are often repeated with slight variations. But neither the repetitions nor the variations—introduced, and necessarily introduced, as aids to memory—help the modern reader very much. That of course was not their object. For the object they were intended

¹ No reference has been made, in these slight and imperfect remarks, to the history of the Vinaya. There is nothing to add, on that point, to the able and lucid exposition of Prof. Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the text.

to serve they are singularly well chosen, and aptly introduced.

Other expedients were adopted with a similar aim. Ideas were formulated, not in logically co-ordinated sentences, but in numbered groups; and lists were drawn up such as those found in the tract called the Silas, and in the passage on the rejected forms of asceticism, both translated below. These groups and lists, again, must have been accompanied from the first by a running verbal commentary, given, in his own words, by the teacher to his pupils. Without such a comment they are often quite unintelligible, and always difficult.

The inclusion of such *memoria technica* makes the Four Nikâyas strikingly different from modern treatises on ethics or psychology. As they stand they were never intended to be read. And a version in English, repeating all the repetitions, rendering each item in the lists and groups as they stand, by a single English word, without commentary, would quite fail to convey the meaning, often intrinsically interesting, always historically valuable, of these curious old documents.

It is no doubt partly the result of the burden of such *memoria technica*, but partly also owing to the methods of exposition then current in North India, that the leading *theses* of each Suttanta are not worked out in the way in which we should expect to find similar theses worked out now in Europe. A proposition or two or three, are put forward, re-stated with slight additions or variations, and placed as it were in contrast with the contrary proposition (often at first put forward by the interlocutor). There the matter is usually left. There is no elaborate logical argument. The choice is offered to the hearer; and, of course, he usually accepts the proposition as maintained by the Buddha. The statement of this is often so curt, enigmatic, and even—owing not seldom simply to our ignorance, as yet, of the exact force of the technical terms used—so

ambiguous, that a knowledge of the state of opinion on the particular point, in North India, at the time, or a comparison of other Nikāya passages on the subject, is necessary to remove the uncertainty.

It would seem therefore most desirable that a scholar attempting to render these Suttantas into a European language—evolved in the process of expressing a very different, and often contradictory, set of conceptions—should give the reasons of the faith that is in him. He should state *why* he holds such and such an expression to be the least inappropriate rendering: and quote parallel passages from other Nikāya texts in support of his reasons. He should explain the real significance of the thesis put forward by a statement of what, in his opinion, was the point of view from which it was put forward, the stage of opinion into which it fits, the current views it supports or controverts. In regard to technical terms, for which there can be no exact equivalent, he should give the Pāli. And in regard to the mnemonic lists and groups, each word in which is usually a *crux*, he should give cross-references, and wherever he ventures to differ from the Buddhist explanations, as handed down in the schools, should state the fact, and give his reasons. It is only by such discussions that we can hope to make progress in the interpretation of the history of Buddhist and Indian thought. Bare versions are of no use to scholars, and even to the general reader they can only convey loose, inadequate, and inaccurate ideas.

These considerations will, I trust, meet with the approval of my fellow workers. Each scholar would of course, in considering the limitations of his space, make a different choice as to the points he regarded most pressing to dwell upon in his commentary, as to the points he would leave to explain themselves. It may, I am afraid, be considered that my choice in these respects has not been happy, and especially that too many words or phrases have been left without comment, where reasons were necessary. But I have

endeavoured, in the notes and introductions, to emphasise those points on which further elucidation is desirable; and to raise some of the most important of those historical questions which will have to be settled before these Suttantas can finally be considered as having been rightly understood.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

'NÂLANDÂ,' *April*, 1899.

ABBREVIATIONS.

1. BUDDHIST CANONICAL BOOKS.

A.	Āṅguttara Nikāya.
B. V.	Buddha Vaṃsa.
D.	Dīgha Nikāya.
Dhp.	Dhammapada.
Gāt.	Gāṭaka.
Kh. P.	Khuddaka Pāṭha.
M.	Magg'hima Nikāya.
M. P. S.	Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.
S.	Samyutta Nikāya.
S. N.	Sutta Nipāta.
Ud.	Udāna.
Vim. V.	Vimāna Vatthu.
V. or Vin.	Vinaya.

2. OTHER BOOKS.

Abh. Pad.	Abhidhāna Padīpikā.
Asl.	Attha Salinī.
Ath. V.	Atharva Veda.
Bṛhad.	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
Dhp. Cy.	Dhammapada commentary.
Divy.	Divyāvadāna.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
J. P. T. S.	Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
J. R. A. S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Khānd.Up.	Khāndogya Upanishad.
M. B. V.	Mahā Bodhi Vaṃsa.
Mil.	Milinda Paṭha.
Par. Dip.	Paramattha Dīpani.
S. B. E.	Sacred Books of the East.
Sum.	Sumangala Vilāsinī.
Sat. Br.	Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
Tait.	Taittirīya Upanishad.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

BRAHMA-GĀLA SUTTA.

THE phase of beliefs which this Suttanta is intended to meet, into which its argument fits, has been set out in some detail in the opening chapter of my 'American Lectures.' As there pointed out¹, the discussion which thus opens this series of dialogues forms also the first question in the Kathā Vatthu, and the first question in the Milinda. We cannot be far wrong if, in our endeavours to understand the real meaning of the original Buddhism, we attach as much weight to this question as did the author or authors of these ancient and authoritative Buddhist books.

The Suttanta sets out in sixty-two divisions² various speculations or theories in which the theorists, going out always from various forms of the ancient view of a 'soul'—a sort of subtle manikin inside the body but separate from it, and continuing, after it leaves the body, as a separate entity—attempt to reconstruct the past, or to arrange the future. All such speculation is condemned. And necessarily so, since the Buddhist philosophy is put together without this ancient idea of 'soul.'

The Buddhist scheme endeavours, in other words, to include all the truth which previous thinkers had grafted on to the old savage theories of a semi-material, subtle, permanent entity inside the body, while rejecting those theories themselves; it endeavours to retain all the philosophic truth which previous thinkers had grafted on to the theosophies—the corollaries of the soul theories—while rejecting those theosophies themselves. The reasons given for this position are threefold: firstly, that such speculators about ultimate things,

¹ 'American Lectures on Buddhism.' London, 1896, pp. 38-43.

² Summed up below, pp. 52, 53; and set out more fully in the list in the 'American Lectures,' pp. 31-33.

either in the past or the future, have insufficient evidence, see only one side of the shield¹; secondly, that such speculations do not lead to emancipation, to Arahatsip²; and thirdly, that such theories are really derived from the hopes, the feelings, and the sensations arising from evanescent phenomena³—they belong, in other words, to the realm of hastily formed, empirical opinion (*dīṭṭhi*), not to that of the higher wisdom (*paññā*). So that Buddhism, in the first place, holds a position somewhat similar to the modern Agnostic position. Secondly, while acknowledging the importance of feeling and of intellect, it lays special stress upon the regulation, the cultivation, of the will⁴. And thirdly, it distinguishes between a lower and a higher wisdom⁵.

Several scholars, and especially—with more knowledge and detail—Dr. Karl Neumann, have maintained that the position of Buddhism in the history of Indian philosophy is analogous to that of Schopenhauer in European philosophy. On the other hand, it is maintained by Professor Deussen that Schopenhauer's position is analogous to that of the Upanishads. The reconciliation will probably be found to be that what Buddhism took over, with more or less of modification, from the Upanishads, is about the same as that part of the Upanishad doctrine which is found, in European phraseology, in Schopenhauer; and what Buddhism rejected altogether is not to be found in Schopenhauer. He himself, who however knew both systems only from second-hand and inaccurate authorities, says, 'If I am to take the results of my own philosophy as the standard of truth, I should be obliged to concede to Buddhism the pre-eminence over other (systems of philosophy).'

However this question may be decided—and its discussion, at the necessary length, by a competent student of philosophy, is a very pressing want—it is certain from the details given in our Suttanta that there were then current in Northern India many other philosophic and theosophic speculations besides those the priests found it expedient to adopt, and have preserved for us in the Upanishads. And who can doubt but that some, if not all of them, may also have had their influence on the new doctrine? There was always much philosophising in India outside the narrow and inexact limits

¹ See the fable quoted below, pp. 187, 188.

² See below, pp. 44, 188.

³ See for instance below, pp. 53, 54.

⁴ See the paper on 'The Will in Buddhism,' J. R. A. S., 1898.

⁵ See below, p. 42, &c., of this Suttanta.

of the so-called six Darśanas ; and we have to thank Buddhist scholars for preserving, in their Pāli and Sanskrit works, the evidences of such philosophy as the priests wished to exclude from notice¹.

¹ Professor Cowell has been good enough to inform me that, in his opinion, the attempted restriction of all philosophy to the six Darśanas, and the very use of the term, is late mediaeval. The six are of course not mutually exclusive ; and this, and the omissions in the classification of philosophy under these six heads, render it rather like a classification of animals into men, horses, birds, ghosts, beetles, and sparrows.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND PROPER NAMES.

- Adhvaryu Brahmins, 303.
 Agâtasattu, son of a Videha princess, king of Magadha in the Buddha's time, 56, 64-66, 94, 95.
 Agîta, of the garment of hair, his doctrine, 73.
 Āṅgīvakas, 71, 219, 220, 227, 232.
 Agni, sacrifices to, one of the low arts, 17; shrine to, 126.
 Aim of the Buddhist recluses, 63, 64, 202.
 Aitareya Āraṇyaka, 171.
 Alwis, James d', 283.
 Ambalattikā, garden and rest-house in Magadha, 2; another, 173.
 in Anurādhapura, 2.
 Ambattā, 109 foll.
 charm, 118.
 Angaka, Somadanda's nephew, 155.
 Animals, kindness to, 57.
 Arahāt, used of the Buddha, 2; laymen Arahats, 63.
 is the real Brahman, 105, 138; expressions used by Buddhists of the Arahāt the same as those used by the priests of God, 274.
 Arahātship, the highest aim, 94, 192, 237; the Dialogues lead up to, 186, 206; is emancipation, 201, 232; is the positive side of Buddhism, 243; intellect of, 283.
 Arithmetic, 21, 22, 69.
 Asceticism, 206-240.
 Asoka, 142; his Edicts, xviii, 7, 71, 191; his battle against the priests, 285.
 Āśramas, four supposed stages in the life of a Brahman, 212-219.
- Astral body, Yoga idea of, 62.
 Astronomy and astrology, 20.
 Atharva Veda quoted, 17, 19, 23, 25, 247; not acknowledged as a Veda in the old texts, 109, but in the Milinda, 110.
 Athletic exercises, 9, 13.
 Augury, 16, 17.
 Aviruddhakā, *religieux* in the Buddha's time, 220, 222.
 Avyākatāni, the Ten, 186-188
- Bāhiya, story of, 274.
 Bahvrika Brahmins, 303.
 Ballads, in prose and verse, 8.
 Barth, M., 287.
 Bassendine, Matthew, 137.
 Basuwan Tudāwa, pandit, 283.
 Bharhut Tope, bas-reliefs at, 130, 169.
 Bhartṛihari, as member of the Buddhist Order, 256.
 Bhesikā, a barber, 289; was a Buddhist, 290.
 Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, gives a grant to a Brahman, 144; is a follower of the Buddha, 147.
 Body and mind, 86, 87.
 Bonds, the Five, 200, 201.
 Brahmā, the supreme God, description of, 31, 281.
 origin of the belief in, 32; his ignorance, 282; union with, 301-318; B. and the Bhikkhu, 319.
 Brahmādatta, pupil of Suppiya, 1, 2.
 Brahman, unknown in the Nikāyas, 298.

- Brahmanism, how it was destroyed, 142, 165.
- Brahmans: caste claims of, 105; a standing description of the learned, 110, 146; as ascetics, 126; luxury and pride of, 129; the Arahāt is the true, 105, 138-9, 232; usually not a priest, 141, 286; reputation the source of their income, 151; five essentials of, 153-156; mode of addressing, 194; their ethics of teaching, 285-287; qualities that make men Brahmans, 310; various kinds of, 303.
- Brahma Vihāras, Supreme Conditions, 299.
- Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad, 116, 171, 201, 209, 214.
- Bühler, Hofrath Dr. G., xii, xx, 121, 213.
- Burnouf, E., 4, 20-24, 65, 70, 82, 86, 169, 191.
- Castes, the four, an inexact phrase, 27, 99.
 key to the origin of, 97.
 phases of the extension and growth of, 99.
 none, strictly, in the Buddha's time, 99, 101.
 mental distinctions to be preferred to distinctions of, 100.
 no distinctions of, in the Buddhist Order, 102.
 the Buddha's views as to, outside the Order, 103-107.
- Cause, two forms of the heresy of denial of a, 52.
- Ceylon forgeries, xvii-xviii.
- Chaliyas, cinnamon-peelers, 98.
- Chalmers, Robert, 40, 104, 113, 122, 217.
- Chance-beings, the so-called, 39, 73.
- Chandalas, a low caste, as acrobats, 9; could enter an order, 100, 103.
- Charms, power of, 118, 278.
- Chastity, part of the minor morality, 4.
- Chess, 9, 10.
- Clans, the free, 20, 195; clan mote, 113; their independence of the priests, 286.
- Clothing, strange sorts of, used by ascetics, 230.
- Commensality, 27, 97-100.
- Commentaries, the Buddhist, xix.
- Connubium, 27, 97-100.
- Content, 81.
- Conversion, 191.
- Cowell, Prof. E. B., xxvii, 170, 172.
- Crafts, mystic arts, 19; trades, 68.
- Creation, legends of, condemned, 14.
- Dacoity, 175.
- Dahlmann, Father, 274.
- Darśanas, the six, xxvii.
- Dārupattika, he with the wooden bowl, 202.
- Detachment, 84.
- Deussen, Prof. P., xxvi, 169, 209, 215.
- Devadatta, 209, 271.
- Devadhammikā, *religieux* in the Buddha's time, 222.
- Diogenes, 208, 209.
- Disā, Kaṇha's mother, 115.
- Divination, 16, 18, 19.
- Dreams, interpretation of, 17.
- Dvīgas, twice-born, 103.
- Earth, quaking as witness to the truth, 55.
 worship of, *see* Mother Earth.
- Economics, state action, 176.
- Eel-wrigglers, four kinds of, 37-40.
- Eightfold Path, *see* Path.
- Elements, the, four, Indian belief about the, 73, 74, 86, 260, 274.
- Elephants, the royal, 67, 110, 128.
- Emancipation, the Arahāt's certainty of his, 93; is preferable to penance or asceticism, 234, 235.
- Epic poetry in India, source of, 8.
- Equability, in the third *Gbhāna*, 85.
- Ethics, Buddhist, the four planes of, 63.
- Evil, overcoming, by good, 161.
- Existence, speculations about, condemned, 14.
 after death, 40, 43-48.
- Exogamy, 8.
- Exorcists, 16, 18, 19.
- Extensionists, four kinds of, 35.
- Fairs, shows at, 5, 7.
- Fick, Dr., 103, 107, 122.
- Finot's 'Lapidaires Indiens,' 19.
- Fish in the pool, simile of, 54.
- Food, one meal a day, 5; various kinds of, which an ascetic would refuse, 227-229.

- Freedom of thought in India, 165, 244.
- Gaggara, an early queen of Anga, 144; the lake called after her, *ibid.*
- Gainas, 71, 72, 74, 165, 170, 214, 220, 221.
- Gâliya, pupil of him with the wooden bowl, 202.
- Games, list of, as played fifth century B.C., 9-11.
- Genesis, Buddhist legend of, 106, 107.
- Gbânas, the four (the four Raptures), a pre-Buddhistic idea and practice, 50, 51, 265; details of, 84-87; not part of wisdom, 137.
- Ghost stories condemned, 14.
- Gîvaka, a celebrated Buddhist physician, 65-68.
- God, *see* Brahîâ.
- Gods, sacrificing to, a low art, 17, 24.
the, 'Debauched by Pleasure,' 32.
the, 'Debauched in Mind,' 33.
brought under the domain of law, 142.
Brahman priests claim to be, 285.
ignorance of, 280-283; list of, 280.
- Gogerly, the Rev. Daniel, 1, 4, 7, 26, 30, 65, 82.
- Goodness, a function of intelligence, 137.
- Gotama, appreciation of, 109, 147-150.
- Gotamakâ, *religieux* in the Buddha's time, 222.
- Hair garments, *see* Makkhali.
- Hair-splitting, 38.
- Happiness, of a recluse, causes of, 79; after death, discussion as to, 257.
- Harsha Karita, Bâna's list of hermits in, 170.
- Head-splitting, on refusal to answer a question, old belief as to, 116, 117; on failing to approve what has been well said, 181.
- Hermit, contrasted with wandering mendicant, 212-215.
- High places, old village festivals at, 7, 8.
- Hillebrandt, Prof., quoted, 17.
- Hînayâna books, xvi, xix.
- Hindrances, the Five, 58, 84, 312.
- Hindus, compared with Europeans, 99, 165-166.
- Hoernle, Dr., 71.
- Homonyms in Pâli, 17, 33, 41.
- Honesty, part of the minor morality, 4.
- Hultsch, Dr., xii.
- Human hair, worn as clothing, 231.
- Iddhi, 88.
- Ikkbânankala wood, 108.
- Indeterminates, the Ten, 187, 254.
- Infinites, the Four, in Buddhism, 36.
- Infinity, of the world, 35.
- Intoxicating drinks, abstinence from, 182.
- Intoxications, the Three, and the Four, 92, 93, 107.
- Irony, the Buddha's, in talks with Brahmans, 33, 160, 163.
- I-Tsing, Chinese traveller, 256.
- Jacob, Colonel, 212, 215.
- Jacobi, Professor, 71, 72, 74, 75, 219.
- Joy, result of emancipation, 58.
- Kampâ, capital of Anga, 144.
- Kanha, sage, ancient legend of, 116-119.
- Kanhâyanas, a Brahman family, origin of, 115.
- Kapila, the ancient sage, 170.
- Kapilavatthu, congress hall at, 113.
- Karma, non-Buddhist theory of, 72.
- Kârvâka, on whom the Lokâyata was fathered, 170.
- Kassapa, the naked ascetic, 223.
- Kathâ Vatthu, its evidence as to the age of the Dialogues, x-xii.
- Kâtbaka Upanishad, 209.
- Ketiya, a country, 268.
- Kevaddha or Kevatta, xii, 276.
- Kbândogya Upanishad, 18, 164, 171, 210, 211.
- Khânumata, in Magadha, 173.
- Kielhorn, Professor F., 20, 220.
- Kindness to men and animals, 4, 164, 180.
- Kitta, son of the elephant-trainer, 256.
- Knowing other people's thoughts, 89, 152, 278.
- Kottbita, Kitta's dispute with, 256.
- Kumâriâ Bhasra, 166, 171.
- Kûradanta, the rich Brahman, his sacrifice, 173-185.

- Land-revenue, 108.
 Law-books, the priestly, on asceticism, 212-219; on teaching, 285.
 Leakages, to wisdom and right conduct, the four, 125.
 Leumann, Prof., 221.
 Lévy, M. Sylvain, x.
Likkhavi, the clan, 193, 196.
 Lohikā, his views on teaching, 288 foll.
 Lokāyata, speculation, 14, 110, 139; in old texts the word means nature-lore, 166 foll.
 Love, method of the deliberate practice of, 317.
 Luck, good and bad, 19.
 Luxury, abstinence from, 58.
 Magandikā, *religieux* in the Buddha's time, 220.
 Magic, black and white, 23, 24; of the sacrifice, 210, 286; charms to work, 118, 278.
 Mahā-bhārata, 121, 165, 169, 209.
 Mahā-purisa, Great Being, thirty-two signs of, 110, 131.
 Maitrī Upanishad, 215.
 Makkhali Gosāla, a famous teacher, head of Āgīvakas in the Buddha's time, 71.
 Mallikā, queen of Pasenadi, 244.
 Mandiṣsa, a wandering mendicant, 202.
 Mangoes on the stalk, simile of, 54.
 Marriage, 8, 23, 119, 123.
 Materialists, 167.
 Medicine, wrong for a recluse to gain his living by various sorts of, 25, 26.
 Mice, auguries drawn from the gnawing of, 17; curing the bites of (?), 19.
 'Middle Country,' place of origin of Buddhist books, xviii.
 Milinda, the, its evidence as to the age of the Dialogues, ix.
 Minayeff, Prof., on the date of the Kathā Vatthu, xviii.
 Mind and body, 86, 87.
 Mindful and self-possessed, 80.
 Moon-worship, older than sun-worship, 306.
 Mother Earth, ancient cult of, 24, 25.
 Mother's name, sons called by, 193.
 Muir, Dr. J., 209, 286, 287.
Mundaka Upanishad, 211.
 Music, 5, 7-9.
 Myths, sense of humour in the Vedic, 161.
 Nāgita Kassapa, 193, 198.
 Nālandā, afterwards seat of the Buddhist University, 1, 276.
 Names, eight sorts of, in use in early times in India, 193-196.
 Nautch dances, 5, 7-11.
 Nesādas, hereditary bird-catchers, 100.
 Neumann, Dr. K., xiii, xxvi, 4-7, 20-23, 82, 112, 228, 229, 273, 283.
 Nicknames, 193, 194, 196.
 Nidānas, the twelve, old form of, 53.
 Nigantva Nāta-putta, 56, 74, 75; his followers, 220, 221.
 Nikāyas, the five, x-xv.
 Nirvāna, the way of escape from speculation, 29.
 a non-Buddhist view of, 30; the Buddha's attainment of, 211, 227; the highest aim, 225.
 Non-action, a famous theory of, 70.
 Okkāka, king, ancestor of the Sākya, 114.
 Oldenberg, Prof. H., xvi, xx, 156.
 Optimism, the, of the Buddha's doctrine, 261.
Oṣṭhaddha, 'Hare-lip,' the *Likkhavi*, 198, 204.
 Pakudha Kaṭṭhāyana, his doctrines, 74.
 Pāli books, xix-xxii.
 Palmistry, 16.
Pandu, a king, 16.
 Pasenadi, king of Kosala, father-in-law of Aśātasattu, 65; as patron of a Brahman, 108, 288; bas-relief of his chariot, 130; his wife Mallikā, 244; overlord of Kāsi, 291.
 Path, the Eightfold, to Arahatsip, 62, 63, 202, 226.
 Peace, impassioned for, part of the minor morality, 5.
 a result of emancipation, 58, 84; of the Bhikṣu, 84.
 Penance, means of maturing Karma, 72; the Buddha does not disparage all, 224; the three lists of, 227 foll.; the Buddha's views about, 232 foll.

- Personality, three modes of, 259-263.
 Pessimism rejected, 261.
 Pingalaka, king, 300 B. C., xv.
 Piraka, xiii.
 Plants and seeds, injury to, 5, 6, 58.
 Planudes, fourteenth century, author of Aesop's Fables, 170.
 Plato, 207, 299.
 Pokkharasādi Opamaṅḅo Subhagavaniko, 108, 135, 147.
 Praise and dispraise, Buddhist attitude respecting, 3.
 Prakrits in India in the sixth century B. C., 57.
 Precepts, the five, for laymen, 182.
 Previous births, a man's recollection of, 27, 59, 90, 91.
 Probation, 240.
 Pukkusas, a low tribe, 100.
 Pūrana Kassapa, a teacher, his views, 69, 75.
 Purohita, priest, 196.

 Rāma, teacher and father of the Buddha's teacher Uddaka, 48.
 Rāmāyana, 169, 219.
 Rathakāras, hereditary cart-makers, 100.
 Recluses, position of, in India, in the Buddha's time, 57.
 details of the advantages of the life of a, 58.
Religieux, in the Buddha's time, ten kinds of, 220; the true sort of, 232-233.
 Repeaters of the books (which were not written), 61.
 Representative faculty (mano), 73, 80.
 Republics in India in the Buddha's time, 20.
 Rishis, authors and reciters of the Three Vedas, 129, 306.

 Sacrifices, all kinds of, ranked as low, 17, 25; Kūradanta's, 163; King Wide-realm's, 163, 176 foll.; the right kind is self-training, &c., 182 foll.; ethical, more worthy than physical, 164.
 Sākya, 112-119; number of, in the Buddha's time, 147.
 Sālavatikā, in Kosala, 288.
 Salvation, priestly view of, 298, 303.
 Sanam-kumāra, the Ever Virgin, old legend of, 121.

 Saṅgaya, a teacher in India, 1, 66, 75.
 Saṅkara, 18, 167, 169, 171, 212, 285.
 Sāṅkhya doctrine of pralaya, 28; doctrine of seven souls or planes of mental being, 49; ascription of the S. system to Kapila, 170.
 Sanskrit Buddhist texts, xv, xvi.
 Satapatha-Brah̄mana, 210.
 Sāti, a Bhikshu who thought that the mind was the link in transmigration (as a unity), 87.
 Schopenhauer, xxvi, 274.
 Seats, sofas, beds, &c., list of, 11-13.
 Seclusion, 84.
 Self-mortification, 218.
 Senart, M. E., xiv, 71, 105, 107, 191.
 Senses, the six, 73; guarded as to, 79, 80.
 Shavelings, sham friars, 112.
 Siesta, 173.
 Siha, Nāgita's nephew, 198.
 Sihanāda Suttantas, 208.
 Silas, ancient tract on minor morality, 3-20.

 Similes :
 The fish in the pool, 54.
 The mangoes on the stalk, 54.
 The bird happy and free, 81.
 Success of the man in debt, 82.
 Recovery of the man diseased, 82.
 Delivery of the man in prison, 82.
 Emancipation of the man enslaved, 83.
 Return home of the man lost, 83.
 The ball of soap, 84.
 The deep pool full of water, 85.
 The lotus-plants in the pool, 86.
 The man in the clean robe, 86.
 The Veluriya gem on the thread, 87.
 The reed in the sheath, and sword in the scabbard, 88.
 The clever potter, 89.
 The young man and the mirror, 90.
 The three villages, 91.
 The pebbles and fish in the clear pool, 93.
 The blind men and the elephant, 187-188.
 The pig wallowing in the mire, 252.
 The lover of the unknown lady, 258.
 The ladder up to nowhere, 259, 261.

- The products of the cow, 263.
 The land-sighting bird, 283.
 The weeding out of one's neighbour's field, 294.
 Wooing the objecting maiden, 294.
 Wooing the unknown maiden, 307.
 Blind leaders of the blind, 305.
 Staircase up to nowhere, 308.
 Calling to the further bank to come over here, 309.
 The bound man and the river, 310, 311.
 The trumpet's far-reaching tones, 318.
 Singing, 5.
 Siva, ancient traces of the cult of, 18, 222.
 Siva-*viggā*, exercising demons in a cemetery, 18.
 Slavery, 5, 19, 76-77, 83, 101, 103, 128.
 Snake-charming, 18.
 Social conditions in India about 500 B. C., 10-26, 56.
 Socrates, on transmigration, 299.
Sonadanda, a Brahman, 144-159.
 Soothsaying, 20-24.
 Soul, meaning of, xxv; eternity of, one origin of speculation as to the, 28-29.
 another origin of belief in, 34, 35.
 after death, sixteen speculations as to, 45-46.
 annihilation of, seven forms of the heresy as to, 46-47.
 in water, *Gaia* doctrine of, 75, 232.
 none to be considered in actions, 81.
 is it the same as the body? 187-205.
 Upanishad theory of, 188.
 meanings of, in Shakspeare and the Bible, 189.
 trance comes from the soul being away, 241.
 old theory of, frankly materialistic, 241.
 souls inside plants and animals, 242; diffused through the human body, 167, 252-254.
 Speculations, the sixty-two foolish, 26-53; the ten, on insufficient evidence, 187-188.
 Stages, eight, in the life of a recluse, 72.
 Subha, *Todeyya-putta*, 267.
 Subhūti, *Terunnansē*, 93.
Sūdras, 99-103, 112, 128, 211, 220, 285.
 Sunakkhatta, of the *Likkhavis*, 199.
 Sun-myths in Buddhism, 131, 162.
 Sun-worship, a low superstition, 24; always mentioned after moon-worship in old texts, 306.
 Suppiya, a wandering mendicant, follower of *Saṅgaya*, 1, 2.
 Suttanta, meaning of, in the inscriptions, xiii.
 Sympathy, method of deliberate practice of, 318.
 Taittirīya Upanishad, 24, 48, 210.
 Brahmins, 303.
 Tathāgata, meaning of, 40, 73.
 does he exist after death? 40, 54.
 Taxes, 77, 108, 176, 180.
 Teachers, the three, 293.
 Teaching, ethics of, 285-295.
Tedandikā, *religieux* in the Buddha's time, 220, 221.
 Trade and capital, 176.
 Trance, mystery of, 241-264.
 Transmigration, taught by non-Buddhists, 72, 298.
 Treasures, the Seven, of the universal monarch, 110.
 Truthfulness, part of the minor morality, 4.
Uguṣṣā, a town, 223.
 Upanishad, meaning of, 117.
 Upanishads, humour in, 161.
 Urbanity, part of the minor morality, 5.
Vagira-pāṇi, the spirit who bears the thunderbolt, 117.
Vaikhānasa Sūtra, 218.
 Vain talk, abstinence from, 5, 179.
 list of, 13.
 Vedas, the Three (not Four), 109.
 Vedic myths, humour in, 161.
 Vedic studies, 159.
Vexas, hereditary basket-makers, 100.
Vetulyakā, the school so called, xvii.
Vidhūra, the pandit, 168-169.
Vitandas, sophists, 14, 167-168.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND PROPER NAMES. 327

- Warren, Mr. H. C., 280.
Weber, Professor A., 7, 170.
Wide-realm, name of a king, his wonderful sacrifice, 175 foll.
Windisch, Prof. E., xx, 258.
Wisdom and righteousness, 123 foll., 156.
Women, talks about, 13; were mediums between men and the gods, 24; of a king's harem, 67; maintenance of, 83; their interest in religious questions, 244; restrictions on education of, 285; in heaven, 313.
Wonders, three kinds of, 277.
Wood, the Great, at Vesāli, 197.
Word, deed, and thought, 57, 58, 72, 104.
World, various forms of belief in the eternity of, 26-35.
four forms of belief in finity and infinity of, 35-37.
Yoga ideas of the astral body, 62.

INDEX OF PĀLI WORDS.

Akiriyā, 70.
 Akkarikā, 11.
 Akkham, 10.
 Akkhānam, 8.
 Angam, 16.
 Anga-viggā, 18.
 Anguli-patodakena, 113.
 Atisitvā, 282.
 Atta-patilabho, 259.
 Addhariyā, 303.
 Anudittibi, 26.
 Anuvyaṅgana, 80.
 Anuhīramāne, 258.
 Ane/agalāya, 146.
 Apāya-mukhāni, 125.
 Appātihīrakatā, 257.
 Appeva nāma, 66.
 Abbhokāsiko, 231.
 Abhiññā, 59, 62.
 Abhisamkharoti, 251.
 Abhisaññā, 246.
 Abhisamaya, 190.
 Ambattā-viggā, 19.
 Ariyā, 94.
 Avakāso, 146.
 Avyākata, 187.
 Avyāseka, 80.
 Assa-pura, 120.
 Ahimsā, 165.

Ākāsa, 10.
 Āghatana, 42.
 Ādina, 148.
 Āmisa, 7.
 Ārādheti, 151.
 Āropito te vādo, 15.
 Āloka-saññi, 82.
 Āsagga, 133.
 Āsandi, 11.
 Āsavā, 92.
 Āsidditvā, 314.

Iddhi, 271 foll.
 Ibbhā, 113.
 Isi, 118.

Ukkā-pāto, 21.
 Ukkurikappadhāna, 231.
 Ukkādāna, 87.
 Uddalomi, 12.
 Upaniggāyati, 33.
 Upanisidati, 117.
 Upaniyya, 133.
 Upekhalo, 85.
 Uppādo, 16.

Ekodibhāva, 85.

Opapātiko, 201.
 Opāna, 177.

Kamsa-kūta, 6.
 Kattissaram, 12.
 Kallam idam, 203.
 Ka/opi, 227.
 Kākapeyya, 309.
 Kāveyyam, 22.
 Kuttaka, 12.
 Kutta-vālehi, 130.
 Kumbhathūnam, 8.
 Kula-nāma, 193.
 Kuhakā, 15.

Khatta-viggā, 18.
 Khalikā, 10.
 Khiddā-padosikā, 32.

Gāma-dhammo, 4.
 Gosaka, 12.
 Gotta, 27, 101, 193-196.

Gharikam, 10.

Kakkhu, 91, 92, 95.
 Kankamati, 301.

- Kandāla*, 9.
Kariyā, 64.
Kittaka, 10.
Kingulikam, 10.

Kbandavā, 303.
Kbandokā, 303.

Ganghā-vihāra, 301.
Gāti, 100.
Gigukkhā, 237.

Nāna, 252.
Nāna-dassana, 86.

Tapas, 209 foll.
Tittiriyā, 303.
Tūlikā, 12.

Thandāla, 231.
Thālipāka, 119.
Thusodaka, 229.

Dandamantaram, 228.
Datti, 229.
Daddula, 230.
Dittibi, xxvi, 26.
Disā-dāho, 21.
Dukkha, 249.
Dosinā, 66.

Dhutangas, 219.

Nakkhatta, 20.
Nāma-rūpa, 274, 283.
Nippesikā, 16.
Nibuddham, 9.
Nimmittam ganhāti, 80.

Pakkhandino, 68.
Pangaṅgam, 10.
Paḷḷattam, 29.
Paḷḷemi, 252.
Paṇṇā, xxvi.
Paṇṇāna, 156.
Paralikā, 12.
Pasikā, 12.
Paṅkarate, 116.
Paṇimokkha, 26.
Patha-gamana, 20.
Parikkhāro, 163, 174, 177.
Pariggaho, 313.
Pariṅgareti, 50.
Paritassati, 53.
Parimaddana, 87.
Parihārapatham, 10.
Palighā, 130.

Pallanko, 11.
Paham, 283.
Pātikankhati, 4.
Piṇṇaka, 230.
Putamsena, 150.
Pubbapetakathā, 14.
Purisantara-gatā, 228.
Pekkhām, 7.

Phalakaṅgam, 231.

Bandhupādapaḷḷā, 112.
Bahvarigā, 303.
Brahma, 108.
Brahma-vakkhasi, 146.
Brahma-vihāra, 298-320.

Bhikkhu, 220 foll.

Maggāni, 303.
Mangurakkhavi, 258.
Mano-padosikā, 33.
Muddā, 21.
Mūla-nāma, 193.
Mokkhaṅgikā, 10.

Rāga-porise, 176.
Rāga-bhogga, 108.

Lapakā, 15.
Lokakkhāyikā, 14.

Vankakam, 10.
Vanna, 27, 99-101, 114, 153.
Vatthu-viggā, 18.
Vasavattī, 313.
Vāda-pamokkhāya, 15.
Vāla-kambalam, 231.
Vikatikā, 12.
Vidhāna, 87, 250, 274.
Vidhā, 163, 174.
Vipphandita, 53.
Vivara, 28.
Viveka, 84.
Visikhā-kathā, 13.
Visika-dassanam, 7.
Visesa, 296.
Vihāra, 111.
Vekasiko, 232.
Verbaka, 130.
Vetālam, 8.

Saṅgambhari, 255.
Saṇṇā, 252.
Sattussada, 144.
Santikā, 10.
Santhāgāra, 113.
Sannitodaka, 255.

-
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Samaggo, 7. | <i>Samvadanam</i> , 22. |
| Samatittika, 309. | <i>Samsidanti</i> , 314. |
| Samanaka, 273. | <i>Salākahattham</i> , 10. |
| Samādhi, 265, 266. | <i>Sāmāka</i> , 230. |
| Samārambhā, 5. | <i>Sippāni</i> , 100. |
| Sampāyati, 39. | <i>Sippi-sambuka</i> , 94. |
| Sampha-ppalāpa, 5. | <i>Siva</i> , 18, 222. |
| Sambāhanam, 13. | <i>Sukha</i> , 249. |
| Sambodhi, 190-192. | <i>Sobhanagarakam</i> , 9. |
| <i>Samkhānam</i> , 22. | <i>Sovīrakam</i> , 229. |
| <i>Samkhitti</i> , 229. | |
| <i>Samvatta</i> , 28. | <i>Hatthāpalekhano</i> , 227. |
-

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS.

CONSONANTS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𑀓	𐬕	𐬎	𐬀	𐤒	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𑀛	𐬖	𐬏	𐬁	𐤕	kh
3 Media	g	...	...	ग	𑀕	𐬗	𐬐	𐬂	𐤖	...
4 „ aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𑀜	𐬘	𐬑	𐬃	𐤗	...
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤘	...
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	...	...	ण	{ 𑀇 (ng) 𑀆 (N)	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	...	ह	𑀡 (hv)	...	...	...	𐤙	h, ha
8 „ lenis . . . . .	'	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤚	...
9 „ asper faucalis	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤛	...
10 „ lenis faucalis	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤜	...
11 „ asper fricatus . . . . .	...	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤝	...
12 „ lenis fricatus . . . . .	...	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤞	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis . . . . .	...	k	...	च	𑀗	𐬙	𐬒	...	...	𑀗
14 „ aspirata . . . . .	...	kh	...	छ	...	𐬚	𐬓	...	...	kh
15 Media . . . . .	...	g	...	ज	𑀘	𐬛	𐬔	...	...	...
16 „ aspirata . . . . .	...	gh	...	झ	...	𐬜	𐬕	...	...	...
17 „ Nasalis . . . . .	...	ṅ	...	ञ	...	...	...	...	...	...

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)												
38	Tenuis	t										
39	„ aspirata	th										
40	Media	d										
41	„ aspirata	dh										
42	Nasalis	n										
43	Semivocalis	r										
44	„ fricata	r										
45	„ diacritica		r									
46	Spiritus asper	sh										
47	„ lenis	zh										
Labiales.												
48	Tenuis	p										
49	„ aspirata	ph										
50	Media	b										
51	„ aspirata	bh										
52	Tenuissima	p										
53	Nasalis	m										
54	Semivocalis	w										
55	„ aspirata	hw										
56	Spiritus asper	f										
57	„ lenis	v										
58	Anusvāra	m										
59	Visarga	h										

**OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY**