

DISSENT AND PROTEST IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN BUDDHISM

**Dissent and protest in the
ancient Indian**

Buddhism

Ven. Thich Nghiem Quang, Ph.D



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DISSENT AND PROTEST IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN BUDDHISM

Thesis submitted to the University
of Delhi for the award of the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

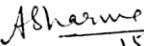
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Ven. T.N.Q. Tran Dong Nhat**, a bonafide research scholar in the Department of Buddhist Studies, has satisfactorily prepared his thesis entitled: **“DISSENT AND PROTEST IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN BUDDHISM”** under my supervision and guidance. The present work incorporates the results of his independent study and embodies his own researches. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work is original and the contents of the thesis did not at any time form a basis of the award of any previous degree to anyone from any university. The present work is up to the mark and worthy of presentation for examination.


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FOREWORD

In any community where different people are living together there is always a possibility of the existence of different ideas and opinions relating to any arising question. Therefore, in order to maintain a peaceful life for that community the members should have some way to settle down these differences and throughout the history of human kind, there are many proposals to resolve them, some even resorting to those violent means such as conflicts.

In this book, Ven. Dr. Thich Nghiem Quang has made a detailed research on the way which Buddhism proposed to deal with this kind of question. This is the first attempt to study the Buddhist position towards the question of Dissent and Protest, in general and especially in the Buddhist community in particular.

I think this study will have a great bearing on our modern world where there are conflicts still going on due to the different views each party concerned is holding. Because of this I would like to introduce this work to our readers for their enjoyment and deliberation.

Saigon, Nov. 1st, 2008
Prof. **Le Manh That**
Vice rector
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PREFACE

Buddhism is a universal religion. It is very lively and the most scientific religion. It benefits not only one community, nation or religion but the whole mankind. Lord Buddha had traveled nook and corner of India after *Enlightenment* to preach his religion for forty-five years. His words are preserved in three Baskets which are technically called the *Tipitaka*. Lord Buddha had brought harmony and peace in a strife stricken ancient Indian society of the Sixth century B.C. Buddhist's doctrines are based on reason. These doctrines are relevant even in present world to dispel social, moral, economical, and religious evils.

From a philosophical perspective, Buddhism is a pure and harmonious community. Buddhism stands for the democratically elected leader and supports freedom of speech. As a matter of fact, the teachings of the Buddha are not only the basic teachings but also practical guidelines to make the Dhamma meaningful and applicable to daily life. Only one who lives with Dhamma will experience the qualities of the Dhamma. The method which the Buddha proposed for this process of self-examination is a subject of observation and critical study. His own philosophy was described as *ehi-passika* (dhamma should be come and seen) and *paccatta veditabba* (should be realised by oneself). Thus, it is considered as a means to help a person to

steadily reach complete liberation (vimutti) from the edge of non-suffering. The Buddha-dhammas are like a raft which is left behind when one reaches the other, i.e., the Ultimate destination (*Nibbāna*) and is not carried along.

In this research Work, I have made an effort to show the description of “Dissent and Protest in the Ancient Indian Buddhism” as a positive development. I would like to quote Prof. K.T.S. Sarao who says that ‘split’ does not mean decline but ‘development’. Its subject is so extensive that it is difficult to do justice within the limit space. Therefore I do not claim to be exhaustive in my treatment. The materials gathered from the Buddhist traditional Texts and modern works on the Councils comprise my main source. Some archaeological findings have been referred to support the evidence. I have used both Pāli and Sanskrit terms, e.g., Dhamma and Dharma, Vaiśālī and Vesālī etc., according to the context. If I am dealing with Pāli sources, I have often employed Pāli terms and when I referred to Sanskrit Buddhist tradition, I have made use of Sanskrit terminology.

While doing the research work, I faced some obstacles but an enthusiastic encouragement from my supervisor, Dr. Anita Sharma, I am able to complete my research work.

The Thesis titled: “Dissent and Protest in the Ancient Indian Buddhism” has been divided into six Chapters:

- I- Introduction of the Topic.
- II- The Historical Buddha and the Dissenter.
- III- Dissent and Protest in the First Buddhist Council.

IV- Dissent and Protest in the Second Buddhist Council.

V- Re-Examination of the Methods and
Approaches of the Study of Schism in Ancient
Indian Buddhism.

VI- Conclusion.

During the course of study, it is observed that the Buddhism is not an isolated religion separated from the society. As it is seen, early Buddhist religious Texts reflect the formation and development of Buddhist Saṃgha. From the very beginning, the Buddhist monks had tendency to isolate themselves from society. This tendency had grown among the monks which were not approved by Lord Buddha. In the process of formation of the Saṃgha, Lord Buddha had taken into account the geographical, cultural, lingual, and regional background of the Saṃgha members. Soon the Buddhist community had grown in number all over Jambudīpa (aravarta) and the organization of the Saṃgha had become complex. There was a chaotic situation in the Saṃgha where the Buddhism was to lose its original ideology to organize its ideal community. The presence of the rule *Samgharāji* and *Samghabheda* are the evidences.

Among them, the Dissent and the Protest from Devadatta in Buddha's life time, and the cause of Buddhist Councils in later time were the burning issues which will be discussed in detail. Here will be a review of the limitation of the previous done works related to the Buddhist Councils as the symbol of schism, or conflict in Buddhism.

Finally, I arrived at the conclusion that the Dissent and Protest in Ancient Buddhism was the emblem of democracy in Buddhist Saṃgha. It is appropriate to say that Buddhism is the first well-organized religion based on the fundamental democratic principles in ancient India.

It is now my privilege and honour to express gratefulness to persons who have helped me in completing the present thesis. First of all, I am grateful to Prof. K.T.S. Sarao for his kind help. My deepest appreciation and heart-felt gratitude go to Venerable Dr. Bhikkhu Satyapala, Head and all other revered *teachers* of the Department of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi, for their valuable suggestions concerning the progress of the study.

I would like to take this opportunity of making a full acknowledgment of my deep gratitude and obligation to my master Most Venerable Thich Tu Man, for his moral suggestions and encouragement. My deepest respect also goes to another master of mine, late Venerable Thich Minh Lam. I am very grateful to the Vietnam Buddhist Saṃgha for intellectual generous helps.

I express my abiding indebtedness to my Dhamma brothers and sisters, my friends and love ones, in different areas of the globe, who have hosted and supported me along the way. My failure to name them all, large in number, just makes their memory to be engraved deeper in my soul. Without them this work would not have been possible.

Finally, my sincere thanks are due to the librarians of university of Delhi where I consult reference books for my

research and which has enabled me to complete this valuable project.

May all be blessed with Ultimate Truth.

Delhi,
March 2004

Ven. Thich Nghiem Quang
(Tran Dong Nhat)

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

It has been pointed out on the basis of well-documented research that even when the basic needs of human beings are met, they are not able to live in peace with each other. In fact, many scholars believe that the very fundamental and basic principle of progress is *dissent, protest, conflict* and even *war*. In other words, all institutions founded by human beings may have progressed and survived only if they permitted dissent and criticism. Even democracy works ideally in a situation where *dissent, protest* and *open criticism* are allowed to take place.

This Thesis focuses on the issues of the *Dissent* and *Protest* in the *Ancient Indian Buddhism*. This new reconstructive work of mine proposes to encounter the challenge of the modern western scholars who have been using and interpreting eastern history and philosophy to suit their linguistic terminology. In this process, they have been distorting the true meaning of the textual terms. This challenge will be tackled by the method of elaboration and revision of the materials that is the core of this reconstructive work.

To have a better understanding, it is imperative to be aware of the meaning of these terms: *Dissent*, *Protest* and *Ancient Indian Buddhism* at the very commencement.

Normally speaking, '*Dissent*' refers to the following main meanings:

1. The difference of opinion on questions of religious doctrine or practice;
2. The state of being separated from a prevailing or established Church;
3. Difference in meaning, character etc...

In this Thesis, '*Dissent*' means "to withhold assent" or "to differ in opinion" i.e., a religious non-conformity. It also carries the meaning of a person disagreement with the majority decision. For instance, when the Saṃgha decides over many matters in a democratic manner, the monks who were in minority would voice their disagreement with the decision. Being in minority their opinion was not accepted, thus it was only a *Dissent*. Other aspect of *Dissent* is a justice's non-concurrence with a decision of the majority.

It is very essential to note that the Buddhists had a very clear conception of dissidence or Dissent (*saṃgharāji*) and schism (*saṃghabheda*). According to the Pāli Vinaya (II, p.204), there is a schism when a group of at least nine bhikkhus, possessed of all the religious privileges, belonging to the same persuasion and living in the same district, knowingly and willingly profess a proposition contrary to the law and discipline and, who after a properly established vote, separate from their

colleagues in order to perform the ceremonies of uposatha, pavāranā and other official functions of the community on their own. If the number of dissenters is less than nine, there is no schism, but only dissidence.¹ Here the purpose is to compare and analyze the definition and concept of *Dissent* and *schism*.

Meanwhile, the meaning of '*Protest*' seems to be similar to that of *Dissent*. Usually there are some meanings of *Protest*:

1. The expression of strong disagreement with or opposition to something.
2. A statement or an action that shows one's strong disapproval and disagreement.
3. The expression of social, political, religious and cultural dissent.
4. A public demonstration against a policy or course of action.

These definitions are inter-related. In the context of the Topic, '*Protest*' means the act of objecting or a gesture of disapproval. It could usually also mean an organized public demonstration of disapproval. Thus, it may be defined as a complaint, objection or display of unwillingness usually to an idea or a course of action.

According to this definition, the term '*Protest*' is stronger and more in practice than that of *Dissent*, therefore, the title of this thesis shows that the purpose of the author is to prove the

1. HIB, Etienne Lamotte, p.518.

events from the theory in the minor level to practice in the major level that lead the schism into different schools not only in explanations but also in practice from the Buddha's life time and in the later period.

In the Buddha's life time, we see some *Dissent* and *Protest* against his teachings and the leadership of the Saṃgha by his own disciples: Devedatta and Kosambī (Sanskrit: Kauśambī) monks. In later time, *Dissent* and *Protest* are considered the cause that leads to organize of the Buddhist Councils. Some works have been done to examine these issues based on the Pāli Suttas, but none of them has taken notice the forces of the society and the elements influenced by the society. So it fails to convince the readers in the field of research work. Due to that, the author would like to bring home the truth discovered by combining the internal factors-the sangha, and external factors-the society, which throws the new light. It is concluded that the dissenters were not the apostasy people and Buddhism was influenced by the social and religious environment around which it developed¹. In this work I have consulted Pāli Canons including: *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Samyuttanikāya*, *Anguttaranikāya* and *Khuddakanikāya*. *Mahāvagga* and *Cūlavagga* of the *Vinaya-pitaka* that has been seen as the major sources of my work². I strongly believe that the Pāli Canon is not only a vast treasure-house of information related to the geography, historical events, the rulers, the life of monks and

1. AHIB, Hirakawa Akira. p.13.

2. EBW, G.B.Upreti, p.14.

nuns, the teachings of the Buddha, but also regarding the sources of Jainism and Brahmanism as well¹. Moreover, from a time when Indian History emerges from confusion and uncertainties of semi-historical legends and traditions to a more sure and definite historical plane, that is from about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Asoka the Great, the canonical literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main, if not the only, sources of all historical and geographical information of ancient India.²

To fulfill this task, I disapprove the ill-informed arguments pronounced by C.A.F.Rhys Davids, which was supported by scholars like Schayer, Keith, Horner and Hare that the original gospel or mandate of Buddhism was quite different from that of the Pāli Canon. These scholars have not been able to adduce sufficient evidences to prove their assertions.³ To do so, I do not aim to rewrite the history of Pāli Tipitaka or assume that Pāli sources were written by the Buddha and his disciples in his time.

Beside Pāli Tipitaka, I wield the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and the Ceylonese chronicles: *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. The information contained in them, is, therefore, almost equally useful and trustworthy.⁴ Other sources from which we can gather chips of information are the edicts of the Great King Asoka.

1. GEB, Bimala Churn Law, p.xiii.

2. GEB, .Ibid.

3. I own this idea to EBW, by G.B.Upreti.

4. GEB, Bimala Churn Law, p.xiv.

'Ancient' is the term which is applied for the period from Buddha's time to Early Mahāyāna Buddhism. Indian Buddhism is often used today to distinguish it from the Buddhism of other countries.¹

Here my work focuses not only on the doctrinal differences between Buddha's teachings and the dissenters but also tries to find out differences in practice of doctrines in day to day life by them. An attempt is made to see how far they differ in their religious goal and the influence of external forces on the growth of these two different views. The progress of the Dissent and Protest in the Buddha's own lifetime and the attitude of the Buddha and his disciples toward these issues have been analyzed in Chapter Two. The purpose of this analysis is to offer a nuanced reading of Buddhist Dissent and Protest as a normal or the norm of democracy and liberty in the well-organized religious community in the ancient time. The *Dissent* in the Buddha's life time merely reflects a Buddhist doctrine a dynamic ensemble and the life of the monk as a true model of liberty and free-chosen will. Here my aim is to avoid the traditional perspective of explanation and consideration of the canonical texts. Here is a suggestion to opt the technique of reading which aspires towards reflexivity in reading and elaborating the historical issues. My aim is not to reconstruct the real history of Buddhism in the ancient time but my interest lies in the understanding of Devadatta's phenomenal rise in the

1. AHIB, Hirakawa Akira, p.1.

Samṅha as an epitome of dissenter and protester in the social context.

Perhaps the most striking example of the variations in the early Samṅha relates to Devadatta. In the Pāli canon he is remembered as a villain: He urged a rogue elephant to trample the Buddha to death, but Buddha calms the elephant. He set off an avalanche to kill Buddha, but Buddha escapes without serious injury. Devadatta and Buddha also argued over the degree of austerity that monks and nuns should practice. It is said that he asked for extra rules. The first rule he asked for was that it be made compulsory for monks and nuns to be vegetarians. The second rule was that only three robes made of rags should be allowed. The third rule was to be that the only dwelling places were to be at the foot of trees in the forest and there should be no fixed residences. The fourth rule was that only one meal a day should be taken¹. In the story told in the Pāli canon it is said that these should be optional practices which can be adopted as wished by monks and nuns. It is interesting that all these rules basically relate to the practices now associated with forest monks and are part of a set of 'difficult practices' which were adopted by forest monks and nuns especially during the rainy season. The difference between Mahākassapa and Devadatta seems to be that the former represents a forest tradition that accepts that its hard practices should be optional and Devadatta who wants these practices to

1. Vin. III. p.171

be made mandatory. The kernel of the dispute between Buddha and Devadatta seems then to be over the issues of asceticism and following the practices of forest traditions similar to those of the Jains.

Whilst he is always depicted as a villain in the Pāli Canons but in the Lotus Sutra of the Mahāyāna Text he is depicted in a favourable light as an exemplar of the ascetic forest of tradition. An external source also throws light on his tradition in that the Chinese pilgrims reported that there were still monasteries of his followers flourishing well into the Christian era in India. This could be said to be an instance of an early division in the Saṃgha.

However, it could equally be regarded as evidence for diversity within the earliest Saṃgha rather than it ever having been a single unified tradition. The ideas of the community having been since the start not a single united tradition but a community containing a diversity of traditions and practices have interesting implications. In particular, it suggests that later on when the origins of the Mahāyāna are considered the question would not have to be how did the Mahāyāna develop from Nikāya Buddhism, but how did some of the Buddhist traditions come to identify themselves as Mahāyāna.

To tackle this thorny issue, I shall use the historical methodology based on the annals, the chronicle to affirm the life and the time of the Buddha's death. Therefore, the author will briefly review the life of the Buddha in this Chapter. This review, I believe, will make the reader enable to appreciate how

some later scholars created ill-informed vision on the historical Buddha. The author's purpose in the Second Chapter is to map out some of the shifting groundless views claimed by the later scholars. Since this Chapter focuses on the *Dissent* and *Protest* in the Buddha's lifetime, it emphasizes the events of the monks in Kosambī and Devadatta; the former was quickly reabsorbed, but the later culminated in the creation of a dissident order.¹ It will be successful if the reader gets a glimpse of how the dissenters were formulating its identity and interfering in the Buddhist mission. The next step in reading may be suggested to expand is how it effected to the later schism. However, such a suggestion lies outside the scope of this Chapter. Perhaps it will be discussed in the Chapter Four and in the Conclusion Chapter.

In Chapter Three the author will focus on the First Council as he believes that there are some motives behind this Council with the appearances of *Dissent* and *Protest*. He will analyze the motive behind these issues.

Some theoretical problems are worth considering. First and the foremost was that The Buddha did not appoint a direct successor. It is a famous saying that He told his followers to be 'A Lamp unto themselves'.

It is also said that He had permitted to change minor rules in the code for monastic conduct. But, nobody could decide what a minor rule was and so the code remained unchanged since then. Although there are variations in interpretation and

1. HIB, Etienne Lamotte, p.517.

clearly in practice amongst different Buddhist communities and in some places changes have been introduced. For instance the Japanese government has allowed the monks to marry by amending the code through legislation. However, such major changes are very rare indeed.

The third issue is that after the death of Buddha the question of what he had actually said that was addressed in the First Council. It is said that in the first rainy season after his death, five hundred Arahats gathered at Rājagaha and decided what the authoritative canon of Buddha's teachings was. The number five hundred signifies probably just a large number rather than exactly five hundred and the cave in which the Council was said to have been held seems hardly large enough to accommodate five hundred people. However, there is no good reason to doubt that such a Council was held and some sorts of recitation of the remembered Texts were made. The general consensus of all Buddhist traditions on the Council held supports this view as does the evidently oral nature of the texts.

It is said that two parts of the canon, the *Sutta Pitaka* and the *Vinaya Pitaka* were compiled. It is possible that the word Pitaka which means 'basket' or 'winnowing fan' may be a later term as it seems to be a reference to a container for manuscripts rather than having anything to do with oral recitation. It should be born in mind that what we are speaking of here is an oral rehearsal of the Canon, not it being compiled in written form. Despite reference to writing in the Canon it does not seem that it was written down until after the time of Asoka. The third part of the modern canon, the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* was not compiled

until later, perhaps at around the same time as the texts were being written down. There is also a text of the canon which is regarded as a fairly late composition which is called the *Cariyā Pitaka* 'The basket of Conduct' which may date from around the time of the writing down of the Texts as it includes the term Pitaka in its title. In other words not everything in the modern Pāli Canon dates from the First Council. So it can be said that everything in the Canon is not direct words of Buddha.

The recitation of the Texts at the Council was made in order to fix the authentic version of the Canon. There must have been some process by which different people recited the Texts and a consensus was reached on what was the correct version of a particular teaching. Perhaps some parts or versions were accepted and some were rejected or amended.

The question must be raised here of why such a Council needed to be held. There was evidently concern over this or the council would not have been held. Perhaps in part this is due to the presence of many Suttas which are not actually the words of Buddha. There are Suttas which it is said that Buddha had requested his disciples to deliver and then He had approved of them. Or Suttas which Buddha recited, but He was repeating the utterances of other people, such as elements of the Jātaka tales which were evidently traditional. There are also materials which were said by others at other times, and are then reported to Buddha and He then said that He approved of them. There is also a fourth category Suttas which Buddha had predicted would be said and gave prior approval to. So clearly the concept of the

speech of Buddha, Buddhavacana, which was adopted at the First Council was not simply what Buddha had said, but that which accorded with the teachings of Buddha. There are references in the Pāli Canon itself where there are references to Suttas learnt by heart. There is a Sutta in the Udānavagga where Buddha asks a young follower to recite some dhamma that he has learnt and the follower recites ‘The section of Eights’ which is a part of the Sutta-nipāta. From this it is clear that parts were compiled during the life of Buddha. However, the descriptions of what happened after the death of Buddha can in no sense be taken as the utterance of Buddha. There are also aspects which reflect the spectrum of Buddhist Texts from lay to monastic traditions.

Specially, the author will turn to how the European and Indian scholars have interpreted and evaluated the historical materials related to the First Council. Here the viewpoints of I.P. Minayeff, Louis De La Valle Poussin, Hermann Oldenberg, V.A. Smith, M. Suzuki, Jean Przylusky, R.C. Majumdar, Rhys Davids, W. Geiger, Louis Finot, E. Obermiller, M. Hofinger, Paul Demieville, Andre Bareau, Erich Frauwallner, Nalinaksha Dutt, Charles S.Prebish¹ and other scholars will be reviewed as much as possible. In this review, the author will not focus on the arguments echoed by later scholars which found already in other texts.

1. BCDB, Sumangal Barua, pp.9-10 cf.

The Third Chapter is not only to focus on Dissent and Protest in the First Council but also offers a critical vision of the former scholarly works which have proved to be the most widely used and enduring label for the identification of Buddhist Councils. This will be guided by the analysis methodology based on the primary sources and the *Cūlavagga* and *Mahāparinibbānasutta* play a decisive role in providing the information of this Council. It is very imperative to discuss some aspects of the controversies of the two above mentioned sources. There are some contradictory statements for the information of Buddhist Councils recorded in *Cūlavagga* by some eminent scholars. D.P. Minayeff, the Russian scholar, refused to accept the events of chanting the Dhamma and Vinaya recorded in Chapter XI in *Cūlavagga* due to the illegal traditions of early origin. Louis De La Valle Poussin in his work *The Buddhist Council* rejected Minayeff's statements as quoted: Minayeff puts aside as apocryphal or tendentious the history of the council in its official convocation and in its literary labours. But he retains as historic or semi-historic the episodes of Subhadda, the Khuddānukhudda-kāni sikkhāpadāni, faults of Ānanda, etc. Minayeff comes to this conclusion for he thinks that the account of chanting of dhamma and vinaya suffers from both incoherence and contradiction. He finds it incoherent when the *Cūlavagga* speaks of the suggestion of Kassapa to the monks to chant together and next records that the monks request Kassapa to choose competent monks for chanting the Dhamma and Vinaya; or when the *Cūlavagga* first puts the decision of the monks to hold the council at Rājagaha and then proceeds to

record the same as an official resolution proposed by Kassapa and accepted by the Saṃgha. On the other hand, Minayeff finds contradiction between the drawing up of a complete canon and the episodes of Khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhūpadāni, faults of Ānanda, etc. It is also clear that the legendary account of the chanting of Dhamma and Vinaya is of much later origin while the different episodes which are of historical nature, belong to an earlier tradition.¹ Some scholars doubt the contents of Cūavagga XI and consider it as a duplicate of Mahāparinibbānasutta.² T.W.Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of The Buddha* after making the two columns in comparison in his work points out that a glance at the above columns shows that the two Texts are identical except in two particulars. The Dīgha gives the episode in narrative form, whereas the Vinaya puts it into the mouth of Kassapa himself. And secondly, whereas the Dīgha puts Kassapa speech after the outburst of Subhadda, the Vinaya puts it before-that is, the last paragraphs in the Dīgha are transposed in the Vinaya.³ As opposed Oldenberg's statements that the Mahāparinibbānasutta maintains utter silence concerning the First Council, Finot offers the following arguments. He points out that the chapters XI and XII of the Cūavagga which contain the accounts of the two Councils, have such an abrupt beginning unlike the other chapters of the

1. TBC, Louis De La Valle Poussin. p.10.

2. *Introduction to the Vinaya*, Oldenberg, xxxvi-xxviii; JPTS, London, 1908. pp.8-12

3. DB T.W.Rhys Davids. p75.

Cūlavagga that they could not have been originally a part of this work. He further points out that the Mahāparinibbānasutta also differs from the other Suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya in the nature of its contents, being more historical in character, and that the Mahāparinibbānasutta and the two chapters (XI, XII) of the Cūlavagga are so similar in nature that they must have been originally parts of one and the same work.¹ Dr. Obermiller corroborates Finot's contention and gives us in detail the contents of the *Vinaya-khuddakapāṭha* which roughly corresponds to the Cūlavagga, and shows that it not only contains the account of the two Councils but also the Mahāparinibbānasutta. He further points out that the story of the Councils begins just on the same line in which the narrative of the burial of the Buddha finishes, without any indication whatsoever.² These disputed arguments will be solved in this chapter as the author plans to use information recorded in Cūlavagga and Mahāparinibbānasutta for his purpose.

In the Fourth Chapter, I shall not only focus on *Dissent* and *Protest*, but also identify some of significant events in the Second Councils, that seems to be conflict in a few aspects of the major Buddhist schools. Another fundamental question that needs to be addressed is why should we presume that there was ever such a thing like single undivided Buddhist tradition? There is after all evidence in the Pāli Canon of dissension and diversity within the tradition even during the life of the Buddha. There are

1. IHQ Finot, vol.VII. pp. 241-246.

2. IHQ, Obermiller, vol.VIII. pp. 781-784.

accounts of monks whose practices varied in different locations. In addition his followers appear to have distinctive characters. Many of his main disciples typify different aspects of the tradition. Sāriputta is depicted as having great stability in the practice, but no supernatural powers. Moggallāna is the archetype of a disciple with immense supernatural powers. Mahākassapa is always shown as the embodiment of how a forest monk should live. There is already a depiction here of the distinction into forest monks who practice meditation and austerities and ‘urban’ monks who live in association with lay communities.

As we know that identification of conflict is not simply a negative act. It needs to be examined in the field of historical and political process that takes place as an urgent social contest. Buddhism is no exception. My interest in mimicry, mirroring, and religious mimesis provides an opportunity for me to reflect my own knowledge in relation to Buddhism as a Buddhist monk. Since the focus of this dissertation has been directed towards the Dissent and Protest in ancient Indian Buddhism and how to identify the positive side of the Dissent on the way to develop Buddhism in the later centuries and open the way for Buddhism preaching outside India, in this Chapter, I conclude by situating my own knowledge both in philosophy and history of Buddhism in terms of the disciplinary fields of research work, from which and for which this Thesis is written.

So far, there have been many works related to the schism in early Buddhism with the strong arguments to accuse the Ten Points practiced by Vesālī monk and the Five Points of

Mahādeva. We cannot deny some serious works done by well-known scholars, at the same time we can recognize the fact that very few works have approached these issues by using the evident sources from *Vinaya* which, the author believes that, records all information of the different Buddhist sects.

As we all know that the Ten Points practiced by Vesālī monk and the Five Points of Mahādeva and the cause of the Second Buddhist Council are relevant to the *Vinaya*. One can say that without study from *Vinaya*, the works concern to the Buddhist schism will be of limited result.

The Fifth Chapter focuses on the role of *Vinaya* as the fundamental aspect to examine whether the First and the Second Buddhist Councils bring the different rules in *Vinaya*, or they cause the different rules in *Vinaya* leading the conclusions, that Mahāyāna Buddhism appears due to these differences.

To testify whether the increased numbers of rules in *Vinaya* between the Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism influence the establishment of two sects, I focus the way that how to use methodology to define them.

I begin by looking at these materials in the manner of a phenomenologist; I assume that I will assemble a broad range of material in order to see what a kind of recognizable patterns appears. I will take particular interest in themes that occur most open-ended and involves least in its consideration of materials and any selection of texts that is chosen for consideration is by nature provisional.

The author suggests some approaches these issues by the information provided by *Vinaya* and this is the aim of the Fifth Chapter.

In Chapter Sixth, we conclude all the debated theories in the previous Chapters and suggest some guidance to investigate Buddhism that the reader perhaps recognizes in the following ideas.

Re-thinking the relationship between the negative and positive sides of *Dissent* and *Protest* in Buddhism requires reconfiguring these issues within the discipline of Buddhist studies and social identity. This project arises from a felt need to trespass the narrow disciplinary boundaries of Buddhist studies, boundaries that are so carefully policed by the high priests of Buddhist orthodoxy as well as the curators of Buddhism. Many who belong to this discipline too often assume the *Dissent* and *Protest* as the rebel of Buddhism while refusing to accept the fact that these issues arise from the internal elements of Buddhism and they are the symbol of democracy and liberty which are the main goal of Buddhism. The author's goal here is to re-imagine *Dissent* and *Protest* in Buddhism which is a social request and as nature of law. The conclusion reached by many scholars of Buddhism today, namely that *Dissent* and *Protest* and the different explanations of main Buddhist schools are unorthodox form of Buddhism is a misplaced remark. If we take seriously a vision of Buddhism and its developed schools, theories as mutually constitutive, then the conclusion of this issue needs to be defined differently.

The developed *Dissent* theories and development schools is important for Buddhist studies for challenging our understanding of what binds Buddhism and what its boundaries are toward the required modern society. It invites serious works in the area.

This Thesis seeks to reconstruct the new imagine by shifting the bias toward the *Dissent* and *Protest* in the *Ancient Indian Buddhism*. This influences the establishment of the later schools, if any, as an unorthodox, or the rebel of Buddhism.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL BUDDHA AND THE DISSENTER

I. A general view:

Buddhist canon and research works of history of Buddhism related to the *Dissent* and *Protest* in Early Buddhism in which the role of Devadatta is presented as competing and often contradictory. When identifying and describing his key personal events from his life and his motive to divide the *Samgha* since birthday, both interpret these events from perspectives that are radically different, often antagonistic and create “their own Devadatta”.

The aim of this Chapter firstly is to find out the possible reply for the controversial issue – *Devadatta* – the wrongdoer for schism in Early Buddhism and his role in preaching *Dhamma*, so that we can compare with the context of the society in Buddha’s life time which, the author believes, influenced the Dissent and Protest in the Order. Are there some biased arguments toward the role of Devadatta? Do the former works related to him reflect fully all aspects in his life?

We will peer into these different arguments and investigate what sources support them. How do the representations of the past acquire their mimetic effect for Buddhist readers? What

Buddhist canon and historical sources are used in works related to Buddha's life to create an aura of authenticity? What do these stylized symmetries tell us about how their respective traditions are constructed? In pursuing answers to these questions, we will embark upon a Buddhist Pāli sources and re-examine the "traditional historical sources".

Here we begin from a different point of departure than most modern studies of Buddhist history. For the most part, scholars with an interest in these Buddhist works have raised questions about their accuracy as historical sources: Do they faithfully reflect the past? Can their contents be corroborated by the earliest extant evidence, the archeology recently discovered, the few fragmentary inscriptions etc..? What remains unexamined is the fundamental issue of whose history is really being reconstructed. The traditional approach to these mythico-historical works seems so problematic that it may be more fruitful to pursue a different task and ask? What purpose do these texts serve? What literary techniques do the writers use to achieve that purpose? How useful is our distinction between myth and history when trying to make sense of these texts? To tackle these issues, the author thinks that we should sketch the Buddha's life and the role of State and Laity in order to depict the whole picture of the Early *Samgha* and the discovery of all aspects of personal life of Devadatta and the reason why Devadatta had had the ambition to control *Samgha* with the Buddha's ageing.

II- The Life of Buddha represented in Pāli Canon:

The early scriptures say that in the time of the Buddha there were in northern India 'sixteen major countries'. Probably this reflects a situation in which there were many states coexisting; each state could be classified as either an autocratic kingdom or a republican state with traces of tribalism. The states of the *Sakya*, the *Malla* and the *Koliya* tribes, for instance, belonged to the latter. Again, the Vajjī people, who did so much for the Buddha, were probably a republic made up of a federation of eight member tribes. On the other side were kingdoms like Magadha, Kosala and Kāsi, equipped in varying degrees with an administrative and military organization.¹

Owing to the lack of material, Buddhist history has not been so concerned with recording precise dates, thus dating cannot be always arrives with accuracy. Therefore, there is controversy of years date and *Nibbāna* of the Buddha. This issue limits the research works related to the society at the Buddha's time. In this chapter, the author does not aim to re-write the history of the Buddha's life or discover the new evidences toward the above-mentioned issue. He aims at the reflection of the Buddha described in the Pāli scriptures.

We know that the proper name of the future Buddha was *Siddhattha* (Sanskrit: Siddhartha) and his family name *Gotama* (Sanskrit: Gautama). He belonged to the sub-Himalaya clan of

1. CIB, translated from Japanese by Trevor Leggett, Middle Way, volume 76:3, November 2001, p.149.

the *Sakyas*, a clan of uncertain origin but which had to a certain degree been subjected to brāhmanical influence: hence the term *Sakyamuni*: "The Sage of the Sakya clan"¹ which straddles the present border with Nepal and had Kapilavatthu as its capital.² The famous historical person known as Buddha was also called the *Tathāgata*, which means "the one who has come thus". His father Suddhodana of the Gotama clan was elected king of the Shakya tribe by its five hundred families just south of the Himalayan mountains in the realm of influence of the powerful Kosala monarchy. The Son was born in the Lumbinī garden and was named Siddhattha, which means "he who has accomplished his aim." It is said that after being born, he immediately stood, walked seven paces, scanned in all directions, and said in a noble voice that he was the foremost being in the world, and that this would be his last rebirth.³

The Buddhist sources say that Gotama died either 218 or 100 years before the consecration of the emperor Asoka. From references in Asokan edicts to certain Greek kings, this can be dated at 268 BC. As all sources agree that Gotama was eighty when He died, His dates would be either 566-486 BC or 448-386 BC. In the past, modern scholars have generally accepted the earlier dates, but the consensus is now that they rest on evidence which is too flimsy. Something approaching the latter

1. HIB, Etienne Lamotte. p.15.

2. IB, Peter Harvey. p.14; EOB. G.P.Malalasekera. vol.III. p.357.

3. MN. vol.III. p.123.

dates is seen as more likely, perhaps 480-400 BC.¹ *Buddha* means "one who is intuitive, awakened, or enlightened."² Many myths and legends surround the birth of Siddhattha, but most of these seem to have been developed centuries later in the *Jātakas*.³ A famous seer named Asita predicted that The Child would either become a great king or, if He leaves home, a great religious teacher⁴. His mother Maya died seven days after giving birth,⁵ and her younger sister Mahāpajapati, who was also married to Suddhodāna, became his foster mother.

By all accounts Siddhattha was raised amid the finest luxuries of the time. Later, He said that three palaces had been built for Him, one for hot weather, one for cold, and one for the rainy season. His clothes were of the finest silk. When He walked on the grounds, someone held a white umbrella over his head. Even the servants were well fed, and music was played only by beautiful women.⁶ Having demonstrated his skill in archery, Siddhattha chose for his wife Yasodharā and was married when He was about sixteen years old. For the next thirteen years He continued to live in luxury with his wife and concubines.

1. IB. Ibid. p.9.

2. EOB. Ibid.

3. IB, Peter Harvey. p.15

4. Ibid. p.16

5. MN. vol.III. p.122.

6. AN. Vol.I. p.145

Then about the time of the birth of his son Rāhulā, the famous four signs occurred. According to legend, his father had tried to prevent his princely son from experiencing any suffering or sorrow or religious contact so that He would become a king rather than a spiritual teacher. However, one day while traveling outside the palace gates, Siddhattha happened to come across an old man for the first time in his life. He was appalled at the wrinkles and decrepitude. On another occasion he happened to observe a sick person and learned about the loathsome nature of disease. The third sign came when he witnessed a funeral procession and was able to see the lifeless corpse that was being carried. The speed of these three experiences compelled him to think about the transitoriness of human life. Finally He came upon a religious ascetic, who had renounced the world to seek enlightenment.¹

With the birth of his son He had fulfilled his obligation to continue his family line and decided that He too must renounce his kingdom and seek a way out of the human miseries of old age, sickness, and death. So He took off his silk garments and put on the coarse clothes of an ascetic and went south to Magadha seeking enlightenment. While begging for his food in Rājagaha, the capital city of Magadha, his princely demeanor was observed by King Bimbisāra (Shrenika). The king went to see Siddhattha to find out who He was and what he was doing. Siddhattha told him that he was purifying himself in order to

1. MN. vol.I. p.240.

achieve Nibbāna, and He promised to teach the king after he attained enlightenment.

Like the sages of the Samana movement at that time,¹ Siddhattha practiced yoga and meditation. *Majjhima Nikāya* says that at Vesālī to learn meditative concentration He studied with Ālāra Kālāma, who was said to have had hundreds of disciples. Siddhattha soon learned how to reach the formless world, but still having mental anxieties He decided not to become a disciple of Ālāra Kālāma and denied the offering of joint leadership from Ālāra Kālāma.² After attaining the higher state of consciousness beyond thought and non-thought, He left his second teacher, Udaka Rāmaputta, too.

Still not satisfied Siddhattha decided to practice the path of extreme austerities, and in this quest He was joined by the sage Koṇḍañña (Sanskrit: Kaundinya) and four others. He pressed his tongue against his palate to try to restrain his mind until the perspiration poured from his armpits. He restrained his breath and heard the violent sounds of wind in his ears and head. He went into trances, and some thought He was dead. He fasted for long periods of time and then decided to try limiting his food to the juice of beans and peas. As his flesh shrank, the bones almost stuck out of his skin so that He could touch his spine from the front; after sitting on the ground his print looked like a camel's footprint.³

1. Read more the Samasa groups in *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, DN. Vol.I. pp.47-86.

2. MN, vol.I. p.163 ff.

3. Ibid. p.240 ff.

For six years Siddhattha practiced such austerities, but instead of achieving superhuman knowledge and wisdom he only seemed to get weaker and weaker. Finally He thought that maybe there was a better way to attain enlightenment.¹ He remembered a meditative state where perhaps in concentrating his mind without evil ideas and sensual desires He should not be afraid of a happy state of mind. However, to gain the strength He felt he needed for this concentration he decided to start eating again. When He gave up practicing the extreme austerities, the five mendicants who were with him became disillusioned and left him, saying that Gotama lives in abundance and has given up striving.

Siddhattha reasoned that a life of penance and pain was no better than a life of luxury and pleasure, because if penance on earth is religion, then the heavenly reward for penance must be irreligion. If merit comes from purity of food, then deer should have the most merit. Those who practice asceticism without calming their passions are like a man trying to kindle fire by rubbing a stick on green wood in water, but those who have no desires or worldly attachments are like a man using a dry stick that ignites.

Regaining his strength from normal eating of the food he begged, Siddhattha once again practiced meditation. Now he easily attained the first stage of joy and pleasure, then a joyful trance arising from concentration with serenity and the mind

1. MN. vol.I p.246.

fixed on one point without reasoning and investigation. The third stage produced equanimity to joy and aversion in a mindful, happy state. In the fourth stage pleasure and pain were left behind in a mind full of purity. With his mind thus concentrated and cleansed he directed it to the remembrance of former existences from previous births, also perceiving cycles of evolution and dissolution of the universe.

Then he directed his mind to the passing away and rebirth of beings, perceiving how the karma of evil actions, words, and thoughts leads to rebirth in miserable conditions and suffering in hell. But those beings leading good lives are reborn in a happy state in a heavenly world. Finally directing his mind to the means of ultimate release Siddhattha realized that there is pain, a cause of pain, the cessation of pain, and a way that leads to that cessation of pain. Thus his mind was emancipated from sensual desires, the desire for existence, and ignorance.

According to legend this whole process occurred in one night after he had decided to sit under a tree until he became enlightened or died. It was also said that he was tested by Mara, the tempter, but Siddhattha could not be swayed from his purpose. Thus darkness and ignorance were dispelled by the light as Siddhattha Gotama became enlightened and was henceforth known as the Buddha.¹ It is essential to note here that Theravāda points to a unity among Buddhas. The word ‘Buddha’ is taken to refer to all Enlightened Ones. ‘There is no

1. MN. vol.I. pp.247-249.

distinction in form, morality, concentration, wisdom, freedom among all the Buddhas, because all the Buddhas are the same in respect of their nature.’ Their common identity is expressed in two ways: by the special characteristics associated with the Buddha and as Buddhahood expressed through the language of the Buddha bodies, eg. a body ‘born of Dhamma’. The teaching of the different Buddhas is the same; all Buddhas teach the same eternal truths. This teaching is a part of nature and is Absolute Reality in so far as Buddhism is considered. This idea, that the teaching remains the same although there are many different Buddhas, was developed by the Mahāyāna into the Trikāya doctrine.

Although there can be only one Sammāsambuddha in a Buddha sāsaṇa, and no Pacceka Buddhas can arise in that period, there may be Arahats. An Arahata is technically a Buddha, and an Arahata Buddha may exist during the life of a Sammāsambuddha. Therefore, according to the Theravāda, it is possible to have more than one Buddha at a time. Mahāyāna developed the idea of multiple Buddhas living and teaching simultaneously in different worlds, human and heavenly. It also developed the idea of a Universal or Eternal Buddha. All Buddhas were reduced to a unity each associated with the same teaching or Dhammakāya (Sanskrit: Dharmākaya). All these Buddhas, past, present and future, living in different worlds, realizes and teaches the same Dhamma¹

1. CIB, Trevor Leggett, Middle Way, volume 76:3, November 2001, p.149.

(i)- *The establishment of the Saṃgha*

After remaining under the Bodhi tree at *Bodh-Gayā* four weeks or more, the Buddha reflects the ways to get enlightenment and he hesitates to preach the Dhamma (Sanskrit: Dharma) because he thinks that the Dhamma he had experienced was very profound, subtle and beyond the sphere of reason, people were unable to follow it. At this moment, the compassionate Brahmā Sahampati appeared and requested him to preach the Dhamma, and he accepted his entreaty.¹ In a Deer Park of Rsiyatana (Sarnath) near Benares, the Buddha gave his first sermon namely: *Dhammacakkapavattana* (Sanskrit: Dharmachakra- pravarthana). In which, he explained that the two extremes are not to be practiced by the one who is enlightened: what is joined with the passions and luxury which is low (hīno), vulgar, common, ignoble (anāriyo), and useless; nor what is joined with self-torture, which is painful (dukkho), ignoble, and useless too. Avoiding these two extremes, the enlightened follow the middle path, which produces insight and knowledge and leads to peace, wisdom, enlightenment, and Nibbāna (Sanskrit: Nivāṇa). Buddha then expounded the Four Noble Truths of his doctrine.

The Buddha first taught the Five mendicants, who had previously abandoned him,² and the Saṃgha was established from them.³ Yasa, the son of a wealthy guildmaster, became the

1. MN. Ibid. p.167 ff; Vin. vol. p.I ff.

2. Vin, vol.I p.8.ff.

3. MV, pp.5-6, 10-13.

first lay disciple in the new Community. The first women to become lay disciples were Yasa's mother and former wife. They were soon followed by four friends of Yasa and then fifty more. The Buddha then suggested that the sixty disciples wander around separately to preach the doctrine so that others may be liberated from the fetters of illusion, for the blessing of the manifold, for the happiness of the manifold, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the blessing, the happiness of gods and humans.¹ The *bhikkhus* were supposed to be men who left home to enter the path, prepared for a life of rigid practice. They were determined to keep their lives free from blemish or taint; with the deepening of their spiritual training must have come dignity and self control. The middle way enjoined by the Buddha was conduct according to Dhamma or truth and was based entirely on the resolution of the practitioner himself; it was subjective and voluntary, and was called morality (*Sīla*).²

(ii)- *The Saṃgha, the State and the Laity:*

The purpose of monk is to abandon the worldly life, but due to the everyday needs: food, clothing, medicines, accommodation etc. The relationship between monks, nuns and laity is unavoidable. As groups grew larger and numbers increased, situations arose which could not simply be left to the judgment of the individual *bhikkhu*. New renunciation would not yet have done enough training always to be able to judge what to do, and there would have been *bhikkhus* with no insight at all.

1. Ibid. p.21.

2. BOPB, Trevor Leggett, Middle Way, volume 76:2, August 2000, p.87.

Inevitably there must have arisen cases of conduct not allowable in an ascetic, and in these cases the Buddha had forbidden the wrong behaviour and made an ordinance about it. The principle was that when an offence occurred, a prohibition was made against it. Now the Buddhist order, as we shall see, began to make a great change, from the original life of wandering ascetics to communal living in monasteries. *Bhikkhus* lived together, attended ceremonies together and divided up equally what was given them in charity. There had to be rules - individual and communal - kept by all in the community, and these were collectively called the discipline or *Vinaya*. The phrase 'the moral discipline' often occurs in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist Texts, but basically the two things were separate. Morality was something subjective, self-imposed, whereas the discipline was imposed by others. Thus the principle was that for an infringement of the articles of the discipline there was a penalty, but not so in the case of morality.¹ Many rules established for the monks and nuns focus on the relationship between the *Samgha* and the Laity. A large majority of the *Vinaya* rules seem to have been formulated in some of the leading cities and towns of the Buddha's time such as Sāvatti, Kosambī, Rājagaha and Bārānasī. The whole section concerning rules of ordination (*upasampadā*), for instance, was laid down in Bārānasī.² In conditions where schism threatened the *Samgha*, the help of the laity in disciplining recalcitrant members also

1. Ibid.

2. NLEB, B.G.Gokhale, p.15.

became necessary for the preservation of the unity and the integrity of the *saṃgha* itself.¹ Furthermore, the institutions of renunciation and ordination (*pabbajjā* and *upasampadā*) inevitably brought the *Samṅha* into contact with the state and its bureaucracy, which led to the formulation of rules prohibiting categories.² Personally, the Buddha claimed some powerful kings of his time, Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha and Pasenadi of Kosala. These kings built monasteries for the *Samṅha* and amended many of their laws which otherwise would have made the *Samṅha's* activities very difficult, if not possible,³ therefore; the discipline was certainly not a code laid down at one particular time by the Buddha in anticipation of certain situations. As necessity arose, the Buddha had given a ruling, and these were collected. In the 45 years of his ministry, a fair number of the rules of conduct, the discipline, had been established. The very first groups were only a handful, or perhaps several tens or so, but by the time of the Buddha's death they were substantial in number, and not all of the disciples would have heard all the Buddha's sermons and rules.

As to the latter, there were already some requests for alterations to meet different, changing times and differences in region and environment; there was the problem of how far such requests could be acceded to and also some elements of doubt which could not be disposed of by a standard ruling.⁴

1. Ibid, p.13

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. BOPB, Trevor Leggett, Middle Way, volume 76:2, August 2001, p.87.

III - Devadatta- the first Dissenter:

After the Buddha, Devadatta is the most talked about personality in Pāli literature. Major portions of some of the texts are devoted to Devadatta. In most of the references, he is shown in bad light. In fact, some references go as far as declaring him as the worst enemy of the Buddha. For instance, the Jātakas have centered on Devadatta¹ as follow:

1. *Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka (No.21)*

Once the *Bodhisatta* was an antelope who used to eat the fruit of a sepanni-tree. One day a huntsman discovered him and lay in wait to kill him, but the Bodhisatta suspected his presence and so escaped death.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta's plots to kill the Buddha, the huntsman being identified with Devadatta. (J.i.173f.)

2. *Kukkura Jātaka (No.22)*

Kukkura Jātaka (No.22).-Because his carriage straps, left in the rain, are gnawed by his own dogs, the king of Bārānasī (Benares) orders all dogs except his own to be killed indiscriminately. The Bodhisatta, who is the leader of the pack of dogs in the cemetery, visits the king, points out to him his iniquity, and reveals the truth by causing an emetic to be administered to the king's dogs. Having convinced the king, the Bodhisatta teaches him the ten stanzas of Righteousness found

1. ONAIB, K.T.S.Sarao, R&R Publisher, Delhi, 1999. p.107

in the Tesakuna Jātaka (dhammaṃ cara mahārāja, etc.) (J.v.123). Great are the benefactions made to dogs thereafter. The Bodhisatta's teaching lasted for ten thousand years under the name of Kukkurovāda.

The king is identified with Ānanda (J.i.175ff). The occasion for the story is given in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka.

Kukkura Jātaka.-See Kakkara

3. Tittira Jātaka (No.37)

There were once three friends, a partridge (tittira), a monkey and an elephant. Discovering that the partridge was the oldest of them, they honoured him as their teacher and he gave them counsel. Their conduct came to be called the Tittiriya-brahmacariya. The Bodhisatta was the partridge, Moggallāna the elephant, and Sāriputta the monkey.

The story was related in reference to the failure of the Chabbaggiyas to show due respect to Sāriputta. Once, when he visited them in company with the Buddha, they refused to provide him with lodging, and he had to sleep under a tree. (J.i.217ff; cp. Vin.ii.161; Avadāna S.ii.17)

4. Dummedha Jātaka (No.50)

The Bodhisatta was once born as Brahmadata, king of Bārānasī. Seeing that his subjects were much given to offering sacrifices to the gods in course of which animals were killed and other sins committed, he made proclamation, soon after becoming king, that he had made a vow to offer in sacrifice all those of his subjects who were addicted to the Five Sins and

walked upon the ten paths of unrighteousness. His ministers were sent to look for such people, and the proclamation had the desired effect (J.i.259f).

For the introductory story see the Mahākanha Jātaka

5. *Mahāsīlava Jātaka (No. 51)*

The Bodhisatta was once king of Benares under the name of Mahāsīlava. He built six almonries and ruled in all goodness. One of his ministers, having intrigued with a member of his harem, was expelled and took service under the king of Kosala. He caused several bands of ruffians to invade the territory of Mahāsīlava at different times. When they were caught and brought before Mahāsīlava, the latter gave them money and sent them away, telling them to act differently in the future. In this way the king of Kosala was easily persuaded by his minister that Mahāsīlava's kingdom could easily be captured. He therefore set out with an army, and as the people of Mahāsīlava were allowed to offer no resistance, the king and his ministers were captured alive and buried up to their necks in the cemetery. In the night, when jackals approached to eat them, Mahāsīlava fastened his teeth in the neck of the jackal that came to him. The jackal started howling and his companions fled. In his struggles to get free, the jackal loosened the earth round Mahāsīlava, who managed to free himself and then his companions.

In the cemetery two *Yakkhas* were having a dispute about a dead body, and they asked Mahāsīlava to settle it. But he wished first to bathe, and they fetched him water and perfumes and food from the usurper's table in Benares and also his sword of state.

With this he cut the body in half, giving half to each Yakkha, and, with their aid, he entered the usurper's room where he slept. When the latter showed signs of terror, Mahāsīlava told him of what had happened and granted him forgiveness. His kingdom was then restored, and Mahāsīlava exhorted his subjects on the virtues of perseverance.

The story was related to a backsliding monk. Devadatta is identified with the treacherous minister of the Jātaka. (J.i.261-8.)

6. Vānarinda Jātaka (No. 57)

The Bodhisatta was once a monkey living on a river bank. On his way from one bank to another, he used to jump off and on a rock in midstream, and a female crocodile, living in the river, longed to eat his heart and asked her husband to get it. So the crocodile lay on the rock, ready to catch the monkey as he jumped. The monkey noticing that, in spite of there being no tide, the rock was higher than usual, spoke to it and received no reply. His suspicions were then confirmed, and he said again, "O rock, why don't you talk to me today?" The crocodile then revealed both his identity and his purpose, and the monkey resolved to outwit him. So he asked him to open his mouth, knowing that when a crocodile does this he shuts his eyes. So the crocodile did this, and the monkey jumped on to its back and from there to the other bank.

The story was related in reference to Devadatta's attempt to kill the Buddha. (J.i.278f.); cp. Kumbhīla Jātaka.

7. Tayodhamma Jātaka (No.58)

Once Devadatta was born as king of the monkeys, and the Bodhisatta was his son. The monkey-king had the habit of gelding with his teeth all his male offspring, lest they should one day supersede him; but the Bodhisatta's mother left the herd before the child was born and brought him up elsewhere. When he grew up he came to see the monkey-king, and on the latter's trying to kill him by crushing him in a false embrace, the Bodhisatta showed greater strength than his sire. Then Devadatta asked him to fetch lotuses from a neighbouring lake, which was inhabited by an ogre, saying that he wished to crown his son as king. The Bodhisatta guessed the presence of the ogre and plucked the flowers by leaping several times from one bank to the other, grasping them on his way. The ogre seeing this expressed his admiration, saying that those who combine the three qualities of dexterity, valour, and resource can never be vanquished. When the monkey-king saw his son returning with the ogre, who was carrying the flowers, he died of a broken heart. The story was related in reference to hunting. (J.i.280-3).

8. *Saccaṃkira Jātaka* (No. 73)

The king of Benares had a son called Duṭṭhakumāra, who was hated by everyone. One day, when he was bathing in the river, a storm came on, and he ordered his servants to take him into the middle of the river and there bathe him. The servants thereupon flung him into the water and reported to the king that he was lost. As he was swept along on the stream, he caught hold of a tree trunk, and on to this tree trunk there came to cling, also, a snake, a rat, and a parrot, who had all lost their dwelling

places in the storm. The Bodhisatta, who was an ascetic living on the bank of the river, rescued Duṭṭha and his companions and looked after them. When they bade him farewell, the snake said that he had forty crores hidden in a certain spot, and the ascetic had only to ask for these and they were his. The rat had thirty cores, also at the ascetic's disposal; the parrot promised the ascetic wagon loads of rice; and Duṭṭha promised to provide him with the four requisites. In his heart, however, he hated the ascetic for an imaginary slight, and vowed vengeance.

After Duṭṭha became king, the ascetic wished to test the faith of his former guests. He went to the snake and called out his name, and the snake at once appeared, offering his treasure. The rat and the parrot did likewise, but Duṭṭha, riding in a procession and seeing him from afar, gave orders that the ascetic should be beaten and put to death. On his way to the place of execution the ascetic kept on repeating: "They knew the world who framed this proverb true: a log pays better salvage than some men!" When asked what these words meant, he related the whole story.

The enraged citizens, seizing Duṭṭha, put him to death and made the ascetic king. Later, he brought the snake, the rat, and the parrot to the palace and looked after them.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta's attempts to kill the Buddha. Devadatta is identified with Duṭṭha, the snake with Sāriputta, the rat with Moggallāna, and the parrot with Ānanda. (J.i.3227).

9. Tittira Jātaka (No.117)

The Bodhisatta was once a leader of five hundred ascetics. One day, a talkative ascetic approached a jaundiced colleague who was chopping wood and worried him by giving him directions on how to do it. The ill man killed him with one blow of the axe. Soon after, a partridge, who used to sing on an anthill near by, was killed by a fowler. The Bodhisatta pointed out to his followers how the death of both was result of too much talk between them.

The story was told in reference to Kokālika, who is identified with the chattering ascetic. J.i.431f.

10. Dummedha Jātaka (No.122)

The *Bodhisatta* was once the state elephant of the Magadha king of Rājagaha. When the king rode in procession, the people had eyes only for the elephant, and the king, in envy, schemed to have the elephant thrown down a precipice. The mahout discovering this, flew on the elephant's back to Benares. The king of Benares welcomed them and, with their help, obtained the sovereignty of all India.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta's envy of people's praise of the Buddha. Devadatta is identified with the Magadha king, Sāriputta with the king of Benares and Ānanda with the mahout. (J.i.444f.).

11. Godha Jātaka (No.138)

The Bodhisatta was once born as a lizard and paid homage to a good ascetic living near the ant-hill where he dwelt. The good ascetic left and was replaced by a wicked one, to whom the Bodhisatta paid like homage. One day, the villagers brought a

dish of lizard's flesh to the ascetic. Being attracted by its flavour, he planned to kill the Bodhisatta, that he might have more of the flesh. But the Bodhisatta discovered his intention just in time, and, making good his escape, denounced the hypocrite.

The story was told in reference to a wicked monk. (J.i.480f.).

12. Godha Jātaka (No.141)

The Bodhisatta was born once as an iguana, leader of many others. His son became intimate with a young chameleon, whom he used to clip and embrace. The Bodhisatta warned his son against this unnatural intimacy, but, finding his advice of no avail, and knowing that danger would come to them through the chameleon, he prepared a way of escape, should the need arise. The chameleon, growing tired of the friendship with the iguana, showed a trapper the home of the iguanas. The trapper made a fire round the hole and killed many of the iguanas as they tried to escape, but the Bodhisatta escaped through the hole he had provided.

The story was told about a treacherous monk, identified with the young iguana (J.i.487f). For details see the Mahilāmukha Jātaka.

13. Manicora Jātaka (No. 194)

The Bodhisatta was once a householder in a village near Benares and he had a most beautiful wife, named Sujātā. One day, at her request, they prepared some sweetmeats, and, placing them in a cart, started for Benares to see her parents. On the way

Sujātā was seen by the king of Benares, and, wishing to possess her, he ordered the jewel of his diadem to be introduced into the Bodhisatta's cart. The cry of "thief" was then set up, and the Bodhisatta arrested and taken off to be executed. But Sakka's throne was heated by Sujātā's lamentations, and, descending to earth, Sakka made the king and the Bodhisatta change places. The king was beheaded, and Sakka, revealing himself, set the Bodhisatta on the throne.

The story was related in reference to Devatatta's attempts to kill the Buddha. The king is identified with Devadatta, Sakka with Anuruddha, and Rāhulamātā with Sujātā (J.ii.121 5). The story gives the case of a man getting happiness through a virtuous woman. (J.iv.77).

14. Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka (No.206).

In a forest lived three friends: an antelope, a woodpecker and a tortoise. One night the antelope was caught in a huntsman's noose, and the tortoise set about biting through the thongs of the noose while the woodpecker, uttering cries of ill-omen, kept the huntsman in his hut. The antelope escaped, but the tortoise, exhausted by his labours, was caught by the huntsman. The antelope thereupon enticed the hunter into the forest and, eluding him, released the tortoise. The antelope was the Bodhisatta, Sāriputta the woodpecker, Moggallāna the tortoise and Devadatta the hunter.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta's wickedness (J.ii.152ff; DhA.iii.152f).

This Jātaka is figured on the Bharhut Stupa. Cunningham: (p.67 and PL xxvii.9).

15. Susumāra Jātaka (No. 208)

The Bodhisatta was once a monkey, living on the banks of the Ganges. The wife of a crocodile living in the river saw him and wished to eat his heart. Her husband, therefore, grew friendly with the monkey, whom he suggested taking across the river on his back, so that he might eat of fresh fruit on the opposite bank. The monkey trusted him and climbed on to his back, but, half way across the river, the crocodile began to sink and then confessed his intentions. The monkey thereupon laughed and told him that he never took his heart with him when he went climbing trees for food, otherwise it would get torn to pieces; but he, like all the other monkeys, hung it on a tree, and he showed it to the crocodile hanging there on the opposite bank.

The crocodile believed him and took him across, where he hoped to get the heart. But the monkey jumped on the bank and laughed at his stupidity.

The story was related in reference to Devadatta's attempts to kill the Buddha. The crocodile is identified with Devadatta and his wife with Ciñcā. (J.ii.159f.)

16. Dhammaddhaja Jātaka (No.220)

The *Bodhisatta* was once born as Dhammaddhaja, chaplain to Yasapāni, king of Benares. One day the king's captain, Kālaka, who was wont to take bribes, gave a wrong decision in a

case, and the Bodhisatta, being appealed to, again heard the case and decided in the plaintiff's favour. The people applauded greatly and the king made him judge. But Kālaka, wishing for an excuse to put Dhammaddhaja to death, persuaded the king that he was getting too popular, and the king gave him various impossible tasks. Dhammaddhaja, with the help of Sakka, performed them all. One day the king ordered him to find a park-keeper with four virtues, and once again, with the aid of Sakka, the *Bodhisatta* discovered Chattapāni, the king's barber. On being questioned, Chattapāni told the king that he was free from envy, drank no wine, had no strong desires, never gave way to anger; he then related stories of his past lives, the experiences of which had made him renounce these evils. (For details see Chattapāni 2). The king, at length, discovered Kālaka's perfidy and had him put to death.

The Jātaka was related in reference to Devadatta's attempts to kill the Buddha. Devadatta is identified with Kālaka and Sāriputta with Chattapāni. (J.ii.186-96).

(cf. Cyp.iii.7; Mtu.ii.208).

17. *Cullanandiya Jātaka* (No.222)

The Bodhisatta was once a monkey named Nandiya and, with his brother Cullanandiya, headed a band of eighty thousand monkeys. They had a blind mother, and finding that when they were away with the herd she never received the fruits they sent her, they decided to stay with her in a banyan-tree near a village. One day a brahmin, who had studied at Takkasilā, entered the forest with a bow and arrow. He had been warned by his teacher

Pārāsariya to curb his wickedness, but he could find no way, apart from killing, of keeping his wife and child. Seeing the aged monkey, he prepared to shoot her, but her sons offered their lives in her stead. The brahmin killed first them and then the mother. On his way home he heard that lightning had hit his house and that his family was dead; he himself was thereupon swallowed up by the fires of hell.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta's wickedness. The hunter was Devadatta. (J.ii.199-202).

18. Romaka Jātaka (No. 277)

The Bodhisatta was once born its king of a flock of pigeons. For a long time they visited regularly a good ascetic in a cave near by, until, one day, he left and his place was taken by a sham ascetic. The pigeons continued their visits, till one day the villagers served the ascetic with a dish of pigeon's flesh, and he, liking the flavour, conceived the desire to kill the pigeons. The Bodhisatta, suspecting his intentions, warned his followers and charged the ascetic with hypocrisy. J.ii.382 4; cp. Godha Jātaka (No. 325).

19. Tittira Jātaka (No.319)

Once the Bodhisatta was a brahmin ascetic, and Rāhula a decoy partridge used by a village fowler. When the partridge uttered a cry, other partridges would flock to him, and they were killed by the fowler. The partridge was filled with remorse, fearing that he was doing wrong. One day he met the Bodhisatta who set his doubts at rest.

The story was told in reference to Rāhula's readiness to profit by instruction (J.iii.64ff). It was related by Moggaliputta-Tissa to Asoka, to prove to him that an action becomes a crime only when performed with bad intention. (Mhv.v.264).

20. *Godha Jātaka* (No.325)

The story of the past is very similar to No.138 above, except that there is mention of only one ascetic and he is a hypocrite. The young lizard threatened to expose the ascetic's hypocrisy and compelled him to leave the hermitage. The story was related in reference to a monk who was a cheat and a rogue (J.iii.84f).

Cf. the Kuhakabrāhmana Vatthu (DhA.iv.154f.).

21. *Godha Jātaka* (No.333)

A prince and his wife, returning after a long journey, were greatly distressed by hunger, and some hunters, seeing them, gave them a roasted lizard. The wife carried it in her hand, hanging it from a creeper. Arriving at a lake, they sat down at the foot of a tree, and while his wife was away fetching water the prince ate the whole lizard. When his wife came back, he told her that the lizard had run away, leaving only the tail in his hand. Later, the prince became king, but his wife, though appointed queen consort, received no real honour. The Bodhisatta, who was the king's minister, wishing to see justice done to the queen, contrived that the king should be reminded of his ingratitude by allusion being made to the incident of the

roast lizard. The king thereupon realised his neglect of his dutiful wife, and conferred on her supreme power.

The story was told in reference to a couple who had been given a roast lizard, when returning from a journey undertaken to collect debts. The husband ate the whole lizard when his wife was away. She said nothing and drank some water to appease her hunger, but when they visited the Buddha, and he asked her if her husband were good and affectionate, she replied in the negative. The Buddha then told her the story of the past. (J.iii.106f.); cf. *Succaja Jātaka*

22. *Vānara Jātaka* (No. 342)

The Bodhisatta was a young monkey living on a river bank. A female crocodile in the river longed to eat his heart and her husband persuaded the monkey to go for a ride on his back in search of wild fruits. In midstream he began to sink and revealed his purpose, and the monkey, nothing daunted, said that monkeys did not keep their hearts in their bodies for fear of their being torn to pieces on the trees, but that they hung them on trees, and, pointing to a ripe fig tree, showed the crocodile what he said was his heart. The crocodile took him to the tree, and the monkey jumped ashore and laughed at him.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta's attempt to kill the Buddha. (J.iii.133f.); cf. *Susumāra Jātaka* (No. 208).

23. *Latukika Jātaka* (No. 357)

A quail once laid her eggs in the feeding ground of the elephants. When the young ones were hatched, the Bodhisatta,

the leader of the elephants, passed along that way with the herd, and, at the request of the mother quail, carefully avoided the young ones. But a rogue elephant, who came after, though warned in the same way, trod on the nest and fouled it. The quail swore revenge, and got a crow to put out the elephant's eyes and a fly to put maggots in them, and when the elephant, in great pain, looked for water, she persuaded a frog to croak on the mountain top and thus to lead the elephant into a precipice down which he fell and was killed.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta who was identified with the rogue elephant (J.iii.174 77). In the accounts (see Rohinī) of the quarrel between the Sakyans and the Koliyans, this Jātaka is said to have been one of those preached by the Buddha on that occasion, showing that even such a weak animal as a quail could sometimes cause the death of an elephant. Perhaps the story was related on more than one occasion. See also below, Latukikopama sutta.

See DhA.i.46, where it is related to the Kosambī monks to show the danger of quarrelling.

24. *Dhonasākhā Jātaka* (No.353)

Once a prince of Bārānasī, named Brahmadata, learned the arts from the Bodhisatta, then a teacher at Takkasilā. The teacher (Pārāsariya), having observed his character, warned him against harshness and counselled him to be gentle. In due course, Brahmadata became king, and on the advice of his chaplain, Pingiya, went out at the head of a large army and captured alive one thousand kings.

He could not, however, take Takkasilā, and Pingiya suggested that a sacrifice be offered, to take the form of blinding the captive kinks and letting their blood flow round the rampart. This was done; but when Brahmadata went to bathe, a Yakkha tore out his right eye, and, as he lay down, a sharp-pointed bone, dropped by a vulture, blinded his left eye. He died in agony and was born in hell.

The story was related in reference to bodhirājakumāra who blinded the architect of his palace (kokanada), lest he should build another as grand.

Bodhi is identified with Brahmadata and Devadata with Pingiya (J.iii.157.161).

25. Sāliya Jātaka (No. 367)

Once a village doctor saw a snake lying in the fork of a tree and asked the Bodhisatta, who was then a village boy, to get it for him, telling him that it was a hedgehog. The boy climbed the tree and seized the animal by its neck, but, on discovering that it was a snake, threw it away. The snake fell on the doctor and bit him so severely that he died.

The story was told in reference to Devadata's attempts to kill the Buddha (J.iii.202f). Elsewhere (DhA.iii.31f), however, the story is told in reference to the hunter Koka (q.v.), with whom the doctor is identified.

26. Dhammaddhaja Jātaka (No.384).

The Bodhisatta was once born as leader of a flock of birds on an island. Certain merchants of Benares started on a voyage

taking with them, to aid them on the way, a much traveled crow. The ship was wrecked and the crow flew to the island. There he pretended to the other birds that he was a holy person, practising austerities and living on air. The birds, being deceived by him, left him in charge of their eggs and young ones, which he proceeded to eat each day. One day the Bodhisatta kept watch and thus discovered his villainy. The birds collected round the crow and pecked him to death.

The story was related in reference to a deceitful monk, who is identified with the crow. (J.iii.267-70).

27. *Suvannakakkata Jātaka* (No. 389)

The Bodhisatta was a brahmin farmer of Sālindiya. On the way to his fields he passed a pond and grew friendly with a golden crab living in the pond. A she-crow longed to eat the farmer's eyes, and persuaded her husband to induce a snake to bite the farmer. This he did, and, overcome with the poison, the farmer fell near the pool. Attracted by the noise, the crab emerged, and, seeing the crow about to peck out the farmer's eyes, caught the crow with his claws. When the snake came to the rescue of the crow, the crab fastened on him too. The crab made the snake suck the poison from the farmer's body, and, when he stood up, the crab crushed the necks of both the snake and the crow and killed them.

The story was told in reference to Ānanda's attempt to save the Buddha from the elephant (Dhanapāla) sent by Devadatta to kill him, by standing between the elephant and the Buddha.

Māra was the serpent, Devadatta the crow, and Ānanda, the crab. Ciñcāmānavikā was the female crow. (J.iii.293-8).

28. *Kapi Jātaka* (No. 404)

Once the Bodhisatta and Devadatta were both born as monkeys. One day a mischievous monkey took his seat on the arch which was over the gateway to the park and, when the king's chaplain passed under the arch, he let excrement fall on his head, and, on the chaplain looking up, even into his mouth. The chaplain swore vengeance on the monkeys, and the Bodhisatta, hearing of it, counseled them to seek residence elsewhere. His advice was followed by all except the monkey, who was Devadatta, and a few of his followers. Sometime after, the king's elephants were burnt through a fire breaking out in their stalls. A goat had eaten some rice put out to dry and was beaten with a torch; his hair caught fire and the fire spread to the stalls. The chaplain, seizing his opportunity, told the elephant-doctors that the best remedy for burns was monkey-fat, and five hundred monkeys in the royal gardens were slain by archers for the sake of their fat.

The story was told in reference to Devadatta being swallowed up by the earth. (J.iii.355f; cp. Kāka Jātaka).

Kapi Jātaka.-See the Mahākapi Jātaka.

29. *Mahākapi Jātaka* (No. 407)

The Bodhisatta was once a monkey, leader of eighty thousand. In the grove where they lived was a mango tree (some say a banyan) growing on a river bank bearing fruit of divine

flavour, and the monkeys were always careful to let no fruit drop into the river. But one day a fruit, which had been hidden by an ants' nest, fell into the water, and was picked up at Benares, where the king was bathing. The king tasted it, and being seized with a desire to eat more, had many rafts made, and ascended the river with a company of foresters. They found the tree, and the king, having eaten his fill, lay down at the foot. At midnight the Bodhisatta came with his retinue and started eating the mangoes. The king was disturbed, and gave orders to his archers that the wood should be surrounded and all the monkeys shot at daybreak. But the Bodhisatta was a real leader; he ascended a straight-growing branch and, with one leap, reached the river bank. He then marked the distance, and having cut off a bamboo shoot of the required length, fastened one end to a tree on the bank and the other end round his waist. On leaping back, he found he had not allowed for the length which went round his waist, but grasping a branch firmly with both hands, he signaled to his followers to cross the bridge so formed. The eighty thousand monkeys thus escaped; but the monkey who was Devadatta, coming last, saw a chance of injuring the Bodhisatta, and taking a spring into the air, fell on the Bodhisatta's back, breaking it. There the Bodhisatta hung in agony, and the king who had seen all this caused him to be brought down and covered with a yellow robe and ministered to. But nothing could be done, and the Bodhisatta died after having admonished the king. A funeral pyre was made with one hundred wagon loads of timber, and the dead monkey was paid all the honours due to a king. A shrine was built on the spot where the cremation took

place, while the skull was inlaid with gold and taken to Benares, where a great feast was held in its honour for seven days. Afterwards it was enshrined and offerings were made to it.

The story was told concerning good works towards one's relations, as narrated in the introduction to the Bhaddasāla *Jātaka*. Ānanda is identified with the king. (J.iii.369-75; cf. *Jātakamālā*, No. 27); the story is sculptured in the stupa of Bharhut, Cunningham, (pl.xxxiii.4).

The *Jātaka* is also called the Rājovāda *Jātaka*. It is probably this story which is said to have greatly impressed ilanāga when he heard it from the Thera Mahāpaduma, who lived in Tulādhāra. (Mhv.xxxv.30).

30. Tittira Jātaka (No.438)

Once in Benares was a famous teacher who retired into the forest. Men came from all parts to learn from him and brought him many presents. He had in his house a tame partridge, who, by listening to the teacher's exposition, learnt the three Vedas by heart. A tame lizard and a cow were given as presents to the teacher. When the teacher died, his students were in despair, but were reassured by the partridge who taught them what he knew. One day a wicked ascetic came to the hermitage and, in the absence of the students, killed the partridge, the young lizard and the cow. The partridge had two friends, a lion and a tiger, who killed the murderer.

The ascetic was Devadatta, the lizard Kisāgotamī, the tiger Moggallāna, the lion Sāriputta, the teacher Mahā Kassapa, and the partridge the Bodhisatta.

The story was related in reference to Devadatta's attempts to kill the Buddha. (J.iii.536f.)

31. Mahāpaduma Jātaka (No. 472)

The Bodhisatta was once born as Mahāpaduma, son of Brahmadata, king of Benares. When Paduma's mother died, his father took another wife. On one occasion the king had to leave the city to quell a border rising, and, thinking the dangers too great to take his queen with him, he entrusted her to the care of Paduma. The campaign was victorious. In the course of making arrangements for the celebration of his father's return, Paduma entered the queen's apartments. She was struck by his amazing beauty, and fell in love with him, inviting him to lie with her. On his indignant refusal, she feigned illness, and, on the return of the king, falsely accused him of having ill treated her. The king gave orders, in spite of the protestations of the people, that Paduma should be thrown from the "Robbers' Cliff." The deity of the mountain saved his life and entrusted him to the care of the Nāga king, who took him to his abode, where he stayed for one year. Paduma then went to the Himālaya and became an ascetic. The king heard of this and went to offer him the kingdom, but it was refused by Paduma. The king, convinced of the falsity of the charge brought against Paduma, caused the queen to be flung from the Robbers' Cliff.

The story was related in reference to Ciñcamānavikā's false accusations against the Buddha. Ciñcā was the wicked queen, Devadatta the king, Sāriputta the deity, and Ānanda the Nāga. (J.iv.187 96; DhA.iii.181ff)

32. *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka (No. 544)*

Āṅgati, king of Mithilā in Videha, is a good ruler. One full moon night he consults his ministers as to how they shall amuse themselves. Alāta suggests new conquests; Sunāma suggests that they shall seek pleasure in dance, song and music; but Vijaya recommends that they shall visit some samana or brahmin. Āṅgati falls in with the views of Vijaya, and in great state goes to Guna of the Kassapagotta, an ascetic who lives in the park near the city. Guna preaches to him that there is no fruit, good or evil, in the moral life; there is no other world than this, no strength, no courage; all beings are predestined and follow their course like the ship her stern. Alāta approves of the views of Guna; he remembers how, in his past life, he was a wicked councillor called Piṅgala; from there he was born in the family of a general, and now he is a minister. A slave, Bījaka, who is present, can remember his past life and says he was once Bhavasetthi in Sāketa, virtuous and generous, but he is now the son of a prostitute. Even now he gives away half his food to any in need, but sees how destitute he is!

Āṅgati is convinced that Ginda's doctrine is correct, and resolves to find delight only in pleasure. He gives orders that he shall not be disturbed in his palace; Candaka, his minister, is deputed to look after the kingdom. Fourteen days pass in this

manner. Then the king's only child, his beloved daughter Rujā, comes to him arrayed in splendour, attended by her maidens, and asks for one thousand to be given the next day to mendicants. Aṅgati protests; he will deny his daughter no pleasure or luxury, but has learnt too much to approve of her squandering money on charity or wasting her energy in keeping the fasts.

Rujā is at first amazed, then tells her father that his councillors are fools, they have not taken reckoning of the whole of their past, but remember only one birth or two; they cannot therefore judge. She herself remembers several births; in one she was a smith in Rājagaha and committed adultery, but that sin remained hidden, like fire covered with ashes, and she was born as a rich merchant's only son in Kosambī. There she engaged in good works, but, because of previous deeds, she was born after death in the Roruva-niraya and then as a castrated goat in Bhennākata. In her next birth she was a monkey, and then an ox among the Dasannas; then a hermaphrodite among the Vajjians, and later a nymph in Tāvātimsā. Once more her good deeds have come round, and hereafter she will be born only among gods and men. Seven births hence she will be a male god in Tāvātimsā, and even now the god Java is gathering a garland for her.

All night she preaches in this way to her father, but he remains unconvinced. The Bodhisatta is a Brahmā, named Nārada Kassapa, and, surveying the world, sees Rujā and Aṅgati engaged in conversation. He therefore appears in the guise of an ascetic, and Aṅgati goes out to greet and consult him. The

ascetic praises goodness, charity, and generosity, and speaks of other worlds. Aṅgati laughs, and asks for a loan which, he says, he will repay twice over in the next world, as the ascetic seems so convinced that there is one. Nārada tells him of the horrors of the hell in which Aṅgati will be reborn unless he mends his ways, and mentions to him the names of former kings who attained to happiness through good lives. The king at last sees his error and determines to choose new friends. Nārada Kassapa reveals his identity and leaves in all majesty.

The story was related in reference to the conversion of Uruvela Kassapa. He came, after his conversion, with the Buddha to Laṅghivana, and the people wondered if he had really become a follower of the Buddha. He dispelled their doubts by describing the folly of the sacrifices which he had earlier practised, and, laying his head on the Buddha's feet did obeisance. Then he rose seven times into the air, and, after having worshipped the Buddha, sat on one side. The people marvelled at the Buddha's powers of conversion, which, the Buddha said, were not surprising since he possessed them already as a Bodhisatta.

Aṅgati is identified with Uruvela Kassapa, Alāta with Devadatta, Sunāma with Bhaddiya, Vijaya with Sāriputta, Bījaka with Moggallāna, Guna with the Licchavi Sunakkhatta, and Rujā with Ānanda. (J.vi.219 55; see also J.i.83).

33. *Mahā Ummagga Jātaka* (No. 546)

The *Bodhisatta* was once born in Mithilā as the son of Sirivaḍḍhaka and Sumanādevi. The child was born with a

medicinal plant in his hand, and was therefore called Mahosadha. He talked immediately after birth, and it is said that, on the day of his conception, Videha, king of Mithilā, dreamed a dream, which presaged the birth of a sage. From early childhood Mahosadha gave evidence of unusual ability, and one of his first acts was to build a large hall and lay out a garden with the help of his companions. The king wished to have him in the court though he was only seven years old, but was dissuaded by his wise men. But he sent a councillor to watch the boy and report of his doings from time to time. When the king was fully convinced (the Jātaka gives an account of nineteen problems solved by Mahosadha) that Mahosadha was undoubtedly endowed with unusual wisdom, he sent for him in spite of the counsel of his ministers - Senaka, Pukkusa, Kāvinda and Devinda - and appointed him as his fifth councillor. One day, Mahosadha saved the queen Udumbarā (q.v.) from the unjust wrath of the king, and ever after she was his firm and loyal friend. After his entry into the court, Mahosadha was on many occasions called upon to match his wit against that of the senior councillors, and on each occasion he emerged triumphant. E.g., in the Mendakapañhā (q.v.) and the Sirimandapañhā (q.v.).

When aged sixteen he married Amarādevī. She was a wise woman, and frustrated many attempts of Mahosadha's enemies to embroil him with the king. Once they stole various things from the palace and sent them to her. She accepted them, and made assignments with each of the donors. When they arrived she had them seized, their heads shaved, and themselves thrown

into the jakes, where she tormented them, and then arraigned them before the king with the stolen goods. Mahosadha, aware of the plots against him, lay in hiding, and the deity of the king's parasol put several questions to the king, knowing that none but Mahosadha could answer them. The king sent men to seek him, and he was discovered working for a potter. The king showed him all honour, and obtained from him the answers to the deity's questions.

But his enemies continued to plot against him, until orders were given by the king that he should be killed the next day. Udumbarā, discovered this and warned him. But in the meantime he had discovered the guilty secrets of his enemies: Senaka had killed a courtesan, Pukkusa had a leprous spot on his thigh, Kāvinda was possessed by a yakkha named Naradeva, and Devinda had stolen the king's most precious gem. Mahosadha posted these facts everywhere in the city, and the next day went boldly into the palace. The king professed innocence of any evil intentions against him; but Mahosadha exposed the schemes of them all, and Senaka and the others were only saved from severe punishment by the intervention of Mahosadha himself. Thenceforward Mahosadha was Videha's trusted councillor, and took various measures to increase his royal master's power and glory. Spies were sent to every court, whence they brought home reports. Mahosadha also had a parrot whom he employed to ferret out the most baffling secrets. While returning from a visit to Saṅkhapāla, king of Ekabala, the parrot passed through Uttarapañcāla and there overheard a conversation between Cuḷani Brahmadata, king of Kampilla, and his purohita Kevaṭṭa,

wherein the latter unfolded a scheme for capturing the whole of Jambudīpa. Kevaṭṭa was too wise to allow Brahmadaṭṭa, to attack Mithilā, knowing of Mahosadha's power, but Mahosadha deliberately provoked Brahmadaṭṭa by sending his men to upset a feast he had prepared, during which he had planned to poison the hundred princes whom he had brought under subjection. Brahmadaṭṭa then set out to attack Mithilā. He laid siege to the city, and adopted various ways of compelling the citizens to surrender. But Mahosadha was more than a match for him, and found means of defeating all his plans. In the end Mahosadha engaged the services of Anukevaṭṭa, who, pretending to be a traitor to Mithilā, went over to the army of Brahmadaṭṭa and, gaining the king's confidence, informed him that Kevaṭṭa and all the other counsellors of Brahmadaṭṭa had accepted bribes from Mahosadha. The king listened to him, and on his advice raised the siege and fled to his own city.

But Kevaṭṭa planned revenge, and, a year later, he persuaded Brahmadaṭṭa to send poets to Videha's city, singing songs of the peerless beauty of the daughter of Brahmadaṭṭa, Pañcālacandī. Videha heard the songs and sent a proposal of marriage, and Kevaṭṭa came to Mithilā to arrange the day. Videha suggested that Kevaṭṭa should meet Mahosadha to discuss the plans, but Mahosadha feigned illness, and when Kevaṭṭa arrived at his house, he was grossly insulted by Mahosadha's men. When Kevaṭṭa had left, Videha consulted Mahosadha, but would not be dissuaded from his plan to marry Pañcālacandī. Finding that he could do nothing with the king, Mahosadha sent his parrot Matthara to find out what he could

from the maynah bird which lived in Brahmadata's bedchamber. Matthara used all his wits and won the favour of the maynah and learnt from her of Kevaṭṭa's plan, which he repeated to Mahosadha.

With Videha's leave, Mahosadha went on Uttarapañcāla to, as he said, make preparations for the wedding. But he gave orders for a village to be built on every league of ground along the road, and gave instructions to the shipwright, Ānandakumāra, to build and hold ready three hundred ships. At Uttarapañcāla he was received with great honour, and obtained the king's permission to build in the city a palace for Videha. The king gave him a free hand, and he immediately started to threaten to pull down houses belonging to various people, from the queen mother downwards, and obtained money from them as bribes to spare their houses. Having reported to the king that no suitable spot was available within the city, he obtained his consent to erect a palace outside the city, between that and the Ganges. All access was forbidden to the site on penalty of a large sum, and having first erected a village called Gaggali for his workmen, elephants, etc., Mahosadha started to dig a tunnel, the mouth of which was in the Ganges. The tunnel, a marvellous place, was duly constructed, fitted with all manner of machinery, and beautifully decorated. A smaller tunnel was dug, leading into the larger, one opening, which was, however, concealed, giving access to the king's palace. The task occupied four months, and when all preparations were complete, Mahosadha sent word to Videha.

Videha arrived at Brahmadata's court, and a great feast was held in his honour at Upakārī, the palace which had been prepared for his residence. While the feast was in progress, Mahosadha sent men by the smaller tunnel to the palace and bade them fetch Talatā (the queen mother), the queen Nandā, and Pañcālacandī, on the pretext that they had been sent for by Brahmadata to take part in the festivities as Videha and Mahosadha had both been killed, according to plan. Meanwhile Brahmadata had given orders that the whole city should be surrounded. Videha was overcome with fright on discovering what was happening, but he put himself into Mahosadha's hands. The latter led him into the large tunnel, and there he was brought face to face with the members of Brahmadata's family, who had already been conducted thither. Pañcālacandī was placed upon a heap of treasure and married to Videha. On emerging from the tunnel, they were placed on board a waiting ship, with Tālatā and Nandā, and sent away into safety, escorted by the other ships, Mahosadha himself remaining behind in Uttarapañcāla.

The next day, Brahmadata came with his army to Upakārī, hoping to capture Videha. There Mahosadha revealed to him what had happened, and, in due course, persuaded him to forget his wrath and inspect the tunnel. While in the tunnel Brahmadata expressed his remorse for having listened to the evil advice of Brahmadata, and he and Mahosadha swore eternal friendship. Mahosadha returned to Mithilā, taking with him Brahmadata's dowry for his daughter; the members of Brahmadata's family returned to Uttarapañcāla, and the two kings lived in great amity.

Videha died ten years later, and in fulfillment of a promise made to Brahmadata, Mahosadha went to Uttarapañcāla. There Nandā, who had never forgiven him, tried to poison the king's mind against him; but this plot was frustrated by a religious woman, Bherī (q.v.), and Brahmadata remained his firm friend, loving him, as he confessed to Bheri, more than any of his own family.

The Jātaka was related to illustrate the Buddha's great wisdom.

- Uppalavannā is identified with Bherī,
- Suddhodana with Sirivaḍḍhaka,
- Mahāmāyā with Sumanādevī,
- Bimbādevī with Amarā,
- Ānanda with Matthara,
- Sāriputta with Culani Brahmadata,
- Devadatta with Kevaṭṭa,
- Culla Nandikā with Talatā,
- Sundarī with Pañcālacandī,
- Yasassikā with Nandī,
- Ambaṭṭha with Kāvinda,
- Poṭṭhapāda with Pukkusa,
- Pilotika with Devinda,
- Saccaka with Senaka,
- Diṭhamaṅgalikā with Udumbarā,
- Kundaḷī with the maynah bird, and
- Lāludāyī with King Videha.

The story occupies (J.iv., pp. 329 478, in Fausböll's edition; what is given here is merely an extremely short summary; cp. Mtu.ii.839).

34. Vessantara Jātaka (No. 547)

Vessantara (the Bodhisatta) was the son of Sañjaya, king of Sivi, and queen Phusatī, and was so called because his mother started in labour as she passed through the vessa street in the city of Jetuttara, and he was born in a house in the same street. He spoke as soon as he was born (Cf. BuA.228). On the same day was also born a white elephant named Paccaya. At the age of eight, Vessantara wished to make a great gift and the earth trembled. He married Maddī at the age of sixteen, and their children were Jāli and Kanhajinā.

At that time there was a great drought in Kālīṅga, and eight brahmins came from there to Vessantara to beg his white elephant, which had the power of making rain to fall. He granted their request, and gave the elephant together with its priceless trappings (J.vi.488f. gives the details of these). The citizens of Jetuttara were greatly upset that their elephant should have been given away, and demanded of Sañjaya that Vessantara should be banished to Vaṅkagiri. The will of the people prevailed, and Vessantara was asked to take the road along which those travel who have offended. He agreed to go, but before setting out, obtained the king's leave to hold an almsgiving called the "Gift of the Seven Hundreds" (Sattasataka), in which he gave away seven hundred of each kind of thing. People came from all over

Jambudīpa to accept his gifts, and the almsgiving lasted for a whole day.

When Vessantara took leave of his parents and prepared for his journey, Maddī insisted on accompanying him with her two children. They were conveyed in a gorgeous carriage drawn by four horses, but, outside the city, Vessantara met four brahmins who begged his horses. Four devas then drew the chariot, but another brahmin soon appeared and obtained the chariot. Thenceforward they travelled on foot, through Suvannagiritāla, across the river Kantimārā, to beyond Mount Arañjaragiri and Dunnivitha, to his uncle's city, in the kingdom of Ceta. The devas shortened the way for them, and the trees lowered their fruit that they might eat. Sixty thousand khattiyas came out to welcome Vessantara and offered him their kingdom, which, however, he refused. He would not even enter the city, but remained outside the gates, and, when he left early the next morning, the people of Ceta, led by Cetaputta, went with him for fifteen leagues, till they came to the entrance to the forest. Vessantara and his family then proceeded to Gandhamādana, northwards, by the foot of Mount Vipula to the river Ketumatī, where a forester entertained them and gave them to eat. Thence they crossed the river to beyond Nālika, along the bank of Lake Mucalinda, to its north eastern corner, then along a narrow footpath into the dense forest, to Vaṅkagiri. There Vissakamma had already built two hermitages, by order of Sakka, one for Vessantara and one for Maddī and the children, and there they took up their residence. By Vessantara's power, the wild animals

to a distance of three leagues became gentle. Maddī rose daily at dawn, and, having fetched water to wash, went into the forest for yams and fruit. In the evening she returned, washed the children, and the family sat down to eat. Thus passed four months.

Then from Dunniviṭṭha there came to the hermitage an old brahmin, called Jujaka, who had been sent by his young wife, Amittatāpanā, to find slaves for her, because when she went to the well for water the other women had laughed at her, calling her "old man's darling." She told Jujaka that he could easily get Vessantara's children as slaves, and so he came to Vaṅkagiri. Asking the way of various people, including the hermit Accuta, Jujaka arrived at Vaṅkagiri late in the evening and spent the night on the hilltop. That night Maddī had a dream, and, being terrified, she sought Vessantara. He knew what the dream presaged, but consoled her and sent her away the next day in search of food. During her absence, Jujaka came and made his request. He would not await the return of Maddī, and Vessantara willingly gave him the two children. But they ran away and hid in a pond till told by their father to go with Jujaka. When Vessantara poured water on Jujaka's hand as a symbol of his gift, the earth trembled with joy. Once more the children escaped and ran back to their father, but he strengthened his resolve with tears in his eyes. Jujaka led the children away, beating them along the road till their blood flowed.

It was late in the evening when Maddī returned because devas, assuming the form of beasts of prey, delayed her coming,

lest she should stand in the way of Vessantara's gift. In answer to her questions, Vessantara spoke no word, and she spent the night searching for the children. In the morning she returned to the hermitage and fell down fainting. Vessantara restored her to consciousness and told her of what had happened, explaining why he had not told her earlier. When she had heard his story she expressed her joy, affirming that he had made a noble gift for the sake of omniscience.

And then, lest some vile creature should come and ask for Maddī, Sakka, assuming the form of a brahmin, appeared and asked for her. Vessantara looked at Maddī, and she expressed her consent. So he gave Maddī to the brahmin, and the earth trembled. Sakka revealed his identity, gave Maddī back to Vessantara, and allowed him eight boons. Vessantara asked that:

- (1) he be recalled to his father's city,
- (2) he should condemn no man to death,
- (3) he should be a helpmate to all alike
- (4) he should not be guilty of adultery,
- (5) his son should have long life:
- (6) he should have celestial food,
- (7) his means of giving should never fail,
- (8) After death he should be reborn in heaven.

In the meantime, Jujaka had travelled sixty leagues with the children, whom the devas cared for and protected. Guided by the devas, they arrived in fifteen days at Jetuttara, though Jujaka had intended to go to Kāliṅga. Sañjaya bought the children from Jujaka, paying a high price, including the gift of a seven strayed

palace. But Jujaka died of over eating, and as no relation of his could be traced, his possessions came back to the king. Sañjaya ordered his army to be prepared and a road to be built from Jetuttara to Vañkagiri, eight usabhas wide. Seven days later, led by Jāli, Sañjaya and Phusatī started for Vañkagiri.

In the army was the white elephant, who had been returned because the people of Kāliṅga could not maintain him. There was great rejoicing at the reunion of the family, and the six royal personages fell in a swoon till they were revived by rain sent by Sakka, the rain only wetting those who so wished it. Vessantara was crowned king of Sivī, with Maddī as his consort. After a month's merry making in the forest, they returned to Jetuttara. On the day Vessantara entered the city he set free every captive, including even cats. In the evening, as he lay wondering how he would be able to satisfy his suitors the next day, Sakka's throne was heated, and he sent down a shower of the seven kinds of precious things, till the palace grounds were filled waist high. Vessantara was thus able to practise his generosity to the end of his days. After death he was born in Tusitā (J.i.47; DhA.i.69).

The story was related on the occasion of the Buddha's first visit to Kapilavatthu. The Buddha's kinsmen escorted him to the Nigrodhārāma, but sat round him without doing any obeisance, because of their great pride. The Buddha then performed the Twin Miracle, and the Sakyans, led by Suddhodana, worshipped him. There was then a shower of rain, refreshing all and falling only on those who so wished. When the people expressed their wonder, the Buddha related this story, showing that in the past, too, rain had fallen on his kinsfolk to revive them. (According to

BuA.245, the Jātaka was related at the end of the recital of the Buddhavaṃsa).

- Devadatta is identified with Jujaka,
- Ciñcāmānavikā with Amittatāpanā,
- Channa with Cetaputta,
- Sāriputta with Accuta,
- Anuruddha with Sakka,
- Sañjaya with Suddhodana,
- Mahāmāyā with Phussatī,
- Rāhulamātā with Maddī,
- Rāhula with Jāli, and
- Uppalavannā with Kanhājīnā. (The story is given J.vi.479-593).

The story also occurs in the Cariyāpiṭaka (i.9), and is often referred to (E.g., Sp.i.245; VbhA.414; Cv.xlii.5; c.74) as that of a birth in which the Bodhisatta's dāna pāramī reached its culmination. The earth shook seven times when Vessantara made his gifts, and this forms the subject of a dilemma in the Milinda-Pañhā. (Mil. p.113; for another question, see *ibid.* 274f).

The story of the Jātaka was sculptured in the Relic Chamber of the Mahā Thupa. (Mhv.xxx.88)

The story of Vessantara is the first of the Jātakas to disappear from the world (AA.i.51). See also Guḷha Vessantara.

In religious field, it has usually been taken as a simple case of sectarian jealousy, requiring no further explanation. Some

scholars believe there is a great deal more in it than that¹ and so does the writer.

The basis of information available in the *Jātakas* summarizes as follow:

Nature of the character of Devadatta:	Jātaka number:
A fake ascetic	11, 227, 492
A person of bad principles, bad leader, and a bad companion	12, 26, 397
A pretender, an ungrateful person, a plotter, a traitor, a drunkard, and a murder.	21, 57, 58, 72, 110, 111, 112, 131, 142, 143, 160 168,174, 204, 206, 208, 210, 220, 221, 241, 308, 329, 335, 342, 350, 358, 364, 389, 404, 407, 416, 445, 448, 452, 457, 471, 472, 473, 482, 500, 505, 508, 516, 517, 530, 533, 546.
A liar, low, mean, unwise, double-faced, inefficient, dishonest, shameless, self-destructive, criminal-minded, disobedient, unjust, harsh, and cruel person.	1, 3, 10, 113, 139, 141, 150, 184, 193, 194, 209, 224, 231, 240, 294, 295, 313, 353, 357, 367, 422, 438, 466, 503, 506, 514, 518, 543, 547.
Herretical, deserter, schism-creator, jealous & anti-Buddha.	122, 222, 243, 326, 474, 544
A wicked man who attempted human sacrifice.	542

1. BD, A.M. Hocart, Indian Antiquary, vol. 52, Oct. 1923, and vol. 54, Oct. 1925. p.267

(i)- *The genealogy relationship between Buddha and Devadatta:*

There is a school, less popular, suggests that the genealogy of Buddha and Devadatta is of prominent interested in examining the causes of Devadatta's *Dissent*.

A.M. Hocart, quoted from Spence Hardy, in his *Manual of Buddhism*, relates how the thirty-two sons of Rāma of the Koli tribe married their thirty-two mother's brother's daughters of the Sakya tribe. "From this time it became the custom of the Koli and Sakya tribes to intermarry with each other." It is the cross-cousin system, under which a man's children are expected to marry his sister's children, but not his brother's children. In technical language a man marries his cross-cousin, a term invented to express the fact that they are cousins through parents of opposite sexes. Such a form of marriage results in a system of reckoning kin, in which the maternal uncle is the same as the father-in-law, the paternal aunt as the mother-in-law, and so forth, as any one can work out for himself on the above pedigree.¹

Once in his late time, Devadatta thought: I am equally honourable as to my family with Buddha; before I became a priest I was treated with all respect, but now I receive even less than my previous followers. I must take to myself 500 disciples; but before I can do this, I must persuade some king or other to take my part; great monarchs of Rājagaha, and other places, are

1. BD, A.M.Hocart, cit. op. pp.267-68

all on the side of Buddha; I cannot therefore deceive them, as they are wise. But there is Ajātasattu (Sanskrit: Ajātasatru), the son of Bimbisāra; he is ignorant of causes, and disobedient to his parents; but he is liberal to his followers; so I must bring him over, and then I can easily procure a large retinue."¹ In another evidences from family shows that Sakya Suppabuddha was angry with the Buddha because he has not only deserted his daughter Yasoddhā in renouncing the household life but had also turned hostile to his son Devadatta after ordaining him as a disciple in the Saṃgha.²

A.M. Hocard pursues further in this tendency as he suggests that the reader will long ago have seen what we were coming to, namely to the conclusion that the rivalry of Buddha and Devadatta is an echo of the friendly and ceremonial antagonism of cross-cousins. We must leave it undecided, however, whether there existed between the Buddha and his cousin a friendly feud, which, with the disappearance of the custom, was misinterpreted as a bitter enmity; or whether in those days an originally friendly opposition had degenerated into hate; or whether, finally, there never was such a rivalry between the two, but traditions of cross-cousin rivalry became attached to the pair.³

(ii)- Devadatta as depicted in Pāli sources:

1. Ibid. p.269.

2. *DhammapadaŌŌhakathā* III. p.44. Qouted at ONAIB, K.T.S. Sarao. p.107.

3. BD, A.M.Hocart, cit. op. p.268.

In the lore of Buddhism Devadatta is the cousin of the Buddha as is the Buddha's attendant, Ānanda. But while Ānanda is a much-beloved figure, Devadatta is one of the most notorious villains of the Pāli Canon ranking alongside Mara due to his ambition to overthrow the Buddha. As depicted in his legends, Devadatta is, in fact, an inveterate evildoer who is driven by ambitious and hateful intentions and performs a variety of pernicious deeds. Thus he tries, at various times, to supplant the Buddha, to bring the saṃgha to ruin, and even to kill the master through one or another diabolical scheme. Referring to Devadatta, Rockhill rightly remarks that "his name became in later times synonymous with everything that is bad, the object of the hatred of all believers."¹ In one of dilemmas discussed in the *Milindapañhā*, Devadatta is depicted as a mixture of good and evil.²

But the portrait of Devadatta as an evildoer is, within the Indian Buddhist corpus, not entirely consistent. In fact, there are indications, however slight, of another, quite different Devadatta, an impeccable saint whose sanctity is acknowledged by other Buddhist saints, including Sāriputta and even the Buddha himself. In the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda, for example, we learn that for twelve years following his admission into the order, Devadatta conducts himself with faultless deeds and thoughts. He reads and recites the suttas, lives according to proper discipline, and strives in his practice of the dhamma; in

1. LBEHO, William Woodville Rockhill. p.83

2. ONAIB, K.T.S. Sarao, op. cit. p.107.

the *Āṅguttaranikāya*, Devadatta reveals himself as one who has the right view and can preach the correct doctrine. Little wonder, then, that Sāriputta praises Devadatta for his saintliness: "Godhi's son is of great psychic power, Godhi's son is of great majesty,"¹ a praise that the Buddha affirms is spoken with truth.² The theme of Devadatta's saintliness is affirmed in the Udāna, where it is the Buddha who praises him. Devadatta is mentioned as a Buddhist saint among other great Buddhist saints. In this account, eleven saints approach the Buddha, Devadatta and ten others - including the greatest disciples of the Buddha, listed, in the *Pāli*, as (1) Sāriputta, (2) Mahāmoggallāna, (3) Mahākassapa, (4) Mahākaccāyana, (5) Mahākoṭṭhita, (6) Mahākappina, (7) Mahācunda, (8) Anruddha, (9) Revata, and (11) Ānanda; Devadatta is tenth in this list, between Revata and Ānanda.³ The Buddha refers to these eleven as brahmins

1. *Vinaya* 2:189, trans.by I.B.Horner .Vol.5 p.265.

2. It is not always Sāriputta who has this role. In a Sanskrit fragment of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda, it is Ānanda who makes this praise. Read more in Waldschmidt p.553.ff.

3. This list, containing the same saints given in the same order, appears in the *Majjhimanikāya* 3:78-79, Horner 1954-59, 3:121, - except for the fact that Devadatta is absent from his position as number ten. The two most reasonable explanations for this discrepancy are (1) that the *Majjhimanikāya* list represents the original list and that Devadatta was later added to the Udāna list and (2) that the Udāna list represents the earlier configuration, with Devadatta being removed in the *Majjhimanikāya* version. This latter option seems more likely for three reasons: (1) the antiquity of Udāna in relation to the *Majjhimanikāya*, Etienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Louvain, 1958, p. 172; (2) given Devadatta's odious character in developed Buddhism, he is much more likely to be removed from a list like this than to be added to it; and (3)

declaring, "Monks, these are brahmins coming, these are brahmins coming." When asked to define what he means by brahmin, he replies that they are awakened saints: "Barring out evil things, who are ever mindful fare, Awakened, bond-free such in the world are surely brahmins."¹

Devadatta also appears with many of the characteristics of a saint even in passages that are openly hostile toward him. For example, he is depicted as one who meditates in solitude.² Moreover, as we shall presently see, he espouses the dhutagunas, including living in the forest, dwelling under a tree, begging food, and wearing patched clothes. Devadatta is also a realized master and, through his awakening, is in possession of magical power. The laity is enamored of him and shows their devotion through elaborate donations. He is a master who has disciples. He is an eloquent preacher, who "gladdened, rejoiced, roused, and delighted the monks far into the night with talk on dhamma."³ Taken together, these features define not an evildoer, but a realized master who in many respects conforms to the paradigm of the Buddhist saint of the forest. This raises the question of why Devadatta is on the one hand vilified as the very embodiment of evil and on the other depicted as a realized saint. In order to address this question, let us consider the main themes of Devadatta's legend as found in the extant literature.

Devadatta does have a positive side, as we have seen, but as time goes on, it is increasingly hidden under a covering of vitriolic condemnation.

1. TMA & U, trans. by F.L.Woodward, pp.4-5
2. *Vinaya* 2:184, trans. by I.B.Horner .Vol.5 p.259.
3. *Vinaya* 2:200, *ibid.*, p.280.

(iii)- *Devadatta depicted in Legends:*

According to Mukherjee, who provides a detailed analysis of the texts surrounding Devadatta, the components of Devadatta's biography fall naturally into three parts: the main traditions, the secondary traditions, and the individual reports.¹

Primary sources: These include fifteen episodes found in the Pāli vinaya, in the Vibhaṅga (Saṃghādisesa 10) and the Khandhaka (Cuḷavagga) and, in more or less complete form, also in the Vibhaṅga and Saṃghabhedavatthu of the vinayas of the Dhammaguptaka, Mahīsāsaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mulasarvāstivāda. The content of these main traditions, shortly to be summarized, includes the Devadatta legend from the time of his admission to the order, through his efforts to split the community and his attempts on the Buddha's life, until his death.

Secondary sources: These include four episodes found primarily in the Mulasarvāstivādin vinaya and the Mahāvastu, which include a resume of Devadatta's family tree, his attempt to kill an elephant, his participation in an archery competition, and also his attempt to poison the Buddha and his fall into hell.

Individual works: These include an additional fifteen episodes each of which is found only in one text: nine are found in the Mulasarvāstivādin vinaya, and the other six are scattered in the Aṅguttaranikāya, Dhammaguptaka vinaya, Mahīsāsaka

1. *Die Überlieferung von Devadatta, dem Widersacher des Buddha*, Biswadeb Mukherjee, in den kanonischen Schriften, Munich, 1966, pp. 6-7 translated by internet sources.

vinaya, Sarvāstivādan vinaya, and Ekottarāgama. These depict episodes from various periods of Devadatta's life from his childhood onward.

According to Mukherjee, the fifteen episodes of the main traditions, contained in the vinayas of the five schools, represent the oldest stratum and the essential foundation of the Devadatta biography. Both the secondary traditions and the individual reports clearly represent later additions to this material, a judgment in which Bareau who has examined the Devadatta legends in detail, concurs.¹ The two contradictory facets of Devadatta's personality, saintly and diabolical, are unmistakably articulated already in the main traditions. Thus the question of the reasons for the contradictions in Devadatta's depiction may best be addressed in the early stratum of the legend, as found in the fifteen episodes of the main traditions. The following summarizes the Pāli account, with differences from the other vinayas noted where appropriate.

In the Vibhaṅga, Saṃghādisesa 10, we read that one day in the Bamboo Grove in Rājagaha, Devadatta, who is himself a renunciant in the Buddha's order, approaches four other of the Buddha's renunciants (Pāli: rendering), Kokālika, Kaṭamora-katissaka, the son of lady Khandā, and Samuddadatta. He proposes to them the splitting of the order. When Kokālika asks how they might carry out this intention, Devadatta suggests that he and his four compatriots approach the Buddha and ask him to

1. EB. Andre Bareau, *Annuaire du College de France*, 1988-89, 2, p. 540

institute five dhuta¹ practices that shall be mandatory on all his renunciants, saying: Lord, the lord in many ways speaks in praise of desiring little, of being contented, of expunging (evil), of being punctilious, of what is gracious, of decrease (of the obstructions), of putting forth energy. Lord, these five items are conducive in many ways to desiring little, to contentment.

1. It were good, lord, if the monks for as long as life lasted, should be forest dwellers (*āraññaka*); whoever should betake himself to the neighborhood of a village, sin (*vajja*) would besmirch him.

2. For as long as life lasts let them be beggars for alms (*pinḍapātika*); whoever should accept an invitation, sin would besmirch him.

3. For as long as life lasts let them be wearers of robes taken from the dustheap (*paṃsukulika*); whoever should accept a robe given by a householder, sin would besmirch him.

4. For as long as life lasts let them live at the foot of a tree (*rukhamulika*); whoever should go undercover, sin would besmirch him.

5. For as long as life lasts let them not eat fish and flesh (*macchamaṃsaṃ na khādeyyuṃ*); whoever should eat fish and flesh, sin would besmirch him.²

1. In the Pāli account, these five conventions are explicitly called dhuta, vinaya, 3:171, Horner, trans. *The Book of Discipline*, vol. 1, Suttavibhaṅga, pp. 296-7. In other accounts, they are similarly identified as dhuta or dhutanga, Bareau, op. cit., p. 541.

2. *Vinaya* 3:171 trans. by I.B. Horner, vol. 1, *Suttavibhaṅga*, pp. 296-297.

Devadatta then explains the rationale of his proposal: "The recluse Gotama will not allow these things. Then we will win over the people by means of these five items. It is possible, your reverence, with these five items, to make a schism in the Order of the recluse Gotama, a breaking of the concord. For, your reverence, people esteem austerity."¹

Following this, Devadatta with his four coconspirators approach the Buddha, and Devadatta puts forward his proposal. As anticipated, the Buddha is not receptive; He leaves the option to the monks and enjoins Devadatta not to bring out a schism in the Sangha:

"Enough, Devadatta. ... Whoever wishes, let him be a forest-dweller; whoever wishes, let him dwell in the neighborhood of a village; whoever wishes, let him be a beggar for alms; whoever wishes, let him wear rags taken from the dust-heap; whoever wishes, let him accept a householder's robes. For eight months, Devadatta, lodging at the foot of a tree is permitted by me (i.e., during the rains). Fish and flesh are pure in respect of three points; if they are not seen, heard or suspected to have been killed for him".²

The Buddha, in effect, will allow Devadatta's austerities as optional practices for bhikkhus, but will not make them compulsory on all and certainly not "for as long as life lasts."

1. Ibid. p. 297.

2. Ibid. p.298

Receiving the Buddha's rejection, Devadatta is "joyful and exultant."¹ Then, having paid reverence to the lord, he departs, journeying with his four friends to Rājagaha. There, he proclaims to the laity that whereas he and his followers adhere to the rigorous practices, the Buddha and his followers do not. Some of the laity responds by praising Devadatta and his company. "These recluses, sons of the Sakyans, are punctilious (dhuta) and practice the expunging of evil; but the recluse Gotama is luxurious and strives after abundance."² However there are other laities who, loyal to the Buddha, are distressed that a schism is in the making. When other renunciants of the Buddha hear of this incident, they make a report to the Blessed One, accusing Devadatta of fomenting a schism. The Buddha asks Devadatta if this report is true, and when Devadatta admits that it is, the Buddha castigates him and lays down the rule that if a bhikkhu should seek to foment a schism, he should be spoken to three times. If he does not pay heed, there is an offense entailing a formal meeting of the order, saṃghādisesa (Sanskrit: saṃghāvaśeṣa).³

In the Vibhaṅga, Saṃghādisesa 11, we read of a further incident leading to a rule pertaining to those who support the fomenter of a schism. Kokālika, Kaṭamorakatissaka, the son of lady Khandā, and Samuddadatta overhear certain renunciants criticizing Devadatta for fomenting a schism: "Devadatta is not

1. *Vinaya* 3:172. Ibid.

2. *Vinaya* 3: p.299.

3. *Vinaya* 3:172-173. Ibid. pp.299-300.

one who speaks dhamma, Devadatta is not one who speaks vinaya. How can this Devadatta proceed with a schism in the Order, with a breaking of the concord?" The four then respond, "Do not speak thus, venerable ones; Devadatta is one who speaks dhamma, Devadatta is one who speaks vinaya, and Devadatta having adopted our desire and objective, gives expression to them; he knows what he says for us seems also good to us." This is reported to the Buddha who institutes the rule that if certain bhikkhus support one who foments a schism, they should be admonished three times, after which, if they do not desist, there is an offense entailing a formal meeting of the order.¹

(iv)-Devadatta and supernatural power:

Perhaps one of the causes leading the dissent from Devadatta to Buddha is the rejection of the supernatural power which is the strength side of Devadatta.

In *Cūlavagga* (V. 8.2), we read that when the Buddha heard that Pindola Bhara dvaja had shown his magic power by flying through the air thrice round Rājagaha with the sandal-bowl, which was set high on a pole by a Rājagaha setthi, he reprimanded the thera for having displayed his iddhi (magic power) for so trifling an object as a sandal bowl. There he uses the word *chavassa*, and a simile not at all dignified and becoming. The explanation, therefore, that Buddha's use of unbecoming language towards Devadatta was scarcely in

1. *Vinaya* 3:174-175. Ibid. pp.304-305

keeping with his character, but with that of a cross-cousin, becomes, to my mind, considerably weakened, for that was not the only occasion on which he used language unworthy of his character. Devadatta is hurt and one day when Buddha is walking up and down on Grdhrakuta, hill throws a stone at him.¹

Regarding to supernatural power and the hostility of Devadatta toward the Buddha, A.M. Hocart raises the question of doubtness as he states that if the hostility of Devadatta is merely the record of ordinary hatred, it is difficult to understand why Devadatta, possesses the power of flying through the air and of performing miracles (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p.326). Here we have a man who, according to existing accounts, is utterly wicked, so wicked as to oppose the Saviour of the World, yet endowed with a power which is normally attained only after treading the path of meditation and renunciation towards the goal of sanctity. Buddhist tradition seems to have felt the difficulty, for it is at pains to explain that to him the power of passing through the air and of assuming of any form was only a curse, which "led him on to do that which involved himself in ruin." If on the other hand this antagonism is really the echo or the continuation of an old sporting feud involving no moral stigma on either side, it is only natural that the rival chiefs should both be endowed with wondrous power; only one surpasses the other. When at a later time it came to be interpreted as the malice of the Evil One against the Good One,

1. CRBBD, Kalipada Mitra, pp.125-26.

a difficulty arose which had to be explained way.¹ Replying to this issue, Kalipada Mitra writes that Whatever power Devadatta possessed of " flying through the air and performing miracles" he seems to have lost it, and that for ever, after his miraculous appearance before Ajātasattu; for we learn that Devadatta " at this time lost the power of dhyana." I do not find anywhere in the subsequent part of the Manual that Devadatta ever recovered his magic power. The possession of the power of flying through the air by Devadatta does not present any difficulty to me. This power was entirely due to the Buddha, and vanished from him even at the very thought of revolt against the Great Teacher. Let me pursue this view a little further. It is related in Cuḷavagga (VII.1.4) that when he was ordained by the Buddha (pabbajja) along with Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Bhagu and Kimila-the Sakyas, Devadatta attained only pothujjanikaṃ iddhiṃ (the lower grade of Magic Power). He exhibited his power by assuming the form of a child (or a Brahmin?), wearing a girle of snakes and suddenly appearing in Ajātasattu's lap. But as soon as, the evil thought of administering the Order possessed him, his Magic Power diminished. His magic power, small as it was, became smaller.²

In Cuḷavagga 7, the story told in the Vibhaṅga, Saṃghādisesa 10, appears again but as part of a much fuller account of Devadatta's life and designs, summarized here according to Mukherjee's fifteen episodes of the main tradition.

1. BD, A.M. Hocart. Indian Antiquary, vol. 52, 1923-25, p.269.

2 CRBBD, Kalipada Mitra, op.cit. p.126-27.

In chapter 7, we see Devadatta renouncing the world, along with six other Sakya youths,¹ after a year following which Devadatta obtains supernatural power.² Subsequently, Devadatta schemes to win lay converts and satisfy his desire for honor and material gain and decides to manifest his magical powers to the crown prince Ajātasattu.³ Devadatta, inflated with his success, conceives a desire to become leader of the order in the Buddha's place, at which point his psychic powers diminish. This evil wish, known by a certain deva, is reported to the Buddha,⁴ as are Devadatta's successes with Prince Ajātasattu.⁵ The Buddha is not troubled by these reports, for he remarks that Devadatta's mental states will decline and not grow.

(v)- Devadatta – the cause of Schism:

The public attitudes of the laypeople were also one of the motives forcing Devadatta to dissent the Saṅgha. It is to believe that When the Teacher and the monks went into residence at Kosambi, great numbers of people flocked thither and said, "Where is the Teacher? Where is Sāriputta? Moggallāna? Kassapa? Bhaddiya? Anuruddha? Ānanda? Bhagu? Kimila?" But nobody said, "Where is Devadatta?" Thereupon Devadatta said to himself, "I retired from the world with these monks; I, like them, belong to the warrior caste; but unlike them I am the

1 *Vinaya* 2:182-83 trans. By IB Horner, op.cit., vol. 5, C|Āavagga, p. 257.

2 Ibid

3 *Vinaya* 2:184, ibid. pp. 259-260.

4 *Vinaya* 2:185-87, ibid. pp. 260-262.

5 *Vinaya* 2:187-88, ibid.pp. 262-263.

object of nobody's solicitude".¹ And then with the help of Ajātasattu he tried to kill Buddha. When all his attempts failed, he went to the Buddha, and with a view to cause a schism in the Order.²

History records that Devadatta approaches the Buddha and, pointing out that the master is now old, suggests that he, Devadatta, assumes leadership of the order. The Buddha utterly rejects this request, remarking that "I, Devadatta, would not hand over the order of monks even to Sāriputta and Moggallāna. How then could I do to you, a wretched one to be vomited like spittle?"³ After Devadatta has departed, angry and displeased, the Buddha tells the bhikkhus to carry out a formal act of information against Devadatta in Rājagaha:

"whereas Devadatta's nature was formerly of one kind, now it is of another kind; and that whatever Devadatta should do by gesture and by voice, in that neither the Awakened One nor dhamma nor the Order should be seen, but in that only Devadatta should be seen."⁴

The act being carried out, the Buddha asks Sāriputta to inform against Devadatta. When Sāriputta expresses hesitation

1 *Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary*, Brilingame, Proc. of the American Academy: 45--20, p. 504.

2 *CRBBD*, Kalipada Mitra, p.127.

3. *Vinaya* 2:188. Ibid p.264.

For a discussion of this insult, see Etienne Lamotte, "*Le Buddha insulta-t-il Devadatta?*" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 33:pp.107-115.

4. *Vinaya* 2:189. Ibid. pp.264-265.

because he had formerly spoken in praise of Devadatta, the Buddha allows that just as Sāriputta's former praise had been true, now his condemnation will be equally true.¹ When Sāriputta enters Rājagaha and proclaims the act of information against Devadatta, Devadatta's lay devotees express the view that "these recluses, sons of the Sakyans are jealous, they are jealous of Devadatta's gains and honours," while others express willingness to trust the Buddha's judgment.²

Following this, in the Cuḷavagga account, Devadatta attempts to instigate Ajātasattu to kill his father Bimbisāra in order to become king, while he, Devadatta, plans to kill the Buddha in order to usurp his position as leader of the saṃgha.³ Ajātasattu is discovered, but instead of being punished, is given the kingship by his father. Devadatta then convinces Ajātasattu to send assassins against the Buddha, but they are dissuaded from their intended act by the Lord's charisma, insight, and kindness.⁴ Devadatta next attempts to roll a boulder from a mountain height down on the Buddha. Although the boulder is miraculously destroyed, fragments draw blood from the Buddha's foot, which prompts the Buddha to remark, "You have produced great demerit, foolish man, in that you, with your mind, malignant, your mind on murder, drew the Truth-finder's

1. *Vinaya* 2: 189.Ibid p.265.

2. *inaya* 2: 190.Ibid p.266.

3. Ibid.

4. *Vinaya* 2:191-193, ibid.pp. 268-271.

blood."¹ Following this incident, the Buddha's bhikkhus are anxious lest Devadatta succeed in murdering their master. In order to prevent against this, they pace up and down on every side of the Buddha's dwelling, reciting their texts, "doing their studies together with a loud noise, with a great noise for the protection, defence, and warding of the Lord." The Buddha hears this cacophony and asks Ānanda what is going on. Upon being told, he replies that the bhikkhus are not to worry, as a Buddha cannot be killed before his time by such a one as Devadatta.² Next, Devadatta arranges to have a mad, man-killing elephant let loose against the Buddha, but this design also fails, as the Buddha tames the elephant with his loving-kindness and the elephant responds with acts of reverence.³ The *Cūlavagga* account next reports of Devadatta's "eating in groups." He wanders among the households, making requests, and is criticized by the people for eating with his friends and "having asked and asked among the households." The bhikkhus report this to the Buddha, who institutes a rule against the practice.⁴

Then follows the incident reported in the *Vibhaṅga*: Devadatta approaches his four companions and proposes the

1. *Vinaya* 2:193, *ibid.*p. 271. This action is regarded one of the most heinous deeds in Buddhism.

2. *Vinaya* 2:193, *ibid.* pp.271-272.

3. *Vinaya* 2:194-95, *ibid.* pp.272-274.

4. *Vinaya* 2:196, *ibid.* pp.274-275.

splitting of the order through advancing the five ascetic rules as obligatory.¹ The story is told in the same words except that it concludes not with the saṃghādisesa rule but rather with the Buddha simply enjoining Devadatta not to bring about a schism, warning, "whoever (does so)... is boiled in hell for an aeon."² Devadatta, however, pays no heed and shortly thereafter announces to Ānanda in Rājagaha that he plans to split the order by carrying out the *Uposatha* ceremony, "both in contradistinction to the Lord and in contradistinction to the Order of monks and will (so) carry out the (formal) acts of the Order."³ Devadatta next gives out the salāka (Sanskrit: śalākā), voting sticks or tickets, remarking in reference to the obligatory observance of the five rules, "The recluse Gotama does not allow these, but we live undertaking these five items." He continues, "If these five items are pleasing to the venerable ones, let each one take a voting ticket. Five hundred bhikkhus, thinking, "this is the rule, this is the discipline, this is the Teacher's instruction," take the tickets. Thus is the order split."⁴ These bhikkhus are not irreparably lost, however, for the Buddha, knowing what has transpired, sends Sāriputta and Moggallāna to Devadatta's camp. After arriving, these two seem to approve of Devadatta's dhamma. However, when the usurper goes to sleep, they convince the five hundred bhikkhus to return

1. Mukherjee, episode 13.

2. *Vinaya* 2:196-198, *ibid.* pp. 275-279.

3. *Vinaya* 2:198, *ibid.* p.278.

4 *Vinaya* 2:199, *ibid.* p.279.

to the Buddha.¹ Kokālika then wakens Devadatta and tells him what has happened, whereupon hot blood issues from Devadatta's mouth and he dies.² The Buddha subsequently remarks that Devadatta "is doomed to the Downfall, to Niraya hell, staying there for an aeon, incurable."³ However, when he breaths his last nine months later, he makes a dying statement that He has no refuge other than the Buddha:

In him, who of the best is far the best
The god of gods, the guide of gods and men,
Who see all, and bears the hundred marks
Of goodness, - 'tis in him I refuge take
Through all the lives, that I may have to live⁴.

Though Devadatta falls into Niraya Hell, yet he is assured that after a hundred thousand aeons he would be born as a Paccekabuddha by the name of Aṭṭhissara.¹

1 *Vinaya* 2:199-200, *ibid.* pp. 279-281

2 *Vinaya* 2:200, *ibid.* p. 281. The Sarvāstivādin tradition has Devadatta not dying, the significance of which will become evident below. See also Andre Bareau, *EB*, p. 541

3 *Vinaya* 2:202, *ibid.* p.283. See Buddhagosa's rendition of these events, *Dhammapada commentary*, E.W. Burlingame, trans., *Buddhist Legends*, London, 1921, 1979 reprint, 1:230-42. Hsuan-tsang visited a place to the east of Jetvana monastery where there was a deep pit through which Devadatta was said to have dropped into hell, Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-645 A.D., ed. by T.W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushnell, London, reprint Delhi, 1973, vol 1, p. 390.

4. Mil. 111. translation from *the Questions of King Milinda*, Oxford University Press, 1890, Sacred Books of East, XXXV. P. 167

The four other vinaya accounts parallel the Pāli version quite closely. Apart from incidents that are idiosyncratic and can be left aside as likely later additions and not part of the early tradition, these accounts differ mainly in the details of the incidents and in their order. For example, whereas the four other accounts agree that Devadatta promoted five ascetic practices (with the exception of the Chinese version, which mentions four), there is disagreement on the precise members of the list. Thus the Dhammaguptaka vinaya agrees with the Pāli in mentioning begging food, wearing robes made of rags, and eating no fish or flesh but does not mention living in the forest or under trees, including instead living in the open and taking neither butter nor salt. The other traditions similarly show some agreement and some disagreement with the Pāli and Dhammaguptaka lists. Nevertheless, here, throughout the variations, the dramatic intent and meaning of the story are the same: Devadatta uses the proposal of the ascetic practices to bring about a split in the order.

One also finds differences among the five vinaya traditions in the arrangements of the incidents. Mukherjee points to two subgroupings within the five traditions: on the one hand are the Theravāda, Dhammaguptaka and Mahīsāsaka; on the other, the Sarvāstivāda and Mulasarvāstivāda. It will be recalled that the Pāli account in the *Cūlavagga* describes Devadatta's attempted

1. Mil. 111 DhA.I. 125, However, according to the *Saddhammapundarikasutta*, Devadatta would be born as a Buddha by the name of Devarāja, Chapter XI. Stanza 46.

murder of the Buddha and follows this with his efforts to cause a schism in the order by proposing compulsory adherence to the five ascetic rules. This same sequence is followed by the Dhammaguptaka and Mahāsāsaka. Mukherjee points out that this does not make sense, because after Devadatta had attempted to kill the Buddha, he certainly would have been expelled from the community, thus making it impossible for him to have approached the Buddha as a bhikkhu in good standing who could propose a matter of discipline. The Sarvāstivāda and Mulasarvāstivāda accounts, on the other hand, have these incidents reversed in the dramatically more logical order.

IV- Examination of the sources to find out the true portrait of Devadatta:

As discussed above, within the overall corpus of Devadatta legends, the quotations from sources just summarized in their Pāli versions are, with some alterations, also found in the Dhammaguptaka, Mahāsāsaka, Sarvāstivādin, and Mulasarvāstivādin vinayas.¹ This raises the question of what the earliest form of the Devadatta legend may have been. In addressing this question, Mukherjee examines the fifteen episodes as they appear in the five vinayas. He notes that whereas in the Pāli version, for example, all fifteen episodes appear in the Cūlavagga, only episodes 13 (the attempt to have the ascetic practices made obligatory) and 14 (splitting of the order) appear

1. For a discussion of these vinayas and that of the Mahāsāghika, see Etienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Louvain, pp. 181-188.

in the Vibhaṅga. Moreover, the configuration of the legend in the Cuḷavagga suggests that episodes 13 and 14 were originally identified as saṃghādisesa offense. In addition, it may be observed that episodes 13 and 14 represent the necessary dramatic core - the basic theme of proposed and effected schism - around which the other episodes could crystalize as a further elaboration and explanation of the core.

The identification of episodes 13 and 14 as the earliest core of Devadatta's legend raises the further question of the time period in which these episodes may have originated. The Mahāsāṃghika vinaya contains mention of Devadatta but does so in a form entirely different from the vinayas of the Theravāda, Dhammaguptaka, Mahīsāsaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mulasarvāstivāda. In fact there is no overlap between the Mahāsāṃghika treatment and that of the five schools. It will be recalled that the so-called first schism within Buddhism occurred between the Sthaviras - from which the Theravāda, Dhammaguptaka, Mahīsāsaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mulasarvāstivāda all derive - and the Mahāsāṃghika. The fact that the Devadatta legend, including its core and its elaboration, is common to the vinayas of the five schools deriving from the Sthaviras but not found in the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya suggests that the legend arose among the Sthaviras, after they split from the Mahāsāṃghika in the fourth century B.C. Thus, the

Devadatta legend is, in Mukherjee's view, in its earliest form a production of the Sthaviras.¹

In what circumstances might this earliest core have arisen among the Sthaviras? In a recent article, Bareau² has examined the early part of the Devadatta legend as found in the vinayas of the Theravāda, Dhammaguptaka, Mahīsāsaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mahāsāṃghika (he has left aside that of the Mulasarvāstivāda because it contains a considerable amount of later material). Bareau tells us that schism (saṃghabheda) is treated in the vinayas of the various schools in two sections, that of the Khandhaka (in which the Cuḷavagga account is found) and the Vibhaṅga. Bareau begins with an examination of the Khandhaka treatment of Devadatta, noting that the core of the account is a very brief conversation held at Srāvastī in which the Buddha, at the request of Upāli, defines saṃghabheda. In the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya, this brief passage forms the totality of the chapter, whereas in the vinayas of the other schools it forms the conclusion of the extended legend of Devadatta. Bareau concludes that the tradition concerning the saṃghabheda in the Vinayaṭīka may be reduced to the single, simple conversation

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1. Many features of the Devadatta legend are found in the Edottarāgama. Frauwallner believes that these features were originally contained in the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya and later separated from it. Mukherjee rejects this proposal, pointing out that the treatment of Devadatta in the Edottarāgama in fact differs markedly from that accorded him in the vinayas of the five schools, making Frauwallner's hypothesis unlikely, DUDWB, Mukherjee, op.cit.,p. 144
 2. EB. Andre Bareau. pp. 533-47.

between Buddha and Upāli. The complete silence of the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya concerning Devadatta in this discussion of saṃghabheda suggests that the linkage of Devadatta with this offense in the vinayas of the schools deriving from the Sthaviras is a later addition.¹ Bareau's observation tends to confirm Mukherjee's conclusion that the core of the Devadatta legend arose among the Sthaviras after the first schism.

Bareau identifies the same earliest core of the Devadatta legend as Mukherjee (episodes 13 and 14) but adds Mukherjee's episode 15, the conclusion of the story wherein the wayward bhikkhus return to the fold. He makes this addition because he does not assume - as does Mukherjee - that the Vibhaṅga version is the earlier. Unlike Mukherjee, Bareau begins his analysis with the legend of the schism as it appears in the Khandhaka, as the more authentic earlier version. Bareau's argument makes good sense, among other reasons because the Vibhaṅga version clearly leaves the story of the schism incomplete and dangling, in order to interject the rule that this story is supposed to have provoked, whereas the Khandhaka account gives the story in a dramatically complete form. Based on his analysis, Bareau tells us that three core elements of Devadatta's legend are present in all four vinayas. Found in a simpler form in the Mahīsāsaka and the Dhammaguptaka vinayas, they are:

1. Ibid .pp. 539-540.

(1) Devadatta's proposal of the five rules as obligatory, which the Buddha rejects.

(2) The departure of the five hundred bhikkhus, affecting the schism.

(3) The winning back of the five hundred by Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

These three elements are also found in Theravādin vinaya, with elaborations that tend mainly to further blacken Devadatta's reputation with additional crimes, and in the vinayas of the Sarvāstivāda, also in more elaborate form, in a slightly different order.

This analysis enables Bareau to identify three stages in the development of the Devadatta legend in the Khandhaka section of the vinayas of the schools:

1. In the earliest, preschism account of saṃghabheda in the Khandhaka, Devadatta does not appear at all (Mahāsāṃghika).

2. Devadatta enters the posts schism Khandhaka of the schools deriving from the Sthaviras. Here he provokes the division of the community because he wishes to insist on a certain standard of rigor for all bhikkhus. Bareau comments, "The only fault of this person is having caused a temporary rupture in the saṃgha and revealing himself more stricter than The Buddha. Nothing leads to doubt about his sincerity or permits the attribution to him of bad motives."

3. Finally, in the latest stratum, Devadatta is accused of being filled with greed, pride, and ambition and of attempting various crimes, to set himself in the Buddha's stead, to induce

Ajātasattu to kill his father, to himself murder the Buddha, and so on, all in spite of his (in some accounts) previously saintly character. Bareau remarks, "The desire to condemn Devadatta and to make him completely odious is too clear for one to have confidence in this new portrait, which is nothing but pure calumny."¹

Bareau next, deals with the passage that discusses *saṃghādisesa* in the *Vibhaṅga*. All the versions accord major responsibility for the division in the community to Devadatta but differ in their explanations. In the *Mahāsāṃghika* version, Devadatta tries to break the community by any and all means, wanting to throw out all the rules of monastic discipline and the doctrinal teachings. Refusing to listen to advice and warnings of the virtuous *bhikkhus* and even of the Buddha, he recruits a body of unvirtuous disciples. Here is a portrait of Devadatta as the paradigmatic schismatic type, with no details given as to why he acted thus or what methods he used.² The *Mahīsāsaka* and *Dhammaguptaka* give much the same extended account as presented in the *Theravādin Khandhaka* version. The *Theravādin* version is much briefer, containing only Devadatta's proposal to the Buddha, the bulk of the other episodes being found in the *Pāli Khandhaka*. The *Sarvāstivādin Vibhaṅga* account is also short. In neither the *Theravādin* nor the *Sarvāstivādin* version do we find the least allusion to Devadatta's intrigues with Ajātasattu or his attempts to kill the

1. EB. Andre Bareau. pp. 542.

2. *Ibid* .

Buddha. Thus, the personality of Devadatta in the Vibhaṅga of these schools presents the same configuration as in the Khandhaka of the Mahāsāsaka and Dhammaguptaka: he is simply a saint who wishes that all bhikkhus follow a rigorous lifestyle. Bareau completes his discussion of the texts by observing that it is only upon this single depiction of Devadatta as a virtuous, "rigorist" bhikkhus that all the early vinaya texts agree.¹ The original Devadatta, Bareau concludes, was simply a saint whom Buddhist tradition, over the course of time, came more and more to hate.

This conclusion raises an important question: what is it about Devadatta that sets his Buddhist attackers on such a literary rampage? It is significant that Devadatta, in the earliest stage of this legend, is a forest saint² in the classical mold. He has renounced the world under the Buddha. He has practiced a forest style of Buddhism, including some form of the dhutagunas, retreat into solitude, and meditation, and he has reached some attainment. His attainment is given Buddhist legitimacy in being recognized by no less than Sāriputta (Pāli)

1 Ibid. Bareau points out that neither the Mahāsamghikas nor the Sarvāstivāda in either their Khandhaka or Vibhaṅga versions, nor the Mahāsamghika nor Dharmaguptaka in their short versions (Khandhaka), link Devadatta with the Sakya family, and his family linkage with the Buddha is not mentioned in either Khandhaka or Vibhaṅga of any of the four schools. Bareau therefore finds it doubtful that this renunciant was Sakya or a relation of the Buddha, as later held, Bareau, op. cit., 544-45.

2 The same identification is also suggested by the existence near old Rājagaha of a sacred place, a cave known as the Devadatta samādhi cave mentioned by both Hsuan-tsang, Watters, op. cit., 2:155 and Fa-hsien, Samuel Beal, trans., *The Travels of Fah-hian and Sung yun*, London, 1869, p.118.

or Ānanda (Sarvāstivāda)¹. In his biographies, his realization is also indicated by his effortless and sometimes elaborate magical displays. In addition, a cult surrounds his person such that he may count among his devoted patrons even the crown prince and later king Ajātasattu. Devadatta's cultic popularity is also clearly evidenced in the hostile witness of the Buddhist account, which acknowledges at several points the faith and enthusiasm of his lay supporters.

Devadatta is not only a forest saint but one who strongly advocates forest Buddhism as the only authentic type of Buddhist renunciation, seen in his proposing the dhutaguna-type practices as obligatory for all renunciants. His unwavering advocacy of forest Buddhism is also seen in the issue of leadership. Unlike his Buddhist critics, Devadatta - in his request to the Buddha to become leader after the Buddha is gone - assumes that the transmission of authority in Buddhism must pass from teacher to disciple; the more collective, textual, and institutional forms that came to characterize settled monasticism are not part of his thinking. Devadatta's identification with forest Buddhism is seen finally in the fact that - as explicitly seen in his rules - he is deeply distressed to see some bhikkhus taking up residence in villages, living in dwellings, receiving robes as gifts from the laity, accepting invitations from the laity to come to meals, and so on. As Bareau remarks, he is concerned that certain bhikkhus are enjoying the donations of rich laity too much and are becoming too attached to the things of this world,

1. See note 26.

phenomena he "considers a form of laxity, a danger for the future of the community and of Buddhism altogether."¹ In this, his reaction is not dissimilar to the distress felt by Pārāpariya and Phussa in the Theragāthā over a similar movement to the village in their day. Like these two, Devadatta feels that the true dhamma is to be found solely and strictly in the forest, and he appeals to the Buddha to back him up. Devadatta, then, is a classic forest saint who, like the other Buddhist renunciants we are examining in this book, identifies normative Buddhism with forest Buddhism. This strict identification of Devadatta with forest Buddhism undoubtedly provides one important reason for his vilification by later Buddhist authors. It is not just that he practices forest Buddhism, is a forest saint, and advocates forest renunciation. Even more, and worse from the viewpoint of his detractors, he completely repudiates the settled monastic form, saying in effect that he does not judge it to be authentic at all. Moreover, his loyalty to forest Buddhism cannot be shaken: even when he meets with intense resistance, he will not be moved.

This explanation is confirmed when we notice that his attackers are, among the Buddhists, precisely those most identified with settled monasticism. His most enthusiastic vilifiers are, first of all, those monastic schools deriving from the conservative, monastic Sthaviras. In addition, it is in precisely their vinayas, those texts in which the form of settled

1. EB. Andre Bareau. pp. 546.

monasticism is consolidated and articulated, that this critique is carried out. In other words, Devadatta becomes significant as an enemy within the specifically monastic context and set of concerns. Further, it is clear that settled monastic values drive the Devadatta story even in its earliest form: the issue in question has to do with central authority and institutional unity, something that more or less presupposes just the kind of centripetal force provided by settled monasticism. Finally, the predominant values evinced by Devadatta's attackers are those of settled monasticism: although toleration of forest life is given lip service, the preferred - indeed, assumed - renunciant form is clearly the settled monastic one. It is no accident, then, that when the monks are worried about the Buddha's safety; they wander back and forth in front of his cave, reciting their suttas, studying. The Buddha may be alone in his cave, but his disciples exist in a large group noisily going over their homework. It is also typical that the *dramatis personae* of the conflict square off as the solitary individual - Devadatta (his four friends and his gain and loss of the five hundred only highlight his aloneness) - versus the crowd of the Buddha's disciples. It seems clear that the core of the Devadatta legend, and particularly the vitriolic nature of the condemnation of this saint, is best understood as the expression of a controversy between a proponent (and his tradition) of forest Buddhism and proponents of settled monasticism, a controversy that in the sources is seen from the viewpoint of the monastic side.¹

1. There should be no surprise that the later monastic authors who set down

There can be no doubt that Devadatta's schism is not an event imagined by Buddhist authors, but is a historic fact, as shown by the evidence provided by the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang.¹ Fa-hsien, for example, reports that near Sāvatti there was a community of disciples following Devadatta who rendered homage to the three previous Buddhas, but not to Sakyamuni.² As Bareau notes, this information gives indirect confirmation to the historicity of the ancient controversy that resulted in the disciples of Devadatta separating themselves

Devadatta's legend in the form that we have it failed so thoroughly to understand this saint's person and motives. In this regard, Bareau observes: The authors of the texts of the Vinaya-piŌaka lived a long time after the parinibbāna, as proved by the numerous differences which separate their accounts, in an epoch in which the mode of monastic life had greatly changed. Like their confreres, or at least the majority of these, they lived in monasteries where they enjoyed a material comfort far superior to that which had been known by the first disciples of the Blessed One. They judged the conditions of their existence as completely normal and in conformity with the rules set forth by the Buddha, because the saṃgha had become little by little habituated to these over the course of time. The monastic authors could not therefore comprehend the meaning of the reform which Devadatta had wished to impose on all the monks one or two centuries earlier, and this return to primitive austerity seemed to them insupportable. For them, the intentions of this person could not therefore be anything but malevolent, dictated not by an excess of virtue, but by envy, pride, and hatred of the Buddha. Incapable of giving up their lifestyle, so much less demanding than that of the first disciples, they slanderously accused him who had wished to impose such a renunciation on their predecessors of having acted from pure malice. Later on, their own successors slanderously accused Devadatta of further crimes, the most grave they could imagine, in order to further justify their resentment in relation to him and their condemnation of his action. Op.cit., 546

1. EB, Andre Bareau .Op.Cit. p.544.

2. TFS, trans.by Samuel Beal. London, 1869, p. 82

from the mainstream, monastic Buddhist tradition. Hsuan-tsang, some two hundred years later, in the seventh century C.E., confirms the existence of disciples of Devadatta living in three monasteries in Bengal "in which, in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta, milk products were not taken as food."¹ This passage suggests adherence to a code more strict than those typical of Buddhist monks (though in Hsuan-tsang's time Devadatta's disciples live in monasteries!) and reveals a rule similar to one attributed to Devadatta in the Mahāsāsaka and Mulasarvādin vinayas.² It also suggests that the reason for Devadatta's schism was indeed his adherence to certain austerities of the dhuraguna type, which the mainstream community from which he and his group seceded was not willing to follow. These references also reveal the great success of Devadatta and his tradition: it was still in existence long (at least a millennium) after its separation from mainstream Buddhism.³ The recognition of the historicity of Devadatta's schism leads naturally to the question of its rough date. The Khandhakas of the various Sthavira-derived schools, of course, depict this schism as having occurred during the lifetime of the Buddha. They wish us to believe that the essential conflict occurred between Devadatta and the Buddha himself. However, as mentioned, in the earliest core of the Khandhaka discussion

1. On *Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, trans. by Thomas Watters, 629-645 A.D., 2 vols ed. by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushnell, p. 191.

2. DUDWB, Mukherjee, op. cit. pp. 76-77.

3. Other scholars tend to agree with this interpretation (cf., e.g. Lamotte, op.cit., 374 and 572), OEB, A.M. Shastri, p. 44-45.

of saṃghabheda, as reflected in the Mahāsaṃghika version, Devadatta does not appear. This raises at least the possibility that Devadatta's schism arose not only after the death of the Buddha but also after the split between Mahāsaṃghikas and Sthaviras.¹ The fact that this story suggests the existence of a settled monasticism in a dominant form, which took some time to occur, also perhaps points to a similar conclusion.² As far as the Nikāya vinayas are concerned, Devadatta is more or less totally condemned as "incurable" and relegated to outer darkness.³ It is interesting, then, that Devadatta is not always condemned in Indian Buddhism.

In one of the dilemmas in the Milindapañhā, king Milinda asks Nāgasena: But, venerable, Nāgasena, your people say that Devadatta was altogether wicked, full of wicked dispositions, and that the Bodhisattva was altogether pure, full of pure dispositions. And yet Devadatta, through successive existences, was not only quite equal to the Bodhisatta, but even sometimes superior to him, both in reputation and in the number of his

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1. The presence of Devadatta in the Mahāsaṃghika discussion of saṃghāvaseṣa, then, would be the result of a later borrowing. This is suggested by the complete difference in the way in which the events surrounding this episode are portrayed in the Mahāsaṃghika version.
 2. Consistent with his belief in the early and normative character of settled monasticism, Bareau puts the Devadatta schism during the lifetime of the Buddha, Bareau, EB, op. cit., p.544.
 3. One exception, however is provided by the Mlāsarvāstivāda vinaya, which says that one day Devadatta will be a pratyekabuddha. (Pāli: pacceka-buddha)

adherents.”¹ Nāgasena replies: “Devadatta was a protection to the poor, put up bridges and courts of justice and rest-houses for the people, and gave gifts according to his bent to the Samanas and Brāhmanas, to the poor and needy and the way-fares, it was by the result of that conduct that, from existence to existence, he came into the enjoyment of so much prosperity. For of whom, O king, can it be said that without generosity and self-restraint, without self-control and the observance of the Uposatha, he can reach prosperity?”²

In the *Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Pāli: *Sutta*), for example, Devadatta is presented in a former life as a forest renunciant who assisted Buddha Sakyamuni to Buddhahood.³ In chapter 11 of the text the Buddha is preaching the Mahāyāna to an assembled gathering, among who is the bhikkhu Devadatta, whom the Buddha now praises.⁴ In a former life, the Buddha says, there was a forest renunciant, a ṛṣi, whose spiritual life was oriented around the *Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* itself. At that time, this ṛṣi taught the *Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* to the bodhisatta (Sanskrit: bodhisāttva) in return for which the

1. Mil. 200. Translation from SBE. XXXV. p.284.

2. Mil. 204. Translation from SBE. XXXV.291. Both footnotes 99&100 are quoted at KTS Sarao, ONAIB. p.108.

3. The importance of the *Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* mention of Devadatta to a full discussion of Devadatta's identity has been noticed by Sugimoto (T. Sugimoto, "A Re-evaluation of Devadatta: the Salvation of Evil Men in Buddhism," in Ronshu: Studies of Religion East and West, 1982, 9:pp.360-76).

4. *Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, 157.15-161.33 in H. Kern, trans. *The Saddhammapuṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law*, pp. 243-48.

bodhisatta acted as his devoted servant for a thousand years. This seer was none other than Devadatta, whom the Buddha terms his kalyānamitra,¹ or "spiritual friend", in effect, his teacher. It was through training under Devadatta as his teacher, the Buddha tells us, that he was able to perfect the qualities² by which he eventually became a Buddha.³ In future times, the Buddha continues, Devadatta will be greatly revered and honored and shall become no less than the greatly revered Tathāgata Devarāja, who shall lead innumerable beings to enlightenment. After he has passed away, the dhamma of this Buddha shall remain for twenty intermediate kappas. Moreover, his relics will not be divided, but will be kept together in a single, gigantic stupa, worshiped by gods and humans. So holy will be this stupa that those who circumnambulate it may hope for realization as an arhant, a paccekabuddha, or a Buddha. Finally, in the future, a great blessing shall come to those who hear about Devadatta: for those hearing this chapter of the Saddhammapunḍarīka Sutra, and gaining from it shall be liberated from rebirth in the three lower realms.⁴ For at least one

1. Ibid

2. The six pāramitās, great compassion (mahākaruṇā), the thirty major and eighty minor marks, the ten powers, the four confidences, the eighteen special dhammas, and so on.

3. *Saddhammapunḍarīka Sūtra*, trans by H. Kern, pp.158 ff.

4. For the good and evil personalities of Devadatta, one text states that Stupid men believe wrongly and assert that Devadatta has been an opponent or enemy of the Buddha. That the sublime bodhisattva Devadatta during five hundred births, in which Buddha was going through the career of a bodhisattva, inflicted on him all possible evil and suffering was simply in

Buddhist tradition, then, Devadatta is clearly neither a vinaya-breaker nor the archenemy of the Buddha but is a simple bhikkhus in good standing, present in an assembly in which the Buddha is preaching the Mahāyāna of the Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sutra. Moreover, he is identified as having been in a previous lifetime a forest saint devoted to the principal Mahāyāna text of this tradition, one who made possible the present Buddha and his central Mahāyāna teaching. Does this textual image of Devadatta, though written down much later, retain a tradition relating to this saint that antedates or is contemporaneous with his vilification in the various vinayas? This question, particularly in light of the Mahāyāna associations of Devadatta in the Saddhammapuṇḍarīka Sutra is stimulating.

Overall, the possible reply toward the role of Devadatta seems to be satisfied the reader if the question of the Dissent and Protest focus on him. The event in Kosambī will be dismissed as the motive behind the schism in early Buddhism due to the limited result carried out the Kosambi monks. It will be a perfect answer if the reader is willing to see the next Chapters in which we consider how the meanings of Dissent and Protest caused the Buddhist Councils and the establishment of different Buddhist schools. While it would be extremely valuable to examine the exact meanings of Dissent and Protest in the following chapters we will consider the interplay and interconnections between the two terms. As objects of investigation, Dissent and Protest are

order to establish the excellence and high qualities of the bodhisattva." LBLH, Edward J. Thomas, p. 135.

much as a product of western need and interests in debate about Early Buddhism and in this context, Devadatta is the first Dissenter in Ancient Buddhism.

CHAPTER III

**DISSENT AND PROTEST
IN THE FIRST BUDDHIST COUNCIL**

I – General view:

In this Chapter, I am to investigate the seeds of Dissent and Protest which were sown at the First Buddhist Council. Thera Mahākassapa was the chairman of this Council. This Council was held at Rājagaha. It was capital of Magadha. Ajātasattu was the king. Here will be an attempt to see why the city Rājagaha was chosen as a venue of this great intellectual congregation of elder scholars of Theravāda Buddhism.

There is unanimity among all Buddhist schools that the First Great Council (Paṭhama Mahāsaṅgīti) was held almost immediately after the great demise of the Buddha.¹ However, there are some scholars who question about the historicity of this council.² Nalinaksha Dutt in his work entitled *Buddhist Sects in India* has dealt in detail on this issue: The session of the First Buddhist Council took place soon after the

1. BCDB, Dr.Sumangal Barua, p.21.

2. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.2.

mahāparinibbāna of Buddha (486 B.C) in the eight year of the reign of king Ajātasattu, who ruled for 32 years from 493 B.C.¹

According to tradition, the council met in Rājagaha, a place in which Buddha had delivered many discourses. The participants were five hundred of his closest disciples who had become arhats (meaning that they had eradicated mental afflictions and transcended all attachment to mundane things). Such people, it was believed, would not be afflicted by faulty memories or biased by sectarian considerations.

The members of the assembly recounted what they had heard Buddha say on specific occasions, and they prefaced their remarks with the phrase, "Thus have I heard: At one time the Exalted One was residing in..." This formula indicated that the speaker had been a member of the audience, and it provided the context and background of the discourse. Other members would certify the veracity of the account or correct minor details, and at the end of the council all present were satisfied that the Buddha's words had been definitively recorded. The canon of Buddhism was declared closed, and the council issued a pronouncement that henceforth no new teachings would be admitted as the "word of the Buddha" (Buddhavacana).²

1. BSI, N.Dutt. p.1

2. ASWR, John Powers and James Fieser, published by McGraw-Hill, 1997, p.2.

II- Views of western scholars on the First Buddhist Council:

In the West, in Samuel Beal's translation from the Chinese Dhammagupta document presented by him to the Oriental Congress at Berlin in 1888 and reprinted in his *Abstract of Four Lectures* (1882) was the first related document to the Buddhist Councils. It is well known to students of the *Sacred Books of the East* that there is, in the twentieth volume of that series, an account of the first two Councils of the Buddhist Order, translated from the Pāli. The account is a later addition to the Minor Section on Discipline, and we may call it the Council Appendix. Meanwhile, Hermann Oldenberg, in his pioneer essay on the Canon (1879) threw grave doubts upon the historicity of the First Council¹, and this issue was discussed in detail by Minayeff in 1887. For him, the chapter XI of the Cūḷavagga which contains an account of the First Council is riddled with contradictions, and rejected the episode of chanting of the dhamma and vinaya as legend, for it was contradicted by traditions of earlier origin,² but this view of Minayeff is totally rejected by Oldenberg and by Louis De La Vallee Poussin.³ This view of Minayeff is totally rejected by Oldenberg.⁴ He neither finds any incoherence nor contradiction in the account of the Cūḷavagga. Moreover Oldenberg rightly points out that so far as the official resolution regarding the chanting is concerned,

1. JPTS, H.Oldenberg. pp. 8-12.

2. TBC, Louis De La Vallee Poussin, K.P. Bagchi and Co, Calcutta, 1976, p.10.

3. Ibid.p.10.

4. Ibid, p.10

neither 'can be more probable nor more conformable to the habits made known to us by the literature'. He further states that the 'point of view of Minayeff who claims to recognize in these episodes (and those of the failings of Ānanda) an old kernel of authentic tradition and to separate them from the rest of the account due to a much younger time, is illusory'. So Oldenberg neither accepts the view that the episodes of Subhadda etc. are historic and earlier in origin than the legendary account of, nor accepts that there is any contradiction between the chanting and the other episodes. This does not mean that Oldenberg believes in the authenticity of the Council. He has other reasons to discard it as a legend.

Oldenberg points out that much of the *Cuḷavagga* XI. 1 agrees almost verbatim with certain portions of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*.¹ In order to understand the relationship between the *Cuḷavagga* and the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* we will give below a synopsis of the *Cuḷavagga* XI.1.²

'Now the venerable Mahākassapa said to the monks that one day he was traveling from Pāvā to Kusinara with about five hundred monks. Along the road there came a Ājīvaka monk who informed Mahākassapa and other monks about the death of the Buddha. The faithful but imperfect monks abandoned themselves to grief, but those who were already perfect told that all things are impermanent. Kassapa also reminded the grieving

1. MPS, VI. pp.19-20

2. *C/Āvavagga* XI. p.1

Abbreviated as CV

monks that it was in the nature of things that one had to be separated from the near and dear ones. Among the monks there was an old monk called Subhadda who rejoiced at the news of the death of the Master and told: "Enough Sirs, weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told: 'This beseems you, this beseems you not'. But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do."¹

The Cuḷavagga does not record the reaction of Kassapa to the statement of Subhadda. After narrating this incident Kassapa simply told the monks: "Come, my brethren, let us chant together the dhamma and vinaya before the non-dhamma spread and the dhamma be put aside." Then the Cuḷavagga goes on to narrate how the formal resolution to chant was adopted, the monks selected and the place for chanting decided upon.

It is to be noted that the account about the formal resolution etc., are not recorded in the Mahāparinibbānasutta. The Mahāparinibbānasutta in fact does not contain the slightest hint as to the chanting of the dhamma and vinaya. Otherwise the two texts agree with each other verbatim, and Oldenberg is of the opinion that the Cuḷavagga copied this part of the narration from the Mahāparinibbānasutta. As the Mahāparinibbānasutta does not breath a single word about the chanting, Oldenberg came to the

1. Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha, sumuttā mayaṃ tena mahāsamanena, upaddutā ca mayaṃ homa. Idaṃ vo kappati idaṃ vo na kappatīti, idāni pana mayaṃ yaṃ icchissāma taṃ karissāma, yaṃ na icchissāma taṃ na karissāmā ti.

conclusion that all the incidents connected with the Council (viz. Kassapa's proposal to chant, his selection of the monks, selection of the place for chanting, formal proposal for chanting, and its acceptance by the Saṃgha, the chanting of the dhamma and vinaya etc.) and mentioned in the Cuḷavagga but omitted in the Mahāparinibbānasutta are nothing but fiction. And this elaborate fiction, according to Oldenberg, was concocted in imitation of the Second Buddhist Council which is historical.¹ It is, however, not properly explained by Oldenberg why the Cuḷavagga would have to copy the Mahāparinibbānasutta or to feel inclined to create such a fiction in imitation of the Second Council. Oldenberg is equally determined to deny the historical nature of even those incidents which are not inseparably connected with the chanting of dhamma and vinaya. For example, Oldenberg also regarded the episodes of Channa and the khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni as legends. "The hypothesis forces itself upon us", says Oldenberg "that the redactor of our Chapter of the Cuḷavagga spoke of these things (i.e. stories of Channa etc.), because the Mahāparinibbānasutta has spoken of them."² "Buddha has given orders to be executed after his death: ought not one, when one had to speak of what had happened after the death of the Buddha, to explain how these orders have been executed? The tradition of the Mahāparinibbānasutta speaks in the sense which we know of the

1. TBC., Louis De La Poussin, p.10.

2. Ibid. p.22.

(*The Buddhist Council*), Louis De La Poussin, p.22

khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni; on the other hand the Buddhists did not know that the community had suppressed any of the intended rules. Hence what is simpler than to suppose that the community had resolved to keep all the established rules? "¹

Thus according to Oldenberg the redactors of the Cuḷavagga were familiar with the account of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta regarding the khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni and the punishment of the Channa, but were not aware whether the instructions of the Buddha had already been carried out or not. So they imagined fitting sequels to the account of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta and wrote about the actual execution of the orders of the Buddha. Oldenberg is also skeptical about the historical nature of the episode of the faults of Ānanda which is not connected with the chanting directly.

Poussin has excellently summarised the opinion of Oldenberg in the following way:² "Wishing to set forth the primitive compilation of scriptures, postulated by orthodoxy, the compiler of Cuḷavagga has naturally brought forward Kassapa, Ānanda and Upāli. He added the story of Kassapa's journey and the episode of the lesser precepts, had grouped and developed several other souvenirs relative to this period: almost all were known to him through the Mahāparinibbāna sutta. In one word Oldenberg believes that all our chapter of the Cuḷavagga is a forgery."

1. TBC., Louis De La Poussin, p.22..

2. Ibid. p.12.

(i) - *Finot and Obermiller's critical views toward that of Oldenberg:*

As against Oldenberg's contention that the Mahāparinibbānasutta maintains utter silence concerning the First Council, Finot¹ offers the following arguments. He points out that the chapters XI and XII of the Cuḷavagga which contain the accounts of the two Councils, have such an abrupt beginning unlike the other chapters of the Cuḷavagga that they could not have been originally a part of this work. He further points out that the Mahāpaninibbānasutta also differs from the other suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya in the nature of its contents, being more historical in character, and that the Mahāpaninibbānasutta and the two chapters (XI, XII) of the Cuḷavagga are so similar in nature that they must have been originally parts of one and the same work. In support of his view he refers to a work entitled *Samyukta-vastu* (Nanjio 1121), the Vinaya of the Mulasarvastivadins, which contains the account of both parinibbāna and the Councils, and concludes therefrom that the Theravadins too had a work corresponding to the Saṃyutta-vatthu (Sanskrit: *Samyukta-vastu*) and that it was dismembered at a later date by the ancient editors of the Nikāyas and Vinaya. Dr. Obermiller² corroborates Finot's contention and gives us in detail the contents of the Vinayakhuddaka (Sanskrit: *Vinaya-ksudraka*) which roughly corresponds to the Cuḷavagga, and shows that it not only contains the account of the two Councils but also the

1. EMB. Nalinaksha Dutt, Vol.I. p.337; IHQ, Vol.VIII, pp.241-246.

2. EMB. N.Dutt, Vol.I, pp.337-338; IHQ. vol.VIII, pp.781-784.

Mahāpaninibbānasutta. He further points out that: "The stories of the Councils begin just on the same line in which the narrative of the burial of the Buddha finishes, without any indication whatsoever".

In view of these evidences Prof. N. Dutt¹ takes Finot's contention as sound, viz., that the Mahāpaninibbānasutta and at least the chapter XI (and not the chapter XII) of the Cuḷavagga originally formed one treatise, and in the analogy of the Vinayakhuddaka it may further be stated that the Mahāpaninibbānasutta formed originally the first portion of the chapter XI of the Cuḷavagga. This takes away the force of Oldenberg's arguments and we may now brush them aside. Poussin² also is inclined to support the conclusions of Finot drawn on the basis of his finding of the text of Saṃyutta-vatthu.

(ii)- Investigation of Finot's View

It is difficult to support the views of Finot and others. Both the Saṃyutta-vatthu and the Vinaya-khuddaka belong to the Mulasarvastivadins. And it is only the Mulasarvastivadins who have joined the Mahāparinibbānasutta and the account of the two Councils into one single text.

This arrangement has not been followed by any other school which arose out of the Sthaviras. The tradition followed by these schools definitely shows that the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta was regarded as a sutta which was held separate from the

1. Ibid, p.338

2. TBC. Poussin, p.13, note 39; p.11, note 36.

account of the First Council. Though the Mahāsaṃghika version of the Mahāparinibbānasutta has not come down to us, it is certain that the Mahāsaṃghikas possessed this sutta. The Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya¹ refers to this sutta by name and reproduces certain informations mentioned in the available Mahāparinibbānasutta versions belonging to schools which developed out of the Sthaviras. Thus the compilation of the Mahāparinibbānasutta must have been completed before the Sthavira-Mahāsaṃghika split. It is clear that even in this early period the Mahāparinibbānasutta was known as sutta to the Mahāsaṃghikas, and that, according to the Mahāsaṃghika tradition also, it existed separately from the account of the First Council. So it is obvious that the arrangement discussed by Finot and other scholars is to be taken as a later development peculiar to the Mulasarvastivadins, and can be of no use in determining the arrangement of the Buddhist traditions in the earliest period. This cannot solve the problem raised by Oldenberg due to the silence of the Mahāparinibbānasutta. As for the abrupt beginning of the Cuḷavagga account it has been shown later that this perception of the abruptness is only due to the misunderstanding of the real nature of this part of the Cuḷavagga account. There are, however, some objective grounds for rejecting the view of Oldenberg which may now be discussed.

1. T. 22, p.489 C27ff (T= Taisho ed. of Tripitaka).

(iii)- Examination of Oldenberg's hypothesis:

The grand edifice of Oldenberg's theory rests on a number of facts and assumptions. The observations that certain parts of the Cuḷavagga agrees verbatim with the Mahāparinibbānasutta, and that the Mahāparinibbānasutta does not mention anything about the First Council refer to facts. As for the assumptions which contribute greatly to giving the final shape to the theory of Oldenberg we may note the following:

1. The Mahāparinibbānasutta is earlier in origin than the Cuḷavagga XI.

2. The compilers of the Cuḷavagga XI were quite familiar with the Mahāparinibbānasutta and under the influence of the second Buddhist Council copied some portions of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (e.g. the report of Kassapa about Subhadda) as well as elaborated and brought to reasonable completion some episodes mentioned in the Mahāparinibbānasutta (e.g. the episode of Channa etc.). This suggests a long gap between the completion of the Mahāparinibbānasutta and the compilation of the Cuḷavagga XI.

3. The Mahāparinibbānasutta would have recorded the traditions connected with the chanting of dhamma and vinaya mentioned in the Cuḷavagga provided these were known to the compiler of the Mahāparinibbānasutta.

4. Such Cuḷavagga episodes which should have been mentioned by the Mahāparinibbānasutta but find no mention there are to be taken as legends. Accordingly the chanting of the

dhamma and vinaya in a council passed over in utter silence by the Mahāparinibbānasutta but given a prominent place in the Cuḷavagga XI was taken to be a legend by Oldenberg. Similarly all the other events exclusively mentioned in the Cuḷavagga and inseparably bound up with the chanting also came to be regarded as legends by Oldenberg.

5. The compiler of the Cuḷavagga had to imagine fitting sequels to the episodes of Channa and the khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhā-padāni mentioned in the Mahāparinibbānasutta.

6. Conversely, if an episode is recorded in both the Cuḷavagga XI and the Mahāparinibbānasutta it should be regarded as authentic. For example, the Buddha's instructions about Channa and the minor rules as well as Kassapa's report to the monks about the Ājīvaka monk and Subhadda mentioned in both the Mahāpari-nibbānasutta¹ and the Cuḷavagga XI² have not been marked out as legends by Oldenberg.

Before we start our examination of the theory propounded by Oldenberg we would like to enumerate the following principles which should guide us in our investigation:

a. Any tradition mentioned not only in the Vinayas of the Buddhist sects which developed out of the Sthaviras, but also in the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya can be reasonably taken to have originated before the Sthavira-Mahāsaṃghika schism. Such an early tradition should be regarded as authentic unless there is

1. MPS. VI. p.20

2. CV. XI. p.1

some strong evidence to the contrary. The rejection of such a tradition without unassailable arguments cannot be justified.

b. On the other hand, if a tradition finds mention only in the canon of the Sthavira sects or of the Mahāsaṃghika, it can be said to have become a part of the canon at the hands of the Sthaviras or the Mahāsaṃghikas, but cannot be taken for granted to have been known to the undivided Buddhist community before the Sthavira-Mahāsaṃghika schism. The mention of a tradition in this stage should not, under normal condition, affect adversely the authenticity of a tradition belonging to the earliest period.

c. According to earliest traceable classification of the Buddhist literature 'dhamma' and 'krtya' belonged to mutually exclusive categories, the former referred to the suttas while the latter dealt with the collection of krtyas or Formal Acts. A tradition belonging to one category did not form a part of another category.¹ The Mahāparinibbānasutta was included in the category of dhamma while the Cuḷavagga is basically a collection of krtyas.² The accounts of the chanting of the dhamma and vinaya, the discussion of the minor rules etc. are all Formal Acts performed by the Saṃgha, though in some cases all the steps in the procedure of a fully developed Formal Act are not mentioned. There is no doubt, that if the early Buddhists

1. SMEBL. Biswadeb Mukherjee, p.89, 90, 95 -Journal of Research V. B. vol. 1, part I, Humanities and Social Sciences, 1977.

2. Ibid, p.94

wanted to group together such events, they could have done so only under the category of 'krtya'.

d. According to the ancient Buddhist law each krtya is to be regarded as separate from or independent of other krtyas, each of them being introduced by a separate proposal and concluded by a particular resolution. So the incidents described in the Cuḷavagga XI are to be treated as independent Formal Acts performed separately by an identical group of competent monks within the legal boundary of a Saṃgha. It also follows that to the early Buddhists the Cuḷavagga XI is neither an account of a Council nor that of a tribunal but represents merely a collection of Formal Acts.

We may start our criticism of Oldenberg's view by pointing out that there is no decisive reason to hold that the Mahāparinibbānasutta is earlier than the Cuḷavagga XI. It is true that the Mahāparinibbānasutta deals with events that took place before the holding of the First Council. However the fact that the Mahāparinibbānasutta records earlier events does not by itself prove that this was composed at an earlier date. The possibility that the Mahāparinibbānasutta might have been composed at a later date cannot be ignored. The Mahāparinibbānasutta not only describes the last days and the funeral ceremony of the Buddha but also records the distribution of the relics and the construction of the stupas over the relics which certainly took place quite some time after the death of the Buddha. On the other hand the First Council took place, according to the tradition of the undivided Buddhist community

during the first rainy season after the Buddha's Parinibbāna. The time gap between these two events is quite short, and it is obvious that the Mahāparinibbānasutta could not have been composed before the First Council or discussed during the Council. In short, the Mahāparinibbānasutta or rather the genuine traditions exclusively recorded in the Mahāparinibbānasutta had not yet become a part of the official canon fixed during the First Council. On the other hand, the Cuḷavagga XI records different Formal Acts performed during the First Council and so the core of this account must be contemporaneous with the Council.

A careful analysis of the Cuḷavagga XI will even now reveal to us traces of such traditions which became part of the Buddhist scripture during the time of the First Council and therefore, before the compilation of the Mahāparinibbānasutta. Some of these traditions came to be included in the Mahāparinibbānasutta at a later date. Let us, for example, first discuss that part of the Cuḷavagga XI where Kassapa is reporting to the monks about the reaction of Subhadda to the news of the death of the Buddha. This incidence is also given in the Mahāparinibbānasutta. From the Cuḷavagga account it is clear that the monks in general have not yet heard of the Subhadda episode. This detail would be out of place if we have to admit that the Cuḷavagga XI was composed at a later period when the Mahāparinibbānasutta had already become quite well known to the Buddhist community. This ignorance on the part of the Buddhist monks indirectly shows that the Mahāparinibbānasutta was not yet composed at that time.

As already pointed out, the Culavagga XI mainly consists of a number of *krtyas* or Formal Acts performed by the Saṃgha. The chanting of the dhamma and the vinaya, the deliberations on the minor rules etc. are different Formal Acts. The features of a Formal Act have been carefully preserved, in case of the chanting of the dhamma and the vinaya, which is mentioned in all the vinaya versions including that of the Mahāsaṃghikas, and thus belongs to the earliest strata of tradition. This is the most important of all the Formal Acts discussed in this chapter, and for the sake of which the First Council was probably held. Now as the chanting is a Formal Act, it, according to the ancient legal custom, was performed with reference to the *vatthu*, *nidāna* and *puggala*,¹ i.e. the subject-matter, the place and the person or persons concerned. The necessary information about these three points were generally supplied as a sort of introduction to the legal act of *krtya*. The Formal Act of chanting of the dhamma and the vinaya also has its introduction which still can be discerned in the first few sections of the Culavagga XI.² This introduction which contains the story of Subhadda³ must be as old as the First Council, and consequently must have been a part of the Buddhist canon long before the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta came to be recognised as a canonical work.

1. I have shown that the invariable association of "vatthu", *nidāna*, and *puggala* with the vinaya was due to ancient legal Custom, *krtya* being a legal act should also be discussed together with *vatthu*, etc.

2. CV. XI.1. p.284ff.

3. Ibid.

But how this episode came to be later included in the Mahāparinibbānasutta? The reason would be clear if we once again pay attention to the contents of the Mahāparinibbānasutta. This work deals with among other things the parinibbāna of the Buddha and other incidents directly connected with it. So it is but natural that the compiler of the Mahāparinibbānasutta got interested in the incidence of Subhadda as it is directly related to the death of the Buddha. The state of things thus influencing the composition of the Cuḷavagga XI and the Mahāparinibbānasutta may be described as follows: The incidence of Subhadda became widely known to the Buddhist monks in that early period after Kassapa's report. It came to be first included in the official Buddhist tradition as a part of the kṛtya related to the chanting of the dhamma and the vinaya. And the same story due to its connection with the death of the Buddha became an episode in the Mahāparinibbānasutta. The verbatim identity existing between the two accounts can be safely put to the credit of the later editors. The other details exclusively connected with the kṛtya of chanting such as the official proposition to chant, the selection of the place for chanting etc. were ignored by the compiler of the Mahāparinibbānasutta as these were not directly related to the parinirvāna of the Buddha. We can justly reject the thesis of Oldenberg that the chanting of the dhamma and vinaya together with other relevant details given in the Cuḷavagga XI but not found in the Mahāparinibbānasutta are but later fictitious additions to the earlier account of Subhadda. We find that there is no reason to doubt the historical nature of the First Council simply because it has not been mentioned in the Mahāparinibbānasutta.

The cases of the minor rules (Khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni) and the monk Channa are slightly different. Each of these episodes consists of two parts: i) the Buddha's instruction, and ii) the execution of this instruction. The instructions on these two cases are mentioned both in the Mahāparinibbānasutta¹ and the Cuḷavagga² while the account of their execution is only found in the Cuḷavagga. Oldenberg³ came to the conclusion that the monks were no longer aware whether the Buddha's instructions had already been carried out or not. So they imagined fitting sequels to those-instructions in the form of suitable actions taken by the Saṃgha. This theory of Oldenberg is solely based on two presuppositions:)

1. The Mahāparinibbānasutta is an earlier work which influenced the composition of the Cuḷavagga XI at a later date.

2. The time-gap between the Mahāparinibbānasutta and the Cuḷavagga is long enough to make the monks uncertain about the execution of the Buddha's orders.

But these presuppositions cannot be accepted. The entire Buddhist canon does not provide us with the slightest ground to suppose that the devoted disciples would be so indifferent to the instructions of the Buddha that they would not only neglect to execute them but would not even be certain whether the instructions have been carried out or not. It would be more

1. MPS. VI. p.3.

2. CV. XI. p.12; XI. p.9.

3. TBC. Louis De La Poussin, p. 22 note 64.

reasonable to accept as fact the Cuḷavagga account that the monks lost no time to act according to the orders of the Buddha. The other objections to the theory of Oldenberg would be the same as what we have already pointed out regarding the chanting of the dhamma and vinaya, viz. i) the Cuḷavagga XI is as old as the First Council and the Mahāparinibbānasutta is a comparatively later work; ii) the instructions of the Buddha being connected with the last days of the Buddha naturally find mention in the Mahāparinibbānasutta while official actions taken on the basis of the instructions by the Saṃgha should belong to the category of kṛtya and as such are justifiably excluded from the Mahāparinibbānasutta and included in the Cuḷavagga .

(iv) - Poussin's view on the First Council:

Poussin does not subscribe to the view of Oldenberg and puts it aside as a mere hypothesis.¹ The path he treads is not entirely different from his predecessors; he develops a view which is an improved version of Minayeff's theory. Like Minayeff, he perceives multiple internal contradictions in the account of the Cuḷavagga XI, regards the chanting of dhamma and vinaya as a later product of imagination because of such contradiction but ascribes the other episodes to an authentic earlier tradition. Actually the main thrust of his arguments is to prove the legendary nature of the account of chanting the dhamma and vinaya. He strongly believes in the legendary

1. TBC. Louis De La Pousin, p13

nature of this episode, and this attitude has influenced his summarisation of the Cuḷavagga XI, the beginning of which may be quoted below:¹

Mahākassapa suddenly appears on the scene, no one knows where and whom he is addressing and how he has learned the death of his Master during his journey. The expressions given in italics by me were used by Poussin to emphasise the vagueness and suddenness of the rambling Cuḷavagga account, and thus to raise doubt about its authenticity. It is to be noted that this imperfect beginning was made to gradually lead us to the account of the chanting of the dhamma and vinaya in the Council.

He proceeds further to show that the account of the chanting does not fit well with the two other episodes narrated in the Cuḷavagga XI, viz. the account of the charges brought against, Ānanda, and the discussion on the minor rules (khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni). We may first start with the episode of Ānanda.²

The monks reproach Ānanda with a number of faults which he had committed before his attainment of the status of an arhat. For example, they told Ānanda: "You committed a fault for you had not enquired about the minor rules. Confess your fault. "Ānanda confessed the faults which he had done either through forgetfulness or with a good intention. And all his replies end

1. Ibid, p.2.

2. CV. XI. 10; T.22, p.191 b3ff; T.22, p.967b 2 7ff.

with the formula: "I do not see any wrong in that nevertheless out of deference to you (āyasmantānaṃ saddhāya) I confess this sin."

Minayeff¹ questions the propriety of charges being brought against one who is an arhat.

Ānanda has already become an impeccable saint, that is an arhat, and yet he submits to a trial; the assembly calls upon him to do penitence for some sins at any rate, it is a fact that the most ancient accounts have, in spite of their late reaction, preserved the vagueness of the primitive ideas with regard to the saint. We can hardly consider even the fact of the trial an invention of the legend.

It is obvious that Minayeff takes the tradition of Ānanda's trial to be genuine which leads him to conclude that the ideal of an arhat was still vague. This speaks in favour of the antiquity of the tradition. On the other hand, the episode of chanting which could only be done by Arahats, shows that the Arahats were already valued as perfect saints. This is, no doubt, a later tradition, and is contradicted by the earlier tradition. Hence the episode of chanting is a legend.

Oldenberg² objects to this view. He points out that the Arhat ideal must have been clear from very ancient time, but he holds that one can naturally make mistake before becoming an arhat, and he can be judged for such a mistake even after he has

1. TBC, Louis De La Poussin, p.15; Minayeff, Cherches, p.31.

2. TBC Loid De La Poussin, pp.15-16;

attained the status of an arhat. Oldenberg points out that anybody who is familiar with the Vinaya, will agree that every offence committed must find its disciplinary action without taking account of the fact as to the guilty person has in the meantime attained to some degree of spiritual perfection. Against this view of Oldenberg, Poussin¹ draws our attention to the episode of Channa and works out a long and complicated thesis in defense of Minayeff. Let us take a look at the episode of Channa ² so that we would be in a better position to understand the view of Poussin.

After the chanting of dhamma and vinaya, Ānanda informed the monks that the Buddha had instructed the Saṃgha to impose the brahmadanda on Channa. Being asked by the monks Ānanda explains the nature of this punishment: "Let the monk Channa speak whatever pleases him; the monks will not speak to him, will not exhort him, neither will they warn him. "Ānanda agrees to go and announce this sentence to Channa, provided a group of monks accompanies him, "for this monk is fierce and passionate". Ānanda announces this sentence to Channa who receives it with great humility. His grief and remorse is such that he attains the state of an arhat. He then tells Ānanda: "Suppress for me, O Ānanda, The brahmadanda." From the same moment, O Channa, that you realised the quality of arhat, from that same moment the brahmadanda was suppressed."

1. TBC Louis De La Poussin, p.16

2. CV. .XI.12, T.22, p.192 a15ff, etc.

The point which Poussin wants to make is that while in case of Channa the punishment is lifted due to his attainment of 'arhat', Ānanda, on the other hand, is subjected to disciplinary action even after he becomes arhat. The samgha is adopting different types of action against two Arahats. Poussin further states that Channa finds himself absolved from the brahmana and when it is no longer harmful to him.

This state of things, according to Poussin,¹ shows that from very ancient time the Buddhists were having two very different concepts about the state of an arhat. It refers to a very early period when the concept of arhat had not yet been dogmatically propounded. This is what Minayeff saw here. He is therefore, justified in pointing out the contradiction between the Ānanda episode and the tradition of chanting.

In support of this contention Poussin further states that according to orthodox argument, not only the arhat cannot fall, but also the counsel, assistance etc. of others is absolutely useless to him. The story of an arhat culpable and subject to penance against will is contrary to the orthodoxy of the non-Mahāsamghikas. The story of Channa reflects the attitude of the conservative group while episode of Ānanda shows the existence of the non-orthodox group which later championed the five points of Mahādeva and facilitated the rise of the Mahāsamghikas.

1. TBC. Louis De La Poussin, pp.15-17.

Poussin¹ is further of the opinion that "in the oldest account there is no question of a Council; they reprimand Ānanda. If one adds to this nucleus the legend of a Council, the reprimand of Ānanda will not at first change its character: and if orthodoxy, just about to be formed exacts that all the members of the Council should be Arahats, there will be no difficulty in assigning to the reprimand the second rank which is suitable to it after the narration of an event of so great importance as the reaction of the Scriptures. Orthodoxy is not yet sufficiently sensitive to feel the contradiction of the chronological arrangement; it is not sufficiently rigid to exclude the precise mention of the 'non-sanctity' of Ānanda at the time of gathering the object of which was to punish him. All that the orthodox tendency can obtain is to promote Ānanda to sanctify during the night of the Council.

The elaborate speculations of Poussin can be summarised thus: Originally the episode of Ānanda who was not an arhat was an independent matter which became in course of time the nucleus to which was added the imaginary account of the Council. Due to the importance of the Council its account was related first and then was narrated the episode of Ānanda. Up to this stage of development there is no contradiction, for the arhat element has not yet been introduced. The contradiction arises when due to the demand of orthodoxy Ānanda is first made an arhat before the Council starts, and then because of the

1. Ibid, p.17.

previously arranged sequence of events, is made to face the charges brought against him.

Poussin comes to the same conclusion regarding the discussion on the minor rules (Khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni)¹ during the First Council. Poussin draws our attention to the three references to the minor rules in the Mahāparinibbānasutta VI. 3; the Cuḷavagga XI. 9; and the Pācittiya LXXII. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta the Buddha permits the Order to abolish the minor rules if it deems it necessary to do so. In the Cuḷavagga XI, we read that Ānanda informed the Saṃgha about this permission of the Buddha. On being asked Ānanda admitted that he had not asked the Buddha which these rules were. The monks offered six different suggestions about the identity of the minor rules, but could not come to any decision. On the advice of Kassapa the Saṃgha adopted the resolution not to change anything which the Buddha had approved. The Pācittiya LXXII states: "If a monk at the time of recitation of the Pātimokkha should speak thus: 'What is the good of recitation of the minor rules, except to engender doubt, weariness and perplexity?' this monk is guilty of condemning the rules."

In his discussion on these three references Poussin² agrees entirely with Minayeff. He points out that whether these references are considered separately or collectively, it becomes

1. Ibid, pp.21ff

2. Ibid, p.22.

clear that here one is dealing with a datum 'bearing the mark of great antiquity' and which is irreconcilable with a rigorous constitution already fixed by discipline.

Let us first discuss how old could these references be. The compilation of Mahāparinibbānasutta was done at a comparatively later time, after the First Council but before the rise of different Buddhist sects. The Pācittiya rule in question also appears to have been promulgated after the First Council. Poussin¹ thinks that Kassapa, Upāli, Ānanda etc. missed this rule during the First Council. This view is not tenable. It is really unthinkable that the Vinaya experts among the monks would not recall this rule when they were discussing the problem of the minor rules. It is even most likely that the other monks also would be able to point out this Pācittiya rule, for they listened to the recital of Pātimokkha every month. We have good reasons to hold that this rule was not yet formulated at the time of the First Council, and that this Pācittiya rule came into existence later under the influence of the First Council's discussions on the minor rules. It was only during the First Council that the monks for the first time came to know that the Buddha had designated a part of the Pātimokkha rules as khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni, and also became aware of the fact that they did not know which rules the Buddha meant when he talked about the abrogation of some minor rules. It was also shortly before his death that the Buddha for the first time

1. Ibid, p.22, note 63.

used this particular term for the minor rules. So it is not possible that this Pācittiya rule was promulgated before the First Council.

In the Mahāparinibbānasutta the Buddha permits the Saṃgha to annul the minor rules, but the arhats during the First Council decided to preserve all the Vinaya rules, for they lacked precise knowledge as to the identity of the minor rules. They virtually put an end to all future deliberations on this problem. It is obvious that the statement of the Pācittiya rule that any discussion unfavourable to the recitation of the minor rules will lead to uncertainty, and therefore it is an ecclesiastical offence to do so reflects faithfully the cautious spirit of the First Council, but runs counter to the generous attitude of the Buddha. This suggests that the Pācittiya LXXII was promulgated after the First council.

The Cuḷavagga XI account of the minor rules, however, really belongs to a very early period. It has been mentioned in all the Vinaya versions, and therefore surely goes back to the time of the undivided Buddhist community. And this genuinely old tradition of the minor rules according to Poussin cannot be reconciled with the tradition of chanting the Vinaya, for while the former shows that the disciplinary rules at the time of the death of the Buddha were very far from being fixed, the latter speaks of the rules being officially fixed during the First Council. This contradiction shows that the account of the chanting is a later fabrication. Poussin further thinks that this

episode also shows a clash between the liberal and orthodox forces.¹

(v) - *Censure of Poussin's view:*

We have seen that one of the reasons for which Poussin considers the chanting to be a legend is that the initial part of the account of the Cuḷavagga XI leaves out many necessary details and so appears to be disconnected and abrupt. This objection of Poussin is not tenable when we comprehend the true nature of this part of the Cuḷavagga account. Here we are actually dealing with an introduction to the Krtya of chanting the dhamma and vinaya. An official act performed by the Saṃgha, that is a krtya, must be accompanied by informations regarding vatthu, nidāna and puggala. The initial portion of the Cuḷavagga XI provides us with necessary informations on these points. It tells us about the business the monks are to perform (vatthu) the place where the chanting is to take place (nidāna) and the persons selected for the chanting (puggala). As all these relevant details are contained in this portion of the Cuḷavagga XI account, it cannot be regarded as disconnected and abrupt. The introductory part of the Cuḷavagga account has even indirectly mentioned the story of Subhadda as the cause of the chanting. Though this piece of information was not legally necessary for the krtya, it was naturally recorded as it was so closely connected with the proposal of chanting. This also seems to be an authentic piece of tradition as it not only finds mention in the different Sthavira

1. Ibid, p.25

accounts but also in the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya. The other details to which Poussin drew our attention while summarising the Cuḷavagga account are so superfluous from the legal point of view of the Buddhist Saṃgha and so far removed from the account of the chanting that they were quite naturally ignored in the Vinaya accounts. It is absolutely superfluous to introduce the introduction containing the legally necessary information concerning the *krtya*, and the recording of these details would be unnecessary even for introducing the introduction. Thus the non-mention of these details does not in the least affect the authenticity of the Cuḷavagga account.

It is also not correct to maintain that the two episodes of Channa and Ānanda prove the imposition of different punishments where uniformity was expected. From the Mahāparinibbānasutta and Cuḷavagga accounts it is clear that Channa has not actually committed any offence. He was known to be of passionate and violent nature, and the brahmadanda was imposed on him not as a punishment for some offence already done, but as a preventive measure. It was imposed to prevent the arising of a situation that may provoke Channa to act violently to others. The narration in the Cuḷavagga does not show that due to his attainment of 'arhatva'. Channa is getting absolved from any offence committed by him in the past. Ānanda, on the other hand, has actually done something which was wrong in the opinion of the Saṃgha, and must be met with disciplinary action. Thus the cases of Channa and Ānanda represent two different legal problems, and the Cuḷavagga is, therefore, justified in recording two different types of actions being taken

against them. This account of the Cuḷavagga cannot be interpreted as showing the existence of two different concepts of arhat followed by the orthodox and non-orthodox monks. Moreover the contention that an arhat cannot be subjected to any disciplinary action does not stand to reason. The term 'arhat' simply stands for a spiritual concept. Arhat is an enlightened person who has attained freedom from ignorance, passions and rebirth. But he is liable to commit mistake about anything which is not integral to the enlightened state of an arhat. In the Cuḷavagga XI itself we have passages which confirm our characterization of an arhat. Here we read the Ānanda¹ became free from passions (āśava) when he attained the spiritual height of arhatva (Pāli: Arahatta). We also know from this chapter of the Cuḷavagga that the arhats made mistake about the definition of minor rules. Similarly the mistakes Ānanda made had nothing to do with the 'arhatva'. From the confession of Ānanda it appears that the actions of Ānanda were not even mistakes according to the current monastic rules, though the Saṃgha had the legal authority to interpret them as mistakes. These actions of Ānanda came to be regarded as offences of which Ānanda was absolved by confession. It should be also noted in this connection that there is no doctrine belonging to this early period explicitly stating that an arhat can never act in a culpable manner, or that he cannot be charged for any violation of the discipline done by him. Thus there is no reason to conclude that the episode of the charges against Ānanda contradicts the

1. CV. XI. 6; T. 22, p.190c 16ff;

tradition that he had attained arhatva before he was subjected to disciplinary action.¹ The incidence of charges against Ānanda does not reveal the vagueness of the arhat concept, but it shows that the spiritual perfection of an arhat does not automatically exempt him from his past mistakes in disciplinary matters. This legal standpoint is in conformity with the Buddhist doctrine of karma. Even a Buddha has to suffer the effects of his past actions.

Likewise Poussin's observations, on the account of the Khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni cannot be accepted. Poussin first emphasises the antiquity of the tradition regarding the minor rules, and then proceeds to point out that this tradition is irreconcilable with the episode of chanting the entire Vinaya, thereby implying that the tradition of chanting cannot be trusted as an authentic piece of history.² The view that the tradition of the minor rules goes back to remote antiquity can be fully supported. We have seen that the promulgation of the Pācittiya LXXII was caused by the discussion of minor rules in the First Council. This indirectly proves the antiquity of the tradition about its discussion in the First Council. The fact that this tradition finds mention in all the Vinayas including that of the

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1. TBC. Louis De la Poussin, p.17 points out that Ānanda was judged after he became an arhat. Thus this tradition appears not only in the account of the two Sthavira streams but also in the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya. So this tradition might have belonged to the earliest strata; for 3 streams of tradition, see, Mukherjee, *ibid*, pp.81-83
 2. Both Poussin and Oldenberg think the tradition about the minor rules also is not historical, see Poussin, TBC, p. 26, note 64.

Mahāsamghikas, proves that it originated before the Sthavira-Mahāsamghika schism, and should be taken to be as old as the First Council. However the other part of Poussin's theory viz. The traditions of the minor rules were earlier than, the tradition of chanting and contradicts it, cannot be supported. Poussin based his conclusion on the assumption that at the time of the discussion of the minor rules no fixed code of discipline existed. It appears that this surmise of Poussin is too far fetched and does not take into consideration other relevant traditions. The discussions on the minor rules show that the Buddhists were already certain about the definition of Vinaya, and they also knew that the minor rules consisted of a part of this Vinaya, though they had no precise knowledge as to which part it was. The definition of Vinaya that emerges from the discussions on the minor rules is in conformity with the concept of Vinaya¹ that emerges from our discussion of the schismatic matters. And the discussions on the minor rules and the chanting of the Vinaya were done by the same group of monks. So it is obvious that the Vinaya was already a fixed code at the time of the First Council, and the tradition about the chanting cannot be later than that of the discussion on the minor rules. Both these traditions belong to the same period and find mention in all the Vinayas. Moreover, that the Buddhists were discussing the minor rules in order to abrogate a part of the Vinaya does not in any way prove that the Vinaya, as understood by them in that early period, was not already compiled and fixed. The monks cannot be expected to

1. SMEBL, Mukherjee, pp.89-93.

abrogate a part of the Vinaya, unless they know what is exactly meant by Vinaya. This opinion is also supported by the tradition that the Buddha told Ānanda that the Dhamma and Vinaya would be the teacher of the monks after his death.¹ Moreover the fact that the Vinaya consists of the rules promulgated by the Buddha did not form a bar to the abolition of a part of it. It was the Buddha himself who had authorized the monks to abrogate the minor rules if necessary. Thus the contention of Poussin that the tradition of chanting the vinaya at the First Council is a legend for it is contradicted by the earlier tradition of the minor rules is not acceptable.

To sum up, the historic nature of the Cuḷavagga XI account, specially the episode of chanting the dhamma and vinaya, has been denied either because of the silence of the Mahāparinibbānasutta about the chanting, or due to the internal contradictions supposed to be existed between the different episodes narrated in the Cuḷavagga XI. But we found that these objections against the authenticity of the account are not valid, for they are based on the following wrong assumptions:

1. The Mahāparinibbānasutta is earlier than the Cuḷavagga XI.
2. The Mahāparinibbānasutta would have recorded the kṛtyas concerning, the chanting, the minor rules, charges against Ānanda etc. if these were known to it.

1. MPS, VI. p.1

3. The episodes of Ānanda and the minor rules represent earlier tradition and contradict the account of chanting which is of later origin.

These assumptions are shown to be wrong by our finding that while the Mahāparinibbānasutta deal with materials connected with the dhamma, the Cuḷavagga XI is concerned with kṛtya traditions, and as such the Mahāparinibbānasutta will naturally omit traditions that rightfully belong to the category of kṛtya. Moreover we have shown that all these episodes including that of the chanting belong to the earliest traceable tradition current before the Sthavira-Mahāsaṃghika schism, and there is no objective ground whatsoever to hold one episode earlier than the other.

On the other hand, there is strong internal evidence to show that the episode of chanting also bears mark of great antiquity. If we analyse materials bearing upon the connotation of the term 'vinaya' as given in accounts of the First Council, and the list of schismatic matters, we will see that the term 'vinaya' has been used in an extremely archaic sense, viz. to mean some of the disciplinary rules at present included in the Pātimokkha-sutta and the informations regarding vatthu, nidāna and puggāla with reference to these rules. Hence not only the episodes of Ānanda, minor rules etc. but also the account of chanting the dhamma and vinaya should be regarded as history.

III - The traditional view on the First Council:

The traditional Buddhist sources show that Collection tells us that Kaccāna was the foremost among those who could

accurately expand an utterance of the Master's which had been spoken concisely.¹ The Middling Collection adds that Buddha complimented Kaccāna upon his ability to do this.² The same Nikāya no.84 tells us that Kaccāna converted the King of Avanti after Buddha's decease, and the monarch was ready to take him for his master. Besides this learned Kaccāna, there was Ānanda learned in the Suttas, Upāli in the Vinaya etc. So obviously does this great list of disciples bear upon the First Council, that the oldest Chronicler of Ceylon gives a poetic abridgment thereof in his two accounts.³ These documents probably emanate from the Great Minister and some other monastery in the ancient capital of Ceylon.

There is, in the Pāli Canon, an archaic work, the Itivuttaka. Each paragraph in this venerable Gospel-source is attested by the solemn words: "Exactly this is the meaning of what the Blessed One said, and thus it was heard by me." Though no names are given, this formula implies that earwitnesses made depositions as to what they had heard from the Master.

Another ancient document, the Great Section on Discipline, exhibits a charming picture of the monks reciting the Master's words even during his lifetime: on the last night of the yearly residence during the rains, the reciters sat up late comparing notes and fixing in their minds the discourses they had chanted together. Another document of the Discipline, the Minor

1. AN. I. p.4.

2. MN. p.18.

3. *Dīpavaṃsa*, 4&5.

Section, tells us how the famous disciple Dabba, the Mallaputta, (who could light the monks to bed by emitting magnetic flames from his fingers) allotted apartments to the different reciters: the Sutta-reciters and the Vinaya-reciters were housed together. Another ancient Discipline document, the *Pārājika*, enumerates Nine Divisions into which the sacred lore was divided. Three of these divisions, *Jātaka*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, are names of leading books of the Canon to this day; a fourth one, Sutta, is the name of the great fivefold collection; while three other names enter into the titles of books or discourses.

Thus we have reason to believe, from the Canon itself, even in its oldest documents, that a Council to fix it after Buddha's decease was inevitable. The monks had been used to hold just such a council every year through the long decades of his life-work, and they could not have done without one when he was no more.

(i) - *Sketch biography of the chief Council:*

When the Buddha Gotama appeared in the world, Kaccāna was born as the son of the chaplain (purohita) in the city of Ujjeni, the capital of Avanti, to the southwest of the Middle Country.¹ His father's personal name was Tiritivaccha, his mother's Candima,² and they were of the Kaccāyana clan, one of the oldest and most highly respected lines of brahmanas. Since

1. The account here resumes as in commentary to *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (by nipāta and sutta)

2. His parents' names are mentioned at Apadāna (i = Therāpadāna, 54:1, v.21)

he was born with a golden colored body, his parents exclaimed that he had brought his name along with him at birth, and they named him "Kañcana," which means "golden." As a brahmana and the son of the court chaplain, when Kañcana grew up he studied the Three Vedas, the traditional sacred scriptures of the brahmanas, and after his father's death he succeeded him in the position of court chaplain.

The king of Avanti at the time that Kaccāna became chaplain was Candapajjota, Pajjota the Violent. He was known by this epithet because of his explosive and unpredictable temper. When King Candapajjota heard that the Buddha had arisen in the world, he assembled his ministers and asked those who were so capable to go and invite the Blessed One to visit Ujjeni. The ministers all agreed that the only one who was truly capable of bringing the Buddha to Avanti was the chaplain Kaccāna. The king therefore assigned him to go on this mission, but Kaccāna laid down a condition before he would accede to the king's request: he would go only if he would be permitted to become a monk after meeting the Enlightened One. The king, ready to accept any condition in exchange for a meeting with the Tathāgata, gave his consent.

Kaccāna set out accompanied by seven other courtiers. When they met the Master, he taught them the Dhamma, and at the end of the discourse Kaccāna and his seven companions all attained Arahantship together with the four analytical knowledges (paṭisambhidā-ñāna). The Buddha granted them

ordination simply by welcoming them into the Saṃgha with the words, "Come, bhikkhus."¹

The new bhikkhu, now the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna, then began to praise the splendors of Ujjeni to the Buddha. The Master realized that his new disciple wanted him to travel to his native land, but he replied that it would be sufficient for Kaccāna to go himself, as he was already capable of teaching the Dhamma and of inspiring confidence in King Caṇḍapajjota.

In the course of their return journey the party of monks arrived at a town named Telapanali, where they stopped to gather alms. In that town lived two maidens, merchants' daughters of different families. One girl was beautiful, with lovely long hair, but both her parents had expired and she lived in poverty, looked after by her governess. The other girl was wealthy, but was afflicted with an illness that had caused her to lose her hair. Repeatedly she had tried to persuade the poor girl to sell her hair so she could make a wig but the poor girl had consistently refused.

Now, when the poor girl saw the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna and his fellow monks walking for alms, their bowls as empty as if they had just been washed, she felt a sudden surge of faith and devotion arise in her towards the elder, and she decided to offer alms to the party of bhikkhus. However, as she had no wealth, the only way she could obtain money to buy provisions was to

1. According to commentary, at the moment the Buddha invited them to join the Order, their hair and beards disappeared and they were spontaneously provided with bowls and robes, created by the Buddha's psychic power.

sell her hair to the rich girl. This time, as the hair came to the rich girl already cut, she paid only eight coins for it. With these eight coins the poor girl had almsfood prepared for the eight bhikkhus, using one coin for each portion. After she had presented the alms, as an immediate fruit of the meritorious deed, her full head of hair instantly grew back to its original length.

When the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna arrived back in Ujjeni, he reported this incident to King Caṇḍapajjota. The king had the girl conveyed to his palace and at once appointed her his chief queen. From that time onwards the king greatly honored Mahā Kaccāna. Many people of Ujjeni who heard the elder preach gained faith in the Dhamma and went forth under him as monks. Thus the entire city became: (in the words of the commentary) "a single blaze of saffron robes, a blowing back and forth of the banner of sages." The queen, who was exceedingly devoted to the elder, built for him a dwelling in the Golden Grove Park.

So says the *Aṅguttara Commentary*, but the Pāli Canon itself suggests that, the Saṃgha was not as well established in Avanti as the commentator would lead us to believe. This fact can be discerned from a story involving the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna that is reported in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka.¹

1. Vin. I, p.194-98. The story of Sona is also related at Udāna (by chapter and sutta). 5:6, but without the passage on the modification of the monastic rules.

When this story unfolds, the elder was dwelling in Avanti at his favorite residence, the Osprey's Haunt on Precipice Mountain. A lay disciple of his named Sona Kuṭikanna came to him and expressed the wish to go forth under him as a monk. But Kaccāna, seeing perhaps that the householder was not yet ready to take such a big step, discouraged him with the words: "Difficult, Sona, is it to sleep alone, to eat one meal a day, and to observe celibacy for as long as life lasts. While remaining a householder, you should apply yourself to the Buddha's teaching, and at the proper times you may sleep alone, eat one meal a day, and observe celibacy."

With these words Sona's enthusiasm for ordination subsided. Some time later, however, the urge was rekindled, and he approached the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna with the same request. A second time the elder discouraged him, and a second time Sona's desire for ordination abated. When Sona approached him for the third time and asked for ordination, Mahā Kaccāna gave him the "going forth" (*pabbajjā*), that is, the initial ordination as a novice (*sāmanera*).

During the Buddha's time it seems to have been customary to grant mature men, already endowed with faith in the Dhamma and well acquainted with its tenets, both ordinations in immediate succession. The novice ordination would be given first, and then right afterwards the ceremony of higher ordination (*upasampadā*) would be performed, making the postulant a bhikkhu, a full member of the Saṃgha. But at the time that the above incident took place Avanti was short of monks, being a region quite far from the Buddha's own

missionary rounds and from the other centers of Buddhist activity. According to the disciplinary regulations that were still in effect, the higher ordination had to be performed by a chapter of at least ten bhikkhus (*dasavagga-bhikkhusamgha*). But such was the situation in Avanti that the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna could not easily find even nine other bhikkhus to confer the higher ordination on Sona. It was only three years later that the elder could, with trouble and difficulty, convene an assembly of ten bhikkhus from different places in the region to give Sona the higher ordination.

When the Venerable Sona had completed his first rains retreat as a bhikkhu, the wish arose in him to pay a visit to the Buddha. He had heard many times the highest praise of the Blessed One, his lord and refuge, yet he had never seen the Master face to face, and now the desire to do so have become irresistible. He went to his preceptor to ask for his permission to make the long journey to Sāvatti, where the Buddha was residing. Not only did the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna applaud his disciple's desire to see the Buddha, but he asked Sona to convey to the Lord an appeal that certain monastic regulations be relaxed to suit the different social and geographical conditions that prevailed in Avanti and in other border regions.

When the Venerable Sona came to the Buddha and explained his preceptor's request, the Master readily agreed. First, to determine what districts should count as border regions, the Buddha defined the boundaries of the Middle Country, wherein the original regulations were to remain binding. Then

he announced the revised versions of the rules that would apply in the border regions, though not in the Middle Country. These revised rules are the following:

(1) The higher ordination would not require ten bhikkhus but could now be given by a chapter of five, one of whom must be a master of the Vinaya, the monastic discipline.

(2) Monks are allowed to use sandals with thick linings, as the ground in those regions is rough and hard on the feet.

(3) Monks are permitted to bathe frequently, as the people of Avanti attach great importance to bathing.

(4) Sheepskins and goatskins, etc., could be used as coverlets.

(5) Robes could be accepted on behalf of a monk who has left the district, and the ten days' period during which (under the rule) an extra robe could be kept would begin only when the robe actually reaches his hands.

We cannot find in the suttas or in the commentaries offer us abundant biographical information about the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna's life in the Saṃgha. They focus, rather, on his role as teacher, especially on his detailed expositions of the Buddha's brief statements. From the settings (*nidāna*) to the suttas in which Mahā Kaccāna appears, we can infer that after his ordination he spent most of his time in Avanti. Usually, it seems, he dwelt quietly in seclusion, though when occasion arose he gave instruction to others. Periodically he would go to visit the Buddha at his main places of residence, and it seems

likely that he also sometimes accompanied him on his preaching tours. The three suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya in which Mahā Kaccāna appears in the role of expositor open at three different locales, in Kapilavatthu, Rājagaha, and Sāvatti. As these cities were, relative to the geographical extent of the Ganges Valley, widely separated from each other, and as all were far from Avanti, this suggests either that the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna spent long periods accompanying the Buddha on his journeys or that he would travel to the different monastic centers where the Buddha resided when he heard that the Master intended to stay there for some time.

We do not find in the texts indications that Mahā Kaccāna entered into close friendships with the other leading monks, as for instance Sāriputta, Mahā Moggallāna, and Ānanda did with one another. He seems to be one who generally lived aloof, though he did not place a strict emphasis on seclusion in the manner of one like the Venerable Mahā Kassapa, nor did he seem especially stern in his asceticism.¹ He was ready to assume

1. At Vin. II, p.299, in describing the preparations for the Second Council, it is said that eighty-eight Arahants from Avanti gathered on the Ahogaṅgā mountain slope. They are described as "mostly forest-dwellers, mostly almsmen, mostly rag-robe wearers, mostly wearers of the three robes," and are contrasted with sixty Arahant bhikkhus from Pāvā, all of whom observe these ascetic practices. Though any conclusions drawn from this passage are speculative, these monks may have belonged to the pupillary lineage of Ven. Mahā Kaccana, and the reason they were "mostly" observers of the ascetic practices (rather than entirely such) is that he inspired his disciples to undertake such practices by personal example without making them mandatory.

teaching duties on request, as we shall see, but we find that he always appears in the suttas in the role of expositor and elucidator of the Dhamma to others. We do not see the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna engage in person-to-person dialogues with other monks, as we see in the case of all the above-mentioned elders; neither do we see him address inquiries to the Buddha, as even the wisest of the bhikkhus, the Venerable Sāriputta, often did. His absence is conspicuous in the Mahāgosiṅga Sutta¹, wherein the other outstanding disciples gather on a full-moon night to discuss the ideal bhikkhu who could illuminate the forest. On that occasion six great elders -- Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda, Mahā Kassapa, Anuruddha, and Revata -- each describe the ideal bhikkhu according to their particular dispositions, and at the end the Buddha offers his own picture of the most worthy monk. Surely if Mahā Kaccāna was present on that occasion he would have described such a monk as one skilled in the detailed exposition of brief sayings.

Mahā Kaccāna did grant ordination, as we saw above in the case of Sona, though his pupils were probably not very numerous, despite the words of the Aṅguttara Commentary. One of his pupils was the bhikkhu Isidatta, who even while very young had impressed many of the older monks with his incisive replies to difficult questions on the Dhamma.² There can be little

1. MN. p.32

2. Isidatta is mentioned at *Samyutta Nikāya* (by samyutta and sutta) 41:1, 2. In the first sutta he answers a question on the diversity of elements, a topic that Mahā Kaccana also discusses (see below, pp. 29-30); in the second, on

doubt that Isidatta's adroitness in tackling subtle points of doctrine reflects the rigorous training he must have received from the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna.

On one occasion when the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna visited the Buddha he received special homage from Sakka, the king of the gods.¹ This occurred when the Buddha was dwelling at the Eastern Park at Sāvatti, in the Mansion of Migāra's Mother. The Lord was sitting surrounded by a company of great disciples on the occasion of the pavāranā, the ceremony of mutual criticism among the monks which ends the annual rains retreat. Because Mahā Kaccāna regularly used to visit the Buddha in order to hear the Dhamma, coming even from a long distance, the other chief elders would always reserve a seat for him in case he should unexpectedly turn up.

On this occasion Sakka, along with his celestial retinue, drew near to the holy assembly and prostrated himself before the Blessed One. Since he did not see the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna, he thought to himself: "It would be good indeed if the noble elder would arrive." Just at that moment Mahā Kaccāna approached and took his seat. When Sakka beheld him, he grasped him firmly by the ankles, expressed his joy over the elder's arrival, and honored him with gifts of scents and flowers. Some of the younger monks were upset and complained that

speculative views. To escape the fame and admiration which came to him on account of these replies, he disappeared into obscurity.

1. *Dhammapada Commentary*, V. p.94. See E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, PTS. 1969, 2, p.202-3.

Sakka was being partial in his display of reverence, but the Buddha reproved them with the words: "Monks, those monks who, like my son Mahā Kaccāna, guard the doors of the senses, are beloved both among gods and humans." He then pronounced the following stanza of the Dhammapada (v.94):

"Even the gods hold him dear,
Whose senses are subdued
Like horses trained well by a charioteer,
Whose pride is destroyed,
And who is free from corruptions."

That the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna was actually one who devoted much attention to the mastery of the sense faculties is borne out by his discourses, which (as we shall see below) often emphasize the need for guarding "the doors of the senses."

The commentaries record two curious series of events, both of which stemmed from the impression that the elder's physical form made on the minds of others. One of these, reported in the Dhammapada Commentary,¹ involved a young man named Soreyya, who was the son of the treasurer in the city of the same name. One day the youth Soreyya was driving out of the city in a carriage, en route to a bathing spot together with an intimate friend and a merry band of companions. Just as they were leaving the city the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna was standing at the city gate, putting on his outer robe before entering to walk on alms round. When the youth Soreyya beheld the golden-hued

1. *Dhammapada Commentary*, V. p.43. See *Buddhist Legends*, 2, p.23-28

body of the elder, he thought to himself: "Oh, that elder might become my wife! Or may the hue of my wife's body become like the hue of his body!"

At the very moment this thought passed through his mind, Soreyya was instantly transformed from a man into a woman. Startled by this inexplicable change of sex, he jumped out of the carriage and fled before the others could notice what had occurred. Gradually he made his way to the city of Takkaṣāla. His companions searched for him in vain and reported his strange disappearance to his parents. When all attempts to trace him proved futile, his parents concluded that he had died and they had the funeral rites performed.

Meanwhile the woman Soreyya, on reaching Takkaṣāla, met the son of the city's treasurer, who fell in love with her and took her as his wife. In the first years of their marriage she gave birth to two sons. Previously, while a man, Soreyya had fathered two sons through his wife in his native city. Thus he was the parent of four children, two as a father and two as a mother.

One day the former intimate friend of Soreyya came to Takkaṣāla on some personal business. Lady Soreyya saw him in the street and recognized him. She called him into her house and revealed to him the secret of her mysterious metamorphosis from a man into a woman. The friend proposed that Soreyya should offer alms to the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna, who was living close by, and then beg pardon from him for having given rise to such a lewd thought.

The friend then went to the elder and invited him to come to the lady's house for alms on the following day. When the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna arrived, the friend brought Lady Soreyya into his presence, informed him of what had happened long ago, and asked him to pardon her for that transgression. As soon as the elder uttered the words "I pardon you," Lady Soreyya was transformed back into a man. Shaken out of all worldly complacency by this double metamorphosis, Soreyya determined that he could never again lead the household life. He took ordination as a bhikkhu under Mahā Kaccāna, and after a short time attained Arahantship together with the supernatural powers.

Vassakāra, the chief minister of Magadha under the parricide King Ajātasattu, was less fortunate, though his misfortune sprang entirely from his own pride and obstinacy and not from some force outside his control. The commentary to the *Majjhima Nikāya* reports that one day, when Vassakāra saw the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna coming down from the mountain Vulture Peak, he explained: "He looks just like a monkey!"¹ Such an exclamation seems strange, particularly as Mahā Kaccāna is described in the texts as being especially handsome and graceful in his physical presence. Whatever the reason for the remark, news of the incident spread and eventually reached the Buddha. The Blessed One said that if Vassakāra should go to the elder and beg his pardon, all would be well; but if he does not ask pardon he would be reborn as a monkey in the Bamboo

1. *Majjhima Nikāya* Commentary. (=MN), p.108.

Grove in Rājagaha. This was reported back to Vassakāra. As the chief minister of the kingdom, he must have been too proud to beg forgiveness from a mendicant monk. Thus, reflecting that whatever the Buddha says must turn out to be true, he resigned himself to his future fate and made preparations for his next existence by planting trees in the Bamboo Grove and setting up a guard to protect the wild life there. It is said that some time after his death a monkey was born in the Bamboo Grove who would draw near when one called out "Vassakāra."

The circumstances of the Venerable Mahā Kaccāna's death are not recorded in the texts, but at the end of the Madhura Sutta, Mahā Kaccāna declares that the Buddha has attained Parinibbāna, so it is evident from this that he himself outlived his Master.

(ii) - The causes of First Council:

Thera Mahākassapa, the first Buddhist patriarch, was the originator of the first assembly for compiling the Piṭakas, is a matter of general acceptance by all schools of Buddhism. His motive, according to the Ceylon tradition, is ascribed to the imprudent utterance of a certain Bhikkhu Subhadda¹ who, hearing of Buddha's entrance into Nibbāna (Sanskrit: Nirvāna), unreservedly gave vent to his feeling of relief, for he thought the religious discipline demanded by his Master was too rigorous.²

1. This monk is not the same name converted by the Buddha in his last time.

2. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.11.

This tradition agrees with the records in the Vinaya texts of the Mahīśāsaka, the Mahāsaṃghika, and the Dhammagupta schools, and also with those in the Vinaya-mātrikā-Sutra and the Sudarśana-Vinaya-vibhāṣā,¹ whereas in the Vinaya text of the Dhammagupta an additional reason why the Piṭaka should be rehearsed immediately after Buddha's death is given by Thera Mahākassapa thus: "We should now compile the Dhamma and the Vinaya, in order that heretics titthakas (Sanskrit: tīrthakas) shall not make us the subject of superfluous comments and censures, saying that the discipline of the Samana Gotama is like smoke; that when the World-honored One was living, all his disciples observed the precepts, but now, after his disappearance, there are none who observe them." But the Vinaya text of the Sarvāstivāda, Transmission of the Dhammapiṭaka and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* do not make any allusion to the unwise Bhikkhu. The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra, and the Life of Asoka, on the other hand, state that Mahākassapa was requested or instigated by devas who deeply lamented the possibility of the future loss of the Piṭakas, if not compiled in due time. The Transmission of the Dhammapiṭaka, however, says nothing about the superhuman suggestion. To quote the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya: "Those devas whose long life extends over many kalpas were greatly afflicted at witnessing the Nirvāna of Buddha. But

1. The name of the imprudent Bhikkhu is Bhānanda in the Mahīśāsaka, the Dharmagupta, and the Vinaya-mātrikā; Mahāllaka in the Mahāsaṃghika; Subhadda-Mahāllaka in the Sudarśana-vibhāṣā-vinaya.

when they came to observe that many a sage had also entered into Nirvāna, they at last began to blame the disciples, saying: 'The Sutra, Vinaya, and Mātrikā (which constitute) the genuine Dhammapīṭaka taught by the World-honored One are left uncompiled; but surely the disciples are not going to have the right doctrine turned into ashes?'

Surmising the wish of those devas, Mahākassapa said to all Bhikkhus: "You know that the venerable Sāriputta and the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, each with a large number of great Bhikkhus who could not bear witnessing Buddha's entrance into Mahānirvāna, had already reverted to a state of perfect tranquillity; and now the World-honored One himself, in turn with 18,000 Bhikkhus, has also entered into Parinibbāna. All those devas who are living innumerable kalpas, however, come forth to express their deep grief, and blame us, saying: 'Why do you not have the holy teachings of the Tipiṭaka compiled? Are you going to have the deepest spiritual doctrine of the Tathāgata turned into ashes?' So I declare to you all that the greatest thing we can do now is the compilation of the Piṭaka. All then responded: 'Well, let us do the work.'"

In the Transmission of the Dhammapīṭaka, Mahākassapa is stated to have told all Bhikkhus, as follows: "Buddha is now cremated, but we have no concern with the relics sarīra (Sanskrit: śārīra) of the World-honored One, for kings, the rich, ministers of state, and lay-believers who desire the most excellent bliss will, of their own accord, make offerings to them. What we have to do is the collection of the Dhammacakkhu literally, the eye of the law, whereby to prevent an untimely

extinction of the torch of the law in order that it may illuminate the future generation, let a prosperous perpetuation of the Tiratana be not interrupted." The Record of the Collection of the Tipiṭaka and the Samyuktapiṭaka, which was translated during the Eastern Jin dynasty, A.D. 317-420, agrees with the above-mentioned work in referring neither to the imprudent Bhikkhu nor to the suggestion of devas.

(iii) – *The elimination of Ānanda*

It is almost¹ unanimously recorded in all the Chinese books that Ānanda was not admitted to membership in the Convocation, until he attained to the state of mastery, through the reprimand of Mahākassapa, which successfully awakened in his heart the feelings of deep remorse and shame. There is, however, no agreement of statements as to how Ānanda was instigated by him in obtaining final emancipation.

According to The Sudarśana-vibhāshā-vinaya, Mahākassapa insisted on the exclusion of Ānanda from the Convocation in order to protect it against all the reprehension that might arise from admitting one who was still in the stage of training; but the rest of the congregation thought it impossible to compile the Suttas without Ānanda, so they admonished him to exert all his spiritual powers for the attainment of Arahatsip.

The Life of Asoka, the Caturvarga-vinaya of the Dhammagupta School, and the Pañcavarga-vinaya of the

1. Except the Transmission of the *Dharmapitaka*, where no mention is made of this incident.

Mahīśāsaka School, these three works generally agree in this connection. Ānanda was preaching the Law to a large crowd of people, not knowing anything about Mahākassapa's determination to exclude him from the meeting.

In the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, a verse slightly different in meaning from the above is also mentioned, but it was given by a mysterious boy who served him as an attendant, instead of by a Bhikkhu. This incident occurred after a severe censure by Mahākasappa of eight misdemeanors committed by Ānanda. The Vinaya text states that Mahākassapa at first considered what would be the proper way of treating Ānanda, whether with a severe reprehension or with a gentle encouragement. When he had determined to take the first course, Ānanda was brought before the congregation. Mahākassapa said: "You must leave this place. It is not proper for this congregation of worthy Bhikkhus to be associated with you in their work." Hearing this, Ānanda felt as if his heart were being pierced with arrows, and, trembling all over his body, he pleaded with Mahākassapa not to exclude him from the congregation, as he was not conscious of any faults which would justify this severe punishment. Mahākassapa now enumerated his eight misdemeanors, which caused Ānanda at last to retire from the assembly and to train himself for the attainment of Arahatsip.

In the Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya, Ānanda is stated to have received a very humiliating treatment from Mahākassapa. When Mahākassapa was requested by Bhikkhus to admit the former to their assembly, he said: "No, if such a one who is still in the stage of training should be admitted into a congregation of those

who are above training and are perfect in their meritorious powers, he would appear like a leprous fox in an assemblage of lions." When this ignominious comparison was communicated by a *deva* to Ānanda, who was traveling towards Rājagaha, it did not please him at all. But he thought that Mahākassapa who well knew to what family he belonged, would not have referred to him in such a way, if he were free from prejudices. But in the meantime, after attaining his final deliverance, Ānanda hastened through the air to the Convocation. Mahākassapa, it is stated, then explained to him that he used such a vigorous expression, only as he wished to encourage him to reach the stage of Arahatsip.

In the Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-Śāstra, the episode is described somewhat in a similar way to that in the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya. Ānanda is brought before the congregation by Mahākassapa, and is reproached first for his not being yet qualified to rejoin it, and then for his six (not eight) misdemeanors. When Ānanda is expelled from the assembly, Mahākassapa closes the gate behind him, and begins to compile the Vinaya with the remaining Bhikkhus. Exceedingly mortified, Ānanda during the night exercised all his spiritual powers to reach the Path, and when at last he attained to the state of freedom from all prejudices, he rushed at midnight to Mahākassapa's gates. Being told there to come inside through the keyhole, he did so by his supernatural power. Mahākassapa consoled him, saying that the severe reproach had been inflicted upon him simply because he wished to see him enter into the state of Arahatsip.

In the Sutta on Kassapa's Compilation of the Tipiṭaka Ānanda is said to have been expelled from the congregation after he was censured by Mahākassapa for his nine misdemeanors in the presence of the Saṃgha.

(iv) - Ānanda's misdemeanors

When Ānanda said to Mahākassapa that he was not conscious of any faults, and that therefore there was no reason to exclude him from the assembly, Mahākassapa enumerated several of his dukkaṭa (Sanskrit: duskrita), which were considered by him to be the proof that Ānanda was still in the stage of training. This incident is said to have occurred, according to some, before the compilation, but according to others, after it. To the former belong the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, the Sutra on Kassapa's compilation, the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-Śāstra, and the Caturvarga-vinaya of the Dhammagupta School; to the latter belong the Vinayamātrikā Sutra, the Pañcavarga-vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka, the Life of Asoka, and the Mahā-saṃghika-vinaya. But in the Caturvarga-vinaya, the Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya,¹ the Life of Asoka, the Pañcavarga-vinaya, the faults of Ānanda are simply enumerated without any reference to his qualification as a member of the Convocation.

The number of his faults as censured by Mahākassapa or Upāli is variously estimated at six, seven, eight, and nine. The following sums up all that was charged against him:

1. Here the accuser is not Mahākassapa, but Upāli

1. Ānanda asked Buddha for the admittance of women into the Saṃgha, in spite of Buddha's prediction that if women were admitted, the Law of the Tathāgata would not long abide on earth.¹

2. Ānanda did not ask Buddha for the prolongation of his life, when the latter expressly suggested this to him, by saying that those who were trained in the four supernatural powers could either prolong or shorten their life for the period of one kappa.

3. When Buddha preached in parables, Ānanda made, in spite of his presence, some superfluous remark on them.

4. Ānanda trod on Buddha's golden-colored robe while trying to wash it (a), or while trying to sew it (b).

5. Being asked by Buddha to give him some water when he was going to enter into Nibbāna, Ānanda gave him muddy water (a), or he did not give him any, even when thrice asked (b).

6. When Buddha told Ānanda that Bhikkhus might dispense with minor precepts, he did not make any inquiry as to what precepts should be regarded minor.²

7. Ānanda exposed the secret parts of Buddha in the presence of women, thinking that the act would tend to the

1. Most of the Chinese books here referred to give all the reasons by which Ānanda justified himself for having committed those alleged misdemeanors, but from want of space, no mention here is made of them.

2. This naturally caused a vehement demonstration among the Saṃgha later.

cessation of their passions, but how could he know this when he had not yet attained to the stage of Arahatsip?

8. Ānanda showed the gold-colored body of Buddha to a multitude of women, allowing them to defile it with their tears.

9. Ānanda first allowed women to worship the remains of Buddha.

10. When Ānanda was one time reproached by Buddha, he secretly cherished ill-will, and was mischievous to others.

11. Ānanda was not yet free from the three evil passions: lust, malice, and ignorance, while all the other Bhikkhus assembled in the Convocation were free from these evils.

12. Buddha asked Ānanda three times to serve him as one who offers things to Buddha, but he declined it.

The number and the order of these faults committed by Ānanda are different in different works.

In the Sarvāstivāda vinaya eight faults are counted in the following order: 1, 2, 3, 4a, 5a, 6, 7, 8.

The Pañcavarga-vinaya counts six in this order: 6, 4b, 1, 2, 5b, 9.

The Life of Asoka, six: 6, 5b, 4 (simply stepping on Buddha's robe), 2, 7 (the reason given by Ānanda is that he wished to awake in the minds of women the desire to be born as men in their future life): 1.

The Sutta (Sanskrit: Sutra) on Kassapa's Compilation has nine: 1, 2, 10, 4 (simply stepping over the golden robe of Buddha), 5b, 6, 7, 8, 11.

The Caturvarga-vinaya states seven: 1, 12, 4b, 2, 5b, 6, 8.

The Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya describes seven, thus: 1, 2, 4b, 5b, 6, 7, 8.

The Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra has six: 1, 5b,¹ 2, 4 (when folding): 7.

The Vinaya-mātrikā Sutra merely states that Mahākassapa accused Ānanda for his seven faults, but does not particularise any of them: on the other hand it relates nine disadvantages arising from the admittance of women into the Saṃgha.

It is significant that the Sudarśana-vinaya does not make any reference to Ānanda's misdemeanors.

(v) – *The incident of Gavampati*

The incident of Gavampati in connection with the First Convocation is stated in all the Mahāyāna literature and also in some² of the Hīnayāna. In the Mahāyāna literature we have the following works: The Life of Asoka, the Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra, the Sutra concerning Kassāpa's Compilation, the Record of the Transmission of the Dhammapiṭaka, and the Record of the Compilation of the Tipiṭaka (Sanskrit: Tripiṭaka) and the Samyuktapiṭaka. On the other hand, the Vinaya-mātrikā Sutra, the Caturvarga-vinaya, the Pañcavarga-vinaya, and the Sudars'ana-vinaya, all of which belong to documents of the

1. The fault is viewed here from two points: (1) not giving any water, (2) not knowing the fact that Buddha is able to cleanse any kind of water .

2. That is, the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* and the *Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya*

Hīnayāna class, make no statement about the Gavampati incident.

The incident of Gavampati, though it is more or less differently recorded as to its details in different works, is briefly this. Hearing the great bell rung by Mahākassapa, the five hundred Bhikkhus¹ hastened to the place of meeting, but when Mahākassapa found that one of them² called Gavampati³ had not yet joined them, he asked Anuruddha of the whereabouts of the missing Bhikkhu. Being told that he was enjoying a peaceful life in one of the Heavens,⁴ he sent a message thither to invite him to the convocation presided over by Mahākassapa. Gavampati, who knew nothing about the late events relating to Buddha and his disciples, scrutinisingly asked the messenger why Mahākassapa, instead of the Blessed One himself, stood at the head of the congregation: what was the object of such a grand religious convention, and some other questions.⁵ When he was informed of all that had been going on below, he was so greatly afflicted that he said he had now no inclination to descend to the earth, which was made entirely desolate by the eternal departure

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1. The number of the Bhikkhus who took part in the First Convocation is generally estimated at five hundred, but according to the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra*, the Convocation consisted of one thousand Bhikkhus.
 2. According to the *Mahāsaṃghika*, two Bhikkhus were missing when the members were counted by Kassapa, but one of them, Anuruddha, soon joined them.
 3. The *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā śāstra* makes him a disciple of Sāriputta
 4. According to some, the Śrīvriksha (?) palace, but according to others the Śrīdeva palace.
 5. So in the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*

of Buddha. So saying, Gavampati entered into a state of deep meditation, suddenly rose in the air shining with supernatural brilliancy, and then consumed himself in a heavenly fire. The Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra says that Gavampati having been fully familiar with the Vinaya and the Sutra, his presence was necessary to the assembly.

According to the Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya, Mahākassapa sent several messages to Heaven to summon those Bhikkhus who were abiding there, but all of them, having learned that Buddha had already entered into Parinibbāna, were so exceedingly mortified that they disappeared one after another in the same manner. Mahākassapa then declared that no more messages would be dispatched to Heaven, nor should those Bhikkhus who were living on earth enter into Nibbāna (Sanskrit: Nirvāna) until their work of great importance had been completed.

IV – The proceedings of the Council:

What was done by the Convocation? Were the Vinayaṭṭaka and the Suttaṭṭaka alone compiled? Did a compilation of the Abhidhammaṭṭaka also take place? Did any dissension occur in the assembly? Is it possible for composing the Sutta and Vinaya completely in the short period of two or three months? And why it does not record in the Mahāparinibbānasutta?¹ These questions constitute the most important part of the First Convocation, and the following

1. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two.

abstracts from various Chinese translations are calculated to throw some light on them.

(i) - *The Vinaya in Four Divisions (Caturvarga-vinaya)*

When the cremation ceremony of Buddha was over, all the five hundred Bhikkhus went from Vesālī (Sanskrit: Vaiśālī) to Rājagaha, where Mahākassapa intended to summon the assembly. First, Ānanda was blamed for his seven faults, as already mentioned; then Upāli was requested to recite the Vinaya, beginning with the first of the Principal Sins (*Pārājika*), as to the individual, the circumstance, and the nature of the crime. Rules concerning the Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhuni, the Pātimokkha (Sanskrit: Prāṭimoksha), the Poshadha, the Residing Season, the Wandering Season, the use of leather, the robes, medicaments, the Kaṭhina ceremonies,—all these regulations were incorporated in the Vinaya.

The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā Śāstra, and the Sutra on Kassapa's Compilation relate, in addition, that four streams ran out of his transfigured body, each murmuring a gāthā which proclaimed the transiency of life and the lamentable departure of the Lord.

Ānanda was next asked to compile the Suttapiṭaka. Such Suttas as the Brahma-jāla (translated Brahma-moving), the Ekuttara (increasing by one), the Dasuttara (increasing by ten), the Formation and Destruction of the World, the Saṃgīti (chorus), the Mahānidāna (great cause), the Questions of the Sakkadeva (Sanskrit: Śakradeva; Indra), were included in the Longer Āgama (Pāli: Dīgha Nikāya); those Suttas of middle

length were called the Middling Āgama (Pāli: Majjhima Nikāya); those in which the subjects were arranged numerically from one to eleven were called the Āgama Increasing by One (Aṅguttara Nikāya); those which were miscellaneously preached for (?) the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upāsakas, Upāsikās, Devas, Sakka, Māras, and Brāhmarājas, were called the Miscellaneous Āgama (Saṃyutta Nikāya); and lastly such Suttas as the Jātaka, Itivuttika,¹ Nidāna, Vaipulya, Adbhuta (Pāli: Acchariya, Abbhuta) Avadāna (Pāli: Apadāna), Upadesa, the Explanation of Aphorisms (Niddesa), Dhammapada, Pārāyana,² Miscellaneous Discussions and several Gāthās, were comprised in the Miscellaneous Piṭaka, (Pāli: Khuddaka Nikāya, with other matter). The Discursive [Book] (Kathā Vatthu),³ the Non-discursive [Book] (Vibhaṅga or Puggala paññatti), the Yoking (Dhammasaṅgani), the Correlating (Yamaka), and the Place of Birth (Paṭṭhāna) made up the Abhidhammapiṭaka.⁴

(ii) - *The Vinaya in Five Divisions (Pañcavarga-vinaya)*

When the five hundred Bhikkhus were assembled in Rājagaha, Mahākassapa inquired of Upāli in due formulary of the four Principal Precepts (*Pārājika*) as to the place where they were occasioned, as to the individual with whom they were

1. Not given by Beal.

2. Beal gives the Anāgata-Bhayāni and Munigāthā.

3. This and following four titles are so concisely given in the text that it is very difficult to make out what they are, and the translation and the reference to the *Pāli Abhidhamma works* here presented are merely tentative

4. The text is reticent about the author of the compilation of this Piṭaka

concerned, and as to the matter with which they dealt. All the Vinaya, for the Bhikkhus as well as for the Bhikkhunis, was compiled in this way.

Mahākassapa then asked Ānanda where Buddha taught the Ekuttara Sutta, the Dasuttara (Sanskrit: Daśōttara) Sutta, the Mahānidāna Sutta, the Saṃgīti Sutta, the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, the Brahmajāla (translated Brahmā-net), as well as those Suttas which were preached to Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upāsakas, Upāsikās, Devaputtas, and Devis. When all the Suttas were thus recited, Mahākassapa declared to the Saṃgha: "Those longer Suttas which are now compiled in one group shall be called the Longer Āgama; those Sutta (Sanskrit: Sutras) which are neither long nor short, and are now compiled in one group, shall be called the Middling Āgama; those which are miscellaneously preached to Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upāsakas, Upāsikās, Devaputtas, and Devis, and are now compiled in one group, shall be called the Miscellaneous Āgama; those Suttas which start with one dhamma and increase by one, up to eleven dhammas, and are now compiled in one group, shall be called the Āgama increasing by One; while the remainder, all consisting of miscellaneous teaching, and now compiled in one group, shall be called the Miscellaneous Piṭaka. And to them all shall be given a collective name, Suttapiṭaka. We have now finished compiling the Law, and henceforth let us not put any unnecessary restraint on what was not restrained by Buddha; let us not violate what has already been restrained by Buddha; let us sincerely train ourselves according to the teachings of Buddha."

(iii) - *The Vinaya-mātrikā Sutra.*

Ānanda being admitted to join the assembly, and the five hundred Arahats having taken their seats, they began to compile the Tipiṭaka out of the materials which consisted of Suttas in five or five hundred divisions. Rules for the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuni, and the Khandhas (divisions) relating to the Kaṭhina and other things composed the Vinayapiṭaka. The four Āgamas, (1) Long, (2) Middling, (3) Increasing by One, and (4) Miscellaneous--the last one consisting of those Suttas which relate to Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, the Sakkinda (Sanskrit: Śakrendra), devas, and Brāhmarājās, as well as (5) the sundry collection which comprised the Dhammapada, the Exposition, the Pārāyana, the Upades'ā and others, these five groups of the Suttas were classified under the Suttapiṭaka. The Discursive (or Dialogical) Treatise (Kathāvatthu), the Non-discursive (or Non-dialogical) Treatise (Vibhaṅga), the Mutual Enclosing (Dhamma-saṅganī), the Correlating (Yamaka), and the Regions (Dhātukathā or Paṭṭhāna)¹ made up the Abhidhammapiṭaka. And the general name Tipiṭaka was given to them all.

Through all investigations of the different views of some scholars related to the sources of the first Buddhist council, we can conclude that the first Buddhist council is a historical even in Buddhism. Putting all doubtful theories about the motive,

1. Those five titles of the books contained in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* closely agree, though the translation is a little different, with those above referred to in the Vinaya in Five Divisions, but the terms being too concise, we cannot give anything more than a mere conjecture as to their correspondence to the Pāli works.

historical elements, we realize that reciting what the Buddha taught is the most essential thing which the Saṃgha need to do. The Buddha always deny his leadership toward the Saṃgha and always advice his disciples to follow the Dhamma is the main cause, if we consider, to assemble the holy monks and to form the Suttas for the present and next generations.

V- The Dissenters:

Based on definition of the title in chapter one, and some arguments of historians, we can see some dissenters recorded in the traditional sources such as the cases of Subhadda, Gavampati, Purāna. We lack the sources and historical data about these dissenters but the fact that in early Buddhist texts dissent in the community is discussed also shows that it did exist.¹ Although Subhadda's attitude towards the death of the Buddha a personal reaction of the late-to be- monk, it is convincible that he is a dissenter in the early Buddhist Saṃgha. His argument becomes one of the causes leading the monks to hold the First Buddhist Council. One may go further to say that if MahāKassapa keeps silent on hearing the pleasure-announcing argument from Subhadda, can it be expanded among the Buddha's disciple?

Purāna is the old and respected monk, who is a leader of Five hundred monks, but he does not obey the Vinaya and Suttas recited in the First Buddhist Council. The historical

1. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, op.cit.

sources give different proofs. According to Aśokāvadāna and the Tibetan Dulvā, Gavampati and Purāna voted against the decisions of the council as informed and requested to accept the proceedings of the Saṅgīti which had just completed.¹ He chooses to remain aloof from the Rehearsal declaring that it did not fully record with what he had heard from the Buddha.² But the problematic history occurs in this issue. The Cuḷavagga, the mainly recorded source of the first council, does not mention the role and the announcement of Purāna clearly; the only information we get from Cuḷavagga is to describe Purāna arrival along with his Five hundred disciples and ignores the eight minor rules suggested by him as followed:

1. Cooking food indoors;
2. Cooking indoor;
3. Cooking of one's own accord;
4. Taking food according to one's desire;
5. Receiving food early in the morning.
6. Carrying food home in compliance with the wishes of the giver;
7. Having miscellaneous fruits;
8. Eating things grown in a pond.

These informations given by the Northern traditions and the Chinese version of Dhammagupta and Mahīśāsaka Vinayas and

1. BCDB, Dr.Sumangal Barua, pp.35-6.

2. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.12.

the Vinayamātrika Sutra have fully developed this episode and mentioned him as the most important figure in the council.¹

Gavampati is another senior monk who lives solely in the forest or on the trees. Although the Cuḷavagga and all other Theravāda do not mention Gavampati, the Tibetan source Dulvā records that when Aniruddha checks the participants he realizes that Gavampati is absent in the council. Purana was sent to invite him to attend the assembly. He turns down the invitation as he had no interest in worldly transactions; because the Buddha had passed away. And he is astonished that Mahākassapa would govern the order which he dislikes.²

Thus it is evident that there were monks who did not fully co-operate with the Buddha during his life-time and with his chief disciples like Mahākassapa, Upāli and Ānanda, after his death.³

Historians have held the views that because of the denial of his leadership in the Saṃgha and unwell-organized community leading to the dissent in the Buddha's lifetime. Socially speaking, dissent is the other side of democracy in any organization, so does it in the Buddhist Saṃgha.

Briefly, the proceeding of the First Council achieved results: The settlement of the Vinaya under the leadership of Upāli; - The settlement of the texts of the Dhamma under the

1. BCDB .Dr.Sumangal Barua, p.37.

2. Ibid.p.36.

3. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.12.

leadership of Ānanda; - The trial of Ānanda and the Punishment of Channa.

The purpose of this Chapter is to aim at the survey of Buddhist and Non-Buddhist sources related to the Dissent and Protest during the First Council, which is fully explored in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DISSENT AND PROTEST IN THE SECOND BUDDHIST COUNCIL

I – General view:

I have already defined the term Dissent and Protest as an organized expression of people against the existing social, religious, economic and political doctrine or practice. In this Chapter, I am going to investigate causes of discontent among monks which led them to hold the Second Council. I am of the view that investigation of this concept will be helpful to understand the circumstances in which the ‘schism’ occurs in Ancient Buddhism.

II - The historical of Second Buddhist Council:

According to Pāli tradition of the Cuḷavagga, Khandaka XII, a century after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, the Second Council was convened by 700 Arahats at Vālukārāma of Vesālī (Sanskrit: Vaiśālī) during the time of king Kālīsoka (Sanskrit: Kālāśhoka).¹ It is said that the Vajjian monks of Vesālī, usually called the easterners, who were in the habit of practicing Dasa Vatthuni - Ten Points which were regarded as unorthodox by the

1. BCDB, Dr. Sumangal Barua, p.47.

westerners.¹ Kākandakaputta Yasa of Kosambī happened to notice during his stay at Mahāvana in the Kūṭāgāra hill of Vesālī that the Vesālian Bhikkhus declared as permissible Ten practices which were not in conformity with the Vinaya rules. On one Uposatha day, the Vajjian monks placed a copper bowl with water in the midst of the Saṃgha and asked the lay disciples to contribute there some gold and silver coins (kahāpanas) for the need of the community. The Vesālian Bhikkhus also tried to tempt Thera Yasa to share the money with them, which he had refused with thanks. He openly protested against this and asked the donors not to offer any money as the use of gold and silver was strictly prohibited in the Vinaya.

At this attitude of Yasa, the Vajjian monks became very angry and imposed on him the act of expiation (Paṭisāraṇiya kamma)² for preaching to the laymen without mandate. This consisted in asking the insulted persons forgiveness. Accordingly Yasa went to the laity with a messenger who was appointed to go with him but instead of begging pardon Yasa defended and reconfirmed his point of view before the laity of Vesālī by quoting the Master's instructions codified in the Vinaya rules. The laity were convinced by the advocacy of Yasa and they considered the Vesālian bhikkhus as offenders. This

1. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.3.

2. The punishment of Paṭisāraṇiya kamma is inflicted on a bhikkhu who uses the harsh words and does not behave properly with the lay devotees and thus hurts the feelings of the righteous householders.

increased the fury of the offending monks who pronounced again on Yasa the act of suspension (Ukkhepaniya Kamma)¹ for not acknowledging his offences.

After the sentence of excommunication from the Saṃgha, Yasa then fled to his native place Kosambī from there he attempted to form a party of monks supporting his views. He messengers to the monks of Avanti, west and south India inviting them to assemble and decide the question 'what is true what is false'. Even more, Yasa personally went to the venerable Sambhūta Sānavāsi who then resided at the Ahogaṅgā hill. In the meanwhile, in response to his invitation, sixty Arhats from Pāṭheyya, eighty-eight Bhikkhus from Avanti and the Decanal assembled on the Ahogaṅgā hill at this occasion. The assembled monks thought that the problem was not easy and should be referred to the Venerable Revata of Sureyya who was then considered the chief of the Saṃgha. Revata heard all this with his divine ear and being not willing to intervene he started traveling down, one place to another. On the advice of the distinguished Thera Sambhūta Sānavāsi, venerable Yasa then placed the issue of ten points before Revata, one by one, and after bringing up each and every point, Revata declared them all as invalid.

1. The punishment of Ukkhepaniya Kamma is imposed upon a bhikkhu who refuses to confess his faults or to undergo the punishment for transgression. If he does not give up his false views in spite of repeated instructions, he deserves the punishment of Ukkhepaniya Kamma. He will be temporarily suspended from the Saṃgha.

Meanwhile the Vajjian Bhikkhus were not idle. They tried to have Revata on their side offering him a rich present in order to forestall of Yasa's mission; but they failed to win him over. At last the Vajjian Bhikkhus importuned Uttara, the pupil of Revata to accept the presents bowl, robes and other valuable requisites of monk.¹ It is said that Uttara who was weak-minded fell a victim to the delegate's flattery and agreed to speak on their behalf to his master, but this produced no result.

With the Thera Revata's proposal, the Saṅgha went to Vesālī to settle the matter at the seat of original trouble. The Venerable Sabbakāmi who had already been living at Vesālī, received Revata's visit followed by Sambhūta Sānavāsi with great enthusiasm.

So the business of the Council began with 700 Arhats consisted of the committee of a Jury with the financial support by Kālāshoka at Vālukārāma. Sabbhakāmin was questioned of each of ten points which were rejected in turn on the basis of the Pātimokkha and the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka. The questions settled were placed again in the full assembly for information of other participants. Thus the Ten practices had been fully explained and unanimously condemned at this Council. The Synod was concluded after having been referred to as the "Vinaya Saṅghīti" of seven hundred Theras during the eight months at Vesālī. The rules of the order and the faith of the Sāsana was again settled and vindicated.

1. CV, p.302

III- Ten indulgences in Pāli and Tibetan sources:

(i)- *The Pāli Cūlavagga contains the following the Ten Points (Dasavatthuni):*

1. Siṅgilonā Kappa- The practice of putting salt in a horn vessel in order to season unsalted food when received is allowable. Salt like other edibles is condemned in the Pācittiya rule No.38 of the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha.

2. Dvaṅgula Kappa-The custom of taking mid-day meal, even after the prescribed time when the shadow (on the sun-dial) is two digits wide. It signifies that solid food might be taken not only up till noon; but till the sun throws shadow two inches long. This rule is against Pācittiya No.37.

3. Gāmantara Kappa- The practice of going to a neighboring village and taking a second meal there in the same day if invited and the place is far away from the monasteries, is allowable. It is contrary to the Pācittiya No.35 which prevents a bhikkhu from taking second meal in the same day (offence of over-eating).

4. Avāsa Kappa- During the ceremony of ordination (*Upasampadā*), the confession (*desanā*), imposition of punishment (*mānatta*) re-acceptance (*abbhāna*) etc.; the Saṃgha be allowed to hold separate Uposathas in various places within the same campus. The Mahāvagga (11,8,3) mentions that all the bhikkhus of same monastery should hold one Uposatha in the Simā (Parish) within the campus of the monastery.

5. Anumati Kappa- An ecclesiastical act may be allowed on the ground that the consent of other bhikkhus would be taken afterwards when they come. According to Vinaya rules, the consent of the Saṃgha is necessary in order to pass an act, but the Vajjian monks wanted that their consent may be obtained after the act is passed. This also amounts to a breach of monastery discipline according to the Mahāvagga (IX,3.5).

6. Ācīna Kappa- The tradition followed by the Upajjhāya (teacher) may be taken as precedent and be accepted. This was then an excuse for relaxing the Vinaya discipline. This rule also infringes the monastic order as mentioned in the Mahāvagga (IX,3.5).

7. Amathita Kappa - The practice of drinking butter, milk and liquid etc. which is not in a state of curd, is permissible. This practice means that a bhikkhu may take whey, liquid food after noon. This also amounts to a breach of monastic discipline, Pācittiya No.35 of the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha.

8. Jalogiṃ pātuṃ-The custom of drinking palm juice which has not yet become toddy or a strong drink, be allowed to drink. This practice is an infringement of Pācittiya rule No.51 which forbids any intoxicated drink (Surā and meraya).

9. Adasakaṃ nisīdanaṃ - A mat without fringes to sit upon be permissible. This is not allowed vide Pācittiya rule No.89 which indicates the mat permissible for the monks.

10. Jātarupa-rajataṃ- A monk can accept gold and silver. It implies that the gold and silver might be received by the

members of the order which is in contravention of the Nissaggiya Pācittiya No.18 of the *Bhikkhu* Pātimokkha.¹

The Ten Points of the Vajjian monks which were the main cause of the main cause of the convention of the Second Council are not reported in the same manner in the traditions of the different schools. These traditions represent several variations. The Ten Points as enumerated and interpreted in the Pāli Cūlavagga do not agree with those narrated in other traditional accounts in which new terms are used and different interpretations are given.² Due to the limitations of space, we are confining ourselves thus to narrate here in brief the Vinaya Kṣudrakavastu of the Tibetan as specimen of the different traditions.

(ii)- *The Vinaya Kṣudrakavastu*³ the discipline code of the Mūlasarvāstivādins gives the following Ten transgressions:

1. The exclamation of astonishment (“aho”)- The Bhikkhus of Vesālī practiced as lawful the exclamation ‘aho’. They performed religious observances and made them legal with the exclamation “aho”. Having rendered legal the exclamation “aho”, they performed an ecclesiastical act illegally in an incomplete saṃgha perhaps in order to keep up the number of deviations as ten Mahīsāsakas and the Sarvāstivādins borrowed

1. BCDB, Dr. Sumangal Barua, pp. 50-51.

2. *Researches sur le Bouddhisme Traduit due Russe par*, I.P. Minayeff, Paris 1894, p.44 ff

3. *History of Buddhism*, Bu-ston, Heidelberg, Institute fur Buddhismus-kanda, 1932, op.cit., p.91

one point from Mahādeva's five points and made it first of their list, viz., "Exclamation of 'aho'"

2. Performing the act first and then getting approved- The dissidents performed religious functions and afterwards persuaded the monks in attendance to approve the same. Thus they got approved the acts that had performed by the monks who were present at the time of performance of act. Thus they illegally got approved the act done by the incomplete Saṃgha. This has resemblance with the 'Anumati Kappa' of the Vajjian monks (see No. 5 indulgence above). In the Tibetan translation, this transgression has been translated as "rejoicing" which is certainly not correct. In this connection, N. Dutt remarks that Bu-ston or Obermiller was misled by the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit word 'anumodanā' which, though derived from the root 'mud', does not carry the meaning 'rejoice'. Anumodanā in Pāli means 'acquiescence to an act done by the Saṃgha in one's absence'¹. This is also an instance of anomaly of converting a Prakrit word into Sanskrit. It is not known what was the original Prakrit word, but evidently the Pālists made it anumati. In any case, the interpretations offered by the different Vinaya Texts are similar, i.e., getting an ecclesiastical act performed in an incomplete assembly and approved later by the absentee members.

3. Digging ground- The dissidents considered it admissible for the Bhikkhus to live on agriculture, digging up the soil with

1. BSI, N. Dutt, p.20-21

their own hand. This point is seen only in the Sarvātivādin Vinaya.

4. Using the Sacred Salt- Mixing the salt that is to be stored for lifetime with that which is used in general in making it thus an object of use¹. This act is seen only in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya.

5. Eating on the way- The Bhikkhus, having proceeded a yojana or a half, could assemble and eat on the ground when they were on tour.

6. Taking food with two fingers- It means that the food which has been left from the previous meal, could be taken again with two fingers.

7. Eating not at due time- After mixing a full measure (drona) or milk with a full measure of curd and then eating the preparation at undue time is permissible.

8. Taking intoxicating drink - The Bhikkhus could take wine after leech had sucked their blood. This drinking could be permitted on account of illness.²

9. Making a new rug - Without stitching to it a patch of an old one is allowable. It also infringes the Nissaggiya Pācittiya rule No. 15 of the Pāli Pātimokkha.

1. Asti āyumandranāṃ śringapuŌaṃ lavanaṃ yāvajjīvaṃ dhiṛiṣŌitamh. Cf. Gilgit Manuscripts, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1942, p.xiii

2. The Dharmagupta and Mahsīśasakas says: “to drink, beyond the time is allowed, a mixture of cream, butter, honey and sugar”.

10. Begging for gold and silver-The Vajjian monks used to appoint an alms-bowl with fragrant spices, put it on the head of Sramana or on a table or in a place or in a narrow passage at the four cross-road and say: ‘This is a sublime vessel, if you offer gift here, you will reap great meritorious deeds’ accordingly, the laity filled the bowl with gold and silver, which was enjoyed by the bhikkhus of Vesālī.

IV- An observation of the Ten Points:

If we investigate The Ten Points carefully, we can see that the main point of these rules focus on food or material things. There is nothing concerning about the doctrines or leadership in the Saṃgha; therefore, the question of economic condition of Vesālī arises as the major aspect which influences the life of the Vesālī monks. If we understand this issue, the Ten Points which cause the protest in early Buddhism may become the tendency of development in Buddhism.

Let me give the geography of Vesālī. It is said in the commentary that at the time of the Buddha the city of Vesālī was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a gāvuta from one another and that at three places there were gates with watch-towers and buildings. From Vinaya Texts II we find that Vesālī, at that time, was an opulent, prosperous and populous town. It had 7,707 storied building, 7,707 pinnacled building, 7,707 ārāmas or pleasure grounds, and 7,707 lotus ponds Vesālī was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms was easy to

obtain and one could very well earn his living by gleaning or through favor.¹ Now, one can conclude that the Ten Points occur due to the prosperous economy of the Vesālī. But the old monk Thera Yasa, a resident from Kosambi (Sanskrit: Kauśāmbi) to visit Vesālī, opposes the practice of Dasa Vatthuni, and declared them illegal and immoral.² How he shows his disagreement toward this issue may cost the discussion here? According to Sumangal Barua, he openly protested against this and asked the donors not to offer any money as the use of gold and silver was strictly prohibited in the Vinaya.³ Here we do not see the food problem, which are discussed in the Council. And what reactions of Vesālī monks on the emerged problem declared by There Yasa? The Vajjian monks pronounced on him the penalty of paṭisāranīyakamma and when he defended his position before the laity, punished him with ukkhepanīyakamma which virtually meant his expulsion from the Saṃgha.⁴ The Vajjian monks seem to be unified on this issue. Perhaps that is the nature of Licchavis people.⁵ The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Nikāya speaks of the existence of concord and amity among the

1. GEB, Bimala Churn Law, pp.12-13.

2. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.3.

3. BCDB, Sumangal Barua, op.cit.p.47.

4. AHOIB, S.R.Goyal, Book Two, op.cit.

5. The Mahāvastu states that there were twice 84,000 Licchavirājās residing within the city of Vesālī and the Buddha once visited Vesālī invited by the Licchavis. Quoted at Bimala Chun Law. pp.12-13.

Licchavis and in the *Samyutta Nikāya* the Buddha says that the Licchavis were strenuous and diligent, zealous and active.¹

As history records, the conflict between the Vajjian monks and Thera Yasa causes the Second Council separately which divided the Saṃgha. First, we discuss about the movement of Thera Yasa and his role in the Second Council.

As we know that, after expelling from the order of Vajjian monks, Yasa was back in his place immediately and seek the local monk to support his views on The Ten Points practiced by the Vajjian monks. At the same time, he sends his pupils to invite the Western and Southern monks and he himself goes to the place of Sambhuta Sānavāsi, the well-known monk, and requests him to declare the Ten Points as illegal and violation of the Vinaya. At the advice of monks from west and south, who realize that the problem is serious with supporting from thousand monks of Vajjian monks, Yasa comes to see the highly respected monk Thera Revata of Sureyya who first avoids the dispute but finally accept the request of Yasa and the Saṃgha and at the guidance of Sambhuta Sānavāsi, the monk places one by one to Thera Revata and he declares that The Ten Points are illegal.

Now, at the suggestion of Revata, the monks proceeded to Vesālī in order to settle the dispute at the place of its origin. There seven hundred monks met at a Council under president ship of Venerable Sabbakāmī who had already been living at

1. GEB, Bimala Churn Law, p.13.

Vesālī. The unanimous verdict of the assembly declared the conduct of the Vajjīan monks to be unlawful.¹

V- Some problematic issues of Council - The motive behind the Council:

As already discussed, the behavior of Thera Yasa towards the practicing The Ten Points by Vajjian (Pāli: Vajjī) monks results of dismissing him from the local monks. To reply this expel, he himself wanders far and near to seek the support of the monks from different places to declare what he said in Vesālī is correct. It means that the motive behind the Council comes from individual plus non-resident monks of Vesālī although it is said that the venerable Sabbakāmī, the local monk, as a join chief of the Council. The present of this monk also raises the question of his weak-deciding ability as he witnesses The Ten Points have been practiced by his local monks. The question is that is it the true as history records him as highly respected monk? Or Thera Yasa and other opposed monks chose him as a join leader due to his residential monk? The reason for protesting from monk community in Vesālī perhaps comes from unappreciated behavior of Thera Yasa and non-resident monks from west and south. It may be one of the reasons why the value of Second Council is less value in history of Buddhism. And it definitely leads to the controversy of Second Council among scholars.

1. AHOIB. S.R.Goyal, Book Two, p.4.

Some scholars are of the opinion that in the Second general Council of Vesālī, the conflict was restricted to a small number of the members of the Saṃgha and in the Pāṭaliputra Council, according to Northern traditions, it was spread widely to various Saṃghas. Between the time of the two Councils (i.e., the one of Vesālī held during the reign of Kālāshoka to discuss the ten un-Vinayic rules and the other of Pāṭaliputra convened in the days of Nanda or Mahāpadma regarding the Five Points of Mahādeva), the Saṃgha had been mainly divided into two sects: Sthaviras and the Mahāsaṃghikas. The Pāṭaliputra Council tried in vain to bring the unity in the Saṃgha by the intervention of royalty. But it produced no effect and the result was an official recognition of both the parties. Also Mahādeva's Five points were discussed in this Synod led to further cleavage.

As the result of the Council of Vesālī, some of the Vesālian monks divided themselves from the original Saṃgha of the Elders and afterwards, they organized a new sect of their naming a 'Mahāsaṃghika school'. This school was in all probability the same as the Mahāsaṃghika of the Dīpavaṃsa tradition.¹ No doubt, this party reflected an open schism dividing the whole community, thus the disruptive forces were at work in full swing during and immediately after the Council of Vesālī. Then the Saṃgha could not remain a single homogeneous body. As a consequence, within a short time, various schools came into

1. Ibid.

existence with slight differences relating to the doctrines and the disciplinary rules.¹

On the Vesālī affairs, Yuan Chwang² tells us that Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra were the chief flourishing centers of the Mahāsaṃghikas. Fa-hien confirms that he also found in these localities, the adherents to the Vinaya of this school. It is true that some of the Sthaviras also lived together with the Mahāsaṃghikas. The liberal views of the Mahāsaṃghikas were undoubtedly not acceptable to the orthodox Sthaviras.

(i) - The controversial leadership of the Council and the views of Scholars on historicity:

There are different views on the leadership of the Council among the traditional sources. For instance, the Cuḷavagga mentions that venerable Sabbakāmī and Revata as joint president of the Council, meanwhile, the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya tells us that Yasa was president of the Council.³ The proceeding of the Second Council was not analogous from the First Council and headed by a committee of referees and decided by vote. The way of chosen leadership and committee shows us that none of the monks in this Council emerged as highly respected leader which leads us to think that the Council was organized in unwell-prepared condition to fight against the so-called illegal and immoral and even the explanation of The Ten Points and

1. Ibid. p267-269

2. Ibid.

3. BCDB, Dr. Sumangal Barua, p.50.

history of the Council are different from many traditional sources ¹ and leading the controversy in the field of academy.

The historicity of the Vesālī Council is evermore controversial than the Council of Rājagaha. Its varying accounts given in the different authorities have made difficult to draw any final conclusion on its historicity. The ten disciplinary points which the monks of Vesālī thought to be permissible but which were rejected by the general assembly of the Saṃgha are the main points of discussion and these are generally found in all traditions. Dīpavaṃsa places two versions of the Council, one being a shorter one that is found in the Cūlavagga; the other gives information about the holding of great Council of the Mahāsaṃghikas, which supplies much additional details.

The Pāli traditions place the Council just in the year 100 after Parinibbāna of the Buddha (=A.N.). The northern version generally gives the date 110 A.N. There are disagreement also on the place, reign of the king and the number of the participants. In this connection, the following names and places are mentioned in different accounts. The number of the participants varies from 700 to 1,200,000² Yuan Chwang and the Tibetan Dulvā gives us some addition information about eight members of a jury which is shown in the following table:

1. BCDB, Read more in p.53 cff.

2. Dīpavaṃsa, 5, p.120

Sl. No.	Name	Pupil of	Age	Residence (Cūlavagga)	Residence (Dulvā)	Residence (Y.Chwang)
1	Sabbakāmī	Ananda ¹	140	Vesālī	Vesālī	-
2	Khujjasobhita	-	120	of the East	Pāṭaliputra	Pāṭaliputra
3	Sālha	-	120	-	Sonaka	Vesālī
4	Revata	-	-	Soreyya	Sahadsha	Sa-han-no
5	Sambhūta Sānvāsi	-	-	Ahogagā hill	Māhismati	Mathurā
6	Yasa	Anurudha	165	Of the West	Sonaka	Kosala
7	Vāsabha	-	120	Of the East	Sāṃkāsyā	-
	Gāmika	-	-	-	-	-
8	Sumana	-	-	Of the west	-	-

As we have seen from the above table, Yuan Chwang omits the names of three Arhats, nos. 1, 7 and 8. The Tibetan dulvā omits no. 8, Sumana, but introduces a new name, Ajita who lived at Srughna. As regards the residence, there is hardly any agreement except in the case of case of Sabbakāmī and Khujjasobhita. Mahāvamsa² makes all the eight Theras contemporary of the Buddha, that is, all of them were of at least 120 years of age. The Dulvā³ also states that all 700 Arhats who took part in the Council were the contemporaries of Ānanda. Strangely it does not refer them to the contemporaries of the Buddha. In this way the transformation of 8 Theras who had

1. Mahāvagga, IV, p.57-59

2. Ibid.

3. *The life of the Buddha and the Early history of his Order*, W.W. Rockhill, Vanarasi. p.179

seen the Buddha as old aged arhats referred to in the above records is a gradual development of the legend of the Second Council. The Ten Points as enumerated in the Cūḷavagga bear no full concurrence with the other traditions

H. Oldenberg thinks that the tradition of the Second Council is historical, but in its authentic form it does not bring this Council into any connection with the collection of the Sacred books.¹

H. Kern is of the view that the Council on Vinaya at Vesālī has an historical base. It preceded, but had no connection with the schism of the Mahāsaṃghikas²

Poussin generally acknowledges the historical character of a Vesālīan controversy on the Ten Points of monastic discipline.³

Mrs. Rhys Davids holds the view that the real point at issue was the rights of individual as well as thesis of Provincial Communities as against the prescriptions of a centralized hierarchy⁴

M. Hofinger has performed a formidable task of making a critical and analytical study of the Vesālī Council. He arrives at a conclusion that the code of the Vinaya does not exactly cite the 10 formulas and they are the later composition long after the

1. *Mahāvagga*, p.xxxi

2. *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, H. Kern, Delhi 1974, p.109

3. *The Buddhist Councils*, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IV, p.183

4. *The Śākya or Buddhist Origin*, New Delhi, 1978, p.355

quarrel¹ However, he says that the Vesālī Council convened to settle the conflict between the Vajjiputtakas and the rest of community is not a fiction.² He adds: the Council account is previous to the schism which separated the Mahāsaṃghikas from the Sthaviras. The legend was gradually grown and was accepted by all tradition.³

Demieville, on the other hand, is doubtful about the historicity of the Council in the absence of all epigraphically and archaeological confirmation⁴. He himself recognizes only the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya out of 7 Vinayas, which places the account of the Council directly after the Chapter describing the schism (saṃghabheda).⁵

A. Bareau states that the ten un-Vinayic acts of Vesālī which figure only in the Sthavira traditions are inserted in a artificial manner. The main point of issue was the acceptance of gold and silver.⁶

In fact, any one of the accounts of the Council, even the most reliable account of the Mahāsaṃghikas does not hint at a schism that was caused after. During the lifetime of the Master, Vesālī had no reputation of being a place of quarrelling monks and heresies. The Mūla-sarvātisvādin and the Haimavata

1. *Etude sur le Concile de Vaiśālī*, M. Hofinger, p.218

2. *Ibid.* p. 153-155

3. *Ibid.*

4. *L'Origine des Sectes Bouddhiques d'apres Paramartha*, PauDemieville, Bruxelles, chinois et Bounddhiques, 1932, p.258

5. *Ibid.* p. 67

6. *Les Premiers Councils Bouddhiques*, Andre Bareau, Paris, p.67

traditions have not mentioned any activity associated with Yasa who played an important part in other accounts.

What final conclusion can be drawn from the above discussions and investigations of the scholars regarding the traditions of Vesālī Council? We may answer briefly that a conflict between the rigorist and the laxist, between the monasticism and modernism, between oligarchy and democracy, between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism begins with Vesālī Council, finally resulting schism at the Pāṭaliputra Council narrated by the Northern traditions and continued up to 1st century A.D. with emergence of many sub-sects.

In spite of conflicting materials of the narratives and the various opinions of the scholars we are of the view that the historicity of the Vesālī Council can not be doubted.

VI- Mahādeva-the Protester:

It is said that very shortly after the Second Council held in Vesālī, another Council, the *Mahāsaṅgīti* took place with the attendance of 10,000 monks ¹ although the problematic history claimed by traditional sources is there.² The major difference between the Vesālī and Mahāsaṅgīti council is the latter raising

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1. Some sources from Chinese and Tibetan testify the split of the second council from the Five Points of Mahādeva, not from the Ten Points.
 2. The date of the council are different from Buddhist sources, for instance, 100 A.N. according to Mahāprajñāpāramitā (Upadesa) Śāstra; 116 A.N. according to Samayabhedoparacanacakra; 137 A.N. according to Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna, 2nd list and 160 A.N. according to Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna, 1st list.

the doctrinal problem in the concept of Arhat which is the ultimate doctrine of early Buddhism by Mahādeva. Therefore, one can say that Mahādeva is the dissenter and protester as well. Being a dissenter, he raises the controversial explanation in Buddha's teachings, and being a protester, he makes this issue become a public issue.

It is to know that before entering the Buddhist Saṃgha, Mahādeva, a son of Brahmin merchant, was a murderer as he killed his father, an Arhat and his mother due to the affair with his mother. He was ordained by a monk in Pāṭaliputta and with the constant efforts in learning and practicing in Buddhist teachings, he emerged as the talented monk and the monks in his place, the Kukkuṭārāma Vihāra, put him at the top of the monks there. Is there any relationship between his background and The Five Points, which are mentioned below? Historically speaking, the Buddha has many disciples from Brahmin family and Aṅgulimāla was a murderer before becoming a Bhikkhu and he himself attains the arhatship. So the hypothesis leads to the relationship between the background and The Five Points has no room in discussion.

1. The Five Points are followed:
2. An Arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation.
3. One may be an arhat and not known it.
4. An Arhat may have doubts on masters of doctrine.
5. An Arhat cannot attain arhatship without the help of a teacher.

The path is attained by an exclamation as ‘aho’¹ (cf.Kvu, II, 3&4,XI, 4),i.e., one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as ‘How sad’ and by so doing, he attains progress towards perfection.²

It is to believe that under the interference of the ruling king probably Kālāsoka, The Five Points were put one by one and decided by vote. Due to the majority number of monks who is said to be close to Mahādeva, the dispute was not solved and divided the Saṃgha into two main schools: the Sthavira and Mahāsaṅghika school. The majority of bhikkhus who held Mahāsaṅgīti were called Mahāsaṅghikas and who supported the orthodox views were Sthaviravādins.

Here we see the collapse of the system of vote in the Buddhist Saṃgha as the ultimate solution to tackle the thorny issue. Normally speaking, the holy monks in any religion in general and in Buddhism in particular are always less in number than the ordinary one. If we consider Mahādeva and his monks as the protesters, it is because of the failure of organization in Buddhist Saṃgha which claims that whenever the Saṃghabheda occurs, monks should assemble and settle on the matter in favor of majority.

The main business of the Council of Vesālī was to examine the validity of Ten Indulgences (dasavātthuni) of a section of vesālian Bhikkhus which transgressed the Rule of Monasticism.

1. Aho is explained the unusual sound for a meditator.

2. BCDB, Dr. Sumangal Barua, p.65.cff.

After the Council, according to Northern tradition, the conflict was spread widely to various Saṃghas, this dissension in the Saṃgha became wider which could not remain a single homogenous body, the Saṃgha mainly divided into two sects Sthaviras and Mahāsaṃghikas. Ultimately giving rise to eighteen sects within a century after the Council.

We may come to the end of this Chapter without mentioning the Third Council which does not mention in *Tipiṭaka* and the Northern Buddhism tradition also neglects it. So far, there have been many works related to the schism in early Buddhism with the strong argument to accuse the Ten Points practiced by Vesālī monks and the Five Points of Mahādeva. We cannot deny some serious works done by well-known scholars, but we also can recognize the fact that very few works have approached these issues by using the evident sources from Vinaya which, the author believes that, records all information of the different Buddhist sects.

As we all know that Ten Points practiced by Vesālī monks and the Five Points of Mahādeva and the cause of the Second Buddhist Council are relevant to the Vinaya. One can say that without study from Vinaya, the works concerning Buddhist schism, will limit the result. I would like to elaborate some approaches related to these issues. Exploring information of the Vinaya will be the aim of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER V

RE-EXAMINATION OF THE METHODS AND APPROACHES OF THE STUDY OF SCHISM IN ANCIENT INDIAN BUDDHISM

I - General view:

As seen in the Fourth Chapter, the Ten Points of Vesālī monks and Five Points of Mahādeva had caused the schism in the Saṃgha. Here will be an attempt to investigate the controversial Ten Points of Vesālī Monks and the Five Points of Mahādeva, on the basis of Vinaya and other interactional concepts of literature, establishment and development of Ancient Buddhism. To find the truth of the protest from Vesālī monks and Mahādeva, here will be a discussion on philosophical and historical matters.

Historically speaking, after the Second Council, two Buddhist sects appeared: the Theravāda (Sthaviravāda) and Mahāsaṃghikas. The Theravādins were split up into eleven sub-sects known as Theravāda (or Ārya Sthaviranikāya), Mahīśāsaka, Dhammagupta, Sarvāstivāda, Sammitiya, Kāśyapīya, Saṅkantika (Sautrāntika or Saṅkrātika), Vātsīputrīya (or Sammitīya), Dharmottarīya, Bhadrāyānīya, and Shan-nāgarika. The Mahāsaṃghikas were split into seven sub-sects

known as the Mahāsaṃghika, Gokulika (Kukkulika), Paññattivāda (Prajñaptivāda), Bahuśrutīya, Chetiyavāda, Ekvyavahārika and Lokottaravāda. Besides these eighteen, we are told, there arose a few more sub-divisions known as the Siddhatthika or Siddhārthika, Rājagirika, Aparasāila, Vetulyaka, Hemavatika (Haimavata), Vajiriya, Hetuvāda, and Sāgalīya.¹ In the academic field, these sects are summarized into the two main sects: The Theravāda and Mahāyāna.

This chapter does not aim at the origin and development of these two sects, but it focuses on the progress and the establishment of their suttas. Here is an attempt to re-examine the method used by researched works to examine the role of Vesālī monks and Mahādeva and the accusing judged by the intellectual. To do so, I believe that it will be found out what is the real meaning of so-called orthodox and heresy in Buddhism. Moreover, I aspire to testify that Buddhist doctrine is dynamic teachings, which focuses on the final goal, the personal enlightenment, and not on the means to achieve it. Therefore, my choice in this chapter concentrates on these above-mentioned issues.

II- The analysis of establishment of Pāli and Mahāyāna Canon:

The doctrinal differences of the concepts Nibāna, Arhat and Buddha between the suttas of the Pāli canon and the Mahāyāna

1. *Buddhist Councils*, Dutt, Law Volume, I. p.283. Quoted at S.R.Goyal, AHOIB, Book Two, p.14.

have been widely debated by scholars, but seldom has attention been given to what the strikingly contrasting establishment styles of the *Pāli* and *Mahāyāna suttas*. David McMahan in his article: “Orality, Writing, And Authority in South Asian Buddhism: Visionary Literature and The Struggle For Legitimacy In The Mahāyāna”¹ expresses some valuable arguments as followed: scholars have had many productive debates on whether the doctrine of Nirvāna, Arhat and Buddha is radical departure from Pāli or Mahāyāna, but the most important element to discuss deeply on this issue center the establishment styles of suttas in which these doctrines emerge in the Mahāyāna suttas is so strikingly divergent from that of the Pāli suttas that an exploration of what might contribute to this divergence might be as fruitful for the study of the Indian Buddhist world as that of their doctrinal differences. We see that even just attention on only the introductory passages of certain suttas opens up a number of important issues in the study of Buddhism.² For instance, there are two suttas in the introductory passage. The first is an early Pāli text, the Saḷāyatana-vibhaṅga Suttaṃ, which discusses the sense, fields (āyatanas). It begins: “Thus have I heard. At one time the Lord was staying at Sāvatti, in Jeta Grove at Anāthapiṇḍika. The disciples greeted the Lord, and the Blessed one said: “Disciples, I will now

1. OWA, David McMahan, History of Religions, Feb. 98, Vol. 37 Issue 3, p.249.

2. Ibid.

discuss the distinctions between the six sense fields”¹. This, of course, is the standard introduction that is common to virtually all of the Pāli suttas. The Buddha then goes on to give a straightforward presentation of the doctrine of the six āyatanas in the typical repetitive style of the text Nikāya, with many formulary expressions repeated often throughout the text for purpose of memorization. Compare this with the introduction to the Gaṇḍavyūha Sutra, a Mahāyāna text from about the second or third century C.E., which is set in the same location: “Thus have I heard. At one time the Lord was staying in Sāvattī (Sanskrit: Śravastī), in a magnificent pavilion in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika in Jeta Grove, together with five thousand Bodhisattas (Sanskrit: bodhisattvas), led by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī.”² So far, except for the mention of the bodhisattvas, the two passages are almost identical, but the similarities dissolve quite abruptly. After the names and good qualities of a number of the bodhisattvas present are listed, the bodhisattvas observe that most beings are incapable of comprehending the great merits and abilities of the Tathāgata, and they ask the Buddha telepathically, not to tell them, but to show them (saṃdarśayet) these things. In response, the Buddha enters a state of profound concentration, and suddenly, the pavilion became boundlessly vast; the surface of the earth appeared to be made of an indestructible diamond, and the ground covered with

1. MN, Saḷāyatana-vibhaṅga-suttaṃ, ed. Robert Charles, London: Luzac, for the Pāli Text Society, 1960, pp.215-22.

2. *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*, ed. P.L.Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts no.5, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1960, p.1.

a net of all the finest jewels, strewn with flowers of many jewels, with enormous gems strewn all over. The Jeta grove and Buddha-fields as numerous as atoms within untold Buddha-fields all became co-extensive.¹

The text goes on in this vein for quite a few pages, describing in the most lavish terms the luxuriant scene that suddenly arises before the group right there in Jeta Grove, and the sight of so many of the Buddha's talk. After the initial description of the scene, bodhisattvas from distant world systems begin to arrive, and with each of their appearances, more wonders are revealed penetrating to the farthest reaches of the most remote worlds, then zooming back to the body of the Buddha, to the tips of his hairs or the pores of his skin, within which are revealed countless more world systems.

What can account for the striking stylistic differences between these two texts, and why would many Mahāyāna sutras make such a radical departure from the accepted genre of suttas composition established by the earlier suttas? For a full understanding of the stylistic differences between Theravāda and Mahāyāna sutras one factor must be seen. One is that the Mahāyāna was a written tradition, while many pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist works of literature are written versions of a vast corpus of orally transmitted sayings. One of the important changes in Indian culture at the time of the arising of the Mahāyāna was the development of writing. The beginnings of the widespread use

1. Ibid., pp.4-5.

of writing in India contributed to some of the transformations Buddhism faced a few hundred years after the founder's death and was crucial to some of its most significant cultural and religious developments. Literacy disrupted the continuity of the oral-and aural-sense world to the visual world. The transition from pre-Mahāyāna to Mahāyāna Buddhist literature, then, provides a valuable case study of the changes that may occur during the transition from oral to written culture.

(i) - *The structure of Pāli Suttas:*

In an article on orality in *Pāli literature*, Steven Collins shows that the monastic Buddhist traditions was, even after the introduction of writing, largely an oral and aural one.¹ The traditional method of educating monks and nuns was for these students to hear and commit to memory the words of their teacher, and most of the words in the Pāli literature referring to the learning process are related to speaking and hearing.² Collins maintains that the oral or aural aspects of Pāli literature, are important “both as a means of preservation and as a facet of the live experience, the ‘sensual dimension’, of Buddhist scriptures.”³ While Buddhist vocabulary was rife with visual metaphor, vision in a literal sense and visual imagery were not

1. Notes on Some *Oral Aspects of Pali Literature*, Steven Collins, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35, 1992, p.121-35.

2. For example, Collins (p. 124) notes the following: *vāceti*, “to make the pupil recite”; *uddisati*, “teaches, recite”; *sunāti*, “listens; *ugganhati*, “grasps in memory”; *ādhīyati* and *pariyāpunāti*, “learn (by reciting)”; *sajjhāyati*, “recites”; and *dhāreti*, “retains (what he has learnt in memory).”

3. Collins, p.129.

emphasized as a way of communicating the teachings, as the anionic nature of early Buddhism indicates. The earliest phases of Buddhism produced none of the elaborate monuments and sculptures so characteristic of its later developments. Even after texts were being written down, it was not for the purpose of their being read privately-the Vinaya gives detailed lists of all the items of property a monk may have but never includes books or writing utensils.¹ Rather, the Buddha's words were committed to the palm leaf so that they would be preserved and read aloud in the context of instruction or public recitations. Recently scholar works show that it is only after the Buddha has been gone for some four hundred years that the Saṃgha wrote down his words. For an orthodoxy trying to maintain the authenticity of its founder teachings, writing was probably seen as a danger that eventually became a necessary evil.² *Pāli commentaries* claim that the writing down of suttas began only after there was merely one man left alive who had particular text committed to memory and that the text was written down for fear of its being lost forever.³ The repetition of words that were heard from the Buddha by a disciple, then transmitted to his disciples, and so on through a lineage of hearers. In the early Buddhist tradition, then, the written word had little inherent value; it was seen, at best, as a merely instrumental vehicle for the spoken word.

1. Ibid., p.128

2. OWA, David McMahan, p.254

3. *How the Mahāyāna Began*, Richard Gombrich, in *The Buddhist Forum*, vol.I, ed.Tadeusz Skorupski, London: School of Oriental and African Studies. p.28.

(ii) - *The establishment of Mahāyāna Suttas:*

In the Mahāyāna, however, the written work took on quite different significance, especially with regard to *Mahāyāna suttas*. Writing was crucial to the development and character of the Mahāyāna in at least three respects: first, written texts were essential to development of its tradition; second, they provided a basis for one of the most important aspects of early Mahāyāna practice, that is, the worship of written sutras themselves; third, writing contributed to a restructuring of knowledge in such a way that vision, rather than hearing, became a significant mode of access to knowledge. The Mahāyāna arose at about the same time when writing was becoming prevalent in India, and writing provided a means by which the teachings could be preserved without the institutional support of the Saṃgha. Closely connected to this issue is another implication of the uses of writing in the Mahāyāna - and particularly in its written sutras - namely, that it challenged the traditional notions of sacred space. As a developed minority movement, the early Mahāyāna was enabled through writing to expand and develop by granting to the book the sacrality of the Buddha himself. A further way in which writing was significant to the Mahāyāna - was that it shifted access to and organization of knowledge from a primary oral and auditory mode to a primarily visual mode. In order to explore some of the implications of this shift, it is necessary to make a digression into some general theoretical observations about these two cognitive-perceptual orientations and the effect that they may have on consciousness and culture. While these general observations about hearing, vision, and writing may be

useful to a greater or lesser extent depending on the specific cultures to which they are applied.

(iii) - *Buddhavacana and Mahāyāna Texts:*

Of course, the implicit advantages of writing and written *suttas* were not the only factors in the relative success of the Mahāyāna movement(s) in South Asia. Aside from being composed in the propitious medium of written language, the content of Mahāyāna sutras written in South Asia went to great lengths to attempt to establish the movement's authority and legitimacy—something that would have been quite difficult for what was probably a minority reform movement facing well-established and powerful monastic institutions with their own claims to authority and legitimacy. . Before examining a specific instance of such a use, though, it would be helpful to place this claim in context by discussing some of the ways in which the early Mahāyāna struggled against the more orthodox school's claims to exclusive authority based on possession of the Buddha-vacana, the words of the Buddha. As we have seen, the early Buddhist community's identity involved its role as the keepers of the Buddha-vacana given by Gotama and, according to tradition, memorized by his disciples and passed orally from generation to generation. This community considered itself to be those who heard, either directly or through others, the words of the Buddha. Thus, the hearers of the Buddha-vacana were not only those who were actually present at the talks of the Buddha, but also disciples who received the teachings through hearing oral recitation. Although not the only criterion for legitimacy,

the most important and unambiguous way in which a teaching was understood to be authentic was that it was considered to be the very words that the Buddha spoke.¹ Thus the Buddha-vacana was the primary seal of authenticity.

Concern for the word of the Buddha continued in the Mahāyāna but became a more complex issue. A sutta is a composition containing a talk given by the Buddha and is therefore by definition Buddha-vacana. Whether from the Pāli canon or the Mahāyāna, all suttas start out with the narrator uttering the same words: "Thus have I heard" (Pāli: *evaṃ me sutam*); (Sanskrit: *evam mayā śrutam*). Following this is a description of the particular place the sermon was heard, individuals and groups that were present, and so forth—all reports that would seem to provide verification that the original hearer was in fact in the specified place at the time of the talk. Yet it is clear to modern scholars, as it probably was to most Buddhists in ancient India, that the Mahāyāna suttas were composed quite a long time after the death of Gotama and that it is highly unlikely that the "historical" Buddha ever spoke any of them. Thus, the need to explain the existence of these sutras and the attendant novel doctrines was of great concern to the. Mahāyāna and is an issue addressed, directly or indirectly, in many suttas and commentaries.

1. The other three criteria were that it wii be the words of a formally constituted Saṃgha, of a small group of elders, or of a single learned monk. It should also be in harmony with the other suttas and the Vinaya.

It is impossible to reconstruct precisely the attitudes and motivations of these early Mahāyāna sutta writers—to imagine what they conceived of themselves as doing when, hundreds of years after the Buddha's death, they wrote the words "evam mayā śrutam." Perhaps they had powerful insights that they were convinced and inspired by the Buddha, or perhaps stories and ideas generated in the environments of the stupa. Cults eventually were considered to be part of the Buddha's dialogues. These late sutta writers may have simply had a far more liberal interpretation of what counts as the word of the Buddha than did their orthodox contemporaries. It is conceivable that many doctrines and practices that we now consider uniquely Mahāyāna were in existence from very early but were simply marginalized by those 'who determined the legitimacy of teachings; thus we know nothing about them until the Mahāyāna became more organized and began writing its own texts.

Despite the inevitable obscurity to historical investigation of the intentions of these late sutta writers, many indications do exist as to how Mahāyānists construed their creative reformulations of the Dhamma and justified them to themselves and to outsiders once they were written. A number of explanations were offered for the emergence of these new suttas. According to one ancient reconstruction of the Mahāyāna, the Śrāvakas (Pāli: sāvakā) did not have the capacity to understand the advanced teachings of the Great Vehicle, so they were taught to otherworldly beings and bidden until teachers emerged who

could understand them.¹ Another explanation was that the original hearers did not understand the content of these talks but transmitted them anyway for later generations better equipped to comprehend them. The claim was prevalent that certain teachings were revealed only to a select few. Many Mahāyāna commentators went to great lengths to reconcile the teachings of the Hinayāna with those of the Mahāyāna by a careful reworking of the story of the Buddha's life in which every teaching ever attributed to him was understood to be given to particular disciples on various levels of spiritual attainment. In these scenarios, less spiritually developed people were given teachings of the Hinayāna, while bodhisātivās and other nearly enlightened beings received the higher teachings of the Mahāyāna.

III- The suggested method for approaching the protester in Ancient Indian Buddhism:

One of the well-known scholars of Buddhist Vinaya, Charles S. Prebish in his article: Śāikṣa-Dhammas Revisited: Further Considerations of Mahāsaṃghika Origins supplies some valuable evidences and analyses the circumstances of the early schism in ancient Buddhism.² In current Buddhist researched works, there are two primary but opposing hypotheses to explain the beginnings of Indian Buddhist sectarianism. The first, advocated by Andre Bareau, presumes the schism that separated

1. *Indian Buddhism*, K. Warder, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, p. 6.

2. *History of Religions*, Charles S. Prebish, 1996 .p.258.cff.

the Mahāsaṃghikas and Sthaviras to have resulted from disciplinary laxity on the part of the future Mahāsaṃghikas, coupled with concerns over five theses predicated by the monk Mahādeva. The second hypothesis, more recently promulgated by Janice J. Nattier and myself, suggests that the initial schism resulted not from disciplinary laxity but solely from unwarranted expansion of the root Vinaya text by the future Sthaviras.

One of the major features of the second thesis revolves around the degree to which it can be demonstrated that the Sthaviras may have expanded the root Vinaya text. A comparison of two very early Vinayas, by the Mahāsaṃghikas-Lokottaravādins (in Sanskrit) and by the Theravādins (in Pāli), amply shows that the two texts bear remarkable coincidence in all but one category: the Śaikṣa-dhammas. In that category, the Mahāsaṃghika text posits sixty-seven items, while the Theravāda text posits seventy-five.

To date, no scholars have addressed this issue with specificity. Consequently, I examine the Śaikṣa-dhammas of the Pātimokkha Sutta (Sanskrit: Prātimokṣa-sutra) of each Nikāya, isolating the divergent rules and relating them to the significant, major concerns expressed at the second Council of Vesālī, an arguably historical event that pre-dated the actual sectarian split in early Indian Buddhism by no more than a few decades. I argue that the divergent rules in the two Nikāyas demonstrate an attempt on the part of the future Sthaviras to circumvent a potential saṃghabheda (split in the community) by making more explicit the general areas of disagreement that precipitated the

second council. In so doing, they inadvertently provoked the split they were so diligently trying to avoid.

Prior to Marcel Hofinger's *Etude sur le concile de Vaiśālī* (published in 1946), it was rather ordinary to assign the beginnings of Buddhist sectarianism to the events surrounding the Council of Vesālī and to conclude that the initial schism that separated the Mahāsaṃghika from the Sthaviras in early Indian Buddhism resulted from the dual problem of disciplinary laxity on the part of the future Mahāsaṃghika and the famous Five Points of the monk Mahādeva focusing on the nature of the arahant. This council has received a substantial amount of consideration in the scholarly literature,¹ and the bulk of it does not need to be rehearsed here. Nor is it necessary to consider new information regarding the date of the historical Buddha that casts fresh light on the specific date of the Vesālī Council.² What does need to be considered is a review of the most recent general conclusions regarding the Vesālī Council.

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1. *A Review of Scholarship on the Buddhist Councils*, Charles S. Prebish, *Journal of Asian Studies* 33, no. 2, February 1974, p.239-54.
 2. A summary of the basic argument regarding the new approach to Buddha's historical dating is best revealed by Richard Gombrich's article "Dating the Buddha: A Red Herring Revealed:' its *Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, pt. 2, ed. Heinz Bechert, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992, pp. 239-59, in which Gombrich dates the death of the Buddha to around 405 B.C.E. (actually between 411 and 399). A concise statement of the position on the Vesālī Council, dating the council to 70-80 years after Buddha's death, is Lance S. Cousins's "The 'Five Points' and the origins of the Buddhist Schools," *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. 2, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski, New Delhi: Heritage, 1992, pp. 27-31 and 54-60.

With the possible exception of R.O. Franke and Paul Demidville,¹ virtually all scholars agree that the Vesālī Council was a historical event. While Hofinger states it quite directly: "The Council of Vesālī is not a fiction:" Bareau is indirect: "We see, therefore, that the hypothesis of the historicity of the Council of Vesālī appears as much more defensible than the contrary hypothesis"² Several Vinayas (namely, the Mahāsaṃghika, Sarvāstivādin, Theravādin, and Dhammaguptaka Texts) even identify the site of the council as the Vālukārāma monastery, although this may be a later addition. Further, all sources agree that the primary focus of the event was the now well known issue of the ten illicit practices of the Vṛjiputraka bhikkhus who dwelt in Vesālī. Nonetheless, there is serious disagreement on the interpretation of the council proceedings. While Hofinger has admirably traced the rejection of all Ten Points in the Pāli Pāṭitimokkha,³ Demidville aggressively pursues the thesis of Mahāsaṃghika laxity on the basis of the mention of only one of the ten points (i.e., the possession of gold and silver) in their council record. He writes, "Consequently, even on the single point of discipline which the Mahāsaṃghika mention in their recitation of the Council of Vesālī, their Vinaya turns out to be, infinitely more lax than the

1. Refer to R. O. Franke, *The Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī as Alleged in C/Āvagga XI, XII*, Journal of the Pali Text Society 1908, p. 70; and Demieville, p. 258.

2. *Etude Sur le Concile de Vaisālī*, Marcel Hofinger, p. 249,
And Bareau, *Les Premiers Conciles Bouddhiques*, p.87.

3. *A Propos du concile de Vaisālī*, Paul Demieville. p. 216.

Pāli Vinaya."¹ However, even a cursory study of the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya reveals that all ten points are included therein, and Bareau documents this carefully using the Chinese version of the text (Taisho 1425). He concludes about the Mahāsaṃghika: "if they do not speak of the nine other customs, this is not because they approved of them since they implicitly condemn them elsewhere. The nine customs of the monks of Vesālī; therefore, could not have been one of the causes of the schism which separated the Mahāsaṃghika from the Sthaviras, as the Sinhalese chronicles affirm and, following them, certain historians of Buddhism. In fact, the two sects were in accord on this point, as M. Hofinger has well shown."² A study of the Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin texts preserved in Sanskrit yields a similar result.³ In addition, the Mahāsaṃghika could not be considered to be eastern dwellers (i.e., Prācīnaka, in Sanskrit the same title as the Vṛiputrakas), as Hofinger would like to maintain (by adjusting the geographical tension theory of Przyluski⁴ so as to categorize the Sthavira, Mahīśāsaka, Dhammaguptaka, and Sarvāstivādin Nikāyas as western dwellers). On this point, Bareau asserts, "It is without doubt imprudent to draw conclusions on the primitive geographical

1. Ibid, p. 275.

2. *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Bareau, p.78

3. *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimoksa Śāstras of the Mahāsaṃghika and Mūlasarvādins*, Charles S. Prebish, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975, pp. 70, 80, 88, and 90.

4. *Le Concile de Rājagaha*, Jean Przyluski, Paris: Paul Geudwer, 1926-1928, pp. 309-14,

redress of the sects from indications as fragmentary as those furnished by our recitations."¹ Although Demieville has serious doubts about the historicity of the Vesālī Council, he makes the following suggestions: "For my part, I cannot refrain from seeing in the tradition relative to the Council of Vesālī above all, a reflection of this conflict between rigorism and laxism, between monasticism and laicism, between 'sacred' and 'profane', which traverses all the history of Buddhism and which, after having provoked the schism between the Sthaviras and Mahāsaṃghikas, is expressed later by the opposition between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna."² Despite Demieville's aggressive claim to the contrary, there is nothing in any of the Vinaya council accounts of the various Nikāyas that attests to the separation of Sthaviras and Mahāsaṃghika at this point. Bareau confirms the absence of sectarianism quite assertively when he proclaims: "The primitive version is, as M. Hofinger has well shown, anterior to the first schism which separated the Mahāsaṃghika from the Sthaviras"³

Although the famous ten points (daśa-vastuni, pāli: dasa vatthuni) and the Council of Vesālī seem effectively eliminated from the historical actuality of the initial schism in Indian Buddhist history, the notorious five points of Mahādeva remained a primary causal factor in scholarly arguments. Convinced that the first saṃghabheda was historically removed

1. *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Bareau, pp. 82-83.

2. A propos du concile de Vaisālī, Demieville, Toung Pao, pp. 259-61

3. *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Bareau, p.96.

from the Vesālī Council, Bareau developed a new theory, one that turned on:

(1) The notion that laxity on the part of the future Mahāsaṃghika developed after the Vesālī Council (although it is not precisely clear just how this laxity develops), and

(2) The five points of Mahādeva. Moreover, it postulated a non-canonical council held at Pāṭaliputta in the year 137 A.N., from which the schism emerged. Bareau's theory is presented in full on pages 88 - 111 of *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques* and, until 1977, was rather widely accepted as a brilliant and ingenious solution to a knotty Buddhological problem. In 1977, Janice J. Nattier criticized Bareau's theory, suggesting in its place first, that Mahādeva has nothing to do with the primary schism between the Mahāsaṃghika and Sthaviras, emerging in a historical period considerably later than previously supposed, and taking his place in the sectarian movement by instigating an internal schism within the already existing Mahāsaṃghika school, second, that the sole cause of the initial schism. In Buddhist history pertained to matters of Vinaya, but rather than representing a reaction of orthodox Buddhists to Mahāsaṃghika laxity, as maintained by both Demieville and Bareau, represents a reaction on the part of the future Mahāsaṃghikas to unwarranted expansion of the root Vinaya text on the part of the future Sthaviras.¹

1. *Mahāsaṃghika Origins-.The Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism*, Charles S. Prebish and Janice J. Nattier, *History of Religions* 16, no. 3, February 1977, 238-39.

The argument concerning Mahādeva's five points is complex¹ and, until quite recently, has not received much additional attention. Lance Cousins, however, has published a fresh, new discussion of the five points, dividing their historical development into three phases,² and confirming our hypothesis that the five points of Mahādeva were not involved in the first schism.

Our hypothesis for the rise of Buddhist schism relies heavily on the Śāriputtapariṣcchā sutta translated into Chinese between 317 and 420 C.E., but which, according to Bareau, was likely to have been composed by around 300 C.E., thus representing the oldest of all the sectarian treatises. This text relates an episode in which an old monk rearranges and augments the traditional Vinaya, said to have been codified by Kassapa (Sanskrit: Kāśyapa) at the alleged First Council of Rājagaha, consequently causing dissension among the monks that required the king's arbitration and eventually precipitated the first schism. The relevant passage of the text (Taisho 1465, p. 900b) is translated on page 189 of Etienne Lamotte's *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*. It is clear from the Taisho passage that from the Mahāsaṃghikas perspective, the real issue culminating in the schism was Vinaya expansion. The Mahāsaṃghikas are designated in the passage as those who study the "Ancient Vinaya," and this tallies extremely well with the conclusions of Bareau, W. Pachow, Holinger, Erich Frauwallner, and Gustav

1. See C.S. Prebish and J.J. Nattier, pp. 250-65

2. Cousins, pp. 27-460.

Roth that the Mahāsaṃghikas (and Mahāsaṃghikas-Lokottaravādin) Vinaya represents the most ancient of all the Vinaya traditions. Further, each of the above-cited scholars reaches this conclusion by applying a separate critical technique. Bareau using text length of the Sikkha (Sanskrit: Śaiksa) section of the Prātimoksa-sutta; Fachow using comparative Prātimoksa study; Holinger using all Second Council materials in the various Vinayas; Frauwallner using an analysis of the Khandhakas of the various Vinayas; and Roth using an examination of the language and grammar of the Mahāsaṃghikas-Lokottaravādin texts preserved in Sanskrit. It also tallies well with the conclusion of the Chinese pilgrim Fa xian, who regarded the Mahāsaṃghikas Vinaya as the original.¹ Cousins agrees with the above conclusion heartily, in commenting on the Śāriputtapariṣchā-sutta; "Rather it sees the Mahāsaṃghika as the conservative party which has preserved the original Vinaya unchanged against the reformist efforts to create a reorganized and stricter version. He goes on: "Clearly the Mahāsaṃghika are in fact a school claiming to follow the Vinaya of the original, undivided saṃgha, i.e. the mahāsaṃghika."² As to why the future Sthaviras would choose

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1. A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms: *Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hsien of his Travels in India and Ceylon*, James Legge, trans 4.D. 399-414, in *Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*, reprint, New York: Paragon, Dover, 1965, p. 98- One may also refer to Fa-hsien Chinese translation of the Mahāsaṃghikas Vinaya, Taisho 1425, 1426, 1427, carried out with the assistance of Buddhahadra between 416-418c.E where he offers the same conclusion.
 2. Cousins (n. 2 above), pp. 33-34.

to enlarge the Vinaya, Nattier conclude: “It is not unlikely that the Council of Vesālī, in representing the first real threat of division in the quasi-unified Buddhist saṃgha, made all Buddhists aware of the problem of concord now that the Buddha was long dead. In seeking to insure the continued unity that all Buddhists must have desired, they simply began to expand the disciplinary code in the seemingly appropriate direction. Just as the respect for orthodoxy inhibited the participants at the alleged First Council of Rājagaha from excluding the "lesser and minor points" which the Buddha had noted to be expendable, the same respect for orthodoxy inhibited the future Mahāsaṃghika from tolerating this new endeavor, however well intentioned it was.”¹ This latter conclusion also gains support from Cousins: “What is important is that the picture which now emerges is one in which the earliest division of the saṃgha was primarily a matter of monastic discipline. The Mahāsaṃghikas were essentially a conservative party resisting a reformist attempt to tighten discipline. The likelihood is that they were initially the larger body, representing the mass of the community, the Mahāsaṃghika. Subsequently, doctrinal disputes arose among the reformists as they grew in numbers and gathered support. Eventually these led to divisions on the basis of doctrine. For a very long time, however, there must have been many fraternities (Nikāyas) based only on minor vinaya differences.”²

1. *Mahāsaṃghika Origins-.The Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism*, Charles S. Prebish and Janice J. Nattier, *History of Religions* 16, no. 3, February 1977, p.270.

2. Cousins, p. 48

If we acknowledge, in light of the above materials, that our hypothesis offers the most fruitful potential for identifying the causal basis of the first sectarian division in Buddhism, it becomes necessary to explore further the earliest Prātimokṣa-sutta texts extent in the hope of isolating precisely which rules appear to be those appended to the root Vinaya text by the future Sthaviras. Charles S. Prebish has argued elsewhere¹ that comparative Prātimokṣa study involves considerably more investigation than simply creating concordance tables of correlation between the texts of the various schools preserved in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. In an earlier article, Charles S. Prebish maintains that "a more sensible approach would be the developmental, concentrating more on the contents of the various rules than their numbers."² In examining the Śaikṣa-dhamma section of the Sanskrit Mahāsamghikas -Lokottaravādin text and the Theravādin text in Pāli, numbering sixty-seven and seventy-five rules respectively, one finds this approach quite instructive, despite the fact, now acknowledged by most scholars, that the Theravādins can in no way be historically identified as the Sthaviras of the first schism.

While many scholars downplay the significance of the Śaikṣa-dhammas in the overall scheme of the Prātimokṣa, John

1. *The Prātimokṣa Puzzle: Fact versus Fantasy*, Charles S. Prebish, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94, no. 2, April-June 1974, 168-76, and *Vinaya and Prātimokṣa: The Foundation of Buddhist Ethics*, - *Studies in the History of Buddhism*, ed. A. Y. Narain, Delhi: B. R. Publishing, 1980, pp. 223-64

2. *The Prātimokṣa Puzzle*, C.S. Prebish, p. 174.

Holt takes the opposite approach in concluding, "These rules are much more than mere social etiquette. The motive which generated their inclusion into the disciplinary code was simply this: perfect control of inward demeanor leads to perfect control and awareness of outward expression, even the minutest public expressions."¹ As such, they are critical to an understanding of early Buddhist sectarian history.

I. B. Horner, in her classic translation of the *Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka*, arranges these rules into three sections:

(1) Rules 1-56, focusing on etiquette and behavior on the daily alms tour,

(2) Rules 57-72, focusing on teaching the Dhamma with propriety, and

(3) Rules 73-75, focusing on inappropriate ways of urinating and spitting.²

In pursuit of more specific definition, Charles S. Prebish has suggested another classification, addressing the functionality of the entire section, which can be broken down as follows:

(1) The robe section,

(2) The section on village visiting,

(3) The section on Dhamma instruction,

(4) The section on eating.¹

1. *Discipline: The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapiṭaka*, John Holt, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981 pp. 102-3.

2. *The Book of the Discipline*, I. B. Horner, trans. pt. 3, reprint, London. Luzac. 1957, p.xxviii.

Irrespective of which classification is preferred, a comparison of the two texts in question involves considerably more than a facile location of eight rules, primarily because the rules do not correspond directly by number.

After careful comparative cross-referencing between the two texts, four rules in the Sanskrit Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin text are found to have no counterpart in the Pāli text. These rules include numbers 20, 23, 27, and 56.²

Rule 20 reads:

Na osaktikāya³ antaraḡṛhe niṣīdiṣyāmiti śikṣākaraṇīyā. Pāli:
Na ukkhittakāya antaraḡhare niṣīdissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā

"I will not sit down amongst the houses in the utsaktikā posture," is a precept that should be observed.

Rule 23 reads:

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1. *Vinaya and Prātimokṣa*, C.S. Prebish, p.251.
 2. The Sanskrit text for each of the rules is taken from W. Pachow and Ramakanta Mishra, eds., "*The Prātimokṣa Sūtra of the Mahāsaṃghikas*:" "Journal of the Gagānāth Jhā Research Institute 10, no.1, November 1952; no. 2 February 1953; no. 3 May 1953; no. 4 August 1953
App. 1-48
 3. There is no Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit or Pāli equivalent for osaktikā. The nuns' text records the same form, but Gustav Roth offers no explanation in his edition of the text, other than to indicate that it could not be traced in any dictionary. See Gustav Roth. ed., *Bhiksuni- Vinaya*: Including the Bhiksuni-Prakīrnaka and a Summary of the Bhikkhu-Prakīrnaka Arya -Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, vol. 12, Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1970, pp. 297,349.

Na antaragṛhe niṣaonno hastam kokṛtyam vā
pādakaukṛtyamvā kariṣyāmiti śikṣākaraṇīyā.

"Having sat down amongst the houses, I will not do evil with the feet or do evil with the hands:" is a precept that should be observed.

Rule 27 reads:

Nāvakīrnkārakaṃ piṇḍapātram paribhūṃjiṣyāmīti
śikṣākaraṇīyā.

"I will not eat alms food (while) nūking confused (speech):" Is a precept that should be observed.

Rule 56 reads:

Na osaktikāya¹ niṣansyāgilānasya dhammandeśayiṣyāmīti
śikṣākaraṇīyā.

"In the utsakatikā posture, I will not teach Dhamma to one seated who is not ill," is a precept that should be observed.

It is extremely significant that two of the four Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin rules (rules 23 and 27) cited above have no counterpart in the various texts of the other schools. The remaining two (rules 20 and 56) seem to involve a posture cited in no other text, with the Mulasarvāstivādin version possibly being excepted (and then, only if the term osaktikāya is a direct correspondent to utsaktikā as found in the latter text).

1. Again, the tem osaktikāya is found in the nuns' text of this nikāya and is listed in the Mahāvvyutpatti (no. 8608), corresponding to its counterpart in the M|lasarvāstivādin text (Śaikṣa-dhamma no. 86).

We must also point out that one's outward appearance was symbolic in at least two ways. In the first case, bhikkhus were considered to be "sons of the Buddha!" and objects of veneration for the laity. To appear in public in a disheveled fashion was insulting not only to the Buddha, but to the laity who considered bhikkhus as examples of high Buddhist spirituality and worthy receptors of meritorious acts of lay piety. In the second case, bhikkhus were bearers of the Dhamma and the chief source of learning for the laity. Casual attention to one's public habits would reflect a similar casual regard for the teachings of the Dhamma.¹

Nor is it surprising to evaluate these apparently expanded rules in terms of eating protocol in light of the fact that five of the ten *daśa-vastuni* (Pāli: *dasavatthuni*) of the Vaiśāli, Council concerned matters of food or drink. Equally, the other five points of the council, in the most general sense, address matters of individual and communal respect. In other words, if the Buddhist community was plagued by the genuine threat of *saṃghabheda* in the aftermath of the Council of Vaiśāli, and specifically with regard to matters of personal and institutional integrity and ethical conduct, it might well be both logical and reasonable to tighten the monastic code by the addition of a number of rules designed to make the required conduct more explicit. Of course, Vinaya expansion is precisely what the Śāriputtapariṇcchā sutta records as the cause of Buddhism's

1. *Discipline The Canonical Buddhism of the VinayaPiṭaka*, John Holt, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 102-3.

initial schism, commenting as well that it was respect for the orthodoxy of the "ancient Vinaya" that prohibited the future Mahāsaṃghika from accepting the addition, irrespective of motive.

Overall, the Vinaya of different traditional sources is the major pillar for investigating the schism, if any, in Ancient Buddhism because it carries itself the causes to divide the Saṃgha. It will be lack of convincing arguments if we use the historical data for this purpose; therefore, it may be a new way approaching to examine the historical events in Buddhism.

So far, there have been many more works related to the schism in Early Buddhism with the strong arguments to accuse the Ten Points practiced by Vesālī monks and the Five Points of Mahādeva. We cannot deny some serious works done by well-known scholars, but we also can recognize the fact that very few works have approached these issues by using the evident sources from Vinaya which, I believe, records all information of the different Buddhist sects.

As we all know that Ten Points practiced by Vesālī monk and the Five Points of Mahādeva and the cause of the Second Buddhist Council are relevant to the Vinaya. One can say that without study from Vinaya, the works related to the Buddhist schism will limit the result.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The heuristic method of criss-crossing that has been used in this Thesis involves roving between the so called orthodox and heresy in Ancient Buddhism. It requires a certain degree of neutrality from both sides. Does this mean that the writer is situated in a utopian space of objectivity, neutrally positioned above and beyond this subject? Is he a passive spectator with unobstructed vision of the Ancient Buddhism? Or is he a transparent specter in the reflecting mirrors of these subjects? While the metaphors of criss-crossing that have been used may suggest such a dislocated, disengaged perspective, these are not positions that I wish to assume or presume. Where then do I stand? To answer this question is not easy task, for it first requires performing an act of defamiliarization, through which one's own existence becomes strange. Only then can one try to articulate one's taken-for-granted attachments and one's complex relations to particular contexts of meaning. Recognizing that even this reflexive act of self-disclosure can be staged or exhibited, and that the gesture towards identifying my position will necessarily be inadequate, he will attempt nonetheless to locate his position within an intellectual and

disciplinary context, and suggest some implications for this research.

As seen in the previous chapters, there are splits in Buddhism and it now seems that these splits go back much further than the traditional account of them. The tradition that went to western India and then down to the south of India had Pāli as its language, and it has an almost complete record. In the Northern tradition perhaps four-fifths of its documents have disappeared, but a very nearly complete record exists in Chinese translation. There are many contradictions between the southern tradition, which is comparatively well known, and the Northern tradition, which is now being studied extensively. Some of our ideas have not to be necessarily blown to pieces but revised in order to take account of new possibilities. Scholars tell us that we mustn't bring our Western minds to bear on words such as '*schism*' and '*split*' and '*heretic*'. In the India of those days, these words didn't have the meaning they have for us with our history of blood and burning alive. Chinese pilgrims report seeing Buddhist monks and Hindus walking together in processions. There has been very little of the furious hatred; and when something was accomplished by dubious means, the end was not thought to justify the means. For instance, in about 700 CE Shankara wished to enter into confrontation with one of the great Hindu ritualists of the time. He went to see him and he found Kumarila about to burn himself alive. Kumarila said, 'Buddhists developed such strong logic that in order to meet them as a young man I disguised myself and entered the Buddhist Order to learn this logic. I did, and I have used it

effectively. But for the sin of doing that, I am going to burn myself now. You have had your debate with my best pupil.’ And so they took the dhamma and its infringement very seriously. This was one of the reasons why the caste position was able to go on for so long, because there were these spectacular cases in which the representative of that caste was willing to sacrifice his life in a particularly difficult way in order to uphold the dhamma of his class.¹

It is said that the Early Buddhism existed in the form of several fairly autonomous groups in India, partly due to the difficulties in communication amongst the groups at that time, and more importantly, due to the teaching from the last words of Sakyamuni Buddha.

In the *Nirvāna Sutra*, Gotama Buddha asked the disciples to abide the Dharma, not to an individual person. He told the disciples that the precepts were their master after his death. So, I have already shown in the Second Chapter differences with his brother-in-law Devadatta who had not only tried to bring schism in the Saṅgha but also made an abortive attempt on Lord Buddha’s life, and a hundred years later, there have appeared subtle doctrinal and ritual differences among these various Buddhist groups.

Under the influence of the political and religious environment at that time, the elder Bhikkhus treated themselves as a highly disciplined class set apart from the lay community,

1. *Early Indian Buddhism*, Trevor Leggett, volume 76:4, February 2002, p.205

carrying out special religious practice for the purpose of their own enlightenment. They emphasized the omnipotence of the rules of discipline that the precepts for the Order laid down by The Buddha should be abided by without the slightest deviation.

However, the Vajji Bhikkhus disputed and stressed the original intent of the teachings of Lord Buddha be allowed for all people in society (lay community), not just on one special class of people (monastic community). They argued that so long as there was no violation of the main tenets and precepts of Buddhism, it should be permitted to adapt to the socio-economical changes and the customs and practices of a specific region in which one was preaching or living to break the "obsolete" rules.

With the schism after the Second Council, the process of division continued until there were as many as eighteen sects, eleven of them belonging to the *Sthavira* and seven to the *Mahāsaṃghika*. Buddhism had entered a period of sectarianism.

From the historical point of view, the schism was an inevitable outcome in the development of Buddhism. On the surface, the Sthavira Bhikkhus would appear to be the upholders of orthodoxy and the Mahāsaṃghika Bhikkhus the heretics. In ordinary terms, the Sthavira seemed to be the *dogmatists* and the Mahāsaṃghika the *revisionists*.

The question of the greatest concern lies whether these sects preserved the true spirit of Sakyamuni Buddha's teachings. In Buddhism, all reform movements have, as their starting point,

the spirit of striving to return to the fundamentals of the faith and to restore the original meaning.

According to the Buddhist doctrine of *Middle Way*, any extreme is a deviant way to study Buddhism. A strong and healthy monastic order is necessary in Buddhism; however, if it is established on the basis of rejecting the lay community, it certainly violates the original meaning of Buddhism. On the other hand, a wide and popular support in lay community is necessary in Buddhism, however, if it is not led by the great masters who are enlightened by committing themselves in serious religious practices, it certainly deviates from the original meaning of Buddhism too.

The Buddha used to preach the Dhamma in different ways. He used to gauge the social, economical, political, and intellectual background and the capacity of the people before addressing them. Different standards in the rules of discipline are obviously required for different groups of people within the Buddha community. In different periods of time, one Buddhist Sect may be more appealing to the other. The existence of the development and the extinction of any Buddhist Sect had its conditions, in accordance with the Law of Causal Condition. Actually, the fate of Buddhism rests upon the ability to re-establish the fundamental principles of the doctrines, and to apply them correctly in practice.

The Dhammas expounded by any one sect is only one of many, many ways to attain Buddhahood. The ultimate truth i.e. the nature of Buddhist Dhamma is beyond thoughts and words,

but can be experienced by self-certification. This is the profound doctrine of One Buddha Vehicle.

Bareau, in *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, comes almost to the same conclusion as presented above when he says, "One may justly think that the cause of the quarrel resided in the composition of the code of the monks and, more specifically, in the list of the śikṣakaranīya, Pāli: sikkhākaraniyā (precepts that should be observed),"¹ but he dismisses the conclusion immediately. "It is improbable that such a serious conflict could have been provoked by dissension on such a trivial subject."² Yet Bareau also concedes that the majority of points for which the Vṛjiputraka bhikkhus were reproved were no more important than the ones cited here. I think that it is here that Bareau and others have missed an enormously valuable opportunity for understanding the growth of early Indian Buddhist sectarianism. I may never know with absolute certainty whether the rules cited above were precisely the rules to which the Śāriputtapariṣcchā sutta alludes. Nonetheless, a comparison of the Pāli precepts in question with the extant Vinaya texts of other early Buddhist Nikāyas suggests a high degree of correlation.³ This is especially significant since the non-Mahāsaṃghika nikāyas all emerged from a common basis in the original Sthavira trunk group. Further, as the Sthavira trunk subdivided internally over

1. *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Bareau, p. 94.

2. Ibid .

3. Here one should refer to the Sanskrit and Chinese texts of the Sarvāstivādin nikāya, the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the Mūllasarvāstivādin text, the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, and Kāśyapiya texts preserved in Chinese.

the next several centuries into many other nikāyas, each sect sought to underscore its own position with regard to personal and institutional conduct (and especially with regard to the geographic, communal circumstance in which it found itself) by appending additional rules in the Śaiksa-dhamma section of its Prātimokṣā-sutra. (Pātimokkha-sutta)

As a result, I find 96 rules in the Chinese version of the Kāśyapīya text, 100 rules in the Chinese version of the Mahīśāsaka text, 100 rules in the Chinese Dhammaguptaka text, 108 rules in the Sanskrit and Tibetan Mulasarvātivādin texts, and 113 rules in the Sanskrit and Chinese Sarvāstivādin texts. For this reason, the nikāyas became distinct not only by the doctrines they espoused, but by their rules for communal dwelling and behaviour. In some cases, these differences are of monumental importance. The Dhammaguptaka text, for example, advances twenty-six rules in this section to delegate appropriate conduct at a stūpa. Apart from what this tells me, historically, about the Dhammaguptaka School, it offers significant insight into the ritual applications of Dhammaguptaka doctrinal affinities. In the light of the work by Hirakawa and Williams on the role of stūpa worship in the rise of Mahāyāna, this Vinaya material is critically important.¹

1. *The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas*, Akira Hirakawa, *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunkyo Research Department* 22, 1963, p. 57-106; Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, London: Routledge, 1989, pp. 20-33

Re-examination of the relationship of the ‘Orthodox’ and ‘Heresy’ has implications in the field of Buddhist studies. I have taken this task out of need to trespass upon the circumscribed disciplinary boundaries of Buddhist Studies. I do not conclude that orthodox which is a form of Early Buddhism and unorthodox is the Developed Buddhism in which the dissenter and protester emerged as an accuser. If I take serious look at Early Buddhism and Developed Buddhism as mutually constitutive, then the object of dissenter and protester need to be defined differentially, and refined never found or solidly founded. It invites more and more serious researched works. And the aim of this Thesis may be considered as the start, but not as an end of this endeavor.

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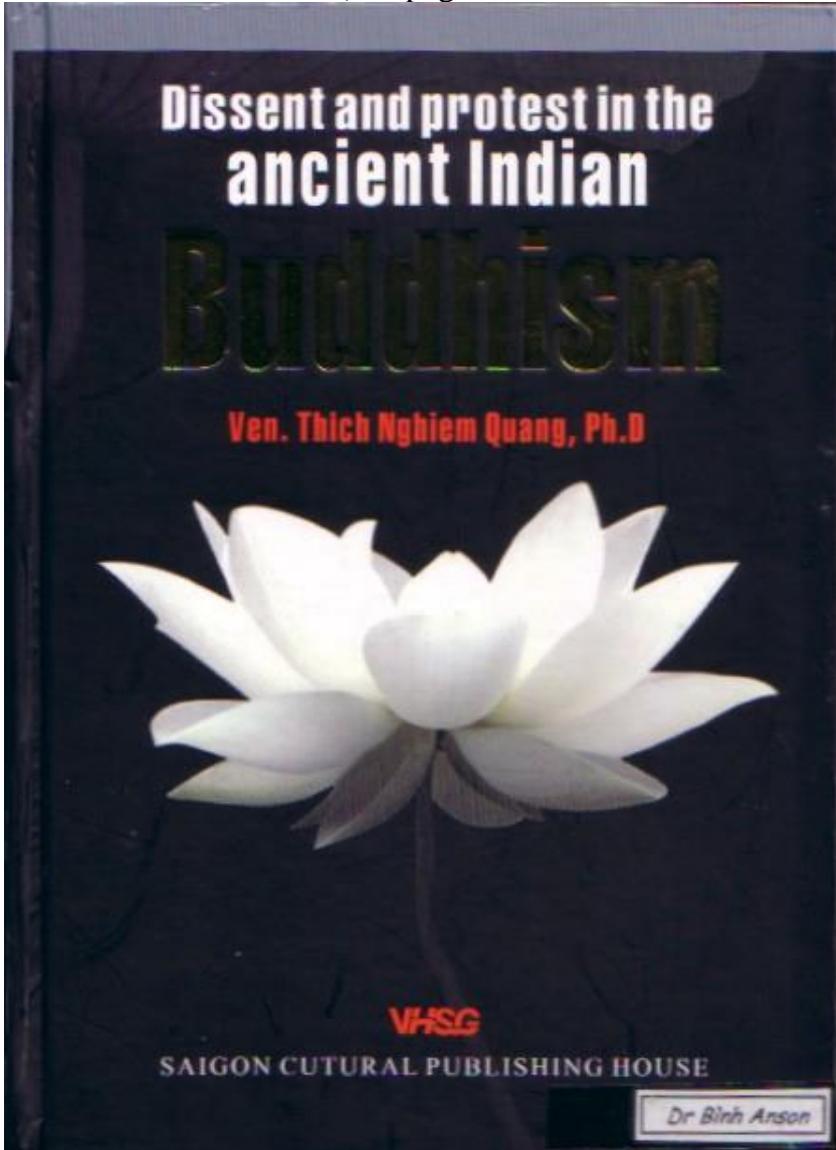
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