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THEISM IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

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PREFACE

THIS volume is an attempt to present to the English reader a general view of the phases of Theism in Medieval India. The term is understood in its widest aspect, for even the philosophic pantheism of the Vedânta admitted a relative reality to the Theistic interpretation of the world and man. The labours of the great Sanskrit scholars of the last century were largely devoted to the varied products embraced under the comprehensive term Veda, and the later aspects of the higher religions of Hinduism after the formulation of its great schools of philosophy received less attention. But the learning and industry of the last thirty years in England, on the Continent, and among distinguished Indian scholars, have rendered a large amount of material accessible to the modern student unequipped with knowledge of the vernacular languages or with first-hand familiarity with modern conditions. I am fully conscious of the drawbacks of such ignorance, and cannot hope to have escaped error. If the object of these Lectures is only partially attained, I shall be content.

In the admitted uncertainties of Indian chronology it seemed desirable to secure a firm point of departure. This is provided by the journey of the Chinese Buddhist Yuan Chwang to Nālandā in the seventh century A.D. Buddhism had then developed its significant Theistic types and its chief philosophical schools. The interaction and mutual influence of Buddhism and Hinduism present many problems of great interest, but also of great difficulty. It is no part of the purpose of this book to enter into their technical discussion. But as other histories of

the Religions of India have not always realised the importance of the part played by Buddhism, it seemed well to start with the presentation of its teachings as they were open to Yuan Chwang's study.

The close of the reign of Akbar, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, sees the failure of his attempt to establish an Imperial Monotheism which should transcend both Islam and the ancient native faiths, while it finds Hinduism provided with its greatest religious poem, the Rāmâyana of Tulsī Dās, and the community of the Sikhs passing into a small but vigorous church-nation. With this era the volume ends.

In accordance with growing modern practice, the diacritical marks on Sanskrit and Pāli words have been for the most part abandoned, save in the notes. Thus Vishnu and Krishna are more intelligible to the English reader than Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. For the Sanskrit *c* the English pronunciation *ch* is adopted; though the ugly combination *chchh*, representing the Sanskrit *cch*, has been modified. The quantities of long vowels are usually marked (except in such well-known words as Veda, etc., the *e* being always long); a long vowel produced by contraction is indicated thus, *â*. Sanskrit words are usually quoted in their uninflected forms; but such terms as Karma and Dharma, already partly naturalised in English, are employed in the shape now familiar.

It remains only to express my grateful acknowledgments to the Hibbert Trustees for the invitation with which they honoured me, and for their generous willingness to undertake the publication of these Lectures in an expanded form. To the Delegates of the Clarendon Press I am indebted for kind permission to quote translations by the late Mr Macauliffe of the hymns of Nāmdēv, Kabīr, and Nānak; Messrs Macmillan have with similar kindness allowed me to cite extracts from the beautiful rendering of poems of Kabīr by Rabindra Nath Tagore and Miss Evelyn Underhill. Prof. de la Vallée Poussin

generously read the MS. of the first two lectures. The Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* sanctioned the use of materials in articles contributed to his pages; Prof. Macdonell aided me with valuable advice; Mr E. L. Thomas gave me helpful facilities in the loan of books from the library of the India Office; and Dr Morison, Curator of the Indian Institute, Oxford, enabled me with unfailing goodwill to make the fullest use of the Library under his charge. Several works of recent publication came to hand too late for use, after the MS. had been completed and sent to the Publishers in April, 1920.

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Epigr. Ind.,	Epigraphia Indica.
ERE,	Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
Imp. Gaz.,	Imperial Gazetteer.
JAOS,	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS,	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASB,	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Mbh.,	Mahābhārata.
PTS,	Pali Text Society.
RHR,	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
SBE,	Sacred Books of the East.
Up.,	Upanishad.

ERRATA

Page 32, l. 15,	for *tuti*	read *chuti*.
„ „ l. 17,	„ *cavati*	„ *chavati*.
„ 67[2],	„ *acalā*	„ *achalā*.
„ 161, l. 22,	„ *Devasthana*	„ *Devasthāna*.
„ 175, l. 16,	„ *jñana*	„ *jñāna*.
„ 175, l. 24,	„ *ānandā*	„ *ānanda*.
„ 242[1],	„ *caturmūrti*	„ *chaturmūrti*.
„ 312[2],	„ *Sāyana*	„ *Sāyaṇa*.
„ 387, l. 19,	„ *Parâçara*	„ *Parâçara*.

THEISM IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

LECTURE I

THE ORIGINS OF THEISTIC BUDDHISM

In the year A.D. 629 a young Buddhist scholar named Yuan Chwang[1] arrived at Chang'an, in the province of Shen-se, in the north-west of China, the modern Sian or Singanfu, latitude 34° 17′. He was then about twenty-nine, and had already greatly distinguished himself as a student of the sacred lore. His family claimed descent from the ancient Emperor Shun, and counted magistrates and administrators, men of learning and genius, in its long line. In one generation its head was recognised as one of the "Three Reverends"; in a later day father and sons and grandsons were known as a cluster of "Stars of Virtuous Merit." Yuan Chwang's grandfather was Professor in the National College in the capital. His father, a strict Confucianist, entered the service of the State, but withdrew into seclusion when the public order was threatened with anarchy. Yuan Chwang, gentle and pious, caring little for the sports of boyhood, was early trained in the Confucian classics. But his

[1] On the spelling of the pilgrim's name, see Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids in Watters' commentary *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (1904), I. p. xi. The Chinese documents have been translated by Julien, *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang* (1853), and *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, etc. (1857); and by Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884), and *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* (1888). The "Life" was compiled by Hwui-li, who assisted Yuan Chwang after his return from India in the translation of the sacred books (Julien, *Histoire*, p. lxxvii), and was completed by another disciple.

youth fell in troubled days, and violence and disorder finally brought about the collapse of the reigning dynasty. In 626 the great Emperor known as T'ai Tsung succeeded to the throne, and restored peace and welfare to the distracted land. Meantime Yuan Chwang's second brother had sought tranquillity in a Buddhist monastery, and Yuan Chwang followed his example. He was admitted as a novice at thirteen, and at twenty received full orders.

Travelling as a preacher from place to place, he sought and imparted instruction. The teachers at Chang'an, who were already famous, at once recognised him as a master; but when the new-comer paid his respects to the celebrated doctors at the capital, he found that the sacred books differed greatly, and he knew not which system to follow. He then resolved to make the journey to India and consult the depositories of Buddhist learning in the midst of the places hallowed by the Master's life.[1] There, round the Ganges, were the famous scenes of Buddhist piety; the sacred spot where the Teacher had completed his quest of the Truth and attained supreme enlightenment; the deer-park at Benares where he preached his first discourse, and laid the foundation of the Kingdom of

[1] Buddhism had been introduced into China A.D. 67; and a long series of missionary teachers had carried its literature into the Flowery Land. Some came from India, others from Parthia or Tibet, "moved by desire to convert the world," princes, ex-cavalry officers, holy and humble men of heart of varying rank, calling, and nationality, besides unknown translators who busied themselves with the huge difficulties involved in rendering the gigantic compilations of Buddhist piety into a language so different in genius as Chinese from Sanskrit. A private catalogue by a Chinese monk, Sang Yiu, in the reign of the Emperor Wu, 502–549, mentions 2213 distinct works, whether translations or native productions, of which 276 may be identified with those of the present day. The first imperial catalogue, made in the same century, arranged a still larger number in twenty classes. This copiousness far exceeds in magnitude anything in Christian history. The labours of Jerome on the Old Testament in his cell at Bethlehem were light compared with the task which Yuan Chwang undertook after his return in turning the *Prajñā Pāramitā* or "Perfect Gnosis" into Chinese. The treatise is estimated at eighty times the length of the New Testament, or twenty-five times that of the whole Bible, and its translation occupied four years (Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, 1871, p. 278 f.). Cp. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (1883), p. xvii.

Righteousness; the hill known as the Vulture's Peak, near Rājagaha, overlooking the river, where he had sat to instruct the disciples; the garden where he had been born, the grove where he had died. And there, not far from Buddha-Gayā, was the great university of Nālandā, where Buddhist learning had been established for centuries.

Yuan Chwang was not the first to make the journey to India from the north. In A.D. 399 Fah-Hien and a little company had left Chang'an on a similar errand;[1] and in 518 Sung Yun and Hwui Sang had been despatched from the great temple of Lo-Yang by the Empress of the Northern Wei dynasty. In Yuan Chwang's own youth a mission of sixteen persons was sent from Tibet in 616 to investigate the Faith in its actual birthplace.[2] Yuan Chwang himself was followed during the seventh century by a long train of pilgrims, moved by the same desire. Some went by sea and suffered shipwreck. Some, like Yuan Chwang himself, were robbed. Some perished of disease after they reached India. But with extraordinary persistence they pursued their way, and one of their number, I-Ching, afterwards recorded their devotion.[3]

I

For Yuan Chwang the journey was full of difficulty. An imperial rescript forbade foreign travel. The route lay through vast deserts to the west, over dangerous mountain passes, and among peoples of unknown tongues. The companions who had agreed to join him one by one abandoned the project. But obstacles and disappointments could not deter him. There were rivers to be crossed, frontier fortresses to be passed, orders for his detention to be evaded. On one occasion the truthful-

[1] See Dr Legge's translation of his *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1886).

[2] Thon-mi was studying at Nālandā during Yuan Chwang's visit; cp. Sarat Chandra Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta, 1893), p. 47.

[3] See the translation by Édouard Chavannes, *Mémoire composé à l'Époque de la grande Dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la Loi dans les pays d'Occident*, par I-tsing (Paris, 1894). The modern spelling transliterates the name I-Ching. His own observations will be found in *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, translated by J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896).

ness of his answers excited such admiration that the governor who was examining him tore the warrant for his arrest to pieces with his own hands. At length the king of Kao Ch'ang,[1] a pious Buddhist, provided him with an escort, and a whole caravan of horses and servants was arranged, with boots and gloves and face-coverings for the dreaded transit of the range now known as the Ping-shang or "ice mountains." It took seven days to accomplish the passage; "there was no dry place for a halt; the pot must be hung for cooking, and the mat spread for sleep. upon the ice." Twelve or fourteen of the company died of hunger or cold; and the number of oxen and horses which perished was still greater.

But the undaunted pilgrim resolutely pressed on. From country to country he noted the hallowed spots and sacred monuments, the numbers in the monasteries, and the schools of doctrine and practice to which they belonged. In Kashmir he rested two years, the king placing the services of twenty scribes at his disposal for copying the sacred books. On his way into India his little company was attacked by robbers, who stripped them of their baggage and even of their clothes. The escort wept, but Yuan Chwang preserved his cheerfulness. "The greatest gift which living creatures possess," said he, "is life. If life is safe, what need we care about the rest?"

But life, even, might be endangered. Starting from Ayudha,[2] the travellers sailed down the Ganges, with about eighty country-folk. The vessel was boarded by pirates, who brought it to the bank. They were worshippers of the unhallowed goddess Durgā, who was propitiated every year with human sacrifice. The distinguished appearance of the Master of the Law led them to select him as their victim. Vainly did his fellow-passengers beseech his life; some even begged to be allowed to die in his stead. The captain of the gang ordered an altar to be erected in an adjoining grove, and Yuan Chwang was bound and laid upon it. He showed no fear, but only asked that he might have a little time, and that they would not crowd around him painfully. "Let me with a joyous mind,"

[1] In the district which is now called Turfan (Watters, i. 44).

[2] Watters, i. 354, accepts the identification with Ayodhyā, the old capital of Oudh, on a large affluent of the great river.

said he, "take my departure." Then he lifted his thoughts to the courts of the Tusita heaven, the dwelling of the future Buddha Maitreya, the Buddhist impersonation of charity,[1] and prayed that he might be reborn there and receive from him the teaching of the Truth. So, having perfected himself in wisdom,—"Let me return and be reborn here below, that I may instruct and convert these men, and cause them to give up their evil deeds, and practise themselves in doing good." With such meditations he seemed to rise into that land of bliss. Rapt into ecstasy, he knew nothing of the altar on which he lay bound with closed eyes, waiting the knife. He took no heed of a sudden storm, which lashed the river into waves, blew up clouds of sand, and tore the creaking branches from the trees. The terrified Thugs accepted it as a warning, and made obeisance round the altar. One of them accidentally touched the Master's person. He opened his eyes. "Has the hour come?" he calmly asked. "We pray you," was the answer, "to receive our repentance." They unbound their victim, restored the property which they had taken from the passengers, threw their weapons into the river, and took on themselves the first obligations of disciples.

Further and further east Yuan Chwang travelled, visiting the spots famous in Buddhist story. There had been many changes since the days of Fah Hien. In some places the monasteries were deserted and the faith was almost extinct. The city of Pātaliputra (the modern Patna), where Asoka had held his famous council, was still prosperous in the time of the earlier visitor. Yuan Chwang saw only the splendid ruins, covering an area of fourteen miles. But at Buddha Gayā there still stood the hallowed tree beneath which the Teacher had attained Buddhahood. All round it were memorial shrines and monasteries; and there rose the temple, already all but nine hundred years old, which, after more than another millennium, the British Government has recently restored. Thence the Chinese pilgrim proceeded on the tenth day to Nālandā. Four of the most eminent professors had been sent to escort him. At a farm on the way to the precincts he was met by a great procession. Some two hundred members of the

[1] Pāli *metteyya*, from *mettā*, love, goodwill. See below, p. 59 f.

Order and about a thousand laymen came forth to meet the distinguished traveller. They carried standards and umbrellas, garlands and perfumes, and surrounded him with joyous chants. He had spent seven years upon the journey, and thus was he welcomed as he reached his goal.

This was the famous centre of Buddhist learning. Half monastery, half university, it had been a sacred place from immemorial tradition, though it had only recently attained the height of its prosperity. The Buddha had himself rested there occasionally, and so had his elder rival, Nātaputta, the traditional founder of the community of the Jains.[1] There as the centuries ran on the piety of generations had reared an immense establishment. Misfortune had indeed overtaken it from time to time. Since the days of Kanishka, at the end of the first century of our era, it was said to have been thrice destroyed.[2] Five hundred merchants, so the story ran, had bought the original grounds and presented them to the Buddha. Successive endowments had created a vast pile, with towers, domes, pavilions, shady groves, secluded gardens, and deep translucent pools filled with blue lotus and crimson *kanaka*. The great entrance was approached under four large columns, and was surmounted by a tower which rose so high into the air that it made I-Ching giddy to look at it.[3] There were eight temples with about a hundred relic shrines, many of them decorated with gold and precious stones which glittered in the sunlight. There were also a hundred lecture-rooms where the ten thousand clergy and students daily gave and received instruction, and six immense blocks of dormitories each four storeys high. There, for periods amounting in all to about two years, Yuan Chwang resided, devoting himself to the study of the Buddhist Scriptures,

[1] Cp. *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 371 ; *Dīgha N.*, ii. 81 (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. Prof. Rhys Davids, pt. ii. p. 87). On the Jains see below, p. 35 f.

[2] Beal, *Catena*, p. 371 ; Vassilief, *Le Bouddhisme* (Paris, 1865), p. 203. Yuan Chwang has his own tales of the injury done to the sacred Bo tree at Gayā and the adjacent monasteries, by a hostile king Çaçānka, in an invasion from Eastern Bengal not long before his visit, but he does not mention any attack on Nālandā. Cp. Beal, ii. 91, 118 ; Watters, ii. 115.

[3] Hwui Lun described the whole mass of buildings as four-square, like a city, with four large gateways, each three storeys high, the chief being on the west. Beal, *JRAS* (1881, new series, xiii.), p. 571.

the Sanskrit grammar of Pānini, and the books of the Brāhmans with the varied lore founded upon them, philological, legal, philosophical, and religious.

Meantime students for ever came and went. The spirit of the place was strenuous. The brethren, says Yuan Chwang, were renowned through all India for their strictness in observing the regulations of the Order; grave, earnest, decorous, "learning and discussing they found the day too short." Those who did not talk of the mysteries of the Canon were put to shame and lived apart. But the teaching included secular knowledge. There were professors of arithmetic and mathematics (perhaps also astronomy), geography and medicine.[1] The teaching was conducted partly by recitation of the sacred texts after the mode of Vedic study, partly by expository lectures and disputations. Yuan Chwang reckoned a thousand brethren who could explain twenty collections of Sūtras; five hundred who could teach thirty; perhaps ten (including himself) who could explain fifty; the venerable President, Çīlabhadra, alone had mastered the entire number.[2]

The Buddhism of Yuan Chwang's time in the twelfth century of the Buddha was no more homogeneous than the Christianity of the twelfth century of our era. In some respects, indeed, it was far less so. Like the Hinduism in the midst of which it had been developed, it was in fact a complex of many different elements. Beneath a common moral ideal room was found for the widest possible diversity of philosophy and religion. These varieties coexisted within an ecclesiastical discipline which was itself not absolutely identical from school to school, and permitted opposite modes of devotion, while it possessed sufficient coherence to embrace all antagonisms within one unity. At an early date after the Founder's death differences of view and still more of practice had begun to appear; and two hundred years later, in the middle of the third century B.C., under the great Buddhist emperor Asoka, whose inscriptions supply the first

[1] Many pious kings had established hospitals; others appointed medical officers at the rate of one doctor for ten villages, whose duty it was to look after the sick.

[2] Beal, *Records*, II. 170; *Life*, p. 112. For the early history of Çīlabhadra, Beal, *Records*, II. 110; Watters, II. 109.

monumental evidence in Indian history, there were already reckoned eighteen sects. The primitive Buddhism of Gotama had really consisted in a system of ethical culture which would enable the disciple to reach the goal of perfect wisdom and holiness, and set him free from the necessity of rebirth. This famous Eightfold Path of moral progress, however, was quite compatible with various interpretations of the world and its reality. Surrounded by eager disputants, the teaching of the Order began to reflect the influences of alien modes of thought. The Pāli Canon of the Scriptures itself bears witness to opposite movements of feeling, imagination, and reflection, which were destined to acquire more and more importance. They finally issued in different schools with their own sacred books, and a scale of doctrine ranging all the way from a nihilistic psychology and an atheistic interpretation of the universe, at one end, to an ontological idealism at the other which affirmed that every phenomenon throughout the infinite worlds was a manifestation of Mind.[1] A profound theological cleavage had thus been introduced into the early doctrine, leading to contradictory conceptions of the Buddha's nature and his relation to the disciple. These led in their turn to a complete transformation of the believer's aim, and generated the two main divisions known respectively as the *Hīna-Yāna*, the "low" or Little Vehicle, and the *Mahā-Yāna* or Great Vehicle.[2] Both of these modes were studied and taught at Nālandā. It was even possible for their adherents to sing the same hymns to celebrate the perfections of the Buddha.[3] No exclusive orthodoxy impugned the piety of either group, or threatened to drive their members out of the fellowship. What, then, was the type of theism thus generated, and by what process had it emerged out of the original *Dhamma*?

[1] Cp. the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, Beal, *Catena*, pp. 285, 303. Fā Hien, *Record*, xxix. (tr. Legge, p. 83), mentions a Sūtra of this name, delivered by the Buddha on the hill known as the Vulture's Peak, not far from Rājagaha, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha. Cp. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, No. 446, p. 107.

[2] Cp. below, p. 93, Lect. II.

[3] See I-Ching's account of the hymns of Mātriceta, which were taught to everyone becoming a monk as soon as he could recite the five and ten Commandments (*Record*, p. 157).

II

The thinkers of the Middle Ganges valley had very early formulated some of the great philosophical problems which will never cease to interest human thought. As they contemplated the world of nature without them and the world of mind within they reached an imaginative conception of the ultimate Unity which absorbed the manifoldness at once of the universe and of man. The gods of popular theology were no longer adequate. There were various ways in which they might be treated. They could be amalgamated or identified in attribute and function with one another. They might be regarded as the delegates among whom the Supreme distributed his powers. Or they might be conceived as multiform manifestations of the One who lay behind. All kinds of hints, of insights, gleams of speculation, penetrating philosophical intuitions, along with the crudest physiology and psychology, run through the later Vedic hymns and the early literature founded upon them. The days of systematised thought, organised in the famous six *Darçanas*,[1] were yet to come. But in the interval between the discussions reported in the oldest Upanishads and the preaching of Gotama as it is portrayed in the Pāli texts a great development had taken place. The main conceptions had been already reached by which the religious life of India has been moulded ever since.

The presentation of the world has undergone an immense expansion, and new features have been added unknown to the Vedic literature. Fancy could, indeed, conduct the soul on a pilgrimage through various realms belonging to the different deities; but no coherent cosmography combined them into an ordered whole.[2] The Buddhist scheme for the first time introduces the great central mountain Mēru, 84,000 yojanas in height, on whose south side lies the favoured land of India

[1] Literally "seeings," theories, or views, the term applied to the recognised schools of a later age. Gotama uses the word *diṭṭhi*, from the same root, designating under different conditions right or wrong views or beliefs, true or false.

[2] Thus compare the Brahman heaven, "the third from hence," *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, viii. 5, 3 (*SBE*, i. p. 131), with the fuller series in *Kaushītaki Up.*, i. 3 (*ibid.*, p. 275), where the Brahman world is sixth, above five Vedic deities.

(in the continent of *Jambudīpa*). On its four sides are the dwellings of the Four Great Kings, rulers of the four quarters of the world.[1] Upon the north is the Kuru-land, where the dwellers do not need to plough or sow, for the ground produces food spontaneously and the fruit-trees are always green.[2] At the summit is the city of the Thirty-Three gods of the ancient Vedic reckoning under the sovereignty of Indra, better known as Sakka (Sanskr. Çakra).[3] He holds the same place in later mythology, and the poets loved to describe the heavenly capital with its thousand gates, its jewelled walls and wondrous fruit-trees, where the sun did not scorch, cold and weariness were unknown, and grief and despondency, anger and covetousness, could never enter.[4] Far, far above this rose the heaven of the great Brahmā. Its numerous tiers, and the series of deities who occupied them, culminated in four realms of immaterial beings, made only of mind, who shone as radiances and were fed on joy.[5] These are the peculiar product of pious Buddhist imagination, demanded by the requirements of the moral order to provide for every grade of merit. But the figure of the Great Brahmā which crowns the whole reveals him as the god of popular theology. In a frequently recurring formula he is described as "the Supreme, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of Days, Father of all that are and are to be."[6] Here is a figure of contemporary theism; to him alone belonged

[1] On the Babylonian analogue, *cp.* J. E. C. in *Studies in the Hist. of Religions*, edd. Lyon and Moore (New York, 1912), p. 75 ff.

[2] Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta, § 7, *Dīgha Nikāya*, xxxii. The inhabitants do not claim any personal rights or private property; they are *amamā apariggahā*. See the more elaborate description in the *Mahābhārata*, vi. 254.

[3] *Sakko devānam Indo*, the Strong or Mighty One.

[4] See below, Lect. III., p. 169.

[5] For the enumeration, cp. Kevaddha Suttanta, in *Dīgha Nikāya*, xi. 69–79; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 280. It is often repeated, *e.g. D.*, xxxiii. 3, 1 (vii). With the hells beneath the earth a single world was complete in spherical form. The ordinary universe was conceived as a system of ten thousand of such worlds, a vast increase upon previous notions.

[6] Brahmajāla Sutta, ii. 5, Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 31. The term "lord," *issara* (Sanskr. *īçvara*), gains the recognised meaning of "God," and is so employed in the translation of the Bible into Sanskrit. In later days it is an especial title of Çiva as Maheçvara, "Great God." See below, p. 225.

Self-Existence or eternal being above the crowd of lesser deities who, after periods of varying length of life, passed on to some other scene, and had no claim to immortality.

While the universe is thus conceived upon an enormously extended scale, the analysis of the human being has made advances which must have required generations of observation and reflection. The early thinkers whose teachings are reflected, for example, in the "Brāhmana of a Hundred Paths" and the older Upanishads, had busied themselves with the conception of the soul or self, and its relation to the soul or self of the world.[1] Many penetrating glances flash out in question and answer between laymen and women on the one hand, and distinguished Brāhmans on the other, sometimes one and sometimes the other taking the lead. But the terminology is extraordinarily fluctuating, confused, uncertain, inexact. The same document may contain a bewildering medley of figures and speculations which cannot be reduced into psychological or metaphysical coherence. Thus in the long conversation of King Janaka with the Brāhman Yājñavalkya the latter describes what happens at the approach of death through sickness or old age. The *Purusha* (spirit)[2] separates himself from his body like a mango or pipphala-fruit from the stalk, and the *Prānas* all gather round the departing *Ātman* (soul or self) like the court functionaries round a departing king.[3] What, then, are the Prānas? The word has the common meaning of "breath," and could thus be applied to the essential element of human life, and extended even to the ultimate energy of the world, so that a Vedic poet could sing "Homage to Prāna, in whose control is this All, who hath been Lord of all, in whom all stands firm."[4] But while the breath might be inhaled or

[1] Cp., for different points of view, Prof. Rhys Davids, "The Theory of Soul in the Upanishads," in *JRAS*, xxxi. (1899), p. 71; Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, tr. Geden (1906), p. 256 ff.; Mrs Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology* (1914), p. 57 ff.

[2] One of the terms employed for the principle of personality; literally "man." See below, p. 44.

[3] *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad*, iv. 3, 36, *SBE*, xv. p. 173.

[4] *Atharva Veda*, V. xi. 4, tr. Whitney-Lanman (1905). Cp. Yājñavalkya's reply to the questions of Çākalya, *Çatap. Brāhm.*, xi. 6, 3, 10–11, *SBE*, xliv. p. 117, and the later form of the story in *Brihad. Up.*, iii. 9, 26.

exhaled, and might be even viewed as triple or fourfold,[1] the word was extended to cover the senses. The quarrelling Prānas, each desirous of supremacy, repair to Brahman for a decision. He awards the palm to that one whose departure injures the body most. So they successively go forth and return after a year's absence, speech, eye, ear, mind, seed, but on re-entry find the body, though inconvenienced, still alive. At last it is the turn of the vital breath (*prāna*) which tears up the other *prāṇas* as a fine horse from the land of the Indus might tear up the pegs which tethered him.[2] Here the activities of thought and utterance are included with the organs of sight and hearing under the common head of "breaths." Elsewhere Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga sets forth the common view of the dispersion of the human elements at death, speech into the fire, breath into the air, the eye into the sun, the mind into the moon, the body into the earth, the self into the ether. But Yājñavalkya, in contradiction of the doctrine that the *prānas* depart, affirms that they do not leave the frame, but are gathered up within it.[3] And (to sum up these illustrations) he tells King Janaka that the self consists of "consciousness (*vijñāna*), mind, *prāna*, eye, ear, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, desire and no desire, wrath and no wrath, righteousness and no righteousness, and all things."[4]

To pass from these random imaginative combinations to the careful analyses of the Buddhist texts is like the transition from the poetry of the forest, with its sunshine and gloom and its sound of the wind among the trees, to the orderly arrangement

[1] *Brihad. Up.*, iii. 1, 10; iii. 4, 1

[2] *Brihad. Up.*, vi. 1, 7–14; cp. *Chhāndog. Up.*, v. 1, 5–15. In another story of a dispute between the younger Devas and the elder Asuras, the superhuman powers of good and evil, the Devas invoke successively speech, *prāṇa* (here identified with smell), eye, ear, mind, and the *prāna* in the mouth (*āsanya-prāṇa*), *Brihad. Up.*, i. 3, 1–7; *mukhya-prāṇa*, *Chhāndog. Up.*, i. 2, 1–7.

[3] *Brihad. Up.*, iii. 2, 11–13. He has just analysed human activity into eight *grahas*, "seizers" or "apprehenders," and eight *atigrahas*, objects thus apprehended. The eight *grahas* are *prāṇa*, speech, tongue, eye, ear, mind, arms, skin; and the corresponding *atigrahas*, smell, name, taste, form, sound, desire, work (or action, *karma*), and touch.

[4] *Brihad. Up.*, iv. 4, 5.

of the professor's lecture-room. Here is an attempt to express the facts of conscious experience in the fields of sense and thought. The language is, naturally, not entirely new. Some of the old terms reappear.[1] Others are occasionally employed in new meanings.[2] The distinction between sensation (*vedanā*) and perception (*saññā*) is clearly marked. The confusion of the *prānas* has vanished. The incongruous enumerations of the mental and the material, of inward states and outward objects, are replaced by careful classifications.[3] And the conspectus of wrong theories of the Self which occupies the second chapter of the discourse of "the Perfect Net,"[4] implies a range of speculation far exceeding that of the debates in the Upanishads, and requires a corresponding lapse of time for its extension.

But the most significant advance to which the early Buddhist texts bear witness lies in the development of the idea of transmigration under the law of Action or the Deed, familiarly known as *Karma*. This great doctrine, which has ever since ruled the thought of India, and has exercised so profound an influence even over China and Japan, first comes dimly into view in the later Vedic literature. That it cannot be traced in the ancient hymns is now generally conceded.[5] Its speculative origins begin to appear in the apprehension that the life of the departed in the worlds of bliss may, after all, not be enduring. The ritual of sacrifice was designed to secure for the believer admission to the sphere of the deity whom he served, Agni, Varuna, Indra, Prajāpati, even Brahmā, each in his own realm. "A man," it was said, "is born into the world that he has

[1] Thus *buddhi*, *indriya*, *manas*, *vijñāna*.

[2] Cp. *saññā* in *Brihad. Up.*, ii. 4, 12-13; iv. 5, 13, with its Buddhist use. *Vedanā* does not occur.

[3] Cp. the doctrine of the six *āyatanas*, internal and external; on the one hand the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and *manas* (the "common sensory" where sensations are converted into perceptions), and objects or forms (? colours, Mrs Rhys Davids), sounds, scents, tastes, tangibles, and *dhammas* (mental states): Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 336. The enumeration frequently recurs, *e.g. Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. pp. 102, 243, 280; and in the long section "Salāyatana" in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iv. 1 ff.

[4] Brahmajāla Sutta, in *Dialogues*, i. 30.

[5] Cp. A. Berriedale Keith, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), vol. i. p. ccxxviii f.

made,"[1] and in the mystical interpretation of the act of sacrifice it was supposed that a new body was prepared to fit him for ascension to the world above.[2] There he dwelt in blessed fellowship with the glorious object of his devotion; he shared the radiant scene of his existence; he was united even with his very Self.[3] Such was the privilege of rebirth on high. But the suspicion could not be kept out—Might not rebirth after all involve redeath? Imagination had striven in one of the most famous hymns to picture a far-off condition when there was neither being nor no-being, neither death nor deathlessness.[4] The great contrast between the mortal and the immortal was unknown. What brought Death into the world, and when he had appeared what were the limits of his power? There were various answers to such questions, and the course of nature supplied its own analogies. Night and morning were for ever successively reborn;[5] to the discerning mind existence presented itself as a continuous process; but each new beginning implied also another end. There might, indeed, be a scene beyond Death's reach, and to attain it was the purport of a special rite.[6] Such was the efficacy of sacrifice that it would enable the worshipper to conquer recurring Death,[7] and even the proper reading of the Veda would lift him into union with Brahmā's own Self.[8]

Redeath would in its turn involve rebirth, and the recluses of the forest had already pictured the soul whose term in the spheres of sun and moon had come to an end, as descending to earth once more in the rain, and there, through incorporation in herb and grain, passing into new forms of animal or man.[9] What was it that regulated this succession? Some cause there must be for its innumerable varieties. They could not be

[1] *Kritaṁ lokam purusho 'bhijāyate*, in the *Çatap. Brāhm.*, vi. 2, 2, 27.

[2] He was thus complete in all his limbs, *sarvâṅga*, with a whole body, *sarvatanu*; cp. *Çatap. Brāhm.*, xi 1, 8, 6; xii. 8, 3, 31.

[3] *Sāyujya, salokatā, sâtmatā.* Cp. *Çatap. Brāhm.*, ii. 6, 4, 8; xi. 6, 2, 2–3.

[4] *Rig Veda*, x. 129; *sat, asat, mrityu, amrita.*

[5] *Punarbhū*, cp. *R.V.*, i. 62^8, 123^2.

[6] *Çatap. Brāhm.*, ii. 3, 3, 7–9.

[7] *Çatap. Brāhm.*, x. 1, 4, 14; x. 2, 6, 19; 5, 1, 4; xi. 4, 3, 20.

[8] *Ibid.*, xi. 5, 6, 9, *sâtmatā.*

[9] *Chhāndog. Upanishad*, v. 10, 5–7.

permanently ascribed to chance. Outside the ceremonial practice lay the whole field of the moral life, and its collective expression in the social order. *There* was a mysterious reservoir of powers to which each thought, each word, each act contributed. "The Deed," said the early lawgivers, "does not perish."[1] At every moment every conscious being still involved in liability to death was laying up secret forces of good or evil which time would never fail to bring into operation. Their activity might be postponed for thousands of years, but it could never be escaped. At first the new doctrine was only whispered in secret. When Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga inquired of Yājñavalkya what became of a dead man when his constituent elements were dispersed,[2] the Brāhman replied, "Take my hand, my friend; we two alone shall know of this. Let this question of ours not be discussed in public." So they went out for private talk, and the teacher unfolded the profound principle of the results of action; what is permanent is Karma; a man becomes good by good Karma, evil by evil Karma. To apply this conception in all directions must have been the task of centuries. It provided the form in which every problem of human destiny was set and answered. The whole scene of existence was shaped to match it, and the universe was arranged on a scale suited to its demands.

This immense transformation has already taken place when Gotama begins to teach. The principle of "fruit" has generated a complete vocabulary for its expression, and previous thinkers have elaborated an intricate system of rewards and punishments appropriate for different kinds of conduct in the four great castes, for the secular life of the householder, for the religious life of the ascetic and the devotee. Nor was this all. The spectacle of an incessant round of births in various forms of being from hell to heaven had filled some minds with an intolerable sense of pain. Was there no escape from the weariness of this unending succession? The question begot

[1] *Gautama*, XIX. 5, *SBE*, II 271. The principle formulated by the "Brāhmana of a Hundred Paths" (in the sphere of sacrifice, *ante*, p. 13) was capable of much wider application, "A man is born into the world that he has made."

[2] See *ante*, p. 12.

many answers, and divers means of deliverance were suggested along alternative paths of knowledge, of emotional concentration, and mysterious trance.[1] When a new preacher appeared he had at hand a vast body of doctrine and experience from which to start. A common interpretation of the vicissitudes of life was already widely received. What men wanted to know was the best mode of emancipation from the necessity of continual rebirth.

The doctrine was not, indeed, universally adopted without protest. It might be neglected and ignored, but it became important enough to evoke active denial. In Gotama's day it was challenged by various teachers, whose views attracted groups of followers as they travelled through the country for exposition and debate. Such was Purana Kassapa, who is represented as rejecting all distinctions of merit or of guilt; no charities or sacrifices would be followed by rewards; no robbery, falsehood, or murder, would entail punishment. The theory bore the name of *akiriya* or "no-action," and was attributed, curiously enough, to Gotama himself by the Jain leader Nātaputta.[2] Makkhali of the Cow-pen repudiated the notion that there was any cause for depravity or purity of character in human action or effort. All animated existence upon earth fell into classes each of which possessed a distinctive nature. This intrinsic constitution determined their several modes, and no further reason could be assigned for it. In the absence of any moral grounds the law of the Deed did not operate. This type of explanation was designated *ahetu*, "no-cause." A third teacher, Ajita of the garment of hair—no prophet of coming doom like the austere Baptist—confined himself to plump denial of any issue from good or evil deeds. There is no "fruit," there is no "world to come." When the bier has been carried to the burning ground, all ends in ashes. The fool and the wise are alike cut off. It was a doctrine of sceptical materialism, known by the simple formula *n'atthi*, "there is not."

[1] Cp. Mrs Rhys Davids on "Mokṣa," in Hastings' *ERE*. The succession itself was designated *saṃsāra*.

[2] See the mode in which the Buddha deals with the charge in the Vinaya Piṭaka, *Mahā-Vagga*, vi. 31, 2, 5, 6; *SBE*, xvii. 109. For *akiriyā-vāda* in the Jain books, cp. *SBE*, xlv. 83, 315, 385.

The adherents of this view are to be found all through succeeding centuries under the Sanskrit name of *Nâstikas*.[1] But many generations must have elapsed before the Karma theory could have been established over a sufficiently wide area, or have gained adequate hold upon the common thought, to arouse such opposition.

Most significant of all, perhaps, was the combination of this great conception with a new view of the constitution of the universe. It became the visible scene of the operation of the Moral Order; and its forces were the instruments by which the indissoluble sequence of recompense and retribution for good or evil was continuously maintained. But as all existence beneath the sovereign sway of the Great Brahmā, and those who had attained fellowship with him, lay under the doom of impermanence, the world itself must in time succumb to the forces of dissolution. The mighty sphere with its myriad fellows in the ten-thousand world-system had once been unrolled from a vast abyss of gloom. It was destined to be again rolled up with all its unexhausted potencies of unfulfilled *Karma*, ready in due course to produce anew the persons and the conditions needful for their discharge. The history of the world was thus a mighty rhythm of evolution and involution without beginning or end. With the establishment of Mount Mēru as its central support came also, it would seem, the notion of cosmic periods terminable by fire or water. They correspond in the later theology to the slumbering and waking of Brahmā. Already in the Buddhist texts the dreadful conflagration is described in detail.[2] Mount Mēru with its gigantic mass, eighty-four thousand leagues beneath the ocean and eighty-four thousand more above it, must pass away. A time will come when it will rain no more, and all vegetation will wither away. A second and a third sun up to seven will successively appear, drying up

[1] From *na asti*. See the famous recital by Ajātasattu, King of Magadha, of the views of six contemporary philosophers, *Sāmaññā-Phala Sutta*, § 17 ff.; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 69–73, with the notes of Prof. Rhys Davids. The three doctrines are summarised as *akiriya-vāda*, *ahetu-vāda*, and *natthika-vāda*, in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iii. p. 73, and *Aṅguttara N.*, ii. p. 31. Makkhali's followers were known as Ājīvakas.

[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iv. p. 100

rivers, lakes, and ocean; till at length the whole fabric of the world up to the Brahmā heavens will burst forth in flames, and the entire universe will be consumed.[1]

III

In a scene thus conceived, amid the clash of speculations, theories, affirmations, and denials, Gotama launched his bold endeavour to win men from selfishness by persuading them that they had no Selves. The Indian mind had been concentrated on its own interior processes, it had little interest in the external world. The path of Greek science was already opened by Thales, but no traveller from the Ganges valley had begun to gather observations on which to found the demonstrations of geometry, or watch the heavens so as to predict eclipses. Gotama's picture of the evolution of the heavens and the earth from chaos at the beginning of a new cosmic period is childish and confused compared with the attempt to conceive the stately march of creation in the first chapter of Genesis.[2] Those who only sought to escape from Nature could not be expected to love her.[3] Over all her beauty brooded the shadow of pain; life began and ended with suffering. Popular Brahmanism might promise happiness in the next world to those who trod the appointed round of ritual and sacrifice, performed the householder's duties, and paid their debts to the fathers and the gods. But philosophy found no satisfaction in such pleasures. The trail of cupidity lay over them all. The true teaching must aim at lifting men out of the ever-flowing stream of birth, death, and rebirth, and cutting off the roots of the craving for life. Who would wish to be for ever entangled in existence when he realised the impurities of the body,[4]

[1] On the probable derivation of this eschatologic doctrine from Babylonia, cp. J. E. C. in *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 79.

[2] See the Aggañña Suttanta, *Dīgha Nikāya*, xxvii

[3] There is, of course, another side to such a statement. In spite of the danger of being carried off by a tiger, the recluses in the forest could sing of its pleasures (see the *Psalms of the Brethren*, tr. by Mrs Rhys Davids). Indian imagination was especially susceptible to the beauty of moonlight.

[4] See the Vijaya Sutta, in *Sutta Nipāta*, xi., *SBE*, x. p. 32. On the meditations for the production of disgust, *asubha-kammaṭṭhāna*, cp. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism* (1850), p. 247.

or confessed that the tears shed in traversing the age-long road of transmigration exceeded the waters of the Four Great Oceans?[1]

The sources of suffering lay in two spheres, without and within. Man dwelt in a scene of incessant change. His person was subjected to birth and decay, to old age and death. He must constantly bear the presence of conditions and objects which he did not like: he must submit to the deprivation of those for which he longed. He was exposed to all "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune"; he was incessantly tormented with the burning pangs of unfulfilled desire. Like the Hebrew Preacher, Gotama saw "Vanity of Vanities" inscribed over the entry into every field of existence. But he would have scorned to draw the Preacher's conclusion, "There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink."[2] He opens his career as Teacher with the announcement that he has discovered a Middle Path between two extremes: the life of sensual pleasure, low, vulgar, and unprofitable; and the life of self-mortification, equally ignoble and profitless.[3] And he closes his ministry with the solemn warning to his disciples, "Behold now, I exhort you, all that is compound is liable to decay, with diligence do ye attain."[4] The Brāhmans had elaborated a scheme of discipline for the religious student or *Brahmachārin*, and the teachers outside their ranks had their own methods for realising their different aims. Gotama, also, devised a special type of devout practice, a *brahmachariya* or holy life; and he invited the five mendicants whom he first addressed to join him in this life, in order to make a complete end of suffering.[5]

Surrounded by various theories in the Brahmanical schools and the separatist doctrines of the Wanderers, Gotama formulated his own conceptions with the aid of the current vocabulary. The brief summaries of heretical views presented in the

[1] Cp. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iii. 179.
Eccles. ii. 24.

[3] Sermon to the five Mendicants, *Mahāvagga*, i. 6, 17, in Vinaya Texts, *SBE*, xiii. 94.

[4] The object to be attained is not specified; it is, of course, the supreme Buddhist holiness which would bring deliverance from rebirth. *Dialogues*, ii. 173.

[5] "Sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya," *Mahāvagga*, i. 6, 32, *SBE*, xiii. 99.

Scriptures were no doubt made intelligible in oral exposition, but in their condensed form their differences necessarily remain obscure. They might, however, be divided into two main groups.[1] There were those who affirmed the real existence of a Self both in this world and in the world to come. This was the heresy of the Eternalists, who had their own varying notions as to its constitution, material or immaterial, conscious or unconscious, finite or infinite. In stark antagonism to this principle of perpetual being was the heresy of the Annihilationists, who indeed affirmed the real existence of a Self in this world, but denied it for the world to come.[2] If the Self perished with the body, there was of course no "fruit" of good or evil in another life. The Moral Order of the world was shattered. The Law of the Deed lost its field of operation. The issues of action were cut off by death. Against this sweeping rejection of what he regarded as the fundamental principle of the universe, Gotama threw the whole weight of his authority. With an ethical passion strong enough to bear the burden of the repudiation of a permanent personality, he upheld the conception of an endless succession of rebirths, of recompense and retribution, of heaven and hell. But at the same time he proclaimed that individuality was an illusion, the craving for pleasure was vain, and the only worthy aim of life was to get rid of it by the suppression of the ignoble thirst for continuous transit in search of happiness. Gotama sought, therefore, to cure men of selfishness by convincing them that they had no Selves. But that involved the necessity of explaining how a man could subsist at all without one. And it was faced by the further difficulty that if there was no Self to pass from world to world, there was no person in whom the "fruit" of the past could ripen, and the principle of Karma was annulled. How were these apparent contradictions to be overcome? There are strange hints of opposite answers in the early texts, which show that the disciples who compiled them found their Master's doctrine sometimes too difficult; and instinctively admitted language out of which new metaphysical developments might proceed.

What explanation, then, did Gotama offer to the question,

[1] *Puggala-Paññatti* (in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka), PTS, p. 38. Cp. the Brahmajāla Sutta, *Dialogues*, i. 53.

"What makes an ordinary human being?" The natural dualist sums him up as "body and soul," and the Brahmanical teachers had already on this ancient basis worked out a rough psychology, and laid down the lines of a metaphysical unity between the self of our common experience and the universal Self. From such transcendental topics Gotama turned resolutely away. Such speculations only encouraged the disputatious temper, and no great moralist has left more impressive warnings against the perils of the over-confident controversialist. His own doctrine is repeated over and over again in curt summaries which could be preserved in memory, and tradition assigned its first statement to the scene in the deer-park at Benares, when the declaration of the Four Noble Truths to the five mendicants had been rapturously welcomed by the *devas* from earth to the topmost heavens as the foundation of the supreme Kingdom of Truth.[1] In one after another the mysterious insight known as the "Pure and Spotless Eye of the Truth" arose within them, the principle of no-permanence, the law of incessant flux, the discernment that whatever has a beginning must also have an end. This conviction is not dependent on the authority of the Buddha; it is no act of faith in his wisdom, still less in his omniscience. It is an immediate vision, an apprehension of an ultimate fact, a direct perception of an intrinsic reality. It thus constitutes the foundation of the higher life, the initiation into the pathway which will lead to deliverance.[2]

[1] *Mahāvagga*, i. 6, 30, in Vinaya Texts, *SBE.*, xiii. 97.

[2] See the *Mahāvagga*, i. 6, 29 ff. The Pāli phrase *dhamma-chakkhuṃ udapādi* describes the rise within the mind of a new way of looking on the world, and is constantly figured as the appearance of light in the midst of darkness. Many instances occur in the records of conversion, *e.g.* *Dialogues*, i. 135, 157, 263, 271, 296, 319. The term is sometimes applied even to the dwellers in the upper worlds; in the Sakka-Pañha Suttanta, *Dialogues*, ii. 320, the *Dhamma-chakkhu* arises in Sakka and 80,000 devas. Cp. the description of Kūṭadanta as *diṭṭha-dhamma*, *patta-dhamma*, *vidita-dhamma*, *pariyogāḷha-dhamma*, in *Dīgha Nikāya*, i. p. 148, *Dialogues*, i. 184. Another form of vision was known as the *dibba-chakkhu*, the "heavenly eye," which enabled the possessor to see the transit of beings from one state of existence to another, *e.g.* *Sāmañña-phala Sutta*, § 95, *Dialogues*, i. 92, or to behold the Buddha seated cross-legged in the Brahmā world above Brahmā himself, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i. p. 144 (*Book of the Kindred Sayings*, i. 182). There was also an *ariya-chakkhu*, or "noble eye," which enabled the saint

The rise of the "Eye of the Truth" prepared the disciple to realise the constituents of his own person. (1) He had a bodily form (*rūpa*). (2) He experienced sensations (*vedanā*).[1] (3) He converted these into perceptions (*saññā*) of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, through which he came into contact with the external world. (4) To these was added the complex group known as *saṅkhāras*, a term of very wide application to all compounds.[2] It implies a process of preparing or constructing, and then denotes what is so prepared. Later elaborations sought to define their number; earlier formulæ assembled them under three heads. In the first place, they affected the body (*kāya*), and constituted the sum of the conditions of corporeal existence on earth, in hell, or in heaven; secondly, they covered the whole field of speech (*vachī*); and, thirdly, they bore a similar relation to thought (*chitta*). They did not include the physical organs themselves, they were the mental and moral antecedents (or, as Mrs Rhys Davids has happily termed them, the "coefficients") which brought about birth in a particular sphere. They were the tendencies arising out of the past to right or wrong activities of utterance or mind. In this aspect they were very nearly identical with Karma. Only two entities lay outside their range, space (*okāsa*) and Nirvāna. (5) Lastly, in curious vagueness above the experiences of sensation and perception and the whole multiform collection of determining influences, rose consciousness (*viññāṇa*), including, it would seem, the whole sum of mental activities, from the most concrete elements of sight or touch to the most abstract processes of reason or meditation. But neither the external world nor the realm of consciousness existed in itself. They

to see Nirvāṇa, *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 510; cp. *paññā-chakkhu*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, v. 292, v. 467. The terminology appears to be new; it does not occur in the older Upanishads. Col. Jacob's *Concordance* gives but one instance, *Haṃsa*, 2.

[1] To the usual five was added the *manas* (philologically though not psychologically equated with the Latin *mens*), which organised the feelings into their corresponding perceptions, intermediary between sensation and thought.

[2] Cp. Mrs Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 50, quoting Buddhaghosa, "Why, bhikkhus, do ye say *saṅkhāra's*? Because they compose what is compound (*saṅkhataṃ*)."

constituted a relation which was for ever liable from either side to incessant change. All objects might be included under the head of *rūpa* or "form"; all modes of thought and feeling were summed up in the word *nāma*, "name." And the relentless conclusion was that if consciousness ceased[1] "name and form" would disappear together.

These five groups went by the name of the *Khandhas* or "supports."[2] Concerning each of them Gotama asked in turn if it could be identified with the *attan* or Self, and in each case the equation is denied. He had thus accounted for the whole product of a given person by the union of the Five Supports, without any connecting or ruling Self. No permanent imperishable Soul was needed. The Supports came together in temporary combination, and a man-child was born. In his old age they separated and fell away, their junction was dissolved, and the man died. Of this doctrine one of the most famous illustrations occurs in a post-canonical work entitled the *Questions of Milinda*.[3] This striking book, preserved in Pāli by the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam, and Burma, professes to record a series of dialogues between the Greco-Bactrian king Menander (probably reigning 140–115 B.C.) and a Buddhist sage named Nāgasena. The king courteously introduces himself, and inquires his name.[4] "I am known as Nāgasena," he replies; but he warns the royal inquirer against supposing that such personal names covered any permanent individuality (*puggala*). "Then who," retorts the astonished monarch, "gives to you members of the Order your robes and food and lodging and necessaries for the sick? Who is it who follows righteousness or sins?" The puzzled sovereign sees the whole "fruit" of Karma vanish. He

[1] *Viññāṇassa nirodhena*; see the conclusion of the Kevaddha Suttanta, *Dialogues*, i. 284, "when intellection ceases."

[2] Sanskrit *skandhas*. Neither this term nor the *saṃkhāras* occurs in the Upanishads. Another term, *upadhi*, "substrate," has almost the same meaning. Cp. *sabba-saṃkhāra-samatho sabbûpadhi-paṭinissago*, in *Mahāvagga*, i. 5, 2, Vinaya Texts, *SBE*, xiii. 85; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i. p. 136. In *Aṅguttara N.*, i. p. 49, Wanderers are said to adopt the homeless life to rid themselves of the *upadhis*.

[3] *Milinda-Pañha*, ed. Trenckner (1880); tr. Rhys Davids, *SBE*, xxxv., xxxvi.

[4] *SBE*, xxxv. 30 ff.

proceeds to enumerate one after another of the Five Supports, and asks whether each in turn is Nāgasena. The answer of course is always in the negative, and to suit the Buddhist dialectic Nāgasena is made to reject the suggestion that the whole Five together constitute the learned Elder. The indignant king feels that he is being played with, "Nāgasena is a mere empty sound, who then is the Nāgasena that we see before us?" and roundly charges the famous teacher with falsehood. It is then Nāgasena's turn to ask questions, and he challenges Milinda to explain what was the carriage in which he had driven to the hermitage where Nāgasena was staying: was it the pole, the axle, the framework, the yoke, or the spokes of the wheels, or all the parts together that was the chariot? and the royal inquirer in each case answers "No." "Then chariot is a mere empty sound, and you, too, speak untruth." The king gently replies that it was on account of its having all those items that it came under the generally understood term "chariot." "Just so," says the Sage, quoting a Scripture verse from a dialogue between a holy sister, Vajirā, and the Prince of Evil, Māra:

> "For just as, when the parts are rightly set,
> The word 'chariot' [ariseth in our minds],
> So doth our usage covenant to say
> 'A being' when the Five Supports are there." [1]

It followed, of course, from this analysis that human experience could only be interpreted as a succession of states of consciousness, without any permanent "subject" in which they inhered.[2] Gotama accordingly described thought (*chitta*), mind (*manas*), and consciousness (*viññāṇa*) as rising up by night and day as one thing and perishing as another.[3] To this position the Sinhalese tradition remained constant. No writer has faced it with more boldness than Buddhaghosa in his *Path of Purity*:

[1] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i. p. 135; tr. Mrs Rhys Davids, *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, i. 170

[2] Cp. the *Analysis of the Human Mind*, by James Mill (1829); and J. S. Mill's *Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy* (1865).

[3] Cp. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ii. p. 96, and Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* (1896), p. 151.

"Strictly speaking, the life of a living being is exceedingly brief, lasting only while a thought lasts. Just as a chariot-wheel in rolling rolls only at one point of the tire, and in resting rests only at one point; in exactly the same way the life of a living being lasts only for one thought. As soon as that thought has ceased, the being is said to have ceased. As it has been said:

'The being of a past moment of thought has lived, but does not live, nor will it live.

'The being of a future moment of thought will live, but has not lived, nor does it live.

'The being of the present moment of thought does live, but has not lived, nor will it live.'"[1]

The Heraclitean doctrine of flux, *πάντα ρεῖ*, applied to consciousness, can go no further.

But though the doctrine of No-Self thus lay at the heart of Gotama's teaching, the disciple was as strenuously forbidden to dwell on the view "I have not a Self" as upon its contrary "I have a Self."[2] He would only involve himself the more deeply in the jungle of delusion. At a higher stage of inward culture he might, indeed, attain to the *anatta-saññā*,[3] the perception of No-Self, following on that of *aniccha*, the perception of Impermanence.[4] That was, after all, essential for anyone who would tread the path that led to Nirvāna. He must be weaned from attachment to this world, he must suppress wrath and ill will. And the angry man might well be asked with what he was angry? Was it with the hair of the head or the body, or their elements of earth, water, fire, and air? The Venerable N. N. was only the Five Supports, remarks Buddhaghosa, "with which of their groups are you angry, form, sensations, perceptions, . . . an organ of sense, or an object of sense, or a sense-consciousness? For a person who has made the above analysis," he concludes, "there is no hold for anger, any more than there is for a grain of mustard-seed on the point of an awl, or for a painting in the sky."[5]

[1] Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 150.

[2] Cp. the Sabbâsava Sutta, *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. p. 8; tr. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, *SBE*, xi. 299.

[3] The Pāli *attan* is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *ātman*.

[4] Cp. Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, *Dialogues*, ii. 84. In later lists, Saṅgīti Suttanta and Dasuttara Suttanta, *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. pp. 243, 251, 290–1, *dukkha-saññā* is inserted between.

[5] Visuddhi Magga, Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 159.

It was a dangerous argument. The plea for charity, which occupies so splendid a place in Buddhist ethics, might have been subverted on the same grounds.

In such a view of existence there was no room for an Absolute, eternal and immutable, like the ultimate Being of Greek philosophy. When Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator, was resident at the court of Chandragupta at Pātaliputra (the modern Patna), he observed that the opinions of the Brāhmans on many subjects coincided with those of the Greeks, for they also affirmed that the world had a beginning and was liable to destruction, that it was spherical in shape, and that the Deity who made and governed it was diffused through all its parts.[1] It was a crude summary of one type of Brahmanical philosophy, to which Gotama appears to have been completely indifferent. The polemic against the notion of a permanent Self as a necessary element in a human being was never advanced against the further conception of an Everlasting Self as the indispensable foundation of the universe. Gotama leaves on one side the doctrine of the Brahman, developed by the forest-teachers of the Upanishads, as completely as if he had never heard of it. The gods of popular mythology are, of course, involved in the round of births, and must tread the Noble Eightfold Path if they would escape their transference in due course to some less happy lot.[2] This was only the Buddhist form of the current application of the Law of the Deed to the occupants of the successive heavens. The throne of Indra had already seen a series of rulers. But above the deities who played their part, enjoyed their privileges, and passed away, rose the real Lord of all beings, past, present, and to come. The goal of aspiration was to win fellowship with the great Brahmā.[3] Two young Brāhmans, disputing about the way, agree to refer the difficulty to the Samana Gotama.[4] A series of questions in Socratic style draws out the fact that no contemporary or

[1] M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (1877), p. 101

[2] Cp. the group of discourses in *Dialogues*, ii., beginning with the Janavasabha Suttanta, and the comments of Prof. Rhys Davids.

[3] Cp. *ante*, p. 10.

[4] Tevijja Suttanta, *Dialogues*, i. 302.

preceding teacher in the Brāhman ranks, nor even the Rishis of old, had ever seen Brahmā; how then could they know how to attain union with him? The argument then takes an unexpected turn. The Buddha claims to have himself entered the Brahmā world, and been reborn in it. He therefore is aware of its conditions, and can declare the means for their fulfilment. So he sets forth the type of character by which it may be reached, the method and achievement of self-conquest, the resultant joy and peace of the believer, the love, the pity, the sympathy, the equanimity with which he will pervade the whole wide world, above, beneath, around. Brahmā himself is deeply concerned for the world's welfare. When Gotama has solved the secret of existence and seen and learned the Truth, he realises the difficulty of making it intelligible to those who are lost in lust and hatred. Why should he undertake a task which could only result in weariness and annoyance? Then Brahmā, perceiving his hesitation, and apprehending that the world will be undone if he keeps silence, presents himself before him, and with lowly homage thrice pleads for perishing humanity. And the Blessed One, casting his compassionate Buddha-eye over all sentient beings, yields to Brahmā's entreaty, and opens the door of the Deathless to all who have ears to hear.[1]

Elsewhere, however, the figure of Brahmā is treated with daring irony,[2] and his appearance on the evolution of a new world-system has to be explained.[3] He is the first to come into being in the Palace of Brahmā through the operation of the Law of the Deed, and when after a long time he yearns for companionship and others are reborn at his side, he supposes himself their creator, and they in their turn accept him in that capacity.[4] But the claim to be "the Lord of all, appointing to each his place," did not pass without protest. In a long poem in the Jātaka book[5] on the worthlessness of the Brahmanical sacrifices, put into the mouth of the future Buddha,

[1] *Mahāvagga*, i. 5, Vinaya Texts, in *SBE*, xiii. 84.

[2] See the Kevaddha Suttanta, *Dialogues*, i. 280 ff.

[3] Brahmajāla Sutta, *Dialogues*, i. 30; Pāṭika Suttanta, *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. p. 28.

[4] *Dialogues*, i. 31; cp. Aggañña Suttanta, in *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. p. 84.

[5] Vol. vi., tr. Cowell and Rouse, p. 109 ff.

the whole caste-system is denounced, and the divine beneficence is bitterly impeached.

> "He who has eyes can see the sickening sight;
> Why does not Brahmā set his creatures right?
>
> If his wise power no limits can restrain,
> Why is his hand so rarely spread to bless?
>
> Why are his creatures all condemned to pain?
> Why does he not to all give happiness?
>
> Why do fraud, lies, and ignorance prevail?
> Why triumphs falsehood—truth and justice fail?
>
> I count your Brahmā one th' unjust among,
> Who made a world in which to shelter wrong."

The implication is that all the phenomena of the human lot, its inequalities of happiness and misery, of social distinction or oppression, of good and evil dispositions, tempers, impulses, and acts, are the result of past conditions which cannot be changed or evaded. In such a sequence no interference by a Deity claiming to be outside or above it can be allowed. The solemn law of moral causation cannot be broken. It will be one of the problems of later Hindu theology to show that Karma is no self-acting energy, but the mode or instrument through which the righteous will of God for ever works. Karma will then be incorporated into Theism.

The doctrine of No-Self has its natural counterpart in a doctrine of No-God. But it was not accepted without difficulty. Was it really the case that the man who had attained the Truth[1] would wholly pass away and cease to be? Gotama wound up his first sermon to the Five Mendicants at Benares with a formula of constant recurrence: "Rebirth has been destroyed, the higher life has been fulfilled, what has to be done has been accomplished, after this present life there will be no beyond."[2] As long as the body lasted he was, of course, there for gods and men to see. But when death broke up the union of the Supports, the bond to rebirth was severed as completely as the cutting of a mango-

[1] The Tathâgata.

[2] *Mahâvagga*, i. 6, 46, Vinaya Texts, in *SBE*, xiii. 101; *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, § 97, *Dialogues*, i. 93.

stalk separated the bunch of fruit from the tree,[1] and gods and men would see him no more. It sounded like a doctrine of annihilation. Among the stock questions of the Wandering Mendicants, known as the Ten Indeterminates,[2] was the destiny of the Tathâgata after death. Would he live again or not; would he both live again and not live; would he neither live again nor not live? To none of these queries would Gotama vouchsafe an answer. They did not aid right conduct, peace of heart, or the higher insight. Dr Oldenberg first pointed out the indications of dissatisfaction with this silence on the part of his followers.[3] The monk Mâlukya demanded a straightforward confession of ignorance if the Teacher did not really know.[4] Gotama replies by asking whether he had ever undertaken to decide these topics as a condition of instruction concerning the religious life, and Mâlukya admits that he had not. The problems of the eternity and infinity of the world, or its limits in time and space, of the identity or difference of soul and body, of the existence or non-existence of the Tathâgata after death, are all waived aside as irrelevant for progress in holiness: "Keep what I have not determined undetermined." King Pasenadi of Kosala is troubled with the same metaphysical uncertainties, and on meeting with a nun named Khemâ as he travels from Sâketa to Sâvatthi, he pauses to ask her whether the Tathâgata will live again.[5] She only assures him that his alternatives are not apposite. Death releases the Tathâgata from being measured by the Five Supports. They are cut off from the root as the palm-tree is hewn down. The Tathâgata is like the great ocean, deep, unfathomable.[6]

There the canonical texts leave the departed Teacher. Devotion could not be satisfied without acts of piety and affection,

[1] *Brahmajâla Sutta*, iii. § 73, *Dialogues*, i. 54.

[2] Cp. *Dialogues*, i. 187.

[3] *Buddha, his Life, etc.* (1882), p. 275.

[4] *Majjhima Nikâya*, i. p. 427.

[5] *Saṃyutta Nikâya*, iv. p. 374; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 279.

[6] The whole paragraphs are repeated in a conversation with a Wanderer named Vaccha (*Majjhima Nikâya*, i. p. 487). Cp. Sâriputta's rebuke to Yamaka for holding the heretical view that a monk in whom sin was ended would be "cut off," the doctrine of the Annihilationists (*Saṃyutta Nikâya*, iii. p. 109; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 279, 281).

and a cultus gradually arose which at length demanded some explanation. The Tathâgata was supposed to have himself prescribed four places for reverent pilgrimage: the scene of his Birth, the sacred spot where he attained Supreme Enlightenment, the deer-park at Benares where he had preached the discourse on the Foundation of the Kingdom of Truth, and the Sāla grove where he died.[1] Memorial mounds should be reared where four roads met, and garlands and perfumes and paint laid there as gifts. After his solemn cremation the relics unconsumed were carefully gathered and distributed, and hallowed cairns preserved them for the homage of succeeding generations. Festivals of commemoration followed each other in the annual round, and art was summoned to present the leading incidents of the long series of the Buddha's previous lives. "If the Buddha accepts such gifts," argued King Milinda, "he cannot have entirely passed away, he must be still in union with the world. But if he has escaped from all existence, he is no longer there to accept these honours. and such acts are vain."[2] Nāgasena replies that the Blessed One was certainly entirely set free, and no gifts could reach him. But the treasure of his wisdom remained; had he not himself laid it down that the Truth and the Rule of Discipline should still survive, and be the Teacher of those whom he had left![3] The concentration of the believer's thought on the great aim of the Buddha's long career would thus produce a kind of communion with him through the medium of the past. Acts of commemoration had consequently a faint semblance of sacramental efficacy. But no prayer carried the confession of sin or the aspiration after holiness into the realm which was deathless, because in it there was no rebirth.[4] The fellowship which was possible with Brahmā could not unite the disciple with a leader who had not only passed beyond his ken but ceased to be. The power of the relic might, indeed, work wonders. "If we behold the relics, we behold the Conqueror," said Prince Mahinda (sent

[1] *Dialogues*, ii. 153.

[2] "Questions of Milinda," in *SBE*, xxxv. p. 144, cp. p. 246.

[3] Cp. *Dialogues*, ii. 171.

[4] The Pāli *amata*, though identical with the Sanskrit *amṛta*, is used in a quite different sense, and does not mean "immortal," *i.e.* undying.

on a mission to Ceylon by his father, the Emperor Asoka) to King Devānampiyatissa.[1] And when the sacred collar-bone relic had been fetched from India, and a vast assembly gathered to see it deposited in a mighty mound prepared for its reception, it rose in the air, assuming the Buddha's form, and wrought the mysterious "Double Miracle."[2] But this was not due to the immediate presence or will of the Tathâgata. It was the issue of a resolution made by his foresight on the couch of death, imparting this wondrous energy to a portion of the frame he was about to quit for ever. Thus was the preparation made for the first great mission beyond the bounds of India. But in that enterprise the departed Gotama had no living share.

Earnestly as Gotama sought to withdraw the doctrine of No-Self from controversial discussion, he could not avoid using language which frequently seemed to imply its contrary. It has been already pointed out that the canonical texts declared it to be as heretical to deny the possession of a Self as to affirm it. Among the later sects was one which did actually affirm it, and their teachers relied (amongst other reasons) on a discourse on the "Burden" and its "Bearer" attributed to the Buddha at Sāvatthi.[3] The Burden is the group of the Five Supports, the Bearer is the *Puggala*; to take up this burden in the world is pain, to lay it down is bliss. Who or what, then, is the *Puggala*? It is the individual or person, born in a particular family, known by a special name. Are we, with Prof. Hardy, to declare the Burden and the Bearer identical? Why, then, should they be distinguished? Language, at any rate, which is the involuntary deposit of age-long experience, protests against this equation of the active and passive, the subjective and objective. That which generates the Burden, the union of the Five Supports, is the well-known energy of *taṇhā*, "desire,"

[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, xvii. 3, tr. Geiger.

[2] The simultaneous issue of streams of water and fire from different parts of his person, as it sat in the air, with the manifestation of the Six Colours. Cp. Samanta Pāsādikā in Oldenberg's *Vinaya Piṭaka*, iii. p. 332; and for a late version, Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama* (1866), p. 207.

[3] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iii. p. 25; tr. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 161. Cp. Poussin in *JRAS* (1901), p. 308; Hardy, *ibid.*, p. 573; Poussin, *Bouddhisme* (1909), p. 83.

the craving for existence, for the gratifications of sense, and the pleasures of power and prosperity. How this remained at death among the factors of Karma, ready to produce a new being, was one of the mysteries which the Teacher never explained. But it is worth while to notice how the vocabulary of the doctrine of "fruit," which Gotama so resolutely maintained, led easily to the interpretation of the origin of a new person by the transmission of some form of consciousness. "Ānanda has committed such and such an act; who but he," inquired the Buddha, "will eat its fruit?"[1]

The higher insight, of course, enabled him to tell the conditions of rebirth for those who quitted this world, just as it also enabled him to retrace their previous lives.[2] The passage from one condition to another might be regarded as a "fall," or a "rise." The term "fall" (*cuti*) implied first of all a descent from a higher condition to a lower, but it came to be employed (with its associated verb *cavati*) more generally for the transit from one world to another.[3] A similar process was expressed by another verb, *okkamati*, to "descend." These words doubtless belonged to the current usage in the sphere of transmigration, and enter Indian literature in its existing deposits for the first time in the early Buddhist texts. They were originally coined to express the ancient notion of a Self which, as in the elder speculations of the forest-sages, travelled by different paths to the realms of the Fathers or the Gods and back again to earth. In the Buddhist theory of man's constitution what was there to "descend"? It is with surprise that we read in the discourse which traces the origin of a human being,[4] "If consciousness did not descend into the mother's womb, would name and form [a new person] consolidate therein?"[5] The descending element is *viññāṇa*, the last and highest of the Five Supports. Prof. Rhys Davids prefers the rendering

[1] Cp. Poussin, *The Way to Nirvāṇa* (1917), p. 133 f

[2] Thus, *Dialogues*, i. 91, ii. 98, "The brother named Sāḷha has died at Nādika, where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny?" Note the formula at the end of a Jātaka tale, *passim*, where the Buddha "makes the connexion" and identifies the characters, winding up with himself.

[3] *Dhammapada*, 419.

[4] *Mahā-Nidāna-Suttanta*, § 21, *Dialogues*, ii. 60.

[5] Cp. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p 207.

"cognition." But an important passage in the *Path of Purity*, by the great commentator Buddhaghosa, shows that he understood by it much more than the activity of knowledge.[1] As death approaches consciousness continues to exist by the force of previous Karma; it includes desire, and is blinded by ignorance; desire inclines it towards new objects, and Karma impels it towards them. Under the figure of a man who swings himself from one side of a ditch to another, by means of a rope hanging from a tree on the hither bank, consciousness apparently crosses the stream of death for a new resting-place, with the help of Karma. It is quite true that Buddhaghosa declares that this latter consciousness did not come into existence from the older one.[2] But in that case the whole point of his parallel is lost.

The compilers of the Discourses, having thus unexpectedly admitted the conception of "descent," ascribed to the Buddha a four-fold exposition of its mode. Among the various "superiorities" which upheld the disciple's faith was his laborious analysis of its quadruple form, according as the entry into the womb, the residence there, and the departure from it, were or were not accomplished with complete self-possession. In the fourth case the entrant passed through all three stages with every mental faculty alert.[3] This was the condition of the future Buddha, when he "descended" from the Tusita heaven

[1] Warren, *ibid.*, 239. Cp. Buddhaghosa on "Consciousness," quoted by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 87.

[2] Cp. Warren, *ibid.* p. 250: "Not a single element of being passes over from a previous existence into the present existence, nor hence into the next existence." Dahlke, *Buddhism and Science* (1913), p. 63, identifies Consciousness with Karma, and argues that the passing over ensues on the instant, immediately, not in space or time (p. 65). Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt* (1908), p. 39, recognises that the passage involves the doctrine that the *viññāṇa* enters the mother's womb from the outside. Cp. Oldenberg, *Buddha*[3] (1897), pp. 259–261. In *Mahāvagga*, vi. 31, 9, Vinaya Texts, in *SBE*, xvii. 114, Gotama applies the term *apagabbha*, "irresolute," in punning fashion to denote one who is not liable to be reborn in a *gabbha* (womb): "He who has freed himself from the necessity of returning in future into a mother's womb." Contrast the refutation of this view held by Sāti, a fisherman's son who had joined the Order (*Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 256 ff.).

[3] "Sato sampajāno," *Sampasādanīya Suttanta*, § 5, *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. p. 103; *Saṅgīti Suttanta*, *ibid.*, p. 231.

to be born in the womb of the wife of the Sakyan prince Suddhodana. It had been the condition of each of the preceding Buddhas, and was generalised in a discourse descriptive of the marvels of a Buddha's birth.[1] What, then, was a Buddha, and why should this special privilege be his?

IV

Readers of the early texts are constantly bewildered by the difficulty of combining contradictory impressions. On the one hand is a vast mass of moral experience, carefully analysed, classified, organised, on the basis of a special view of human life, its scene, its trials and dangers, and its powers. When all allowance is made for elements that were common to the ethical culture of the time, and for the scholastic activity of the Elders in reducing traditional material into elaborate technical schemes, *it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the movement* described in the Canonical Scriptures, the foundation of the Order and the main outlines of the Teaching, were the issue of a single mind of no ordinary force and elevation. The evidence for the existence of the Piṭakas substantially in their present form[2] in the days of Asoka, 250 B.C., and the results of recent archæological investigation in the discovery of what may be safely regarded as actual personal relics, suffice to justify the belief in the historical character of the Sākyan Sage.[3]

But this remarkable personality is enveloped in a haze of pretensions which strike the Western mind as preposterous and grotesque. Not only are the most exalted powers ascribed to him, but he is himself represented as claiming them. Indian imagination had dwelt for centuries in a world of strange anomalies, conflicts, defeats, and victories, where ascetic practice

[1] Mahâpadāna Suttanta, *Dialogues*, ii. 8. *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii. p. 119, "Sato sampajāno Bodisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātu kucchiṃ okkami"; cp. *Dialogues*, ii. 116. A slightly different formula occurs in the Nidānakathā, *Jātaka*, i. 50, ". . . cavitvā Mahā-Māyāya deviyā kucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi."

[2] See the Preface by Prof. Rhys Davids to *Dialogues*, i.

[3] Prof Berriedale Keith, in the *Mythology of All Races*, vi. 187 ff., seems needlessly sceptical; and his attempt to dismiss the historical Bodhi tree at Gayā as a mythical "tree of life," cannot be pronounced successful. Cp. Winternitz, *Gesch. der Ind. Lit.* ii. (1), 1913, p. 12.

could secure mysterious control over the forces of nature, and violences of austerity could raise a successful devotee above the gods. The ancient sages had been able to ride through the air, and magic skill added further wonders to their successors. The possessor of the proper *iddhi* could multiply his own appearances, become invisible, pass through a wall or a mountain, walk on the water, touch the sun or moon, and ascend through the realms of the gods to the heaven of Brahmā.[1] In such a world a Teacher who was believed to have discovered the secret of existence might easily be regarded as superior to gods as well as men. "He who had attained the Truth" (*Tathâgata*), who was "Perfectly Awakened," must not only abound in wisdom and goodness, he must possess the knowledge of the whole universe, and be a guide to all beings, divine and human, who were involved in the round of the *saṃsāra*.[2] This amazing claim is not only raised on his behalf, it is placed on his own lips at the very outset of his public career. When the Five Mendicants in the deer-park at Benares salute him familiarly as "Friend," he rejects it as unsuited to his dignity, for "the Tathâgata is the holy Perfectly Awakened."[3] The whole terminology of this character appears to be familiar; it needs no explanation; when the report of his appearance goes forth the only question is—not what does it mean?—but can the ascetic Gotama justify the pretension?

Whatever were the contents of the title in the minds of his disciples, its use does not appear to have been unique. Among the groups who gathered round rival leaders were the followers of an older contemporary, Mahāvīra, the head of the community of the Jains.[4] He, too, had instituted a special discipline with the same object, release from the *saṃsāra*. But his psychological theory was totally different. Like the teachers of the

[1] Kevaddha Suttanta, *Dialogues*, i. 277. These powers are "non-noble" compared with the "noble" powers taught by the Buddha, *Sampasādanīya Suttanta*, § 18, *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. p. 112.

[2] Cp. the frequently recurring formula, *Dialogues*, i. 67.

[3] Vinaya Texts, in *SBE*, xiii. 92.

[4] The name is derived from his title of Jina or "Conqueror." As belonging to the Nāta clan he is sometimes called in Buddhist texts Nātaputta (Nāta-son), just as Gotama is designated Sakya-putta (Sakya-son); cp. *Dialogues*, i. 74.

Sāṅkhyan school,[1] he held the doctrine of a fixed number of eternal souls for ever passing through the round of births until some seer arose to show them the way out. This was the work of Mahāvīra (the "Great Hero"), this was what made him "Victor" (*Jina*) over ignorance and sin and death. He, too, was a Saint (*Arahat*), Awakened (*Buddha*), Blessed (*Bhagavat*); he, too, was Happy (*Sugata*), and Omniscient (*Sabbaññu*), for he, too, had reached the Truth (*Tathàgata*).[2] In like manner the Sakya-son could also bear the titles "Conqueror" and "Great Hero." The Jains no less than the Buddhists regarded their leader as one of an immense succession; but they never reached the conception that these innumerable Heroes (they knew the names, like the Buddhists, of the last twenty-four) were the manifestations of an ultimate Unity. They might pay some kind of homage to the Tīrtha-karas (the "ford-makers" across the stream of existence) of old time. By the first centuries of our era there were temples and images, with a ritual to match.[3] How far the Canonical Texts supported any kind of cultus we do not yet know.[4] But among the eternal souls none rose into single eminence above the others.[5] The Jains decisively repudiated the ancient forms of Theism. The list of false views includes the opposite types of Materialists, Buddhists, and Vedântists, believers in the creation and administration of the world by *Svayambhū* (the "Self-Existent" or Absolute), Brahmā or *Īçvara* ("Lord");[6] and there are special arguments against the inference that the production of the world demanded an

[1] Cp. Lect. IV., p. 204.

[2] Cp. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, in *SBE*, xxii., introd. p. xix.

[3] The ceremonial of the present day is of the type common in Hindu worship, including washing and redecoration of the idols. Hymns are sung in their praise, violations of ascetic duty are confessed, prayers are offered for forgiveness, and vows of steadfastness are renewed. Cp. Mrs Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism* (1915), p. 255 ff.

[4] The whole question of the relations of Buddhism and Jainism is involved in the difficulty of determining the stages of their rivalry or interaction on a definite historical basis. The reduction of the Jain books into their present literary form is probably later than that of the Pāli Piṭakas.

[5] Compare the elevation of the Purusha in the Yoga school above the plurality of the Sāṅkhyan souls, Lect. IV., p. 214.

[6] Sūtra-kritânga, *Jaina Sūtras*, in *SBE*, xlv. 244.

intelligent cause.[1] But at the same time the desire to seek a support for the sustained moral effort which the attainment of *moksha* demands is plainly at work. The *Jina*, who is absolutely free from all passions and delusions, who has gained the supreme insight and has reached perfection, has passed out of the world of change and dwells at the summit of the universe. Devoid of all emotion, he resembles the gods of Epicurus in his indifference to the events and persons of the world below. As such he is superior to the *devas* who can still concern themselves with the affairs of men, and he may consequently be designated *paramadevatā*, "the highest Deity." The believer who placed himself in thought before him, meditating on his exaltation and aspiring after his holiness, was invigorated and purified; there was, indeed, no communion of spirit with spirit, no strength flowed in from on high to sustain the shrinking flesh; but the act of concentration was itself a significant moral exercise. When Mahāvīra descended from heaven to become incarnate in the womb of the lady Devânandā, the great god Çakra performed a solemn act of "Reverence to the Arhats and Bhagavats, the perfectly enlightened ones, to the highest of men, the guides, benefactors, and enlighteners of the world, the saved and the saviours.[2] . . . I here adore the Revered One yonder." The religious tendency is plain. Jainism is a case of arrested development.

In Buddhism, on the other hand, this movement will attain much fuller expression. Both disciplines make their way amid the same environment of thought and practice. Both are confronted with the older metaphysic of Brahmanism, with the Vishnu-Krishna cult, with the devotion of the Bhāgavatas.[3] The presuppositions of Buddhism, with its rejection of any permanent subject, might seem in some respects less favourable to the advance towards any form of Theism than those of its rival. Both the Jina and the Buddha are represented as only

[1] But later developments admitted a *Jina-pati*, a Supreme Creator; see Inscriptions of the Dekhan, *Indian Antiquary*, VII. 106, l. 51, "the maker of the first creation."

[2] See the long string of epithets in "Lives of the Jinas," *Jaina Sūtras*, in *SBE*, xxii. 224.

[3] Cp. below, Lect. III., p. 244 f.

the last of a long series of twenty-four predecessors all known by name, with an endless unnamed succession stretching back through all the ages of unbeginning time. These Jinas were all separate and independent: they all possessed eternal souls; they could not be amalgamated as manifestations of an ulterior unity, because they all coexisted together for ever and ever, and there was no superior conception which could embrace them in a real identity. What was there, then, in Buddhist doctrine which rendered this possible? How was it that in spite of its nihilistic psychology Buddhism culminated in a doctrine of *Īçvara* (God), who from time to time appeared among men, like Vishnu-Krishna, to teach and save?

The causes were no doubt complex. Prominent among them was the greater intensity of moral passion which marks the Buddhist literature compared with the Jain. True, the legend of Mahāvīra relates that the orders of the gods reached him with the command, "*Arhat! propagate the religion which is a* blessing to all creatures in the world."[1] Gotama, however, is filled with an intense compassion for the world's suffering, its ignorance, and sin. He sends out his disciples to teach, as he himself teaches, in the oft-repeated formula, "for the good, the gain, and the welfare of gods and men."[2] This ethical energy is expressed in the story of the Temptation and the great conflict with Māra, to which the biography of Mahāvīra presents no counterpart.[3] And it pervades the ideal history of Gotama's previous lives, which is traced back through the long practice of the Ten Perfections to the great moment when, as the hermit Sumedha under the Buddha Dīpankara, he made the solemn act of renunciation, and instead of immediately attaining his own deliverance and crossing the ocean of *saṃsāra* by himself, resolved to become a Buddha and guide men and *devas* to the

[1] *SBE*, xxii. 195.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, i. 11, 1, in *SBE*, xiii. 112.

[3] Cp. *Mahāvagga*, i. 1, 7; 11, 2, in *SBE*, xiii. 78, 113. Later legend elaborated the early hints in the Padhāna Sutta, *Sutta Nipāta*, in *SBE*, x. (ii.) 69, and the monograph of Windisch, *Māra and Buddha* (1895). See the Nidāna Kathā, tr. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, i. (1880), 96 ff. Prof. Berriedale Keith, *Mythology of All Nations*, vi. 197, dismisses the moral significance of the conception in favour of "the obvious conclusion that the conflict with Māra represents a nature-myth"!

other side of the mighty flood.[1] This resolve not to enter final peace alone, but to devote himself to the world's liberation, enables him to sustain innumerable trials, and with a strength that never falters to pace unweariedly the round of births which leads him at last to the secret of all existence. The immense force which generated this idea of an age-long pilgrimage through successive births, bearing the burden of perpetual pain for the release of all conscious existence, must have proceeded ultimately from Gotama himself. The imaginative forms in which it was expressed were no doubt at hand in many an ancient tale. But their embodiment into the scheme of the Buddhahood was due to the same enthusiasm which demanded that love should pervade all quarters of the world, sent forth the disciples to carry their Master's teaching through the length and breadth of India, and afterwards generated the splendid foreign missions which the Jains do not seem ever to have attempted. The call to labour "for the welfare of gods and men" plays a constant part in the evolution of Buddhist doctrine.

But the moral demand implicit in the disciple's vow would not of itself have generated the new conception of the Buddha's person. It could not have overcome the consequences of the psychology of No-Self without the aid of a metaphysic. Gotama might refuse to reply to the inquiry whether the Tathâgata would or would not exist after death. He might veil the future in mystery, and hint that it lay beyond the categories of the phenomenal world. "There is an unborn, an unoriginated, an unmade, an uncompounded; were there not, O mendicants, there would be no escape from the world of the born, the originated, the made, the compounded."[2] How are such words to be interpreted? Are they merely negative, a declaration of release from an existence of ceaseless change into a void where there is no birth or death, composition or dissolution? Or do they point to a dim ontological background where there was something that endured beneath the ever-shifting appearances of the visible scene, and remained stable amid all vicissitudes of

[1] Cp. *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, i. 13. Dīpaṅkara is entitled *Jina* and *lokanāyaka*, "lord (leader) of the world." *Buddhavaṃsa*, PTS, vv. 35, 41.

[2] *Udāna*, viii. 3, PTS, p. 80.

growth and decay? That primitive Buddhism understood them in the first sense seems clear. That subsequent generations might put new meanings into them was quite possible, if any imaginative objects rose into view above the sphere of phenomenal causation.

At a very early date, probably in the lifetime of Gotama himself, the disciple who entered the Order declared his faith in "the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha." The "Dhamma" was a comprehensive term for the Teaching, embracing all the facts and conditions of existence and of escape from it, summed up in the Four Noble Truths. To realise these Truths, to see them with the inward vision of the alert mind and the pure heart, was to possess the "Eye of the Truth."[1] Under the powerful impulse of the Buddha's personality this insight is said again and again to arise in the hearer's mind. The Buddha himself was designated *chakkhumā*, "possessed of the Eye"; and as the hour of death approaches on the last night, the *devas* who gather unseen above him weep and lament, "Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear." Among his parting counsels to his followers the dying leader warns them against supposing that they no longer had a Teacher; the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*, the Truth and the Rule, which he had set forth, should be their Teacher after he had gone.[2] They called themselves "Sons of the Blessed One," they were "*Dhamma*-born, *Dhamma*-formed, *Dhamma*-heirs,"[3] just as the Brāhmans were "Sons of Brahmā," "Brahma-born, Brahma-formed, Brahma-heirs." For the Tathâgata might be designated "Dhamma-body Brahma-body, Dhamma-being Brahma-being."[4] The *Dhamma*, then, formed a kind of body for the departed Teacher, through which piety could still realise an inward fellowship with him.[5]

Here was a new order of unseen reality. The *Dhamma* had a being of its own, independent of any particular Buddha. Each member of the long succession in the past had taught

[1] The *Dhamma-Chakkhu*, cp. *ante*, p. 21.

[2] *Dialogues*, ii. 171.

[3] Aggañña Suttanta, in *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. p. 84.

[4] *Brahma* is apparently used here in the sense of excellence or perfection, cp. *dhamma-chakka* and *brahma-chakka*.

[5] Cp. the *dharma-kāya* of Vishṇu, *Vishṇu-Smriti* (in *SBE*, vii.), i. 54.

the same *Dhamma*; each of those yet to come would do so likewise. So the "Reed-Picker" Sarabhanga sang—

> "The self-same Path by which Vipassī went,
> The Path of Sikhi and of Vessabhu,
> Of Kakusandha, Konāgamana,
> And Kassapa, e'en by that very Road
> Lo! now to us there cometh Gotama.
> And all these seven Buddhas,—they for whom
> Craving was dead, and nought was grasped, and who
> Stood planted on Abolishing of Ill,
> They taught this Norm (*dhamma*), ay, even such as they,
> Who were themselves the body of the Norm."[1]

The *Dhamma*, therefore, which was seen by one after another in the successive ages of an endless world-process, belonged in some way to the realm of the Unborn, the Uncompounded. In one of the latest books of the Pāli canon, said to have been first published at Asoka's great Council at Patna about 246 B.C., entitled the *Kathā-Vatthu*,[2] there is a discussion whether certain terms do not belong to unconditioned realities. Among them are Space, Nirvāna, and the Four Truths.[3] They are all described as *asaṃkhata*, "uncompounded." They are uncaused; they do not belong to the realm of time and change; they are not involved in the phenomenal order; the Four Truths are not occasional, fetched out of the vicissitudes of experience, they are permanent; like Plato's εἰδῆ, they are eternal. Just so the ancient Rishis were said to have seen the hymns of the Rig Veda in the sphere of the Deathless and the Infinite; and the belief arose in their transcendental existence in the eternal world, while elaborate explanations were devised to account for their inclusion (for example) of the names of a country, a city, or a king.[4] The Four Truths, then, had an independent being of their own, and the *Dhamma* thus constituted a mystical body for the Buddha when his actual person had disappeared. In

[1] *Dhammabhūtā*, as though the *Dhamma* were successively incarnated in them. See Mrs Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, ii., *The Brethren* (1913), p. 236.

[2] Translated by She Zan Aung and Mrs Rhys Davids, under the title *Points of Controversy*, or *Subjects of Discourse* (1915). Cp. below, p. 56.

[3] Book vi., 1–6, pp. 185–192.

[4] Cp. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, iii. (2nd ed. 1868), 79.

the "Questions of Milinda" Nāgasena lays it down that when his material form (*rūpa-kāya*) had been dissolved, his *Dhamma*-body remained.[1] Here was the beginning of a spiritual continuity. The Buddha lived in his Truth. But that had been the same for all the Buddhas, and bound them into a mysterious unity. If all the Dhammas were really one and the same Dhamma, might not all the Buddhas be one and the same Buddha?

Of such a conclusion there is, of course, no hint in the Pāli texts. But there is a conception allied with the Buddha's person which contained large possibilities of development. It was apparently a current expectation among the Brāhmans that an exalted being named Mahā-Purusha[2] would appear, and in conformity with ancient prophecies (*mantras*) he would assume one of two characters: he would become a Universal Monarch ruling in righteousness, or a Blessed Buddha. Thus on the news that Gotama is reported to be a Buddha, the Brāhman Pokkharasādi directs his pupil Ambattha to go and see if the reputation noised abroad regarding him is correct. Ambattha inquires how he is to know, and his teacher replies:—[3]

"There have been handed down in our mystic verses (*mantras*) thirty-two bodily signs of Mahā-Purusha—signs which, if a man has, he will become one of two things, and no other. If he dwells at home he will become sovran of the world, a righteous king, bearing rule even to the shores of the four great oceans . . . without the need of baton or sword. But if he goes forth from the household life into the houseless state, then he will become a Buddha who removes the veil from the eyes of the world."[4]

The knowledge of the *mantras* is represented as part of the sacred lore of a Brāhman, in which Ambattha has been duly instructed;[5] he is aware of the marks which will prove the claim

[1] *Milinda-Pañha*, p. 73, *SBE*, xxxv. 114.

[2] So the Sanskrit; Pāli *Mahā-Purisa*, literally "Great Man."

[3] *Dialogues*, i. 110.

[4] Cp. Sela Sutta, in *Sutta Nipāta*, *SBE*, x. (ii.) 100; *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii. 134.

[5] Cp. *Dialogues*, i. 146, 153; *Majjhima N.*, ii. 165, 167; *Aṅguttara N.*, i. 163, 166; Nālaka Sutta, in *Sutta Nipāta*, ver. 690, *SBE*, x. (ii.) 126. Cp. four conditions entitling *Mahā-Purisa* to be described as of supreme intelligence, *Aṅguttara N.*, ii. 35.

of Gotama to the Buddhahood, and after being very rude to him he is duly convinced that the wandering Samana possesses them. What the *mantras* descriptive of these signs actually were no one can tell. The science of the marks was contained, we are informed by Buddhaghosa,[1] in 12,000 treatises, and the *mantras* extended through 16,000 verses. This part of Buddhist doctrine had been irrecoverably lost. There is a rough parallel with the Jewish Messianic expectation which had already bifurcated before our era into the regal and the teaching or prophetic types. The foundations of Israel's hopes lie open in the Old Testament, but the sources of the Brahmanical verses are hidden in inaccessible obscurity.

The figure of Mahā-Purusha, however, is not equally obscure. Far, far back out of the recesses of the Vedic cultus he emerges as the symbol of creation by sacrifice.[2] A vast cosmic Man, human in person but divine in nature, submits to be offered up by the gods. To whom the oblation was made, what deities were engaged in the rite, where the altar was built, how long the ceremony lasted, we are not told. It was apparently connected with the three seasons of the year which in later speculation became the unit of time, for the spring was its ghee, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its accompanying offering. The poet's attention is concentrated on the victim and the issue of the solemn mystery. The Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, expressive of omniscience and omnipresence. He envelops the earth and transcends it; he is identical with the whole universe; he is the sum of all existence; he includes all that is and all that shall be. From this exalted Person spring all the objects and beings of the world. It is a strange haphazard catalogue. First came curds and butter, the adjuncts of the sacrifice itself; then animals, both wild and tame. The verses of the Rig Veda followed, with their metres and sacrificial formulæ. Horses came next, and all animals with two rows of teeth. From the divine mouth sprang the Brāhmans, from the feet the Çūdras; and last of all appeared the visible scene, moon and sun, Indrâ and Agni, air, sky, earth. Here is the first expression of the idea that creation is the self-

[1] *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, i. 248.

[2] See the famous Purusha-Sūkta, *Rig Veda*, x. 90.

limitation of a transcendent Person, who manifests himself in the realm of our experience, and thereby surrenders other modes of action, pledging himself to one fixed order for his creatures' good.[1]

Purusha thus becomes one of the names of the ultimate Reality which early Indian philosophy discerned within the sphere of incessant change. He was the lord of the Deathless, and in that character was practically equated on the speculative side with the ground of all existence, the universal Spirit or Self, the *Âtman* or Supreme Spirit (*Paramâtman*), the Brahman. Here is the repeated theme of the dialogues of the forest thinkers, summed up in the famous doctrine of Çândilya.[2] Purusha is the essence of all human consciousness; only through him can we think and feel and be ourselves. He dwells in the heart, smaller than the small,[3] yet he transcends all and is greater than the great. Like the Pythagorean or Platonic Monad, he is a point without parts or dimensions, and withal he is boundless as space. He is *mano-maya*, "made of mind," and thus grasps without hands, runs without feet, sees without eyes, hears without ears, the infinite Knower, yet is known of none.[4] He is the goal, and also the highest way.[5] But the first object with which he is identified is the sun, and metaphysic passes over into mythology; he is "the golden" who knows all things. He shines beyond the darkness, and like the sun he fills the world.[6] He has golden hair and a golden beard; he is golden to the tips of his nails.[7] Among the mysterious and elusive figures which enter the early literature is Nârâyana,[8] who is already identified with Purusha in the "Brâhmana of a Hundred Paths,"[9] and by sacrifice is said to have become the

[1] Cp. *Atharva Veda*, xix. 6; x. 2.

[2] Cp. *Çatap. Brâhmana*, x. 6, 3, in *SBE*, xliii. 400, and *Chhândog. Upanishad*, iii. 14, *SBE*, i. 48.

[3] Sometimes in the shape of a thumb.

[4] Cp. *Brihad. Up.*, ii. 1, 1–20, and 3, 6; with the parallel in *Kaushîtaki Up.*, iv. 3 ff., *SBE*, xv. 100, and i. 302. *Çvet. Up.*, *ibid.*, xv. p. 248.

[5] *Katha Up.*, iii. 11, iv. 13, vi. 8: *SBE*, xv. 13, 16, 22.

[6] *Çvet. Up.*, iii. 8: *SBE*, xv. 245.

[7] *Chhândog. Up.*, i. 6, 6: *SBE*, i, 13.

[8] Cp. Lect. V., p. 265.

[9] Cp. xii. 3, 4, 1, and xiii. 6, 1, 1: *SBE*, xliv. 172, 403.

universe. Nārâyana is the central Deity of a strange episode in the twelfth book of the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*,[1] where he is identified with Mahā-Purusha. He is golden in colour, with a thousand eyes, a thousand arms, a hundred heads, a hundred feet.[2] His praises are sung in a long list of two hundred names, where he is equated with Brahman,[3] as he is elsewhere with Vishnu.[4] When Nārada returns from the distant White Island beyond Mount Mēru to the hermitage of Badari, he finds Nārâyana with a peculiar double, named Nara, in the form of two Rishis or sages, performing devout austerities. They are more brilliant than the sun, and they are endowed with the sacred marks of Mahā-Purusha. Upon the soles of their feet, for instance, are the circles or wheels which are the emblem of the solar disc; their fingers and toes are united by a delicate membrane; they have sixty teeth.[5]

Now the marks of Mahā-Purusha upon the person of the Buddha are described in a special discourse, with elaborate explanations of the moral characteristics in his previous lives to which they were due.[6] The soles of his feet bear the sacred wheels with a thousand rays, because he had laboured for the welfare of the world, dispelling anxiety, terror, and fear, and providing righteous protection, defence, and guard.[7] His hands and feet displayed the network between fingers and toes, because he had gathered people together by gifts and gentle words, by the practice of good, and by indifference to pain or pleasure.[8] He was golden-hued because he had been free from anger, hate, or discontent, and had given away soft coverlets and garments of linen, cotton, silk, or wool.[9] Inasmuch as he

[1] Cp. Lect. V., p. 264 ff. [2] xii., cantos 339, 340. [3] xii. 339.

[4] xii. 340, 100. Çiva is not here mentioned. But Rudra (Çiva) is described as Purusha in a verse from *R.V.*, x. 90, in the *Çvet. Up.*, iii. 14, *SBE*, xv. 247. Cp. Lect. V., p. 230. As Uttama Purusha or Purushottama the identification with Vishṇu becomes especially frequent in later literature, *e.g. Bhagavad-Gītā*, viii. 22 (Vishnu-Krishṇa); cp. the passage from the Vana Parvan, *Mahābh.*, iii. 12, 11 ff., quoted by Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, iv. 251 (Krishṇa); *Vishṇu-Smriti*, i. 51, 58 (Nārâyaṇa-Vishṇu), *SBE* vii. 9, 11; *Rāmâyana*, vi. 102.

[5] *Mahābh.*, xii., canto 344.

[6] Lakkhaṇa Suttanta, in *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 142.

[7] i. 7. [8] i. 16. [9] i. 28.

had abstained from slander, had not caused discord by repeating gossip, but delighted in bringing the divided together and encouraging the united, he had forty teeth.[1] It is needless to pursue the parallel. The story of the wondrous Signs goes sounding on, and in the *Lalita Vistara* the Buddha is formally assimilated with Nārâyana; he is endowed with his might; like him he is invincible; he has the very being of Nārâyana's Self.[2]

What process of thought led to the precise form of expectation described in the Buddhist texts it is no longer possible to determine. There are earlier traces of the mysterious production of Purushas, five or seven in number, by creative energy. But no figures corresponding to the Universal Monarch ruling in righteousness, or to the All-Wise Teacher of gods and men, appear in antecedent literature.[3] This dual type first comes clearly into view in connection with Gotama; and his identification as Buddha with this exalted personality was so close that the earliest symbolic representations of him as an object of devout homage took the form of so-called "footprints," where the wheels were traced upon the soles of his feet.[4] Here then was a possible starting-point for the development of a new doctrine of the Buddha's transcendent personality. If later generations of disciples should feel themselves impelled to seek for a permanent object of faith and worship, the mysterious figure of Mahā-Purusha, capable of interpretation in so many different ways, provided a form of thought by which the Buddhas could be unified and grow into the likeness of God.

[1] ii. 19.

[2] *Nārâyaṇâtmabhāva*, quoted by Sénart, *La Légende du Buddha* (1875), p. 148.

[3] The late *Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa-Upanishad* enumerates sixteen *chakravartin* sovereigns. For the Buddhist ideal, see the *Mahā-Sudassana-Suttanta* in *Dialogues*, ii. 199.

[4] Cp. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (1879), p. 112. Statues and images were of later development under Greek influence; Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra* (1905–1914), and *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, tr. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas (1917), "The Greek Origin of the Image of Buddha," p. 111. The *pāda* continued to be employed along with complete figures, cp. Burgess, *Notes on the Amarāvati Stūpa* (1882), p. 40, Nos. 201 and 204. The *Mahā-Purusha* conception does not seem to have affected speculation concerning the founder of the Jains.