do we find even in Christian books of the early centuries concerning the views of opponents? Even the Buddhist writings do not tell us much. But we have a detailed list in the first Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* of sixty-two different theories of existence; and in the second Suttanta of the same collection, the views of six leading opponents are discussed at length. I shall return to these passages later on. It is sufficient for the present argument to point out that they confirm in every particular the picture we find in the Brāhmanas and in the old Upanishads, and that one at least of the sixty-two views thus condemned seems to be the forecast of the Sānkhya. The passage is as follows—it is the Buddha himself who is represented as speaking:

"And in the fourth place, brethren, on what grounds and for what reason do the recluses and Brahmans who are believers in the eternity of existence declare that both the soul and the world are eternal?

"In this case, brethren, some recluse or Brahman is addicted to logic and reasoning. He gives utterance to the following conclusion of his own reached by his argumentations, and based on his sophistry.* 'Eternal is the soul, eternal is the world. They give birth to nothing; but are themselves unshaken as a

* For instances of this sophistry see the commentary.

mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed. And though these living beings pass along, transmigrate, fall out of one state of existence and are born in another, yet they *are* for ever and ever.' " *

Now this last is precisely the point in the soul theory on which the latter Sānkhya teaching differs from the Vedānta. According to the latter it is only God who is everlasting, the world is a phantom as it were, a dream, a delusion, and has its only real existence in God. And the souls themselves have no independent existence. They are God itself. But the Sānkhya on the other hand holds that there is no God, that the primordial Prakriti (or stuff out of which the world is formed) is eternal, and that the souls have a separate existence of their own, and continue to exist for ever in infinite numbers.

It will be noticed on the other hand that in the Buddhist description of this particular heresy the technical expression employed in the Sānkhya books for the primordial stuff is not used. It is here " the world " which the heretics are said to consider eternal, and that is not the view entertained by the Sānkhya. And if we should hold that the vague

* The Pali text will be found at vol. i, p. 16 of the *Dīgha Nikāya* edited by myself and Mr J Estlin Carpenter, for the Pali Text Society in 1890 Buddhaghosa's commentary on the passage has also been published by us in the *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, vol. i., pp. 105–107. (Pali Text Society, 1886.)

expression "world" may be taken here in the special sense of the "original matter" of the Sānkhya books, then we only come to another contradiction. According to the Sānkhya it is precisely out of the "original matter" and the individual souls that the visible world and living beings are produced. The heretics described in our passage hold that the soul and the world are barren, give birth to nothing. I am at a loss therefore to understand how this passage can be considered as good evidence that the Sānkhya system existed as a whole, just as we find it in books many centuries later, at the time when the passage was composed,—much less at the time of its legendary author, Kapila

It is unfortunately impossible here to go into the details either of the Sānkhya explanation of *how* the world and living beings arose out of the original Prakṛiti (or matter) and the individual souls, or into the details of its psychological analysis. They also present very instructive analogies with the dualistic theories in Greece—analogies which will be considered of greater importance as the Indian side of the picture becomes better known. It is sufficient to point out there is nothing at all in any of the details peculiar to the Sānkhya which has been borrowed by Gotama, or is even to be found at all in any of the oldest Buddhist writings.

We have no body of writings other than those mentioned, to throw light on the religious speculations of India before Buddhism. But as regards the soul and salvation we have the very interesting list of the heresies on those points condemned by the early Buddhists, from which an extract has already been read. With your permission I will read this list. It does not follow, of course, that each one of the opinions quoted in it represents the teaching of a separate and distinct school. But the whole of it is full of suggestion as to the kind of discussions which were going on when Buddhism arose.

The extract occurs in a work of more importance than any other on Buddhism—the collection of the dialogues, mostly of Gotama himself, brought together in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*. This work contains the views of the Buddha set out, as they appeared to his earliest disciples, in a series of 186 conversational discourses which will some day come to hold a place, in the history of human thought, akin to that held by the Dialogues of Plato. The first of these 186 Dialogues is called the Brahma Jāla, that is the Perfect Net—the net whose meshes are so fine that no folly of superstition, however subtle, can slip through. In it are set out sixty-two varieties of existing hypotheses; and after each of them has been rejected, the doctrine of Arahatship is put forward as the right solution.

These sixty-two heresies are as follows:

1–4 *Sassatā-Vādā.* People who, either from meditation of three degrees, or fourthly through logic and reasoning,* have come to believe that both the external world as a whole, and individual souls are eternal.

5–8 *Ekacca-Sassatikā.* People who, in four ways hold that some souls are eternal, and some are not.

a. Those who hold that God is eternal, but not the individual souls.

b. Those who hold that all the gods are eternal, but not the individual souls.

c. Those who hold that certain illustrious gods are eternal, but not the individual souls.

d. Those who hold that, while the bodily forms are not eternal, there is a subtle something, called Heart or Mind, or Consciousness, which is.

9–12 *Antānantikā.* People who chop logic about finity and infinity.

a. Those who hold the world to be finite.

b. Those who hold it to be infinite.

c. Those who hold it to be both.

d. Those who hold it to be neither.

* This fourth case is the one quoted in full above.

13–16 *Amara-Vikkhepikā.* People who equivocate about virtue and vice.

a. From fear lest, if they express a decided opinion, grief (at possible mistake) will hurt them.

b. From fear lest they may form attachments which will injure them.

c From fear lest they may be unable to answer skilful disputants.

d. From dulness or stupidity.

17–18 *Adhicca-Samuppannikā.* People who think that the origin of things can be explained without a cause.

19–50 *Uddhama-Aghatanikā.* People who believe in the future existence of human souls.

a. Sixteen phases of the hypothesis of a conscious existence after death.

b Eight phases of the hypothesis of an unconscious existence after death.

c. Eight phases of the hypothesis of an existence between consciousness and unconsciousness after death.

51–57 *Uccheda-Vādā.* People who teach the doctrine that there is a soul, but that it will cease to exist

a. On the death of the body here.

b. At the end of the next life.

c.-g. At the end of subsequent lives.

58–62 *Dittha-Dhamma-Nibbāna-Vādā.* People who hold that there is a soul, and that it can attain to perfect bliss in the present world, or wherever it happens to be

a. By a full, complete, and perfect enjoyment of the five senses.

b. By an enquiring mental abstraction (the first Jhāna).

c. By undisturbed mental bliss, untarnished by enquiry (the second Jhāna).

d. By mental calm, free alike from joy and pain and enquiry (the third Jhāna),

e. By that mental peace plus a sense of purity (the fourth Jhāna).

The list is a formidable one, and it only trenches on certain selected points out of those that we know were the subjects of philosophical discussion in the India of that day It must not be forgotten that we are dealing with an extent of country vastly greater than the region which was the seat, at a somewhat later period, of the beginning of Western philosophy. It is not only the numerous schools of the Brahmins in Middle India that we have to consider. We also must take into consideration the schools in the countries to the west of them (which the Aryans had left before the caste system had been

established, and the Brahmin ritual had been developed), and the schools in the countries to the east of them where the Aryans, and no doubt Brahmins with them, had indeed penetrated, (which had been, so to speak, Aryanised,) but where the full power and influence of the Brahmins had not become so overwhelmingly predominant. It is precisely in these two regions, separated one from the other by a thousand miles of fertile and civilised plains, that we should expect to find the most unfettered thought, the widest dissension from the orthodox Vedāntist view, the most original and daring speculation. And it is not without significance that it is precisely there that in after years the two great universities of India were established—the one Takka Silā, in the extreme north-west, and the other, Nālanda, in Rajgir, in the extreme south-east.

I do not think, therefore, that the list I have read to you is at all exaggerated. The records of the thinkers referred to have all been lost. But this should raise no difficulty in our minds. Books were not written in India in those days. Even the wonderful powers of memory which those highly cultured people possessed, did not reach to learning by heart and handing down elaborate expositions of doctrines held to be insufficient or erroneous. To

the life-long industry and marvellous memory of the scholars of that time, we owe the preservation of the extensive, and historically invaluable, literatures of the Vedic schools, and of the Buddhist Order; and instead of being astonished that the greater part of the rest has perished, we ought to be supremely grateful that so much has been preserved. After all, the old scholars of India, who were compelled to make a choice, were right in the choice they made.

These two systems are the highest expression, from the theological and the anti-theological points of view, respectively, of Indian thought. There is no one man to whom the original exposition of Vedāntist philosophy can be ascribed, no one name pre-eminent in pre-Buddhistic Vedāntism. But Śankar Ācārya, centuries afterwards, systematised and formulated the Vedāntist creed, and it is to Gotama the Buddha, that we owe what we call the Buddhist religion. There can be no doubt that these two, Śankar Ācārya and Gotama the Buddha, are the greatest names in the intellectual life of India, and that in preserving for us the records of the two systems of belief with which those names are associated, the repeaters of the Indian books have done for the world the greatest service they could do.

We have then in India in the valley of the Ganges, at the time when the Buddhist theory of life was first

propounded, a maze of interacting ideas which may be divided for clearness' sake, into the following heads. Firstly, the very wide and varied group of ideas about souls, whether in man or in the lesser powers of Nature and also in animals, and even in trees and plants. These may be summed up under the convenient modern term of *Animism*, and include all the conceptions preserved in the books of astrology, magic, and folk-lore, the ideas of a future life and of the transmigration of souls, the beliefs as to all sorts of minor demons, and fairies, and spirits, and ghosts, and gods.

Secondly, we have the later and more advanced ideas about the souls or spirits supposed to animate the greater forces and phenomena of Nature. These may be summed up under the convenient modern term of *Polytheism*, and include all the conceptions as to the great gods preserved in the Vedas, and elaborated and explained in the Brāhmaṇas.

Thirdly, we have the still later and still more advanced idea of a unity lying behind the whole of these phenomena both of the first and of the second class, the hypothesis of a *One First Cause* on which the whole universe in its varied forms depends, in which it lives and moves, in which it has its whole and only being. This may be summed up in the convenient modern term of *Pantheism*. It is preserved

in the Upanishads, and was subsequently elaborated and systematised by Śankar Ācārya.

Then we have the still subsequent stage now preserved in the already quoted Sānkhya books, and then probably already existing in earlier and less systematised forms, of a view of life in which the First Cause is expressly rejected, but in which with that exception the whole soul-theory is still retained side by side with the tenet of the eternity of matter. This may be summed up under the convenient modern term of *Dualism*. And we have slight glimpses of very numerous other views (among others of philosophies allied to what we now understand in the West by Epicureanism and Materialism).

These modern Western terms, though most useful as suggestions, never, however, exactly fit the ancient Eastern modes of thought. And we must never forget that these really contradictory explanations of the problem of life, now so carefully differentiated and kept apart by modern scholars, were not then mutually exclusive. We have to deal with a state of society in which, not history, nor science, but precisely these ultimate questions engaged the ardent attention and passionate patience of a surprisingly large number of men, of whom only a very few had the logical clearness and moral fearlessness to take a deliberate and exclusive stand. Just as afterwards

the Vedāntist could accept parts of the Sānkhya position really incompatible with the rest of his belief, and both of them could believe in the actual truth, if not in the supreme importance, of animistic delusions. You will follow this the more readily inasmuch as a similar state of mind is still the most prevalent one in the West—when, for instance, a man may be a scientist and at the same time a spiritualist; or may accept the Darwinian hypothesis and the results of historical research, and also the substantial accuracy of the Hebrew cosmogony.

Such were the intellectual surroundings in which Buddhism arose. What I have had the honour of laying before you is of course the merest sketch. You will listen some day, I trust, to a whole course of lectures on Animism; to another on the Vedānta; to another on the Sānkhya; and to yet another on the remaining points of Indian belief in the sixth century B.C., to which allusion has been made. In the very narrow limits of time to which I am confined, it has only been possible to dwell on the more salient points, and I must apologise for having attempted to crowd so much into a single hour. But I have considered it my duty to bring out into as clear a relief as possible the points most essential to a right understanding of what *we* call Buddhism, and what the founder of that religion called the Dhamma, that is the Law, or the Norm.

Now the central position of the Buddhist alternative to those previous views of life was this—that Gotama not only ignored the whole of the soul theory, but even held all discussion as to the ultimate soul problems with which the Vedānta and the other philosophies were chiefly concerned, as not only childish and useless, but as actually inimical to the only ideal worth striving after—the ideal of a perfect life, here and now, in this present world, in Arahatship.

And I am only following the most ancient and the best of the Buddhist authorities in placing this most important point in the front of my exposition. The very first sermon which Gotama preached to his first converts is the Anatta Lakkhaṇa Sutta, (the discourse on the absence of any sign of "soul" in any of all the constituent elements of individual life) preserved in the *Vinaya*,* and recapitulated in full in the *Samyutta Nikāya*;† and translated by Professor Oldenberg and myself in our *Vinaya Texts*.‡ The very first of the collection of the dialogues of Gotama, forming the principal book on the Dhamma in the Buddhist Scriptures, is the one already quoted in which the Buddha so completely, categorically, and systematically rejects all the possible current theories about "souls." And later books of the first import-

* *Mahā Vagga*, i, 6, 38–47 † *Samyutta*, xxii., 59.
‡ *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i., pp. 100, 101.

ance follow the same order. The *Kathā Vatthu*, a book of controversy composed in the third century B.C., against dissenters within the fold, is one of the latest included in the Buddhist Scriptures. But it also places this question of the "soul" at the head of all the points it discusses, and devotes to it an amount of space which makes it completely overshadow all the rest.* So also with regard to the earliest Buddhist book after the canon was closed, the very interesting and instructive series of conversations between the Greek king, Menanda (Milinda), of Baktria, and Nāgasena, the Buddhist teacher. It is precisely this question of the "soul" that the unknown author makes the subject of the very first discussion in which Nāgasena convinces the king that there is really no such thing as the "soul" in the ordinary sense. And he returns to the subject again and again. I have no time left in which to read you these clear and decisive passages of this most ancient Buddhist author outside the Scriptures known to us. You can find them in full in my translation of the Milinda just published at Oxford,† and in abstract in my little manual entitled *Buddhism*.‡

* See my article on "Buddhist Sects," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1892. I am glad to be able to add that this work, so important from the historical point of view, is now being edited for the Pali Text Society, by Mr. Arnold C. Taylor.

† *The Questions of King Milinda*, vol. i., pp. 40, 41, 85–87; vol. ii., pp. 21–25, 86–89.

‡ Rh. D., *Buddhism*, 16th ed., 1894, pp. 95–98.

We cannot be far wrong in attaching weight to a view considered in these ancient and authoritative Buddhist books to be of such transcendent importance. It is precisely the not having grasped this essential preliminary to a right understanding of Buddhism that has rendered so very large a portion of the voluminous Western writings on the subject of so little value. And the point is historically also of the very highest interest, for the Buddhist position is the inevitable logical outcome of all discussion of the soul theory; and the Buddhists of course hold that in the West also people must inevitably come to the same conclusion when they have leisure to turn from the at present all-engrossing questions of the accumulation and distribution of wealth.

You will, however, understand that this apparently at first sight purely negative position is not the Dharma proclaimed by the Buddha. It is merely his answer to the previous religious and philosophical systems. Without the "soul" they, one and all, fall at once to the ground. And the point is only made of so much importance in Buddhist writings, because the Buddhist teachers held, and rightly held, it impossible, before the rubbish had been cleared away from the site, to build the new Palace of Good Sense. They held it impossible, so long as men were harassed by doubts and fears about their "souls," to

induce in them the emancipated state of mind essential to a calm pursuit of the higher life; they held it impossible to stir men up to the ardent and earnest and hopeful struggle after a perfect life here and now, in this world, so long as they were still hampered, and all their virtue tarnished, by a foolish craving (that could never be satisfied, and would be a disaster if it could be) for an eternal future life in Heaven.

It must remain an open question how far this position is really negative. It is a matter to a great extent of degree. The rival theories are occupied, to the virtual exclusion of other matters, predominantly with questions of soul. Buddhism says that any real advance in ethical theory, and also in the practical conduct of life, really begins only when the delusions about the soul have been fully, and freely, and finally renounced. The rival theories purport to explain the origin and end of all things. Buddhism declares that everything has a cause; and that it is not only a sufficient, it is the only true, method, to argue from one cause back to the next, and so on, without any hope or even desire to explain the ultimate cause of all things. The most famous Buddhist stanza found engraved on ten thousand votive gifts to Buddhist shrines in India, says, that,

"Of all the things that proceed from a cause,
The Buddha the cause hath told;
And he tells too how each shall come to its end,
Such alone is the word of the Sage." *

But the positive side of the Dharma must be reserved to a future lecture. The present one is only intended to show the surroundings among which this remarkably original and interesting view took shape, and its attitude towards the rival theories, not only of that day, but also of our own.

* *Vinaya Texts*, i., p. 146.

LECTURE II.

The Authorities on which our Knowledge of Buddhism is Based.

HOW keen must have been the intellectual pleasure of that small band of scholars in the West of Europe, who, at the end of the fifteenth century, were able to appreciate the meaning and the value of Greek MSS. The taking of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) was the last step in a great catastrophe which threatened no less than destruction to the MS. treasures preserved in the Greek Empire, and death or poverty to their cultured if effeminate owners. The owners were scattered to the West, and their MSS. changed hands and found new homes. Whoever has had the good fortune to study the entrancing story of that time, more especially as it is focussed in the life of Scaliger, will be able to realise the vivid state of expectancy with which the advent of each new MS. was hailed. The scholars had a very considerable knowledge

of what had been written in Greece, and lost in the West; and devoured each new MS. to see whether it would fill up any of the gaps. Too many of those gaps are, alas, still unfilled; and hope has almost faded away now. But in those days almost anything could be hoped for, and the indescribable charm of reading something quite new, of editing a work never edited before, of translating a book never translated before, was within the reach of all. Well we can now live a life of equal expectancy and hope, rewarded quite as often with an equal intellectual prize.

The discoveries that have been made in the ancient libraries of Mesopotamia will no doubt have some day become of even greater importance to the historian of human ideas and institutions than the MSS acquired by the scholars of the Renaissance. For when completely understood and interpreted they will reveal a whole series of phenomena, independent of the Greek, and reaching farther back into the mists of antiquity. So also the discoveries in Egypt, made piecemeal from year to year, have the charm of constant expectancy in a very high degree. And now we have as a third factor of the same kind in the intellectual life of modern Europe, the gradual unveiling of that unique and original literature, which is our subject-matter to-day.

Compared with the Egyptian and the Assyrian it has the disadvantage of youth. For the Pali books are no older than the Greek ones rediscovered in the fifteenth century. But they have the corresponding advantage of containing a rounded and complete picture of a new and strange religious movement, the outcome of many generations of intelligent and earnest thought, and of the very curious social conditions by which it was surrounded and furthered.

The story of the discovery of Pali is not without its interest. When in the thirties that most gifted and original of Indian archæologists, James Prinsep—clarum et venerabile nomen—, was wearing himself out in his enthusiastic efforts to decipher the coins and inscriptions of India, whilst the very alphabets and dialects were as yet uncertain, he received constant help from George Turnour, of the Ceylon Civil Service. For in Ceylon there was a history, indeed several books of history, whereas in Calcutta the native records were devoid of any reliable data to help in the identification of the new names Prinsep thought he could make out. It is not too much to say that without the help of the Ceylon books the striking indentification of the King Piyadassi of the inscriptions with the King Asoka of history would never have been made. Once made

it rendered subsequent steps comparatively easy, and it gave to Prinsep and his co-adjutors just that encouragement, and that element of certainty, which were needed to keep their enthusiasm alive.

Turnour was of course much pleased. He was a very busy man, at the head of the Ceylon Civil Service. But he had most intelligent and learned native assistants at his command. And by their help he published in the Calcutta Asiatic Society's journal a short series of articles on the Pali books, and finally brought out in 1837 a complete edition of the text of the *Mahā Vansa* (or "Great Chronicle" of Ceylon) with a translation into English, and a most interesting introductory essay.

The value of this *editio princeps* was at once and widely acknowledged. But on the death of Turnour, no one was found to carry on his work. There was no dictionary of Pali, and no grammar worthy of the name. European scholars could not go out to Ceylon, and there enjoy the benefit of the help which had made Turnour's labours possible. His book remained, like a solitary landmark in an unexplored country, chiefly useful as a continual inducement to some scholar with ability and leisure to explore beyond. Only a few insignificant essays, nibbling inefficiently at the outskirts of the subject, appeared in Europe, till at last in 1855 Mr. Vincent

Fausböll came forward with an *editio princeps* of another Pali text.

Mr. Fausboll, now Professor of Sanskrit at Copenhagen, was then engaged at the University Library there, and it was a very bold undertaking to attempt such a task with the limited aids at his disposal. He chose, not an historical work, but a religious one, the *Dhammapada*, a collection of 423 verses mostly culled from the Buddhist Scriptures (a sort of hymn-book); and he published, with the text, not only a translation into Latin, but also very copious extracts from the ancient Pali commentary upon it. His work has been of the utmost service, and it is the second landmark in the story of our knowledge of Pali. It is pleasant to be able to remind the reader that the veteran scholar has steadily adhered to his first love. He subsequently brought out a number of specimens of that wonderful collection of ancient folk-lore included by a fortunate chance in the canon of the Buddhist Scriptures. And finding how great was the interest they excited, he has now, for many years, been printing an *editio princeps* of the whole collection. Five substantial volumes have already appeared, the sixth is well advanced in the press, and we may legitimately turn aside for a moment to send to Professor Fausböll our congratulations, and our thanks, and to express a hope, in the

interests of historical study, that he will be spared not only to complete this *magnum opus*, but to add in other ways to the great services he has already rendered to historical research.

But to return to our story. After the publication of the *Dhammapada* by Professor Fausböll in 1855, the study of Pali again languished for a whole generation, and would in all probability have languished still had it not been for the third landmark in the history of our knowledge of Pali, the publication in two volumes in the years 1870 and 1873, of the Dictionary.

This great work was due to the self-sacrificing labour of Robert Cæsar Childers of the Ceylon Civil Service. Soon after his retirement in 1866 he set to work to arrange alphabetically all the words found in the *Abhidhāna Padīpikā*, a vocabulary of Pali in 1203 Pali verses, then already edited by Subhūti Unnānsē, a well known Ceylon scholar In making this re-arrangement Childers carefully added references to, and also other words taken from, the published texts, and from scholarly European books on the subject of Buddhism. His work rapidly improved as it went on, and there can be no doubt that its completion was almost a necessary preliminary to any further serious work in Pali scholarship.

The points to which I would most especially de-

sire to invite your attention in this slight sketch are, that up to the year 1870 only two Pali texts of any size or importance had appeared in editions accessible to scholars in the West; and that, of these two, only one was a book out of the Buddhist Scriptures, and that this one was a short collection of edifying stanzas, not composed as a book by themselves, but selected, without their original context, from other Buddhist books, then, in 1870, still buried in MS.

Nevertheless, the number of books, good, bad, and indifferent, published on the subject of Buddhism, was at that date very large. The reader will be able to judge how far they were likely to be of any permanent value when he calls to mind that no one of the authors of any one of these books had ever even read the Buddhist Bible in the original. Now I would not for a moment quarrel with the enthusiasm for the study of Buddhism which leads people to write so much about it. But surely an enthusiasm according to knowledge would lead people to devote their leisure, their ability, and their means, rather to the publication and translation of the sacred books themselves, than to discussions about their contents carried on in much the same way as some chess-players play chess, *sans voir*, without seeing the pieces. What we want then is the texts themselves, and not extracts or abstracts,

but the whole texts. And we want also the whole of such aids to the right understanding of the text, as are still extant in the shape of ancient Pali commentaries, and even of more modern Pali treatises, written by Buddhist authors. To this aim—the publication and elucidation of the Buddhist texts —I have devoted what remains of my life; and I must trust myself entirely to your courtesy when I find myself here to-day—in spite of what I have just said, and have so often said before—turning away from that work to tell you how far it has got, what prospects it has of going on, and chiefly in some detail what is the nature and magnitude of the work that has to be accomplished.

A rough list of the Piṭakas, with notes on the contents of each book, will be found in my little manual of *Buddhism*,* and another list in my *Milinda* gives the number of pages, printed and not yet printed, in each of the twenty-nine books.† A similar list brought up to date is appended to this lecture.

From this last list it appears that the whole of the Piṭakas will occupy about 10,000 pages 8vo., of the size and type used by the Pali Text Society (about the same as these lectures). And from the calculations set out in the note to the list in *Buddhism* it

**Buddhism*, 16th edition. Appendix to chapter i.
†*Questions of King Milinda*, vol. i., p. xxxvi.

follows that the number of Pali words in the whole is about twice the number of words in our English Bible. These figures are sufficient to show the *extent* of the Buddhist Scriptures. To give an idea of their contents is not so easy, and it would be really impossible to frame any general description of the whole. The most accurate, and I believe also the most interesting method will be to run through the whole list (it is not a very long one), giving a paragraph or two to each. You will thus be able to realise what it is that the books do, and what is perhaps of more importance, what they do not, contain.

And firstly: The whole collection as we have it is divided into three parts, now called Piṭakas or Baskets. In that technical sense the word Pitaka does not of course occur in the books themselves, just as the word Testament (in its technical sense of a division of the Bible) does not occur in the Bible itself. The meaning of the term Piṭaka or Basket is not to be taken in the sense of a thing to put things away in, like a box or other receptacle, but in the sense of tradition. Excavations in early times, and not in the East only, used to be carried out by the aid of baskets handed on from workman to workman, posted in a long line from the point of removal to the point of deposit. So we are to

understand a long line of teachers and pupils handing on, in these three sacred Piṭakas or Baskets, from ancient times down to to-day, the treasures of the Dhamma (of the Norm).

The first of the three—the *Vinaya*—contains all that relates to the Order of Mendicant Recluses, how it came about that the Order was founded; the rules which the Brethren and Sisters have to observe, and so on. The second—the *Suttas*—contains the truths of the religion itself presented from very varied points of view, and in very varied style; together with the discussion and elucidation of the psychological system of which those truths are based. The third—the *Abhidhamma*—contains a further supplementary and more detailed discussion of that psychological system, and of various points arising out of it.

So much for the leading division into Piṭakas or Baskets. We will now consider the details of each.

Vinaya—the Canon Law—(literally "guidance") is divided into three partitions, the Sutta Vibhanga, the Khandhakas, and the Parivāra.

The word Sutta (sūtra in Sanskrit) is a very ancient literary term in India. The literal meaning is "thread," and it is applied to a kind of book, the contents of which are, as it were, a thread, giving the gist or substance of more than is expressed in.

them in words. This sort of book was the latest development in Vedic literature just before and after the rise of Buddhism. The word was adopted by the Buddhists to mean a discourse, a chapter, a small portion of a sacred book in which for the most part some one point is raised, and more or less disposed of. But *the* Sutta *par excellence*, is that short statement of all the rules of the Order, which is also called the Pātimokkha, and is recited on every Uposatha day. On that day, the day of the full moon, the members of the Order resident in any one district are to meet together and hear this statement of the rules read.

The 227 rules are divided into eight sections, according to the gravity of the matter dealt with, and at the end of each section the reciter asks the assembly, whether it is blameless in respect thereof, and receives the assurance that it is. If any member has offended, he has then and there to confess, and receive absolution, or withdraw. The completion of the recitation is therefore evidence that all who have taken part in it are pure in respect of the specified offences. And this is the origin of that second name, the Pātimokkha, which means the Acquittal, or Deliverance, or Discharge. A complete translation, with notes, of this statement of the Rules of the Order will be found in *Vinaya Texts*, the joint

work of Professor Oldenberg and myself, contributed to the Oxford series of *Sacred Books of the East*.

This is the Sutta, of which the first book in the Vinaya, the *Sutta Vibhanga*, is the exposition in full —for that is the meaning of Vibhanga. The book deals with each of the 227 rules in order and following throughout one set scheme or method. That is to say it tells us firstly how and when and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. This historical introduction always closes with the words of the rule in full. Then follows a very ancient word-for-word commentary on the rule—a commentary so old that it was already about B.C. 400 (the probable approximate date of the Sutta Vibhanga) considered so sacred that it was included in the canon. And the Old Commentary is succeeded, where necessary, by further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. These are sometimes of very great historical value. The discussions, for instance (in the rules as to murder and theft), of what constitutes murder, and what constitutes theft, anticipates in a very remarkable degree the kind of fine-drawn distinctions found in modern law books. These passages when made accessible, in translation, to Western scholars, must be of the greatest interest to students of the history of law,

as they are quite the oldest documents of that particular kind in the world.

The second book in the Vinaya Piṭaka is called simply the *Khandhakas* or Treatises. It deals one after another with all those matters relating to the Order which are not stated in so many words in the Rules of the Pātimokkha. There are twenty of these treatises, and the points discussed in them are of the following kind :

1. Admission into the Order.
2. The Uposatha Ceremony and the Pātimokkha.
3. On retreats, to be held during the rainy season
4. On a ceremony called Pavāraṇā held at the end of the retreat.
5. On food, dwellings, etc.
6. On medicaments.
7. On clothes.
8. On the regulation by arbitration of differences of opinion.
9. On suspension and rehabilitation.
10. On the special rules for Sisters of the Order.

It would carry us too far to attempt a description in detail of these treatises. But I may describe one of them, as a specimen, and will choose that on medicaments, as it has an especial interest of its own.

The general rule as to the food of members of the

Order is stated quite clearly in the Pātimokkha. There was a slight repast of fruit and cakes, with milk or water as the beverage, in the early morning, no doubt very early according to our ideas. Then between 11 and 12 was taken the principal meal of the day, usually consisting of curry and rice, and great importance was attached to the regulation that this meal was not to be prolonged beyond the time when the sun cast a shadow.* In the latitude of the valley of the Ganges that means midday. After sunturn no more solid substantial food was to be taken that day. But slight repasts in the afternoon, and at what we should call supper-time, were allowed and practised. Now it became a pretty point of casuistry to determine what was solid food and what was not, and a longish list of things held permissible might be compiled from the earlier portions of the Khandhakas. Among the rest there was a considerable number of things allowed as medicine in the case of sufferers from certain specified diseases. And so in the Khandhaka or Treatise on this matter we obtain quite incidentally a very fair insight into a good deal of the medical lore current at that early period, that is about 400 B.C., in the valley of the Ganges. It is a pity that the cur-

* Pācittiya, 37; Khuddaka Pāṭha, par. 2; Culla Vagga, XII., 2, 8; Rh. D., *Buddhism*, pp. 160, 164.

rent authorities on the history of law and medicine have entirely ignored the details obtainable from these ancient books of Buddhist Canon Law. The whole of these Khandhakas have been translated by myself and Professor Oldenberg in the *Vinaya Texts* already referred to.

There is only one other book included in the canon under the head of Vinaya. This is the book called the *Parivāra* (or Appendix). It is very short, and is little more than a kind of student's manual, containing lists to assist the memory, and various sets of puzzles which are not unlike some modern examination papers. It is of course later than the other books on which it is founded, and is a very interesting bit of evidence on early methods of education.

The next great division is the Sutta Pitaka, or the Basket of Discourses, and here we come to the sources of our knowledge of the most ancient Buddhism. The whole Basket consists of four great Nikāyas (or collections), and of these the first two form what we should now call a single book. It is in two volumes, so to speak, called respectively *Dīgha and Majjhima*—that is to say, long and of medium length (or to translate more idiomatically, longer and shorter). It contains 183 dialogues of Gotama arranged according to their length. They

are discussions on all the religious and philosophical points of the Buddhist view of life. The Buddha himself is the principal interlocutor, but several of his principal disciples play a distinguished part in the book. In depth of philosophic insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted, in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, in the evidence they afford of the most cultured thought of the day, these discourses constantly remind the reader of the Dialogues of Plato. It would be worse than foolish to attempt any description of their contents. Each of the 183 dialogues would demand at least a single lecture to make its meaning clear. They have a style of their own, always dignified and occasionally rising into eloquence. It is a style intended, however, not to be read, but to be learnt by heart. You will easily understand therefore that it is a style intensely abhorrent to the modern devourer of newspapers and reviews and the last new novel. Scholars however will revere this book as one of the most priceless of the treasures of antiquity still preserved to us. And it is quite inevitable that, as soon as it is properly translated and understood, this collection of the Dialogues of Gotama will come to be placed, in our schools of philosophy and history, on a level with the Dialogues of Plato.

Ninety-one out of the 183 have now been edited

in the original Pali for the Pali Text Society, and about a dozen have been translated into English, seven of them by myself in the volume entitled "Buddhist Suttas" in the *Sacred Books of the East.*

A disadvantage of the arrangement in dialogues, more especially as they follow one another according to length and not according to subject, is that it is not easy to find the statement of doctrine on any particular point which is interesting one at the moment. It was very likely just this consideration which led to the compilation of the other two collections included in this Pitaka. In the first, called the *Anguttara Nikāya*, all those points of Buddhist doctrine capable of expression in classes are set out in order. This practically includes most of the psychology and ethics of Buddhism. For it is a distinguishing mark of the Dialogues themselves to arrange the results arrived at in carefully systematised groups. You are familiar enough in the West with similar classifications, summed up in such expressions as the Seven Deadly Sins, the Ten Commandments, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Four Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Sacraments, and a host of others. These numbered lists (it is true) are going out of fashion. The aid which they afford to memory is no longer required in an age in which books of reference abound. It was precisely as a

help to memory that they were found so useful in the early Buddhist times, when the books were all learnt by heart, and had never as yet been written And in the Anguttara we find set out in order first of all the ones, then all the pairs, then all the trios, and so on up to the thirty-four constituent parts of the human organism, or the thirty-seven constituent elements of Arahatship. It is the longest book in the Buddhist Bible and will fill 1800 pages 8vo. About two-fifths of the Pali text has been published by the Pali Text Society, and none of it has yet been translated into English.

The next—and last—of these great collections contains again the whole of the Buddhist doctrine, but arranged this time in the order of subjects. It consists of fifty-five so-called *Saṃyuttas*, or Groups, and in each of these a number of short chapters (Suttas), either on the same subject or addressed to the same sort of people, are grouped together. The Samyutta is divided into five volumes, four of which have been already published by the Pali Text Society, the fifth and last being in preparation. None of it has been translated into English.

It would be useless to speculate whether these two re-arrangements of the Buddhist doctrine are entirely dependent upon the Dialogues for their matter, or *vice versa*, or whether they are drawn also from

other sources. We know that large portions of them recur bodily in the Dialogues, and that those portions not yet traced in the Dialogues contain nothing inconsistent with them. And it will not be very long before the publication of the whole of the three books, Dialogues, Anguttara, and Samyuttas, will enable us to state with accuracy the relation between them. This concludes the second Basket.

The third and last of the Piṭakas or Baskets, is the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, containing seven books of which at present only three have been published by the Pali Text Society. Abhidhamma has hitherto been rendered Metaphysics. But this is an entirely misleading translation. You will have realised from the previous lecture that the whole Buddhist view of life is constructed without the time-honoured conception of a soul within the body. We know nothing, according to Buddhism, except that which is derived from experience, the apprehension of phenomena. In such a system there is no room for Metaphysics at all. The noumenon is not discussed. What the Buddhists themselves understand by Abhidhamma is clear from the explanation given of the word by the great Buddhist scholar and commentator, Buddhaghosa. The passage, discovered by Mr. Arnold C. Taylor, has been edited and translated by him in a recent issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*

*Society.** According to that greatest of Buddhist scholars, Abhidhamma means merely the expansion, enlarged treatment, exposition in detail, of the Dhamma. And the Dhamma, as you know, is the Religion, the Truth, the Norm. The three books already published entirely, and the complete abstract of a fourth printed by me two years ago,† entirely confirm this view.

One, the *Puggala Paññatti*, or "Identification of Individuals," is a small tract of less than eighty pages, in which men and women are considered and classified from the ethical point of view. Another, the *Dhātu Kathā* is on the bases of character, and discusses the mental characteristics most likely to be found in conjunction in converted and earnest folk.

The third already printed is the *Dhamma Saṅgaṇi*, or "Enumeration of States," and it analyses the states of mind reached by religious people, Buddhists and others.‡ The fourth book above referred to is the *Kathā Vatthu*, or "Account of Opinions," and is the only book in the Buddhist Scriptures of which

* *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p 560.

† *J. R. A. S.*, 1892, pp 1–37.

‡ The commentary on this book, the first work of the celebrated Buddhaghosa, is just being edited for the Pali Text Society by Professor Ed. Müller of Bern, and a complete translation into English by Mrs. Rhys Davids, with introduction and notes, is in preparation.

we know the author and date. It was written (or rather put together, for books were not then written) by Tissa, the son of Moggali, about the year 250 B.C., at the Court of Asoka, the famous Buddhist Emperor of India. At that late period in the history of early Buddhism, the church or community was much torn by dissension and heresies. Asoka took great pains to restore the purity of the original faith. And Tissa, in furtherance of that object, refuted in this most curious ancient book two hundred and fifty-two of the most dangerous and important heresies put forward by the leading opponents of the orthodox school. There is nothing metaphysical in it. But it is most interesting from the comparative point of view that the most far-reaching cause of the decay of the primitive faith is here shown to have been the growth of what we should call superstitious views about the person of the Buddha. You will recollect how, in the history of the Christian Church, a very similar state of things existed, how the early Church was rent by dissensions arising out of the differing views as to the person of Christ, and as to his relation to the First Person in the Trinity. But in the Christian Church it was the new views, not found in the New Testament, that prevailed. In the Buddhist community, the new views were held at bay, and only succeeded, after a long inter-

val, and in distant lands, in obtaining wide recognition. We shall have to deal with this subject further in our last lecture, so it need not detain us longer here. Mr. Arnold C. Taylor has nearly completed his edition of the *Kathā Vatthu* for the Pali Text Society, and has undertaken to translate it also.

We have now gone through the principal books in the Three Piṭakas, but there is a miscellaneous collection, mostly of shorter works, which has come to be included in the Canon. I have left this to the last, because Buddhists themselves from the very earliest times have been divided in opinion about it; some of them considering this Nikāya as an appendix to the Sutta Pitaka, some of them considering it as an appendix to the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The reason of this difference of opinion was probably something of the following kind. The most important things for the members of the Buddhist Order to preserve most carefully in their memory were essentially the Rules of the Community or Association they had joined, and the tenets of the Faith they professed. These were contained in the Canon Law, and in the Dialogues of Gotama, and in the various other books already referred to in which the doctrine set out in the Dialogues was re-arranged, elucidated, and expounded. During the time when the Canon

was still unsettled, there was great activity in learning, rehearsing, repeating, and discussing these sacred books. But there was also considerable activity in what we should now call a more literary direction. There was a great love of poetry in the communities among which Buddhism arose. The adherents of the new faith found pleasure in putting into appropriate verse the feelings of enthusiasm and of ecstasy which their faith inspired. When peculiarly happy in their literary finish, or peculiarly rich in religious feeling, such poems would not be lost. They would be handed on from mouth to mouth in the small companies of the Brethren or Sisters, and some of them, either the oldest or the most popular, would gradually come to inspire so much veneration, so much love, that when the Canon was finally fixed, they could scarcely be left out. The question where to put them was however difficult. They could not, except in a very few instances, be inserted either in the books on the Rules of the Order, nor in the collection of the Dialogues of the Master. They must be added therefore either to the other parts of the Sutta Piṭaka in which the doctrine is set out, or to the Abhidhamma where the psychological side of it is enlarged upon in detail. It was not a point of vital importance, and we need not be too much surprised that some put these books as an appendix in one place, and some in another.