It was not only poems that found their way into this appendix. It contains at least one very ancient commentary ascribed to a famous leader and teacher in the Order. There is also a book on the Lives of the Saints, and another of ancient folk-lore. But the same sort of reason that led to the inclusion of the poetry, covered also these other works. And the whole collection is so very interesting as evidence of the literary life in the valley of the Ganges in those early times, that I hope you will allow me to devote a short time to each of these curious books.

The first, the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, or "Short Recitations," is a little tract of only a few pages, starting with the so-called Buddhist creed:

> "I take my refuge in the Buddha,
> I take my refuge in the Religion,
> I take my refuge in the Order."

Then follows a paragraph setting out the thirty-four constituents of the human body—bones, blood, nerves, and so on,—strangely incongruous with what follows. For that is simply a selection of a few of the most beautiful poems to be found in the Buddhist Scriptures. There is no apparent reason, except their exquisite versification, why these particular pieces should have been here brought together. I cannot help thinking that this tiny volume was simply a sort of first lesson book for young neophytes

when they joined the Order. In any case that is one of the uses to which it is put at present.

The *Dhammapada*, already mentioned to you (as having been edited by Professor Fausboll in 1855), is another of such selections, but this time not of entire poems. Here are brought together from ten to twenty stanzas on each of twenty-two selected events of Buddhist self-training or ethics. In almost all cases these verses, gathered from various sources, are here strung together without any other internal connection than that they relate more or less to the same subject, and the collector has not thought it at all necessary to choose stanzas written in the same metre or in the same number of lines. We know that the early Christians were accustomed to sing hymns both in their homes and on the occasions of their meeting together. These hymns are now irretrievably lost. Had some one made a collection of about twenty isolated stanzas, chosen from those hymns, on each of about twenty subjects—such as Faith, Hope, Love, The Converted Man, Times of Trouble, Quiet Days, The Saviour, The Tree of Life, The Sweet Name, The Dove, The King, The Angels, The Land of Peace, The Joy Unspeakable, and so on—we should have a Christian Dhammapada; and very precious such a collection would be. The Buddhist Dhammapada

has been frequently translated. Where the verses deal with those ideas that are common ground to Christians and Buddhists, the versions are easily intelligible and some of the verses appeal very strongly to the Western sense of religious beauty. Where the stanzas are full of the technical terms of the Buddhist system of self-culture and self-control, it is often impossible, without expansions that spoil the set of the thought, or learned notes that ruin the poetry, to convey the full sense of the original. In all these distinctively Buddhist verses the existing translations are inadequate, and sometimes quite erroneous. The ancient commentary on these 423 verses tells a story about each of them, setting forth how, and when, and by whom, and on what occasion each of these stanzas was originally pronounced. These stories are written in very easy Pali and many of them are full of human interest. The late Dr. Wenzel and myself were preparing in collaboration a complete *editio princeps* of these stories—the copy is finished and nearly ready for the press, and will be issued as soon as I can find the time and the money. Cannnot some one undertake a translation for us into English of these strange and interesting old-world stories about a collection of verses so widely popular among Buddhists, and now attracting so much attention in the West?

As a general rule such stories explanatory of ancient verses—and without which very often the verses themselves would be quite unintelligible—were handed down in India by way of traditional comment. In two cases the Buddhists have included the stories themselves as well as the verses in the miscellaneous appendix to their Canon. One instance is the *Udāna*, or "Ecstatic Utterances." The Buddha is represented on various occasions during his long career to have been so much moved by some event, or speech, or action, that he gave vent, as it were, to his pent up feelings in a short ecstatic utterance, couched for the most part in one or two lines of poetry. These outbursts, very terse and enigmatic, are charged with religious emotion, and turn often on some subtle point of Arahatship, that is of the Buddhist ideal of life. The original text has been published by the Pali Text Society. But the little book—a garland of fifty of these gems—has not yet been translated.

The other instance (also edited but not translated) is the *Iti Vuttakam*. This contains 120 short passages, each of them leading up to a terse, deep saying of the Buddha's, and introduced in each case with the words *Iti Vuttam Bhagavatā*, "Thus was it said by the Blessed One." It is always invidious to look a gift horse in the mouth, and even did we wish to

do so, the time has not yet come to discuss with profit whether these sayings were actually said as here represented. What we know, is, that these (often delicately beautiful) puzzles of thought on some of the deepest questions of human life were actually extant and so widely known and appreciated that they were included in the Canon, when the Canon was finally fixed. I think it would be impossible to assign them to a later date than 400 B.C., and I have no hesitation in saying that, at that time, there had been produced nowhere in the world any works approaching to these four booklets in delicacy of construction, in exquisite beauty of terse enigmatic expression, in depth of earnestness, and in real grasp of the most difficult problems that mankind has had to face.

These ecstatic utterances and deep sayings are attributed to the Buddha himself. There is also included in the Canon a collection (called, the *Thera-theri-gāthā*, or "Songs of the Elders," men and women) of stanzas attributed to 107 of the leading Theras (*i. e.*, Brethren), and 73 of the leading Therīs (*i. e.*, Sisters), in the Order during the lifetime of Gotama himself. The stories explanatory of the verses, giving a short account of the life history of each of the authors and authoresses, are handed down in the commentary. The commentary on the men's

verses has not yet been published; but that on the women's verses has just been edited by Professor Eduard Müller, of Bern, for the Pali Text Society. With the help of this commentary my wife wrote an account of these Buddhist lady scholars for the Oriental Congress, held in London in 1892. It is published in the *Proceedings* of the Congress,* and affords a very instructive picture of the life they led in the valley of the Ganges in the time of Gotama the Buddha. It was a bold step on the part of the leaders of the Buddhist reformation to allow so much freedom, and to concede so high a position to women. But it is quite clear that the step was a great success, and that many of these ladies were as distinguished for high intellectual attainments as they were for religious earnestness and insight. A good many of the verses ascribed to them are beautiful in form, and not a few give evidence of a very high degree of that mental self-culture which played so great a part in the Buddhist ideal of the perfect life. Women of acknowledged culture are represented as being the teachers of men, and as expounding, to less advanced Brethren or Sisters in the Order, the deeper and more subtle points in the Buddhist philosophy of life.

As I have not so far troubled you with quota-

*London, 1894, vol i, pp. 344 to 361.

tions, I venture to give the substance of two of these legends. The first is about Somā. She was born, says the Commentator, Dhammapāla, as the daughter of the Court Chaplain of King Bimbisāra at Rājagaha. Then, after taking the vows, she, with insight and good works, became an Arahat (that is, attained to Nirvana, the Buddhist ideal of the perfect life). Dwelling thus in the happiness of freedom at Sāvatthi, she entered one day the Andha Grove to pass the heat of the day, and sat there at the foot of a tree. Then Māra, the Evil One, wishing to frighten her from her meditations, stood there in invisible form and uttered the words,

"The vantage ground the sages may attain, is hard to reach.
With her two-finger test, woman cannot achieve those distant heights."

The Commentator pauses here to explain that what the Evil One refers to, is that women, though from their seventh year upwards they are always cooking rice, yet they cannot tell whether it has been boiled or not. They have to take some out in a spoon and squeeze it between their two fingers; then they know.

Now when she heard this the Therī rebuked the Evil One, and said:

" How should our woman's nature hinder us,
Whose hearts are firmly set, whose feet mount up
Unfaltering to those cool heights of Truth,
In growing knowledge of the Arahat way?
On every hand the love of pleasure yields,
Borne down by knowledge and the sense of Law,
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, O Evil One! and know
Thyself, O death! found out and worsted!"

Then the Evil One, thus rebuked, vanished away; and the Therī, strong in the sense of base suggestions overcome, continued in meditation till the cool of the evening.

The other poem is Sukkā's. Born of a wealthy family in Rājagaha, she became an adherent of the Buddha's, already in the first year of his public appearance as a teacher, and afterwards studying under another famous lady teacher (the Dhamma-Dinnā, whose story Mrs Bode has told us in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1893), she was converted, and became an Arahat. She then attained to such mastery in exegesis and extemporary exposition that, in her hermitage near Rājagaha, she gave lectures open to the public, and gained great influence for good among the residents in her native city. Such was her eloquence as she taught, walking to and fro in her shady terrace, all who came from the city to see her, that the Dryad in the tree at the end of the

terrace was filled with impetuous enthusiasm at her wisdom, and quitting its cool shrine, went off to Rājagaha and called aloud:

"What would ye men of Rājagaha have?
What have ye done? that mute and idle here
Ye lie about, like men bemused with wine,
Nor upon Sukkā wait, while she reveals
The precious truths of the Ambrosial way
The wise in heart, methinks, were fain to quaff
That life's Elixir (once gained, never lost,
That welleth ever up in her sweet words)
E'en as the wayfarer* welcomes the rain."

And when the people heard, they forthwith with eagerness went forth to Sukkā, and would not make an end of listening to her.

And when the Therī had reached her appointed span of life, and was about to pass away, she bore witness to the victory she had gained, and to herself, as to another person, uttered these words:

"O child of light, Sukkā, † by Truth set free
From cravings dire; firm, self-possessed, serene,
Bear to the end thy last incarnate frame,
For thou hast conquered Māra and his hosts!"

There is one instance, and one only, of a commentary, detached from its subject-matter, having been

* *Addhagu*, possibly the sun.
† *Sukkā* means bright, radiant, lustrous.

allotted a place among the Sacred Books. There must be some special reason for this. But it would be premature to discuss the matter till we have the text before us, and I am very happy to say that a distinguished American scholar, Professor Lanman of Harvard College, has undertaken an edition of this unique text for the Pali Text Society. It is called the Niddesa; and it is a commentary ascribed to Sāriputta, one of the most distinguished of the personal disciples of the Buddha, on the first part of the Sutta Nipāta. This last book, also included in our appendix to the canon, has been edited * and translated † by Professor Fausboll of Copenhagen. It consists of poems arranged in five books, the first four of which contain fifty-four separate poems, each of them only a page or two in length. But the fifth book is one poem almost certainly forming an independent whole. It is very unlikely that the other poems are all the work of the same hand. In all probability we have here another collection,—this time not of verses, but of complete hymns,—popular among the early Buddhists, but due to separate minds.

I hope to read to you in a future lecture translations of two of these lyrics.

* Pali Text Society, London, 1885 and 1893.
† Oxford, 1886.

There are two other short poems included in our appendix, each of them the work of one unknown author, and probably later than the other books in the appendix. One of these is the *Buddha Vansa*, poetical memoranda on the legends of the Buddhas supposed to have preceded the historical Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. The other is the *Cariyā Piṭaka*—a fragment never completed—giving a few short verses (scarcely more than an aid to the memory) on thirty-four of the supposed previous births of the historical Buddha himself. Both of these short, and from a literary point of view uninteresting, texts have been published for the Pali Text Society.

There are two other short poems in which legends regarding the future life are put into verse. They are called respectively the *Peta-* and *Vimāna-Vatthu*, and have been edited for the Pali Text Society, but not yet translated. Some of the longer legends are interesting as poems, and the whole set of beliefs exemplified in these books is historically interesting as being in all probability the source of a good deal of mediæval Christian belief in Heaven and Hell. But the greater part of these books, composed according to a set pattern, is devoid of style; and the collection is altogether of an evidently later date than the bulk of the books included in this appendix.

We now come to the *Jātakas*. These are stories nominally of the 550 previous births of the Buddha, but really a collection of the most popular folk-lore tales of all kinds—fables, fairy tales, riddles, puzzles, old-world legends, clever and witty judgments, instances of current superstitions good-humouredly laughed at, tales of magic cups and vanishing caps and wishing trees, stories of old mythology, and so on. At some period not quite ascertained, but certainly before 300 B.C., it had become the custom to identify the principal hero of each of these popular tales with the Buddha himself in a previous birth. It would be ungenerous to lay stress on the fact that this identification is entirely without foundation. For it is solely due to the fortunate chance of the growth of this idea that we have thus preserved to us the most complete, the most authentic, and the most ancient collection of folk-lore in the world—a collection entirely unadulterated, as modern folk-lore stories so often are, by the inevitable process of passing through a Western mind. Each story contains a stanza or stanzas attributed to the Buddha himself, either in his present or in his previous births. And it is only the verses that are included in the canon. They are usually unintelligible by themselves; but the comment, which gives the whole story in prose, gives also a further explanation of them; and Pro-

fessor Fausböll edits the whole, text and commentary, together. I had at one time contemplated a translation into English of this most interesting, but also most voluminous work. The first volume of this translation appeared in 1881, under the title of *Buddhist Birth Stories*. But I have long been obliged to give up the hope of carrying on this work, and am now delighted to be able to say that a complete translation is being brought out by a syndicate of English scholars, under the editorship of Professor Cowell of Cambridge, and that the first two volumes, by Mr. Robert Chalmers and Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, members of the Pali Text Society, have just been issued by the Cambridge University Press.

There are one or two other books included in this appendix to the Three Piṭakas, but as they are not yet published, it would be premature to discuss their contents. You will have sufficiently understood the nature of the authorities on which our knowledge of early Buddhism must principally rest. You will have noticed that the rules of the Order—the books of Canon Law, if I may be allowed so to describe them—and the books of the Abhidhamma, the expansion of the psychological doctrines laid down in the Dialogues, are of historical rather than of literary value. But in the Dialogues themselves, and in some of the more ancient poems, we have documents

of the first literary importance. You will have observed also that the contents of the books are not mythological, nor theological, nor metaphysical, but above all ethical, and in the second place psychological. You will have observed also that there is very little of what is popularly supposed to be the essential characteristic of religion—nothing about God and the soul, and the nature of them both, and the relation between the two. But Buddhism is none the less a religion ; and it is the religion which comes nearest of all the other religions in the world to Christianity, and the religion which has influenced more lives than any other religion, not excepting even Christianity. It would not be the place here to discuss the doctrines of Buddhism, or to attempt to give the reasons of its great successes, and of its equally great failures. I shall have time in the subsequent lectures to lay before you the essence at least of its positive philosophy of life. Here I would only invite your attention to the fact that a small band of scholars are endeavouring, without pecuniary reward of any kind, to make accessible to the West the earliest documents of one of the most important and most interesting intellectual movements the world has ever seen. And I do not hesitate to appeal to you for your cordial sympathy with their self-denying labours.

When I returned from Ceylon, I made up my mind that, if my life was spared, I would try to get the whole of this literature edited and translated. When I began to speak of the advisability of starting a Pali Text Society with this object, I was told that the project was doomed to failure. No one cared enough for Pali to contribute the necessary funds, and even if they did, there were no competent scholars, not already otherwise engaged, to carry out the work. Well! the King of Siam, one of the most cultured and enlightened of sovereigns, sent me enough money to bring out the first volume; and private friends of my own showed their interest in historical enquiry by subscribing enough to bring out a second, and I soon had a small list of supporters, mostly poor men and scholars, willing to subscribe a guinea a year. This was enough for me to venture on a beginning. It was no easy task to find MSS. and competent scholars willing to spend years of labour without fee or reward of any kind. But both difficulties have been surmounted. The work has now gone on for twelve years. We have published thirty-four volumes, amounting in the whole to 7200 pages Out of the twenty-seven books in the Buddhist Pitakas, thirteen are now published in full, five others in part, one more is in the press, and nearly all the remainder are in preparation.

About one half of the work has been done, and the interest of scholars throughout the world has been so thoroughly aroused, that it is now only a question of money whether the work shall go on, and how soon it shall be completed. There are already three or four public libraries in Europe which have a fair collection of Buddhist MSS.; and I have a good many in my private collection, and correspondents both in Burma and Ceylon, who are helping to procure others as they are wanted. The number of scholars able and willing to co-operate in the undertaking is slowly but steadily increasing. But the printers will not work for nothing, and the only difficulty is the want of money to pay the printer's bills. Will not America come forward to assist in the important work of disentombing this ancient literature, now buried in MSS.?

I shall be happy to receive the subscriptions or donations of any one intelligent enough to see the importance of the work, and generous enough to give.*

* For the address of the Pali Text Society see the appendix to this lecture.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE II.

LIST OF THE PIṬAKAS.

THE VINAYA PIṬAKA.

NAME.	PRINTED PAGES 8VO.	ESTIMATED PAGES UNPRINTED
1. The Sutta Vibhaṅga	617	None.
2. The Khandhakas—		
a. Mahā Vagga	*360	
b. Culla Vagga	308 — 668	None.
3. The Parivāra	226	None.
	1511	

THE SUTTA PIṬAKA.

4. The Dīgha Nikāya	261	600*
5. The Majjhima Nikāya	254	250*
6. The Saṃyutta Nikāya	1125	500*
7. The Aṅguttara Nikāya	560	1150
	2200	2500

THE KHUDDAKA NIKĀYA.

8 The Kuddaka Pāṭha	10	None.
9 The Dhamma Padas	40	None
10 The Udānas	80	None
11. The Iti-vuttakas	125	None.
12 The Sutta Nipāta	210	None
13. The Vimāna Vatthu	84	None
14. The Peta Vatthu	68	None
15. The Thera Gāthā	115	None.
16. The Therī Gāthā	52	None.
17. The Jātakas	170	35*
18. The Niddesa	—	300*
19. The Paṭisambhidā	—	400*
20. The Apadānas	—	400*
21. The Buddha Vansa	60	None.
22. The Cariyā Piṭaka	30	None.
	1044	1135

* In preparation.

NAME.	PRINTED PAGES 8VO.	ESTIMATED PAGES UNPRINTED
THE ABHIDHAMMA PITIKA		
23. The Dhamma Sanganī	264	None
24 The Vibhanga	—	300*
25. The Kathā Vatthu	—	400*
26 The Puggala Paññatti	75	None.
27 The Dhātu Kathā	122	None
28. The Yamakas	—	400
29 The Paṭṭhāna	—	600
	461	1700
Totals	5216	5335

ISSUES OF THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY,

22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

I ARRANGEMENT BY YEARS

1882

1. Journal
2 Buddhavansa and Cariyā Piṭaka.
3. Āyāranga

1883

1. Journal
2. Thera-therī-gāthā.
3. Puggala.

1884.

1 Journal.
2. Saṃyutta, Vol. I
3. Sutta Nipāta, Vol. I. †

1885

1. Journal
2. Aṅguttara, Parts I -III.
3 Dhamma Saṃgaṇī.
4 Udāna.

1886.

1. Journal.
2 Sumangala, Vol. I.
3 Vimāna Vatthu.

1887

1. Journal.
2 Majjhima, Vol. I.

* In preparation

† This volume was an extra volume presented as a gift to the subscribers in 1884. There are no copies left.

1888

1. Journal
2 Saṃyutta, Vol II.
3. Aṅguttara, Part IV.

1889.

1 Journal.
2. Dīgha, Vol I.
3. Peta Vatthu.

1890.

1 Journal.
2 Saṃyutta, Vol III
3 Iti-vuttaka *

1891.

1 Journal (1891-3).
2 Bodhi Vaṃsa

1892.

1. Dhātu Kathā
2. Paramattha-dīpanī.

1893.

1. Saṃyutta, Vol IV.
2. Sutta Nipāta, Vol. II.

1894.†

1 Attha Sālinī.
2 Journal.

1895 ‡

1 Kathā Vatthu
2 Journal

Total fourteen years 36 texts, 38 volumes, 8400 pages.

II Texts Published in the above Volumes Arranged Alphabetically

	NAME OF TEXT	YEAR	EDITOR.
1.	*Abhidhammattha Saṃgaha	1884	Prof Rhys Davids.
2.	*Anāgatta Vaṃsa	1886	Prop. Minayeff.
3	Anguttara, I.–III	1885	Dr Morris.
	IV	1888	" "
4.	Attha Sālinī	1894	Prof. E Müller.
5.	Āyāranga Sutta	1882	Prof. Jacobi.
6.	Buddha Vaṃsa	1882	Dr. Morris.
7.	Bodhi Vaṃsa	1891	Mr. Strong.
8	Cariyā Piṭaka	1882	Dr. Morris.
9.	* Cha Kesa Dhātu Vaṃsa	1885	Prof. Minayeff.
10	* Dāṭhā Vaṃsa	1884	Prof Rhys Davids.
11.	Dhamma Saṃgaṇī	1885	Prof Ed Müller.
12.	Dhātu Kathā	1893	Mr. Gooneratne.

† In the press. ‡ In preparation.

	NAME OF TEXT.	YEAR.	EDITOR.
13.	Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I..... ...	1889	Prof. Rhys Davids and Mr. J. E. Carpenter.
14.	*Gandha Vaṃsa	1886	Prof. Minayeff.
15	Itı Vuttaka	1890	Prof. Windisch.
16.	Kathā Vatthu..... ..	1895	Mr. A. C. Taylor.
17.	Kathā Vatthu Commentary.. ..	1889	Prof. Minayeff.
18.	Khudda Sikkhā	1883	Prof Ed. Müller.
19.	Mūla Sıkkhā	"	" "
20.	Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I..... .	1887	Mr. Trenckner.
21.	*Pajja Madhu.....	1889	Mr. Gooneratne.
22.	*Pañca Gatı Dīpanā	1884	M Léon Feer.
23.	Parāmattha Dīpanī....	1893	Prof. Ed. Müller.
24.	Peta Vatthu	1889	Prof Minayeff.
25.	Puggala Paññattı....	1883	Dr. Morris.
26.	*Saddhammopāyana	1887	" "
27.	*Saddhamma Saṅgaha	1890	Saddhānanda.
28.	Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. I. . .	1884	M. Léon Feer.
	Vol II.	1888	" "
	Vol. III . .	1889	" "
	Vol. IV....	1893	" "
29.	Sandesa Kathā..	1885	Prof. Minayeff.
30.	Sīmā Vivāda....	1889	" "
31.	Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, Vol I... .	1886	Prof. Rhys Davids and Mr. J. E. Carpenter.
32.	Sutta Nipāta, Vol. I.	1884	Prof. Fausböll.
	Vol II.....	1893	" "
33.	*Tela-Kaṭāha Gāthā	1884	Mr. Gooneratne.
34.	Thera Gāthā	1883	Prof. Oldenberg.
35.	Therī Gāthā	1883	Prof. Pischel.
36.	Udāna.....	1885	Dr. Steinthal.
37.	Vimāna Vatthu	1886	Mr. Gooneratne.

NOTE.—Those texts marked with an asterisk are printed in the Journal.

The subscription to the Pali Text Society (22 Albemarle Street, London, W.) is one guinea *per annum*, payable in advance.

The publications are sent post free to subscribers.

Public-spirited friends of historical research have given donations amounting to about £450. Further help of this kind is urgently needed.

LECTURE III.

The Life of the Buddha.

IT is a strange thing, and very characteristic of the real meaning of the true Buddhism, that there is no life of Gotama the Buddha in the Buddhist Scriptures. Indeed the only work, so far known to us, that can be called a biography in our Western sense is a quite modern book called the *Mālālankāra Watthu*, of unknown date, but almost certainly quite two thousand years later than the Buddha himself.* There is a much older sketch of the first part of the Buddha's life, down to his thirty-sixth year, in the Introduction to the collection of Buddhist Folk-Lore called the Jātaka Book, and written about the fifth century of our era.† Both of these prose works rest on the same tradition, and are written in Pali, one in Burma and the other in Ceylon. Then there is a Pali poem called the Jina Carita,

*It has been translated into English by Bishop Bigandet under the title *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* (3d ed., London, 1887).

†This also has been translated into English by myself in the *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1881, pp. 36-210.

"The Conqueror's Career," written in Ceylon by Buddhadatta in the twelfth century of our era, and dealing at length with the traditional episodes down to the thirty-sixth year, and also with the events of the last few months of the Teacher's life.* There are also two well known Sanskrit poems, the Buddha Carita and the Lalita Vistara, both of which have been translated, the first into English by Professor Cowell† and the second into French by Professor Foucaux.‡ The former, of which a portion is lost, can be dated with considerable certainty at the end of the first century of our era, and the second (though its date is unknown) is probably even later still.

These poems are not historical biographies. Milton's *Paradise Regained* is of value not for what it tells us about the life of its hero, but for the literary ability with which it has recast a story derived entirely from older documents. The historical value of those documents must be determined by a criticism which will, of course, take no notice of the later poetical version. A corresponding argument ought to hold good with respect to these Pali and Sanskrit poems, and *a fortiori* with respect to the Chinese and Tibetan reproductions of the San-

* Edited in the native character both in Burma and in Ceylon, but not yet translated.

† *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1894.

‡ *Musée Guimet*, Paris, 1888.

skrit ones. They are literary not historical documents, and such historical value as they have is the very instructive way in which they show how far the older beliefs about the life of the Buddha had been, at the time when these books were composed, developed (or rather corrupted) by the inevitable hero-worship of the followers of his religion.

It is unfortunately precisely these later Sanskrit poetical accounts which have been the source of modern popular notions about the life of the Buddha, and the beautiful poem of Sir Edwin Arnold entitled the *Light of Asia*, no doubt well known to many of you, is an eloquent expression in English verse of the Buddhist beliefs at the stage when those later poems were composed. Clearly the only proper course to pursue is to go back, behind these later poetical documents, to the actual text of the Three Pitakas themselves, to collect there whatever is said incidentally about the life, family, and personal surroundings of the Buddha, and to piece them together into a connected whole. This has not yet been done, and cannot of course be done in a satisfactory way until the whole of the text of the Sacred Canon shall have been published by the Pali Text Society or elsewhere.

But certain progress has been made. There are accounts more or less circumstantial, in the intro-

ductory parts of many of the Dialogues, of various episodes in Gotama's career. Occasionally in an argument in support of one or another ethical proposition, autobiographical reminiscences are placed in the mouth of the Buddha himself as the principal interlocutor in the dialogue. Some of the ancient poems also relate to similar episodes, and in the introductory stories to certain of the rules of the Order, specifying the occasion on which the rule in question was originally established by the Founder, other autobiographical incidents are incidentally alluded to.

It will be impossible for me, within the limits of time at my disposal, to do more than summarise the results which can be reached from a comparison of such passages as these.

As you are all aware, the actual date of the birth of the Buddha is still a matter of controversy, but may be fixed approximately at about B.C. 600. He was born in the city of Kapila-vastu, about one hundred miles north-east of the city of Benares. This was one of those portions of the valley of the Ganges which had been the last to be brought under the influence of the Brahmins. It was far to the east of the Holy Land of Brahmin tradition, and there can be but little doubt that, at the time of which we speak, the inhabitants of that district were

in many respects more independent of the Brahmins than the countries farther west. We have no evidence that there was any large number of Brahmins settled in the country, which was inhabited by a high-caste tribe, forming the Sākya clan. Mr. Beal, the late translator of so many Chinese Buddhist books, was of opinion that this very word "Sākya" was sufficient evidence to show that the clan was of Skythian, and therefore of Mongolian, origin. This seems to me a very wide conclusion to draw from a chance similarity of name, and also a very rash conclusion when so many details confirm the native tradition that the clan, or at least its principal members, was of Aryan descent. Its government was certainly aristocratic. We find indeed, in the sixth century before Christ, in the valley of the Ganges, a stage of social evolution very similar to that reached in Greece at the time of Plato. With one or two exceptions, kingdoms had not yet arisen. The country was politically split up into small communities, governed under republican institutions, some aristocratic, and some more democratic in character. These were just beginning to lose their independence by being merged into kingdoms formed by some successful despot. The later legends represent the Buddha as having been the son of such a king. But this is distinctly contradicted by the earliest docu-

ments. The texts are most particularly, almost ludicrously, careful to speak of everyone with the exact degree of reverence or respect due to their worldly position. Now Gotama's father is not spoken of as a king until we come to later documents,* whereas his first cousin, Bhaddiya, is addressed by the title of *Rāja*. Even Rāja, however, is not necessarily the same as "king" in English. It means "ruler," and may well have no stronger signification than that of "archon" or "consul."

The probability therefore is that Gotama was born in a family belonging to the highest ruling caste of the small Aryan community centred at Kapila-vastu in Kosala The later accounts would lead one to infer that the Sākya domain was a rich and extensive country. There is nothing in the older books to confirm this opinion. Indeed, from the references to the adjoining states, it would seem to have been a small territory ; not much more than 150 square miles in extent.

His people were agriculturists and, no doubt, the economic position even of the principal families among them was of a very simple kind. All the marvellous details of the wealth and glory of the royal palace, in which he lived in Oriental luxury,

* For instance Mahā Padhāna Sutta, and Buddha Vaṃsa (both included in the Canon).

are due to the natural desire to magnify the splendour of the position he renounced, when, for the sake of others, he "came out" as a mendicant teacher. The name of his mother has not yet been found in the oldest texts, but it is given in the Buddhavansa as Māyā, and we are told that she died when he was seven days old, and that he was brought up by his aunt, Mahā Pajāpatī of the Gotamids. We also know that he was married (though the name of his wife is not given), that he had a son named Rāhula, and that this son afterwards became an insignificant member of the Order founded by his father. Of Gotama's childhood and early youth we know next to nothing from the earlier texts. But there are not wanting even there descriptions of the wonders which attended his birth, and of the marvellous precocity of the boy. "He was not born as ordinary men are; he had no earthly father, he descended of his own accord into his mother's womb from his throne in heaven; and he gave unmistakable signs, immediately after his birth, of his high character and of his future greatness. Earth and heaven at his birth united to pay him homage, the very trees bent of their own accord over his mother, and the angels and archangels were present with their help. His mother was the best and the purest of the daughters of men, and his

father was of royal lineage, a king of wealth and power. It was a pious task to make his abnegation and his condescension greater by the comparison between the splendour of the position he was to abandon, and the poverty in which he afterwards lived. And in countries distant from Kapila-vastu the inconsistencies between such glowing accounts, and the very names they contain, passed unnoticed by credulous hearers."*

Such legends are indeed of the greatest possible historical value from the comparative point of view. Similar legends are related of all the founders of great religions, and even of the more famous kings and conquerors in the ancient world. In a certain stage of intellectual progress it is a necessity of the human mind that such legends should grow up. They are due, in every case, to similar causes, and most instructive is it to watch those causes at work. I have dealt with this most interesting subject at considerable length both in my manual *Buddhism* and in my *Hibbert Lectures*. I have there pointed out the sources of the Buddhist Legend, and have shown how the two ideas of the King of the Golden Age and of the Prophet-Sage have influenced Buddhists in precisely the same way as the two ideas of the Messiah and the Logos have influenced Chris-

* Rh. D., *Buddhism*, 1894, pp., 182, 183.

tians, and how strikingly similar are the results attained by each. I will therefore content myself with referring on this occasion to those expositions, and will only remind you of the extreme importance of noting, not only the source of each particular incident in the legend, but also the date, as nearly as possible, when each episode became actually incorporated into the ever-growing tale. How long does it take people, perfectly sincerely and honestly, to believe in the Divine fatherhood of their hero, in his immaculate conception, in the extraordinary and even supernatural instances of the precocity of the child, and so on through all the list?

In this respect it is desirable to call attention to the publication by Mr. Robert Chalmers in the last volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of the important text entitled the *Acchariya Abbhuta Sutta*, or "The Discourse on Wonders and Marvels." This is one of the dialogues referred to in the last chapter, No. 123 in the shorter collection. In it is laid down as true of each Buddha (and therefore also of the historical Buddha) that the universe is illumined with brilliant light at the moment of his conception; that the womb is transparent so that his mother can see the babe before it is born; that the pregnancy lasts exactly 280 days; that the mother stands during parturition; that on the birth

of the babe it is received first into the hands of heavenly beings, and that supernatural showers provide first hot and then cold water in which the child is bathed ; that the future Buddha walks and speaks at once, and that the whole universe is again illumined with a brilliant light. There are other details, but this is enough to show—as the collection of dialogues is certainly one of the very oldest texts we have—how very short is the time (less than a century) required for such belief in the marvellous to spring up.

We know that in his twenty-ninth year Gotama abandoned his home, his young wife, and his infant son, and went forth into the world to become a homeless wanderer, and to spend his life, first in thinking out for himself the deepest problems of experience, and then in spreading abroad to others the good tidings of the salvation which he deemed himself to have discovered. It may seem strange to western people, even of the most earnest and cultured sort, that any man, aiming at such results, should have thought it necessary to take this step. But the conditions of life at that time in the valley of the Ganges were very different from those obtaining at present. To work in one's study for the regeneration of mankind was almost impossible. There were no written books through which to communi-

cate with the outside world. On the other hand the necessities were much fewer and much simpler. In that gorgeous climate and in that half occupied country, to retire into the woods and devote one's self to the higher life was not only practicable, but was even not uncommon. We hear of many instances of a similar kind. In the law-books, by which the lives of the Brahmins were regulated, it is considered so much a matter of course that a man should retire from the world, that the life of the good Brahmin is divided into three stages, during the first of which he is to be a student—during the second of which he is to marry, rear a family, and perform all the religious rites and sacrifices, and the household duties of a good Brahmin—and during the third of which he is to leave his home and retire, with or without his wife, into the forest, and live, as a recluse, a life of meditation. We are not unfamiliar, even among Christians, with the idea of a Retreat, into which a man may retire and, getting rid of the world, devote himself to the education of his heart. And at that time in India the doctrine of the Retreat was a favourite one, not only among Brahmins, but among the numerous sects which professed, each in a different way, to propound a solution, independent of the Brahmin theories, of the problems of life. We have constant reference in the

Buddhist books to wandering ascetics of every race and caste and sect, men and women alike, who wandered from village to village, and were ready to hold discussions with all the world.

Thus we are told, in the just published Paramattha Dīpanī, of a lady who was in the habit of wandering from village to village, and setting up at the entrance to the village a broomstick with the announcement, that she was willing to discuss with anyone who should overturn the broomstick. At one village which she reached a follower of the Buddha accepted her challenge. On the following day a public discussion was held between the two in the presence of all the village. The Buddhist answered all her puzzles, but she could not answer his, and full of confusion at a defeat (which for so many years she had never suffered) she threw herself at the feet of her opponent, and acknowledged herself a disciple from that day forth of the Blessed One. Again, in the Raṭṭhapāla Suttanta, one of the dialogues of Gotama, translated by Mr. Lupton, of the Indian Civil Service, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1894, there is a full discussion of the motives which led at that time in India to the adoption of such a life. Raṭṭhapāla, I may add, who is the recluse of this dialogue, is represented as young and rich, and in every sense of the

word happy, when he retired from the world. And he explains to the king why persons should adopt this course from other motives than those of disappointment, poverty, or old age.

Having "gone forth," as the technical expression runs, Gotama went first to Rājagaha, the capital city of the neighbouring kingdom of Magadha. His visit is described in one of the ancient poems I have referred to as being included in the canon, and I will quote it as a specimen of the kind of biographical material we find in these records. It is called the *Pabbajjā Sutta*, and is contained in the Sutta Nipāta. Of course all the beauty of the rhythm in the Pali text of the simple ballad is lost in my prose version.

1. I will praise the homeless life, such as the Far-Seeing One led, such as when he had thought the matter o'er he deliberately chose as the homeless life.

2. "Full of hindrances is this household life, the haunt of passion; free as the air is the homeless state." Thus he considered, and went forth.

3. And when he had gone forth he gave up wrong-doing, both in action and in words, and he made his mode of livelihood quite pure.

4. To the King's town the Buddha went, to Girib-

baja in Magadha; full of outward signs of worth, he collected alms for food.

5. Him saw Bimbisāra, standing on the upper terrace of his palace. On seeing him with such signs, he spake as follows:

6. "Be careful, Sirs, of this man, handsome is he, great and pure, guarded in conduct, he looks not more than a fathom's length before him.

7. "With downcast eye, and self-possessed is he. Such an one is of no low caste. Let the king's messengers run forth and ask: Where is the mendicant going?"

8. Thus sent, the messengers hurried after him. They asked. "Where is the Bhikkhu going? Where does he mean to stay?"

9 Wandering straight on from house to house, guarded as to the door (of his senses), well restrained, mindful and self-possessed, he quickly filled his bowl.

10. When he had finished his round for alms the Sage went forth from the city, and gained the mountain Paṇḍava. "There shall my dwelling be."

11. On seeing where he stopped, there the messengers stayed; and one messenger went back, and told this to the king:

12. "The mendicant, O King, is now seated on Paṇḍava hill, like to a mighty tiger, like a lion in a mountain cave."

13. On hearing the messenger's words the prince in a state chariot hurriedly went forth towards the Paṇḍava rock.

14. And where the carriage road ended there alighting from his car, on foot the prince went on till he came near; and then sat down.

15. On sitting down, the King, with courtesy, exchanged with him the greetings of a friend. Then he spake thus:

16. "Young art thou and delicate, a lad in his first youth; fine is thy colour, like a high-born noble's,

17. "The glory of the vanguard of the army, at the head of a band of heroes. I will give thee wealth. Do thou accept it, and tell us thy lineage, when asked."

18. "Hard by Himālaya's slopes, O King, there is a country strong in wealth, the dwellers therein are of the Kosalas,

19. "Descendants of the Sun by race, Sākyas they are by birth. 'T is from that stock I have gone forth, longing no more for sensual delights.

20. "Seeing the danger therein, looking on going forth as bliss, I shall go on in the struggle, for in that my mind delights."

Here ends the Pabbajjā Sutta.

Having thus rejected the royal offer the recluse

placed himself as a pupil under one of the recluses who had established themselves in the mountains near Rājagaha. We have an account in the *Ariya Pariyesana Sutta*, given by Gotama himself,* of the essence of the teaching of this sage, whose name was Ālāra Kālāma, and of the reasons which led Gotama to be dissatisfied with the result.

He then went to another of these recluses, to Uddaka, the son of Rāma, but was again dissatisfied with the teaching that he heard.

We have other accounts of these two sages, *à propos* of certain propositions which they put forward, in passages of the *Saṃyutta*, in which similar propositions are discussed. From these passages it appears that the teaching of these masters was of no simple kind. It was an elaborately thought-out solution of the problems discussed (as already pointed out in our first lecture) by such later schools as the Sānkhya and Vedānta. And it is certainly evident that Gotama, either during or before this period, must have gone through a very systematic and continued course of study in all the deepest philosophy of the time. All the oldest accounts agree in stating that after working as a pupil under Ālāra and Uddaka, Gotama devoted himself, during a period the length of which is not known, to a regular system of what we should now call penance.

* *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. i , pp 163–5.

It was a matter of common belief at that time, that by the practice of austere self-mortification a man could compel the gods to manifest themselves to him and reveal the truth; and also that the suppression of bodily feeling would in itself open out the way to a greater vigour of the mind, and to extraordinary insight. From one or other of these motives Gotama accustomed himself gradually to live on smaller and smaller quantities of food, and, by checking and repressing his breath, sought to plunge himself into that state of trance in which he might experience the illumination that he sought for.

In carrying out these self-mortifications he was watched by five ascetics, who wondered at his self-resolution and waited to see him made partaker of the long-expected enlightenment. We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that his fame is said to have spread round about like the sound of a great gong hung in the canopy of the skies. *

But he found himself no nearer the goal; and one day, after he had suddenly staggered and fallen in a faint to the ground, he determined to give up this method also, and again gradually to return to the ordinary life of a recluse. Then, when he was apparently most in need of sympathy, when his sense of failure might have been assuaged by the tender trust and respect of faithful followers, his

* Rh. D., *Buddhism*, p. 35.

companions forsook him, and went away to Benares. To them it was an axiom that mental conquest lay through bodily suppression. In giving up his penance he had to give up their esteem; and, in what might have been his sore distress, they left him to bear, alone, the bitterness of doubt.

There then ensued that mental struggle which culminated on the day when, under the Bo Tree, Gotama the recluse attained to Buddhahood and to Nirvana, deemed himself to have discovered at last the right solution of the mysteries of life, and became henceforth Gotama the Buddha. The later legends have described this, the most important event in Gotama's career, in poetical language not found in the earliest texts.* Even the well-known scene of the temptation by Māra, the Evil One (which fills so many pages in the later records, and in Sir Edwin Arnold's beautiful poem), is in those accounts entirely wanting. And when it is first incidentally referred to† we find only the bare men-

* The *Ariya Pariyesana Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. i., p. 167; and *Mahā Vagga*, i., 1, 1 to 1, 4, 5.

† In the *Book of the Great Decease*, iii, 42–45. Translated in my *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 53. Compare also the *Padhāna Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* (Fausböll's translation, pp 69–72) where the suggestion is quite different. The origin of this whole legend of Māra, to which we have two of these early references, inconsistent with one another, is perhaps to be found in the simple words at the end of the *Ariya Pariyesana Sutta* (pp. 174, 175).

tion of a suggestion to the Blessed One that now, having solved the mystery, his work is done, and that the time had arrived for him to pass away without attempting to proclaim to others the glad tidings of the Noble Way.

But he rejected the thought (veiled under this figure of a suggestion from without), and resolved to preach his gospel to the world. First he sought out and proclaimed it to the five recluses who had been till lately his companions. In the oldest account of this episode * it is stated that when they saw him coming, they concerted with each other, saying:

"Friends, there comes the Samaṇa Gotama, who lives in abundance, who has given up his exertions, and has turned back to a life of ease. Let us not salute him, nor rise from our seats when he approaches, nor take his bowl and his robe from his hands. But let us just put there a seat. If he likes, let him sit down."

But when the Blessed One gradually approached nigh unto those five recluses, the five could not keep their agreement. They went forth to meet the Blessed One. One took his bowl and his robe, another prepared a seat; a third brought water

* *Mahā Vagga*, I., VI., 10, a little more expanded than *Ariya Pariyesana Sutta*, *loc. cit.*

wherewith to wash his feet, and a footstool thereto and a towel. Then the Blessed One sat down on the seat they had prepared.

Now they addressed the Blessed One by his name, and with the appellation "Friend." But he said to them: "Do not address the Tathāgata by his name, or by the appellation 'Friend.' The Tathāgata has become an Arahat, the supreme Buddha. Give ear, O recluses. The ambrosia has been won by me. I will teach you. To you I preach the Dharma (the Law, the Norm). If you walk in the way that I will show, you will ere long, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face, live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths give up the world and go forth into the homeless state."

They then object that, having given up his austerities, how can he claim to have gained the insight he had been seeking. But he repeats to them his assurance of knowledge; and when they again object, he says: "Do you admit that I have never unburdened myself to you in this way before this day?"

"You have never spoken so, lord," is the reply. He then sets out to them his view of life in a discourse called the *Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-sutta*, or the "Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness."