

We must seek under this ; we must shovel on one side the teaching which reflects the standpoint of the *samana* or monk : the teaching of the man who looks on life in the world as shipwreck, as walking into fire, as wading in filth, as courting disease. And more yet must be shovelled aside : the teaching which is a worsening of the nature of the man, which piles up negatives about him, as being ultimately only distinguishable as mind, which sees in the "becoming" of further life for him only a result of perverted will, which conceives the consummation of him only as a "going out". And we must see if there remain anything of salvage about this, anything which is in harmony with the gospel figured by the symbol of the Way. Does anything survive which shows man's nature as potentially the Highest, capable of evolving That Which it truly was ? Anything which shows him at this or that stage of becoming That ? This, I hold, is what we have "to look for", and to lift out, if indeed we find it, from the matter in which it is embedded, as being of the original Sakyan teaching. I am not saying that such fragments will be *all* that the first men taught. I indicate several matters of current interest in which they may be safely assumed to have been interested, and which will have come in varying proportions into their teaching. But these are matters which we should group around their central message, and not suffer to usurp that place.

Now we have in the preceding chapters discussed a few fragments which, for me, do tell of that central message : the words on the Way, on the associating with the Way of the word "to make become", the word on the quest of the Self, the word on the supreme value of *dhamma*, or the inner monition of the Self, the association of the Way, not with this life only, but with a goal, with the "Beyond". Were I to sift the *Pitakas* from end to end for an exhaustive winnowing, I should indeed be doing a task that needs doing, but this book makes no claims to be in any respect exhaustive. But there is one feature, a very prominent one in the Suttas, to which I have in past years sought to lure students, one where our survivals may reasonably be expected. This is in the parable, the simile, the object-lesson. On the one hand this is a likely method in missionaries' talk ; on the other, the Eastern literature is ever prolific in it. It is even held as a valid method of reasoning, and herein is often used to make error seem plausible. A fraction of resemblance is taken as voucher for resemblance in the two wholes which are compared. Where the comparison in the simile is used with clearer vision, the usual Sutta introduction is justified¹ : "Well then, I will make a simile for you, for even by a simile some

¹ E.g. *Majjhima*, No. 21.

XVII

THE TEACHING OF THE FIRST MEN OF SAKYA

Nothing in our problems on Sakya is harder than to distinguish, in such records as we have, what will have been the teaching, in mantra or in talk, of the first few Sakyan missionaries, as differing, in matter, in mode, in emphasis, from the teaching which little by little came to take its place. That this change took place is indisputable, albeit it is as yet far from being adequately recognized. There was no fixed wording of any kind to constitute a referendum. There were new views, new ideals growing apace as we have seen, where Sakya was born. And the teachers themselves were no machines, full charged and started to turn out the same theme in the same way ; they were full charged it is true, with will and with a central theme : the willed growth of the self or very man evolving That who he really was (as opposed to his merely *being* That), under the figure of the Way. But they themselves grew as they taught, the Sakyamuni not excepted (was he alone to be excepted from a teaching of universal change ?), and what they said as older men will have been here and there a "becoming" in that which they had said at first.

But the records as we have them were put into fixed form (yet unwritten) very long after the developments of the first decades of the Sakyan mission had come up and passed by, and all that is left is to seek here and there for a trace of them. We need not utterly despair of finding such traces half obliterated under the thicker spoor of the accumulating utterances, accumulating while growth was still active in the will to record. But we must, in seeking, imitate the man of science referred to above, and bear in mind what it is we have to look for. We have to look for the remains of a teaching, which was not for a world within a world, which was not for a little world of intelligentsia only, which was not for a world of "Protestants", of Nonconformists as such, which was not for the formation of a Set or Party or Society or Sect or Cult, which was not for the formation of a Body or Sangha of *samanas*, nor to place these in prestige and worth above the laity as such. Truly ours is no easy task, for our records, if read at the standpoint of their compilers, would lead us to conclude that this last-stated object was precisely the aim of Sakya, its teaching on purely religious themes being more or less incidental to that object.

wise men discern the object in question." And sometimes there is added : " a simile which is original and spontaneous."

It is a little singular that, so far as I have been able to gather, so little work of cataloguing, analysis and comparison has been done in the similes of literatures. Especially in literatures which are historically obscure, such as is Buddhist literature. Especially also in literatures which are ostensibly based on a gospel message preached to the Many. For in this case we inevitably get figures and parables drawn from scenes and customs and events which strike the eye, which fill the daily life of the people taught. Hence we may get light on the place and the time where the teaching first took place. And to what extent our survey is comprehensive, to that extent are we safeguarded from over-hasty conclusions.

For instance, we open our *Iliad*, and at once we plunge into the colour and sound, the stress and bustle of agitated mass-movements, by the aid of such similes as buzzing bees, wind-waves in the corn, the refrain of roaring breakers, crests of fire running over the slopes. Had we an Index of Homeric similes we might or again we might not conclude, that, as is asserted in one popular Survey of religions, Greek professional bards were mostly as blind as Homer, the similes being mainly sound-pictures. But certainly the equal proportion of sight- and sound-pictures in our opening four does not so far support the opinion.

Be that as it may, I made an Index of Piṭaka similes,¹ and from it learnt a few fairly safe conclusions about the place and time of early Sakyān teaching. One of these centred in the river similes. These were nearly always about Ganges and her tributaries, flowing eastward. This militates against the theory, now perhaps moribund, that either " Buddhism ", or the Piṭakas are a purely Sinhalese product. " See how Gaṅgā trends down eastward, slopes eastward, is borne down eastward. If all the people came with spades, think you they could make her flow west ? " There are four or five little Gaṅgās in Ceylon—the word means simply goer—but they have compound names, and the only one of any length—a mite beside the Ganges—flows north. Nor would Gaṅgā's feeders have occurred to a teacher of Ceylon : " Just as whatever great rivers there be, such as Gaṅgā, Yamunā Sarabhū, Aciravātī, Mahī, all of them slide and tend to the east... even so does he who makes to become the Way flow and glide and tend towards Nirvana ". The Ganges itself is now and then called " sea ", and the parable of her bearing down a " great tree-trunk " as a picture

¹ In *JPTS.*, 1907 ; appendix in 1908. First editions published since make revision desirable, and there are other omissions and errors.

of a young man's many dangers in life is suggestive of a mighty stream, of which the Sutta-Nīpāta poet spoke his verse.

Noisily go the little rills, silent the mighty stream (ver. 720).

I think that if we saw certain early English manuscripts naming the river Forth, and not the Thames in their parables, we should, if in doubt as to their place of origin, hesitate to say this was the Abbey of Westminster. Moreover, the climate in the Piṭakas is not that of tropical Ceylon. The sun's heat and splendour comes, if rarely, into the similes, as when the Sakyān Simeon, Asita, is in a poem said to behold the baby Siddhattha " as the glowing sun after the rains freed from cloud "—this is typical of the sun-figures—but cold nights and days are also mentioned :

Dost dwell beneath bare skies ? Cold are these nights
And wintry now. See that thou perish not
With cold foredone. Get thee within thy lodge,
Thy door well barred.

(*Theragāhā*, ver. 385.)

The balance is, I grant, in favour of warmth, since the bliss of coolness is a synonym for saintship : " stibhūta." But the balance of evidence in matters topographical favours the Ganges valley rather than Ceylon. And not a region much to the north of that great watershed. The mountain majesty of the north has its fitting figure in " Himavā pabbatarāja ", " the snowy king of the hills," yet is he a mythical world, and the *pabbata*, literally rugged protuberance, figuring in verse and prose, is mainly the " little hills " around Rājagaha, less high than our own highest fells, or other craggy heights.

Like to a rock that is a monolith
And trembles never in the wintry blast . . .

E'en as a mountain-crag unshaken stands,
Sure-based, a muser with illusions gone,
Like very mountain stands unwavering.

(*Dham.*, 81 ; *Therag.*, 642, 651, 1000.)

Himavā himself is far away :—

Like to the snowy peak the good shine far,
(*Dham.* 304)

and no truly Alpine denizen would have seen just rain as causing the spate here described :—

" Even as when in the hills above the deva rains, so that the waters according to their watershed flow down and fill the hill nullahs and

¹ *Sutta-Nīpāta*, ver. 687.

these fill the beckes and these fill the rivers, and these fill the ocean, so in the believing disciple, . . . do these things flow on, bearing him beyond toward the cleansing from all that poisons." Who, say, at Aosta in late June, when the placid Dora becomes a raging grey torrent, would so word the cause ?

Evidence, too, might, by one who knows better than I, be drawn from the plants in the similes. Their authors are, as to place and time, between the scarcity of reference to the lotus in the older literature and the plenitude in mediæval books. So also is the fan-palm (*tāla*) about them, but not apparently the cocoa-nut palm. About them too was the *sāl* tree and the *karēr*,¹ but I find no trace of conifers.

Of beasts too, apart from elephant and buffalo, those of the home-stand are as with us, from cow-byre and horse-stable to poultry and pigs. But the camel is all but entirely absent ; bear, panther, and tiger hardly come in at all, and the lion, albeit a frequent figure :—

As to the call of distant lions' roar

Resounding from the hollow of the hill

List to the psalms of them whose selves were trained

Telling us messages anent themselves . . .

(*Theragāthā* : opening verses)

is usually, like the Himālayas, a mythical figure, as of olden memories.

"The lion, king of the beasts, at eventide comes forth from his lair . . . stretches himself . . . surveys the four quarters, utters thrice his lion-roar . . . sallies forth on his round . . . and beasts hearing fall a-quaking and hide themselves . . ." ² It seems a graphic picture, but I mistrust the setting-out roar as unlikely to facilitate good hunting. But I may be wrong ; it is the almost invariable "king of the beasts" which suggests the mythical. Anyway the "mṛiga" as hunted by kshatriya is portrayed as deer, not lion, let alone tiger. Equally mythical perhaps is the rare figure of the rhinoceros,³ to whom as a lone wild beast the true recluse should in lone faring be like. The monkey plays a small but important part in the similes. It stands for the mind regarded from the preacher's point of view : acquisitive, inquisitive, inconstant.

Unsteady is the mind as any jiggling ape⁴ ;

and as coming thereby to disaster by hunter's guile and snare of sticky bait, after the fashion of the well-known "Brer Rabbit" of negro story.⁵

¹ *Pit. of the Brethren*, p. 363.

² *Sutta-Nipāta*, Vagga ii.

³ *Theragāthā*, ver. 1111 ; *Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 791 ; *Samyutta*, ii, 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v, 148.

⁵ *Samyutta*, iii, 84.

But it is naturally of the human environment of the authors of the literature that the parables and so forth tell us most. We see that the life of the town, in the Suttas, does not bulk nearly so large as that of the country. These people are living mainly in villages, with their surrounding communal field (*khetta*) of rice and grain of various kinds, their cattle pastures beyond, with a communal herdsman warding the cattle from wild beast, or from trespassing on corn, or when fording streams, and with the uncleared jungle, the *kantāra* or *gahana*, stretching away in this or that direction, never, it may be, very far off : a favourite symbol of life's snares or of uncandid thinking. And as to the field culture and the cattle, we notice not only the communal use of diverting the running streams, this day for A's field-irrigation, that day for B's, as may be seen in Alpine community-culture, but also two things : the brahman at his ploughing is in no way incurring the stricture on land-tilling for brahmans of the "Laws of Manu" ; and in the word "go-ghātaako", cattle-butcher, the similes know of no *tabu* on beef.

If we follow our similes into the village, or the rarer city, we find a host of parables and metaphors : the gates compared, as in our Bunyan, to the avenues of sense, the bazars and workshops, where the wheelwright is planing knobs and blemishes out of his tyres, the fletcher is moulding his arrowpoints ; the goldsmith is applying the ordeal of fire to his precious metal ; the potter, with oven, moulds in two parts and brittle wares is here (I have not noticed his wheel in the *Piṭakas*) ; and so are ivory-workers, smiths, dyers, painters, house-builders, coopers, leather-dressers, and florists. The arts are not strongly represented in simile, but the fresco-painter's human figures symbolize a man's deeds as creating his own after-life ; and the lute comes in both as typical of seductive sense-lure, and also as suggestive, in the tuning, of due measure needed in adjusted tension of what we might call will, and which the record calls effort put forth.

Along the streets, the wheel of the cart follows the beast's hoofs like dogging retribution ; the well-trained elephant is symbol of self-mastery ; the thorough-bred horse too, quivering at the very shadow of the whip.¹ The chariot of the Right passes along the Straight Road to the land of No-Fear, its syce of right vision running on before.² And the king's seven relief posting chariots, in readiness for a journey where the will to special effort is called for,³ would have been valid for us but a little over a century ago.

¹ *Samyutta*, i, 7 ; *Dhani*, 143.

² Above, p. 150.

³ *Majjhima*, No. 23.

Soldiers in armour marching past suggest the armour of righteousness¹ as later to St. Paul. And the evil-doer whom they, "the king's men," hale before the king, is not man's only enemy who can "break through and steal".²

Nor are the children left out, playing then as now with sand-castles, jealously guarding what "is mine", and then knocking it down with equal zest a moment later³ : it is a monkish simile in its application and forced the application of self-analysis killing desire. To the baby's nurse the Founder is shown likening himself, warding his new disciples even with seeming severity, as a nurse to extract a choking bit of stick will take the babe's head in her left hand and crooking her right finger will hook out the stick even if blood flow therewith.⁴

The imagery grouped about the women busied round the hearth and house reveals a patriarchal state of society, with all the standpoints implied therein. The disciple diffident in faith is compared to the newly-wed daughter-in-law's nervousness on entering her father-in-law's household. The housewife testing with finger and thumb the rice she is boiling in a sampling ladle is said to have a two-finger intelligence, in common with her sisters. And the ways of women are likened, for caprice, crookedness, wantonness, seductive power, and all the rest, to the path of a fish in the sea, the bends of the river, a public house, or highway, to fire and flood, to the cat, and other less canny beasts. As mother, it is true, she is in another category, as we might expect : she too with the father, and the teachers of old is Deity, Brahṃā⁵ ; she is the ideal of compassion.⁶ But as wife also it would seem to be other than a monk who speaks of her as "comrade supreme",⁷ and as "the good friend dwelling in the house",⁸ "taking compassion upon her husband."⁹

The cat, the mouse, the dog are also pressed into service, and in the house, the fire, the pots, the mirrors, and the clothes-chest. The last named is of special interest in a remark ascribed to Śāriputta : that a man's mastery over the mind is as a king able to have selected, at will from his wardrobe the suit he chooses.¹⁰ The converging rafters of the house serve to illustrate old age ; the house top terrace the retrospect won of happy survival after death ; and the here and the hereafter are likened to two houses of the life in both of which the man who has eyes to see is aware.¹¹

¹ *Samyutta*, v, 6 ; *Therag.*, 543.

² *Samyutta*, iii, 190.

³ *Anguttara*, i, 132 ; cf. *Taitt. Up.* i, 11.

⁴ *Samyutta*, i, 37.

⁵ *Majjhima*, i, 215 ; *Samyutta*, v, 71.

⁶ *Khuddakapāṭha*, viii.

⁷ *Anguttara*, iii, 6.

⁸ *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Mettā Sutta*.

⁹ *Dīgha*, No. 21.

¹⁰ *Majjhima*, i, 81 ; 76 ; 279.

It is very possible that in many cases, such similes, drawn from daily life, were spoken, not by way of mental images, but as what our kinder-gartens call object-lessons. The parable was itself a thing handled, shown, altered. Jesus used this method with immortal effect : "Give me a penny. Whose is the image and superscription ?" And again, "he took a little child and set him in the midst : . . . except ye become as little children . . ." There is no object-parable in the Suttas so winning in truth and loveliness as this, but one, which would suggest a young hearer, was used also with immortal effect. The object-lesson, namely, given to Rāhula by his father, is still to be seen in the rock edicts of Asoka as the saying of the Laghulovada (Rāhul'ovāda), "on lying speech by the Bhagavā Buddha," in the Calcutta-Bairat inscription. In the Sutta so-called the son has brought water for foot-bathing to the father, who thereafter pours most away : "See, Rāhula, the little water (left) ; pours the rest away : "See, all is gone" ; upsets the pan : "see how topsy-turvy" ; shows the empty pan : "see how empty ; see how little, how thrown away, how empty is the holy life of those who have no shame in consciously lying !"¹ There are also the object-lessons of pebbles or leaves taken in the hand, or dust on the finger-nail to suggest violent contrasts with greater wholes² ; and the hand held up and waved to suggest the freely willing agent who is not the toady or otherwise mentally captive.³ Panthaka's towel is another such, though less advertized.⁴ We have considered Panthaka, snubbed as a dull boy by fellow-monks, but cherished by Gotama, who discerned his psychic gift :—

Who laid his hand upon my head and took

My arm and to the garden led me back

And in compassion to me gave

A napkin for the feet and bade me thus :

Fix now your mind on this clean thing, the while

Well concentrated you do sit apart.

And perhaps the best known object-lesson is that of the "mustard-seed" for which the inconsolable Kisa-Gotamī bearing about the body of her little child was to ask at any house where no man had died, to serve as medicine for a miracle-cure. We have the story solely from the Commentaries,⁵ but it may be a memory that is at least partly true. The lesson drawn from her quest by the mother is not

¹ *Majjhima*, No. 61.

² *Samyutta*, v, 437 ; 460, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 198.

⁴ *Therag.*, Cūla-Panthaka, see Chap. XII.

⁵ *Dhammapada Commentary*, on ver. 47, 287 ; *Therīgāthā Commentary*, on No. lxiii.

that conveyed in terms of modern human sodality by Edwin Arnold's poem : "the whole wide world weeps with you." European Buddhists have gladly adopted it, and to some extent Ceylon has also. The *orthodox* solatium is, that everything, not one's own child's body only, being impermanent, the more one loves the more one will suffer. And hence, said monasticism, love not, if you would not suffer. And so, adds the commentary, "she stiffened her mind from the softness of love." So falsely rings the bigger note of to-day when struck with that of Eastern monasticism. The latter is not therefore wholly unworthy. Somehow the drug of self-pity had to be eliminated.

It is impossible in this passing reference to give more than a fragmentary survey. I included upwards of 600 parables and other forms of simile in my Index and Supplement, and still it is not exhaustive, even apart from Piṭaka books at the time inedited. The subject awaits better treatment and deserves it, for thereby may both knowledge and sympathy grow. There is no adequate sympathy in the study of any scriptures apart from their similes. These are like ancient trees round which the creepers of religious sentiment, deep, old, very moving, have twined themselves. And we cannot transplant these old trees into the love and adoration and aspiration of another creed. Or at most in some cases only, and even in these . . . The sun figures in Sakyana and Christian similes, but the tender feeling of fostering in the Jesus-word : "for he maketh the sun to shine upon the just and the unjust" finds no echo under the less pitiful sun of India. The Sakyana has recourse to the patient tolerance of earth, water, fire. It is Bunyan rather than the Gospels which have made the way of life and the river of death mighty pictures for the English Christian, pictures which for the Sakyana are so fundamentally important. But if we were to speak of the Wheel symbol (let alone the later simile of the Three Gems) to a Christian, we stir no responsive throb ; as little should we do so in the Buddhist by speaking of the Lamb, or of the winged messengers. So estranging have been the separate avenues made by the growth of figurative language. So impossible is it for never so ardent a con- or pervert who has been brought up an earnest Christian to become genuinely a Buddhist, or the converse. A learned and sympathetic American spent years in travel along the Eastward path pursued in history by Buddhism¹ to try to find out "what it feels like to be a Buddhist." I venture to think this is impossible. There is not for the sympathizer the traditional background which will have told upon any Buddhist whose upbringing has been worthy of the name. It is none the less

¹ *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, by James B. Pratt.

well to know something about such a background, analogous to that of Islam and Christianity, and to be able to draw comparisons.¹

I come to the special comparison pertinent to the object of this book. We have to ask, of Piṭaka parables and other similes, which, if any of them, are, I cannot alas ! say positively, but *likely* to have been actually uttered by the first men of the Sakyas ? which are more likely to have been first used by Sakyana teachers of a later date ? And I suggest the following rough guide.

If the conception put forward in these pages of the original Sakyana message be accepted, then will also those similes be accepted as early, which are in line with, and illustrations of the nature of that message. And if the hypothesis as to the essential nature of the "new word" in a world-gospel, put forward in an early chapter, be valid, then are there some similes which, as illustrating a standpoint *adverse* to that new word, will not have been uttered by the first men, who stood so close to the heart of the mandate. Here too exhaustive survey is impossible, but a few typical instances should be useful.

There is first and foremost the idea that man, as to his nature and in his life, is in a state of becoming, that is, not merely of change or of change negatively conceived as transience, but of *becoming*, if he be walking "by *dhamma*", (*dhammena*), *more* than he was before. He is, as man, not merely "being" (*sat*). To illustrate this, I see chief of all of course the way or road or course (*magga* ; *añjana*, *yāna*, *paṭipadda*), implying that which is its chief interest, its very cause : *the wayfarer*. With this we may associate the stream, once equated with way ("What is it we hear called 'stream' ? Just this Ariyana Way . . ." ²), and the chariot, when used, as it is in the quotation given already (p. 317), as the man or woman way-faring to the goal (not, I need hardly say, as it is misused in false analogy by the nun Vajirā, whereof more in a later chapter). A spirited simile too of a man's stages in becoming or growth is that of the relays of chariots arranged for the king's forced rate of travel (*Majjhima*, No. xxiv). It is ascribed to Puṇḍra, when in conversation with Sariputta, and is for me very suggestive of a genuine memory, albeit somewhat dressed up with scholastic terms, and adorned with too much mutual saluamings.

Then there is that symbol of the chariot's progress, the Wheel, nearest in importance for Buddhist tradition to the cross for that of Christianity, the wheel which stands for the Way, for wayfaring, for the wayfarer, but which in legend has got mixed up with the

¹ Dr. Burlingame has published a work on "Buddhist Parables".

² *Samyutta*, v, 347.

spread of a cult, and which by monasticism got perverted into that which revolves without progress, an idea in the air, forsooth, and not on solid ground : the wheel of rebirth severed from the faith in becoming. With these we must also associate the parable of the raft, a figure to which the Suttas themselves refer. It is so indicative of a gospel of becoming that it may be told as it stands.

" I will teach you *dhamma* by the parable of the raft. Just as if a man on a journey should come to a great water, the hither shore whereof were full of perils, the further shore whereof were the haven whence comes no fear, and he had no boat for crossing nor any ford. And he were to think : What shall I do now ? What if I were to make me a raft of brushwood and rushes and boughs, and were to launch it paddling with arms and legs ? And so he did and so he crossed. And coming ashore would he then think : Great service to me has been this raft. I will carry it along on my back ? Nay, for he would think : Great service to me this raft has been. Now can I sink it, or leave it high and dry. And so, unencumbered, he were to go on his way. Even so do you leave behind what is *dhamma*. let alone what is not *-dhamma*." ¹

The notable " moral " is more worthily appreciated in the words of St. Paul. " Let us cease to speak of first principles and fare on unto perfection " The Pali is most unusual in form and suggests a corrupt reading, but here is not fit opportunity to discuss it. ² The meaning is not on that account obscure. The *dhamma*-monition needed by the child, by the beginner, by the learner at an early stage becomes outgrown, and may be, *qua* specific monition, laid aside. Its message has been wrought up into the man's partially achieved becoming. He needs, he gets further monition, but the raft-stage of these he has left behind. It is a raft-stage that is explicitly referred to later on in the same book of Suttas. ³ A disciple is being reproved, that he saw the mind as the man, namely as that who " runs on, fares on "—it is the usual phrase—from life to life. This may well have been a *carveat* to the first men, of the nature of the Second Utterance. ⁴ And the clinging to the mind (*varāṇā*) as the " speaker, the experiencer who fares on is here and there to feel the results of deeds good and bad " is there stated to be incompatible with the having learnt the lesson of putting aside the raft.

This Sutta has been woefully misconstrued, not to say mis-

¹ *Majjhima*, i, No. 22.

² i.e. in using *dhammā* for what should be *dhammā*, and in the curious term *s-dhammā*. Dictionary editors have overlooked this. Trenckner's

vr. II. note suggests uncertainty in recensions.

³ *Majjhima*, No. 38.

⁴ Above, Chap. X.

constructed by Pīṭaka editors, let alone modern writers, ¹ but its *application* of the raft-parable, together with the parable itself, is for me of the original stock of teachings. The man, in the first place is not a static being, but in process of becoming ; the man, in the second place, is not, in becoming, just mind ; he is he.

To me the raft-parable, as told and then as further applied in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, is in my judgment of the original teaching. But if we turn to the same parable as told in the group of parables in the Sense-sphere Collection of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, we see that the whole pith and point of the earlier symbolism has been blurred, lost. The " Snake " Sutta (xxxv, iv, 5, 197) tells of the world-wayfaring of many terrors of the average Everyman, and how finally, coming to the great water he builds him a raft, in the same wording as in the *Majjhima*. But the raft-journey is the one effective and final stage " the Ariyan eightfold way ", which lands him, a perfected " brahman ", i.e. saint, in the great Beyond of nirvana. It is no intermediate means to be discarded for a better means of progress ; the man is now at the end, the gone-out, the finish so far as any teaching showed, of both " being " and " becoming ". Here we have no weaving of the Way into Everyman's life in the world, as the right choosing now in this, now in that crisis of will and conduct. We have first the man-in-the-life-and-work-of-the-world ; then we have the cutting himself adrift from that life, and then only, the entering upon the Way and its (relatively speedy and simple) termination.

This finality about the raft-business as achieving a final crossing is also to be seen in perhaps the purest expression of recluse-ideals : the poems of the Sutta-Nīpāta (ver. 21) :—

Bound, wellwrought, was the raft, said Bhagavā,

Crossed, gone beyond, I could subdue the flood ;

No further need for raft doth now arise . . .

And in that late compilation of materials early and late, the Book of the Passing Away, we find the raft no longer used to illustrate even a stage in the Way, but as contrasted with the superior method of salvation used by the wise :—

They who to cross the mighty stream evade the swamps,
Bind them a raft ; crossed over are the wise.

Here again is the way of the layman and the short-cut assumed as the way of the *samana* held up in contrast. In other words we are, in these latter applications of the raft simile, listening not to Gotama and his men, but to the monk of the monks' world.

¹ Myself included, in *Buddhism*.

The most notable association with organic growing is the parable of the Jeta Wood¹; Here the parable as it has come down to us has this in common with the Second Utterance: the central point in both is left unsaid. I mean that, in reminding hearers that the faggots borne away to be firewood were as body and mind, it was not necessary to say that the wood was still there, as the "man" was still there, becoming, even as the wood went on growing. Nevertheless, it may be that we have here some later editing with which I will deal later.

Another parable which has perhaps undergone similar treatment, and which has, in context and in point, much that is akin to that of the judas tree, is that of the border city. Here is a fortified six-gated city (five senses and *manas*) with a wary gatekeeper, or rather announcer: (awareness inner and outer), and swift chariots bringing a "true word" from east, from west, from north: the three avenues from without for India. All are submitted to the lord of the city sitting at the crossroads, i.e. the chief square.¹ So by this message and by that does the man grow.

Here we have, I believe, another ancient saying of the true old stock. The thing about it which is later and not true seems to me to be the interpretation. The swift messengers are called calm and insight, terms which albeit mentioned in the *mātikās* of the Anguttara are only dwelt upon in later books. And the lord of the city is mind, *viññāṇa*, the mind where we ought to have found the man, the self. Mind has already been accounted for under the "six gates". More of this too later. Clearly there has been editing, and not able editing at that. We have only to glance a little further at the jumble of application in the "poaching cow parable" and that of the lute, where the castigation of sense-desires is merged without distinction into the man as not to be found in his body or mind.

I come to a parable which has for me now a meaning transformed from that which it seemed to bear many years ago. This is the figure in one Sutta only (in the Second Book of the Samyutta) entitled "Nagara", the City. Gotama is represented as telling, at Sāvathī, the story of his woe over the world's obsession by disease, age, and dying, and how light came to him in discerning that the man could be, nay, was the cause in his own becoming.

"At that thought about things not taught before there arose in me vision, knowledge, *paññā*, wisdom, light. Just as if a man faring through the forest, through the great wood should see an ancient way, an ancient road, traversed by men of former days. And he wese to go along it, and going along it he should see an ancient city, an ancient

¹ *Majjhima*, i, pp. 104, 357; *Samyutta*, iii, 153; *Anguttara*, iv, 125.

I turn to a very different picture, yet to one in which we see the same pre-occupation with the fact, the mystery, the all-importance of Becoming: the parable of the hen and her eggs. The sublimity in the mother-yearning of the Saviour of men over the stubborn city: "How often would I have gathered thee, O Jerusalem! . . ." exalts the homely metaphor of the anxious little bird to its own height. In the Sutta similes we find her at an earlier stage of her motherly cares, and concerning a matter where the emphasis is less poignant, and is more on the very fact of the coming-to-be. It was of sufficient salience to be repeated four times in three of the Four Nikāyas:—

"Let a man, if he have done his utmost in right training, not be anxious as to the result. He will surely come forth to the light in safety. Even as a hen who has brooded over duly and sat herself round her dozen eggs, may yearn: 'O that my little chicks may break open the egg-shell . . . and come forth into the light in safety!' Yet all the while those little chicks are sure to do so. Even so, etc."

The parable is given also in three of the passages in the case of a not coming to be where the man "has not done his utmost". It is for the rest much wrapped up in monastic admonition, yet in the passage I quote, the Sutta of the Fallows of the mind (*Majjh.* 16), the subject is introduced with the phrase: "he will surely not . . . he surely will, attain to growth, development, abundance,"—words closely connected in the original with organic life—which is echoed in so many Suttas. And more: there is the significant word, *bhābbā*, the Vedic *bhavya*, here (and elsewhere) used: "the man-who-may-become." The word may well have lost its early force, nor is that force well brought out in translations. It is rendered as able to, capable of, fit for. But this for original Sakya is not enough; the renderings are too loose, too free; we have in *bhavya* the man who was strongly advancing in coming-to-be; the will-full man; the man very much awake and alive as to the very man, not just in body or mind.

Then there is the parable of the judas tree (or *kimsuka*), illustrating differing needs, differing values, differing attainments in growth at different seasons. It is analogous to the raft as a temporary need; it is much beworded with scholastic formulas, but it may well be of the true original sayings, and is all the more to be noted, in that few parables of things so patently "becoming" as the plant have survived. It is a far cry in time and in changed views to Buddhaghosa, yet it is precisely he who reminds us of the plant tradition in teachings,¹ when trying to explain his paralogism of survival without the man to survive, and with the connection between the Way and Becoming practically lost.

¹ *Vinaddhi-Magga*, xvii, p. 555; *Buddhism*, p. 145.

princely domain, wherein dwelt men of old, having gardens, groves, pools, foundations of walls, a goodly spot. And that man were to bring word to the raja . . . Pardon, sir, know this : such and such have I seen . . . Lord, restore that city . . . Even so have I seen an ancient way, an ancient road traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of old. And what is that way ? . . . Just this Ariyan Way . . .¹

In the translation of this Book of the Samyutta, I, a little over mid-way between the earlier interpretation alluded to and what I now hold to be true, wrote in my *Buddhism* (p. 33): "This beautiful Sutta which has the stamp of an *ipse dixit* stress . . . for a special purpose was held to lie on the teacher showing in it, that he was not unique, but in a series of teachers." And I likened the statement to words by Jesus and by Confucius. Six years later I saw, in the Sutta as a whole, stress laid on the antiquity of the moral instinct, the "ought", the Way-law in human nature, shown by great teachers. I was feeling out after *dhamma* here better than before ; there was, I hope, some "becoming" shown, but at this later day I trust that where I have come-to-be is better, is truer yet.

The question here is neither of a Buddha-succession, nor of *dhamma* conceived as the dubious word instinct. *Dhamma* is for me that Alpha whereof the simile of ancient city in ruins is not fit. The Founder may, or may not have been speaking as the Sutta records. It seems quite probable that he may have. But in those musings on the mandate, urging him, travelling in him for birth, it was the nature and life of man that was occupying him. It was a renascent word concerning this that he had to utter. It was the ideas about the man and the Way of him that needed building up. These were the things that needed re-discovering. And for all the wordy glosses about cause as conceived in monkish formula and the Way in its eightfold dress, I believe we have here a true parable of the first men.

Of cardinal importance in this rediscovering of the Man and the Way of him was the new word of Sakyā, emphasizing a raising the standard of conduct here, as necessary to salvation hereafter. The life must be in keeping with the prayer. The Tevijja Suttanta (Dīgha, xiii) is a talk with young brahmins, showing no dissent from their main beliefs, but making of this life a preparation for qualifying to join the company of a better moral world after death. Only in this way would there be consistency in invoking the warding of them here by that world. Now the notable simile in that talk lifts this into high relief, and is for me therefore very genuine : "As well might a man stand on the hither bank of this river Achiravati and think to cross

¹ *Samyutta*, ii, 103.

over, were he either to chain himself here, or lie down and sleep, or keep calling, 'Come, O Beyond from the Beyond !'" Nay, but he must be up and doing, ridding himself of all that disqualifies him from being fit for admission yonder. Do we not see here how the Sakyān mission was no anti-brahman attack, but the building up where was a weak spot in the current teaching : the need to work for the Becoming-more in the man who potentially was the very Most ?

Significantly old too for me is Sāriputta's parable of the raja and his wardrobe (*dhussa-kāraṅghaka*). In the charming Greater Gosinga Wood Sutta, where the first men are enjoying its moonlit glory, they, each of them, declare how the "man" might enhance it. (The text has "almsman", monk, but it is only one among them whose affirmation is narrow enough to fit that : Kassapa.) It is Sāriputta who has started the talk : "Fair is the wood in the clear moonlight, with the sāl-trees blossom-laden, with heaven's perfumes methinks wafted around ! What think you, Ānanda ?" And Sāriputta is the last to state his opinion :

"Take a man who is master of the mind, and is not under its mastery . . . It is as if an eminent man, with a wardrobe filled with clothes of divers colours, were in the morning to don the pair of robes he were to desire for early wear ; at noon to don the pair he might desire then ; in the evening were to don the pair he might desire then. By such a man were Gosinga made beautiful."

(The translator in *Further Dialogues* has here, I regret to see, been misleading, just where it is important, in this matter of early Sakyān ideas, to use utmost care. The telling is in Pali of the simplest description and with a slender vocabulary. The English translation is how an Englishman might now tell it. But there is *no word* in Pali for "choose" or for "select", else had they been used. "Don" is *pārūpeyya*, lit. "to wrap round" ; "desire" is *ānankhanti*.)

Sāriputta is again associated with this parable in the Samyutta-Nikāya (v, 71).

Why do I think we have here an early saying ? Because it is not a theme which would occur to a man of Sāriputta's culture to say, on such an occasion, *if for him* the man was merged in, was to be sought in, the mind. He might have used it in talking as teacher to the Many, the less cultured, the young, but not here to the elect few. The Sāṅkhyān teaching, as I have indicated, was distinguishing the man (*puruṣa*, *ātman*) from the mind much more clearly than ever before, and that little company would know this. But in expecting appreciation of his statement from that company, Sāriputta evidently held that the man was both very real, and also was That-

who-mattered ; the owner, the desirer, the don-ner ; as we should now say : the chooser, the selector. The mind was for him the outward going self-expression of the man, even as were the robes.

I have referred to the many similes drawn from the many forms of human arts and crafts, such as any walk through the village, or city streets, or along the field or river, or through a wood brought to view. I am ready to admit such similes as for the most part likely to be original talk of the first men. This is mainly because I do not see them as monks vocationally, but as in the first place missionaries to the Many ; because I do not see them as world-forsakers, recluses, world-work-shirkers in their teaching, but as eager to help men to be better workers. They would be interested in men as workers ; they would know them better as such. I quoted long ago with approval Edwin Arnold's lines in this connection :—

Radiant in heavenly pity, lost in care
For those he knew not save as fellow-lives.¹

I still hold that the first men's appeal and mandate was to the very man in each man, nay, I hold it much more decidedly than I did. But I believe that the very man was in each case better "got at" by way of a knowledge of the man's life. So perhaps was Nanda the communal cowherd better revealed in his unconscious impulsiveness to the Founder, as he halted while taking his cows home, than when not engaged with his duties :—

The parable finished, Nanda who has been listening breaks in :
"Master ! not one of those obstacles shall stay my log floating down-stream . . . May I be ordained in your Order ?" "Well, Nanda, hand over your cows to their owners." "Master, they will go home alright ; they are crazy for their calves". "Do you hand over your cows to their owners . . . and then we will have a talk about these things." I was reminded of this when I heard a sagacious woman say (an officer in the "Rangers") : "I would much rather see the girl out of uniform at her work ; I know much more about her then". Especially do I see in-similes of constructive activities pictures the first men will have used. Here is one out of many :—

The conduit-makers lead the stream,
Fletcher's coerce the arrowshaft,
The joiners mould the wooden plank,
The self : 'tis that the pious tame.

This verse occurs twice in Dhammapada, twice in the Theragāthā. Now one of the disciples who is named as composer, is by the Commentary described as lacking in concentration, and as noticing, as he

¹ Light of Asia (" -men " had been better). * Above, p. 314.

walked, the concentrated industry of craftsmen and how they made things come to be. In the Dhammapada it is a little boy-monk whom Śāriputta takes for a walk and responds to the impression the seeing of effective work makes on the child's intelligence. The repetition in each book is merely the same verse and a different version of the same story respectively. The Comments have become monastically distorted, yet is the idea of the man being able to make himself become a "more" not wholly lost, even though in the former case the moral drawn is more complete ignoring the world of men, and in the other, the greater concept of "becoming" is shrivelled into a "taming".

I am not claiming for a moment that all or even any of these many similes were put into words for the first time in India, or elsewhere by the men of Sakya early or late. It is of course the application, the choice of them with which we are concerned. It is possible, that in cases where there was a borrowing, the loan was taken unaware. But it is also possible that the Sakyans teachers may have borrowed deliberately. If they did not admit the debt, that after all was the ancient way. There is, for instance, a trio of very splendid figures, occurring only in the Majjhima, which I incline to think were borrowed, and knowingly borrowed. The probably involuntary lenders will have been the man (a brahman) and his disciples who taught the little gospel of willing one's own amity pity, gladness, poise to another man who was lacking in one or the other. These efforts in telepathy I have dealt with above, and they appear as an outcrop in the Pali records, not belonging to the Sakyans gospel. The similes are as follows :—

"Men may use manifold speech to you, rough or smooth, kind or cruel. But you towards them have thus to hold your thought : we will not let our mind be disturbed, nor evil sound escape our lips ; kind and compassionate will we abide, our mind affectionate, free from secret malice. And any such man will we irradiate with mind of amity, and going beyond him, we will . . . irradiate the whole world with mind of amity, broad, deep, unbounded. As a man who with spade and basket sought to dig up and remove the whole earth and could not, for deep and immeasurable is the earth . . . or who came with paints to paint over the whole of space . . . but formless and invisible is space . . . or who came with a torch to dry up great Ganges . . . but deep and boundless is Ganges, so do you say : we will irradiate the whole world with a mind like the earth, like the sky, like Ganges."¹

The sweep of this mind-play leaves our poet Heine, with his

¹ *Majjhima*, No. 21 ; No. 28.

Norse fir, his Vesuvius crater and his sky, writing " Agnes, ich liebe dich ! " some way behind. We get near it in the elemental tolerance I have already mentioned, but it is nowhere else approached. There is a fourth figure, the perfectly dressed hide, but it is bathos after the three, and may well be a sweeping in from some other record. Once more, there is at the conclusion the simile of the Saw, which we find referred to as a known Saying : that the monk is to be non-resistant, even if men would saw him asunder. We do not read of martyrs in Sakya, and it is likely to have been a hyperbole used in the days when to become a monk brought a man some abuse, and he was eager to profess himself undaunted. Our own saying " I will see myself shot first " is such a hyperbole.

Lastly, it may well be that the rank and traditions of " Gotama the Man ", as well as of his kindred who followed him, not to mention disciples such as Kappina raja, may have led to a certain predilection for similes drawn from things familiar to such men. I refer to the chariot and horse, the elephant and archery, to armour and the fight, to the raja giving orders, to sword and turban. So impressive will these have been to an Indian that at a later date we find the author of the *Mitinda Questions*: considering a kshatriya's insignia good evidence that, even in the absence of him, he had been : *fait l'homme* ! It does not, I confess, take us far ; later monks may well have been of kshatriya rank and used such parables ; we will only go so far as to say that such similes are not to be ruled out from first men's talk.

Certain similes there are, however, which I should be inclined to hold *ære* ruled out from that talk. Herein I suggest, knowing that many will differ ; I suggest, that we first listen to a collective expression of such similes. This is from the last poem in the Nuns' Anthology—in its way a collection unique in any literature. It bears the stamp of late, i.e. the stamp of probably written work and not that of an ancient record committed when orally old to writing. Sumedhā, a fictitious princess, has, like young Catherine of Siena, herself cut off her hair, dropped the tresses before her prospective bridegroom, and is insisting that she be suffered to leave the world :—

To him thus Sumedhā, for whom desires
Of sensuous love were worthless, nor availed
To lead astray, made answer : " O set not
The heart's affections on this sensuous love.
See all the peril, the satiety of sense.

Nay, an the rain-god rained all seven kinds
Of gems till earth and heaven were full, still would
The senses crave and men insatiate die.
" Like the sharp blades of swords are sense-desires " ;
" Like the poised heads of snakes prepared to dart " ;
" Like blazing torches " and " like bare gnawn bones . . . "

" As fruit that brings the climber to a fall "
Are sense-desires ; evil " as lumps of flesh
That greedy birds onc from the other snatch " ;
" As cheating dreams " ; " as borrowed goods " reclaimed.
" As spears and javelins " are desires of sense,
" A pestilence, a boil, and bane and bale,
" A furnace of live coals," the " root of bane " ,
Murderous and the source of harrowing dread.

Call ye to mind how it was said that " tears "
And milk and blood flow on world without end.
And bear in mind " that tumultus of bones
By creatures piled who wander through the worlds."
Remember " the four oceans " as compared
With all the flow of tears and milk and blood.
Remember " the great calm of one man's bones
From one zeon alone equal to Vipulā " .
And how " great India would not suffice
To furnish little tallyballs of mould,
Wherewith to number all the ancestors
Of one's own round of life world without end."
Remember how " the little squares of straws
And boughs and twigs could ne'er suffice
As tallies for one's sires world without end."
Remember how the parable was told
Of " purblind turtle in the Eastern Seas,
Or other oceans, once as time goes by
Thrusting his head through hole of drifting yoke " :
So rare as this the chance of human birth.
Remember too the " body-parable " ;
" The lump of froth, " of " spittle without core " ,
Drifting . . .
Remember what was said of " crocodiles " ,
And what those perils meant for us.

" Him will straw torches burn who holds them long
and lets not go " : so in the parable . . .

Cast not away, because of some vain joy
Of sense, the vaster happiness sublime,
Lest "like the finny carp thou gulp the hook,
Only to find thyself for that foregone".
Tame thou thyself in sense-desires, nor let
Thyself be bound by them as is "a dog
Bound by a chain", else will they do forsooth
With thee as hungry pariahs with that dog.¹

Here we have on the one hand the world-shy recluse's ascetic shudder over any, even healthy enjoyment by way of sense, and on the other, the specifically Indian recluse's refusal to see, in life indefinitely prolonged by rebirth, the indefinitely many opportunities needed for ever further "becoming", growth, development. It is the outlook of tired vision, which is dull of imagination and fails to grasp what it means to be reborn anew, with youth and energy as fresh as in Eden, and with who knows what more added in the will to be put forth by the man who has become the more, with as it were a brand-new battery wherewith to express himself? If it be not so with him, let him not blame the fresh opportunity.

The fault, dear Brutus, lies not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

But it is just the fresh opportunity which the outlook of the monk held as an undesirable and fearsome-future. The idea underlying his own Jātakas, the idea of the evolution of a Bodhisat, or Buddha-to-be ought to have taught him better—might have taught him, had he understood better, that not a Bodhisat only, but every man and woman underwent that evolution.

Now every one of the similes and parables cited in Sumedhā's verses are easily to be traced in the Suttas. She presents a relatively complete list of such baleful figures, such as suggests either assiduous note-taking or just memorizing when listening to her instructors, monk or nun, or that she had access to some Mātikā or "table" of such tropes drawn up, say, at Patna, in her day the Rome of the Sangha. In either case we must conclude that such similes were the samples mainly in use for and by monk and nun in the instruction given, as according to Vinaya and Sutta it was regularly given in the viharas. If it be said that for other poems Sumedhā may have used the similes of "becoming" sampled above, the fact remains, none the less, that the one poem which survives as hers is not such another, but just this. I do not forget that she too, in this one little masterpiece of its kind, bursts into an austere joy over the vision of the "vaster

¹ *Therīgāthā*, ver. 485 f. Cf. *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 171

happiness sublime" awaiting one whose truck is along the "never-ageing, never-dying Way". But she too shows in this that loss of the earlier symbolism which we found in the Snake Sutta. The Way has become tantamount to the End itself, not the way thither. The Way no longer "flows on into Nirvana", but is Nirvana, and can only be described, as I have said, in a very world of the Not.¹

This never ageing never dying Way—
No sorrow cometh there, no enemies,
Nor is there any crowd; none faint or fail,
No fear cometh, nor aught that doth torment—
The Way of a-mata, ambrosial . . .

No such Mātikā appears to have survived, yet is there in the Majjhima-Nikāya a suggestion or two that the baleful pictures Sumedhā quotes may have been listed. For instance, in No. 22: "The Bhagavā has described these sense-desires in the (ten) parables: the bare bone, the straw-torch" and so on. And most of these are expanded as schedule in No. 54.

The third² of the three Utterances ascribed to Gotama at the outset of his career is, as compared with the (for me) genuine portions of the first two, a very plunge from the world-messages of these into the little world-within-world of the monk. Its position is so far historical as to the Order and not to any mere rule, that the context is about the early accession of men as disciples who were already *samānas*. But its simile of things on fire, quaintly suggestive of the widely popular sea-chanty "Fire", has its worthy bearing on the new word of the Sakya mandate, is just the warning of one recluse to other recluses, with never a "new word" in it and, as the first, the inaugural, address of a new leader to new converts, is simply impossible. If it represents an actual opportunity, the use made of it as recorded would lower our estimate of the really great man who could so throw it away.

In speaking of the Pīṭaka similes as only in part assignable to the first men, I repeat there is here no question, taking them in their totality, of a hard and fast marking off. It is for instance very possible that the similes drawn from the field and workshop have been repeated by worthy monks in their teachings, from the first authors of such to the present day. But that it was scarcely the genuine monk, the scrupulous recluse who would have bethought him to use them, is amusingly betrayed by the Commentary on Kula, the monk who lacked self-absorbed thought. Kula is said, in going for alms along the street, to have peeped "out of the corner of his eye" at the craftsman working

¹ *Gotama the Man*, p. 155.

² *Vinaya*, i, 34.

as he sat tailorwise, intent on his job.¹ And this becomes clear when the Vinaya rule is read: "With downcast eye will I go amidst the houses: this is a discipline which ought to be observed," . . . "that is, looking the length of a plough-and-beast" (*yuga-mattam*).² Kula's peeping taught him a "new word", perhaps; other monks merely repeated it.

Then again, whereas the monk may well have used that other fit simile for "becoming", the tilling of the earth, namely, the field or *khetta*, he is nevertheless found diverting it to forward his own interests, *and* monk. Take first a parable which belongs to the treasure of a Society which, in its chief aim, and work, was a missionaries' club:—

"Such a teacher may be rebuked thus: 'You are like a man who, neglecting his own field, should take thought to weed in his neighbour's field. Like that I say is this lust of yours to teach others what you have not yourself attained to.'" (Digha-Nikāya, i, No. xii).

Take next the charming "Ploughing" Sutta, where Gotama, watching the 500 ploughs of the Bhāradvāja brahman's estate ceasing for the noontide dinner of the workmen, is challenged by the master to show he has also earned his dinner by his ploughing. The reply has been done into verse, but may well have been in substance spoken by that First Missioner:—

"I too, brahman, plough and sow, and when all is done I eat . . . my seed is faith and rain my discipline, *paṇṇā* for me is plough and yoke, the pole is conscience and the team my mind; inwyt my plough-share and my goad . . . ; I clear the ground with truth, and my release from work is That fair Thing of innermost desire (*sarattam*);

Energy is my burdenbearing team,

Drawing my plough toward the Haven sure.

Onward it goes nor ever draweth back,

And where it goeth we shall weep no more.

Such is the ploughing that is ploughed by me.

The fruit it yields is food ambrosial.

Whoso this ploughing hath accomplished, he

From suffering and from sorrow is set free.

(*Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 76, p. 13; *Samyutta*, i, p. 172)

But there is another more prevailing use of *khetta* in the Suttas, and yet another, both of a very different purpose. In the latter, where the field is likened to "karma", there is a teaching parallel to Jain monasticism, wherein "action", the deed is as such deprecated,

¹ *Theragāthā*, 19, cf. 29; *Palms of the Brethren*, p. 24.

² *Vinaya*, iv, 186.

(*Anguttara-Nikāya*, i, p. 223). In the former, the community of the monk is made the field, whereby the faithful laity ever giving may reap a plentiful crop of "merit". And here the simile is further used to show that the crop, accruing from "giving" generally, will be in direct proportion to the object of the giving being very worthy men, a view of "charity" which excludes any parallel with modern charity, since it does not countenance "rescue work" in any form.

It is a rich "field", this of the Pali similes, I have but touched on it here and there, and have in this chapter suggested a fresh guide in any attempt to treat them historically. And this is, that the earliest among them are on the whole likely to have been such as throw into greater relief the religious ideal of their birth-time: the importance of the very Man—as enhanced by the new word about him—namely, that it is truer to say of the Man he is *becoming*, than to say he *is*. It is this that we see pictured in the raft, the embryonic chick, the ploughing, the self-and-neighbour-gardens, the man and his wardrobe. Here is no man as mind only; here is no man as monk only. Here are no wordy pundits with formulas, with stereotyped teachings, with refrains for memorizers. Here are the Sakyans with their new word.

But of course not here only. The parables and similes but served to throw the real message about the man into relief. And it is in that relief that we can divide between the early and the later with some confidence in our division as truly made. Again, it is in these figures that we get away from the standardized teaching to which I refer. Elsewhere we are for ever wandering in it. Very little is left of what we may call heart to heart talks between man and man, such as all true mission work must mainly show if truly recorded. Where they have survived we at once note the difference. The mantra was needed for the very Message itself. The fraction surviving of that, with its buttressing, I have discussed. It was needed at the start for the missionaries. It will often have been repeated as mantra. But the main body of actual teaching will have been the application of the mantra, with all that it implied, in talks, rather than in finished discourses or sermons. These we find everywhere: expositions or discussions of dogma; elaborations in a fixed wording to be "worded" on feast days; the work of the editor, not of the first teachers. In them we are reading of a form of words as the thing of value; there is rarely any vivid, living accosting of man by man. This it is that we long to find, that we rarely find, that we see must have been lost save just here and there. Why "must"? Because these first men were no staid, elderly pedagogues; they were mainly young men, young anyway in spirit, young as to the very man, who

were fired with the ardour of a new word of renascence to a world, grown a little beyond, out of, certain fixed habits of thought, and waiting to make response. "Burning with fervour" (*dahati tejasa*) is the word of an old verse, a survival probably of the metrical setting of the founder's reply, while yet young, to the king of Kosala. We may discount this, as we say, "swank" put, as in so many other passages, into the mouth of a Founder in the day of a developed Buddha-cult.

But the claim here made by the new, yet young teacher from the Sakyas, that a man of his calling was not to be despised on account of his youth, may point to a certain confidence in the truth and timeliness of his message, and also in his own sincerity, and it may very likely be genuine old memory. The young noble, the yet small snake, the forest fire just started, the man strong in casting off all worldly encumbrances, were none the less things it was well to take into account without delay. We have in the Sutta the new man vindicating with ardour his new word. For that matter all the "talks" in this Kosala Collection seem relatively free from editing. Almost in them we see and hear the Man. They are, it is true, milk for babes ; the king was no more than that. But his foolish little war evokes a profound word on war ; he hears a New Word on woman at the birth of his daughter, at which he has pulled a long face ; and the rousing parable of the imminent landslide, with the trenchant summons to be in haste to do what alone it is worth while doing, is of tremendous power (*Samyutta*, i, Book III).

Power, ardour, joyous energy : these and the like are what we much more need to see in those first men of the Sakyas than we do, who have too long been hypnotized by that libel on their leader, the set type of the immobile eternal cross-legged Sitter, type of a creed and a church which has come to a standstill, has cast aside its own first and central truth, that man's nature is essentially a becoming, that his salvation is thereby guaranteed, but he must look to it that he speed up that becoming.

Let us try to disentangle a few sayings which are more of meat than milk.

Tissa his cousin is depressed or bilious or both. His cousin Gotama first heartens him by a talk on the great Adventure of the Way, (before which, a pedantic section on the five skandhas has been inserted). We then see him driving in the great figure of wayfaring and the end lying beyond with words like so many magnetic shocks of will-healing :—

"Abhirama, Tissa ! Abhirama, Tissa ! *Aham evādana . . . aham anuggahena . . . aham anusāsamiya . . .*"¹

¹ *Samyutta*, iii, 108.

Now these words mean literally "Be of great joy, Tissa . . . I by exhorting, I by helping, I by instructing". I know of no such sentences in Pali construction as are the last clauses. The readings differ, and the Burmese emendation does not emendate. Nor have I at hand the Commentary. With perhaps ill-advised impatience I venture to see here the very usual idiom for "what use is it to you that I exhort, etc.?" Then only do we see, that here we have, from the buried years, a very shout of joyous comradeship in the new vista of the Way and the fellow-wayfarers : "Be of great joy, my lad ! (See what lies ahead ! See all the more-in-life I show you in what lies before you !). *What need for you is there that I preach, that I come to your aid, that I instruct ?*" And this with hands upon head, upon shoulders, or within handgrasp. Is not this perhaps a truer picture than the solemn cross-legged seer speaking of skandhas, of lusts, of the world and of life as only tragic ?

To that other cousin too, Mahānāma the Sakyan, a layman of worth, sincerely devoted to Gotama, we just catch (preceding the stereotyped sayings of a creed), a word or two of direct encouragement. Gotama is going on tour ; Mahānāma asks : Among men living in divers ways, how is it best I should live, while you are away ? "Keep faith," is the reply, "keep up effort (no word for 'will' here) ; watch over thought ; practise musing ; have *prajñā* (let the Self value)." ¹ Here we have the early category of the five spiritual faculties,² and with them we may well have the founder's advice. The rest is late credal matter. Again, we have Mahānāma shrinking from death, scared apparently, in a modern way, at the danger in street traffic. What would be his fate were death sudden ? "Have no fears, cousin, have no fears," is the answer, "you have lived a good life ; not evil will be your dying, not evil will be your passing hour. Your body may become the prey of this and that, but you yourself will rise up, will go to better things (*visesa-gāmi*)."³ The rest here too is credal.

Here again is a word, free from all credal admonition, going straight to the heart of things : The aged sick Nakulapitar comes for comfort. Gotama rejoins : "Verily, householder, your body is in poor health, and you live with pain. See to it that the man, the self, keeps well."⁴ Here the credal matter is appended in an after-meeting with a disciple, highly suggestive of later editing. And further, both here and in the foregoing reply, the words self, or man are not there *now* ; what we find is "mind" (*citta*) ; mind is said

¹ *Anguttara*, v, 332 f.

² *Ibid.*, i, 39, §22.

³ *Samyutta*, v, 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 1 f.

to survive death ; mind is to be kept in health. The former of these two statements would be in conflict with the statement given under the raft-similes. Both are later than the day of early Sakya ; both are obvious glosses.

Lastly, I see in the talk with Māgandiya, a wandering student such as the first men had been, something that is not edited out of all its first shape, albeit the editor has not been quite idle. I cannot take up space with it here, and a good translation is with us.¹ The opening is an outstanding episode, vivid, probable, with Gotama as the guest of a brahman. It is the Wanderer who is hostile. With courtesy and ardour Gotama opens up for him the vista of the Health, the Wellbeing, not of body or mind, but of *the man*. And for once the word Nirvana is worded as the consummation of man's *health*, with all that hinders that uttermost-weal extinguished.

Here then are just a few fragments surviving to show to some little extent how I hear those first Will-missioners spreading their glad tidings of good will of the Man, the Man held by the current teaching as *being* the Highest, but needing to realize that the Highest was to be a *Becoming*, a long upward Way of *making to become*.

¹ *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, by Lord Chalmers, i, 353ff.

PART II

XVIII

SAKYA ORPHANED

I have now completed, so far as it is given me, for this work, the inquiry into what constituted the original mandate of Sakya, the gospel of Gotama, and his leading co-workers. This is not the teaching *mainly* emphasized in the Piṭakas, nor in any portion of them. Nor for that matter is it the teaching as yet discovered in any other Buddhist literature, in whatever language it survives. *But the Piṭakas betray it*, if they do not place it on the pedestal where it should be. It would be, were the Piṭakas the work of men, whose values were the values of the Founder and his contemporaries, in their prime. But they are not ; they are the work of men carried out during a period lasting from, say, the last quarter of Gotama's ministry to a period *subsequent* to the time of Asoka and the Third Congress, a period not far short of five centuries. During that time, much was undergoing change ; tendencies, which were in their infancy at the birth of Sakya, had grown strong and unwithstandable ; values strong at that time had depreciated. And, pregnant event, north India had experienced the rapid rise, on the upheaval following Greek invasion, of a Chakravarti, a "world-monarch", an Indian emperor. Lastly, but not least, there came the transfer of that specific line in Sakyan energies which resulted in the Pali Piṭakas to a new land, to Ceylon, where "the man" was otherwise conceived, where the memorized sayings in some form of Prakrit were reworded as Pali, where the Saïd became in time the Written.

Of those tendencies, of those values, it is these three which we have in what follows to keep ever in view :—

- (1) the depreciated value in the concept "man" ;
- (2) the growing tendency to seek the man in the mind ;
- (3) the growing régime of the monk.

Nor should we lose sight of the super-monarch.

With these tendencies and values, I have already dealt to some extent. I was digging under these, the burying super-structures, and reference to the changes was, if incidental, unavoidable. I am now

concerned mainly with the super-structures, in other words, *with the values emphasized in the Pīṭakas*, and not merely betrayed. My book is not mainly concerned with them. But handled they must be, if only to bring the treasure buried beneath them the better to the surface. On the pregnant fact of the super-monarch I have also a word of comment.

In my book, *Gotama the Man*, I have tried to reconstruct the corporate activities as going on in, shall I say? the last decade of the founder's life. I have located these activities as mainly, or wholly at Sāvathī, for which evidence is not wanting. Thus a quite disproportionate number of Suttas are associated with Sāvathī, many of them with the curt heading: *Sāvathī nidanaṃ*.¹ There are five other such curt headings, but they are all in the latter part of the Third Nikāya, and suggest a late collecting of memorized Sayings, possibly a search for and a sweeping in, made for the great revision of repeatings said to have been carried out at the Third Congress. Again, when the Founder on the tour he undertook in extreme old age fell ill, his companion Ānanda is said, in the Commentary, to have gone after the cremation to Sāvathī, and there, steeped in grief, to have resumed his customary service on the beloved Master as if he were still there *at his home*, to be waited on; and then, rousing himself to have spread the news, causing much mourning among the townsfolk, to whom the passing of so venerable a figure must have been as was to those of Windsor and Balmoral the passing of the aged Queen at Osborne.

And as to that tour, made when walking must have been an ordeal for one whose body was, as he may indeed have said, "only kept going as was a worn-out cart," it is now a few years since I said, in the teeth of the Pīṭakan refrain, that, for some reason care-fully suppressed, it was *not* with "a great company", but alone with cousin Ānanda.² Only one critic noted at the time, to wit, that this was contradicting the books. But then very few critics or Buddhists are on speaking terms with the detailed contents of the books. I did not then give any reasons, and in my book referred to, I have again, in repeating the heresy, given no reasons which would weigh. I said only: "Reading attentively, men could see for themselves . . ." I will here try to show what, so readings, we get.

The "tour-Suttantas" of the Dīgha-Nikāya are all in the first, or Silakkhandha division, which comprises the first thirteen Suttantas (vol. i). They are six in number, to wit, i, iii, iv, v, xii, and xiii. In

¹ "Buddhism and the Negative," *JPTS.*, 1924-7; *Kindred Sayings*, iii, iv, Introductions.

every case the opening is with an identical formula: "Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once wayfaring along the high road between X and Y with a great company of monks, with not more than 500 monks." The last tour of his life occurs, as readers will know, in the second Suttanta of the middle division entitled Great, = "important." It does not come at the beginning of the Suttanta, as do the earlier tours of the Dīgha. It starts with the paragraph numbered by our editors as thirteen. No start as such is worded. It begins abruptly: "Now when the Blessed One had sojourned at Rājagaha as long as he pleased, he invited Ānanda: Come, Ānanda, we shall go to Ambalaṭṭhikā. Even so, sir, assented Ānanda. Then the Blessed One with a great monk-company proceeded to Ambalaṭṭhikā." This formula is repeated for further walks eleven times, till the fateful Kusināra is reached. Nowhere else, in any tour in any of the Nikāyas, have I come across a walk beginning with that invitation *to one man*, with its pathetic suggestion, when once we have deleted the last sentence in its oddly diminished wording, of the two aged men wearily plodding along from village to village.

Now I say not that my inference amounts to what actually took place. But there must be some reason for its departure from the previous tour-formula, repeated six times in the Dīgha. There must be some reason for the reiterated appeal or bidding to Ānanda only, and for the very evident comradeship of Ānanda throughout till he is left weeping beside the "man"-deserted body. I believe that, if this tour be read attentively and comparatively, the shadowy "great monk-saṅgha" will dissolve, and the two aged men will for the first time stand out in a sharp relief that is true. At the last scene too, there is no sign whatever that anyone was present save Ānanda, with whom we may imagine will have been a physician hastily fetched, and perhaps also the few women who in tears were the first to come to mourn.¹ It is incredible, that the shadowy many would have suffered him to lie there in the open, on a cloak between the two sāl-trees, with no ministering activities.

I cannot but think that this moving scene has been read with little or no reconstructive imagination on the part of writers and readers, else this matter of the tour, in its unique wording, and of the dying, little befitting the passing of a leader so entirely devoted to his followers over such a long period, would have come up for the critical discussion due to it. And if I have tried to discuss it in this book, the subject of which is not the life and passing of

¹ *Vinaya*, ii; Cullavagga, xi, 1, 10.

account of unseen witnesses to that utterance. We do not know who testified to this, nor to what extent it was subsequently "dressed up" in the brave array of a sort of wireless message passed on from world to world. But it is there. Somehow it came there. There were, it is said, only six persons present; there may have been more; only five are named as joining the speaker at once. All were vigorous, keenly interested men. We have seen, that to testify to unseen presences was a feature in early Sakyā from the very first, in both the Founder and a few others of his men. But we do not know which of those six could have then testified save only Gotama himself. But at his dying we have an event which Buddhism has celebrated as of the utmost weight, dating events from it as the beginning of an era: thus in the *Dīpavaṃsa*:

Four months after Parinibbāna, the first Recital will take place; a hundred and eighteen years later the third recital will take place. . . .

Similarly, in the *Mahāvamsa* and Commentaries. Is it then likely, that an event, so very grave at the time, so very weighty in the years to come, should have been let pass in utter silence as to any such testimony to unseen witnesses, had there been a witness of known competence to testify to their presence? Granting that the monastic teaching comes in here, namely, that this man was passing, not on in the worlds, but out of all worlds, is it for all that likely, that the governors of worlds (who are recorded as making pronouncements on the passing) would have failed to testify by their presence, to so supreme a passing, and that the homage of their presence would have been suffered to pass unnoticed by a witness like Anuruddha, a "man who saw"? Anuruddha *may* have been there, summoned possibly by a messenger sent by Ānanda, as was probably the case with Kassapa; he *may* have testified to the "Musing" of the dying man, so queerly recorded; he is *said* to have ordered Ānanda to act as his messenger; he is *said* to have interpreted the wishes of unseen willers in a matter quite unimportant to them—the place, relative to the village, of the cremation—but would he not surely have witnessed to more, had he indeed been there?

Shall we say, there is here no reason to doubt Anuruddha's presence? Or shall we interpret the silence as to a tradition of unseen attendant companies in this way:—There was no such tradition, because the interest of Sakyā in other worlds and in deva-intercourse was waning. When the old memorized Sayings, in different versions, underwent, at a later date, or dates, *sangaha*, or compilation into

Gotama, but the message he lived and taught, it is to illustrate what I mean by the need, in getting at that message, to read attentively, to read between the lines, to read with a certain amount of, I think, wholesome mistrust, to read with an imagination which would get behind the records, compiled, revised, and finally written each and all at different periods of time, at different places.

And there are other features in those last days, concerning which we have been reading with sluggish reconstructive imagination. We tend to forget, to overlook, or perhaps we have not even known, that in those two aged tourers we see almost the only survivors of the original or very early Sakyaputtiyas. And that means two lonely comrades of the Old Brigade. Kaccāna was still there, but at *Avanti* (*Majjhima*, Sutta 84); and there was Kassapa, but living by choice as a recluse.

There was, it is true, still Anuruddha, also aged, but he was ever a confirmed recluse, and we have more than one account of the Leader going to visit him¹ and not, as in *Kondañña's* case, of him visiting the Leader.² Now it is true, that in the deathbed scene we have Anuruddha suddenly emerging, and correcting Ānanda's moan: "He is dead!" by saying: "Nay, he is in trance."³ Anuruddha is also credited, both here and in a slightly different version in the *Anthology*, with a very lovely couple of stanzas on the passing.⁴ The latter feature is of course of little or no evidential value, for he may well have uttered a response on hearing the news in his retreat, and this may have been put into metre by others whose business this work was, or by himself.

But even if we explain the verses in the *Dīgha* in this way, it will seem, to most, very wantonly sceptical to go further and say, that the verse-maker himself was not rightly described as present. It will be said: Surely he was, for as a noted muser, he better than Ānanda would recognize the difference between trance and death. I would be the last to discredit a line in the records, where I see no reason for doing so. It is a weary and disappointing work to be seeking the true, and to have so often to find what is not the true, even if the untrue be put in with the laudable motive of apologia or edification. Why I see no Anuruddha at that last scene is the utter silence in the record on a matter where he, of all survivors, would have been first to record what he heard and saw, but where he did neither.

If we look at the first utterance, we see in the record a glowing

¹ e.g. *Majjhima*, No. 31. ² *Samyutta*, i, 193.

³ *Dīgha*, ii, 156.
⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

rounded-off divisions, there was a felt need to make here and there apologies for this and that shortcoming, or give some weighty sanction for this or that traditional feature. There was need to camouflage the unseemliness of the secluded passing away; there was need to explain an old saying stating that the Man, in his passing, was in Jhāna, this, as I have shown in a previous chapter, meaning "access to devas",¹ to another world; and this, according to the later theory of nirvana and parinirvana, was anomalous, and had either to be dropped out, or sanctioned by the alleged presence of a great and honoured clairvoyant like Anuruddha. There was need to give weight to the surviving tradition of a change in cremation arrangements as being somehow associated with a mandate "from without". Now in the first place, there had survived a verse ascribed to Anuruddha on the Leader's passing; secondly, of the few great First Men, Kaccāna was living afar at Avani, Gavampati was afar and age-weakened, Kassapa came, in the tradition, after the event, when the cremation was over-due. There remained only Anuruddha. And further, Anuruddha's psychic fame would avail to sanction the keeping in of those two features: the Jhāna, ending on the Fourth Stage, which was traditionally that of entering into deva-intercourse, surviving in tradition about the Man who, *it had come to be held*, was no longer in any world of personal being; and the unexplained tradition of the changed location, explicable perhaps by the link between Brahmā and the North—the sign of his advent being "a splendid light coming from the North"²—but needing the endorsement by Anuruddha.

And so we have the aged recluse Anuruddha clothed for a moment in "... the demi-god Authority . . ." and brought to the front of the stage, bidding his cousin Ānanda, as *āvusa*, as equal or inferior, be his living letter, and obeyed by Ānanda as an inferior would answer his superior: *bhanta*. To some extent, the situation is thereby saved. Let it not be thought, that the criticism is frivolous. Greater critics than I have made clear the patch-work character of this Suttanta, interweaving old sayings with much Sutta-discourse, and that for a special purpose, or purposes. They have, I think, overlooked the patchwork in the central episode, a patching which is, from the point of view of the exegesis and the apologist, even more needed, even more justifiable than the rest.

¹ *Devappatti*.

² *Digha*, ii, 150; cf. *Suz.*, 18, 19.

I incline to think that the fact of the survivors' loneliness is dimmed by this, this time more obvious, gloss of the talk with Sāriputta inserted in the last tour, at a time when Sāriputta had passed away, perhaps many years earlier. We know from the Suttas, and also from the Jātaka "present-day" episodes, that both Sāriputta and Moggallāna died before their Leader,¹ and one of the latter episodes would lead the credulous reader to think that the former's going preceded that of the Leader by a very short interval. There is further the misleading translation somewhere, rendering Gotama's tribute to his beloved brother-in-work

. . . that Wheel
Doth Sāriputta after my example turn,²

as "will turn after me", as if he was to be the Leader's heir and successor. That the Suttanta of the Decease is to a large extent a patchwork of passages from other Sayings has been shown in detail by Rhys Davids, and this passage is such a patch, cut out from the Sampasādanīya Suttanta of the last division of the Dīgha. Its insertion here, where it is out of place (else should we have surely had the death of Sāriputta narrated as immediately following), is as I read it a word of apology to the great man who had, for reasons I have suggested in *Gotama the Man*, left once and for all the Sāvattī Sangha, where the framing of formulas was going on in a way he had realized to be one of which he disapproved. The old lion was, I conceive, aroused, and it may be, that sore and indignant he set out alone for the last time to tell his message.³ If this be true, it explains the anomaly in the "Come, Ānanda". It was a very awkward situation, which the recorders had subsequently to face, and in their way they met it as best they could, with memorized sayings exalting the powers of their Founder in prophecy, in *iddhi*, in *abhīññā*, in rapt musing, in the Lokāyata or world-lore about earthquakes, and in dwelling on the three-fold institute of Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, which the aged leader would certainly not have used as a "slogan" in his day.

I have little hope of doing more here than making suggestions which a later generation may find are not without weight. If I go on to say, that not only was the dying of the Founder an event as

¹ *Samyutta*, v, 163; *Jāt.*, i, 230; v, 64 f.

² *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Theragāthā*; Sela.

³ The culminating pathos here is that a set lecture is put into his mouth on the subjects: morality, concentration, (divine) wisdom, which is not anywhere in the records a triple text associated with him.

lonely as it was unexpectedly sudden, that not only were the funeral arrangements of a very hurried kind, but that the first general conference, miscalled Council, was also hurriedly convened, I have little hope of carrying readers with me—at least as yet.

Agreement with the first of these three conclusions is hindered by the many, indefinitely later representations of the Dying in sculpture and other ways of graphic art, lending a sense of solemn and expected climax to a scene which actually lacked such an atmosphere. Then, too the sudden collapse of a victim to a fatal seizure of dysentery, where there may well have been a lingering for a couple of days only, is artificially softened by the Founder being represented as able, after the seizure, to arise and take a walk, as well as give more admonitions to Ānanda, and point a last convert to the Way, in words which will surely have been different from the stilted form in which they are reworded. I have been told that in our own day the empress Hsi, while suffering from dysentery before her death, was able to compose verses. Well, it is one thing to sit up and write lines, tended in luxurious surroundings, or at best to murmur metrical cadences taken down by an attendant scribe; it is another to be weathering an attack described as very violent, in the open lying on a cloak, and in the eighties.

Agreement with the second conclusion does not suffer camouflage in the record. Something of the kind there may be in Kassapa's sudden arrival being really due to a message sent by Ānanda. According to the record, Kassapa walking from Pava to Kusināra with the stereotyped retinue of a great teacher: "with a great company of the monks, with just 500 monks," meets an Ājīvaka, and says: "Sir, would you be knowing our teacher?" Apparently—I say this because the speaker of the following is not named—the ascetic replies: "Yes, I know him; the *samaṇa* Gotama passed away a week ago from to-day . . ." Thereupon follows a burst of lamentation from the monks.¹

Is it not much more likely, that we have here the half-forgotten fact of a message sent by Ānanda, alone, uncomraded, to the influential colleague he knew to be not very far away, sent by a messenger he only secured after a few days? "Come!" his SOS will have said, "do you not know our Teacher is dead?" The question as put by Kassapa is quite meaningless. The answer, if said by Kassapa would be equally so, for the lamenting would have found utterance when Kassapa learnt the news, not when he

announced it to a stranger. When once we get rid of those "just 500 monks" of retinue, the situation of poor venerable Ānanda suggests such solutions.

The whole is at the best a blurred account of half-forgotten sayings, pieced together, at a much later date, with much borrowing from other portions, and with a certain amount of camouflage to cover the apparently unseemly desertion of the lonely tourer, such as the falling of sky-flowers, the suppression of Ānanda's SOS message and more; the whole leading up to that which had come into Sakya and was new: the cult of the relics.

¹ *Digha*, ii, 162.

fading out also, which he proceeded to do. It may well be, that the failure lay not in Gavampati's will, but in his physical inability to travel. But that it has been allowed to come in, as a serious reason for holding aloof from a Community in whom the mission spirit was still alive, is a sinister feature in the compilers.

But if there was hurry, this rather strengthens than weakens the case for accepting the Conference as historical. And it is well that, in the face of Oldenberg's hasty assumption that the Conference is a mere fiction, we have had, for an interval almost equally long, Rhys Davids's more sagacious rejoinder, that the assumption is ill-based and unnecessary. Mr. E. J. Thomas comments to the same effect. The reader can consult assumption and rejoinders in (a) *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., I, Introd., (b), *Dialogues*, II, Introd.; *The Buddha in Legend and in History*, p. 165. If, apart from assumptions and rejoinders, we consider the tradition in itself, we must surely see, that it is very likely, some Conference in Sakya should have just then taken place. The "very likely" is in itself not evidential, but it should always be suffered to have weight.

The position was more or less this: The leading men, the Centre in the Sakyan Order had been coming for some years, perhaps half unawares, to be leaning, in their attitude to the external world both lay and religious, on the support of the Word, rather than on the presence of the ageing teacher and on the teaching he had given of that inner monitor "dhamma". Hereon the way in which, in his latter admonitions, he is shown as urging attention to it, is enlightening. This is only less enlightening than it should be, because we have modernized the force and meaning of his words: "Be you they who have the Self, the Man, as your lamp, your referee, your *dhamma* :—your ought-to-be, your ideal!" That whom he bade his first men seek he also bade his last seek. But the modern critic holds that there lies herein no more significance than our own compounds of the word "self". Well, they are right—and so am I. But I give the weight the prefix had for the great Teacher and his day, and what it also has, *potentially only*, for us. It is we who have minimized the nature and truth of the self, and this wilted self we set up in the place of that truer (the Indian) self. But this wilted self is just what the trans-Indian Buddhism came to do also.

By speaking of the Order as leaning on the Word, I mean that, with a Leader growing old and weak, and probably much less given to "sermons" and homilies than the many Sūtras of discourse, each headed by the stereotyped opening ascribed to the Bhagavā's summons, would seem to imply, the disciples' mandatory sanction was coming to

XIX

SAKYA IN CONFERENCE

As to the third conclusion: that the First Sanghī, commonly called Council, at Rājagaha was more or less of a hasty procedure, I am not wishing to stress this. I have come to the conclusion from the account given in the *Vinaya*. This is a meagre, jejune picture, about as unlike the reverent and dignified procedure, which should have followed on so great and solemn a crisis as could well be imagined. If we turn to the Commentaries, we find an attempt to make this in part good by much talk of preparations made for it at Rājagaha, and of Ananda canvassing for attendance at it in Sāvattihī.

Let us glance at the older account. The Conference is called "that of the five hundred", as the Second was "that of the seven hundred". There may, in the former, be the result of an editorial agreement to be consistent with the number in the retinue¹ assigned to the four-sutta formula cited above; but it is anyway refreshingly sober in limitation, and is probably no exaggeration of the number that could be summoned in the short interval between the funeral in the Malla republic's territory and the meeting during the rainy season at Rājagaha.

That there was need for prompt action is made fairly evident. The swift outcrop, in the person of Subhadda (of course a different person from the last convert, who so soon "graduated" as arahant—the name is very common), of that tendency to divergent teaching and riven sodality, which broke out so strongly in the following centuries, shows this. Not less does that first Seceder (dating from the Passing) show it, the disciple strangely disguised under the name of Putāna: the Man of Old²—who would not wish we had his real name! Gavampati, the senior disciple (Thera) commended in the Anthology as of mighty *iddhi*, but elsewhere coming into, I think but one brief Sutta,³ declined to come for less worthy motives: this is according to the Chinese recensions translated for us by Professor Przybyski.⁴ Namely, there seemed to be nothing worth while in trying to help the world, now that the Light of it had faded out, save in

¹ *Raṅga satamattam*: amounting to, or not more than 500.

² *Vinaya*, Cullavagga, xi.

³ *Samyutta*, v, 430. In the reference *Digha*, Sta. 23, he is in another world.

⁴ *Le Concile de Rājagriha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66, 116.

be more the Mantra, the fixed form of words, than the human Source of the mandate itself. There are several Suttas in which Gotama is recorded as saying a few terse pregnant sentences, and then leaving his listeners. Now and then he pleads backache, and the need of lying down. Now and then he names a deputy to carry on : Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda. Now and then the listeners are wishful to have a clearer exposition, and appeal to a disciple like Kaccāna, noted as exponent. I am not here giving much weight to the names of the alleged supplementers. When the Suttas took their final form, the Man himself had become the overwhelming important feature. Any noted name would suffice to fill in and round off the full wording of the edited, then of the written sayings so long transmitted orally.

But there is on the other hand much probability that the sayings, so far as their repeaters were living at, or visiting the Central Settlement—first Rājagaha, then Sāvattihī—were being cast into some kind of fixed form, while the Founder was living his last decade or two, say, at the latter place. Hints that this was so I find in such Suttas as *make reference* to such a poem as the Pārāyana of the Sutra-Nipāta :—

“It is said, Sāriputta, in the Way to the Beyond (Pārāyana), in Ajita's question . . . what do you make of this ?”¹

And in the Anguttara-Nikāya there are also references to Metteyya's question in the Pārāyana,² and to the poem itself as being recited by a woman disciple Nandamātā.³ A further hint I see in the charge said to have been made before his decease by Gotama, that certain heads of teaching should be carefully studied and taught. And yet another hint peeps out from the *uddāsesai*, or “arguments” as our books used to say, summaries, with which a few Suttas begin, the *middesa*, or exposition following. The exposition is here virtually the Commentary, the rôle of the expounding teacher, once he had uttered the mantra or, as we say, his “text”. Nandamātā is recorded as “uttering the Pārāyana with the voice (*sāreṇa*)”,⁴ to me, unique phrasings, which may have had some now lost significance.

This work on the standardizing of taught Sayings will, we may be sure, have had the full consent and encouragement of the Founder. He had fought too many battles with the lions of schism and discord in his Order not to know well how swiftly that Order might split up, once the constraining bond of his presence was loosed. Had his best men been yet with him and yet vigorous, the outlook might have been more assured. In so sayings, I would not make him appear an

¹ *Samyutta*, ii, 40.

² Vol. iii, 399.

³ Vol. iv, 63 ; cf. i, 144.

anxious Church-builder. He was much greater than that. That he has come down to us as a founder of a monastic institution, when in reality, he may have been so more against than with, his own inclination, is a theory that opinion to-day will not accept. And anyway, the growing vogue of the *samaṇa* was strong enough to make any other course more or less impracticable. But the very truth rings out in his earnest words as to his one and only successor being no man, however loyal to himself, but *dhamma*. I say “the truth” here, because the other injunctions imputed to him at that very time are more or less contradictory to this saying, and are at the same time so much more what an Order, which had become a Church, would have compiled and inserted as a justification of its existence and constitution.

The word which for me rings true is this : Ānanda passes on to Gotama, when the latter had already shown symptoms of bodily collapse, in a very delicate manner, the wish he will have known existed in the Order, that Gotama would leave a testament in words to his community.¹ “Now what”, is the reply, “does the Order expect of me ? I have taught *dhamma* openly keeping nothing back. If any one thinks he will lead the Order, or that it should refer to him, it is he who should make depositions about this or that. I say not that I lead it, or that it should refer to me . . . I am old and feeble . . . I shall soon be gone . . . Therefore do ye live as they who have the Self as lamp . . . the Self as *dhamma*.”

If with this we compare the words a little later : “Say not, Ānanda, when I am gone, the ‘word’ (*paravacamaṃ*) is a past-teacher-thing. Dhamma-and-Vinaya which I have taught, set forth :—that for you, I being gone, (is) teacher,” and still more the meticulously worded Four Allocatings (*maha-padesa*), referred to an address given, on the tour, to the monks at a town called Bhoga, we see sentences betraying the atmosphere of ecclesiastical institutions. *Dhamma* is now no longer the Highest in the man urging the will to the higher, the Most inspiring him to the More. It is the externalized, the fixed word, nay, it is even the “Suttas”, the Rules, with which other men's teachings are to be compared. We are no longer in the world of the Many, in every woman and man of whom *dhamma* was to be assumed by the fellow-man ; we are in the chapterhouse ; we are next door to the academy.

It is true we are, in the matter of the Rājagaha Conference, not

¹ *Digha*, ii, p. 99. “Be ye lamps unto yourselves . . .” and “the Truth” (*dhamma*) have served, alas ! as very misleading translations ; Oldenberg's are just as bad here ; Franke's are even worse. Nor do I hold Mr. E. J. Thomas has caught the truth.

yet so far as were the editors of such glosses. But a beginning has been made. The authority of the Founder as *Teacher supreme* had waned, and was in process of being supplanted by the standardized nucleus of Sayings. I judge that to say this is probably nearer the truth than to say 'Categories', such as Bodhipakkhiyā Dhammā. It is true that those teachings are referred to in the Suttanta before us in Categories, but I shall suggest in the next chapters, that this is no sound warrant for their having been then called by such enumerations. Had this been so, we should have looked to hear of them at the First Conference. It is indeed certain that we should have found them there and then.

It does not come within the quest of this book to follow Sakya in its Conferences in detail. Let it suffice that the reader be reminded, that in the one Piṭaka record we have of that which followed the Founder's decease, two points are worthy of notice, more notice than they have, I believe, received.

In the first place, we see a more careful, more detailed attention paid to the Rule, than is paid to the Teaching. Thus : when the President Kassapa questions Upāli, the Vinaya expert, on the four Rules, infringement of which meant expulsion (*Parājika's*), the compiler, or editor adds, after each Rule, that thus was there questioning on the matter, occasion, individual (first) concerned, the rule itself, the sub-rule, guilt and innocence. In the case of the second item of the agenda, the questioning of Ānanda about the stock of Sayings, subsequently called Suttas, or Suttantas, the compiler, or editor adds, after each of the *only two* to which reference by name is made, " Thus did Kassapa question Ānanda as to the occasion of the Brahmajāla, (and thereupon of the Sāmaññaphala), and as to the individuals." No cross-question was apparently made as to what on either occasion was taught, *pace* any first, second or third heads.

This in itself is ominous. It is not evidence, that at the Conference there was no reciting of the Sayings after Ānanda had, so to speak, given out the hymn. But it does leave us in doubt whether at that time, the one thing standardized in a "Sutta" was just what Ānanda is reported as giving out, and whether the actual episode itself was not left, as we believe the Commentaries were, to the exponent's own wording. Namely, that the telling of the episode, when once the "occasion and individual (*puggate*)" had been stated, the teaching monk was free to tell the Sayings in his own words. If that was so, what an opening does it not leave for a gradual transformation in the emphasis, in the wording ?

But this is not all that is ominous. If the reader will pursue the

short account of the Conference to the end, he will find that, after all, he is yet led by the incorrigibly monastic pre-occupation about, not the history of the Order as the great work of his founders, but the occasion (*nidāna*) for telling details about Rules. The Conference, which comes at so fit a time, like the Pentecost meeting at Jerusalem, to declare both Mandate and lines of teaching, peters out in Ānanda being (most unfairly) hauled over the coals as to certain things, some of them most worthy, which he had done, and—the futility and unseemliness of it!—Ānanda being shown as giving to a local raja detailed information about the monks' worn-out wardrobes—a very rag-and-bottle talk.

I see here little blame to Ānanda and the other Sakyans in conference. They would be loudest in condemnation of such a parody of their very worthy will to meet and confer on the measures to be taken. It is the pre-occupations of the later editors over which we may feel dismay.

In the second place, the silence about the Founder is curious, or would be, if we had here any but an account of the kind I have just described : a mere matter of Rule-episode. In the Dīgha Suttanta, we see on the one hand an explosion of grief and homage at the speedy passing ; we see on the other hand, on the part of the venerable Chief, an affectionate solicitude, that his children should rightly understand what he had so long tried to teach, and should in particular question him as friend with friend (*sakhāya*), comrade with comrade, if there was anything which any of them was in doubt about. At the Conference *not a word of all this* ; no fitting tribute to their great father ; no word of his mandate of the Way, of his values under that and other figures of growth, of becoming, of advance as wayfarers, of the worth in which he held the things unseen in the Way to the Beyond, of the insistence on their heading the Highest, "*dhamma*" within them. Were not these things the last solemn injunctions of him ? Surely we cannot have here the true Agenda of that Conference !

But that nothing of the kind is recorded in the proceedings may possibly point to this : that not at that day, nor for that matter, at the Second Conference, a century later, when much revision is recorded to have been carried out, can there have yet arisen that Buddha-cult, which in the Nikāyas is already an expanding blossom. In the Third Conference, we do hear that note struck. The orthodox are specified as followers with regard to one point of view attributed to the "Buddha". *Kim-vādi, bhantā,*

1 *Dīgha*, ii, 154 f. Rh. D. and Franke miss the point here.

Sammāsambuddho ti ? : "What was the teaching of the Truly Enlightened, sir ?" Asoka is made to ask, as president. Yet even there the higher worth in the Founder went no further in word.

Taken by itself, this curt reference may be no adequate guide to the stage reached at the time in Buddha-cult. Buddhaghosa's account may be brief, in that he is pre-occupied with getting past his introduction to his subject, viz. comment on Vinaya and Kathāvasthu. It may be said, that at the time of that Congress, the Pīṭakas would appear to have been mostly, if not wholly compiled, and that in them the homage to the "Buddha, Sambuddha, Tathāgata" is strongly brought out, even if such titles as "Devātīdeva (*deva* above *devas*)" and "Sabbāññu" (omniscient), and the like appear only in yet later literature. Into this matter of completed compilation I shall go briefly presently. It does remain a curious point, that these scanty records of events, so momentous in Sakyān history as the Conferences, should have preserved (*a*) such slight reference to the Man who taught and founded, with (*b*) a patent pre-occupation about the Rule, and *dhamma* as *word*, and lastly (*c*) with the view or "school" as being orthodox, or the reverse, in the eyes of a majority in the Saṅgha. In the fixed wording convening the First Conference, *dhamma* is put first before Vinaya. This will have been the natural order in precedence of disciples of the Man of Dhamma; the natural order in growth. In the Conference itself, Vinaya is given the place of honour. This can scarcely be because Upāli was ranked higher than Ānanda.

But let us pass to the second meeting of Sakyā in Conference.

Here we have no evidence of hurry. Here is no appearance of establishing at least the *sine quā non* of both the constitutional basis of a sodality and the nucleus of a doctrinal tradition or Smṛiti. Here is recorded both the canvassing of supporters previous to the Conference, the attempt to settle points in that constitutional body of discipline in a full house, and the referring of the decisions to a "jury" of eight, to wit, four monks from the Eastern vihāras and as many from those of the West of the Ganges watershed. The fact that the points, known as the Ten Indulgences, were of a kind too trivial to have called for such a commotion has been made a ground for rejecting the historicity of the Conference. The real battleground underlying the pernickety value in the points has been too much overlooked. It is true that, at a later epoch, there would have been a serious issue in the matter of liberty to use metal currency. But scarcely then. So much traffic in goods was done in kind. Had the use of "gold and silver" been the important concession then, which it would have been,

if claimed at a later date, it would have certainly been placed as Claim 1, not Claim 10.

The *real point at issue* was the *rights of the individual*, as well as of those of the provincial communities, as against the prescriptions of a centralized hierarchy. Not only as a unit, but also in the smaller groups, the man would have more weight; he would count as a man, and not merely as the mere unit he would be, if his life, even his life in an Order of monks, were to be the carrying out of Rule this and Rule that with the monotony of herd life. He would be able as man to wayfare in the *Way atta-dhammo*: choosing, deciding according to his "conscience". So did at one time English liberties depend on a relatively insignificant matter of "ship-money", and New England liberties on a matter of tea-duties. Why is our vision so dim when it is the liberties of those long-ago monks of Vesālī we have to picture?

Let it not be forgotten, that it was the monks of Vesālī who defended more than the right of a man to order his own wayfaring. It was they who defended his very reality. The thesis: The man is to be got at, or is an intelligible entity, in the true, ultimate sense was, we read, upheld by the Vajjian monks of Vesālī, and by others of the Order. Collectively they came to be called "of the Great Community", Mahā-saṅghikas, and still later, Sammitiyas, or Sammatiyas (it may at first have been Sammutiyas).¹ These held, that the speech of conventional usage (*sammuti-kathā*) was more true than the distorting analysis used in the growing vogue called Abhidhamma. They said that, when we say "man", we do not mean, that it is true to see reality in a complex of *dhamma*'s; or mental phenomena making up the man, who is but a name-label; we mean that beneath, or behind the things seen of body, and the things inferred called mind, there is the yet more real doer and minder, experienter and valuer. These were, I say, they who maintained more truly the teaching of their Founder, than the growing majority of Rule-men and Analysts of the men at Sāvasthī and later at Patna.²

What significance does not this stand, which I take as true Sakyā, lend to that gesture of Gotama, turning not the head only but "the whole body like an elephant"—the old grow stiff in the neck—to give his last farewell look at the city of Vesālī? It is a unique case: why just Vesālī only? Was it only because it may probably have been there he first came on leaving home to inquire of Jain teaching? Or was it also because he was leaving the men in whom lay his one hope that

¹ Later than the Patna Conference; the term (*sammuti*) had else been used in the *Kathāvasthu*, chap. i. ² Cf. below, p. 405.

