A Felicitation Volume

presented to

THE VEN. NĀRADA MAHATHERA

Edited by

Piyadassi Thera

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This Volume is presented
to
THE VENERABLE NĀRADA MAHATHERA
in respectful admiration
to felicitate him upon the completion of
his eighty-first year

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FOREWORD

Buddhism is a doctrine appealing to the intellect. It is the path leading to Nibbāna, a way of life and a means of social upliftment. The world-wide spread of Buddhism, encompassing the means of spiritual as well as worldly advancement and happiness, can be divided into five broad periods, namely, 1. Buddha's Lifetime, 2. The Asoka Period, 3. The Kanishka Period, 4. The Sailendra Period and 5. The Modern Period.

1. The Buddha's Lifetime:

In the forty-five years of his dispensation, the Enlightened One preached the Dhamma, travelling on foot from place to place, either at a brisk or a leisurely pace, within the three circles (*mandalas*) namely the Greater Circle, the Intermediate Circle, and the Inner Circle during nine, eight or seven months of each year respectively.

2. The Asoka Period:

Emperor Asoka, on the advice of Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa, sent missions of Theras to 1. Kashmir and Gandhāra; 2. Mahisamaṇḍala i.e. the State of Mysore; 3. Vanavāsa i.e. the Northern Kanara state in South India; 4. Aparanta i.e. the region of Gujarat and Kathiawar; 5. Mahāraṭṭha i.e.Mahārāstra; 6. Yonaka-desa i.e. the Greek states of N. Western India; 7. Himavanta i.e. the Himālaya regions; 8. Suvaṇṇabhūmi i.e. the territories in Indo-China including Burma, Siam and Cambodia and 9. Tambapaṇṇi Dīpa i.e. Sri Lanka.

The Emperor, through his ambassadors and Dharmamahāmātras spread the Dhamma to 1. Syria; 2. Egypt; 3. Macedonia; 4. Cyrene; 5. Epirus; 6. Central Asia; 7. Palestine and 8. Alexandria.

3. The Kanishka Period:

The missionary activities initiated by Emperor Kanishka spread in the centuries following to 1. China, 2. Mongolia, 3. Manchuria, 4. Korea, 5. Vietnam, 6. Japan and 7. Tibet. Further, Buddhism spread within the territories under the Empire itself to 1. Kashmir, 2. Yarkhand, 3. Khotan, 4. Chinese Turkestan, 5. Afghanistan, 6. Bactria, 7. Kashgar, 8. Central Himālayas and other parts of Central Asia.

4. The Sailendra Period:

The Sailendra Kings expanded the Sri Vijaya Empire which brought the whole of Indonesia and adjoining territories under one rule for the first time. During this period Buddhism spread to territories in the region namely, 1. Java, 2. Sumatra, 3. Bali, 4. Malacca, 5. Borneo, 6. Celebes, and 7 the Malay Peninsula.

It may be surmised that approximately seventy per cent of the world's population were Buddhists by 1000 BE (456 CE). The populations of the continents of Europe and America began to expand gradually. As a result the number of non-Buddhists too had increased. However, according to a computation made by Professor Rhys Davids and others in 1877, even in that century nearly 40 percent of the World's population was comprised of Buddhists.

5. The Modern Period:

At present Buddhism is fast spreading in the continents of Europe and America. Scholars such as Victor Fausböll, Sir Edwin Arnold and Rhys Davids should be considered as pioneers in the spread of Buddhism to the West. Of the *dharma-dhūtas* (dharma messengers) from Sri Lanka the contributions made by Anagarika Dharmapala and Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera are unique. The details of the dharma-dhūta activities undertaken by the Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera are well-illustrated in this Felicitation Volume. It bears testimony to the fact that there is no other Buddhist monk who has been involved so much in Buddhist missionary activities during the modern period as the Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera.

Many of the monks of the Vajirārāma Vihāra including Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera, received their ordination and higher ordination from the Ven. Veragampita Sri Revata Mahā Thera and Ven. Pelene Vajirañāna Mahā Thera as their preceptor and teacher respectively. Although commemorative ceremonies (*pinkamas*) are held annually to mark the birth anniversary of the late Ven. Pelene Vajirañāna Mahānāyaka Thera, an opportunity did not arise to hold a felicitation ceremony during his lifetime in appreciation of the great services rendered by him.

It is indeed fortunate that on the occasion of the 81st birth anniversary of the Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera such a felicitation ceremony could be organized in recognition of the invaluable services he has rendered to the cause of Buddhism during his sixty years as a monk. This publication is a felicitation volume issued to mark that occasion. I sincerely thank the editor for compiling this volume and all others who helped in this venture. May the blessings of the Triple Gem be with all of them.

Madihe Paññāsīha Mahānāyaka Thera

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Colombo 7, Sri Lanka.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The contribution of the Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera to the exposition and the propagation of the *Buddhadhamma* (Buddhism) has been immense. He has been an indefatigable World Dharmadūta ('missionary'). He is also the author of several books on Buddhism, which have found their way, to perhaps, every corner of the world.

In recognition of his signal service to the Dispensation of the Buddha (*Buddhasāsana*) and to the spread of Buddhism, the Ven. Madihe Paññāsīha Mahānāyaka Thera conceived the idea of presenting the Ven. Nārada with a Felicitation Volume on his completing eighty-one years on July 14, 1979, and entrusted the task to me.

We were, however, faced with the problem of finding the means of publishing this volume. Fortunately for us the Buddhist Publication Society of Kandy, Sri Lanka, known the world over as the best distributor of books on various aspects of Buddhism, and which, during the last twenty-two years, has built up a circulation in not less than eighty countries, agreed to print it as a mark of esteem it has for the Ven. Nārada who has been one of its benefactors.

It is my pleasant duty to express my sincere thanks first and foremost to the Buddhist Publication Society for magnanimously offering to print this volume. I must also thank those who sent inspiring messages and learned contributions to make the volume a success. Some of the well-wishers of the Ven. Nārada in Singapore supplied us with the paper needed for printing the volume for which act of kind generosity I am deeply grateful.

The Venerable Chairman gave me much encouragement and Mr. Olcott Gunasekara attended the meetings and made valuable suggestions. I would be failing in my duty if I did not record here the unstinted co-operation I received from Mrs. Maya Senanayake and the great care she has taken in seeing the volume through the press. I am grateful to all of them.

In conclusion let me thank all those who helped me in various ways, Mr. D. Munidasa, in particular, in bringing out this publication. Messrs. Colombo Apothecaries' Co. Ltd., our printers, merit a word of praise for the interest shown in the publication.

Piyadassi Thera

THE VENERABLE NĀRADA MAHĀ THERA

A Biographical Sketch

GUNASEELA VITHANAGE

On two significant occasions, the Enlightened One made two very important exhortations to the Community of Monks (the Sangha) He founded. The first was at the very beginning of His public Ministry, when, having trained the first batch of sixty disciples in the Noble Eightfold Path, He exhorted them thus:

> "Released am I, monks, from all ties whether human or divine. You also are delivered from fetters whether human or divine. Go now and wander for the welfare and happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the gain, welfare and happiness of gods and men. Let not two of you proceed in the same direction. Proclaim the Dhamma (doctrine) that is excellent in the beginning, excellent in the middle, excellent in the end, possessed of meaning and the letter and utterly perfect. Proclaim the life of purity, the holy life, consummate and pure. There are beings with little dust in their eyes who will be lost through not hearing the Dhamma. There are beings who will understand the Dhamma. I shall go to Uruvela, to Senanigama to teach the Dhamma." (*Vinaya*, i, 21).

The second Exhortation was made just before He passed away at Kusinārā. In fact they were his last words. He said:

> "Behold O Bhikkhus, I exhort you. Subject to change are all component things. Work out your deliverance with diligence." (*Dīgha Nikāya*, sutta 16).

In the first exhortation, the Buddha exhorted the Community of Monks to dedicate themselves to a life of service for the moral upliftment and the spiritual wellbeing of mankind. In the second, He exhorted them to realize the actual nature of things (*yathābhūta*) and to strive with earnestness and mindfulness to attain by their own efforts, the Supreme Bliss of Nibbāna. It must be said, however, that these two exhortations are not mutually exclusive. They are but the two aspects of a monk's discipline and service, i.e., to live the Holy Life himself and proclaim the Holy Life to others.

It is to the lasting credit of the Mahā Sangha that throughout a long period of twenty-five centuries, they have followed dutifully the exhortations of the Buddha and proclaimed the Gospel of loving-kindness, tolerance, goodwill and self-discipline, inward peace and ultimate liberation (*vimutti*).

As Professor Thomas Henry Huxley said in his Romanes Lecture of 1893: 'Buddhism is a system which knows no God in the Western sense, which denies a soul to man and counts the belief in immortality a blunder, which refuses any efficacy to prayer and sacrifice, which bids men to look to nothing but their own efforts for salvation, which in its original purity knew nothing of the vows of obedience and never sought the aid of the secular arm, yet spread over a considerable portion of the World with marvelous rapidity, and is still the dominant creed of a large fraction of mankind.' (Quoted by John Walters in his book *Mind Unshaken'—A Modern Approach to Buddhism*, London, page 104).

This was mainly due to the indefatigable efforts of the Mahā Sangha. Our gratitude therefore must go to the Mahā Sangha, firstly, for preserving and bringing down by oral tradition for nearly five centuries the Word of the Buddha with the least amount of distortion and accretions.

The greater is the credit due to the Mahā Sangha of Sri Lanka for having committed the Tri Piṭaka (The Buddhist Canon) to writing and for having written commentaries on various aspects of the Dhamma for the lasting benefit of mankind. But for the Mahā Sangha of this country who committed the Dhamma to writing and kept the Flame of the Dhamma burning under all vicissitudes and all adverse conditions, it is doubtful whether Theravāda Buddhism would have become a World Religion as it is today.

It is to this lineage of the Buddha Putras that Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera, the present Superior of Vajirārāma, who completed his 81st year of age on 14th July, 1979, belongs. He is a monk who has acted in conformity with the Blessed One's Exhortation not only by himself living an exemplary, disciplined and saintly life, but also by spending the greater part of his life in propagating the Buddha Dhamma here and abroad, both by his preaching and his writings.

The Venerable Nārada Thera needs no introduction to the people of Sri Lanka. His name has been a household word among the Buddhists of this country for over half a century. He is popular among them as a preacher who speaks not only to their minds but also to their hearts. He appeals to the good and noble in man in order to make him better and nobler. For him there is good in every mind. They know him as a preacher who has the

ability to explain the most abstruse points in the Abhidhamma—Buddhist Philosophy and Psychology—in the simplest language so that even a person strange to Buddhism can understand. He speaks in measured tones and with carefully chosen words, and thus commands the attention of the listeners. His writings are equally explicit and pellucid. Most western critics admire Buddhism for what they call its sweet reasonableness. Verily, the Venerable Nārada is an embodiment of this sweet reasonableness.

Owing to his indefatigable Dharmadūta (missionary) work abroad, and also owing to his many books on Buddhism, the Venerable Nārada Thera is equally well known in Buddhist circles overseas and also among those who are sympathetic towards Buddhism.

The future world missionary of Buddhism was born 81 years ago on July 14, 1898 into a middle class family at Kotahena, a predominantly Roman Catholic suburb of Colombo. As a matter of fact, Kotahena is the place where the Cathedral of the Roman Catholic Arch-diocese of Colombo is sited. His father was Kalonis Perera and his mother was Pabilina de Silva. He was named Sumanapala at birth. He had his early education at a school run by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) at Kotahena and later joined St. Benedict's College also at Kotahena, an institution run by the Brothers of the Company of De La Salle. There among other secular subjects he studied the Christian Scriptures and Apologetics. One of his Preceptors, Rev. Brother James who passed away only in 1977, was so impressed with young Sumanapala's keen interest in these subjects as well as his quiet demeanour and exemplary behaviour that he once told him very seriously that his real vocation lay in the Roman Catholic Priesthood. But his destiny was to be otherwise, though in a parallel capacity, in the religion of his forefathers.

In fact, the seed of the idea of entering the Order of the Sangha had been already planted in his mind by an uncle of his who was a devout Buddhist and one who knew the Dhamma very well. At the time he was attending the English School, he also began to study Sanskrit *slokas* (stanzas) under the late Venerable Pālita Mahā Thera, a brother pupil of the late Vajirañāṇa Mahā Nāyaka Thera. He also attended the Sunday School at Paramananda Vihāra, Kotahena. These studies were a prelude to his becoming a novice in the Order of the Sangha (*Sāmaṇera*).

The late Vajirañāṇa Mahā Nāyaka Thera was a saint in the sense of a person who lived the Holy Life indicated in the Buddha Dhamma. He was also an erudite scholar in Pali, Sinhala and Sanskrit. He was a Sinhala poet of no mean order. He was also a great disciplinarian. The Mahā Nāyaka

Thera was friend, guide and philosopher to all who came to him, no matter whether he knew them or not, and no matter whether they were Buddhists or not. He was also a great Equalitarian (*Samān ātmatāvādi*). He treated with the same courtesy and the same loving kindness, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the great and the small. Pelene Mahā Nāyake Thera also introduced a new technique in preaching short sermons in simple language.

It is under such a teacher that young Sumanapala received ordination at the age of 18, under the name Nārada. His preceptor at the ordination was the Venerable Vinayācariya Veragampita Siri Revata Mahā Thera, and his Dhammācariya was Pelene Vajirañāṇa Mahā Nāyaka Thera. He studied Abhidhamma under Pelene Mahā Nāyaka and Arangala Siridhamma Mahā Theras. He also studied for the *Prācīna* (Oriental Languages), but did not proceed very far.

Ven. Nārada received *Upasampadā* or Higher Ordination at the age of 20. He later joined the Ceylon University College as an external student and followed the courses in Ethics, Logic and Philosophy, all subjects which were later to be useful to him as a Buddhist Dharmadūta (Missionary). It is with gratitude that the Venerable Nārada mentions the financial aid given him by the late Venerable Sūriyagoda Sumaṅgala, Lecturer, Oriental Studies, the late Dr. J.E.P. Chandrasena, and the late Dr. Cassius A. Pereira (later the Venerable Kassapa Thera), to pursue his studies.

Nārada Thera joined the *Servants of the Buddha* society founded by the late Dr. Cassius Pereira and actively participated in the weekly dhamma discussions organized by it. It is really here that the foundation was laid for the missionary activities of the young bhikkhu.

In 1929 at the age of 30, an opportunity arose for the Venerable Nārada Thera to go overseas. A public function was organized by the late Anagārika Dhammapala (later Mahā Nāyaka Ven. Bhikkhu Dhammapala) to celebrate the opening of the newly built *Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra* at Sarnath, Benares, India. The Venerable Nārada was one of the members of the delegation selected to represent Sri Lanka. At the public meeting which ensued, the late Venerable Kahawe Ratanasāra Nāyaka Thera, Principal of Vidyodaya Pirivena presided. The Venerable Ratanasāra was a great Oriental Scholar, but he did not know English. So the burden of conducting the proceedings in English fell on the Venerable Nārada. It was an unforgettable experience for him. It was at this meeting that Venerable Nārada first met the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who later became the first Prime Minister of India.

Sometime later, Venerable Nārada Thera went to China and Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and other South East Asian countries on Dharmadūta Missions and was received warmly by the peoples of those countries including the Royalty. The King of Cambodia conferred on him the religious title, 'Siri Mahā Sādhu'.

A Hindu Priest called Mahanta was occupying Buddhagayā, the hallowed place where the Blessed One attained Enlightenment, and claiming it as his private property. He had converted the place into a Hindu Shrine. The Maha Bodhi Society under the leadership of the Anagārika Dhammapala had been agitating and litigating for the return of the shrine to the Buddhists, its rightful owners. A delegation was sent from Sri Lanka to discuss with Mahanta to find a peaceful solution to the question. The delegation comprised Venerable Nārada Thera, the late Dr. Cassius Pereira, the late Mr. A. Ratnayake and the late Mr. Neil Hewavitarne.

The Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera's noble and indefatigable work in the course of the Buddha Dhamma here in Sri Lanka and abroad has been varied, covers a period of over half a century and has taken him to many foreign countries. A full account of his work therefore would cover a volume in itself. However, three memorable events in this connection must be mentioned:

First is the Ven'ble Mahā Thera's Dharmadūta work in England and an important event connected therewith. It will be remembered that in the year 1956 of the Christian era, the 2,500th year after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha was celebrated the world over. In that year, thanks to the initiative, enterprise and the munificence of the late Sir Cyril de Zoysa, the London Buddhist Vihāra in Ovington Garden, Kensington, was inaugurated. At the request of Sir Cyril, the Ven. Nārada proceeded to England to declare open the Vihāra and to organize the work there. He was the first resident monk of the Vihāra and during the period of his stay there he unceasingly worked to spread the Buddha's message of universal love, compassion and peace.

Second is his visit to China on a cultural mission. There he was warmly welcomed by the late Prime Minister Chou En Lai. He had a friendly and absorbing discussion with the great leader on religion and on the materialistic view of life. It was an unforgettable experience for the Ven. Nārada.

Third is his Dharmadūta work in the United States of America. Once while the Ven. Nārada was there, he was invited to speak on the Buddha and his religio-philosophy at the Washington Memorial in Washington D.C. There was a mammoth gathering at this meeting.

His contributions to various journals, both English and Sinhala are prolific.

As regards his preaching mission here in Sri Lanka, he has always been in great demand from the Buddhists in all parts of the Island. Sri Lanka is blessed with a number of Buddhist monks who are renowned for their exposition of the Dhamma and verily, Venerable Nārada is one of them. He always attracted thousands of listeners, whenever or wherever he was billed to deliver a sermon. In his Dharmadūta Work abroad, he always saw to it that a nucleus of devout Buddhists was formed in order to carry on the good work he initiated. Thus he organized Buddhist Societies or Societies of Friends of Buddhism in whichever place he conducted his mission. The Venerable Nārada Thera also established *Sīmās* or Chapter Houses in Nepal, Singapore, Indonesia and Vietnam, thus placing Theravāda Buddhism on a sound footing in those countries. He also had *Cetiyas* built in Nepal Singapore and Vietnam, and Bo saplings from Sri Mahā Bodhi, Anuradhapura, taken and planted at Temple premises in Singapore, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Panang, Hong Kong, China and Vietnam. The Venerable Nārada has also written a number of books on subjects of Buddhist interest, and they are very popular. His little booklet entitled "Buddhism in a Nutshell" has been printed a number of times and has been translated into many languages.

Age has not been a deterrent to the Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera where his Buddhist missionary work is concerned. It was only in the middle of this year that he went to Indonesia on his Dhammadūta work.

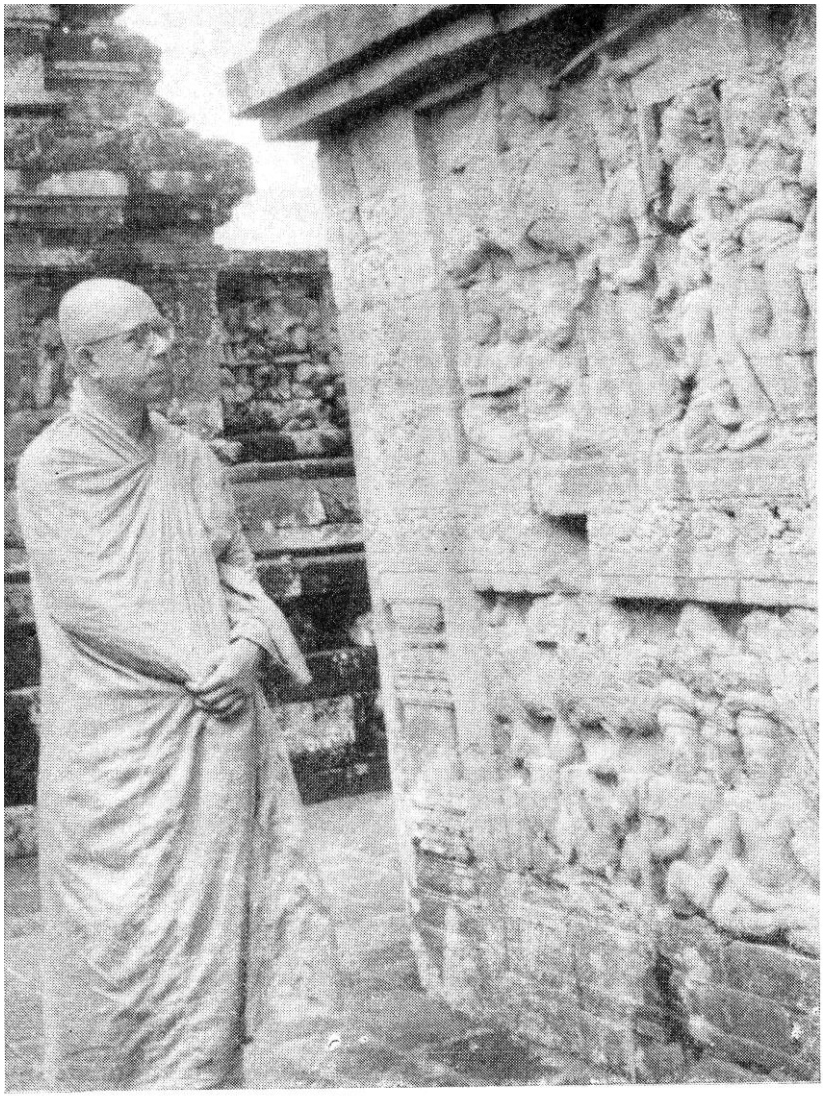
The Ideal Monk is represented in the Salutation to the Sangha which the Lay Buddhist repeats daily in his worship. It runs thus:

"Of good conduct is the order of the Disciples of the Blessed One; of wise conduct is the order of the disciples of the Blessed One; of dutiful conduct is the order of disciples of the Blessed One. This Order of Disciples of the Blessed One—namely, these four pairs of persons, the eight kinds of individuals, is worthy of offerings, is worthy of hospitality, is worthy of gifts, is worthy of reverential salutation, is an incomparable field of merit to the world."

It is as a member of the Order of the Sangha who has been striving to attain that ideal that I now reverently salute the Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera.

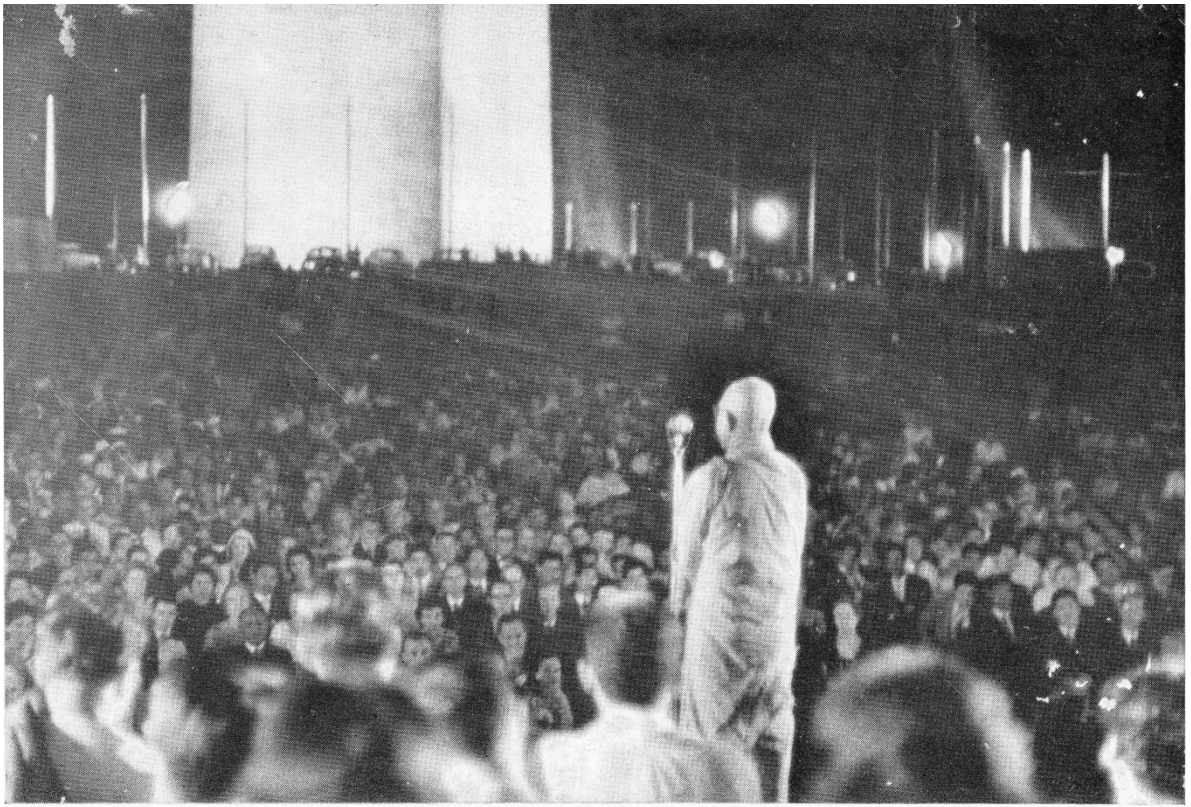
May he live long to carry on his noble work.

As a school boy at the age of eighteen



At the Borobudur Vihara, Indonesia

With Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai in Peking



Addressing a large gathering at the Washington Memorial in 1956

VENERABLE NĀRADA'S PUBLICATIONS

English Publications

The Buddha and His Teaching

A Manual of Abhidhamma (An outline of Buddhist Philosophy—Original Pali, English translation with explanatory Notes)

The Dhammapada—Pali Text and translation with stories in brief, and notes

A Manual of Buddhism (For schools)

The Blessings—Containing English translations of selected suttas from the Majjhima Nikāya.

An Elementary Pali Course

The Mirror of the Dhamma

The Doctrine of Karma and Rebirth (Dona Alphina Ratnayaka Lecture Trust)

Buddhism in a Nutshell (An Outline of Buddhism)

Ethics of Buddhism (Containing the Buddha's Discourses on simple ethics)

The Bodhisatta Ideal

The Life of the Venerable Sāriputta

The Life of the Buddha—in his own words

Sinhala Publications

Translation of Khuddakapāṭha in Sinhala

Sadaham Maga. Books 1–8 for schools

Dharma Sangrahaya for Upper Forms

Dasa Pāramitā

Dharmapadapradīpikā—Dampiyā Pahana

Damuruvanmal—a Collection of Gāthās with meanings

Messages of Felicitation

මහා විහාරවංශික සියාමොපාලි මහානිකායේ මහානායක මාහිමිපාණන්ගේ පණිවුඩය

වජිරාරාමාධිපති නාරද මහාස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේගෙන් අපේ ශාසන යටත් මුළු මහත් බෞද්ධ ලෝකයටත් සිදුවූ සේවය ගැන සළකා අසූඑක් වසක් සපිරෙණ මෙම අවධියේ ප්‍රශස්තියක් පළකිරීම කාලෝචිත කටයුත්තකි. මහා විශාරද වූ ධර්මධරයකු මෙන්ම දක්ෂ දේශකයාණ කෙනෙකු ලෙසද ලක් සමාජයේ ප්‍රචලිත කීර්තියට පත් පැළැණේ ශ්‍රී වජිඤාන මහානායක ස්ථවිරපාදයන් වහන්සේගේ ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ ශිෂ්‍යවූ මෙම ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ තම ගුරු ඇසුරෙන්ම ලත් මූලික ශික්ෂණයත් ධර්ම විනය විෂයෙහි හසළ බුද්ධියත් නිසාම මහා ධර්මධරයකු හා ප්‍රසිද්ධ දේශකයාණ කෙනෙකුන් වශයෙන් අප රටට පමණක් නොව දේශාන්තරයෙහිද සිදුකරණ සේවය අසිමිතය.

වර්තමාන ධර්මදූත සේවකයන් අතර අග්‍රගණ්‍ය සේ සැළකෙන මෙම ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ ලක්දිවට පමණක් සීමා නොවී සතර මහාද්වීපයටම ගොස් ධර්මදූත සේවයෙහි නියුක්තව බෞද්ධ සමිති සමාගම් ඇති කරමින් විශේෂයෙන්ම නේපාලය, වියට්නාමය, ඉන්දුනීසියාව ආදී රටවල බෞද්ධ ශාසනික කටයුතුවල නිරත වෙමින් මුලු බෞද්ධ ලෝකයාගේම ප්‍රසාද පූර්ව ගෞරවයට පාත්‍රව වෙසෙති.

මෙම අයුරින් ප්‍රසිද්ධ ධර්මදේශකයාණ කෙනෙකුන් වශයෙන් මුළු ලෝකයටම මෙතෙක් සිදුකළ හා දැනට සිදුකරණ සේවයන් සළකා අසූඑක් වයස් සපිරෙණ මොහොතේ මෙවැනි ප්‍රශස්තියක් පළකිරීමෙන් මෙම ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේගෙන් සිදුවූ සේවයට ගෞරව පූජෝපහාර දැක්වීම ආදර්ශවත් සත් ක්‍රියාවක් බව ප්‍රකාශ කරමි.

ඒ වගත් මෙසේම,
මහනුවර උපොෂිත පුෂ්පාරාම විහාරද්වයාධිපති විමලකීර්ති ශ්‍රී සුමන රාජකීය පණ්ඩිත සිරිමල් වත්තේ ආනන්දාභිධාන මහාවිහාරවංශික සියාමෝ පාලි මහා නිකායේ මහානායක ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ වම්හ.

සිරිමල්වත්තේ ආනන්ද

අස්ගිරි පාර්ශවයේ මහානායක මාහිම්පාණන්ගේ පණිවුඩය

කොළඹ වජිරාරාමයේ පූජ්‍ය නාරද මහාස්ථවිරපාදයන් වහන්සේගේ අසූඑක් වැනි ජන්ම දිනය සමරණ මේ අවස්ථාවෙහි උන්වහන්සේට අපගේ ආශීර්වාදය පිරිනමන්නේ ඉමහත් සතුටින්ය.

විචිත්‍ර, සරල ධර්මදේශකයන් වහන්සේ කෙනෙකුන් ලෙස බාල, තරුණ, මහලු කාගේත් ප්‍රසාදයට ලක්ව සිටින උන්වහන්සේ සිල්වත්, ගුණවත්, ආදර්ශමත්, භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේ කෙනෙකි. උන්වහන්සේ මෙරට ගම් නියම්ගම් ආදියෙහි බොහෝ කලක් ධර්ම ප්‍රචාරයෙහි යෙදී සිටියා පමණක් නොව විදේශයන්හි තනිවම ධර්ම ප්‍රචාරයෙහි යෙදී සිටී. වෘද්ධ අවස්ථාවෙහි රෝගීව සිටියදී පවා චිත්ත ධෛර්‍යය ඇතිව එම සේවාවන් තවමත් පවත්වාගන යයි.

බුදු දහමේ සාරාංශය අළලා සිංහල, ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවලින් ලියා පළ කරනලද පොත් සහ ඉංග්‍රීසියට පරිවර්තනය කරණලද සූත්‍ර ධර්ම ආදිය පාඨකයන්ගේ ධර්ම ඥානය දියුණු කිරීමට අතිශයින්ම සමත්වෙති. සමහර පොත් භාෂා කිපයකට පරිවර්තනය කර තිබේ.

පරාර්ථකාමී මහඟ ආගමික සේවාවක යෙදී සිටින උන්වහන්සේගේ සේවාවන් තවත් ගෙනයාමට නිරෝගි භාවයත් චිරජීවනයත් ලැබෙවායි ආශිංසනය කරමි.

ඒ වගත් මෙසේම,
මහියංගන රජමහා විහාරාධිපති ශ්‍රී භයගිරි විජයසුන්දරාරාම විහාරද්වයාධිපති පලිපාන ධර්ම කීර්ති ශ්‍රී ගුණරතන චන්දනන්දභිධාන මහාවිහාර වංශික සියාමොපාලි මහා නිකායේ මහානායක ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ වම්හ.

පලිපාන ශ්‍රී චන්දනන්ද

ශ්‍රී ලංකා අමරපුර මහා සංඝසභාවේ සභාපති මහානායක ධුරන්ධර පණ්ඩිත කොස්ගොඩ ධම්මවංස මාහිමිපාණන්ගේ පණිවුඩය

ධර්මදූත ව්‍යාපාර හේතුකොටගෙන මේ රටේ ජාත්‍යන්තර කීර්තියට පත් භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලා අතර ප්‍රමුඛස්ථානයක් හිමිවන්නේ බම්බලපිටියේ වජිරාරාමාධිපති පූජ්‍යපාද නාරද මහා ස්ථවිරපාදයන් වහන්සේටය.

තමන්වහන්සේට ම ආවේනිකවූ ශෛලියකින් ධර්මදේශනා පවත්වන නාරද මාහිමිපාණන් වහන්සේගේ ඒ ජනකාන්ත දේශනා ශෛලිය මෙරට බොහෝ භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලා ද හුරු පුරුදු කරගෙන ජනප්‍රියත්වයට පත්වූහ.

මෙරටට වඩා පිටරටවල වුන්වහන්සේගේ දේශනා කුශලතාවයෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන ලබන බව නොරහසකි. ඉතාමත් ගැඹුරු ධර්ම කාරණා පවා වුන්වහන්සේ ඉතාමත් සරලව අසන්නන්ගේ ළඟන්නා අයුරින් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම නිසාම පෙරපර දෙදිග හැමකෙනෙක් ම දෙසවන් යොමුකරන්නේ බලවත් ප්‍රීතියෙකිනි.

වුන්වහන්සේ විසින් සිංහල ඉංග්‍රීසි දෙබසින් ලියන ලද දහම් පොත් ගැන කිය යුත්තේත් එයම ය.

සිංගප්පූරුව, මැලේසියාව, ඉන්දුනීසියාව හා වියට්නාම් වැසියන් උන්වහන්සේ ප්‍රිය කරන්නාක් මෙන්ම උන්වහන්සේ ද එරට වැසියන් ගැන විශේෂ කරුණාවක් දක්වන්නාහ.

සිංගප්පූරුවේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාරාමය මා දන්නා හැටියට උන්වහන්සේ නිසාම ඇති වූවෙකි. කලක් ලන්ඩන් විහාරාධිපතිව වෙසෙමින් සිදු කළ උදර සේවය ද අමතක කළ නො හැක්කකි. අල්පේච්ඡතාදී ගුණ සමුදයෙන් අනූන වුන්වහන්සේගේ පැවතුම් ඉතාමත් චාරිත්‍ර ය. ශ්‍රමණ ආකල්ප අතිශය ආදර්ශ සම්පන්නය.

කීර්තිශේෂභාවොපගත ශ්‍රී ධර්මරක්ෂිතවංසාලංකාර ප්‍රඥාභරණ ශ්‍රී වජිරඤාන මහානායක මාහිමිපාණන් වහන්සේගේ ප්‍රධාන ශිෂ්‍ය රත්නය වන නාරද මහා ස්ථවිර පාදයාණන් වහන්සේට අසූඑක් වස් සපිරෙන මෙම අවස්ථාවේදී චිරජීවනය අපිදු ඉත සිතින් පතමිහ.

කොස්ගොඩ ධම්මවංස

ශ්‍රී ලංකා රාමඤ්ඤ මහානිකායේ මහා නායක මාහිමිපාණන්ගේ පණිවුඩය

ලෝක ප්‍රසිද්ධ ධර්මදූතයාණන් වහන්සේ

වර්තමාන භික්ෂූන්වහන්සේ අතුරෙන් බම්බලපිටියේ වජිරාරාමාධිපති පූජ්‍යපාද නාරද මහතෙර හිමිදුන් මේ කායර්‍ය අවුරුදු පනසකට සමීප කාලයක් සිදු කළ බව මේ රටේ නොදන්නා පැවිද්දෙක් හෝ ගිහියෙක් හෝ ඇතැයි නොකිය හැකිය. මේ රටේ අති පූජ්‍ය සංඝපිතෘවරයාණ කෙනකුන් වශයෙන් ගිහි-පැවිදි බොහෝ දෙනා දැන සිටි බම්බලපිටියේ වජිරාරාමාධිපති පණ්ඩිත ශිරොමණි ධර්මරක්ෂිතවංශාලංකාර පැලැණේ ශ්‍රී වජ්‍රඤාන මහා නායක ස්වාමීන්ද්‍රයන් වහන්සේගේ ශිෂ්‍යවරයකු වන උන්වහන්සේ වෙතින් ම ධර්මවිනය උගත් භාෂාන්තරයෙහි ප්‍රවීණ මේ නාරද මහතෙර හිමියන් මේ රටේ පමණක් නොව දේශාන්තරයෙහි ද සුප්‍රසිද්ධ ධර්මදූතයකු වශයෙන් මෙහෙයක් කළ උදර සේවාව අතිප්‍රසිද්ධමැයි.

මුන්වහන්සේ ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවෙහි පරිණත බුද්ධියක් ඇතිවැ සිටිනා බැවින් ද පිළිවෙතින් සරු පැවිදි දිවියකින් යුතුවන බැවින් ද සර්වඥ බුද්ධ වචනය පිළිබඳ යථාර්ථය නිසිපරිදි දක්වාලීමට ශක්තියක් ඇති බැවින් ද ලෝකයෙහි නොයෙක් රටවල ධර්මප්‍රචාරය සඳහා නිරත වැ නානාජාතික නානා ලබ්ධිකයන් අතර මහත් ප්‍රසිද්ධියට පැමිණි බවද බොහෝ දෙනා දනිති. සිංහලයෙන් හා ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් මුන්වහන්සේ විසින් ලියන ලද බුද්ධ ධර්මය පිළිබඳ පොතපත ද බෙහෙවි. උපශාන්ත නපෝ ගුණයෙන් හෙබි මේ ධර්මදූතයන් වහන්සේ දැනට උපතින් අසූ විය ඉක්මවා සිටිනත් බණ කියන්නට අදත් ඇති කැමැත්ත අසිමිතය. මුන්වහන්සේගෙන් බණ අසන්නට අදත් බොහෝ දෙනා කැමැත්තෙන් සිටිති. විශේෂයෙන් කුඩා දරු දැරියනට තේරුම් යන පරිද්දෙන් ඉතා සරල බසින් දහම් දෙසන මුන්වහන්සේ ගුවන් විදුලි බෞද්ධ උපදේශක සභාවෙහි සභාපති පදවිය හොබවමින් ගුවන් විදුලියෙහි බෞද්ධ වැඩ සටහන් වැඩි කිරීමටත් බෞද්ධ ප්‍රචාරයන් සඳහා කාලය දික් කර ගැනීමටත් මහත් තැනක් දැරූ බව මා ද ඒ සභාවෙහි සිටි බැවින් ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂයෙන් ම දනිමි. මෙයට අවුරුදු දෙසියකට පෙර ගුවන් විදුලියෙහි නො පැවැති බෞද්ධ වැඩ සටහන් රැසක් පහළවූයේ ඉන් පසුවය. මුන්වහන්සේගේ භික්ෂු ජීවිතය රටට දැයට සමයට භූෂණයෙක් විය. මිනිසුන් දැහැමියන් වනු දැක්ම තරම් ප්‍රීතියක් මුන්වහන්සේට නැත. කළගුණ සලකන සත්පුරුෂයෝ මුන් වහන්සේ කෙරෙහි අදත් භක්තිමත් වෙති. මේ කාල පරිච්ඡේදයේ සැටියට ඉතා දිගු කලක් ධර්මදූතකාර්යයෙහි යෙදී සිටින සුපගල ශික්ෂාකාමී විරාග්‍රඥ මහතෙර නමක් වශයෙන් ගුණ ගරුක බොහෝ දෙනාගෙන් පැසසුම් ලත් රට නොරට දෙක්හි රාජරාජ මහාමාත්‍යාදි පාලකයන් හා ප්‍රභූජනයා විසින් සම්භාවිත වූ මේ ලෝක ප්‍රසිද්ධ ධර්මදූතයාණන් වහන්සේ සියලු උවදුරුවලින් දුරුවැ ශතවර්ෂාධික කාලයක් ලෝ සසුන් වැඩ වැඩුමට රත්නත්‍රයා ශීර්වාදයෙන් සුවපත් වනසේක් වායි ඉත සිතින් සුබසෙන පතමිහ.

මේ වගට,

ඉඳුරුවේ උත්තරානන්ද,

ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපතිව සිටි විලියම් ගොපල්ලව මහත්මාණන්ගේ පණිවුඩය

දැනට වජිරාරාමාධිපතිව වැඩ වෙසෙන පූජ්‍ය නාරද මහා ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ බොහෝ කාලයක සිට දනිමි. උන්වහන්සේ ලංකාවාසී ජනතාවට අවුරුදු පණහකට අධික කාලයක් අර්ථයෙන් ධර්මයෙන් අනුශාසනා කළ ව්‍යක්ත විනීත ධර්මදේශකයන් වහන්සේ නමකි. කාටත් වැටහෙන අන්දමින් බණකීමේ හා ලිවීමේ ශක්තිය උන්වහන්සේ තුළ තිබුණි.

දිගු කලක් මුළුල්ලේ විදේශ රටවල අයට අභිධර්මය සහිත බුදුදහමත් භාවනා ක්‍රමත් කියාදීමෙන් කළ සේවාව ඉතා උසස්ය. උතුම්ය. නාරද මාහිමිපාණෝ කථාවෙන් පමණක් නොව පැණෙන් ද දස්කම් පෑහ. උන්-වහන්සේගේ සිංහල ඉංග්‍රීසි දෙබසින් ලියැවුණු පොත පත ද ඉතා ජනප්‍රිය වූහ. දේශනාවෙන් පමණක් නොව ආදර්ශයෙන් ද ජනතාවට යහමහ පෑහ. දේශ දේශාන්තරයන්හි කළ සේවාව අනගාරික ධර්මපාල තුමාගේ සේවාව මෙන්ම අගනේය. අසූඑක් විය සම්පූර්ණ වන මේ අවස්ථාවේ නාරද මාහිමිපාණන් හට නිරෝග භාවයත්, දිගාසිරිත් ඉනසිනින් පතමි.

විලියම් ගොපල්ලව

The President of Sri Lanka

I am happy to associate myself with the tributes paid to Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera in this Felicitation Volume, from whom, at Vajirārāma, I learned the Buddha Dhamma.

In accordance with the exhortation of the Buddha, "Go forth into the world for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, for the well-being of the world, to preach the Dhamma ... both in the spirit and in the letter. ...", Ven'ble Nārada Mahā Thera has devoted more than half a century of his life to the noble cause of propagating the teachings of the Buddha.

His words have taught the beginner and helped the erudite scholar. His simple and lucid sermons have in no small measure helped to introduce the Buddhist way of life to the West and reintroduce it to the East.

Missionaries such as the Ven'ble Nārada Mahā Thera, leading their lives according to the Dhamma and Vinaya and contributing towards the establishment of a just society here and abroad, have given the best of their lives for the good of mankind.

May he live long to continue his good work for the happiness and welfare of humanity.

Ciraṃ, jīva sabba lokassa atthāya hitāya!

J.R. Jayawardene

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka

A yellow robed young monk with serene and pleasing manner was walking through the streets of Berlin still clogged with the debris of giant buildings which had been razed to the ground by relentless bombing. A soft smile which seemed to stem from his inner peace and contentment adorned his attractive face continually.

The Berliners were making a grim effort to raise themselves up again, though terribly weighed down by deep and stunning sorrow of separation from loved ones, bitter humiliation of defeat and shock and pain of mind caused by loss of personal and public property. To their pained and yearning hearts the very sight of this disciplined Buddhist monk from Sri Lanka could hardly have failed to impart much solace and comfort. They could sense the nature of his teaching from the very manner of his disciplined bearing. The people of war-ravaged Berlin were treated to really kind and compassionate words after a very long spell of time and Nārada Mahā Thera's very presence proved soothing to their eyes.

The new interest generated in the Buddha Dhamma in the mid-twentieth century in Europe and in America was something due to the impression created by a few Buddhist monks including Nārada Mahā Thera, through the example of their lives. Books written on the Buddha and his teaching now, as in the past, have been a great asset to the spread of Buddhism in the Western world. However, the edifying personal example set by members of the Sangha who strenuously tread the path of the Dhamma and achieve higher levels of purity becomes a more powerful factor in attracting people towards the Dhamma. Most of the Sights we see in the environment today contribute to the disturbance of the composure of our minds. Sights that will be helpful to us in gaining composure and serenity of our minds are unfortunately becoming rarer and rarer in present day society. To the people who had been vanquished in war and were in a helpless situation, Nārada Mahā Thera's presence was a source of immense consolation. They listened to him, grasped what he said and lived up to the principles he preached.

You could acquire a vast body of knowledge and keep it stored up in your head. Yet that knowledge will be of no avail in arresting the restlessness of your spirit. To those who are deeply afflicted by

restlessness and dissatisfaction in spite of worldly knowledge, the Buddha's message which has as its main characteristics, kindness, compassion, non-clinging and equanimity, is an unfailing source of peace and consolation. Our homage is due to the Nārada Mahā Thera for the great and indefatigable efforts made by him in giving disinterestedly to the world of today the Buddha's message of peace and compassion. His has been a mission of peace and unity. He has never been interested in substituting one philosophy for another, or one religion for another.

I have had the good fortune of intimate association with this venerable and saintly Mahā Thera from my childhood. I learnt many a good thing as a child seated at his feet. His words and manner of speaking are consoling to the heart of anybody. His conduct is disciplined and thoughts are noble. I had also the good fortune of associating with his great teacher the late Pelene Siri Vajirañāna Maha Thera and it was no small spiritual satisfaction that I derived from my intimate association with that great and saintly monk. I am extremely happy to say that that spiritual satisfaction has found continuity in my association with his distinguished pupil Nārada Mahā Thera, increasing in degree and exerting a strong influence on my life.

From the members of our venerable Sangha what we expect is not only admonitory sermons or expositions of the Dhamma on auspicious or inauspicious occasions connected with our lives. Most of our Buddhists have a good understanding of the Teaching they follow. What they expect from the members of the Sangha, even more than a knowledge of the Dhamma, is disciplined and noble conduct which begets respect and also compels discipline and serenity of thought in others as well. If a Bhikkhu is disciplined and noble in conduct and compassionate in attitude, he would command among Buddhists greater respect and veneration than even a King.

'Nārada'—This short name is today known throughout the world and evokes greater respect than any other honorific possibly can. I feel very proud of this noble Thera who, has devoted his whole life disinterestedly to the cause of world peace and human happiness.

Though the Nārada Mahā Thera is in his 8lst year of age now, fortunately for us he is still in very good health and active. We ardently wish him long life and hope that his mission of peace will continue for the benefit of the people of not only this country but also of the rest of the world.

We are reminded of the Buddha's words that 'those who deserve respect should be respected'. Nārada Mahā Thera is one of those great men eminently deserving of our respect.

R. Premadasa

The President,
Maha Bodhi Society
of Sri Lanka

It gives me great pleasure to contribute to the Felicitation Volume to be issued to commemorate the 81st Birthday of the Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera.

Buddhist missionary work was originally inaugurated by Arahant Mahinda over 2000 years ago. The revival of this type of work now is due to the great endeavour and efforts of savants like Anagārika Dharmapala and Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera. As a layman, Anagārika Dharmapala, the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society, devoted his entire lifetime to the upliftment of Buddhism in the East, especially in India. Ven. Nārada's mission, a gigantic one, extended from East to West covering Japan, China, Vietnam, India, Burma, Australia on the one hand, to America. England and Germany on the other. Undoubtedly, among the Buddhist monks, the Ven. Nārada is acclaimed the greatest missionary worker of our times. He has organized Buddhist Societies in almost all the countries he visited, thus paving the path for others to follow. He is looked upon as one who endeavoured hard to harness Buddha Dhamma for World Peace. Ven. Nārada, who is very highly respected by the Buddhists throughout the world for the great service he has rendered to the religion and to the country, is second to none as an eloquent preacher of the Dhamma from his very young days. His great ability was to deliver the sermons in the simplest language enabling even the youngest member of the congregation to comprehend it. These discourses have tremendously helped the Buddhist layman to reform his daily life and non-Buddhists to understand and embrace the teachings of the Blessed One.

In addition to his missionary work and other religious activities, the Venerable Thera devoted his time to Buddhist literary works. A large number of articles have been contributed by him to both local and foreign newspapers and periodicals. '*Sadaham Maga*', written by Ven. Nārada is widely used as a text in our schools. Some of his universally acclaimed

books on Buddhism are 'Buddhism in a Nutshell', 'The Buddha and His Teachmg' and Dhammapada Translation.

As a teacher of Dhamma at Ananda College, he has rendered a great service to Buddhist education and helped in the moulding of Buddhist youth. He has spent a life devoted to Buddhism and mankind. As the Viharadhipathi of Vajirarama he is venerated by all. Sil campaigns on Poya days and Dhamma School on Sundays are two main activities that are carried on by him with, great enthusiasm at the Vajirarama.

We, in Sri Lanka, are indebted to Ven. Nārada for the gigantic religious and national tasks to which he has dedicated himself. I wish him excellent health and long life to continue these magnanimous efforts.

Gamani Jayasuriya,

Minister of Health, Sri Lanka.

The President,

The Buddhist Society, London

On receiving an invitation to contribute to the Felicitation Volume in honour of the Venerable Nārada Mahā Thera, I was delighted at the honour of being chosen, but somewhat embarrassed at the little which I could add to the chorus of appreciation which will no doubt appear in the volume. I know so little of the great man yet read so much in Buddhist journals. I am even unsure whether I first had the pleasure of meeting him in New Delhi in 1956 at the celebration of Buddha Jayanti or in London at the Buddhist Society. It matters not for our paths crossed in many parts of the world, and always I marvelled at his tireless work for the Dhamma and his ceaseless journeys planting its seed far and wide, and literally planting cuttings of the Bo Tree. For many years all Buddhist magazines recorded his great work, and surely none since the late Venerable Anagārika Dharmapala, as I knew him in 1925, has done so much for the promotion of Buddhism in all corners of the world. And if his presence in any place was fleeting, his books will remain long after his present birth is ended. May he find peace in his retirement and ever feel the warmth of the affection of all his friends. He is indeed one of the leading Buddhists of this century and should be so remembered.

C. H. Humphreys

The President,

Young Men's Buddhist Association,

Colombo

It is indeed a privilege to write this short note by way of felicitation on the Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera completing eighty years of age and sixty years as a distinguished member of the Order of the Sangha.

Born on 14th July, 1898, he received his higher ordination at the age of twenty, and proceeded to study the Teaching and the Discipline at the foot of his Guru, the Most Ven. Pelene Vajirañāna Maha Nayake Thera. His deep knowledge of the Dhamma, the calm and collected manner, his gentle ways, and more than all, his capacity for expounding even the most intricate points in the Dhamma in very simple language made him a popular preacher, and his services were in demand throughout the length and breadth of the country. The impression created on the minds of his hearers regarding the sublime teaching of the Blessed One extended beyond the frontiers of this country, so that invitations came from foreign countries for the propagation of the Teaching of the Master.

There is hardly a single country in the world that has not been visited by the Ven. Nārada in the course of a very earnest and strenuous campaign of carrying the teaching of the Dhamma to peoples outside Sri Lanka. He has the distinction of having addressed the Buddhist Societies of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. On these occasions he was expounding the sublime teaching of the Blessed One. It can be said that Ven. Nārada has successfully pushed further the frontiers established for the Dhamma by that most energetic and far-seeing Buddhist Missionary, the Anagārika Dharmapala, who had laid a firm foundation for such activity in different parts of the world.

Added to his ability to expound the Dhamma, is also his capacity to write books on the Dhamma. Most of his books have been translated into foreign languages and have been received with great acceptance by the intelligentsia of these countries.

As a teacher, Ven. Nārada has the distinction of having been the Dhamma tutor to two most distinguished citizens of Sri Lanka, namely, Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake who was four times Prime Minister and the present President, His Excellency J. R. Jayawardena.

The life and the work of Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera reminds us of one of the six unexcelled things that the Tathāgata has proclaimed in the Book of the Sixes in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. This unexcelled thing that has been accomplished by the Ven. Nārada is that he has served the Tathāgata, established in faith, established in love, gone surely for refuge serenely established. Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera is also a rarity as proclaimed by the Blessed One in the Book of Threes in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. It is said there that a person who can expound the Teaching and Discipline taught by the Tathāgata is rare in the world. Thus Ven. Nārada has spent sixty years of fruitful service to the Tathāgata. May he have good health and more years of useful service to the Buddha Sāsana.

Siri Perera, Q. C.

The President,

Sasana Sevaka Society

Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera was born on 14th July, 1898 and was ordained at the age of 18 on 14th July, 1916. He received his higher ordination (Upasampada) in 1918 under the patronage of Weragampitiya Siri Revata Maha Nayake Thera and the guidance of Ven. Pelane Siri Vajirañāna Mahā Nāyaka Thera.

When I was a University student in the early nineteen thirties, I listened to sermons delivered by him at the Maitrya Hall on Sunday evenings. I was then greatly impressed by his knowledge of Buddha Dhamma and his ability to deliver the dhamma in a lucid and coherent manner that enabled the listener to follow Buddha's teachings.

He was, I think, the first Sri Lankan Buddhist monk to visit several foreign countries such as Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and other European countries besides Laos, Java, Japan, Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma and preached the Buddha Dhamma in several countries abroad in the East and the West.

I understand that he was responsible for having a special chaitiya with the correct features necessary for a dāgaba built in Nepal. Besides this he has devoted a good part of his time to Buddhist activities in Vietnam and several countries and his services have been recognised in those countries which have honoured him.

In order to spread the Buddha Dhamma he has contributed to several publications and written several books which are invaluable to those seeking the truth and understanding the teachings of the Buddha.

May he live in good health and happiness for the benefit of all mankind and bring about Peace and Happiness throughout the World.

William Tennekoon

The President,

Servants of the Buddha

The Venerable Maha Thera was one of the founder members of this society. Under the inspiring leadership of Venerable Kassapa Thera (formerly Dr. Cassius Pereira) and the fervour and moral earnestness of Ven. Nārada Thera together with the enthusiasm and ethical idealism displayed by Mr. Hema Basnayaka, this Society was founded as far back as 1921, to cater to the spiritual needs of the English educated Buddhists.

As a young and promising monk of only 21 years of age at that time, he showed an exceptional intellectual prowess matched by an equal degree of spiritual fervour. With the mature guidance and advice of Dr. Cassius Pereira he mastered the English Language and in course of time became an eloquent and convincing speaker who captivated the minds of the English educated Buddhists with his sermons which were characterized by their clarity and discernment. He delivered these lectures for over two decades at the Servants of the Buddha meetings which were held every Saturday since its inception.

A work of outstanding merit entitled "*The Blessings*" published by the Servants of the Buddha containing translations of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (50–100) stands to his unique credit. Judging by standards of precision, literary elegance, lucidity of expression and clarity of thought, this publication retains its perennial and original freshness in the field of scholarship and learning. Another work entitled "*The Mirror of the Dhamma*" embodying the devotional gāthās of the Buddhists was translated by Ven. Nārada Thera and edited by Dr. Cassius Pereira under the aegis of this Society. To this day, this booklet is unsurpassed as a *Vade Mecum* to guide the faltering steps of mankind in moments of dire distress and despondency.

It could be said without any fear of contradiction that Ven. Nārada Thera's singular and pre-eminent contribution to the Buddha Sāsana for over a period of five decades was to the English-speaking educated Buddhist.

The Servants of the Buddha could proudly claim that it was responsible to some extent in moulding and shaping the life of Venerable Nārada Thera and making him an accomplished and distinguished member of the Order of the Blessed One. We wish him good health, long life and much happiness in order that he would continue his noble efforts to propagate the benign message of the Buddha to the war-weary and tormented world of today.

Alec Robertson

The World Fellowship of Buddhists

The Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera of Vajirārāma, in Sri Lanka, a Patron of the World Fellowship of Buddhists from its very inception in 1950, is an internationally known figure for his writings on Theravada Buddhism and more so for his piety, depth of learning and his preachings both in the East and in the West.

His sermons, for the past sixty years or more have been acknowledged by the Buddhist World as instructive and inspiring and have a strong appeal not only to the intelligentsia, but also to the masses. His ability to explain the most abstruse points in Buddhism in very clear and simple language is remarkable. The demand by various organisations for a sermon by Ven. Nārada in different parts of the country has been so pressing that five or six sermons a day by him has been the average for well over twenty-five to thirty years. In Sri Lanka, the name "Nārada" is a household word and to see thousands flocking to hear him preaching has been a most refreshing sight in the villages.

The wonderful reformation he has been able to bring about in the minds of the people among whom he lived will, for ever, be an undying monument to his enormous contribution which he placed before them both by his writings and by his preachings.

I am sure, the entire Buddhist public will join me in wishing Ven. Nārada "*ad multos annos*" as the life he has led will continue to be a shining example to those who follow him.

Albert Edirisinghe

Vice-President

A FOREWORD TO THE STUDY OF BUDDHISM

DR. RICHARD A. GARD

Director of Institute Services,

The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions

Some years ago in Europe and North America, interest in Buddhism was mostly academic. It was conceptual from linguistic studies and doctrinal from Christian theological concerns, but had little understanding of the Buddhist way of life in Asia. In recent years, although Buddhist textual studies have advanced considerably, such interest has become more pragmatic: attention is directed, sometimes personally, toward Buddhist meditative practices, ritual symbolism and monastic retreats, often without sufficient regard for doctrinal bases and ethical prerequisites. Social science studies of Buddhist institutions and traditions in Asian societies are increasing, but more consideration should be given to the potential Buddhist role in Asia and elsewhere.

Hence it is time for the student to approach Buddhism in broader perspective concerning its religious nature, historical traditions, cultural expressions, and societal role. He should inquire how Buddhist doctrine and experience view the nature and administration of political authority, the acquisition and distribution of economic wealth, and the proper use of natural resources, family planning, and military force. Also, how Buddhist groups and institutions can effectively assist public education, social welfare programs, and the cultural arts in the world today.

Answers to such questions naturally depend upon many factors, non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist, but here it may be said very briefly that the fundamental Buddhist solution to man's existential problems is effected, not through some divine power or deity, but by his own integrated right thought and conduct. Essentially, man is a composite of mental and physical energies; he is dependently originated, variously conditioned, in flux, and coexists with other forms of life in a common environment. Hence, man should treat all existence as himself, interrelatedly and not egocentrically: a basically selfish action displays metaphysical ignorance. Similarly, all groups, peoples, societies, cultures, and governments are compounded of numerous related elements; they are dependently established, multi-conditioned, and subject to change. They do not exist alone in reality and should not be ethnocentric in a world truly human. In

short, Buddhism proffers a world-view that man can solve his own problems and fulfill his potential humanity through transcendent comprehension and understanding exemplified by universal compassion toward all sentient beings.

A. Conceptions of Buddhism

It is sometimes forgotten by Buddhists and scholars alike that Buddhism is not quite the same when lived or studied in different places. Buddhism in the Western world is not Asian Buddhism (although there are efforts to transplant it there) and generalizations about Buddhism by Western writers are not always appropriate to Buddhism in Asia. Similarly, most statements about Buddhism by Asian Buddhists pertain only to Asia and within that context are often (understandably) nationalistic or ethnocentric because Buddhism has developed in particular Asian societal environments. Furthermore, descriptions of Buddhist principles, practices, and institutions which do not date them, or are based indiscriminately on data from past historical periods, do not suffice as surveys of contemporary Buddhism. In short, although Buddhism may be universal in world-view and human purpose, it is nevertheless temporal and characteristically diverse in cultural expression and social application.

Viewed historically, Buddhism has been developing for twenty-five centuries in Asia and is now spreading to other parts of the modern world. In this process, Buddhist thought, customs, and institutions have influenced, as formative or supporting elements, the cultures of many peoples. This traditional and yet contemporary way of life is commonly known as 'Buddhism' in English, or its equivalent in other Western languages. The fact that Buddhist beliefs and customs often commingle with, and sometimes are absorbed or supplanted by, other beliefs and customs identified as animistic, hylozoic, or panpsychic, Bon, Confucian, Hindu, Muslim, Shintō, or Taoist is of secondary importance from the Buddhist point of view. The essential consideration for most Buddhists is the extent to which Buddhism has been, still is, or can be a cultural-civilizing force in Asian and other societies. Characteristically and idealistically, Buddhists endeavour to identify, cultivate, and fulfill their human potential in a complex and ever-changing world.

Viewed doctrinally, Buddhism proffers a system of interrelated principles and practices, as first taught and exemplified by the Buddha (ca. 624–544 B.C. according to Theravāda dates, or ca. 566–486 according to present Mahāyāna dates), whereby man can realize experientially and existentially Four Noble Principles (in Pāli/Sanskrit *Cattāri-ariya-*

saccāni/*Catvāri-ārya-satyāni*):[1] (1) the unsatisfactory nature of conditioned, imperfect existence, (2) the causative process of such

[1] The collective term or category *Cattāri-ariya-saccāni*/*Catvāri-ārya-satyāni* is usually translated into English as "Four Noble Truths." Such rendering is linguistically inadequate and doctrinally unable to explain how Siddhārtha Gautama became the Buddha. The term *satya* (Pāli *sacca*) is formed of the present participle *sat* ("being") derived from the verbal root *as* ("to be, to exist") + the noun-ending *ya* ("-ness"), hence "being-ness = principle of being (true)"; cf. Latin *esse*, English essence, essential. Thus *sacca*/*satya* here has a twofold epistemological-metaphysical meaning comparable to that of the Western concept of principle as a "fundamental truth; a primary or basic law, doctrine" and "an essential or characteristic constituent; that which gives a substance its essential properties". Accordingly when the four *Sacca*/*Satya* are properly understood, they comprise stages of progress in realizing truth", and when they are fully realized or fulfilled, they comprise "states of reality". For example, in the case of the Buddha, through meditative concentration (*jhāna*/*dhyānā*), his resultant transcendent comprehension and understanding (*paññā*/*prajñā*) actualized his Enlightenment (*Bodhi*) whereby he epistemologically knew and metaphysically attained ultimate freedom in Perfect Existence (*Nibbāna*/*Nirvāṇa*). Otherwise, this experiential-existential transformation and perfection of his conditioned existence would not have been possible if *sacca*/*satya* meant only "truth" and not also "existence" throughout his progression from *Dukkhatā*/*Duḥkhata* to *Nibbāna*/*Nirvāṇa*. It is well-known that the term *ariya*/*ārya* here has no ethnic or social meaning but characterizes these principles as "noble" or "exalted" because they enable one to become perfected (as an *Arahant*/*Arhat*).

Buddhism employs no truly universal or common language. For example, Theravāda Buddhists customarily use names and terms in Pāli (an oral canonical language written in various Asian scripts and now also roman letters), although they sometimes use Sanskrit words and spellings in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia, recently Khmer Republic), Śrī Laṅkā (formerly Laṅkā, recently Ceylon), and Thailand, whereas Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhists use Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit terms and names (which have been translated or transliterated into Central Asian languages, Chinese, and Tibetan and therefrom into Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Mongolian, etc.). However, many Western writers on Buddhism employ Pāli and (Buddhist) Sanskrit terms and names indiscriminately which thus ignores the Asian Buddhist usage and confuses Theravāda and Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna doctrinal interpretations and proper names. Therefore, more reliable Western-language Buddhist expositions should use romanized Pāli spellings (unless otherwise noted, with preference given to that used in Śrī Laṅkā and Thailand) to signify Theravāda views and names, and romanized (Buddhist) Sanskrit spellings to denote Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna views and names. A twofold Pāli/Sanskrit spelling of the same Buddhist term or name should be given whenever they are different. This device may sometimes appear cumbersome to the reader, but it would ensure accuracy in description.

existence, (3) the removal of these causes and the consequent realization of unconditioned perfect existence (*Nibbāna*/*Nirvāṇa*) by means of (4) the Buddha's way to attain that ideal of human life.

Viewed as a whole, Buddhism consists of Three Valued Components:[2] (1) the Buddha (the Enlightened One whom Buddhists venerate as their historic Teacher and symbolize as the universal and supremely human Ideal, (2) the Teaching of the Buddha (*Dhamma*/*Dharma*) which Buddhists study as basic principles and apply as basic practices, and (3) the Community (*Saṅgha*/*Sangha*)[3] which Buddhists customarily support as their monastic order.

There are several Asian names for Buddhism, thus viewed historically, doctrinally, and wholly. Theravāda Buddhists generally refer to the *Buddha Sāsana* in Pāli (cf. Sanskrit *Buddha Śāsana*) which means textually "the doctrinal and disciplinary instruction of the Buddha", institutionally "the orthodox tradition of Buddhist ordination", and socially "the system of principles and practices which guide a Buddhist monastic community and lay society". Hence the expression is often heard, for example, in Śrī Lankā: "Uphold the Sāsana, protect the Sāsana, reform the Sāsana lest it (and thereby society) declines." This Theravāda conception of Buddhism emphasizes community spirit in Buddhist life. Furthermore, Theravādins frequently speak of the *Buddha Dhamma* when referring to the Teaching of the Buddha, thus stressing inter-related Buddhist principles and practices. Mahāyāna Buddhists may use the name *Buddha Śāsana* to denote Buddhism, but customarily refer to the *Buddha Dharma* in Sanskrit, meaning the Teaching of the Buddha in thought and conduct. From this designation various ethno-linguistic names are derived and used: *Fo-chiao* by the Chinese, and thereby *Pulgyo* by the Koreans, *Bukkyō* by the Japanese, and *Phât-Giáo* by the Vietnamese. This Mahāyāna conception of Buddhism emphasizes Buddhist doctrinal study and guidances as a way of life. Vajrayāna Buddhists use *Chos* (pronounced "chö") in Tibetan, meaning simply "the (Buddha's) *Dharma* or Teaching",

[2] The Three Valued Components of Buddhism will be described in more detail below in section C.

[3] This institutional term is romanized variously in Western-language writings, possibly because of the question of *anusvāra* transliteration. It may be given as Sangha (in *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*), Saṅgha, Saṁgha, or Saṃgha in Pāli and as Saṅgha [in The Library of Congress (Washington, D. C.) transliteration], Saṁgha, or Saṃgha in Sanskrit. It is therefore suggested here that the term be rendered Sangha in romanized Pāli to denote a Theravāda context and Saṅgha in romanized Sanskrit to denote Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna contexts.

to signify Buddhism. This conception indicates the central role and pervasiveness of Buddhism in traditional Tibetan-oriented society.

In spite of the customary meaning and use of Asian names for Buddhism by Asian Buddhists, many non-Asian and Western writers scholastically conceive and define Buddhism as a 'religion' by perceiving its stress on spiritual experience and the apparent deification of the Buddha in popular Buddhist ceremonies, or as a 'philosophy' by noting the Buddhist humanistic concern with right action based upon right knowledge. But it should be observed here that 'religion' and 'philosophy' are Western concepts which have had varying meanings in the development of Western thought and have only recently been introduced into East Asian usage. About 1870, the Japanese coined the terms *shūkyō* and *tetsugaku* (each is a two Sino-Japanese character compound word) to denote 'religion' and 'philosophy', respectively, for their Westernized academic studies in this field. Thereafter, these Sino-Japanese character compounds were adopted by the Chinese (as *tsung chiao* and *chê-hsüeh*), Koreans (*chong-gyo* and *ch'ôl-hak* or *ch'ôr-hak*), and Vietnamese (*tôn-giáo* and *triêt hôc*) as their own terms for 'religion' and 'philosophy'. Consequently, some Asian, writers now refer to Buddhism as a 'religion' or 'philosophy' in English or even their own language, either anachronistically or in the attempt to explain it in terms presumably meaningful to non-Buddhists. It would be more appropriate if they would simply call Buddhism "Buddhism", or its equivalent in non-Asian and Asian languages, regard the Buddha Dhamma/Dharma as a Buddhist philosophical interpretation and religious way of life, and view the Buddha *Sāsana*/*Śāsana* as a Buddhist cultural institution or society.

When Buddhist principles and practices spread further in the world, perhaps a comprehensive and composite conception of Buddhism may develop which will be common to Asian and non-Asian Buddhists and more meaningful to others.

B. Main Characteristics

Although Buddhism may be variously conceived and named, certain characteristics are common to all forms and schools: its experiential basis, concern over conditioned existence, free inquiry and thorough analysis, and conception of man.

1. Experiential basis. In beginning a journey or new study, we start from where we are in life, and develop our understanding from our present state of knowledge. Similarly, Buddhist belief and study have no doctrinal

presuppositions but begin with a profound awareness of one's conditioned existence and, relatedly, that of other sentient beings.

Historically and doctrinally, Buddhism began when Siddhārtha Gautama (Pāli: Siddhattha Gotama) achieved and experienced Enlightenment (*Bodhi*) and thus, in his own words, became a *buddha* ("an enlightened one"). In this process, he first experienced the unsatisfactory nature of his own existence and, empathetically, that of other related beings; then reflectively experienced the causal process of that existence, particularly noting ignorance, craving, and other causal factors; and finally undertook the removal of these conditioning causes and thereby experienced that blissful, unconditioned, perfected state called *Nibbāna*/*Nirvāṇa*.

2. Concern over conditioned existence. Unlike most religious and philosophical systems, Buddhism stresses the necessity of man confronting and fully comprehending his immediate existential predicament, inasmuch as all existence, including his own, is variously and plurally caused, multi-conditioned, and constantly changing. Buddhism regards this situation as imperfect and generally unsatisfactory because, in these circumstances, man has not yet realized his potential humanity. To achieve this goal, he must acquire the essential wisdom and undertake the appropriate action.

Accordingly, 'birth' and 'rebirth', 'life' and 'death' are not absolutes, but "major, recurrent, interrelated experiences" which together constitute the continuing, imperfect nature of man—and of all sentient beings—which can be perfected fundamentally through the transcendental experience of Enlightenment. (Some Zen Buddhists in Japan have devoutly wished that attainment even for transitory flowers!). By nature, the ultimate experiential-existential state is ineffable.

3. Free inquiry and thorough analysis. If perfect freedom in existence is to be achieved and experienced through requisite knowledge and action, then the mind must inquire freely and analyze thoroughly. This undertaking should begin with no assumptions other than an awareness that one's conditioned existence presents basic existential problems. The search for truth should be exhaustive and lead wherever necessary. In Buddhistic terms, truth will set us free, but we must search for it devoutly and apply it thoughtfully.

In the Pāli *Kālāma-sutta*, the Buddha reportedly advised the Kālāmas: "Be ye not misled by report or tradition or hearsay. Be not misled by proficiency in the collections (citing by memory oral religious texts), nor by mere logic or inference, nor after considering reasons (using specious

arguments), nor after reflection on and approval of some theory (taking delight in speculative opinions), nor because it fits becoming (has attractive possibilities) nor out of respect for a recluse (who holds it).... But if at any time, ye know of yourselves: These things are profitable, they are blameless, they are praised by the intelligent; these things, when performed and undertaken, conduce to profit and happiness,—then, Kālāmas, do ye, having undertaken them, abide therein."[4]

4. Conception of man. Buddhism views man intrinsically as the human process of reality: "a stream of mental and Physical energies" with a remembered continuity of "ever-becoming in space-time. Man's nature—like that of other sentient beings—is neither good nor bad, nor sinful, but essentially dynamic and ever-changing (*anicca*/*anitya*), composite, plurally caused or dependently originated (*Paṭiccasamuppāda*/*pratītyasamutpāda*), relative or relational (*suññā*/*śūnya*, devoid of substantial essence of its own) without an abiding soul or metaphysical self (hence, *anattā*/*ānātman*), multi-conditioned and variously limited (*saṅkhata*/*saṃskṛta*), and therefore Buddhistically considered to be imperfect and generally unsatisfactory (*dukkha*/*duḥkha*). As the human particularization of reality, man is compounded of five aggregates (*pañca-khandha*/ *skandha*) of conditioning, ever-changing elements (*dhamma*/*dharma*): (1) material qualities or corporeality (*rūpa*), (2) feelings or sensations (*vedanā*), (3) perceptions or ideations (*saññā*/*saṃjña*), (4) mental formations or volitional activities (*saṅkhāra*/*saṃskāra*), and (5) consciousness or awareness (*viññāṇa*/ *vijñāna*).

This ontological description of man largely depicts the situation for one lifespan, whereas, cosmologically viewed, he undergoes continual, phenomenal change (birth and rebirth, etc.) in an unending series of conditioned lives, cyclically called *saṃsāra*. Saṃsāra and Nibbāna/Nirvāṇa are basic, experiential states of man's "ever-becoming" which initially are contra-distinguished, but ultimately, Saṃsāra (cf. Phenomena) is transcended for, or identified with, Nibbāna/Nirvāṇa (cf. Noumena) when man attains freedom in perfect existence.

C. Three Valued Components

[4] F. L. Woodward (translator), *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* (*Anguttara-Nikaya*), or *More-Numbered Suttas*. Volume I (*Ones, Twos, Threes*). (London: Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Company, Ltd., (1932) 1951), p. 173: *Aṅuttara-Nikaya* (Vol. II, III. Tika-nipāta. 7. Mahā-vagga, 65. *Kālāma-sutta*.

A coherent view and reliable description of Buddhism should initially refer to its basic structure. In Asia, Buddhist beliefs, practices, and institutions are fundamentally centered in, and traditionally guided by, three valued components called *Tiratana* in Pāli by Theravādins and *Triratna* in Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit by Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhists. This name literally means "Three Jewels, Treasures, etc."

These three valued components are—in the following historical development and customary order—(1) the Buddha (the Enlightened One) whom Buddhists venerate as their Teacher and idealize as the supremely human Ideal, (2) the *Dhamma*/*Dharma* (his Teachings) which Buddhists understand as basic principles and fulfil as basic practices, and (3) the *Saṅgha*/*Sangha* (the Community) which Buddhists customarily support as their monastic order and extend to include the laity under certain circumstances.

The *Tiratana*/*Triratna* are inter-related as a triad (*Ratanattaya*/*Ratnatraya*—"the Triple Gem"): (a) the Buddha experienced, formulated, taught, and exemplified (b) the Dhamma/Dharma as a doctrinal view and way of life which was subsequently expounded and developed by his followers who together came to comprise (c) the Saṅgha/Sangha as a monastic organization. Consequently, in their veneration of the Buddha, his followers (both ecclesia and laity) have tended to idealize him more than remember him historically. For instance, the Buddha Jayanti celebrations throughout South and Southeast Asia from May 1956 to May 1957 (November 1957 in Laos), which commemorated twenty-five centuries of the Buddhist heritage, were much larger in scale than the celebrations in March 1977 in India for the 2600th birth anniversary of the Buddha, even considering the unfavourable political conditions in Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam prevailing since 1975.

The question is sometimes asked whether the Saṅgha, which is the latest component of the now traditional triad, can survive in modern society; for example Buddhist monasticism is declining noticeably in Japan. However it should be noted that in Japan there has been a laicizing trend in Buddhist institutions since the early 13th century and that the present day Buddhist "new religions" (*shin shūkyō*), collectively considered, comprise what may be called a lay Sangha. In other respects, the survival of the Tiratana/Triratna in Asian Communist countries is more problematic: it is confronted by unprecedented ideological and institutional challenges.

Formal recognition of the Tiratana/Triratna has become the primary, requisite act of veneration in 'all Buddhist schools and sects. As the most

elemental initiation-ritual, it is called *Tisaraṇa-gamana*/*Triśaraṇa-gamana* (often translated rather awkwardly as "Taking the Three Refuges"). *Saraṇa* may have a literal sense of "protection, shelter, abode, refuge, willed or chosen resort, etc."[5] but in the Buddhist context it means "that whereby I will transcend conditioned life and experience freedom in perfect existence and thus attain Nibbāna/Nirvāṇa", for which no single translation-word seems appropriate. *Gamana* has the sense here of "striving for....finding shelter in"[6] (cf. *gacchāmi* as "going to") hence "will undertake".

When expressed as a formula (*Saraṇattaya*/*Trīṇiśaraṇāni*), the Tisaraṇa-gamana/Triśaraṇa-gamana becomes at once an act of veneration, resolution, and elementary training. It is stated here in romanized Pāli with English translation as follows:

Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammā sambuddhassa:
Veneration to the Blessed One, the Enlightened One, the Perfectly Enlightened One:

Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
To (the) Buddha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
To (the) Dhamma, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
To the Saṅgha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Dūtiyam pi buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
For the second time to the Buddha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Dūtiyam pi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
For the second time to (the) Dhamma, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Dūtiyam pi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
For the second time to the Sangha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

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[5] T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (editors), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (Chipstead, Surrey (England): The Pali Text Society, 1921–1925). Part VIII, p. 156b: "Saraṇa". Hereafter cited as PTS Dictionary; a revised edition is in progress. See also Mrs. (Caroline Augusta Foley) Rhys Davids (editor and translator), *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*. Part 1: *Dhammapada*: Verses on Dhamma, and *Khuddaka-pāṭha*: The Text of the Minor Sayings. (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. VII), Introduction to *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, pp. xliv–xlv.

[6] PTS Dictionary, Part III, pp. 74b–75a: "Gamana".

Tatiyam pi buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
For the third time to the Buddha, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Tatiyam pi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
For the third time to (the) Dhamma, the (chosen) resort, I go.

Tatiyam pi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
For the third time to the Sangha, the (chosen) resort, I go.[7]

D. Principal Movements

In the historic development of Buddhism, various ways (*yāna*) and paths (*magga*/*mārga*) have been devised and instituted for the attainment of Enlightenment and the fulfillment of the Buddhist way of life. These have acquired varying ethno-cultural expressions and characteristics, and proponents of a particular approach often distinguish their means pedagogically from that of others. Basically, however, they are comparable and most of them are interrelated.

1. Traditional Ways. The Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna have evolved gradually as the principal Buddhist movements in Asia today. Early Buddhist developments included a number of schools (traditionally 18 or 20 in number, actually more than 33), of which the Theravāda, (Mula-) Sarvāstivāda-Abhidharmika-Vaibhāsika, Sautrāntika, Mahāsaṃghika, and Vātsīputrīya Sammatīya were among the most prominent. But only the first named school has survived, of which the appellation "Theravāda' (Sanskrit: 'Sthaviravāda') means "the Teaching (of the Buddha) transmitted or taught orally by the Theras (elder or senior monks)". These early Buddhist schools have been collectively, contrastively, traditionally, and inappropriately called 'Hinayāna' meaning "the Exclusive Way, Means, Career, or the Lesser Method of attaining Enlightenment" (literally and inaptly, "Little, or Small, Vehicle") by Mahāyāna proponents and thereby now some Western writers. The name 'Mahāyāna' means "the Expansive way, Means, Career, or the Greater Method of attaining Enlightenment" (literally and inaptly, "Great, or Large, Vehicle"). Whereas 'Vajrayāna,' which derives many of its metaphysical doctrines from the Mahāyāna with certain Vedāntic and Tantric influences, means "the Adamantine Way, Means, Career, or the

[7] Mrs. Rhys Davids (ed. and tr.), *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Part I, *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, pp. 140–141: *Saraṇattayaṃ*. For a summary description of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna development of the Trīśaraṇa-gamana (ritual) and *Trīniśaraṇāni* (formula) see my Buddhism (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1961), pp. 55–57.

Wisdom Method of attaining Enlightenment" (literally and inaptly, "Diamond Vehicle"). Since the Vajrayāna generally follows the Tibetan tradition in Buddhism, it is sometimes institutionally called 'Lamaism'. But this name is doctrinally and organizationally meaningless because it is derived from *bLama* in Tibetan, meaning "the eminent, or superior, one", hence a spiritual teacher (of the Indian guru) but now often broadened to include nearly all monks, nuns, and prominent lay Buddhist teachers and practitioners.

Differences in principles and practices between the Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna are a matter of degree rather than being absolute differences. For instance, with regard to their conceptions of the Buddha, all three ways venerate him as their common Teacher (although the Theravāda has been more historically minded than the other two) and idealize him in folk-cults, iconography, and metaphysical doctrine (although the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna have developed the Bodhisattva-Maitreya-Buddha concept further than has the Theravāda). Concerning Buddhist principles and practices, the Theravāda believes that it adheres to, and thus preserves, the original Teaching of the Buddha (Buddha Dhamma) and therefore sometimes regards the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna as deviating from the main doctrine. The Mahāyāna asserts that it expounds the essential meaning of the Teaching of the Buddha (Buddha Dharma) and therefore develops what is Buddhistically latent in the Theravāda. The Vajrayāna holds that it exemplifies and fulfills the Mahāyāna exposition of the Teaching of the Buddha (Chos) in special ceremonies and practices.

Some Mahāyānists and Western writers equate the Theravāda with the so-called Hinayāna, which oversimplifies the various school developments in Early Buddhism and leads to doctrinal confusion; or they regionally identify the Theravāda as "Southern Buddhism" and the Mahāyāna as "Northern Buddhism", which thus overlooks Theravāda groups in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan, Chinese and Vietnamese Mahāyāna communities in Southeast Asia, and Vajrayāna Buddhists in the Himālayas and elsewhere, as well as ignores the past role of the Mahāyāna in Cambodian, Indonesian, and Sinhalese Buddhism (probably also in Burmese, Lao, and Thai Buddhism) and predominantly in Vietnamese Buddhism down to the present-day. Such persons sometimes also distinguish the Theravāda from the Mahāyāna by contending that in the former "the whole emphasis of life is on acquiring merit toward one's

salvation"[8] whereas "To the common people, the Mahāyāna offered the good news of the existence of multitudes of saviors, real and potential, whose chief desire was the cure or the amelioration of the sufferings of men."[9] This distinction, which appears to be Mahāyāna-biased, ignores the common Buddhist doctrine of relational existence (in which individuality is not absolute) and the customary Theravāda social welfare practice of helping others (*sanghavatthu*).

Actually, most differences between the Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna (and between their respective schools) are due to environmental factors in various countries: particular social conditions, local customs, ethno-cultural expressions, and national political interests, In recent times, Buddhists have sought to minimize existing distinctions between the three main movements, for example, by referring only to "Buddhism" at the General Conferences of The World Fellowship of Buddhists since 1950. In Indonesia a Buddhayāna movement has attempted to synthesize the Mahāyāna and Theravāda, reminiscent of the Śiva-Buddha syncretism during the Śailendra dynasty (7th–9th centuries A,D,). However, there is really no ecumenism among Asian Buddhists as sometimes speculated or reported by non-Buddhist observers. Such an attempt would be historically unprecedented and contrary to the Buddhist spirit of free doctrinal inquiry and the tradition of organizational and school autonomy.

2. Traditional Paths. The Early Buddhist (including Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda), Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna ways to attain Enlightenment have been diversified in numerous schools which may be grouped and classified according to the nature of their method or functional approach. In this respect, five Buddhist paths (*magga*/*mārga*) may be briefly noted, of which one or more may typify a particular Buddhist school. All help to implement the principal Buddhist ways, and when viewed collectively or integrated, they comprise but One Path, Their basic names in Pāli and Sanskrit are given here to enable proper identification.

(a) The path of discipline and virtuous conduct (*sīla-magga*/*śīla-mārga*) leads to higher morality, as generally required by the other paths. It is followed in the Theravāda Vinaya (monastic discipline: especially its 10 training rules, 10 requisites of good behaviour, and the *Pāṭimokkha* recital), in the early Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (especially its *Prātimokṣa*

[8] John D. Noss, *Man's Religions*. Fifth Edition (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.; London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, c1974); p. 143.

[9] Noss, *Man's Religions* (Fifth Edition), p. 155.

ceremony, now preserved mostly in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna rituals), and in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna ethical conduct (especially the 6, later 10, *pāramitā* as "requisite virtues" or "perfections" of a Bodhisattva). School examples of this path in East Asia are the former Lü-tsung in China and the related Yu-jong or Nam-san-jong in Korea and Ritsu-shū in Japan.

(b) The path of meditative concentration (*jhāna-magga*/*dhyāna-mārga*) leads to higher thought, as required for transcendent comprehension and understanding (*paṭṭā*/*prajñā*). It consists of three elements: (1) mindfulness (*sati*/*smṛti*), (2) concentrative absorption (*samādhi*), and (3) attentive concentration (*bhāvanā*) in two aspects of (a) tranquility and fixedness of mind (*samatha*/*śamatha-bhāvanā*) and (b) introspection and intuition or transcendent analysis and insight (*vipassanā*/*vipaśyanā-bhāvanā*). This path is followed similarly by the Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna. Mahāyāna school examples are the well-known Ch'an-tsung in China and the related Sōn jong in Korea, Zen-shū In Japan, and Thiên-tôn in Vietnam.

(c) The path of transcendent comprehension and understanding (*paññā-magga*/*prajñā-mārga*) leads to higher insight as required for Enlightenment. It has three kinds of *paññā*/*prajñā*: (1) that transcendent comprehension, understanding, and knowledge gained from the oral tradition, (2) that ... gained from pure thought (cf. *samādhi*), and (3) that ... gained from cultivated thought (cf. *bhāvanā*). This path is followed by the Theravāda, especially in its analysis of the relational structure of reality (Abhidhamma: Paṭṭhāna), by the former Sarvāstivāda in its Abhidharma analysis and by the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna in general. Notable Mahāyāna examples of this path are the extensive Prajñāpāramitā literature and resultant Mādhyamika and Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda doctrines.

(d) The path of devotional practice (*bhatti-magga*/*bhakti-mārga*), with some expectation of spiritual aid in return, centers around the veneration (*pūjā*) of (1) the Buddha in various forms or manifestations (*Buddha-pūjā*) (2) his Teaching in texts, and (3) eminent School founders. This path is followed by the Theravāda (especially in its veneration of the Buddha, his Teaching (*sutta-pūjā*), and reliquaries (*thūpa-pūjā*), by the Mahāyāna (especially in its veneration of the Buddha, his Teaching (*sūtra-pūjā*), reliquaries (*stūpa-pūjā*), and School founders), and by the Vajrayāna (especially in its veneration of Buddhist texts, reliquaries, and School founders). Mahāyāna school examples of this path are the former Shê-lun-tsung (*Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-śāstra* School) in China and the present Nichiren-shū in Japan.

(e) The path of complete reliance (*buddhānusmṛti-mārga*) on the efficacy of karunā (cf. "Saving Grace") as manifested and offered by Amitabha Buddha (A-mi-t'o-fu in Chinese, Amida-butsu in Japanese), who is comparable in this role to the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. This idea or ideal (also practice?) is embryonic in the Theravāda as *buddhānussati* (Pāli term, "mindfulness of the Buddha"), but in the Mahāyāna as *buddhānusmṛti* (Buddhist Sanskrit term) it is the culmination in the Bhakti-marga of a Sukhāvatī trend ("Land of Bliss = Pure Land" reached through a Buddhapūjā veneration of Amitābha or Amitāyus). It begins with a profound pietism and recollection of a Buddha-object, often performed orally, and is fulfilled through utter faith expressed by the devotee. In short, the devotion of the Amitābha devotee becomes total piety which is realized as the complete, universal saving-compassion (*karuṇā*) of Amitābha as expressed to, through, and finally in that devotee. Mahāyāna school examples of this path are the Ching-t'u- tsung (Pure Land School) in China and the related Si-hung-jong in Korea, Tinh-dô-tông in Vietnam, and Kūya-shū, Ji-shū, and Jōdo-shū and threrefrom the Jōdo Shin-shū in Japan.

E. Major Kinds of Buddhist Studies

Present-day Buddhist studies are developing in scope and detail because the subject matter is complex and various disciplinary approaches are being applied to it. Here, only a bare listing of ten kinds of such studies must suffice for consideration by the prospective student.

1. Reference works: bibliographies, encyclopaedias, directories, and other materials, including language dictionaries, grammars, and study aids, gathered to facilitate Buddhist research. Work in this field usually involves the collection, organization, and careful editing of reference data.

2. General works: collected writings, commemorative volumes, series, periodicals, audio-visual aids, and other materials assembled for research convenience. Work in this field is similar to that undertaken for reference works.

3. Introductions: methodologies, introductions, surveys, comparative studies, and other materials which serve to introduce Buddhism generally to the student. Work in this field should be based upon an understanding of Buddhist essentials.

4. Histories: studies of Buddhist periods (totalling 25 centuries), cultural regions (which often transcend political boundaries), countries (more than 30 Asian countries have been influenced by Buddhism, directly or indirectly), and topics (such as historic Buddhist events, councils,

schisms, and other occurrences as well as Buddhist political, economic, social activities, and values in various societies). Work in this field involves broad perspectives and intensive research.

5. Biographies and the Buddha Ideal: studies of the historic Buddha, the venerated Buddha (cf. legends, relic worship, pilgrimages), the manifested Buddha (Metteyya/Maitreya Buddha, Bodhisattva ideal, Buddha-kāya doctrine), Buddhist pantheons, and biographies of Buddhist monastics, teachers, and lay personages. Work in this field combines historical and doctrinal studies.

6. Texts and literatures: studies of Buddhist texts and commentaries, canonical and extracanonical, and of Buddhist folklore, essays, poetry, and stories both oral and written. Work m this field requires exceptional linguistic training and exercise.

7. Principles and practices: studies of Buddhist concepts and doctrines, ceremonies and festivals, mythology and cosmology, meditation and other methods and conduct in the progress toward Enlightenment. Work in this field should recognize and explain the interdependence of Buddhist doctrines and procedures.

8. Organization, movements, schools/sects: studies of Buddhist institutions, organizational developments, the Saṅgha/ Sangha and monastic life, lay groups and religious life and the various Early Buddhist (including Theravāda), Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna Schools. Work m this field, usually limited to a few Buddhist schools, incorporates historical, biographical, literary and doctrinal research.

9. Cultural arts: studies of Buddhist aesthetics and symbolism, architecture, the ceremonial arts (if not included above in 7. Principles and practices), dance, drama, handicrafts, music, the pictorial arts, and sculpture. Work in this field often requires a comparative knowledge of non-Buddhist Asian and Western art forms and expressions.

10. Role in society: studies of the Buddhist role (past, present, potential) in one or more societies with particular respect to politics, economics, education, social welfare, technology, and other areas of human activity. Work in this field should enable the student to evaluate Buddhist history, biography, literature, principles and practices, organizational movements, and cultural arts.

By means of the foregoing studies, the student may approach Buddhism in broader perspective concerning its religious nature, historical traditions, cultural expressions, and societal role. Thus he should begin to understand humanistically, and not merely know scholastically, the

Buddha Dhamma/Dharma as a Buddhist philosophical interpretation and religious way of life and the Buddha Sāsana/Śāsana as a Buddhist cultural institution or society.

DHAMMA-DESANĀ AND DHAMMA-SĀKACCHĀ

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A discussion on *dhamma-desanā* and *dhamma-sākacchā* would, undoubtedly, be most appropriate in a Felicitation Volume in honour of one of the most gifted preachers of the Buddha-dhamma in modern times. Venerable Nārada Mahāthera has not only been a charmingly eloquent and pleasingly listenable preacher in both Sinhala and English but his innovative approaches in the nineteen-forties revolutionized the style, content and format of Buddhist sermons in an exceedingly fruitful manner. But for his thoughtful and well-conceived departures from traditional modes, the practice of listening to regular sermons would have been a victim of modernization in Sri Lanka. The Buddhists of Sri Lanka will always be grateful to him for his very significant contribution in ensuring the continuing popularity of *dhamma-desanā* specially in urban communities.

Three-fold Educational Methodology for propagating the Dhamma

Dhamma-desanā, the act of preaching or exposition of the Buddha-dhamma, along with the counterpart act of *dhammassavaṇa*, listening to the Dhamma, are among the ten meritorious deeds (*dasa-puñña-kiriya*/*vatthu*) traditionally recognized in Buddhist ethics. *Dhammassavaṇa* and *dhamma-sākacchā* (that is, discussion on the Dhamma) at proper times are enumerated as two of the thirty-two auspicious factors listed in the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta of Khuddaka Nikāya. A Jātaka highlights the sense of deprivation experienced by the world when the word of the Dhamma is no longer heard, by recounting how King Dhammasoṇḍaka not only abandoned his kingdom but was ready to sacrifice his life just to listen to a single line from the Dhamma.

The daily life of the Buddhist monastery, ever since its establishment, has revolved around the three activities of *dhamma-desanā*, *dhammassavaṇa* and *dhamma-sākacchā.* They have been the principal elements of the educational process through which the doctrines of the

Buddha were learnt, understood, clarified, propagated and eventually preserved.

Wherever the Buddha was, it had been a part of his daily routine to preach to the community of monks, nuns and lay devotees on a regular basis. Buddhist literature is replete with accounts of how the audience was engaged in discussing some subject of topical interest at the time the Buddha made his appearance and how the Buddha picked up the theme for the day's sermon from such discussions. The Buddha was not always the only preacher. His senior disciples too delivered sermons at these regular sessions and some of them were praised and even ranked by the Buddha for their eloquence, erudition and powers of convincing. The Buddha and most of his disciples figured prominently in many debates, disputes and religious discussions among themselves as well as with others who questioned or refuted the Buddha's teachings.

The entire missionary operation which the Buddha set in motion within months of enlightenment was based on *dhamma-desanā,* the direct instructional function of lecturing or delivering a sermon and *dhamma-sākacchā,* the interactional learning exercise through discussion, debate and exchange of ideas. To this date, they remain the basic approaches to the propagation of Buddhism, with an increasing emphasis on the latter. It is significant that the very high premium which Buddhism places on freedom of individual thought and critical evaluation of all ideas and teachings serves as a positive encouragement to discussion as a refreshing departure from dogmatic discourse.

The Buddha as the model preacher and discussant

The model for both these learning devices are to be found in the practices of the Buddha himself. During his forty-five year mission, the Buddha preached many sermons either on his own initiative (e.g. Mahāsatipaṭṭāna-sutta) or in response to questions addressed to him (e.g. Mahāmaṅgala-sutta), and engaged himself in many discussions and debates.

As a preacher, the Buddha was analytical. His very first sermon which is called the discourse on the rolling of the wheel of Dhamma (Dhamma-cakkappavattana-sutta) indicates that he had already perfected a format in which (i) attention-catching aphoristic statements and questions, usually with a quantitative reference and (ii) a detailed analysis of the statement or question with definitions of all key words and phrases were the main features. The earlier discourses are strictly analytical and concise (compare also Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta). Further on, one meets longer

discourses in which parables and similes play an important part. On occasion, the Buddha had also been a consummate story-teller as the Jātaka stories suggest.

One may not be able to date the development of each stylistic innovation in the Buddha's art of preaching. But the tendency to summarize doctrinal points in metrical form as in the *gāthās* met in Dhammapada, Udāna, Sutta-nipāta appears to coincide with the widening of the circle of missionary monks. Their need for codified and epitomized restatements of doctrinal principles was related to the vital requirement of maintaining the authenticity of the Buddha-word. Although one does not come across any metrical *gāthās* in either the Dhamma-cakkappavattana-sutta or the Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta, Assaji, who proceeds on his missionary activities after his initiation to Buddha-dhamma with these two discourses instructs Kolita (who later became the chief disciple of the Buddha under the name Sāriputta) in a single verse: *Ye dhammā hetuppa bhavā* etc.

There is no doubt that the Buddha himself was a talented poet and his powers of poetic expression were of a very high order. The verses attributed to the Buddha as his first thoughts after enlightenment (i.e. *Anekajātisaṃsaram* etc.) and those in conversations with Māra and Sahampati reflect a very early beginning for metrical compositions. Inspired by him, the monks and nuns did compose many poems and those we meet in Thera-gāthā and Therī-gāthā are indeed remarkable for their lyricism.

A further element discernible in the discourses delivered by the Buddha is the tendency towards exegesis, attempted primarily by using a string of synonyms and, where appropriate, elaborating further with a simile or a parable.

These elements of a typical discourse of the Buddha may be further clarified by quoting three texts: one in which a sermon by the Buddha is described in indirect speech; the second in which the actual words are quoted; and the third where the recourse to parables and similes is clearer.

(i) From Vinaya-piṭaka comes this account:

— Then Anāthapiṇḍika said to himself: "The Buddha calls me by my name!" So, delighted and elated thereat, he approached the Buddha and fell at his feet, saying: "Hath my Lord, the Exalted One, rested happily?" And the Buddha replied:

Happy he ever rests, the brāhmaṇa set free,

Whom lusts defile not, who is cooled and loosed from bonds,

Who hath all barriers burst, by taming his heart's pain.

Happy the calm one rests, reaching the Peace of Mind.

Then did the Buddha discourse unto Anāthapiṇḍika, the housefather, with talk that led gradually on, thus: of charity and righteousness and the heaven-world; of the danger, uselessness, and defilement of the passions, and of the profit of giving up the world. And when the Buddha saw that the heart of Anāthapiṇḍika, the housefather, was made pliable and soft and without obstruction, uplifted and calmed, then did he set forth the Dhamma teaching of the Buddhas, proclaimed most excellent, that is, suffering, the arising of suffering, the ceasing of suffering, and the way leading to the ceasing of suffering.

Then, just as a clean cloth that is freed from stains can readily take on the dye, even so in Anāthapiṇḍika, the housefather, as he sat there, arose the pure and spotless eye that sees the Dhamma, (the sight) that whatsoever is of nature to arise, all that is of nature to cease again. (Vinaya ii, 6, 4 and also S.N. i. 211)

(ii) In Dīgha Nikāya is recorded his sermon to young Sigāla:

— "Now, young master, since the Four Vices of Action have been put away by the Ariyan disciple, and since he does no evil deed through the Four Motives for evil deeds, and since he does not follow the Six Openings that swallow up wealth, — he is thus one who has forsaken fourteen evil ways: he is the one who covers the six regions of space: he is the one equipped for the conquest of the two worlds: he is the one for whom both this World and the world beyond are assured. When body breaks up, after death he is reborn in the blissful return, the happy world.

Now what are those Four Vices of Action which he has put away?

They are these, young master:

The Vice of taking the life of creatures; of taking what is not given; of wrong practice in acts of passion; and falsehood. These four."

Thus spake the Buddha.

He added this further:

"Who taketh life, who steals, who telleth lies,

Who fouls another's wife—him wise men blame.

And what are the Four Motives of Evil-doing free from which he does no evil deed?

A man does evil deeds by going on the wrong path through desire, through hatred, through delusion, and through fear. But since the Ariyan disciple does not go on these four wrong paths, he does no evil deed through these Four Motives of Evil-doing."

Thus spake the Buddha.

He added this further:

"Who oversteps the Dhamma
Through lust or hate, stupidity or fear,
His good name wanes.
As in the dark fortnight waneth the moon.
Who steps not o'er the Dhamma
Through lust or hate, stupidity or fear,
His fame doth wax,
As in the bright fortnight waxeth the moon.

(D.N. iii, 181)

(iii) In Saṃyutta Nikāya occurs this discourse addressed to Ānanda on the causal law:

— "Say not so, Ānanda! Say not so! Deep indeed is this Causal Law, and deep it appears to be. It is by not knowing, by not understanding, by not penetrating this doctrine, that this world of men has become entangled like a ball of twine, become covered with mildew, become like muñja grass and rushes, and unable to pass beyond the doom of the Waste,

the Way of Woe, the Fall, and the Ceaseless Round (of rebirth).

In one, Ānanda, who dwells contemplating the enjoyment of all that is concerned with grasping, there grows up craving. Craving is the condition of grasping: grasping is the condition of becoming.

Conditioned by these are birth, decay-and-death, grief and suffering, woe, lamentation, and despair. So arises all this mass of Ill.

Just as if there were a great tree, whose roots go down and across and draw up the sap. Indeed, Ānanda, so great a tree thus fed, thus supplied with nourishment, would stand fast for a long time.

Just so, in one who dwells contemplating the enjoyment of all that is concerned with grasping, there grows up craving. And (as I told you) . . . from craving arises all this mass of Ill.

But in him, Ānanda, who dwells contemplating the misery of all that is concerned with grasping, craving ceases. By the ceasing of craving, grasping ceases: so also cease becoming, birth, decay-and-death . . . and suffering and despair. So ceases all this mass of Ill. Suppose, Ānanda, there were a great tree, and a man. comes with axe and basket and cuts down that tree at the root. He cuts it at the root and digs a trench all round and pulls out the roots, even the little roots and the fibres of them. Then he cuts it into logs, splits the logs, and cuts the logs into chips. Then he dries the chips in wind and sun, burns them with fire, collects them into a heap of ash, winnows the ashes in a strong wind, or lets them be carried away by a swift-flowing stream.

Surely that great tree, thus cut off at the roots, would be made like a stump of a palm-tree, become nothing, become unable to sprout again in future time. Just so, Ānanda in him who dwells contemplating the misery of all concerned with grasping, craving ceases. And with the ceasing of grasping cease also becoming, birth, decay-and-death, grief, sorrow, woe, lamentation, and despair. Such is the ceasing of this whole mass of Ill." (S. N. ii. p. 92.)

Pedagogical soundness of the methodology

When one examines the various discourses as recorded in the Pāli Tipiṭaka, one is impressed with the pedagogical soundness of the instructional sequences that have been adopted. In fact, the lucidity and orderliness of presentation could be utilized as main criteria for determining the authenticity of sermons attributed to the Buddha. It may not be altogether hazardous to conjecture that these characteristics of authenticity had been recognized in Buddhist circles from very early days when some of the discourses which are products of scholastic activity such as the Abhidhamma in Theravada tradition or Avatamsaka-sutra in Mahāyāna were attributed esoteric origin. (e.g. Abhidhamma as preached in Tusita heaven for devas or Avatamsaka as beyond the comprehension of the immediate disciples).

Dhamma-desanā has been developed as an act of teaching. On identifying monks capable of performing as missionaries propagating the Dhamma, he issued the following instructions which are found in both the Vinaya-piṭaka and the Aṅguttara-Nikāya:—

> "A bhikkhu is fit to go on a mission when he has eight qualities. What are the eight? Here a bhikkhu is one who listens, who gets others to listen, who learns, who remembers, who recognizes, who gets others to recognize, who is skilled in the consistent and the inconsistent, and who does not make trouble. A bhikkhu is fit to go on a mission when he has these eight qualities. Now Sāriputta has these eight qualities; consequently he is fit to go on a mission."
>
> 'He does not falter when he comes
> Before a high assembly;
> He does not lose his thread of speech,
> Or cover up his message.
> Unhesitatingly he speaks out;
> No questioning can ruffle him—
> A bhikkhu such as this is fit
> To go upon a mission.'
>
> (Vin. Cv. Kh. 7; A. VIII, 16)

The characteristics highlighted are those of a competent teacher.

The quality of the listener has also received his attention:

‘Then the Buddha said: “There are these three sorts of people to be found in the world:

The empty-head, the fool who cannot see,
Tho’ oft and oft unto the Brethren going,
He hears their talk, beginning, middle, end,
Can never grasp it. Wisdom is not his.

Better than he the man of scattered brains,
Who oft and oft unto the Brethren going
Hears all their talk, beginning, middle, end,
And seated there can grasp the very words,
Yet, rising, naught retains. Blank is his mind.

Better than these the man of wisdom wide.
He, oft and oft unto the Brethren going,
Hears all their talk, beginning, middle, end,
And, seated there, can grasp the very words,
Bears all in mind, steadfast, unwavering,
Skilled in the Dhamma and what conforms thereto
This is the man to make an end of Ill.” ’

(Aṅg. Nik. i. 131.)

Recognizing the diversity or individual differences of the people who constituted his audience, the Buddha did adopt a variety of individualized approaches. He would not preach to an eager but hungry and tired learner until he was fed and rested. He would not discuss impermanence of life or certainty of death with a woman whose mind was distraught with grief. He devised simple exercises for those whose mental capacities were limited. Meditational instructions were always given on an individualized basis according to each disciple’s psychological make-up.

In several passages, the Buddha described his instructional methodology as one of graduated exercising. Speaking to Baddali, in the Majjhima-Nikāya, the Buddha compared his technique to that of an expert horse-trainer.

Again in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, p. 265 PTS and III, p. 1 PTS) the Buddha's method of gradual onsetting, gradual progress and gradual ascension from the lowest step upwards has been compared to learning processes in archery and accountancy. "When we take pupils we first make them count one, the unity, two, the duality, three, the trinity, and thus we make them count up to hundred", the illustration goes. In an. Udāna verse, the Buddha explains this process further, "Just as the great ocean becomes deeper, gradually steepens, gradually becomes hollowed out and there is no abrupt fall, in exactly the same way in this Doctrine and Discipline the training is gradual, the working is gradual, the path is gradual and there is no sudden advance into full knowledge". (Udāna V, 5).

In another passage of the Majjhima Nikāya (I, p. 179 ff. PTS), the Buddha compares himself to a trainer of elephants, who by means of a tamed elephant lures the wild elephant into a clearing and takes out its wild ways through methodically progressive exercises to make it "become accustomed to the environs of the village and to adopt the manners in vogue among men''.

To summarize these statements, it can be assumed that the Buddha assigns to the teacher the task of designing and administering these "methodically progressive exercises". It is important to note here that the entire emphasis of the Buddha's course of spiritual training is one of progressively difficult mental exercises. Morality or Sīla is only the foundational preparation. Starting with simple heedfulness (by which one learns to be conscious of everything one does in all his waking moments), through contemplation on inhalation and exhalation, the process of exercising the mind advances through meditation on a variety of subjects to higher mental states called Jhānas. Concentration of the mind, to which all this training leads, is again only a means to an end. The end of this learning process is the supreme knowledge (*paññā*) with which the disciple reaches the highest attainment of the realm of deathlessness. Here, the disciple leaves everything behind including the very teachings of the Buddha, which is meant to serve only as a raft—a means of escape but not meant to be retained.

Role of the listener

But the Buddha did not expect the listener to be either passive or too ready to accept what was taught. In the Vinaya-piṭaka is described an occasion when Mahāpajāpati Gotamī said, "Well for me; if the Buddha would show me a teaching, hearing which from his own lips I might dwell

alone, solitary, zealous, ardent and resolved" and the Buddha's response was a call for critical evaluation:

> "Of whatsoever teachings, Gotamī, thou canst assure thyself thus:
>
> > 'These doctrines conduce to passions, not to dispassion: to bondage, not to detachment: to increase of worldly gains, not to decrease of them: to covetousness, not to frugality: to discontent, and not content: to company, not solitude: to sluggishness, not energy: to delight in evil, not delight in good': of such teachings thou mayst with certainty affirm, Gotamī, 'This is not the Dhamma. This is not the Discipline. This is not the Buddha's Message.'
>
> But of whatsoever teachings thou canst assure thyself that they are the opposite of these things that I have told you, then of such teachings thou mayst with certainty affirm: 'This is the Dhamma. This is the Discipline. This is the Buddha's Message.' "
>
> (Vinaya, ii. 10)

All his listeners had not been diligent, attentive or faithful students. There had been occasions when some had to be rebuked and the main line of the Buddha's admonition is, in itself, a significant pointer to the pedagogical principles upheld by him in Dhamma-desanā. In the Majjhima-Nikāya is this reprimand addressed to Ariṭṭha:

> "Well said, brethren! Well indeed do ye understand the Dhamma which I have shown ye. In divers ways as ye repeat have the Hindrances been told by me. . . . but yet this brother Ariṭṭha, the late vulture-tamer, failing to grasp my meaning aright, misinterprets me and digs a pit for himself to fall into, and begets demerit thereby. Surely that shall be for many a long day to the loss and sorrow of that misguided man. For truly, brethren, without the existence of lusts, without the awareness of lusts, without the dwelling in thought upon lusts, it cannot be that a man should practice lusts.
>
> Now herein, brethren, certain misguided ones learn the Dhamma by heart, to wit: the discourses, the songs, the exposition, the verses, the solemn sayings, the words of the Master, the birth-tales, the marvels, and the miscellanies. *Thus learning them by heart they do not by wisdom investigate their meaning: they do not take interest therein:* just for the sake of being free from reproach

they learn the Dhamma by heart: just for the profit of pouring out a flood of gossip. But as to the essence of the Doctrine which thus they learn by heart, they have no part nor lot in that. The teachings are ill-grasped by them and lead to their loss and suffering for many a long day. Why so? Because of wrongly grasping the teachings, brethren.

Just as, brethren, a man in need of water-snakes, searching for water-snakes, going about in quest of them, sees a big water-snake and grasps it by the body or the tail: and that water-snake turns back on him and bites him in the hand or arm or some other limb, and owing to that he comes by his death or suffering that ends in death. And why? Because he wrongly grasped the snake, brethren. Even so, brethren, in this case some misguided ones learn the Dhamma by heart, and come to suffering because they grasp it wrongly.'

(M.N. i. 132)

The sermons delivered by the Buddha are recorded in the Tipiṭaka as receiving a two-fold reaction from the listener. In some cases the appreciation ends with the taking of refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha and an invitation for lunch on the next day. In others, the listener expresses his desire to join the Order as a monk. The usual formula of appreciation, which has become so stereotyped as to conceal individual reactions of different persons whom the Buddha convinced, runs as follows:—

"Excellent, O Lord! Excellent, O Lord! Even as one raises what is overthrown, or shows forth what is hidden, or points the way to him that wandereth, or holds up a light in the darkness that they who have eyes may see objects,—even so in divers ways hath the Dhamma been set forth by the Buddha: so that I myself, O Lord, do go for refuge to the Buddha, to the Dhamma and to the Sangha. May the Buddha accept me as a disciple, that hath taken refuge in him, from this day until the end of life. And may the Buddha accept from me to-morrow's meal, along with the Order of Brethren."

(Vinaya, ii, 6, 4)

Dhammasākacchā

While the Canon has this much information on *dhamma-desanā,* very little is gleanable on the other instructional methodology of

dhammasākacchā. The problem appears to be one of recording. The Buddha was certainly involved in many disputes and debates and these could not have been all one-sided as the Tipiṭaka has recorded. Apparently, the counter-arguments of disputants were lost sight of in these reports, which highlight usually the Buddha's point of view.

The Buddha, of course, was not a believer in debate for the sake of debate and, while denouncing it, he listed in the Saṃyutta Nikāya the usual expressions used in such wordy warfare:

> 'And how is one no wager of wordy warfare with people?
>
> Herein, housefather, a brother makes not talk like this; "You know not about this Dhamma-Vinaya. I do know about this Dhamma-Vinaya. How could you know about it? You have fallen on wrong views. I have come by right views. You speak last what should come first, and first what should come last. I am speaking to the point: you are not. What you have thought out so long is quite upset. Your view is confuted. Go explain yourself. You are shown up. Clear yourself if you can!" That, housefather, is how one is a Wager of wordy warfare with people.'
>
> Home he abandons: homeless wandering
>
> The Sage with folk no longer maketh ties.
>
> Empty of Lusts, showing no preference,
>
> With no man wageth wordy warfare more.
>
> (S.N. iii. II.)

In the same strain and in the same text, the Buddha declared

> "I quarrel not with the world. It is the world that quarrels with me. No preacher of the Dhamma quarrels with anyone in the world"
>
> (S.N. iii. 94)

This must be a reference to such incidents as the debate with Saccaka in which the latter is reported as having said:

> "It is wonderful, Master Gotama, it is marvelous how, when Master Gotama is attacked again and again with personal remarks, the colour of his skin brightens, the colour of his face clears, as happens in one who is accomplished and fully enlightened! I have had experience of engaging Pūraṇa Kassapa in argument, and then he prevaricated and diverted the talk and even showed anger, hate and surliness. And likewise with Makkhali Gosāla and the rest.

And now, Master Gotama, we depart; we are busy and have much to do."

(M.N. 36)

Despite the paucity of detailed recording in the Canon, there is enough evidence to show that the Buddha was a master of the art of questioning. A charming example is the encounter with the devotee Visākhā who was mourning for her dead grandchild as recounted in the Udāna:

"In broad day Visākhā went to the Buddha with her clothes and hair wet. After paying homage to him, she sat down at one side, and the Buddha said to her: 'Now where have you come from, Visākhā, in broad day with your clothes and hair wet?'

'Lord, a dear and beloved grandchild of mine has died. That is why I have come here in broad day with my clothes and hair wet.'

'Visākhā, should you like as many children and grandchildren as there are people in Sāvatthi?' 'Lord, I should like as many children and grandchildren as there are people in Sāvatthi.'

'But, Visākhā, how many people die in Sāvatthi in a day?'

'Ten people die in a day in Sāvatthi, Lord, or nine or eight or seven or six or five or four or three or two, or one person dies in a day in Sāvatthi. Sāvatthi is never without people dying.'

'Then what do you think, Visākhā, would you ever be with your clothes and hair not wet?'

'No Lord. Enough of so many children and grandchildren for me.'

'Those who have a hundred dear ones have a hundred pains. Those who have ninety dear ones have ninety pains. Those who have eighty, …twenty ... ten ... five ... four ... three ... two dear ones have two pains. Those who have one dear one have one pain. Those who have no dear ones have no pains. They are the sorrowless, the dispassionate, the undespairing, I say.

'Sorrow and mourning in the world,
Or suffering of every sort,
Happen because of one beloved,
But happen not when there is none.
Happy are they and sorrowless

That have no loved one in the world.
Who seeks the sorrowless dispassion
Should have no loved one in the world.'"

(Ud. VIII, 8)

A more illustrative example of the Buddha's majestic method of questioning and leading the listener to realize the answer by himself is the discussion with King Ajātasattu as narrated in the Dīgha-Nikāya. Quoted below is the version as preserved in Tibetan scriptures:

"Maharaja, ask whatever question you like."

"My lord, there are many kinds of trades and professions, such as wreath-makers, basket-makers, weavers, grass-gatherers, trainers, elephant-riders, horsemen, chariot-drivers, swordsmen, archers, body-servants, scribes, dancers, *rājaputras* warlike and valorous, jesters, barbers and bathers. Any one of these exercising his trade or profession gives in charity, does good, tends the sick; he acquires the five kinds of desirable things (i.e., all that he can wish for), he enjoys himself, is happy, and partakes of the pleasures of this world; is there any such visible reward for one who devotes himself to virtue?"

"Maharaja, have you ever propounded this question before, to any recluse or brāhmana?"

(Here, King Ajātasattu describes his encounters with various religious teachers.):

"Then I thought the greatest fool of all the men of religion in Rājagriha, the stupidest, the most hypocritical, is this Kakuda Katyāyana. But still it occurred to me, 'twould not be seeming in me; so, without extolling or yet blaming the words of Kakuda Katyāyana, I arose from my seat, and now I have come to the Buddha, of whom I ask the same question"

"Maharaja, let us suppose that you have a slave, an attendant, without a will of his own, who knows no pleasure of his own. This man, seeing you in your palace, in possession of everything which can gratify the senses, living in the midst of more than human bliss, amusing and diverting yourself, thinks, 'Vaidhiputra Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, is a man, and I also am a man; but Ajātasatru, because he has formerly accumulated good deeds now lives in a palace, in the midst of more than human joys, amuses and diverts himself, and I also may become like him if I perform

meritorious acts. I will shave my head and beard, put on an orange robe, and, filled with faith, I will give up a home life and retire from the world. Then, cutting the rope (which holds him to the world), he shaves his head and beard, and, filled with faith, gives up a home and retires from the world. He abstains from taking life, from stealing, from fornication, from joking, from mocking, reviling, coverting, slandering, and from malice. Now if your emissaries should meet him, and thinking. 'This was a slave, an attendant, without a will of his own of Vaidhiputra, king of Magadha; he abstains from slandering and from malice; let us go and tell the king.' If, then, coming to where you are, they should say, 'Does your majesty know that his slave, his attendant. is living abstaining from slandering and from malice?' would Your Majesty on hearing this say, 'Bring the man here; he shall again be my slave, my attendant, without a will of his own?' "

"Not so, my Lord; but in whatever place I met him I would speak respectfully to him, bow before him, rise in his presence, join my hands to him in salutation, and show him every possible kind of respect; and as long as he led such a life I would provide him with clothes, food, lodgings, and medicines."

"What think you, Maharaja? In such a case as this have I not demonstrated that there is a visible reward for a life of virtue?"

"Of a truth you have, my Lord. In such a case the Buddha has shown that there is a visible reward for a life of virtue."

The Buddha continued to converse with him until the king was finally gained over to the Buddhist creed.

(Translated by W. W. Rockhill).

Dhammasākacchā, as a means of clarifying, evaluating and analysing the teachings of the Buddha, has, no doubt, been a major intellectual activity of the Sangha. While the process is not adequately elaborated, the results of such an activity are to be seen in the vast exegetical and scholastic literature which found inclusion in the Tipiṭaka itself. The Abhidhammapiṭaka is, in itself, a product of such a process. In style a work like Kathāvatthu exemplifies the interaction and interplay of diverse points of view which had to be analysed in the light of the doctrine as enunciated by the Buddha. Perhaps, we get a glimpse of the process of *dhammasākacchā* from the debates between Nāgasena and King Menander as recounted in Milinda-pañhā. The effectiveness of the process as a learning methodology is beyond question.

Evolution in monastic tradition

This information on *dhamma-desanā* and *dhammasākacchā,* as culled from the early literature of Buddhism, establishes their antiquity, besides indicating the standards which the Buddha himself has set. The monastic tradition, built on this foundation, has evolved in different Buddhist countries according to specific national needs and challenges and has persisted to this date not only in the medium of the spoken word as in the days of the Buddha but also in that of the written word. Buddhist literature, other than commentaries, sub-commentaries and exegetical works on the Canon, has, for the most part, imitated the preacher and the debater. Buddhist literature in national languages such as Sinhala, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese is particularly significant in this respect. Despite the lack of close contact in recent times the practice of *dhamma-desanā* in the Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhist countries has maintained some distinctive characteristics which presumably go back to the early days of Buddhism. A detailed account by Samuel Beal of a sermon in a Chinese temple nearly eighty years ago shows that, in format and presentation, it is in no way different from a contemporary sermon in a Sri Lankan temple, for which a similar account has been preserved in the writings of Kenneth Saunders.

Sinhala Tradition of Dhamma-desanā

An analysis of a *dhamma-desanā* in Sinhala, prior to the modernizing influences of recent times, is, indeed, instructive. The session begins with the observance of the five precepts and the traditional announcement by the preacher that it is the time to listen to the Dhamma (*Dhammassavaṇa-kalo ayaṃ bhadantā).* Along with the announcement goes an invocation to gods to assemble to listen to the Dhamma, "which grants heavenly happiness and emancipation". At the end of this brief ritual, the preacher pays homage to the Buddha with the traditional formula: "*Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa''* and begins the sermon with the recitation of the canonical text which he has chosen as the topic of the sermon. It could be either a verse or a prose passage. It is then briefly explained in the form of a word-by-word translation into Sinhala.

A detailed explanation ensues with an elaborate account of the circumstances which led to the utterance of the particular stanza or statement of the Buddha. The preacher utilizes the rich narrative tradition of Buddhist literature and becomes a storyteller. In fact, the entire discourse, which thenceforth is a free expression of the preacher's knowledge and thinking, is an alternation between preaching and story-

telling. At least one Jātaka story figures in the sermon. The Buddhist tales of Sri Lanka taken both from the historical chronicles and the medieval Sinhala classics such as Pujāvaliya, Saddharmālaṅkara and Saddharmaratnākara figure prominently.

The preacher might appear meandering but he returns to the theme stanza or passage as often as possible. The sermon, which could take anything up to three hours, is closed with a restatement of the theme and another ritualistic ceremony of offering merit to gods etc.

The important element of the traditional technique of *dhamma-desanā* is that the preacher, while delivering the sermon for the entire audience, actually addresses a single devotee, who is expected to respond at the end of each sentence with a formula expressing agreement. The reaction expected from the audience too is stereotyped. The words "*sādhu*! *sadhu*!" are uttered in unison with hands joined in salutation after every recitation of a Pāli stanza, at a purposeful pause marking a peroration and at the mention of the Buddha Nibbāna and names of the Buddha's close disciples.

There were many variations. Instead of a single preacher there were occasions when two took the floor. Called "a sermon from two seats", the preachers played pre-arranged roles; for example, one would recite the Pāli stanzas and passages and the other would explain them in Sinhala; or one would ask questions and the other would explain, or they would even engage in a mock debate. Re-enactment of the debates between Nāgasena and King Menander has been utilized to add a dramatic element; in such sessions a layman in royal garb engages the preacher in one of the many discussions recorded in Miḷinda-pañha. An equally interesting dramatic effect is obtained by re-enacting the occasions (called *Sūvisivivarana*) when the Buddha Gotama in his previous lives met twenty-four Buddhas and received affirmation of his becoming a Buddha. In all these the central figure is still the preacher who is a monk. The straight-forward dramatic performances, however, do not come within the scope of *dhamma-desanā,* even though there is evidence that Buddhists did recognize from a very early age the potentialities of drama for religious edification.

Compared to what we know of *dhamma-desanā,* the information at our disposal on the development of the process of *dhammasākacchā* is extremely meagre. Sinhala literature evinces the existence of such exercises as solving riddles and puzzles based on the Dhamma. One of the earliest poetical compositions for this purpose, known as *Dahamgāṭaya* is dated around the thirteenth century. Discussions based on the Dhamma are described in the fifteenth century as a pastime of travellers who spent their

nights in wayside resting places. Devoid of the formality of *dhamma-desanā,* these appear to have been totally unstructured.

Developments today

Dhamma-sākacchā, however, is gaining in popularity today. It is primarily due to the widening interest of various groups who view the Dhamma from different social and educational backgrounds. Most students of Buddhism find the need to understand not merely what the Buddha taught but, more importantly, how they relate to current life and how they compare and contrast with the prevailing standards of human behaviour. Buddhism and its relationship to science and technology have become a subject of serious discussion. So is the examination of Buddhism in the light of new discoveries in psychology and other behavioural sciences.

A keen interest is displayed in the search for relevance of all ethical and moral teachings to contemporary life and society. Here discussion and exchange of views are found to be the ideal approach to such an intellectual effort. Hence one finds in almost all Buddhist countries—particularly in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Japan, and Republic of Korea—a growing interest in *dhamma-sākacchā* through both the spoken word and the printed word in many periodical publications. The use of other media for this purpose, specially broadcasting, is also increasingly evident.

Rich as the pedagogical foundations of *dhamma-desanā* and *dhamma-sākacchā* are, there is much that can be drawn from modern educational psychology and learning theory to make these ancient methodologies functionally more efficient in contemporary times. If the use of audio-visual aids in *dhamma-desanā* goes as far back as the days of the Buddha himself,[1] the wider opportunities for more effective expression and presentation, brought about by developments in educational technology, need to be better utilized.

A welcome change has certainly taken place as regards the ceremonial or rather the purely religious significance of *dhamma-desanā.* The situation which was observed several decades ago and reported in the following passage is no longer true even in the most educationally backward communities:—

> "On a full moon day it is customary to arrange for a sermon to be delivered by a reputed Bhikkhu. Crowds foregather if the Bhikkhu happens to be a leading preacher from Colombo. It is usual to

preach the Sutta Piṭaka, but seldom does one deal with the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The sermon lasts for hours even after the audience seated around the preacher on the mats spread on the floor begin to fall asleep. The crowds return home discussing the preacher's ability, dress and ornaments of the people and incidents connected with the evening."[2]

The educational function of *dhamma-desanā* has slowly but steadily gained recognition over the ritualistic significance. Along with *dhamma-sākacchā,* it figures as a prominent activity of most Buddhist organizations. They are fostered as a means of promoting the learning of Buddhism and are patronized by both adherents and others. In this lies the challenge for future. How could the form, content and process of the two educational operations of *dhamma-desanā* and *dhamma-sākacchā* be further evolved to ensure the widest propagation of the word of the Buddha and, more emphatically, its fullest understanding and utilization in this modern world?

REFERENCES

1. See: Ananda W. P. Guruge: *Buddhism and Education,* Mahabodhi, New Delhi, 1977 p. 13: "According to Divyāvadāna, Ānanda reports how Moggallāna illustrated a talk on Dependent Origination (*paticca-samuppāda*) with a diagram of a wheel in which the twelve causal factors were symbolically depicted. Not only does the Buddha express his admiration for Moggallāna as a teacher but suggests that the diagram be displayed over the gateway in the monastery of Veluvana in Rājagaha."

2. N. D. Wijesekera: *The People of Ceylon,* Gunasena, Colombo, 1949 p. 166. The situation described here relates to a stage when both the preaching and the listening were formally accepted as "meritorious deeds" irrespective of the educational function served by them.

N.**B**. The writer is indebted to F. L. Woodward and Ven. Ñāṇamoli for translations of the passages quoted in this article. See F. L. Woodward: *Some sayings of The Buddha,* Oxford University Press, London, 1973· Ñāṇamoli: *The life of the Buddha,* Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1972.

TEXTS AND TRADITIONS — WARPED AND DISTORTED

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The academic world, particularly in the regions of religion, history and sociology has witnessed in recent years the phenomenon — alluded to in the title above. Proliferation of learned studies attempted on several areas of these disciplines, quite often calculated to serve specific interests and to confirm and establish pre-conceived notions, has led to this lamentable catastrophe in scholarship. Incomplete and incomprehensive studies of the area under survey, and inaccurate translation of texts in languages other than English as well as unwarranted interpretation of their contents, have been among other things, the cause of alarming and slanderous generalizations. Even in the world of scholarship, as much as in the fields of science and technology, when findings of today provide the foundations for the theories and actions of tomorrow, it seems unjust and uncharitable not to sound a note of warning in such cases.

A point of considerable interest which in recent years has become the basis of many learned generalizations is a comment which occurs in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka, relating to the war of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (*Mhv.* ch. xxv). Many historians and sociologists, taking excerpts from this as their gospel have given kaleidoscopic interpretations with regard to diverse themes like the moral calibre of Buddhist arhants, Sinhala nationalism and religion and politics in Sri Lanka.

Citing this chapter in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* Walpola Rahula (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon,* Colombo, 1956) says: "A story in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xxv. 98–112) shows that arahants were not free from religious and national prejudices. Reference was made earlier to how Duṭṭhagāmaṇī who was repenting over the destruction of many thousands of human lives in the war was consoled by some arahants. It is useful to quote here the relevant passage verbatim: When the arahants.... Thus exhorted by them the king took comfort (Geiger's translation, *vv.* 104–112)." HBC, p. 227f.

Commenting on the statements of the *Mahāvaṃsa,* Rahula proceeds to make these further observations: "The *Mahāvaṃsa* clearly says that the above advice was given, by eight arahants. But it is absolutely against the spirit of the Buddha's teaching. Destruction of life, in any form, for any purpose, even for the establishment, protection or propagation of Buddhism, can never be justified according to the teaching of the Buddha. The most amusing thing is the ethico-mathematical calculation of one and a half human beings killed in the war. We do not know whether the arahants of the second century B.C. ever expressed such an erroneous view. But we can have no reasonable doubt that the celebrated author of the Mahāvaṃsa, who lived in the fifth century, did write these verses in the great national chronicle, which proves that the learned Mahātheras and other responsible people at that time considered this statement to be worthy of arahants, and so included it in the chronicle. They seem to have held that arahants justified killing for the perpetuation of religion." (loc. cit.)

There is no doubt that it was less the intention of Rahula to comment on the justifiability or otherwise of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's war than to gauge the ethico-moral calibre of the arahants. Nevertheless, he has thereby thrown open the flood-gates for ceaseless gushing comments by historians and sociologists who would have invariably judged different if they had had the benefit of a less one-sided fuller investigation. We shall pick up some of these comments for review in due course.

What interests us at the moment is to point out the existence of yet another record of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's post-war moods. Both from the point of antiquity as well as reliability, this version which is recorded in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*DA*. II. p. 640), the Commentary to the Dīgha Nikāya, must necessarily get equal credence, if not a great deal more. It would be agreed that it is unnecessary to labour here to establish the point. The tradition, as recorded in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, is as follows:

"He (Duṭṭhagāmaṇī) having conquered thirty-two provincial Tamil rulers (*dvattiṃsa damiḷa-rājāno vijitvā*) was appointed king in the city of Anurādhapura. And consequent on this, he could not sleep for joy for a month. Thereupon, he sent word to the community of monks, informing them of his lack of sleep. They advised him to take up the observance of the *uposatha* (i.e. the observance of the eight precepts: *aṭṭhaṇgasīla*). He took upon himself the observance of the *uposatha.* The community of monks sent eight bhikkhus versed in the Abhidhamma, instructing them to recite the text of the *citta-yamaka* in the presence of the king. They went up to him, and requesting him to lie reclining in his couch, commenced

their recital. The king, as he listened to the recital, fell asleep. The monks, insisting that the king be not disturbed from his sleep, went their way. The following day, at sunrise, the king woke up and not seeing the monks in his presence, inquired as to their whereabouts. He was informed that they went away on realising that the king had fallen asleep." (Translated into English by the author from *DA*. II. p. 640.)

One cannot fail to be impressed in this context by the fact — that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī evinces a sense of triumph rather than one of remorse after his conquest of the Tamil rulers. It is obviously the sense of achievement in the mind of one who knew what he was pursuing. It was not a line of impulsive action, according to evidence available, that he followed but rather one of deliberate, calculated action to which he appears to have been driven by a series of circumstances of increasing harshness.

On the other hand, the Mahāvaṃsa account makes the king lament over the loss of life in the war that he waged (*katam akkhohinīghātam saranto na sukham labhi*, *Mhv.* xxv, *v.* 103). Literary sources, both classical and popular, show that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī had every reason to be angry at the way in which the invaders of the island from time to time were wrecking Buddhist institutions and damaging Buddhist monuments which were very dear to the people and which they held in high esteem. For the cultural attainments which the people of Sri Lanka had reached up to that time were essentially through the Buddhist religion which had come to them from Northern India. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as their leader, was by duty bound to defend the religion and its entire setup.

Taking the Mahāvaṃsa itself which has been the basic source book of Rahula in his analysis and assessment of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's war, one has to note the sacrilegious acts of the invaders recorded therein (*Thūpādisu asakkāraṃ karonte damiḷe tadā, Mhv.* xxiii, *v.* 9). The invader was looked upon as being offensive because of the damage he was causing to the cultural monuments of the Buddhists. This evidence of the Mahāvaṃsa cited above, one would consider as belonging to the category of classical tradition.

Besides this, there is also a wealth of literary evidence coming to us from the popular tradition. The Rasavāhinī (ed. Kiriälle Ñānavimala, p. 198) makes specific mention of the acts of vandalism perpetrated by the alien group referred to above. Recounting these atrocities, the Rasavāhinī says that the Tamils in Sri Lanka at that time were cutting down Bodhi trees, and were destroying by diverse means the stupas and the Buddha images.

Laṅkāyaṃ damiḷā'dāni chindantā bodhipādape

thūpe ca paṭimāyo ca vināsesuṃ anekadhā.

The report goes on to say further that the pious and gentle Buddhist monks would have their robes torn off and that they would flee in terror, seeking protection.

'*Buddhaputtā mahānāgā bhikkhavo sīlasaṃvutā*

acchinnacīvarā bhītā caranti saraṇesino.'

It is the very nature of these acts of theirs by which they came to be identified as a hostile group. It is no hostility of the Buddhists against the Hindu faith as is sometimes made out to be. Arasaratnam, for instance, says: "The story emphasizes that Duttugemunu was a champion of Buddhism and fought to re-establish this faith and extirpate Hindu heresy supported by the Tamil rulers". (*Ceylon* by S. Arasaratnam, in Modern Nations in Historical Perspective, 1964, p. 52). This is nothing more than a convenient generalization which is far from the truth and which does not take up the challenge of recorded evidence.

This hostile attitude of the invader was something that repeated itself throughout the history of Sri Lanka. Speaking of the Polonnaruva period, Paranavitana says: "The Buddhist religion suffered great calamities during the Coḷa occupation, and the extensive monasteries which flourished at Anuradhapura and other places in the tenth century were abandoned. The *dagabas* were broken into, and the valuables deposited in their relic-chambers were plundered". (UHC. Vol. I. Part II. p. 563).

It has been very characteristic of Buddhism in general, in every land into which it found its way, that it absorbed and assimilated rather than crushed, and smothered, the indigenous cultural and religious elements, with the necessary modifications and sublimation.

In Sri Lanka, as is seen from literary and archaeological evidence available, discernible traces of culture and civilization seem to emerge after the arrival of Buddhism in the island. The bulk of the native population of the island who, for the most part, had descended from the North Indian emigrants, appear to have had their cultural stimulation and inspiration from the new religion. Thus it became the very life-blood of the people and it would therefore have been looked upon as being suicidal to disregard this threat to its continuity and well-being. Consequent action in this direction, to safeguard the birth-right of a nation, is not to be mistaken or misrepresented as religious intolerance or religious persecution. History knows true examples of these from elsewhere. In Sri Lanka, where the

Buddhists have unmistakably been the majority group, their attitude and behaviour towards other religions has truly reflected the culture of their own. In the words of Paranavitana: "Brahmanas appear to have come to Ceylon in considerable numbers during the Coḷa regime. Vijayabahu I, on his accession to the throne, did not discriminate against Brahmanical forms of worship. He permitted the religious foundations of the. Coḷa period to continue unimpaired; moreover, he also extended his patronage to new Saiva shrines that were founded in his reign ....." (UHC. Vol. I. Part II. p. 563).

In the light of what has been discussed so far one cannot be totally precluded from viewing Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's war as a war of defence, defence of what was near and dear to him and the people whom he had pledged to protect. And for the same reason one has to read with great caution the following remarks of Rahula: "Duṭṭhagāmaṇī seems to have exploited to the utmost all the religious and national sentiments of the masses in order to unite the people and rid his motherland of foreign rule" (HBC. p. 80). Supporting this statement of his, Rahula goes further to add: "Bhikkhus were encouraged even to leave their robes and join the army for the sake of religion and the nation." (ibid). This again is an ingenious generalization based on a solitary incident. Here, his source of information is the Rasavāhinī, more of the popular tradition, evidence of which he had not reckoned with in his earlier analysis. What is even more interesting in this case is that the Mahāvaṃsa which has been Rahula's mainstay, records a tradition which not only does not support his thesis but runs contrary to it. According to the Mahāvamsa (Ch. xxiii. *vv.* 61–63), Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's general, Theraputta-Abhaya, was not an erstwhile thera. but had the name Theraputta (i.e. son of the elder) prefixed to his own because his father chose to entrust the management of the household to his son, after his attainment to the state of a stream-winner *(sotāpatti)* and himself become a Buddhist monk under Mahāsumma Thera. According to the Mahāvaṃsa, Theraputta-Abhaya was thus a householder up to the time of his being absorbed into Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's army as a general. Even as one leans over to take a good look at the Rasavāhinī account, one cannot fail to make two important observations. Firstly, at the time this young man was hand-picked by Goṭhayimbara for Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's army, he was only a novitiate, a *sāmaṇera* and not a fully ordained *upasampanna* monk. Secondly, he was already discovered by Goṭhayimbara to be a lad of unusual prowess and strength who even rivalled him. It is equally important not to ignore the report of the Rasavāhinī which gives the mitigating circumstances under which he agreed to temporarily join the army. Goṭhayimbara recounted to him the atrocities committed by the

invader in the north on the Buddhists and their religious monuments, as referred to earlier in this essay, and pointed out to him that the need of the hour was to eliminate this lawlessness in the land and provide security to the religion. It was leadership in that direction that was sought (*kālo'yaṃ pabhunā sabbaṃ sametuṃ lokasāsanaṃ....* Rasavāhinī, loc. cit).

A complete and comprehensive analysis of the traditional records of Sri Lanka relating to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's war would undoubtedly have provided a clearer and less biased view of the religio-cultural aspirations of the Sinhalese people of the time. The deflected and distorted view of the Mahāvaṃsa on this matter cannot be taken by itself to be used as a yardstick to gauge the psychology of the nation. On a closer scrutiny of the records of the Mahāvaṃsa one is driven to observe that at times the saner monastic tradition of Sri Lanka existed possibly outside the Mahāvaṃsa.

Bardwell L. Smith (The Two Wheels of Dhamma, 1972, p. 88ff), apparently led up the garden path by Rahula's observations, makes several diagnoses of the communal conflicts of Sri Lanka and writes out many apparently reassuring prescriptions. He says: "While the classic encounter between Dutugemunu and Elara, the Tamil king of Ceylon, restored the monarchy to Sinhalese Buddhist hands and marked the beginnings of Sinhalese nationalism, it could not still the fears that political chaos and the forces of *adhamma* were ever present. The centuries separating the monk Buddharakkhita's complicity in the 1959 assassination of Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike from the assurance given by eight arahants to Duttugemunu who was distressed over slaughtering Elara' s 'great host numbering millions' were symbolically spanned."

Prescribing for the amity between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in Sri Lanka, Smith further observes: "One additional aspect of Sinhalese Buddhist identity requires noting here, namely, the indissoluble connection with its Indian roots. The very mention of the Buddha himself, Vijaya, Asoka, Mahinda and Buddhaghosa attests to Sinhalese dependence upon its continental forebears.... Sinhalese Buddhist identity suffers no loss by acknowledging its brahmanic heritage, while still legitimately claiming it had chosen a different path. In which case, Tamils too might relax." The confused identification herein of 'Indian roots', 'brahmanic heritage' and the Tamils reduces the argument to a lamentable position. Unmistakably the boot is on the other foot.

At the commencement of this essay we did indicate the vastness of the subject that comes within our purview. What we have discussed so far, relating to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's war, comes within the region of both history and sociology. Before we bring this study to a close it is our intention to

include at least one example of a serious distortion in the interpretation of Buddhism as a religious system. This has resulted from the lack of adequate knowledge of the language in which the Buddhist texts are preserved.

Reckoning as it were the greatest ever challenge thrown at the evaluation of Buddhism as a religion that offers the greatest degree of freedom of thought and action to the individual, Lyn de Silva (*Beliefs and practices in Sri Lanka,* p. 196) says: "It is believed that the Dhamma has existed from eternity and all the Buddhas have discovered and proclaimed it to the world. 'Give ear, O mendicants,' said the Buddha, 'the Deathless has been found by me: I will now instruct; I will preach the Dhamma.' Therefore the word of the Buddha is authoritative. The Buddha is the ultimate source of all true knowledge and his teaching is accepted without question. Although it is said that one should accept the Buddha's teachings only after careful investigation, authority dominates the field and there is hardly any room for autonomy of thought. As Kern says: 'Buddhism is professedly no rationalistic system, it being a superhuman (*uttarimanussa*) Law, founded upon the decree of an omniscient and infallible Master.' The interpretation of the Buddha's teachings is firmly and unalterably fixed in an authoritative dogmatic tradition and one dare not try to interpret the sacred writings at pleasure. It is a heresy to do so."

It is clear from the passage quoted above that it is Lyn de Silva's endeavour to establish that in Buddhism 'there is hardly any room for autonomy of thought'. Towards achieving this end, he quotes Kern. Two vital observations have to be made here. One is that Kern is quoted in part here, thus presenting an entirely different context from what Kern appears to have intended. Kern's quotation does not end with the words 'infallible Master' but runs on as follows: 'infallible Master, and in such a creed mysteries are admissible.'

In fairness to Kern who wrote about Buddhism as far back as 1898, and in order that he may not be accused of things that he never intended to say, it is incumbent on us to reproduce in full Kern's remarks which precede and preface the conclusion.

> 'Kamma then is the link that preserves the identity of a being through all the countless changes which it undergoes in its progress through Samsāra.
>
> Such a theory, it will be admitted, is beyond the reach of human reason, but that is no argument against its appropriateness in the

original system of the creed. For Buddhism is professedly ...' (Kern, Indian Buddhism, p. 49f.)

At the same time, with all due deference to Kern, it must also be pointed out that Kern has completely misunderstood the term *uttarimanussadhamma* and has failed to translate it into English correctly. Through reasonable familiarity with Buddhist texts, any student of Buddhism (or of the Pali language) today should know that the term *dhamma* in this compound does not mean law, teaching or doctrine. It means a feature, characteristic, quality, the whole compound thus meaning a superhuman feat or attainment.

Language studies since Kern's time, particularly of Pali and Sanskrit, have advanced far enough to enable any serious researcher to adequately equip himself, without much labour, to survey his field without prejudice and preconceived notions. But in this essay we have been able to highlight the not very commendable tendency to quote secondary sources in an apparent desire to extract evidence from primary sources. This can be both misleading and mischievous, the method being questionable and findings objectionable. In the face of these it may profitably be remembered that the hall-mark of scholarship is not the veneration of miscreant *gurus* or the perpetuation of their heresies.

EMPIRICISM IN EARLY BUDDHISM AND WILLIAM JAMES

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Two of the major traditions in Western philosophy, Rationalism and Empiricism, are generally believed to be attempts to overcome doubt or skepticism. The rationalist upholds the view that because of the variability of the world of sense, sense knowledge or sense perception lacks the certainty and infallibility needed to eliminate such doubt or skepticism. Knowledge, if it is to be valid, has to be valid for all time, i.e., it should reveal eternal truths. Thus Socrates' doubts about the possibility of attaining certainty through sense experience were resolved by Plato who recognized the existence of eternal and unchangeable Forms revealed by the human rational faculty. The search for certainty is also intimately associated with seventeenth century rationalism, especially with the thought of the French philosopher, Rene Descartes. Descartes' "clear and distinct" ideas were things about which we cannot be wrong. In other words, a rationalist believes that an adequate reply to philosophical skepticism can be given only by showing that reason is able to provide forms of knowledge where error is logically excluded.

Empiricism too can be compared with rationalism as far as its purpose is concerned, which is to arrive at indubitable truths. Yet it is to be contrasted with rationalism in terms of the method it adopts in arriving at indubitable truths. According to empiricism, the answer to skepticism is to be found in the deliverances of sense not of reason. One of its basic assumptions is that we can build up or construct knowledge from certain basic elements about which we have no doubts, that is, which are "clear and distinct". Unfortunately, the demand for certainty or infallibility was extended not only with regard to our knowledge of the present, but also of the past as well as of the future. It is a demand that is not so easily met with in sense experience. Hence the empiricist philosophers were driven back into the domain of skepticism. The philosophy of the British empiricist, David Hume, represents the best example of such a return to skepticism as a result of a demand for certainty where it is most lacking, namely, with regard to knowledge of the future.

In the present paper, an attempt will be made (though one cannot be certain whether it will be successful!) to show that a consistent form of empiricism can be presented without falling into skepticism provided one does not assume the impossible task of providing certainty with regard to the uncertain future, i.e., if one were not to look for "a hare's horn". The discussion will be confined to two schools of thought, namely, Buddhism as embodied in the earliest discourses and the radical empiricism of William James.

In a passage from the famous "Section on Meaning" (Aṭṭhaka-Vagga, Sk. Arthavargiya) of the *Sutta-nipāta*, the question is raised as to whether there is a variety of eternal truths or whether people merely follow *a priori* reasoning in order to formulate such truths. The Buddha's answer to this question is:

> "There are indeed no diverse eternal truths in this world independent of sense perception. People speak of two things, truth and falsehood, having set up *a priori* reasoning in regard to what is dogmatically accepted."[10]

This, no doubt, is Buddha's clarion call to base oneself on experience in order to reject speculative or dogmatic views founded on *a priori* reasoning. Similarly, Buddha's discourse to the Kālāmas, who were in doubt as to what is true and what is false, and his insistence that is solving such problems one has to ultimately fall back on one's personal experience, exemplifies his leanings towards empiricism in his attempt to overcome skepticism.

Empiricism, in the most general sense, implies the doctrine that the senses do provide us with "knowledge" in some sense of the word.[11] Here the agreement among empiricists ends. What constitutes these senses, how they function, what are known through these senses, etc., are matters of controversy among the empiricists.

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[10] *Sutta-nipāta* (abbr. *Sn*) Ed. D. Anderson and H. Smith. London: Pali Text Society, 1913, verse 886.

> *Na h'eva saccāni bahūni nānā*
> *aññatra saññāya niccāni loke*
> *takkan ca diṭṭhīsu pakappayitvā*
> *saccaṃ musā ti dvayadhammamāhu.*

[11] See *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. Ed. Paul Edwards. New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1967, 2. 499.

Early Buddhism does not subscribe to the extreme form of empiricism which equates knowledge with sense-experience. It recognizes the more general claim that allows for sense experience as well as knowledge based upon what is directly known through sense experience. In other words, every proposition that we know is either a direct report on experience or a report whose truth is inferred from experience. A discourse from the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* called "Bases of Knowledge" (*Ñāṇassa-vatthu*) presents this early Buddhist standpoint.[12] It refers to two kinds of knowledge. First is called *dhamme ñāṇa* and refers to knowledge of things or events that are directly experienced. This may be called knowledge by experience or experimental knowledge. Second is *anvaye ñāṇa* or inductive knowledge. This latter is based on, and not independent of, knowledge by experience. These two types of knowledge resemble those recognized by William James.[13] James' "knowledge of acquaintance" is none other than *dhamme ñāṇa* of early Buddhism, while what he calls "knowledge about" resembles *anvaye ñāṇa*. According to James, "knowledge about", if it is to be valid, has to terminate in "knowledge of acquaintance", a relationship that the early Buddhist themselves recognized between *dhamme ñāṇa* and *anvaye ñāṇa.*

For an empiricist like David Hume, who was greatly influenced by associationist psychology, direct experience constitutes indefinable bare sensations. In his view, a person constructs his picture of an object by putting together such rudimentary, discrete elements of experience. Thus a patch of color is not really a patch but a series of colored points that appear like a patch.[14] Such microscopic analysis of experience compelled him to adopt an atomistic psychology which could not account for causal relations among events. For him, these relations are the results of our imagination at work, or, as Immanuel Kant suggested, categories of understanding provided by our minds.

For the Buddha, who did not adopt such an extreme analytical method, not only individual events, but even relations among events, are constituents of experiential knowledge. He conceived of a *dhamma*, not as a discrete or momentary thing or event, but more concretely as a *paṭiccasamuppanna dhamma*, that is, an event that is dependently arisen.

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[12] *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (abbr. *S*). Ed. Leon Feer. London: PTS, 1884–1904, 2. 56–60.

[13] James, William, *The Principles of Psychology*. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1890, 1. 221.

[14] Hume, David, *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1888, p. 34.

How does one come to know that an event is dependently arisen? Not by mere inference or imagination, but by *perceiving* how it has come to be, i.e., by observing both the cause and the effect and their causal relation. In Buddha's terminology, this is knowledge of things as they have come to be (*yathābhūta-ñāṇa*).[15]

James' analysis of experience is not very different from that of the Buddha or the early Buddhists. Referring to Hume's explanation of experience, he says:

> "Humism thus says that its (effect's) causality is something adventitious and not necessarily given when its attributes are there. Generalizing this, empiricism contends that we must everywhere distinguish between the intrinsic being of a thing and its relations and among these, between those that are essential to our knowing it at all and those that may be called adventitious".[16]

Criticizing Hume's associationist psychology, he says:

> "Every examiner of the sensible life *in concreto* must see that relations of every sort, of time, space, difference, likeness, change, rate, cause or what not, are just as integral members of the sensational flux as terms are, and that conjunctive relations are just as true members of the flux as disjunctive relations are. This is what in some recent writings of mine I have called the 'radical empiricist' doctrine (in distinction from the doctrine of mental atoms which the name empiricism so often suggests). Intellectualist critics of sensation insist that sensations are disjoined only. Radical empiricism insists that conjunctions between them are just as immediately given as disjunctions are, and that relations, whether disjunctive or conjunctive, are in their original sensible givenness just as fleeting and momentary (in Green's words) and just as 'particular' as terms are".[17]

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[15] *Dīgha-nikāya* (abbr. *D*), Ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter London: PTS, 1890–1911, 1. 84.

[16] James, William, *The Will To Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921, p. 278.

[17] James, William, *A Pluralistic Universe*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920, pp. 279–280.

Hence his conclusion that "the relations that connect experiences must themselves be experienced relations, and any kind of relation experienced must be accounted as 'real' as anything else in the system."[18]

Having recognized that individual instances of causation or causal relations are given to us in our experience or knowledge by experience (*dhamma ñāṇa*), the Buddha was in a position to infer the more general thesis of causality, which implies both uniformity (*dhammatā*, *dhammaniyāmatā*) as well as universality (*dhammaṭṭhitatā*).[19] Such a conception of causality pertains to the remote past as well as the future and, therefore, could not serve as the direct object of experiential knowledge. It is inductive knowledge (*anvaye ñāṇa*) that provides an understanding of such uniformity and universality.

Unfortunately, James was not in a position to recognize either uniformity or universality of causation primarily because of the way in which these conceptions were arrived at by his predecessors and contemporaries and secondarily because of the implications he drew from them. As mentioned earlier, he was critical of Hume because of the latter's atomistic psychology according to which relations among events are not given in experience. In the light of such a view, what we call "laws of nature" turn out to be in large part enumerations of bare co-existences and successions.[20] Hence James' criticism that "Laws, ... only generalize facts, they do not connect them in any intimate sense".[21] This inductive way of arriving at uniformity was not acceptable to him. The deductive method of arriving at uniformities was also not appealing to him because,

> "It is thoroughly monistic in its aims, and if it could be worked out in detail it would turn the real world into the procession of an eternal identity, with the appearances, of which we are perpetually conscious, occurring as a by-product to which no 'scientific' importance should be attached. In any case no real growth and no real novelty could effect an entrance to life."[22]

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[18] James, William, *Essays in Radical Empiricism*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912, p. 42.

[19] *S* 2.25. *Uppādā vā tathāgatānaṃ anuppādā vā tathāgatānaṃ ṭhitā va sā dhatu dhammaṭṭhitatā dhammaniyāmata idappacrayatā.*

[20] James, William, *Some Problems of Philosophy*. *A Beginning of an Introduction to Philosophy*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921, p. 202.

[21] Ibid. p. 203.

[22] Ibid. p. 203–204.

He, therefore, concluded that "negation of novelty seems to be the upshot of the *conceptualist philosophy of causation*".[23]

Although he rejected the conceptualist philosophy of causation and, therefore, of causality or causal uniformity, his recognition of "knowledge about", indeed, seems to accommodate what the Buddha meant by causality or uniformity. The following is James' explanation of "knowledge about".

> "All the elementary natures of the world, its highest genera, the simplest qualities of matter and mind, together with the kinds of relation that subsist between them, must either not be known at all, or known in this dumb way of acquaintance without *knowledge about*. In minds able to speak at all there is, it is true, *some* knowledge about everything. Things can at least be classed, and the times of their appearance told."[24]

"Knowledge about", according to this description, involves knowing much more than what is given to experience or acquaintance. James recognizes our ability to classify things and then, on that basis, make predictions. Such classifications and predictions could not be made unless there is a recognition of causal uniformity. Therefore, to say that "knowledge about" involves the notion of uniformity seems quite justified.[25]

Even according to the Buddha, the principle of causality (*dhammatā*) is not an ultimate reality (*paramattha*)[26] or, in James' words, "a procession of eternal identity". It is to be constantly verified in the light of experience, just as James' "knowledge about", if it is to be valid, has to terminate in knowledge of acquaintance. Hence the Buddha's emphasis on the fact that

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[23] Ibid. p. 205., Italics mine.

[24] *The Principles of Psychology*, 1. 221.

[25] Having rejected the so-called conceptualist philosophy of causation, James attempted to explain what he termed "The Perceptual View of novelty and causation". Unfortunately, he was not able to complete this analysis before he died. See *Some Problems of Philosophy*, pp. 208–219.

[26] Paramattha in the sense of an ultimate reality is condemned by the Buddha in the "Section on Meaning" (Aṭṭhakavagga), where the term *paramaṭṭha* occurs. Yet *pammattha*, implying the highest or ultimate goal, is used to refer to freedom from passion (*nibbāna*).

his teaching is to be constantly verified (*ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*).[27]

Another important feature of early Buddhist empiricism is that it does not limit sense experience to the five physical senses only. Nor does it recognize the mind to be a blank tablet, a *tabula rasa* as conceived of by the British empiricist, John Locke, upon which the five physical senses leave their impressions. While admitting the dependence of consciousness or mind upon the five physical senses and their objects,[28] early Buddhism favors an interactionist view according to which consciousness or mind itself exerts influence upon the senses and their objects.[29] This again is a view shared by William James, and has gained currency as a result of the writings of Karl Popper and John Eccles.[30] This recognition of an interactionist view,[31] seems to have enabled the early Buddhists to speak of six sense faculties, rather than five. The sense faculties, which are called *āyatana*, 'gateways' of experience, include mind (*mano*) as well, having its own object (mental objects or concepts, dhammā),[32] simultaneously serving as a co-ordinator of the five other faculties.[33]

The recognition of mind as an active faculty, not as a merely passive recipient of impressions, is important in that certain higher knowledges, such as retrocognition, accepted in early Buddhism thereby receives the stamp of validity as part of the experiential process. Some recent critics of early Buddhism who have been inspired by extremist positivist thinking have dogmatically asserted that early Buddhism cannot be considered a form of empiricism because of its recognition of the higher knowledges (*abhiññā*) as valid experiential knowledge. They not only seem to make a private property of the conception of empiricism, but also misinterpret the category of higher knowledge in order to banish early Buddhism from the 'land of empiricism'. These higher knowledges are sometimes described as

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[27] *D* 2.217; 2.5, 227; *S* 1.9; 4·41, 272; 5.343.

[28] As implied in the statement: *cakkhuñ ca paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjat, ca cakkhuvinnāṇaṃ,* etc., see *Majjhima-nikāya* (abbr. *M*). Ed. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers. London: PTS, 1887–1901, 1.111–112.

[29] *S* 1.39, *cittena niyyati loko*.

[30] See *Self and Its Brain*. New York: Springer International, I977.

[31] Specially stated at *D* 2.32.

[32] *M* 1.111–112.

[33] Ibid. 1.295.

"extrasensory perceptions" and, therefore, are looked upon as an experience or perception that transcends sense experience. A careful analysis of the early Buddhist description of these forms of knowledge would reveal that they were not considered "extrasensory" in the sense of going beyond sense experience. They are never referred to as *atīndriya pratyakṣa* (experience based on a transcendent faculty!), a phrase of very recent origin. On the contrary they are characterized as *atikkantamānusika*,[34] i.e., "transcending ordinary humanity", where the term *mānusika* has a definite usage denoting ordinary people who are completely dominated by defilements (*āsava*). In fact, as is evident from the texts, these higher knowledges cannot be developed unless a person has eliminated the obstructing conditions (*nivaraṇa*) that prevent clear perception. In any case, these higher forms of knowledge are no more than further extensions of some of the sense faculties, which include mind, and such extensions are possible only when the mind is completely subduced or concentrated (*samāhite citte*) for, as mentioned earlier, the mind also functions as the co-ordinator of other sense faculties. It should be noted that certain limitations found in ordinary sense experience are also found in these higher forms of knowledge. For example, the range of retrocognition, which is one of the higher forms of knowledge, is limited and not unlimited. Moreover one who has such retrocognitive powers could, subsequently, form metaphysical views (*adhivutti-padāni*) relating to the origin or extent of the universe or the existence of a permanent and eternal self.[35] The correct understanding of the world by means of such higher knowledge can be achieved only if one has attained the highest form of knowledge (*paññā*) which is none other than the knowledge resulting from the cessation of defilements (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*).[36] It is such a person who is able to understand things as they have come to be (*yathābhūta*),[37] and make proper inferences. Such people, since they have rid themselves of all subjective prejudices, are able to see things objectively. These are the saints who have crossed over doubt (*tiṇṇavicikiccho*) and dispelled uncertainty (*vigata-kathan-katho*), not because they have reached certainty or indubitability regarding "everything" in this world, but because realizing the limitations of human

[34] *D* 2.87.

[35] *D* 1. 12 ff.

[36] *D* 1.83–84.

[37] Ibid. 1.84.

experience, they do not allow uncertainty or doubt to worry them unnecessarily.

This naturally leads us to the questions that the Buddha and James, as empiricists, were reluctant to answer. In the case of the Buddha, there were certain specific questions about ultimate reality etc., that he refused to answer. In the case of James, it was the general problem of the Absolute that he refused to comment about.

Let us first consider the Buddha's standpoint regarding questions that he left 'unanswered' or 'undeclared' (*avyākata*). A few questions may be raised. Were there any other forms of knowledge recognized by the pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist traditions and not recognized as such by the Buddha? If there were, what constitutes the object of such knowledge and why did the Buddha deny the veracity of such objects? Answers to these two questions are bound to highlight the empiricist standpoint of early Buddhism.

The earliest Upanisadic tradition as well as the tradition contemporary with early Buddhism did recognize a form of knowledge by experience that completely transcends sense experience. It is a form of non-dual knowledge where the subject-object duality is eliminated and which is said to reveal the nature of 'ultimate reality', often described as Ātman or Brahman. This ultimate reality was considered to be permanent, eternal and immutable. The state of cessation of perception and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodha*), or simply the state of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*) seems to be the only comparable state in early Buddhism. Yet according to early Buddhism, it is not a cognitive state and therefore could not be called knowledge. It is the highest state of peace and quiet, completely cut off from the world of sense experience, and which was enjoyed occasionally by those who had the ability to control their minds. In a rather important passage from the *Anguttara-Nikāya*,[38] a passage that has gone unnoticed by many a scholar, we come across a description of four things to be experienced (*sacchikaraṇīyā dhammā*). They are things to be experienced by—

(i)	body (*kāya*)	eight types of release (*aṭṭhavimokkha*)
(ii)	memory (sati)	one's own past births (*pubbenivāsa*)
(iii)	eye (*cakkhu*)	survival of beings (*sattānaṃ cutūpapāta*)

[38] *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (abbr. *A*). Ed. R. Morris and E. Hardy. London: PTS, 1885–1900, 2.182–183.

(iv) insight (*paññā*) cessation of defilements (*āsavānaṃ khaya*).

It is interesting to note that under things to be experienced by the body (*kāya*) are included the eight types of release or freedom (*vimokkha*), one of which is the state of cessation of perception and feeling mentioned above. This seems to imply that though this state cannot be denied the status of experience, it is not a cognitive state or does not constitute higher knowledge. In fact elsewhere the Buddha, having rejected the claim to omniscience (*sabbaññutā*), claimed to possess threefold knowledge (*tevijjā*) which constitute the last three items in the above list.[39]

The Upaniṣadic thinkers admitted the possibility of a nondual transcendental knowledge on the basis of which they posited the existence of an ultimately real and permanent Ātman. This Ātman, in its turn, accounted not only for the origin and evolution of the world process but also for its final emancipation. The Jaina thinkers accepted omniscience (*sabbaññutā*) to explain all those events which transcend our sense experience. The Buddha, as an empiricist, was not able to recognize such knowledge and hence was unable to say anything either positive or negative about the objects of such knowledge. This leads us to the very vexing problem regarding the undeclared or unanswered question (*avyākata* or *avyākṛta*).

As is well known, the ten and sometimes fourteen unanswered questions pertain to the following;

1. Duration of the universe

(i) The world is eternal

(ii) The world is not eternal

2. Extent of the universe

(iii) The world is finite

(iv) The world is infinite

3. Nature of the soul

(v) The soul is identical with the body

(vi) The soul is different from the body

4. Destiny of the saint (tathāgata)

(vii) The saint exists after death

(viii) The saint does not exist after death

[39] *M* 1.482.

(ix) The saint does and does not exist after death

(x) The saint neither exists nor does not exist after death

K. N. Jayatilleke, in his *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, (1963) and T. H. V. Murti, in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (1960) have made attempts to explain the reasons for Buddha's silence regarding these questions. Jayatilleke differs from Murti in the way he distinguishes the different types of questions, and gives different reasons for the Buddha's silence on them. He points out that the first four questions have no answer because of the limitations of empiricism. He finds the other six questions logically meaningless and maintains that they resemble the solution of the Logical Positivists. They differ from the Logical Positivists, he points out, as follows: "The Buddhist while saying that it is meaningless to ask whether one exists in (*hoti*), does not exist in (*na hoti*), is born in (*upapajjati*), is not born in (*na upapajjati*) in Nirvāna, still speaks of such transcendent state as realizable."[40] Jayatilleke's source for this interpretation is a statement in the *Sutta-nipāta*:

> "The person who has attained the goal is without measure; he does not have that with which one can speak of him."[41]

If this passage refers to the saint who is dead and gone, Jayatilleke's interpretation creates difficulties. His interpretation seems to assume the existence of a transcendental state realizable after death, a state that is not describable. If the Buddha meant this, then he, following the Jainas, could have said "The saint exists after death and is indescribable" (following the Jaina Logic of *Syādvāda*). But the Buddha merely stated that the proposition: "The saint exists after death" is a metaphysical proposition which admits of no answer, either in the positive or in the negative.

Moreover, the second clause in the *Sutta-nipāta* passage: *Yena naṃ vajju tam tassa natthi* (he does not have that with which one can speak of him), if interpreted literally, would mean that a being exists in Nirvāna after death, but that no concepts can be used to describe him. In fact, Jayatilleke quotes a statement from early Wittgenstein in support of his interpretation of the Pali passage. This quotation is the conclusion of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* and reads: Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent". Neither the passage in the *Sutta-nipāta* nor Wittgenstein's statement should be taken literally. In the case of the

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[40] *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963, pp. 475f.

[41] *Sn*. 1076.

former, it would be inappropriate to assume that there is somebody who survives death, just as, in the case of the latter, it would be inappropriate to assume the substantial existence of the "whereof" and "thereof". On the contrary, it would be more appropriate to take the *Sutta-nipāta* passage in a truly conventional way as referring to the saint who lived here and has passed away, without assuming that he exists after passing away. Moreover, the Pali passage seems to emphasize the absence of a source of knowledge (*na pamāṇam atthi*) rather than a method of description. To summarize the argument: It is one thing to say that it is not possible to know whether a saint exists or not after death and quite another to say that he exists after death and is indescribable. The former implies the non-availability of a source of knowledge, while the latter implies its availability.

Although questions like the absolute origin of the universe, its unity in an ultimate substance (i.e., monism) have been discussed very often in the Western philosophical tradition, the last set of questions pertaining to the state of the saint after death has not haunted these philosophers. Hence William James' attention was directed more to the problems pertaining to the Absolute as conceived of in the Western philosophical tradition. His recognition of pluralism prevented him from subscribing to an absolutist monism. His pluralism is not the antithesis of monism in that it does not "stand for any particular kind or amount of disconnection between the many things which it assumes. It only has the negative significance of contradicting monism's thesis that there is absolutely no disconnection."[42] Describing this monism, he says: "In point of historical fact, monism has generally kept itself vague and mystical as regards the ultimate principle of unity. To be One is more wonderful than to be many, so the principle of things must be One, but of that One no exact amount is given. Plotinus simply calls it the One. 'The One is all things and yet no one of them. For the very reason that none of them was in the One, are all derived from it. Furthermore, in order that they may be real existences, the One is not an existence, but the father of existences.'[43] He compares this with the Hindu doctrine of Brahman or of the Ātman as presented in the Bhagavadgīta, and calls it the mystical monism.[44]

[42] *Some Problems of Philosophy*. *A Beginning of an Introduction to Philosophy*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1921. p. 115.

[43] Ibid. 115–116.

[44] Ibid. 116–117.

Since James does not seem to have experimented with the techniques of the mystics, he was not in a position to adduce empirical arguments against the recognition of such a mystical monism, as the Buddha did. He therefore was satisfied with observing silence regarding what others called the ineffable. Hence his statement: "The regular mystical way of attaining the vision of One is by ascetic training, fundamentally the same in all religious systems. But this ineffable kind of Oneness is not strictly philosophical, for philosophy is essentially talkative and explicit, so I must pass it by."[45] Buddha's attitude towards metaphysical issues such as "One" (*ekatta*) and "many" (*nānatta*)[46] is different from that of James for the reason adduced above. Whereas the Buddha experimented with the mystical tradition for more than six years before his enlightenment and found no empirical justification for the claims of the mystics, James, not following such an experimental method was merely analysing the claims of the mystics in terms of philosophical consistency.

Buddha's epistemological approach to questions of metaphysics is best illustrated by passage from the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*. It deals with one of the most important problems in metaphysics, namely, the question as to what constitutes "everything" (*sabba*, Sk. *sarva*). In the Upanisadic texts this question is often raised and the answer given there is that "everything" consists of Ātman, since it permeates everything in the world (absolute monism). When the Buddha's view about "everything" was solicited (by a brahman philosopher, Jāṇussoṇi, according to the Chinese version of the text), Buddha replied.

> "Eye and forms, ear and sounds, nose and smells, tongue and tastes, body and tangibles, and mind and concepts these are called everything. He who says thus: 'Having rejected this (view), I will present another (theory of) everything,' he may have a topic of discussion. But when further questioned, he will not be able to answer. Instead he will fall into confusion. What is the reason for this? Because it is beyond the sphere of experience (*aviṣaya*)."[47]

Such is the empiricism of the Buddha and it resembles the empiricist stand of William James in many respects.

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[45] Ibid. p.118.

[46] *S* 2.77.

[47] Ibid. 4.15; the Chinese version, together with translations and comments is found in my "Buddhist Tract on Empiricism" in *Philosophy East and West*, 19 (1969): 65–67.

BUDDHISM AND THE MODERN WORLD

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WHAT is the modern world? What does it look like? The best way to see how the modern world looks would be to look at it through an outsider's eye. Let us imagine a Being from Outer Space (BOS) who has attained a high spiritual development, looking at our world from a fair distance. He would see the earth covered with a thick smog which is growing thick enough to choke man and kill him in the near future. Funnily enough, the BOS sees that this smog is created by man himself. Intrigued by this ironical situation the BOS examines the earth and man carefully. The world's resources for living are strictly limited, but man is reproducing himself at a frantic rate which has led to a population explosion. Man is raping his environment which mothers him by supplying him with food, water and air. What do we know about what the BOS sees? G. R. Taylor explains, "These resources are tied together in a complex set of transactions. The air helps purify the water, the water irrigates the plants, the plants help to renew the air. We heedlessly intervene in these transactions. For instance, we cut down the forests which transpire water and oxygen, we build dams and pipelines which limit the movement of animals. We pave the earth and build reservoirs, altering the cycle."[48] Man's worst action is that he pollutes his own environment. Technological waste-matter, like noxious gases, pollutes the air. Insecticides and pesticides are destroying valuable plants like diatoms which produce 75% of new oxygen, and other vegetation which is responsible for the production of the rest of the oxygen, and radiation has become a living threat to all forms of life. The crisis is dramatically apparent in many parts of the world. Food shortages are becoming acute, a fact of which we become more and more painfully aware every day. In some parts of the world such as Tokyo, air pollution is so severe that on occasion people have to actually buy pure air for breathing. Taylor concludes, "It is obvious that this process cannot continue forever: When will the poison-point come? Some maintain the world could support 15 billion people. One or two have put the figure as high as 30. The earlier figure could come

[48] Gordon Rattray Taylor. *The Doomsday Book.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1970, p. 16.

in the lifetime of those now living, so the question is not an academic one. It is my belief that the collapse will come considerably before this level is reached, perhaps quite soon."[49] So, the BOS would see man as digging his own grave at a frantic rate.

The BOS, though disturbed, is fascinated by this scene and so wishes to have a closer look at this intriguing creature, modern man. As he lands on earth he happens to see a scientist working day and night in a laboratory. The BOS finds out that the scientist is making bombs. The BOS is perplexed as to why he is making these high explosive bombs but soon learns that the man is making them to drop them on his own head: so the BOS discovers that modern man is spending most of his resources for a careful planning of his own destruction. Man uses these bombs to destroy wantonly his fellow beings, animals and vegetation and to spread radiation that is ultimately harmful to his very own self. Man's capacity for conceptual abstraction has aggravated the situation. By means of modern equipment man can kill his own species without seeing them. He only sees the statistics and the statistics do not bleed. So, nobody, except the suffering, is worried. The atrocious savagery perpetrated in modern wars illustrate this clearly, mightily. It may be that the scientist does not consciously see that he is unconsciously planning the destruction of his own species and therefore of himself. If he quite realises what he is actually doing he would be appalled by his actions. This is where the BOS sees man as a split personality, which is not a homogenous structure. The human personality is a structure where several men fighting with each other are desperately trying to stick together. That is why man experiences his life as a restless and painful incident. Thus the BOS sees man himself as a veritable battleground, and as a psychotic criminal, a person who works for the destruction of others and of himself.

The BOS being appalled by this gruesome sight wanders off to see a typical creation of modern man: a city. There what he sees is indistinguishable from a zoo.[50] People are caged in small apartments in a highly crowded environment. It is notorious that in highly crowded surroundings of zoos, animals go mad and this is exactly what the BOS sees in the city. Due to the stress of overcrowding and the accompanying strains, man has developed all sorts of psycho-neurotic diseases. Human relations have broken down and men have become complete strangers to

[49] Ibid., p. 23.

[50] Desmond Morris. *The Human Zoo.* London Corgi Books, 1971.

one other.[51] Various forms of chemical pills are fighting a desperate battle to keep up an artificially induced sanity from collapsing into a surrealistic madness. Thus the BOS sees the city, the village of the modern man, as both a madhouse and a zoo.

Still more perplexed by the phenomenon of man the BOS decides to examine the working of man's mind, in detail. He sees that man is propelled by a desire to attain happiness. It is everybody's goal in life. But ironically enough out of millions of people he sees, he does not find a single being who has attained this goal. Obviously something has gone wrong. What is it? The BOS examines man's mental behaviour minutely. He sees a man desiring and planning to buy a radio. The man thinks that he will be really happy if he has a radio. But after a few days of buying it he forgets all about the radio and now plans to buy a car, after which he plans to buy a house, a shop, an estate and so on and so forth. Meanwhile he approaches his old age and dies after being too tired, having followed one object after another. His mental condition has not become at all better than what it was before buying the radio. It has only become worse, because with increasing possessions his amount of desires too have grown and with more desires he suffers more. The BOS cannot understand why man wants to buy 1000 acres of land when the man actually wants much less for a satisfactory living. Man buys so much land for prestige and prestige is something which exists only in the mind. So, the BOS sees that man is trying to attain something from the outside world that exists only in his mind. Men desire beautiful objects and run after them. The BOS discovers that beauty exists only in the minds of men. So, again, man is running after his own mind. The BOS discovers that desires depend on the non-availability of desired objects. The more difficult something is to achieve, the greater is the desire and demand for it. Man wants to attain the non-available. But as soon as something is attained it is no longer non-available. That is why no man is happy, the BOS finds out. It is true that people become 'happy' for short periods, but such periods, with throbbing hearts, are fundamentally irritating because they create a restless state in the mind. That is why people tend to take alcoholic drinks at such times, to alleviate the pain that accompanies such moments of happiness. This means that man can never, by definition, attain worldly happiness because worldly happiness is a contradictory concept. Even when it is attained for short periods it does not stand the test of true happiness. Thus man is eternally unsatisfied, and he suffers.

[51] Vance Packard. *A Nation of Strangers.* U.S.A.: Pocket Books, 1974.

Thus the BOS sees the modern man as frightening, gruesome, comic and sad. He flees back to his planet. It is no wonder, under these circumstances, that beings from outer space, even if they could see us, would not even dream of communicating with us.

Of course, some of the problems we have been discussing are not peculiar to the modern man, and have existed since the birth of the human race, but all these problems have been accentuated in modern man due to the many pressures he has to face. The problem is not merely an academic one. If humanity is to be saved from imminent destruction some drastic action has to be taken.

What would be the Buddhist answer to modern Man's predicament? The BOS could clearly see that modern man is a psychotic, sadly running wild, The Buddha's teachings could have a sharp relevance to this man because the Buddha's diagnosis of man was essentially that of the BOS: All ordinary men are psychotics

(*Sabbe puthujjanā ummattakā*) and the Buddha's first noble truth was that suffering or un-satisfaction was the pervasive feature of human existence.

What would be the Buddhist solution to the problems posed in the first scene the BOS was witnessing? The Buddha would see modern man as having clearly estranged himself from mother nature and his environment. The Buddha never singled out man as the only important creature of the world. Whenever he talked about beings he always used the words '*Sattā*' or '*Bhūta*' which included all the possible beings in the universe. He advised that "One should be infinitely compassionate to all beings just as a mother looks after her one and only son as her own life.[52] The Jātaka book portrays a world where animals and human beings share a common world with a mutual understanding of each other. In their communications with each other, sometimes, man is shown as a stupid creature working under the guidance of animals who act in an advisory capacity as in the story of a king who is advised by a dog, who was the Buddha himself in a previous birth, as to how to rule a country with righteousness. The king, impressed, offers the kingdom to the dog who, understandably, turns down the offer immediately.[53] The Buddha prohibits monks from harming trees and plants because "they are creatures with one sense-faculty (i.e. touch)" and

[52] *Sutta Nipāta.* Verse 149.

[53] Jātaka. I. 175ff.

therefore "people are of the opinion that there is life in trees".[54] He also forbids monks to dig the earth because that would harm "beings with one sense" living in earth.[55] (He did not enjoin these rules for laymen because of the practical difficulties). This is how the Buddha advised people to show respect to all forms of life. (It should of course be noted that the Buddha did not preach an extreme form of non-violence or *Ahimsā* as the Jainas did, because of its impracticability. In Buddhism, *Ahimsā* is always an ideal to which we try to approximate as far as possible.) In this instance it is remarkable to note that the Buddha showed gratitude to the Bo-tree, under which he attained enlightenment, by looking at it for seven days. When the Buddha was in the Parileyya forest he was fed by an elephant and a monkey. Allowing for the exaggerated anthropomorphisms of the Jātaka stories the emphatic lesson they teach us is that animals are in no way inferior to men and so we have absolutely no rights over and above them. As living beings on this earth we all have equal rights to existence. However, though some may laugh at the ideas of communications between animals and men they should now have second thoughts about their cynicism because contemporary ethologists like Konrad Lorenz and Niko Tinbergen, Nobel prize winning scientists, maintain that one can easily communicate with animals if one can show enough empathy towards them.[56] Lorenz says that he can and does talk to animals as he has proved in many of his experiments. Also he contends that animals do have systems of moral behaviour sophisticated enough by all ordinary human standards.[57] Their ethological studies show that an animal, as a living being, is not, in essence, much different from an ordinary human being who apparently differs from animals only in his complicated ways of doing things.

The Buddha's teachings show a closer and a living relationship between man and his environment. Man is only a part of the great evolutionary process and he will not be able to survive if he does not show brotherly feelings towards his earthly partners who in turn, help man to

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[54] *Ekindriyā. Manussā jivasaññino rukkhasmiṃ.* Vinaya. IV. 34.

[55] *Vinaya.* IV. 32–33.

[56] Konrad Lorenz. *King Solomon's Ring.* London: Pan Books, 1953.

[57] Konrad Lorenz. *Studies in Animal and Human Behaviour.* London: Methuen Books, Vol. I & II, 1971.

Konrad Lorenz. *Man Meets Dog.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971.

Niko Tinbergen. *Curious Naturalists.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974.

survive. In the cosmic time scale man is only a very recent newcomer to earth and consequently must show due respect to his senior brethren. We must not behave as hosts but only as guests on this earth. Thus Buddhism never portrays man as carrying any singular value significance as far as living is concerned. Therefore it would be a gross mistake to call Buddhism merely humanistic. Chambers dictionary defines Humanism as "any system which puts human interests and the mind of man paramount". In this sense Buddhism is clearly 'anti-humanistic' because it is emphatically against making man a privileged being. It is the anthropocentric pride that has made man feel that he is the owner of animals and plants and it is this very pride that is gradually going to choke him and cause his end.

The Buddha always praised the person who had a clear sense of proportion (*Mattaññū*). Everything has a balance and when it is reached one must be content. It is 'balance' and 'proportion' that have become key words in the present battle against population explosion.

We may already know or readily appreciate what we have been saying so far. But we find it equally difficult to put into practice what we appreciate so much. Why is that? It is because we cannot help doing destructive or bad things because of certain innate characteristics that are built in us. To understand these we must analyse man a little more deeply.

Man is a result of the cosmic process of evolution. He evolved from animals through processes of mutation. Therefore to understand man fully we have to understand his ancestors. Man is basically an animal. Whether we believe in the evolutionary process or not, the simple hard fact is that the ordinary man is hardly distinguishable from an animal, in all his day to day activities. The only difference is that what the animal does in a simple way, man does in a much more complex manner. Though we pride ourselves as heirs to sublime ethical principles, animals have had comparable systems long before us. The simple fact is that morality is only a system of rules that has gradually evolved for the safeguarding of the species in the evolutionary process. The fittest survives. Morality makes a species the fittest to survive.

What are the basic needs of an animal? Robert Ardrey explains, ".... in all higher animals, including man, there are basic, inborn needs for three satisfactions: identity, stimulation and security. I described them in terms of their opposites: anonymity, boredom and anxiety..... To a surprising degree, however, security ranks lowest among our needs and the more thoroughly we achieve it, the more willingly do we sacrifice it for stimulation. So long as we live in a milieu of material deprivation, the

illusion that security is paramount will enclose us; and many an error of social philosophy has so been written. But let even a minimum of affluence replace deprivation's demands, and security will give away to boredom, a condition to be avoided".[58] The need for identity ranks highest. We would not mind sacrificing everything to achieve fame. It is the need to bolster up the idea of "I" or the ego. The way in which this need is accomplished in animals is that they have an innate need for a territory of their own and this provides them with security as well. One of our basic needs is that we need our own house: our own territory. It is a territorial imperative.[59] Animals have an innate relationship to their territories. We all know how a cat or a dog, left miles away from its original home, manages to find the way back. Ardrey explains how birds Jet-flown from the United Kingdom to America and from Philippines to America have mysteriously managed to find their way back home. Unless they had an innate sense of their territory, how could they accomplish this type of miraculous feat? According to ethologists, there is a basic character trait that is fundamentally essential to fulfil the three basic needs and that is aggression. It is needed for survival. Lorenz says that because of aggression there results a "balanced distribution of animals of the same species over the available environment, selection of the strongest by rival fights and defense of the young".[60] Also, there is a ranking order, a hierarchical setup in most animal societies. Hierarchy makes a society of animals into a cohesive strong organization. Without this type of ranking organization species could not survive. Aggression is needed to secure this setup by selecting the strongest to lead the organization. It is also this type of organization that facilitates the keeping of peace within the society. Within the organization there is amity. But towards outsiders is directed enmity. This is how the amity-enmity complex arises. The whole of morality is directed, towards the preservation of a particular organization of species. Evolution wants to preserve species not individuals. That is why altruism has developed. Many people are of the opinion that altruism is exclusively a sublime moral possession of man. But this is irrefutably disproved by the findings of ethologists. In animal organizations we can see how animals 'sacrifice' their individual lives to preserve their fellow beings. Hierarchical organizations are meant to achieve exactly this purpose. (An army illustrates this point well.) Eugene Marais, who spent most of his life with baboons, describes an event where two baboons

[58] Robert Ardrey. *The Social Contract.* London: Collins, 1972, pp. 91–92.

[59] Robert Ardrey. *The Territorial Imperative.* London: Collins, 1967.

[60] Konrad Lorenz. *On Aggression.* U.S.A.: Bantam Books, 1971, p. 40.

carefully plan to kill a tiger, in the process of which they sacrifice themselves to save their group. In that context, theirs is a sacrifice in the full human sense of the term.[61] Though in some contexts we obey moral rules without any utility, what we actually do there is to attempt to endorse a moral rule which in other normal contexts performs a valuable function to preserve the species. All good and bad and the whole of morality is meant only to serve the function of preserving the species. (There is, of course, a path to spiritual progress through morality, but this latter morality is a universal morality, i.e. compassion and love for all beings. Ordinary morality is always a group morality, e.g. communal or nationalistic. However, even universal morality is also only a stepping stone to spiritual progress.) Human societies behave exactly like societies of rats, who are friendly towards the members of their own community, but mortal enemies to outside members of their own species. If our BOS was an ethologist and knew about rats he too would conclude that human species are genetically related to rats!

Thus, aggression is a pervasive feature in all life. Psychologists say that it is innate like sex.[62] Therefore it is a spontaneous drive.[63] That means, if we do not have enemies we always tend to make them because otherwise we cannot discharge our aggression. If we carefully observe our own behaviour we can easily see how we do this ourselves. There is unity when we fight against a common enemy. When that enemy disappears we soon start fighting among ourselves because we just have to find objects to discharge our aggression. The Buddha always emphasized that aggressive tendencies (*dosa* and *māna*) are clearly innate in us. They exist in children in latent forms as *Anusayas*.[64] The Visudhimagga defines *dosa* as follows: "It has the characteristic of savageness, like a provoked snake. Its function is to spread, like a drop of poison, or its function is to burn up its own support, like a forest fire. It is manifested as persecuting, like an enemy who has got his chance. Its proximate cause is the grounds for annoyance. It should be regarded like stale urine mixed with poison."[65] However,

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[61] Robert Ardrey. *African Genesis.* London: Collins, 1973, pp. 86–89.

[62] Anthony Storr. *Human Aggression.* Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1970. pp. 27–37.

[63] Lorenz. *On Aggression.* pp. 48–86.

[64] Padmasiri de Silva, *Buddhist and Freudian Psychology.* Colombo: Lake House Investments. 1973, p. 58.

[65] *Visuddhimagga.* 470.

ethologists have failed to emphasize an equally important drive. That is *lobha* or greed. It is the 'I' feeling that makes one feel greedy and it is the greed for more of this 'I' feeling or self-expansion that makes one aggressive. After obtaining our desired objects we soon look for other objects to attain. This again shows how *lobha* is a spontaneous innate drive. The drive cannot be stopped by obtaining outside things. However many things we obtain, the *lobha* drive will be there.

How did the Buddha solve the fundamental problems of *lobha* and *dosa?* Many think that the Buddha asked us to destroy them completely. But if they are innate drives within us, can they be destroyed like that? If they are the very basic pattern of life how can they be destroyed? It is a grave mistake to think that he asked us to do so. He never advised to leave out *tanhā* or *lobha* completely. He only asked us to destroy that type of *tanhā* and *dosa* that leads to the making of bombs and human suffering. He asked us to be mortal enemies of this type of *dosa* and *tanhā* and wage a massive aggressive war against it. He himself fought this war (*Māra Yuddha*) and as he won it he was called Jina, the winner. To do this one must have *tanhā* for liberation and he said that *"Tanhā* should be destroyed by *tanhā".* When one sees an Arahant one must cultivate self-conceit or *mana* thinking, "If he can attain this state why cannot I?" And thus, again, *"Māna* should be destroyed by *māna*".[66] This is the way the Buddha explained how we should sublimate our innate instincts.

How can we destroy harmful *lobha* and *dosa?* It is the asking of this question that makes man different from animal. Here man is asking how he could transcend the animal level of existence and it is the ability to ask this crucial question that makes an animal a human being. The Buddha said that to destroy *lobha* and *dosa* we must first study how they arise, and maintained that they arise from ignorance, partly of the external world and partly of ourselves. We are ignorant of the real nature of things of the external world. *Lobha* originates due to this ignorance. To illustrate, let us say we have a desire to buy a beautiful house. In the process of obtaining this end we might have to undergo suffering, first by thinking about not possessing it at that time, then toiling to find money, undergoing various hardships and scheming to obtain it, in the course of which we might have to be aggressive towards some persons, this perhaps leading to a few fights or even murders. This whole mass of worry and suffering originates because of the beautiful house. But, are houses beautiful? The BOS would see all our houses as just places of shelter. Therefore, beauty is not in the

[66] *Tanham nissāya tanhā pahatabbā maāam nissāya māno pahātabbo. Aṅguttara Nikāya.* II. 145–146. Loc. cit.

house. A beautiful house in Africa may not be beautiful in Sri Lanka. This idea of beauty varies dramatically from place to place and from time to time. Beauty is only a conceptual convention in the context of a particular time and place. In other words, beauty is no mere than a concept that exists only in our minds. When we see a house as beautiful, we are projecting our concepts on to objects and seeing a part of our mind in the object. We are going after our own mind when we go after beautiful objects.

Now, if beauty does not exist as such in the outside world, does the house exist there as an object? If the house is demolished part by part, what we would see is only a heap of stones and bricks. What happened to the house? Where did it go? It did not go anywhere because it did not exist, to begin with. When the parts were arranged in a particular way, we had the concept of the house. Therefore, the house existed only in our minds, as a concept.[67] If we reduce parts to their minute particles we will end up in elements (*mahābhūta*) of air, water, earth etc. which are, again, only tiny heaps of evanescent changes or of energy. So, what really exists in the outside world is only energy or processes of change materialising in the form of *mahābhūta,* the latter themselves being conceptual products. They are called Great Bhūtas or Spirits because it is they who like spirits (or demons) create various magical things like houses to deceive us!

Let us look at the house from another angle. Physical objects exist only in relation to sense organs. If our sense organs were constituted differently we would not see the objects we normally see now. If our eyes were as sharp as electron microscopes we would see only a mass of swirling atoms, never any physical object. Likewise with regard to other sense organs. If our sense organs and mind were constituted in a radically and transcendently different manner then we would perhaps see nothing, a complete emptiness or voidness (*Suññatā*, *Animitta*). Thus the existence of physical objects depends directly on our physical constitution. So, again, this shows how we conceptualize and make objects with the help of the outside energy or processes of change, which manifest themselves to us as *mahābhūta.* If we look at the houses as they really are, i.e. simply as processes of change, then we would see that there is no house that is worth getting attached to. Though we would still see the house there would not be any attachment to it. With that the whole mass of suffering that could arise with the idea of the house disappears.

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[67] For a detailed discussion about the Buddhist theory of concept and reality, see: Bhikkhu Ñāṇānanda. *Concept and Reality.* Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society. 1971.

Let us illustrate the same idea with the help of a sensual pleasure. When we see an unattractive woman walking on the street we note, casually, that a woman is walking on the road. But if we see a beautiful woman walking, we get excited, we think that she is an angel from heaven, we might make various sexual fantasies and we may pine for her and make plans to secure her thereby initiating a complicated sequence of events that would lead to frustrations, anxieties and a mass of suffering. If we could see her as she really is, i.e. as just another woman or a human being, then none of this self-inflicted suffering would have arisen. As we know, beauty is a notoriously relative concept, and is normally regarded as being "in the eye of the beholder". So, when we love a beautiful woman, we have projected our own concepts on to her. Therefore what we are actually doing is loving our own mind, and running after our own mind. When we secure her, she becomes available and our mind immediately jumps on to another non-available woman and sees her as beautiful and pines to secure her, temporarily or permanently. The Buddha says, that in such situations we are "obsessed with concepts".[68] The Buddha said that "Man's sensual desires are only attachments to concepts".[69] That is why whole processes of sensual experiences can be effectively executed in a dream, with entirely satisfactory results. If we see the beautiful woman only as a creation of our concepts and see her only as a group of *mahābhūtā* then the whole mass of suffering attendant on thinking of her as a woman disappears. This way of looking at the world has been explained in the Mulapariyāya Sutta where the Buddha says that "earth should be seen as earth, water as water" etc.[70]

The other side of the picture is the 'I'. It is 'I' who desire and suffer. Does this 'I' exist? If you look into yourself you will never find this 'I'. The Buddha analysed a person into five factors like form (*rūpa*), feelings (*vedanā*) etc. but did not find a self or a soul in any of them. If so, how do we get this feeling of 'I'? It is an illusion, a result of conceptualization. As we conceptualize and make outside objects through projection, we get the idea of self in relation to the conceptual-world-building process. Sitting in a stationary train, if we look at a moving train, we see our train as moving.[71] Likewise, in relation to the conceptual projections we make on

[68] *Saṃkappehi pareto so. Sutta Nipāta.* Verse 818.

[69] *Saṃkappa rāgo purisassa kāmo. Saṃyutta Nikāya.* I. 22.

[70] *Majjhima Nikāya*. I. 1ff.

[71] I am grateful to Dr. Parakrama Fernando for this example and for the valuable discussions I had with him on the idea of self.

to the external world we tend to see an 'I'. If we stop these conceptual projections the 'I' will vanish instantly. The self grows by identifying itself with things. First, the self identifies itself with the body, then with other objects like one's car. The more one desires and obtains, the more the self grows. As the self grows bigger one wants to achieve bigger and bigger things to satisfy the growing self. Therefore, as one achieves more and more possessions one has to suffer more and more. The 'I' goes on identifying with various things until it ends up in abstract concepts, like nation, religion etc. Partly it is the fear for death and craving for immortality that propels one towards this type of identification. Nations and religions last longer than individuals. Therefore by identifying with them one gets an illusory feeling of immortality. This is also a trick that evolution plays on individuals, so that individuals by identifying themselves with species will regard the latter as higher than one's individual life, thus facilitating the preservation of the species. We saw how this was operative among baboons. This is clearly seen operating among insects like ants in a semi-conscious way.

Thus there are two ways to 'stop the world'. One is by stopping conceptualization so that it will dissolve the world and thereby the 'I'. The other is by destroying the world building centre: the 'I'. Thus when you see objects in the world you are only seeing a screen made up of your own concepts. (Behind the screen are energies in the form of *mahābhūta.*) Funnily enough, you yourself are on this very same screen. You can go behind yourself and watch yourself on the screen watching other things. You can see yourself, on the screen, getting excited, desirous and anxious about the very things you yourself have made! This is, of course, a veritable moment for laughter and in this sense, laughter can have a great emancipatory value.

Now one can ask: "We all know this now, but why don't we attain Nibbāna?" Unfortunately what we have now is only knowledge. The Buddha often degraded knowledge or *ñāṇa* as being similar to a view or *diṭṭhi*.[72] *Ñāṇa* has to be discarded by seeing reality by *paññā* or *aññā* which is wisdom.[73] Mere knowledge does not affect our behaviour because our mind has two types of functions, conscious and unconscious, the mind being only a series of functions. The Buddha accepted the existence of

[72] *Na diṭṭhiyā na sutiyā na ñāṇena .... suddhiṃ āha. Sutta Nipāta.* Verse 839.

[73] *Sutta Nipāta.* Verse 1107. *Saṃyutta Nikāya.* II. 119. Gunapala Dharmasiri. *A Buddhist Critique of the Christian Concept of God.* Colombo: Lake House Investments, 1974. p. 204.

unconscious tendencies when he talked about *Asampajjañña mano saṅkhāra* and *Anussayā* or latent tendencies.[74] Therefore, though we may realize a truth consciously our unconscious would not agree with it because they are always at loggerheads and on non-speaking terms with each other. This is why we have a split within our personality. Unless we achieve an integration of these two split parts or, in other words, a true personality integration, our personality as a whole will not really accept the truths we can see now. To do this one needs an enormous amount of self-discipline. The technique of this discipline is known as *Samatha Bhāvanā* or Concentration-Meditation which is a rigorous method of attaining perfect concentration leading to a personality integration. Once this integration is achieved, one can direct one's mind to see "things-as-they-are" (*yathabhūta*) (*vipassanā*) and this will result in the realization of Nibbāna. This is how one transcends one's animality and becomes even more than human. Western ethological thinkers are rather pessimistic that man will not be able to conquer his animal nature.[75] It is here that Buddhism can be relevant in showing that there is a perfectly sensible path to transcend our animal natures. Ironically enough this transcendence is effected by exploiting or sublimating the very animal instincts that torment us. Once we attain Nibbāna what will happen to our sublimated *tanhā* and *dosa*? The Buddha once explained that once you have a desire to go to a particular place, that desire will no longer be there once you have arrived at that place.[76] Once you have realized that there is no person called 'I' your *dosa* and *māna* will dissolve themselves automatically.

When one knows things-as-they-really-are then one knows that there are no enemies or friends, beautiful things or ugly things m the world. There are only neutral beings and neutral things in the world. Then one looks at the world with true equanimity (*Upekkhā*). These beings and objects are again only on one's conceptual screen that one projects onto outside processes of change or energy that exist in the world. Thus when we look at the world we are actually looking only at our own mind. When we know the true nature of beings and objects then we understand that they deserve neither our desire nor our hate.

Knowledge of *yathabhūta* leads to true love. When one accepts things as they are one does not pass value judgements on them. Thus, moralization will stop. When an ideal mother looks at her only son she

[74] Padmasiri de Silva. pp. 49–70.

[75] Robert Ardrey. *The Social Contract.* pp. 367–368.

[76] *Saṃyutta Nikāya.* V. 272.

looks at him "as he really is" or as things as they are, without passing any value judgements on him. That is how that unique love a mother has towards her son originates. Parents look at their sons as an Arahant looks at beings. That is why ideal parents have been called Brahmas by the Buddha. The Buddhist tradition says that the mother is the Buddha at home. The Buddha often took the example of a mother's love towards her son to illustrate how an Arahant looks at all beings in the world. It is acceptance of things as they are. Here one goes beyond morality. That is why an Arahant has been described as having gone beyond both good and bad.[77] He has transcended ordinary morality.

I do not think it is a relevant exercise to support Buddhism with the findings of modern science. Religion's business is to find salvation while science tries to do something else. The attempt to find scientific evidence to boost up religion is like finding evidence to prove that Kandyan dancing is a good form of physical exercise. While religion provides permanent solutions to permanent problems science changes actually much faster than the objects it studies. However, it is instructive to find that some modern psychological studies have found a technique that is extremely similar to the Buddhist method as effective in recovering sanity in modern society. Anthony Storr says: "An alienated person is so because through fear, guilt, self-abasement or suspicion he is unable to communicate freely with others. He cannot reveal his true self to another human being because he does not believe that any other human being can accept him as he really is."[78] He says that the most effective psycho-therapeutic technique is the loving-acceptance of a patient as he really is and says, "It is love which really heals the patient".[79] Viktor Frankl says that once a female patient came to him, but, after carefully listening to her for some time, he referred her to another psychotherapist because he could not understand what she was saying as she was talking in a strange accent. But she had not consulted the other doctor, he found out later. However, a few months later when he met her on the street she started thanking him profusely for curing her illness. Frankl says, up to this date he does not know what she was suffering from. [80]

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[77] Gunapala Dharmasiri, Ibid. p. 106.

[78] Anthony Storr. pp. 76–77.

[79] Ibid., p. 76.

[80] Victor E. Frankl. *Psychotheraphy and Existentialism.* Harmondsworth: Pelican Books. 1973. p. 80.

Erich Fromm says that Buddhism has really mastered the principles of sane psychology and maintains that contemporary psychology has yet to learn its lessons from Buddhism if modern society is to be saved from a mass insanity.[81]

The Buddha taught that what is basically necessary is the correct perspective of looking at things, which results in love. This is the Buddhist solution to the problems of the modern world. However, one might say that Buddhism cannot be a panacea to modern problems because there are so many other problems like economic problems. But while recognizing such problems and suggesting separate solutions for them, the Buddha would still say that the fundamental necessity is to get the correct perspective of looking at things-as-they-really are. This would make everybody a mother. And, of course, a mother need not study economics to learn how to support her one and only son.

[81] Erich Fromm. 'De-repression and Enlightenment', in *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis.* Eds. D. T. Suzuki, Erich Fromm, Richard de Martino. London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. pp. 121–141.

THE TREE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

GUNAPALA SENADEERA

It is recorded in the History of Buddhism that Siddhartha attained enlightenment at the foot of a pipal (*Ficus Religiosa*; Skt. *pippali* & *aśvattha*) tree and the important question that arrests our mind is as to why He had chosen to do so.

It is not a mere coincidence, as related by the Buddhist scriptures, that the Buddha chose the *aśvattha* as *the tree* at the foot of which he should attain His enlightenment. Evidently, the Blessed One had drawn inspiration from a concept which found its expression in several ancient traditions. Some of these traditions are found in Vedic literature while others which are still older are traceable in the archaeological finds of the Indus Valley and elsewhere. The fact that the *aśvattha* was held by the Indians as a tree of sanctity as early as the period of the Indus Valley Civilization is proved by the appearance of its figure on two terra-cotta seals discovered from Harappa. One of these[82] displays a figure of a bifurcated plant which is recognizable as an *aśvattha* on account of the leaves crowning its branches. Between the two branches is a standing figure believed to be the deity presiding over it. It is interesting to find that we have, in this connection, a reference in the Atharva Veda[83] regarding a *yakṣa* who is a moving spirit in the cosmic tree *(viśva vṛkṣa)* manifesting Varuṇa, Prajāpati & Brahman. The term *yakṣa* means, according to its etymology, a spirit to be propitiated by means of oblation, and as such, the deity appearing on the Harappan seal referred to may be identified with the *yakṣa* or the supreme deity, and the *aśvattha* tree as the cosmic tree of the Vedic tradition. With this interpretation as the background one has to consider the Buddha who is associated with the *aśvattha* tree to be the manifestation of the supreme deity. This is supported, again, by a tradition, in the Maitreya Upaniṣad which speaks of 'one single Enlightener' *(Eka Sambodhayitṛ)* of the 'one single *aśvattha*' (*eka aśvattha*).[84]

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[82] Marshall, Sir John., *Indus Valley Civilization,* Vol. iii.

[83] X. 7. 38.

[84] VI.I. 4 & VII. II. Also see Coomaraswamy, Ananda., *Elements of Buddhist Iconography,* p. 8.

In the other seal, also from Harappa, there appears a pattern of a decorative object with the figures of two unicorns fastened together and an *aśvattha* plant arising from the point of the union.[85] A close scrutiny of this object would reveal that its model was once used as a house decoration, and was later adopted for the votive tablet of Harappa. It has been a universal practice to decorate buildings of all types with the figures of objects deemed to be 'auspicious'. The employment of the figure of the *aśvattha* plant for a purpose which is religious cum decorative shows the important place it occupied in the daily life of the Indus people of the very remote past.

Further, there is evidence to believe that the Buddhists of pre-Christian times did identify the aśvattha tree with the cosmic tree of the Vedic tradition. In this connection, it is Important to understand the import of an expression that occurs in the Ṛg Veda[86] relating to the cosmic tree. It speaks of the 'two fair-winged' (*suparṇah*) who 'rest in the *aśvattha* in conjoint amity'. Again, it says: that 'one of those two eats the fig while the other looketh on and does not eat'. To coincide with this Vedic expression we have in a sculpture from Bharhut[87] the 'Bodhi tree of the Sakya muni' (as it is described in Brahmi script in the sculpture itself) depicted with two winged-beings suggesting the *suparṇāh* m the Vedic tradition. We are not sure here whether the Vedic poet, by his term, *suparṇāh* is referring to a kind of birds or to a kind of celestial beings. (It is important to note here that the celestial beings have always been depicted in ancient sculpture as having opened wings fastened on to their back on either side.) Each appears to be, with a raised hand, clinging on to a branch of the tree while, with the other hand, eating something which, in the light of the Vedic expression, is identifiable to be a 'fig'.

It is noticeable that there is a little discrepancy with regard to the '*suparṇāh*' in the two respective traditions. In the Buddhist tradition it is the two men flanking the tree that eat the figs and *not* the *suparṇāhs* as stated in the Vedic tradition. Again, according to the latter, it is *one suparṇāh* that eats the fig while the other looks on. In the former, both men are made to eat the figs. This apparent inconsistency has to be explained either as the Buddhist modification of the Vedic tradition or as the result of the latter itself undergoing a process of change during a long period of time.

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[85] Marshall, Sir John., op. cit., Vol. iii.

[86] I. 164. 20–21., Also, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography,* op. cit. p. 7.

[87] *The Way of the Buddha.,* Govt. of India Publication, 1956., Fig. 21 on p. 19.

In addition to the above quoted evidence from the Vedic tradition, we have also another archaeological proof from a European site. It comes from a place as distant as Bulgaria—a country noted for its innumerable cists containing very valuable treasures. The writer was lucky enough to witness a hoard of such treasures recently unearthed from a tomb in Vrastsa and exhibited in the British Museum during the first two months of 1976. Among the many objects exhibited was a silver and gold greave pertaining to the Thracian hoard which formed a part of the royal treasures assigned to a period corresponding to the 4th century B.C. This particular greave which is believed to have been once worn by a Thracian King displays on its cap the figured two *aśvattha* branches emerging from either extremity of a human face. The hair on this head is arranged in braids—a feature which is limited in Indian sculpture to persons of a very special category such as the Buddha Gotama and the Mahā-veera Jina, and therefore, it is quite probable that the face in question represents a person of an extra-ordinary character, viz. a Thracian deity—a *yakṣa* of the Indian usage—propitiated by the ancient Bulgarians. However what interests us here is the position of *aśvattha* branches engraved on the greave. We have, in our earlier study, seen the significance of the Harappan seal which displays a 'deity' standing in between the flanking branches of an *aśvattha* , and its relation to the Vedic tradition which speaks of a *yakṣa* who is the 'moving spirit'. Here we observe a striking similarity marked by the position of the '*yakṣa*' who, in either case, is flanked by the *aśvattha* branches. Then, what is visible on the Thracian greave may be the continuation of the same Vedic tradition which served as the common stock of the Aryan people (who may have lived in ancient Bulgaria before a group of them migrated to India through the Oxus Valley). It is interesting to note that the *aśvattha* is still regarded as the 'Tree of Life' in Bulgarian folk-lore.

It may be interesting to know why so much importance had been attached to the *aśvattha* by the ancients. According to a modern Indologist,[88] this secret is due to the inherent nature of the *aśvattha* which manifests itself in the process of its growth. Says she: 'In the Gītā (i.e. *Bhagavad Gītā*), the tree is supposed to typify the Universe. This perhaps is because the figs of the tree are eaten by birds and its seeds pass through the alimentary canal of the bird unharmed and take root at most unimaginable places like the roof or the walls of a house or even on another tree. The root, after going into the crevices of the house or even into the bark of another tree becomes visible.' This conjecture may be one

[88] Gupta, M. Sakti., *Plant Myths and Traditions in India.,* p. 51.

possibility as the *aśvattha* can be cited as an example to explain the behaviour of the universe. But that is not all.

In our search for a tangible explanation, we may examine the significance of the term *cala-patra,* i.e. 'the flickering-leafed' (also, *cala-dala*)[89] applied to name the *aśvattha.* This naming appears to have taken place owing to the nature or its leaves which keep on eternally flickering, which is the result of their coming into contact With the slightest breath of wind. However, the *aśvattha* with its multitude of constantly flickering foliage may have commanded, in addition to veneration, the admiration of the ancients as a tree suggestive of dynamism which is the motive force of life.

A careful examination of the cult practices of the people of ancient civilizations would show that they had always considered objects, animate as well as inanimate, possessed of qualities of motion and dynamism, among several others, as suggestive of life force, and as such, to be symbolic of life. Again, such symbols have always been considered to be 'auspicious' (Skt. *Maṅgala*). It is this concept that would have led to the inclusion of the *aśvattha* among the things taken to be 'auspicious'. However, this is a subject, which once studied properly, would prove to be very interesting and revealing although it is out of our context at present.

It is quite probable that Siddhārtha, who was fully conversant with this knowledge of the extra-ordinary importance attached to the *aśvattha* by the ancients as well as by the people of His time, chose the same to be the tree at which He should attain Buddhahood, i.e. 'Enlightenment', and thereafter the *aśvattha* assumed its new name, viz. the 'Bodhi' tree.

The practice of paying respect to the *aśvattha* as the 'Tree of Enlightenment' appears to have led to the practice of identifying the tree itself with the Buddha—the Blessed One. Thereby the Bodhi tree had become a symbol adequately representative of the Buddha as much as any other symbol used for the said purpose. This had served a timely need, particularly after the demise of the Blessed One, when His presence had to be indicated by way of using a symbol. Accordingly, we have a good number of examples of sculpture—mostly from Sanchi—depicting the important events of the Buddha's life, in which His person is substituted by a Bodhi (*aśvattha*) tree.[90]

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[89] Williams Monier, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.,* p. 391, col. 2.

[90] *The Way of the Buddha.,* op. cit., Fig. 19 on p. 88, Fig. 42 on p. 99, & Fig. 44 on p. 100.

However, the practice of employing the Bodhi tree to represent the Blessed One had begun when He was already alive. Its employment in that respect appears to have been endorsed by no less a person than the Buddha Himself who, at the request of Thera Ānanda, approved a sapling of the Bodhi (*aśvattha*) tree at Gaya be brought to Śrāvasti (present Sahet-Mahet) and transplanted by the 'Guild-lord' Anāthapiṇḍika near the gate of the monastery of Jetavana.[91] This had served as a fitting substitute for the Master so that the devotees would have adequate opportunity to make their offerings not only when He is in residence, but also when He is out preaching. The urgency of this need can be assessed when one analyzes the story connected with the planting of the Ānanda Bodhi referred to.

It is said that the adherents of the Blessed One had to leave 'in despair their garlands, incense and other articles of oblation' in front of the *gandha-kuṭi*—the 'fragrant cell' of the Blessed One for want of a recipient. This story also supplies us a very valuable clue to the extent of influence of the then spreading *Bhakti* cult on the contemporary Buddhists who now began to treat the Master as almost a god-head. Nevertheless, what is highly significant here is that the great Teacher could recognize the adequacy of the use of the *aśvattha* as the fitting symbol to represent Him in His absence.

However, leaving the great Bodhi tree at Gaya and its offshoot at Śrāvasti, we do not have on record any other *aśvattha* which is said to have commanded respect from the Buddhists in India in the time of the Blessed One or afterwards. Contrary to this situation that prevailed in the neighbouring sub-Continent, we in Sri Lanka have a very long tradition of Bodhi-worship connected, not only with the Śri Mahā Bodhi in Anuradhapura, but also with the entire line of its offshoots transplanted at various important centres scattered in the country. It is said that there were originally forty such places[92] in the time of King Devānampiya Tissa (247–207 B.C.) during whose reign the Śri Mahā Bodhi—the mother tree—was introduced to the country, and it can be presumed that all these forty places once served as centres of a wide-spread folk religion the clues of which are traceable in the Mahāvaṃsa.

Dealing with the religious endowments of Paṇḍukābhaya (377–307 B.C.) the Mahāvaṃsa supplies an account of the religious institutions in the capital city, patronized by the royal benefactor by way of either

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[91] *Kāliṅga-bodhi Jātaka.,* Ed. J. Fausböll., *Jātaka,* iv. p. 228 & *Sinhala Bodhiwaṅsaya.,* Ed. Gunapala Senadeera, Colombo, 1970, p. 132.

[92] *The Māhavaṃsa,* Ed. Geiger, Wilhelm., Vol. I, Chap. xix. 6o–63.

establishing or completely renovating what was already in existence.[93] An analysis of this account shows that there were, at that time, diverse forms of religious beliefs—formal as well as informal—adhered to by the then inhabitants of Anuradhapura. On the informal side were the cult practices of a primitive type that were widely in prevalence in most of the ancient civilizations of the world. One such cult was the tree-worship for the prevalence of which we have two clues in the account referred to. Though it is true that the *aśvattha* does not come at all into the picture of this scene, we still have definite proof of the popularity of tree-worship among the citizens of whose behalf the king had to provide for its observance. Again, it is the picture of the religious life of those who lived in the pre-Buddhistic Anuradhapura, and it can however, be taken for granted that what is reflected in the account of the Mahāvaṃsa is invariably the religious picture in general of the entire country when Thera Mahinda visited the island on a Buddhist mission.

It will then be important to consider why Thera Mahinda had to advise King Devānampiya Tissa to request Emperor Asoka for a branch of the great Bodhi tree at Gaya for the purpose of transplanting the same in Anuradhapura. His sister Saṅghamittā was to visit the island for the very special mission of introducing the Order of Bhikkhunis and she was asked to bring along with her the branch of the sacred tree referred to. The great pomp and pageantry associated with the ceremonies conducted to mark various stages of this mission would show the extra-ordinary importance attached to the whole affair.[94] It was amidst great rejoicing and festivities that the Bo-sapling was received by the Sri Lankan king at the northern port of Daṃbakola and brought to Anuradhapura to be transplanted there. The great ceremony held in connection with that transplanting of the Bo-sapling was attended by many distinguished men from various parts of the country and some of them were the provincial rulers such as those from Kataragama, Saṅdungama, Tivakkagāma etc.[95] We later read the names of these places as sites chosen for the distribution of the saplings of the Anuradhapura tree. Undoubtedly, each of these places, as we said before, was a centre for tree-worship too with a banyan tree or any other *vanaspati,* i.e. 'Lord of the Forest' which served the respective area.

Newly transplanted Bo-saplings in each of these centres may have attracted towards it all that veneration which was hitherto commanded by

[93] *The Māhavaṃsa* op. cit. Chap. x. 89–103.

[94] *The Māhavaṃsa* op cit. xviii. 35–58.

[95] *The Māhavaṃsa* op. cit. xix. 54–55.

its 'heretical' rival—a banyan tree or any other *vanaspati* of that type, thus giving slowly a new meaning as well as a new purpose to an already existing tree-worship. Since then, the converts into the Buddhist faith worshipped the Bo tree with the holy purpose of respecting the Tree at which their Lord had attained enlightenment. However they could not afford to rid themselves completely of an underlying worldly motive too. This is the case with the Śri Mahā Bodhi at Anuradhapura too.

No great religion would have flourished or become popular by preaching only abstract philosophical tenets to its adherents who are pressed with a variety of worldly problems, and Buddhism, in the course of its long history, never failed to take notice of this fact. This attitude on the part of Buddhism is clear from the fact that it exhibited no hostility to the popular cults. We have many examples that can be cited from the life of the Buddha who, though he never approved the practice of such rituals, did not prohibit them. We have the famous utterances of the Master expressly made in appreciation of the practice of the Licchavis who continued to honour and esteem, revere and support the Vajjian caityas in the city or outside it, and not allow proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude so that they (Licchavis) may not be expected to decline, but to prosper.[96] The Buddhists were not different from them.

Amidst tens of thousands of Buddhist devotees who pay respect to the great Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura in consideration of its sacred aspect, there are still people who perform rituals to it (in a shrine especially constructed for this purpose on a side) with the hope of ensuring health, timely rain, unretarded success in crops, multiplicity of herds and, above all, general prosperity. The women particularly do so with the express purpose of being favoured with children and ensuring easy delivery a desire that Sujata of yore cherished and had fulfilled.

[96] P.T.S. Edition. *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya.*

THE VENERABLE NĀRADA IN VIETNAM

PHAMKIM KHANH

On that beautiful morning of the year 1959 thousands of men, women, and children of the small city of Baria, 100 km from Saigon, Vietnam, were prepared for an unusual celebration. They put on their holiday dress and gathered along the main street to welcome and to pay their respects to a holy person who came from a remote country. The person was Venerable Nārada Maha Thera, and the country, 'Tich Lan' (for Ceylon).

A platform was erected in the center of a crossroads. On it was set an altar decorated with Buddhist flags and flowers of all colors and fragrances. On the altar incense smoke clouded a Buddha image under a large umbrella.

I had never been in any temple but happened to be there with the family of my in-laws. The noble deportment of the foreign monk walking down the street strongly impressed me. As he was drawing near me, the expression of loving kindness which reflected from his face totally captivated me. That night he delivered a sermon in Baria. That same night my father-in-law took the three-fold refuge from him. All the other members of my in-law's family except me—and hundreds of other men and women in the area followed his example. I became a Buddhist one month later, after attending a dozen of his sermons and having my questions answered satisfactorily.

This was typical of his frequent trips. He preached every Saturday night and Sunday morning in Saigon to a large audience but did not confine himself to the capital. When the occasion arose, he went out to bring the Buddha's message of love, peace, and wisdom to those who lived in the provinces. Each time many took refuge from him.

By leading a life of perfect purity and selfless service, by acting as he preached and preaching as he practised, by his deep understanding and simple exposition of the Dhamma, by his abundant, boundless, and non-discriminative loving kindness, many came to him, watched him, listened to him, and followed him. They came to the temple to study the Dhamma with the venerable. They went out of the temple with the venerable to perform social services. They helped the war victims, the orphans, the poor, the blind, the sick, and brought donations to asylums for the aged, hospitals, refugee camps etc.

The venerable began his working day early in the morning and ended up late in the night. His room was opened wide to all, and his visitors were from all walks of life. From the Prime Minister to the blind merchant of the incense stick, from generals to servicemen, millionaires and paupers, the learned and the illiterate, old and young, men and women, all felt happy spending time at his feet in the shadow of his *mettā.* He always had appropriate advice for each and everyone.

Besides sermons, Abhidhamma lessons, and meditation sessions that the venerable conducted for various groups, almost all his books were translated into Vietnamese. After the small booklets like *Parents and Children, Buddhism, Heritage of Viet Nam, Buddhism in a Nutshell, Brahma Vihara, Facts of Life, Meaning of Life,* etc. were published, 4,000 copies of the translation of his 700-page *The Buddha and His Teachings* was printed in 1970 and re-printed in the following year. The English edition of his *Dhammapada* was printed in Saigon in 1963, its translation in 1971. The translation of *A Manual of Abhidhamma,* Volume I was printed in 1973. In 1975, when I left the country, Volume II was ready to go to press. These publications which were written in simple and clear language, largely contributed to a good understanding of the Buddha's teaching. They were in great demand in Vietnam and are still valuable moral supports to the Buddhist Vietnamese who are in exile. Reprints have been made in France as well as in America.

Venerable Nārada first visited Vietnam many years ago. One day, I visited an old traditional temple in Cholon which was classified as a historical monument. While admiring a large, beautiful bodhi tree in the middle of the front yard, I saw a plaque. The inscription revealed that this sacred tree, symbol of Enlightenment, was brought in and planted by Venerable Nārada in the 1930's. From that time many other bodhi trees were planted by him all over Vietnam: Chau Doc, Can Tho, Vinh Long, in the western Delta, Bien Hoa, Phuoc Tuy, Vung Tau, in the East, Da Lat, Hue in the Centre, Vinh, Hanoi in the North, to cite the most important. In a glass case of Linh Son temple, Saigon, an old, yellowish photograph showed a young bhikkhu with his radiant eyes and a bodhi sapling bearing three young leaves. Now, the tree grows in front of the vihāra, casting its huge shadow onto the lawn. The young bhikkhu is going into his 80's.

For the Vietnamese Buddhists he is not a visiting bhikkhu. He is their spiritual father, the father who devoted most of his time and energy to their spiritual welfare, the father who brought unity among the children for the good of many. In 1963, under his patronage, a working board was constituted that re-united all the twelve different Buddhist groups of the

country. As a result, many tens of thousands of men and women who represented all the Buddhist sects of Viet Nam came together and shared rooms on a hill to celebrate the inauguration of the historical Sakya Muni Cetiya of Vung Tau. Another cetiya was inaugurated under his patronage in 1974 in Vinh Long, the gate to the nine western provinces of the Delta. Both places became important centres of pilgrimage for all.

Venerable Nārada also offered to Vietnam one of the first Buddha relics it has ever received. The best known of them has been enshrined in the famous Xa Loi pagoda, Saigon, the name of which means Relic. (Xa Loi).

"Serve to be perfect; be perfect to serve" are the Venerable's own words. Can any pen describe the services he has rendered to the Vietnamese Buddhists during his eighteen visits? Can any ink depict the deep admiration we feel for his perfection? Can anyone express fully our profound gratitude to him?

May he soon become a Buddha.

THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDONESIA

DRS. SASANASURYA

The early history of Buddhism and Hinduism in Indonesia can be found in the form of *prasastis* (inscriptions) dated since the year 400 A.C. (Kutai Kingdom in East Kalimantan). About the same time there was also a Hindu Kingdom in West Java, including present Jakarta and Bogor where stone inscriptions are found.

Chinese records originating from the Buddhist traveller, Fa Hien, mention that in 414 A.C. there was a minority of Buddhist followers and a majority of Hindu followers in Java. Another Chinese record from I-tsing, who stayed for several years in Sumatra (Sri Vijaya) and translated Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese with the assistance of Chinese and Indonesian Buddhists, gives a more detailed description of the situation in Sumatra, which was at that time an important Buddhist centre. Indonesian and Chinese monks who wanted to go to India (Nalanda and other Buddhist Universities) to study Buddhism, had spent several months or years at Sri Vijaya. The form of Buddhism known at that time was the Hinayana (Theravāda).

A kingdom was known to exist in Central Java at the beginning of the 6th century. Inscriptions of the 7th and 8th century reveal that there were successions of kings in Central and East Java. From the inscriptions it is known that Hinduism and Buddhism prevailed simultaneously in the community.

In Central Java the *Sailandra dynasty* ruled nearly 100 years (750–850 A.C.). During the reign of King Samaratunga (825 A.C.), the Mahāyāna temple Borobudur was built, followed by other smaller ones as the temples Pawon, Mendut, Sewu etc. The temple Kalasan, supposed to be the oldest Buddhist Temple in Java, was founded in 778. A.C. The temple was erected by the Hindu ruler, at the request of the Buddhist monks. It was dedicated to goddess Tārā. Opposite the temple Kalasan is the Candi Sari, a three storied Vihāra building for the bhikkhus.

The most impressive temple is the Borobudur in which relief pictures on the 4 galleries depict the Rupa Planes. The other pictures are those presenting the history of the Buddha Gautama from the proclamation in the Tusita Heaven of the Bodhisatva to take rebirth in the human world up to his ultimate Enlightenment. The three higher galleries contain stupas in

the terraces, but have no relief pictures as they present the three Arupa planes. According to some archaeologists, there should originally have been a pinnacle at the top of the Borobudur. The flourishing Buddhist community around the Borobudur, according to a geologist, should have undergone the same fate as Pompeii, when in 1019, by the eruption of *Mt. Merapi,* the whole area was covered by volcanic ash. Mention of this temple was made by Lieutenant Gen. John Raffles when he ruled Java in the name of the English Government and wrote in 1816, his book "*The History of Java*". The Borobudur was referred to by him as "*The Hill with the Thousand Buddhas*". It was a Dutch Engineer in the Dutch Army, a certain van Erp, who in 1920 restored the Borobudur which thereafter withstood the ravages of time and weather up to 1960. In 1960 cracks were seen in some parts of the temple, but only in 1972 was a decision made by the Indonesian Government to preserve the national monument. Since then the UNESCO has taken interest in the restoration of the Borobudur, which is now progressing rapidly.

The daughter of King Samaratunga, under whose reign the Borobudur was built, married a Hindu Saivite King, Rakai Pikatan of the Hindu Kingdom of Mataram (not the Islamic kingdom in the 17th century). The son of King Samaratunga, the Buddhist prince, Balaputra, was engaged in a war with his sister and brother-in-law, but lost the battle in 1856 and fled to Sumatra (Sri Vijaya) where he became King of Sri Vijaya.

The battle was commemorated with the foundation of the Saivite temple Prambanan near Yogyakarta, where the annual performance of the Ramayana is held during the full moon in the months of June, July, August and September. Opposite the Prambanan temple at the top of a hill lie the ruins of the fortress or palace of Rakai Pikatan, also known as the Palace of Ratu Boko.

The Sailendra kings built not only Buddhist temples but also Hindu temples in the North of Central Java, known as the Dieng plateau. This place is known as a place of pilgrimage with solitary temples of the Pandawas, Arjuna, Bima etc.

Another culmination period of Buddhism (Mahāyāna) was found in the 10th to 16th centuries in East Java.

During the reign of Empu Sendok, the founder of the Isana dynasty in East Java (his full name is Rakryan Sri Mahamantri Empu Sendok Sang Sri Isanatunggadewa), from 929–947, a Buddhist Book "*Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*" was published. It contains prescriptions for those who

want to follow the Path of Tantrayāna (Tantric Buddhism). It is written in the old Javanese language.

Another King in East Java was King Dharmawansa (his full name is Sri Dharmawansa Teguh Anantawikramatungadewa) who extended his kingdom to Sumatra and the Southern part of Malaya. During his reign the Indian Epic Mahabarata was translated into the old Javanese language.

Another historical event worth mentioning was the division of the Kingdom of Airlangga into Singhasari (or Janggala) and Kaoiri (or Panjalu) in 1014.

Jayabaya, the king of Kadiri (1135–1157) was known for his prediction of the future of Java up to the World War II, which remarkably came true (Japanese invasion). During his reign the *Bharatayuddha* (the battle between the Pandawas and Korawas) was translated.

The third culmination of Buddhism was found during the Majapahit period, especially during the reign of *Hayam Wuruk* or also known as Rajasanagara (1350 – 1389). The territory of his kingdom was about the same as the present modern Indonesian territory plus Tumasik (Singapore) and Malaya. During his reign several temples were built. A complex Hindu temple, *Candi Panataran* in the South and East Java, is nearly as large as the Prambanan temple in Central Java of the 10th century.

The last king of Majapahit, Kertambumi, was defeated by King Daha or Bhatara Prabu Girindawardhana in 1478.

Meanwhile a prince of Sri Vijaya, Raden Patah, became a Muslim and married a grand-daughter of one of the prominent figures in the Muslim world, Sunan Ngampel. Raden Patah revolted against Majapahit and became the first king of the Islamic Kingdom of Demak, in the North of Central Java.

When Majapahit fell, one of the courtiers predicted that 500 years after the fall of the Kingdom of Majapahit, there would be a revival of Buddhism.

With the extension of Islam throughout Java and also in the Northern part of Sumatra and Sulawesi, the Hindu and Buddhist religions remain only in some remote places such as the Mt. Bromo in East Java and the Badui tribe in West Java, where they maintain their traditional religion and social organisation.

Outside Java in N.E. Sumatra, in the Padang Lawas area are found ruins of solitary vihāras of the 14th and 15th centuries. But a thorough investigation would uncover the history of Buddhism in that area."

A first sign of revival of Buddhism in Java began with the first visit of Venerable Nārada in 1934, when he was welcomed by the President of the Indonesian Branch of the Theosophical Society, Tr. Mangelaar Meertens with some of his members, including Upasaka Mangunkawatja, the eldest upasaka in Indonesia who later died in 1975. On that occasion Ven. Nārada planted a Bodhi sapling at the Borobudur which now has been removed in connection with the restoration of the Borobudur because the officials are afraid that the horizontal roots of the tree will damage the building. Instead they have planted ten saplings of the tree around Borobudur.

Before the 1939–1945, war, a Chinese journalist Kwee Tek Hoay published many Buddhist books which he translated into the Indonesian language. His daughter, Mrs. Tjoa Hin Hoey or Visakha is now one of the active members of the Buddhist community in Indonesia.

Among the Chinese community in Indonesia there are temples of a mixture of Buddhist and Taoist religions and these two religions are still maintained and co-exist in the Chinese temples. Some sculptors were formerly ordered from China to make Buddha statues, the eighteen Arahats and other Taoistic deities. Also the statue of Bodhidharma, the founder of Zen Buddhism is found here. Even in remote places where there are sufficient numbers of Chinese people temples are to be found to comply with the religious needs of the population. There are also some members of the Chinese population who have become Muslims.

There is only one Confucian temple in Surabaya in East Java, though in daily life, according to Chinese customs and traditions, Confucian ethics and ceremonies still prevail. A more solid religious organisation was established in 1952 with the founding of the Federation of Tridharma headed by the Rev. Mahathera Stavira Asin Jinarakkhita who was ordained, a bhikkhu in 1953 in Burma. The Tridharma Federation soon spread throughout Indonesia from the North of Sumatra, covering South and North Sulawesi, South Sumatra, East and West Kalmantan and nearly the whole of Java.

In 1954, a gentleman in Semarang, now the Rev. Dhammiko granted the use of a two acre land with a pavilion and an abandoned pineapple estate to the Buddhist community to establish a Buddhist centre.

In 1958, the Ven. Nārada made a short visit to Indonesia and planted a Bodhi tree at the Watugong vihāra in Semarang. In the year 1959 The Buddha Jayanti Vesak Celebration was held at the historic Borobudur stupa in Yogyakarta in an unprecedented manner. This was the first

occasion after the Sri Vijaya dynasty in Indonesia that Buddhist monks from several countries assembled in Jakarta for ecclesiastical performances.

Three candidates were given ordination: Rev. Jinaputta (Chinese), Rev. Jinananda (Indonesian) and Rev. Jinapiya (Balinese). On this occasion a Sima (a Chapter House for the purpose of performing Vinaya Kamma by the monks) was established at Watugong Vihāra, Semarang.

The Burmese delegation was led by the Ven. Mahasi Sayadaw, the well-known meditation master; the Sangharaja of Cambodia, the late Ven. Jotaññana led the Cambodian delegation. The Ven. Nārada Mahathera was the head of the Sri Lanka delegation. Several monks from Thailand also participated. The Ven. Piyadassi Mahathera of Vajiraramaya, Sri Lanka, acted as the Hony. Secretary to all the delegations.

In 1954 besides the Tridharma Federation, a pure Buddhist Association was established. Later came the Maha Sangha Organisation headed by Rev. Asin Jinarakkhita, and the Sangha Indonesia organized by the Rev. Girirakkhita. A third sangha was founded in 1976, calling themselves the Theravada Sangha. A number of Buddhist Societies also came into being.

The Thai Mission headed by the Rev. Vijnano (Phra Vidhurdhammabhorn) or popularly called Bhante Win has been successful everywhere, partly because of his fine personality. His mission has now one Vihāra in East Java (near Malang), one beside the Mendut, and a caitya in Jakarta. His activities included the spread of the Dhamma in Indonesia. Regularly courses were held for candidate samaneras or bhikkhus. Thirty to forty persons attended these courses.

In order to prevent a further break-up of the Buddhist societies, the Minister of Religious Affairs has intervened in July 1978. There is now a Federation of all Buddhist societies, headed by the Secretary-General.

It is to be hoped that with the new organisation, Buddhism will flourish without let or hindrance.

Special mention must be made of the work of the Ven. Nārada Mahathera, in connection with the development of Buddhism in Indonesia. In a land where Buddhism was nearly forgotten for 500 years, a person is needed who knows the Dhamma, lives an exemplary Buddhist life and is well versed in the Pali Texts. Young Bhikkhus need time and experience to be able to give counsel to aspiring Buddhists, for their questions and inquiries are sometimes beyond their experience and knowledge. We are very fortunate to have the Ven. Nārada Mahathera who always spares time and pains to expound the Dhamma. Notwithstanding his old age he still

conducted Abhidhamma courses in Jakarta in 1976 and 1977. His sermon before the University students in Jakarta was attended by more than 500 students, while in Surabaya more than 800 persons thronged to hear his lecture on the Dhamma.

His visits since 1934 always provide a stimulus to study the Dhamma more intensely, to practise the Buddhist life more seriously and to strive for a nobler life than ever before. His visits in 1934 followed by those in the years 1958, 1959, 1970, 1973, 1976 and 1977 remain as a living memory in the hearts of the Buddhists of Indonesia.

Already we make preparations for his coming visit at the middle of this year.

THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM THROUGHOUT THE AGES

BY OLCOTT GUNASEKERA

Director, Buddhist Information Centre,

Chairman, Co-operative Management Services Centre

Even after 2523 years the message of the Buddha, the All Enlightened One, is as fresh and as incontrovertible, as on the day he set in motion the Wheel of Dhamma (*Dhamma cakka*) in Migadāya, at Isipatana, to five ascetic monks. The scope of this paper is to give the highlights of the gradual spread of this noble teaching, done with missionary ardour by those who accepted the teaching, being beckoned by the clarion call:

> 'Released am I, monks, from all ties, whether human or devine. You too are delivered from fetters whether human or divine. Go now and wander for the welfare and happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the gain, welfare and happiness of gods and men. Let not two of you proceed in the same direction. Proclaim the *Dhamma* (doctrine) that is excellent in the beginning, excellent in the middle, excellent in the end, possessed of meaning and the letter and utterly perfect. Proclaim the life of purity, the holy life consummate and pure. There are beings with little dust in their eyes, who will be lost through not hearing the *Dhamma.* There will be beings who will understand the *Dhamma.* I too shall go to Uruwela, to Senānigama to teach the *Dhamma.*' (*Vinaya, Mahavagga*).

This missionary zeal is seen throughout the long period of Buddhist history, when monks and nuns travelled far and wide with no intentions of returning to their fatherlands, with the absolute desire of making known the noble Dhamma. Wherever Buddhism spread there was a greater enrichment of life and it brought about a subtle revolution in the hearts of men.

> 'Now this I say, Nigrodha, not desiring to win pupils, not wishing to make others fall from their religious vows, not wishing to establish you in wrong ways or to make you give up ways that are good. Not so. But Nigrodha there are bad things not put away, things that have to do with corruption. It is for the rejection of these things that I teach you the Dhamma, walking according to which, things concerned with

corruption shall be put away and wholesome things shall be brought to increase.' (*Udumbarika Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya*)

The teaching of the Buddha is like a great oasis, without boundaries and anyone, be he rich or poor, be he far or near, be he black, brown, yellow or white could freely dip in the water it provides and quench his thirst and revitalize himself. It is a noble living, where both the decision maker and the decision taker is one's self, and only the Path has been shown by the Buddha. The spirit of a path finder is seen throughout its long history and hence wherever Buddhism spread it has ennobled the lives of men.. From five ascetics it has now become the faith of about a fifth of the world's population. It is this history that is reconstructed as a tribute to another great Buddhist missionary (*dhammadūta*) of the present century.

The First Forty-five Years

According to the most popular tradition, the *Parinibbāna* (demise) of the Buddha occurred 2523 years ago (544 B.C.) at Kusinagar, the land of the Mallas when Buddha was eighty years old. He gained enlightenment when he was 35 years of age at Buddha Gaya, (modern Bodhi Gaya) in the State of Bihar. He explained the Dhamma for the first time at Sarnath near Benares to five ascetics who were attending on him for nearly 6 years when he was practicing the severest austerities in a vain bid to understand the true nature of the world and thereby gain enlightenment. From the age of thirty-five till he was eighty, he and his followers walked the highways and by-ways of ancient Madhya-deśa ennobling the hearts of men. His daily programme was one of compassion to the whole world. He slept only a minimum. The rest he used for human weal. Many came in search of him. But he himself went with the monks in search of those who could be helped. It was not always an easy journey. At times he encountered many difficulties. The Buddhist texts refer to a rainy season when the Buddha received only horse food as alms. He slept under trees, in cemeteries, in groves and gardens as a true missionary. At the time of his *parinibbāna* his mission was complete as the *sāsana* (dispensation) of *bhikkhus, bhikkhunīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* (monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen) was firmly established in Madhya-deśa.

The Manorathapūrani, the commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya enumerates the names of all the places where the Buddha spent the rainy seasons and these could be taken as centres of activity during the first forty-five years. They are:—

Rainy Seasons	Places
First	Isipatana
Second to fourth	Rajagaha or Rajagṛha
Fifth	Vesāli or Vaisāli
Sixth	Mankula-parvata
Seventh	Tāvatiṃsa Heaven
Eighth	Bhesakalāvana near Sumsumāragiri
Ninth	Kausambi
Tenth	Pārileyyaka
Eleventh	Nālā
Twelfth	Verañjā
Thirteenth	Cāliya-parvata
Fourteenth	Jetavana in Srāvasti
Fifteenth	Kapilavastu
Sixteenth	Āḷavi
Seventeenth	Rajagṛha
Eighteenth to nineteenth	Cāliya-parvata
Twentieth	Rajagṛha
Twenty-first to forty-sixth	Jetavana or Pubbarāma in Srāvasti.

Other important places are Kesaputta of the Kālāmas, Rāmagāma of the Koliyas, Kusinārā and Pāvā of the Mallas, Allakappa of the Bulis, Mithila of the Videhas, Kāsi, Kosambi, Sankassa, Sāketa and the kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha.

These references indicate the geographical area within which many of the Buddhist activities were concentrated. Definitely there could have been Buddhists outside these areas, especially In the main towns along the trade routes. Ujjeni in Avanti may have to be especially mentioned. As many of the converts to Buddhism were from commercial families, the initial spread of Buddhism to distant places was by trading persons. The first two laymen, Tapussa and Bhallika were such trading brothers and reference has been made to them in an inscription found in Tiriyay on the east coast of Sri Lanka, north of Trincomalee, where it is supposed, that a portion of the lock of hair received by them from the Buddha was enshrined. There is similarly a very strong tradition in Burma according to which these relics are enshrined in the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda. It could be inferred that there would have been small Buddhist communities outside the Madhya Deśa (Uttar Pradesh in Bihar) even during the time of the Buddha.

01 – 100 years after Parinibbāna of the Buddha (544 – 444 CE)

One of the most important events is the holding of the First Council under the chairmanship of Arhant Kassapa Maha Thera at Rajagaha in the second month of the rainy season immediately after the Buddha's demise. It consolidated the *dhamma* (teachings) and the *vinaya* (rules of discipline) as the 500 Arhants assembled confirmed the *dhamma* and the *vinaya* as redacted by Ven. Ananda and Ven. Upali.

101 – 200 years after Parinibbāna (443 – 344 CE)

One hundred years after the *Parinibbāna,* in the time of King Kālāsoka, the Second Council was held with 700 Arhants at Vaisāli. The immediate cause was the observation made by Arhant Yasa regarding 10 practices of the Vajjian monks which were declared by him as unorthodox. In the *Culla Vagga* which gives a description of this Council a distinction has been made of the monks of the East and West (*pubbāparanta*). A committee was appointed with four Arhants representing these two broad divisions and the residences of the eight monks indicate a further spread of Buddhism to the West. The eight Arhants with their residences according to the different sources are given below:

Name	*Residences as mentioned*		
	(1) *in Cullavagga*	(2) *in Dulva*	(3) *By Hieung Tsang*
1. Sabbakāmi	Vaisāli		
2. Khujja-Sobhita	(of the east)	Vaisāli	
3. Vāsabha-Gāmika	(of the east)	Pāṭaliputra	Pāṭaliputra
4. Sālha	(of the east)	Sankaśya	
5. Revata	Soreyya	Sonaka	Han-no or (Sa-han-no)
6. Sambhūta Sanavāsi	Ahogangā Hill	Mahismadi	Mathura
7. Yasa	——	Sonaka	Kosala
8. Sumana	(of the west)		

The decision of the elders was not accepted and the first schism occurred with the secession of the Mahāsaṅghikas. During the course of the century the Sthaviravadins (Theravādins) further broke into 11 sub-sects while the Mahāsaṅghikas into 7 sub-sects. These were the 18 sub-sects that grew during the century and referred to in the Third Council.

201 – 300 years after Parinibbāna (343 – 244 B.C.)

This was one of the most momentous periods in the spread of Buddhism. An important political development was the conquest of the Sindh region by Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. It was the forerunner to the establishment of the Bactrian Greek kingdom which linked Greece to Northern India. It stimulated trade and intensified cultural interchange in the centuries following. Alexander's expedition also may have united the rest of North India as seen during the period of Chandragupta Maurya. King Asoka (264 – 227 B.C.) built a mighty empire which for the first time united the whole of the Indian sub-continent as far South as the Chola country. These political developments, along with the acceptance of Buddhism by Emperor Asoka were extremely eventful for Buddhism.

The Third Council was held at Pāṭaliputta, under the chairmanship of Ven. Moggali-putta Tissa Maha Thera at the request of Emperor Asoka, after which according to the Mahavaṃsa (the Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka) missionaries were sent to several countries with results as shown in table on the next page.

Rock edicts and Pillar inscriptions of Asoka corroborate with the Mahavaṃsa regarding the countries with which Emperor Asoka had cultural contacts. The location of the edicts also is evidence of the extent of the Empire. According to Girnar Rock Edict II and III in the South, his missions had gone to the kingdoms of the Colas, Pandyas, Satiyaputa, Ketalaputa as far as Tambapanni (Sri Lanka) and in the West to the kingdoms of Antiyoka (Antiochus II Theos of Syria, 261 – 246 B.C.), Thulamaya (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285 – 247 B.C.), Antekina (Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia, 271 – 239 B.C.), Kaka (Magas of Cyrene, 300 – 250 B.C.) and Alikyasūdala (Alexander of Corinth, 252 – 244 B.C. or Alexander of Epirus, 272 – 255 B.C.). During Asokan times Yona country comprised the realms of Antiochus II of Syria and Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia.

The Thera who was sent as a missionary to Aparantaka was called Yonaka Dhammarakkhita. As a special mission was sent to the Yonaka country during this time, it could be surmised that Dhammarakkhita was a person of the Yonaka country who had come to India, and had become an Arhant on realizing the Dhamma. This could be taken as evidence to show that even before Asoka, Buddhist teachings may have been taken by bhikkhus and Buddhist traders, though not in an organized manner. However, during Asoka's time, one could surmise that Buddhism was firmly established in the countries mentioned.

Country	*Leader of mission*	*Approx. number accepting Buddhism**	*Approx** number ordained*
1. Kasmira-Gandhara	Thera Majjhanatika	80000	100000
2. Mahisa-mandala Mysore-Vindhya region	Thera Mahādeva	40000	40000
3. Vanavāsa (in S. India, North Kanara)	Thera Rakkhita	60000	37000
4. Aparantaka (Gujarat, Kathia-war Kachch, Sindh)	Thera Dhamma-rakkhita	37000	1000
5. Mahāraṭṭha (Maharashtra)	Thera Maha-dhammarakkhita	84000	13000
6. Yona (Yavana)	Thera Mahārakkhita	107000	10000
7. Himavanta (Himalaya region)	Thera Majjhima and 4 others	80 crores	500000 (100000 each of 5 kingdoms)
8. Suvaṇṇabhūmi	Theras Sona and Uttara	60000	3500 sons & 1500 daughters
9. Lanka (Ceylon)	Thera Mahinda and 4 others	not recorded	

(Source: Mahāvaṃsa : chapter XII)

* *gaining insight into the Truths of Buddhism*

** *receiving Pabbajjā ordination- Dhammabhi-samayo*

The only unidentifiable name is Suvaṇṇabhūmi. There is no corroborative evidence from the inscriptions. Suvaṇṇabhūmi was earlier taken as Lower Burma (Rāmaññadesa). Fleet takes it as Bengal. Some take it as the whole of present day Burma, Thailand and Cambodia. Although there are differences of opinion regarding its identity, there is no dispute that Suvaṇṇabhūmi is to the East of Asoka's Empire. Though of a late period, the Burmese chronicles Chāmadevi Sāsanavaṃsa and Jinakālamālini written in the 15th and 16th centuries, give an interesting account of the mission of the Theras, Sona and Uttara and the spread of Buddhism in Burma from the time of Asoka. According to the Kalyāni inscription of 1476 CE the capital of Rāmaññadasa, was Golamattinagara or Golanagara. Gola has been explained as a derivation of the word 'Gauda', a term used to refer to all foreigners coming from the West due perhaps to the very close links with the Gauda country or Bengal. In this connection the important sea-port of Tāmralipti plays a dominant role. Many Buddhist missions taking the sea route left from Tāmralipti.

The centre of Buddhist activity was Pāṭaliputta, the capital of Asoka. A most important outpost was Sānchi, 549 miles from Bombay, which has extensive Buddhist remains belonging to the 3rd century B.C. Sānchi is of special significance to Buddhists as Cunningham in his excavations found a casket of relics which according to the engravings belonged to the two chief disciples of the Buddha. The historicity of Moggaliputta Tissa Maha Thera was also established by a similar relic casket with engravings. Ven. Mahinda, who led the mission to Sri Lanka sojourned here and the bringing of the right branch of the Bodhi Tree to Sri Lanka is seen in a carving in bas-relief.

All these are further evidence of the spread of Buddhism during this time.

301 – 400 years after Parinibbāna (243 – 144 B.C.)

There was no able successor to Emperor Asoka and after him the vast Mauryan Empire seems to have crumbled. The Central Gangetic plain was held by the Sungas (185 – 72 B.C.) whilst the Taxila Viceroyalty became separated from the Mauryan Empire and subsequently came under the Bactrian Greeks. Around 200 B.C. the Bactrian Empire extended beyond Punjab and Sindh (Gandhāra) to Kathiawar area. This is a very significant development as, for the first time, the Indus and the Oxus valleys were brought under a single political power. This led to a rich inter-mixture of Indian, Persian,

Hellenic and Chinese cultures, and more significant it provided the necessary climate for Buddhist monks to carry the message of the Buddha beyond India to Central Asia.

In 211 B.C. the first Buddhist monastery was built in Khotan. According to Khotanese tradition, the kingdom of Khotan in Central Asia was founded by a son of Asoka, called Kustana, 234 years after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha (240 B.C.) and Buddhism was introduced during the time of his grandson Vijayasambhava. Till the time of the Muslim invaders in l0th century CE, Khotan remained a Buddhist kingdom. Its contribution to the spread of Buddhism to the other Asian countries is inestimable.

In India itself Buddhism flourished, though there was a persecutor in Pusyamitra Sunga. Famous Buddhist monuments like the Bharhut Stupa, the Karle caves and the Sānchi stupa testify to the popular support and the great prosperity enjoyed by Buddhism during this century. These monuments also show that Buddhism was changing in character due to outside influences.

401 – 500 years after Parinibbāna (143 – 44 B.C.)

The archaeological excavations of Sir Aurel Stein testify that from the time of Emperor Asoka, Taxila grew as a famous seat of Buddhist learning. The fame of Taxila went far beyond this period, as references were made even in the Buddha's time. Later accounts of Taxila are seen in the Greek records which refer to the conquests of Alexander the Great. Due to the lack of historical data one could only surmise the vast influence this centre of learning would have had during the period.

The nomadic hordes, especially the Huns and Yueh-chīs pressed on the Sakas, who in turn forced the Bactrian Greeks, after circa 165 B.C., South of the Hindu Kush. Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot) east of River Jhelum became one of the capitals. The most famous Greek ruler was King Menander, known to the Buddhist world because of the Milinda-pañha, the 'Questions of Milinda', which records the exposition of Ven. Nāgasena on the teachings of the Buddha in clearing certain doubts and misgivings King Menander had, especially on the subject of *anātma* (Soullessness or egolessness). According to the Milinda-pañha, King Menander lived approximately 500 years after the demise of the Buddha *(parinibbānato pañcavassasata atikkante)*. This Buddhist treatise, which is unique in post canonical literature, is testimony not only of the erudition of Ven. Nāgasena, but

also of the vast knowledge king Menander, a Greek, had of Buddhism. This is also proof that the teachings of the Buddha were very well known among the Greeks by this time.

King Menander was a great champion of Buddhism and according to the Sialkot Inscription he helped in the propagation of Buddhism in the region between Hindu Kush and Sindh. Taxila would have been in its highest glory and would have attracted scholars from Greece and Persia. It is admitted by scholars today that both the intellectualism and the humanizing influence of Buddhism has had a direct impact on the birth of modern Christianity.

During the same time a great historical event occurred in Sri Lanka. It was in connection with the foundation laying ceremony of the Great Thupa in Anuradhapura during the time of King Duṭugemunu of Sri Lanka (10l – 77 B.C.) According to the Mahavaṃsa, many monks from foreign countries participated in this ceremony. The account itself is useful to determine the more famous Buddhist centres of the time.

	Place/Monastery	*Leader of mission*	*Number of monks who came*
1.	Rajagaha region	Indagutta	80,000
2.	Isipatana (near Benares)	Dhammasena	12,000
3.	Jetavana (near Savatthi)	Piyadassi	60,000
4.	Mahāvana monastery, Vesali	Urubuddharakkhita	18,000
5.	Gositārama, Kosambi	Urudhammarakkhita	30,000
6.	Dakkhinagiri, Ujjeni	Urusangharakkhita	40,000
7.	Asokārāma, Pāṭaliputta	Mittiṇṇa	160,000
8.	Kasmira Country	Uttiṇṇa	280,000
9.	Pallavabhogga (Persian country)	Mahādeva	460,000
10.	Alasanda (Alexandria) the city of Yonas	Yona Mahadhamma-rakkhita	30,000
11.	Vinjha forest monasteries (Vindhayas)	Uttara	60,000
12.	Bodhi-Maṇḍa-vihara (Bodhi-gāya)	Ciittagutta	80,000
13.	Vanavāsa country (Banavasa, North Kanara)	Candagutta	80,000
		Total	1,340,000

(Source: Mahāmaṃsa—ch. XXIX vv 29 – 45.)

Some may disagree regarding the number of monks, but it is clear from the account that the concentration was in Pāṭaliputta, Kasmira and Pallavabhogga regions. A comparison of this account with the places where Buddhist missions went during the time of Emperor Asoka shows that Suvaṇṇabhūmi is not mentioned. Perhaps that mission was not very successful. The account clearly shows that there is a shift to the West of India, the largest numbers being from Kasmira and Pallavabhogga.

Pallava, (Sanskrit Pahlava) is philologically equivalent to Parthians and Pallavabhogga is taken as the Persian country. This is a possible interpretation as in the list it appears between Kasmira country and Alasanda, city of the Yonas, and geographically Persia is between Kashmir and the land of the Greeks. Pallavabhogga is not mentioned among the countries where Buddhist missions were sent during the time of Emperor Asoka. Hence, Buddhism was, most likely, established in this region after Asoka, during the hey-day of the Bactrian Greek Empire. Being brought to the faith most recently, the number of monks that came to participate in the ceremony in Anuradhapura was the largest. Perhaps the whole of the great Parthian empire was Buddhist by this time. Never in the history of Sri Lanka did such a large gathering of foreign monks assemble in this country.

This century may be acclaimed the golden era of Theravada Buddhism. Milinda-pañha composed during this time, is considered by scholars not only as a comprehensive exposition of Buddhist metaphysics and the Buddhist ethical system but also as a literary achievement of great eminence written in the Pāli language.

501 – 600 years after Parinibbāna (45 B.C. – 56 CE)

The Bactrian Greeks were not able to withstand the pressure brought from the North by the Sakas and from the West by the Pahlavas (Parthians). By about 75 B.C. the Gandhāra region was conquered by the first Saka-Pahlava king and 20 years later Sialkot too was conquered. The Saka-Pahlavas ruled this region till 50 CE.

Although there was a change in the political scene, Buddhism was yet the principal religion south of the Hindu Kush. The Yueh-chīs who displaced the Sakas too came under the influence of Buddhism and this helped the entry of Buddhism to Central Asia.

There is positive evidence that small Indian colonies had been founded in Southern Central Asia from Khotan to Labnor region before the Christian era. They were the first to carry Buddhism to this

region using the ancient silk routes. According to Chinese records Buddhism also entered China in 2 B.C. when Yi-chen, an envoy of the king of the Yueh-chīs arrived in Changan (modem Sian—34.15° N, 12.30° E), the then capital of China and taught Buddhist Scriptures orally to Ching-La, a scholar of the Imperial Academy.

In Sri Lanka, the fourth council according to Theravāda tradition was held in Aloka-vihāra, near Matale during the reign of King Vaṭṭha Gāmini Abhaya (29 – 17 B.C.). Afterwards 500 monks: presided by Rakkhita Mahathera committed the entire Buddhist canon *Ti-piṭaka*) and the commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*) *to* writing. This timely action of the Sinhala king helped in preserving the original Buddhist canon to this day, and made Sri Lanka the home of pristine Buddhism.

The famous *caitya* halls at Nasik, Karle, Junnar in the Mahārāshtra state of India date from this period. Between the 2nd century and 3rd century CE were constructed the stupas at Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh and at Bhattiprolu, Jegayyapata and Ghanti sāla in Krishna district. Jayasinghe Perumal King of Kera (Chola) was also said to be a Buddhist.

According to known records, Buddhism was undoubtedly the foremost faith of many of the rulers, and the patronage they extended was extremely helpful in the spread of Buddhism during this century.

601 – 700 years after Parinibbāna (57 – 156 CE)

This was another momentous period for Buddhism. The scene of activity had shifted to the North Frontier area of India and beyond. The most notable of rulers was the Kushan ruler Kanishka, who ruled over a wide tract of land including Kabul, Gandhāra, Sindh, N.W. India, Kashmir and part of Madhya Pradesh from 78 CE. Similar to the Kalinga war of Emperor Asoka, according to tradition it was remorse at the bloodshed during his conquests of the Central Asian kingdoms of Kashgar, Yarkhand, and Khotan that brought him closer to Buddhism. King Kanishka was a great patron of Buddhism and the second wave of Buddhist missionaries which resulted in the peaceful spread of Buddhism to Central Asia, China, Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Tibet, and Russian Siberia commenced during his time.

According to Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim scholar, a Buddhist Council was held during King Kanishka's time presided over by Ven. Vasumitra and assisted by Ven. Aśvaghoṣa. The venue was either Jelandhar or Kashmir in Kundalavana vihara. This council is not

referred to in the Mahāvaṃsa or any of the Pāli literature and was attended chiefly by the monks of the Sarvastivāda school. The most notable activity was the compiling of the commentaries on the Piṭakas in Sanskrit namely the Upadeśa Vaibhāśa, Vinaya Vaibhāśa, and Abhidhamma Vaibhāśa. Although Yuan Chwang makes no reference to the language used in the Council, most probably it was Sanskrit. This may have increased the cleavage between the Northern and Southern schools, for Sanskrit thereafter became the *lingua franca* of the Northern schools which were mainly Mahāyāna as against Pāli which remained the language of the Theravāda tradition preserved in Sri Lanka.

The Fourth Council in fact gave the seal of authority to the later developments. Although the Sarvastivāda Ti-piṭaka, portions of which were found in the excavations of Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia, was not very different to the Pāli original, language became a barrier to communication. This brought about a new orientation to the spread of Buddhism, especially outside India. A deep understanding of Sanskrit was considered essential for a thorough grasp of the Buddha's teaching.

The persons who spread Buddhism were great scholars in their own right and the spread of Buddhism was initially confined to the translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit to the national languages. One could even say that the spread of Buddhism in China was inseparable from the task of translating Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. The first of the great scholar monks was Aśvaghoṣa to whose credit are classics like Buddhacarita. His other works are Saundhrānanda and Sāriputra Prakarana. He was a literary genius who lived during this time.

One of the important outposts of Buddhism in Central Asia was the kingdom of Kucha, which was one of the most powerful of the four states in the northern part of Turkestan. According to Chinese annals of the 3rd century CE, there were over one thousand stupas and temples. It is also recorded that Kuchean monks had travelled to China and had actively participated in translating Buddhist texts to Chinese. In this manner the state of Kucha had played a very prominent role in the spread of Buddhism.

The official introduction of Buddhism to China was in 67 CE, when a mission sent to India by Emperor Ming-Ti (58 – 76 CE) of the Hun Dynasty, who had learnt of Buddha in a dream, returned to the capital of Lo-yang accompanied by Ven. Dharmarakṣa and Ven.

Kāsyapa Mātanga carrying for the first time Buddhist scriptures and images under royal patronage.

From Kabul, Buddhism also spread during this time in to ancient Khorezan, to the Northwest of Kabul. As time went by, large centres of Buddhist culture grew in the vast area between the Caspian and the Arals in the Russian lands.

Buddhism had spread also to Siam. According to archaeological finds at Pong Tuk and Phra Pathom, 50 and 60 miles respectively west of Bangkok, remains of a religious building, images of the Buddha, and inscribed terracotta with Buddhist symbols have been found. They date from about the first or second century CE, and it could be inferred that Buddhism was present from about the 1st century CE. Amaravati and Nāgārjunkonda in South India and Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka were centres, for the spread of Buddhism to the South East Asia region.

The history of Buddhism in the different countries shows that Buddhism had always brought about a cultural efflorescence. During this period for the first time we get the Buddha depicted in person. Among the coins minted by King Kanishka was one with the figure of the Buddha. Also a reliquary has been found when the principal stupa of King Kamisha near Peshawar was excavated with the Buddha depicted in the round. This was a new development due to Greek influence.

Prior to this, as seen in the bas reliefs at Sānchi; the Buddha was represented only by symbols. This development provided vast opportunities to the sculptor and the painter to excel. The new religion became a source of great inspiration to the Greco-Roman craftsmen. There was a blending of Greco-Roman art forms with Buddhist thought in the official art of the Kushan rulers, and as it reached its maturity in the Gandhāra region it is popularly referred to as Gandhāra art.

In describing the art form of this school, Rawlinson states that although the subject matter of Gandhāra art is predominantly Buddhist, many of the motifs discernible in the sculptures are of either western Asiatic or Hellenistic origin. This again re-emphasizes the close relationship, commercial and cultural, that existed between Gandhāra and the Roman West. With the spread of Buddhism into Central Asia, the impact of Gandhāra art in the art and architecture of Central Asia is most predominant. The Buddha image became a

symbol of unity of all Buddhists. Although there were language and other barriers, before the image of the Buddha all their hearts melted with the same benign influence and took them along a Single Path.

701 – 800 years after Parinibbāna (157 – 256 CE)

Buddhism was still the foremost religion and its peaceful spread continued. It had spread throughout Central Asia and was knocking at the doors of China. There was much opposition to Buddhism from the indigenous religious systems especially from the protagonists of Confucius and Lao Tse. However Buddhist texts continued to be translated into Chinese and to influence Chinese thought. The richness of Buddhism both as a religion and a philosophy made a special appeal to the Chinese *literati.* One of them, Mon-tsen (175 – 225 CE) for example, wrote a special treatise comparing Buddhism to the teachings of Confucius and Lao Tse. Such writings had a great bearing on the acceptance of Buddhism and its spread. More than even the writings, the influence of the great Indian sages, especially their purity of life and their profundity of knowledge helped Buddhism to gradually take root in China.

In the West there are references to monastic sects like the Theraputaes, which is interpreted as a distortion of the word Theraputta. Scholars refer to certain common characteristics between Gnosticism of Greece and the views of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.C. there has been a growing recognition of asceticism. With the decline of the Roman Empire there was a repudiation of the established order and a greater search for peace. Plotinus (204/5 – 270 CE) one of the greatest philosophers of the 3rd century CE and the founder of Neoplatonism, was greatly influenced by Ammonius Saccus (175 – 242 CE), who was lecturing in Alexandria after abandoning Christianity. He was so taken up by the wisdom of the East, that he visited the East and later returned to Rome in 224 CE, where he lived and lectured for the rest of his life.

During the first two centuries after Christ the Christian religion gradually spread throughout the Roman Empire, bringing more and more converts. Some of the Roman emperors were hostile to the new religion whilst others were tolerant. Under Emperor Diocletian (300 CE) there was much persecution of Christians, but this was followed in 317 CE by an edict of toleration. The conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity enabled Christianity to firmly establish itself and from about the 5th century Christianity became the official religion.

With these developments in the West the spread of Buddhism to European countries was delayed by nearly 1500 years.

In India, however, new centres of Buddhism were emerging. Kanheri was one such centre. There was a large monastic establishment dating from about the 2nd century CE. It. has over 100 caves and has a connected history up to the present times.

Nāgārjuna (c 150 CE) a great Buddhist dialectician, who is acclaimed to be the chief exponent of the Mādhyāmika Philosophy, which is a systematized form of the Sūnyatā doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā treatises, also lived in this century. All accounts agree in connecting his abode with Dhānyakaṭaka or Sriparvata in the Andhra country (Amaravāti or Nāgārjunikoṇḍā) and of his personal friendship with the Sātavāhana king, Yajña Sri Gautamiputra (166 – 196 CE) for whom he wrote the Suhṛllekha. The Mādhyamika system which he perfected has had a continuous history of development from this time to the total disappearance of Buddhism from India (11th century CE).

One of Nāgārjuna's chief disciples was Āryadeva (c 180/200 CE) one of the 'four suns' according to Yuan Chuwang which illumined the world, the other three being Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa, and Kumāralabdha. His Catuhsataka was retranslated into Sanskrit from Tibetan in 1931 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Sāstri of Shantiniketan. Āryadeva was from Sri Lanka (Ceylon), which also shows that the different schools had their protagonists throughout the Buddhist world.

Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā developed as great centres of Buddhism. The art and architecture of Amarāvati in the later Andhra period (25 BC – 320 CE) influenced the architectural traditions of Sri Lanka and the rest of S.E. Asia a great deal. This is an indication of the leadership Amarāvati gave during this period in the spread of Buddhism.

In the Chola country the great literary work of the Third Sangam period, the epic Manimekhala, bears testimony of the deep influence Buddhism has had and the support the Tamil rulers gave to Buddhism. One could conclude that Buddhism was yet a live force in India influencing not only the religious life, but also the art, architecture, drama and literature of the people of India from North to South and East to West.

From Southern India and Sri Lanka, Buddhism spread beyond their coasts. According to the Chinese chronicles of the 3rd century CE, there was a Buddhist population of over 100,000 families in the kingdom of Lin-yang located by Sinologists in Central Burma.

In Vietnam there is an inscription discovered at Vo-Canh referring to the introduction of Buddhism during this time.

801 – 900 years after Parinibbāna (257 – 356 CE)

One of the major political events in India during this century was the rise of the Gupta Empire, under Chandra Gupta I in 320 CE. It held sway in North and Central India up to 606 CE, and reached its political climax during the reign of Samudra Gupta. Although the Gupta kings were Bhāgavatas, they were sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. Certain Gupta Kings, like Buddha Gupta as the name indicates, were Buddhists. An efflorescence of Buddhist art and architecture occurred during the Gupta period.

Most notable during this century was the influence of two great Buddhist scholars, Asanga and Vasubandhu, two brothers born in Puruśapura (Peshawar) in Gandhāra district. Originally they belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school. Later Asanga (c 350 CE) became the most famous exponent of the Yogācara or Vijñānavāda school founded by Maitreya or Maitreyanātha. Later he induced his younger brother Vasubandhu, too to join him. Some of the writings of Asanga were Mahāyāna Samparigraha, Yogācāra-bhūmi Sastra, Mahāyāna-sutrālankāra and Prakarana-āryavāca. Vasubandhu (280 – 360 CE) is famous for his Abhidharmakośa, which is considered an Encyclopedia of Buddhist Philosophy and written originally from the point of view of the Vaibhāsika branch of the Sarvāstivāda school, to which he belonged. This particular treatise has proved invaluable in the spread of Buddhism in Asia. He also wrote commentaries to the Saddharmapundarīka sutra, Mahā-parinirvāna sutra and the Vajrachedika prajña pāramitā. His Vijñānāptimātratā-siddhi is considered the basic work of this school. During their time this school reached its height in power and influence.

Towards the end of this century (ie mid 4th century CE), according to Chinese records, a Buddhist monk by name Vinitharna left Nāgarjunikoṇḍa and travelled through Sri Lanka to Funan, which is identified as Vietnam. Such references testify to the close links that prevailed at the time and the interchange of Buddhist monks from one country to another.

901 – 1000 years after Parinibbāna (357 – 456 CE)

This was the beginning of a golden period of Buddhism in Asia. It spread far and wide after Buddhism became the state religion of China with the accession into power of the rulers of the Wei dynasty, who were of foreign origin. The rulers of this dynasty were great patrons of Buddhism and were responsible for all the great works of Buddhist art in China. Chinese monks were not satisfied to know of Buddhism only through the missionaries. They themselves started on pilgrimages to Indian seats of learning and studied directly under the Buddhist scholars of the time. Buddhism had that universality which appealed to everyone, without racial or linguistic barriers.

In India ruled the greatest of the Gupta rulers, Samudra Gupta (320 – 375 CE) and Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya (375 – 413 CE). Their eclectic policies helped a great resurgence of Indian culture. Both Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side. The most famous of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien, came to India during the reign of Chandragupta II. He gives a very vivid description of the Buddhism that prevailed in Central Asia, India and Sri Lanka. According to his record there were monasteries belonging to both Hinayana and Mahāyāna traditions in Central Asia. For example in the country of Shan Shan (South of Lop Nor) there were 4000 monks of Hinayana tradition. Also in Kara-shahr there were over 4000 monks of the Hinayana tradition. In Khotan, according to Fa-Hien there were tens of thousands of monks mainly of Mahāyāna. He spent his time in Gomati vihara under the patronage of the Khotanese rulers. He also gives an account of the prosperous conditions of Buddhism in Kashgar, which he passed before entering India.

From a historical point of view these records are extremely valuable as they were eye-witness accounts. They corroborate the many archaeological finds of the period. Fa-Hien has a glowing account of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in India especially in Uddiyana, Gandhāra, Mathura, Kanauj, Kosala, Magadha and Tamaralipti. From Tamaralipti he sailed to Sri Lanka, where Sri Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya was ruling.

Kasmira, which received Buddhist missionaries first in the time of Asoka, was yet a great centre of Buddhist learning. One of the great scholars of the century, Kumārajīva (344 – 413 CE) was born to an Indian father and a Kuchean mother, Jiva by name, who later became a Buddhist. She took her son to Kashmir to give him a thorough grounding in Buddhism—which testified to its pre-eminence as a

centre of Buddhist learning looked up to by Buddhists of Central Asia. He gained such fame as a Buddhist scholar that many Buddhists from Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkhand, and other parts of East Turkestan were attracted to him and after a Chinese expeditionary force against Kuchi, he was brought to China. Kumārajīva heralded a new epoch in the spread of Buddhism in China. He is considered as the first teacher of the Mādhyamika school in China and his command of both Sanskrit and Chinese was made full use of in the translation of many Buddhist works into Chinese, for which purpose he established under royal patronage, a translation bureau with more than 800 monks. It is said that there were over 3000 monks who were his disciples. The spread of Buddhism was the work of such savants as Kumārajīva.

South India gave birth to the greatest Buddhist logician in Dinnaga. According to Tibetan sources he was born in Simhavaktr, a suburb of Kanchi. Though first a Hīnayānist, he later became a follower of the Mādhyamika school. To his credit are over 100 treatises on Buddhist logic. Other Buddhist scholars of repute were Buddhapālita and Bhavaviveka, both followers of Mādhyamika school.

Sri Lanka by now had become the champion of the pure Theravāda tradition brought by Ven. Mahā Mahinda during the time of Emperor Asoka. He saw to it that it was firmly established. Mahāvihāra m Anuradhapura was the centre of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. From time to time protagonists of the different sects came to Anuradhapura. Some received royal patronage, which led to bitter controversies between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri vihāra which became traditionally the home of dissentient sects referred as 'heretics'—*Vetulla* (Pali) or *vaitulya* (Skt). The Abhayagiri vihāra received the highest support during the time of King Mahasena (334 – 362 CE) being influenced by Sanghamitra. The latter was intimately connected with the Sri Lankan monks living in exile in Kaveri due to their upholding of *vaitulya* views.

Mahasena's successor was King Sri Meghavanna (352 – 379 CE) who restored the Mahāvihāra to its previous glory. His greatest contribution was the building of a vihāra in Buddha Gaya, with permission from King Samudra Gupta, for Sri Lanka monks. It acted as an outpost of Theravāda Buddhism in India at a time when Pali Buddhism had lost much of its popularity in India. The Gupta kings too were great patronizers of Sanskrit. Many of the Buddhist scholars had accepted Sanskrit as the medium of expression. The gradual dethroning of Pali as the linguistic vehicle of Buddhism, lost to it its

individual character and helped in the final absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism. In this context, Buddha Gaya under Sri Lankan monks, firm in their allegiance to Pali, stood as an oasis for those who were desirous of learning the pure Buddha word. The most significant reward was the conversion of Ghosa, later known throughout the Buddhist world as Buddha Ghosa, who translated the *Sīhala aṭṭhakāthās* (commentaries in Sinhala) into Pali.

Sri Lankan monks also left her shores for missionary work. Ven. Gunabhadra, who had arrived in Indrapuri (Hue in Vietnam) from China in 435 CE was a Sri Lankan monk. He had already translated into Chinese the Saṃyutta Nikāya of the Pali Tipiṭaka.

Vietnam received other Buddhist monks as well from China prior to this. In 420 CE Ven. Sanghavarma, who had translated the books of Vinaya to Sanskrit, was doing missionary work. In 431 CE the arrival of the Kashmir monk Ven. Gunavarman is recorded in Chinese annals. He had studied Theravāda Buddhism for several years in Sri Lanka and had spent a long period in Vietnam before proceeding to China.

During this century Buddhism was taken to Korea, which is one of the important Buddhist countries in the Far East. Korea was comprised of three different states, namely Koguryu, Pakche and Silla. In 372 CE, Buddhism was introduced to Kogurya in the North by a Chinese monk. Twelve years later in 384 CE, a Central Asian monk brought Buddhism to Pakche in the South-West. It reached Silla in the South East in 402 CE. With Buddhism as the state religion in China the spread of Buddhism to the neighbouring countries was not difficult. It was readily accepted by the ruling dynasties and was given patronage for its growth.

But the clarion call of the Buddha nearly one thousand years earlier for the Buddhist monks to go forth for the good of the many was yet the chief motivating force. In 409 CE, a Chinese monk Hiu-Shen undertook his first trip to the Americas in order to spread the Dhamma. He went by boat and reached Mexico with five monks from Kabul, according to his official report on his return in 450 CE with gifts to the Chinese Emperor. This is supported by the records in the Archives of the Lyang dynasty handed down by the famous Chinese historian Ma-Tuan-Ling. When Hiu Shen made his trip to Mexico the Emperor of China was Yung-Yuan. A search for old names and things in Mexico gives traces of Buddhism there. Such places as Guatamala, Matzin, Oaxaca, Yzacetiyas, Secapalesa, according to some, show evidence of being derived from the words Gautama Sākya Muni.

There was some activity in Java too, Fa-Hien who visited Java in 413 CE states that there were so few Buddhists in Yavadvipa, that it is not worthwhile mentioning it. There are later records to state that the Kashmir monk. Ven. Gunavarman, referred to above, spent some time in Cho-po (Java) and established the Teachings of The Lotus there before proceeding to Vietnam and China.

1001 – 1100 years after Parinibbāna (457 – 556 CE)

Nalanda, traditionally linked with the Buddha and Emperor Asoka, grew in importance as a seat of Buddhist learning, only during this period. Inscriptions, seals and other remains along with the references made to it in the literary records all prove that it was in a flourishing state from the 5th to the 12th centuries CE. Very detailed accounts are given by Yuan Chwang, I-Tsing and other Chinese monks who travelled to India in search of books and knowledge. According to Yuan-Chwang there were over 1500 teachers and the resident students were over 10,000. The impact this Buddhist University had on the spread of Buddhism during the next five hundred years is immeasurable through the influence of such renowned and versatile teachers such as Ācārya Sīlabhadra, Sāntarakṣita and Atiśa or Dīpankara.

In the South, Kānchipuram or Conjeevaram, which later became the capital of the Pallava dynasty, grew as a great centre of Hinayana. It was the home of Dharmapala, the great Commentator and a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. Near Kānchipuram was the famous sea port Māmallapuram from where there is evidence to show that Buddhist monks left for Burma, Java, the Far East and China.

From the point of view of the history of Buddhism, an important event was the coming of the great Pāli commentator Buddhaghosa to Sri Lanka in the time of King Mahānāma (458 – 480 CE). The Visuddhimagga, written by him before the Mahāvihāra monks gave the Sinhala commentaries to be translated to Pāli, is ample testimony to his erudition and great scholarship. In the same way it also showed the great responsibility with which the Mahāvihāra monks acted, as the guardian of the word of the Buddha in its pristine purity. Buddhaghosa was sent to the Mahāvihāra by Mahathera Revata, who was the chief incumbent of the Lanka Vihāra at Buddha Gaya. Residing at Maha Mayura Parivena, also known as Granthākara Parivena, he completed his task of translating the Sinhala commentaries into Pāli. His works included the Samantapāsadika on the Vinaya, the Sumangala-vilāsinī on the Dīgha, the Papañca-sūdhani on the Majjhima, the Sāratthap-

pakāsini on the Saṃyutta and the Manorathapūrani on the Aṅguttara Nikāyas. He is also attributed with the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Jātakaṭṭhakathā, Paramattha Jotikā on the Khuddaka-Pāli and the commentaries on the seven Abhidhamma texts. This was a massive undertaking for a single person. Although the Sinhala commentaries went out of vogue, because of the translations into Pāli, the original traditions are preserved to this date. Furthermore, these traditions again became current among the Buddhist scholars of the time. No single individual has contributed more to the preservation of the Theravāda tradition than Ven. Buddhaghosa. No record is there of his last days. According to Cambodian tradition, he spent his last days there, where an ancient vihāra known as, Buddhaghosa vihāra is extant.

China too was getting greater attention by Buddhist scholars. Ven. Bodhidharma, a South Indian monk from Kanchipuram, left for China in 526 CE. He was known as a great meditation master and in China he stressed the importance of meditation. Ven. Bodhidharma had great influence in the molding of Ch'an Buddhism from which Japanese Zen Buddhism has been derived. He arrived in China in the first year of the Emperor Psi Tung of the Liang dynasty (528 CE). There are many interesting legends connected with Ven. Bodhidharma. His towering personality has made an indelible mark among the Buddhists not only of China, but also of Korea, Japan and Vietnam. In 470 CE Ven. Bodhidharma seems to have introduced Ch'an Buddhism to Vietnam.

Another Buddhist monk was Ven. Paramārtha (Po-lo-mo-tho) who lived from 513 – 569 CE. He was from Ujjeni which had now become a renowned Centre of Sanskrit Buddhism. On a request made by the Chinese emperor he was sent from Ujjeni and he took with him many Buddhist texts which were translated into Chinese. He arrived in Nanking by sea in 548 CE. Ven. Paramārtha established the She-Lun-tsung (Mahāyāna-samparigraha Sāstra-school) in China. This school seems to have existed for about 80 years, until it was absorbed by the Dharmalaksana school established by Yuan Chwang. Ven. Paramattha, Yuan Chwang and another scholar monk Ven. Bodhiruci were the three main exponents of the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda school and they translated many Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

Although there was a period of political confusion following the Han dynasty, it was a period of prosperity for Buddhism. During this period many a Chinese monk left singly or in groups, as pilgrims to India in search of Buddhist texts and teachings, whilst hundreds of

foreign monks from Central Asia, Northern and Southern India and Sri Lanka came to China to explain the teachings. By the time of the Northern Wei dynasty (386 – 565 CE), Chinese records show that there were over 30,000 monasteries and over two million Buddhist disciples in that region. Buddhism spread within China and abroad along with the extension of their national power.

The chief significance of Korean Buddhism., according to some, was in its role as an intermediary between China and Japan. In 538 CE (another tradition holds 552 CE) Buddhism was officially introduced to Japan from Packche (Kudara) one of the kingdoms of Korea by the sending of Buddha images. This event could be considered as a natural flow of Chinese culture to foreign lands. Japanese Buddhists read the sutras in Chinese and came to comprehend Buddhism through the Chinese translations. However, as in all countries where Buddhism spread, in Japan too it had a great humanizing influence and helped in a cultural efflorescence.

There is historical evidence that Buddhism had spread to parts of present Soviet Russia as well, during this century. North of Baram Ali, in Turkmania, archaeologists have found Buddhist shrines and a clay vessel containing statuettes of the Buddha, Persian coins of the Sassanoids relating to the 5th century CE, and a pile of pressed palm leaves. The latter contains sections of the Vinaya written in Brahmi characters dating to this period. Because of the existence of Persian coins one could surmise that Buddhism spread along the Aral from Persia to these areas.

In South East Asia and the Far Eastern region too archaeologically there is evidence of much Buddhist activity. Buddhist finds have been found as far as Borneo, in the main trading outposts along the traditional sea route to China. Besides the statuettes the most striking link are clay seals with the famous verse of Ven. Assaji to Ven. Sāriputta (*Ye dharma hetupprabhavā ...*) in Sanskrit. Whether this was used by sea-faring Buddhist traders as a talisman for protection is not known, but by its large prevalence the conclusion is that Buddhism by now had become a popular religion. But it could be yet the extension of Indian Buddhism. For example the large number of inscriptions found in different parts of the Malay peninsula, dating from the 4th and 5th centuries CE, are all in Sanskrit and in the Indian alphabet. The general surmise is that Indian traders, both Hindu and Buddhist, established small communities along the sea routes and these became subsequently the centres for the spread of both Buddhism and

Hinduism and their respective cultures to the indigenous populations. Ancient kings being patrons of art, architecture and anything that is good, in many instances patronized the Buddhist monks because of their erudition and their saintliness. In turn, the Buddhist monks explained the doctrine to the ruling families who themselves later became Buddhists. Thus the Liang annals record the acceptance of Buddhism by the king of Kan-to-li (in Malay peninsula) in the beginning of the 6th century CE. These were the beginnings of the great Buddhist kingdom of Sri Vijaya which flourished during the subsequent centuries.

In the mainland of Burma, too, records exist from this time onwards to prove not only the existence of, but the prosperous state of Theravāda Buddhism. There are remains of archaeological interest in modern Hmawza, near Prome, where the capital of the old kingdom of Pyus, known as Sri Ksetra was located. Alongside there are findings also of Mūla-Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyānism which indicate that all Buddhist sects were engaged in missionary activities.

In Vietnam there is a record of a Sri Lankan monk, Ven. Sangabhadra arriving in Tonking in 488 CE and engaging himself in Buddhist missionary work before proceeding to China.

1101 – 1200 years after Parinibbāna (557 – 656 CE)

Buddhism reached further outposts, notably Nepal and Tibet, during this century. However in India itself, the motherland of Buddhism, circumstances were becoming difficult mainly due to the political unrest after the Gupta period. The opposition to Buddhism was also gaining in momentum with the resurgence of Hinduism and Hindu culture under the Gupta rulers. The invasion of the Huns brought much destruction to the peaceful Buddhist states in Central Asia. The glorious period after the first 1000 years of Buddhism after *parinibbāna* was gradually fading. During the next thousand years there were the final flickers before Buddhism faded away from India. But the golden era of Buddhism outside India and Central Asia was yet to come.

Another important event is the birth of the Islamic religion under Prophet Mohammad. Its thrust in all directions had devastating effects on the established cultures of the world. A peaceful religion like Buddhism could not withstand the Muslim sword and it gradually receded.

The most lucid description of Buddhism during this time are in the travel accounts of the great scholar pilgrim monk Yuang Chwang (602 – 664 CE). He started his journey in 629 CE, returning in 645 CE. Under the patronage of the T'ang dynasty (618 – 906 CE) Yuang Chwang became one of the most noteworthy scholars in China. He translated 75 treatises into Chinese in 1335 fascicules. These were the books he brought back to China using 22 horses. According to Khaī-Yuen-lu they included texts from Mahāyāna (416) Theravāda (14) Sammitiyas (15) Mahīsāsakas (22) Kasyapiyas (17) Dharmaguptas (42) Sarvāstivāda (67) Mahāsāṅghikas (18) Hetusāstra (36) Sabdasāstra (13). He himself became the founder of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school, based on the Vijñānavāda texts and commentaries. In China at the time there were 3716 monasteries, which testifies to the flourishing nature of Buddhism there.

Amongst the Central Asian kingdoms, Yuan Chwang speaks of a Virile Buddhist population that lived in Turfan, which at the time was ruled by a vassal of Turkish Khan. In Kara-shahr there were 10 monasteries and 2000 monks of the Hinayana sect. In Kucha, there were 5000 monks to whom King Suvarna-deva was giving active protection. The Chief monk was Ven. Moksa-gupta of the Hinayana sect. At Issiq Kul, Yuan Chwang made the ruler who had established his sway up to Gandhāra, accept Buddhism. In Samarkand, which was the terminus of the caravan routes between India and China, Buddhism was experiencing difficulties with Zoroastrianism. In Balkh and Bactria there were yet many monasteries belonging to Hinayana.

Crossing the Hindu Kush Yuan Chwang refers to the two colossal Buddha statues at Bamiyan 170 and 115 feet high. There were 10 Buddhist monasteries with several thousand monks. At Kapiśa (present Bigram) the king was a devout Buddhist belonging to the Mahāyāna sect. But Yuan Chwang stayed in a monastery of the Hinayana sect, to please his travelling companion Ven. Prajñākara who joined him at Balkh. The destruction that had been brought about by the Hun invaders was most pitiable. In Lampaka, once a flourishing Greco-Buddhist country, west of Jalalabad, there were only ruins of monasteries and works of art. In the Gandhāra region which received Buddhism during the time of Asoka, and which nurtured for over 6 centuries the Gandhāra school of art, Yuan Chwang saw a million Buddhist monasteries in ruin and deserted. "They are overgrown with weeds and they make a mournful solitude",—a testimony for the universal law of *aniccatā* affecting even the *sāsana* (dispensation). It was the same story at Udyana which once had 1400 vihāras and 18000

monks, but, destroyed completely by the Hun invaders. Taxila, the seat of ancient learning and the beacon light in the spread of Buddhism to the Greek world, was no more. However in Kashmir, Buddhism yet prevailed. There, Yuan Chwang saw over 100 monasteries with 5000 monks. Travelling further East he reached the upper Ganges and observed the growing triumph of Hinduism and the relative decline of Buddhism.

Yuan Chwang's descriptions are extremely vivid. It shows that in Central Asia both Hinayana and Mahayana traditions were strong. The Hinayana was mainly the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda and not the Theravāda Pāli tradition, which lost its hold between the third and the fourth councils. In N W border areas, from Hindu Kush to Kashmir, Buddhist communities had been totally annihilated. The Physical destruction that had been brought on the monasteries, stupas and anything Buddhistic was so vast, that Buddhism was not able to lift its head again. The Hun invasions were followed by those of the Arabs and the Turks, who fired by their religious fervour brought the final destruction of Buddhism in those regions. The life line to China through Kabul and Central Asia linking Buddhists of India and China for centuries was thus completely eroded.

The last of the great Buddhist rulers, Harśadeva of Kanauj (606 – 647 CE), reigned in Central India when Yuan Chwang arrived. His father, Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākara Vardhana, was a Sun worshipper. However, his elder brother and sister were devout Buddhists. He himself became a Buddhist and followed a very eclectic religious policy. His greatest contribution was towards the growth of the Nalanda University which replaced Taxila, as the seat of learning. The ascetic life he led and the devotion he had for Buddhism was recorded by Yuan Chwang, who spent 14 years (630 – 644 CE), receiving the support of Harśadeva.

At Vālabhi, 22 miles NW of Bhavanagar, in the West a Buddhist community had developed under the patronage of the Maitraka dynasty of Vālabhi. According to the travel account of Yuan Chwang, when he visited Vālabhi, it had l00monastries with , 6000 belonging tot lit' Sammitiya school Vālabhi grew in importance and became a centre of Buddhist learning, next only to Nalanda. From literary records and the archaeological finds discovered in Vālabhi, one could surmise that there was a strong Buddhist community up to the 10th century CE. It had given birth to renowned Buddhist scholars such as Sthiramati and Gunamati.

Southern Nepal has been a Buddhist country from the time of the Buddha. Buddha Himself was from the Sakya clan, still extant in Nepal. His visit to the ancient kingdom of Suddhodhana and the account relating to the taking of refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha by King Suddhodhana with all his relatives are well known. The Buddha himself consolidated his efforts by spending a rainy season in Kapilavastu. Later, the place of birth of the Sākyamuni was visited and this is recorded in the famous Asokan pillar. According to tradition, a great many of the stupas found in Nepal are attributed to the visit of Asoka. From this time the history of Nepal itself is very obscure. However, very close relationships had been maintained both with India and China. Strategically its importance lies in its geographical situation at the footsteps of the Himalayas which along with its mountainous character, influenced the political, cultural and economic destiny of this country. For centuries Nepal has served as a link between the regions lying on either side of the Himalayas and until the recent political developments the normal road of communication between India and Tibet was through Nepal.

This century saw the accession of King Aṃśuvarman, a powerful ruler and a strong supporter and propagator of Buddhism. Some consider that his reign ushered in the golden age of Buddhism in Nepal.

In Tibet, King Sroṅ-btsan-gan-po of Tibet, a contemporary of King Harśadeva was one of the most talented rulers that Tibet has produced. This was recognized by the rulers of Nepal and China which bordered Tibet and their rulers King Aṃśuvarman and T'ait Sung gave their daughters, Bhrukuṭi of Nepal and Wen-ch'eng of China in marriage to him. These two princesses brought with them the images of Akśobya, Maitreya and Sākyamuni as gifts from their own countries and in this manner introduced Buddhism officially to Tibet around 617 CE: although the cultural contacts with the Buddhist world surrounding her, namely India, Khotan, China, and Nepal must have been there for a considerable period.

The richness of Buddhism spurred the king even to conceive the idea of developing a Tibetan script to facilitate the transliteration of Buddhist texts to Tibetan. The subsequent growth of Tibetan Buddhism was mainly due to the far sighted vision of this ruler. Similar to his contemporary, King Aṃśuvarman of Nepal, he ushered a new era for Buddhism in Tibet. The famous temples of Ramoche and Jokhang in Lhasa are attributed to him. Even in his administration he

was deeply influenced by Buddhist principles and in the promulgation of the laws he tried to harmonize them with Buddhism.

Beyond China, Mongolia was already a Buddhist country. In Korea, Buddhism that was introduced during the previous century was spreading under the influence of the Silla dynasty. Several famous scholar monks went to China to study further the Buddhist doctrines. Of them Yuan-Ts'o (613 – 683 CE) of the Fa-sian sect, Yuan Hiao (617 – 670 CE) and Yi-Siang (625 – 702 CE) of the Houa-Yen sect are noteworthy. This indicates the leadership taken by China and its acceptance by the neighboring countries. In Japan, Prince Shotoku Taishi (574 – 621 CE) belonging to the Asuka period became one of the greatest benefactors of Buddhism. It is said that his contribution to Buddhism in Japan is comparable to that of King Asoka in the spread of Buddhism in India. The famous Horyuji monastery at Nara was founded by him in 607 CE.

1201 – 1300 years after Parinibbāna (657 – 756 CE)

The old world was breaking up. The Central Asian route was becoming more and more difficult after the weakening of the T'ang empire and after the rise of Tibet as an independent country. The Islamic Arabs were also making their presence felt. After Harśa there was no ruler that could unify North India and the country broke up into many kingdoms. It was a state of virtual anarchy in India and the conditions did not favour a monastic religion like Buddhism, which had to depend very much on the patronage of rulers. However, relationships continued between Buddhist China and the rest of the Buddhist world using mainly maritime routes. There is evidence to show that there was a perpetual exchange of ideas, books and works of art, mainly statues of Buddha, between India, Sri Lanka, Java, Cambodia, Campa and the ports of the Canton region of China. The scene of Buddhist activity was pushed to Eastern regions of India, mainly Bengal around the University of Nalanda.

One of the most invaluable records to study Buddhist conditions is the travel record of another famous Chinese pilgrim monk I'Tsing, who travelled from 671 – 695 CE. Kanchipuram in South India and Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura of Sri Lanka were great centres of Theravāda tradition and for centuries have been influencing the Buddhist destiny of the Malayan Archipelago. According to I'Tsing, Hinayana Buddhism had spread very widely in the region, though Malayu (Sri Vijaya) was an exception and followed Mahāyāna.

The most important event of the century from the Buddhist point of view was the rise of the Buddhist kingdom of Sri Vijaya, which brought the whole of the Malayan archipelago under one ruler and commanded for some time the maritime routes to the Far East. Different views are expressed regarding the identification of original Sri Vijaya. I'Tsing writes that in the fortified city of Fo-che (Vijaya) Buddhist monks number more than 1000. It also developed as a centre of Buddhist learning. I'Tsing states that if a Chinese Buddhist monk wishes to go to the West in order to hear and read the original Buddhist texts, he had better stay at Fo-che for one or two years and practice the proper rules and then proceed to Central India. Based on these records and an inscription at Kedukan Bukit, which gives an interesting detail regarding one of the Sri Vijaya rulers, the general opinion is that after Malayu was captured in 683 CE, the centre of activity of the Sri Vijaya kingdom changed to Palembang in Java.

Between I'Tsing's first visit to Sri Vijaya and the subsequent visit on his return trip, many changes seem to have taken place, the most important of which was the gaining in ascendency of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is also attested by inscriptional evidence. The Talang Tuwo inscription (684 CE), of King Jayanāsa contains expressions as Vajra-kāya, Kāya-vāk-citta-Vajrasādhana, which definitely bear a Tantric character. The conclusion one could draw is that the leadership was at this time shifting from Sri Lanka and South India to the Nalanda University. Some express the view that this may be the influence of Ven. Dharmapala of Kanchi who spent 20 years in Nalanda and proceeded then to Suvarnadīpa.

Learned monks continued to visit China from India and the Western regions. Most famous was Ven. Bodhiruci, a South Indian monk and considered one of the greatest translators of Buddhist texts at the time. Between 693 – 713 CE, according to records, he has been translating over 53 Buddhist texts. Although generally the T'ang dynasty is considered the golden age of Buddhism in China there was a period of persecution after 714 CE. Yen Ts'ung being influenced by the Confucianists, denounced Buddhism as pernicious to the country and by an edict ordered 12000 monks and nuns to return to lay life. During the time of Queen Wen, there was a ban on the writing of sacred books and the building of temples. But this period of suppression did not last very long. However, this characterized the opposition to Buddhism from indigenous religions. There were even attempts during the Sui dynasty (581 – 618) which preceded the T'ang dynasty, to combine and merge Buddhism with the traditional

Confucianism. These interactions always had a marked influence on popular practices of Buddhism in the different countries to which it spread, especially after Buddhism became the religion of the masses.

The progress of Buddhism in Japan was slow but steady, being influenced mostly by China. In 673 CE the entire Buddhist Canon was copied in Japanese. Politically the most important event was making Nārā the capital. Already, after the establishment of the Horyuji temple, Nārā had gained pre-eminence in Japan as the centre of Buddhism. With the shifting of the capital to Nārā the patronage of Buddhism by the Japanese aristocracy was greater. Thus it gained an edge over Shintoism and in turn helped in the popular spread of Buddhism There were frequent visits of monks from the Buddhist world. In 736 CE such visits are recorded an Indian monk named Bodhisena, a Vietnamese monk Fu-ch'eh (Buttetsu) who accompanied Ven. Bodhisena from Rinyu (Champa) and a T'ang monk Tao Hsüan. The cosmopolitan character of the Buddhist missionary monks is seen from this and to them it was a life of dedication with altruistic motives to the cause of spreading a true faith. In 752 CE the dedication of the Great Buddha statue of Todaiji temple took place.

1301 – 1400 years after Parinibbāna (757 – 856 CE)

The Buddhist torch that set ablaze a rich cultural heritage in Central Asia has been extinguished. After the decline of Kucha, Buddhism was patronized by the Uigur Turks who had their capital in the Turfan region bordering China.

China itself remained a Buddhist country and according to records by 845 CE there were over 40,000 monasteries and temples and more than 260,000 monks and nuns. The patronage given by successive rulers of the T'ang dynasty led to this happy situation. China was yet the greatest influencing factor in Japanese Buddhism.

In Japan, Nārā lost its importance and Heian (Kyoto) was made the capital in 794 CE. It remained so till 1192 CE. During this century certain very important developments took place. In 805 CE the Tendai school was begun on the return of Ven. Saicho (767 – 822 CE) from China. It was the first sect to be established as a religious body in Japan. A year later in 806 CE the Shingon school was started by Ven. Kukai (774 – 835 CE) again on his return from China. In 822 CE permission was granted to establish the ordination platform of Mahāyāna precepts on Mount Hiei, Hitherto it had been in Nārā and this was the climax of a dispute Ven. Saicho had had and the

acceptance of his complete independence. Thus the two great sects which were very powerful during the whole of the Heian period were established.

In Tibet, events led to Buddhism being finally accepted as the state religion. Although Buddhism was officially introduced to Tibet a century earlier under very favourable auspices, before it could take root it had to face stiff opposition from the protagonists of the indigenous Phon beliefs. Against opposition of the Phon officials, King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (755 – 797 CE), the fifth successor of King Sroṅ-btsan, invited Śāntarakśita of the Nalanda University to spread Buddhism among the people. However the opposition to him was so great that Ven. Śāntarakśita had to return. Instead Ven. Padmasambhava, the great apostle of Tantrism came. Accredited to King Khri-Sroṅ-lde-btsan was the setting up of the great Tibetan monastery at Bsam-yas on the model of Udayantapuri in Bihar, getting the first catalogue of the translated Buddhist works in the Ldandkar palace to be prepared, and speeding up of the translation activity under Ven. Śāntarakśita on the latter's return. For a debate with the Chinese monks, he invited Kamalasilā, a disciple of Śāntarakśita. In the debate which was conducted in his presence, Kamalasilā was declared the winner. In this manner the king sought a cultural cleavage from China as well, to crown the political independence he won by his defeat of the Chinese armies. The latter is recorded in a pillar inscription in front of the Pota-la. In the growth of Tibetan Buddhism, the inspiration came entirely from the scholastic beliefs that prevailed in the University of Nalanda. Before his death he gave Buddhism the supreme position by making it the state religion.

He was succeeded by two other rulers who gave fresh impetus to the consolidation of Buddhism in Tibet. Under the patronage of King Khri-lde-śroṅ-htsan, a Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary called Mahavyutpatti was prepared and published in 814 CE. This facilitated the process of translating Sanskrit hooks into Tibetan. The successor of King Sroṅ-btsan, Ral-pa Chen (816 – 838 CE) was a great benefactor of Buddhism. Some refer to his reign as the golden period of Buddhism in Tibet. A council was held with the purpose of purifying the Buddhism that came to Tibet, and simplifying and rendering it intelligible to his people. He took a personal interest in propagating Buddhism among the common man. During his period Jinamitra, a scholar of Kashmir of the Vaibhāsika school translated many Vinaya sutra texts to Tibetan. Although there was a ruthless suppression of Buddhism immediately following his assassination by

his elder brother, during this century Buddhism was firmly established. The Tantric Buddhism introduced by Padmasambhava appealed to the Tibetans who prior to the introduction of Buddhism were followers of Bonpo, an animistic religion which included many elements of sexual mysticism.

During this period, very strong cultural and religious links were also developed between Tibet and Nepal. This was also due to political expediency, but mostly due to Nepal being on the main route between Bengal and Tibet, via Kyirong. The development of Buddhism in Nepal was influenced by both Nalanda and Tibet.

The University of Nalanda rose into pre-eminence during this century and continued so till the end of the Pāla dynasty which was destined to rule for four centuries. The Pāla rulers, who were zealous Buddhists, were responsible for the great revival of Buddhism seen during this time. They made several endowments to the Nalanda University and also founded Vikramasila, Odantapuri and Somapuri which too gained fame as centres of Buddhist learning. Pāla influence was seen not only in Tibet but throughout the South East Asia region, as evidenced in the Buddhist art of the period.

Except in East India, under the Pālas, Buddhism was slowly disappearing from India. Yet there were Buddhist communities centred round monasteries which had gained fame in the earlier period. A literary work of the period was Kundalakesi written in South India by a person called Nāthagupta, This was an adaptation of a story from the Therīgāthā and written in Tamil.

The Sri Vijaya empire was at the height of its power. An Inscription at Ligor (775 CE) refers to the further progress of the expansionist policy of Sri Vijaya. It contains 10 verses written in Sanskrit which testifies that Sanskrit was the language of the literati or even the state language. In the 6th verse mention has been made of the establishment of three excellent brick buildings as abodes for Padmapāni, Sākyamuni and Vajrapāni. Buddhism of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins which was prevalent previously seems to have been overwhelmed by Mahāyāna Tantric Buddhism. The royal patronage of this form of Buddhism, mainly due to the influences of Nalanda University, is confirmed by the references in the Kalasan inscription (778 CE) aud Kelurak inscription (782 CE). However, the latter records a salutation to the three jewels of Buddhism. In verse 14 it is stated that Manjusri is also Brahma, Vishnu and Maheśvara, “in fact, all gods in one”. This is an interesting development which finally

resulted in the absorption of Buddhism by the Hindu amorphous by making the Buddha an *avatar* of Vishnu. The inscription also attests the presence of Buddhist monks from Bengal.

Buddhism reached its peak in Java under the Sailendra Kings of the Sri Vijaya kingdom. They began a great epoch of Buddhist architecture in Central Java, in the place of Kedu. The Javanese Sailendra period probably extended from 750 – 800 CE and the most notable achievement architecturally is the famous Buddhist temple at Borobudur. There was much Buddhist activity under their patronage and, as the kingdom was very extensive Buddhism spread to all the neighboring islands. Both Buddhism and Hinduism existed side by side and were the greatest civilizing forces which gave the inhabitants of these Islands a rich culture and a rich philosophy. The island of Bali was completely brought under the influence of Buddhism.

The close links the Sailendra kings had with Pāla rulers is testified by the Nalanda copper plates (850 CE) of Devapala deva which records the gift of 5 villages to a vihāra founded at Nalanda by King Balaputra deva who is referred to as Suvarnadvīpādhidhīpa Mahārāja. This reference to Suvarnadvīpa, has made some scholars identify Suvaṇṇabhūmi, to which region Buddhist monks were sent during the time of Asoka, with these regions.

Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam were all part of the Buddhist world. Both the Mahāyāna and Hinayana traditions were present. However, their degree of influence depended on royal patronage which varied according to the relationships with India. During these centuries the influence of Nalanda university eclipsed every other and its influence was the greatest. This is seen even in the history of Buddhism of the late Anuradhapura period in Sri Lanka the home of the Theravāda tradition. Such Tantric Buddhist texts as Ratanakūṭa was brought with honour even to Sri Lanka.

An important inscription which sheds light on Buddhism in Burma is that engraved in a pillar found in Arakan. It refers to a dynasty known as Dharmarājānuja vaṃsa which ruled between 600 – 1000 CE. Although this inscription was inscribed later than the period under reference, it is important as these rulers are referred to as great patrons of Buddhism. Many Buddhist vihāras were also erected and that Buddhism was firmly established in the Arakan area by this time is testified to by the many Buddhist archaeological remains that have been discovered.

1401 – 1500 years after Parinibbāna (857 – 956 CE)

Even doctrinally, Buddhism was further falling apart. There were still followers of the original teachings of the Buddha, both in theory and practice, but there were by comparison an overwhelmingly large number of unorthodox sects. The influence of tantricism due to the influence of the Nalanda University was becoming further widespread. It popularized Buddhism but sapped out the inner strength of early Buddhism. Hence it could not withstand both the doctrinal onslaughts of Hinduism after Sankarācārya and the physical onslaughts of the maraudic Muslims.

The copperplate inscription of the Rāstrakūṭa King Dantivarman of Gujarat of Saka era 789 (867 CE) records that the king at the request of the monk Sthiramati, donated lands to the Kampilya vihāra in Gujarat where 400 monks of the sangha of the Sindhu deśa lived. Another inscription of the Rāstrakūṭa King Dhārāvarsa records a similar grant to the same monastery (884 CE). It may be surmised that the Buddhist community in Sindhu deśa had migrated Southwards for fear of the Muslims and founded a vihāra at Kampilya.

Another notable record is the inscription of Vikramaditya Varaguna (circa 868 CE) of the Pandya dynasty in South India which has references such as "May the moonlike radiance of the Buddha grant prosperity to us, his worshippers". "May the Dharma and the Sangha be for a long time like two eyes to Goddess Earth." They have a strong Hinayana complexion and could be due to the Influence of Sri Lanka. It is noteworthy that the Pandya king Varagunavarman II, (862 – 880 CE) referred to in the inscription was installed as king by a Sri Lankan commander. There was much political unrest and there were constant conflicts between the Chālukyas of Badami, the Pallavas and the Pandyas for political supremacy. Many of the kings were adherents of Hinduism.

The Sri Vijayan kingdom still held sway and due to their close connections with the Pāla rulers were patrons of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Burma too was becoming inclined towards Mahāyāna. In Hmwaza a terracotta tablet representing an image of Tārā has been found and this is one of the numerous tablets seen during this period, all bearing testimony to the influence of later forms of Buddhism.

In China there was a period of political disunity and confusion (906 – 960 CE) following the T'ang period and Buddhism suffered considerably till the Sung dynasty was established in 960 CE.

In the early period of Japanese Buddhism there were close links between Buddhist sects in China and Japan. But Buddhism in Japan took its own path. In the importation of Chinese Buddhism into Japan the chief barrier could be said to be the linguistic limitations exerted on the understanding of thought. Japanese monks also were aware that to the original teachings of the Buddha were from India. However like the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim monks of the T'ang period there were no such monks from Japan that went to the West in quest of the true Dhamma.

There was much interaction with indigenous Shintoism which emphasized ancestral worship. Probably with this influence Japanese Buddhism "degenerated to the point where the dead person was called Hotoek (Buddha) and they prayed to Buddha for the happiness of the dead by Sutra recitation or the Nembutsu". The basic goal in Buddhism of gaining perfection was changed to rites for the sake of dead spirits. For 70 years Kuya, Saint of the market spent his time teaching the Nembutsu to the people (938 CE). Like in India, by this cheap popularization of Buddhism the fundamental character of Buddhism was lost.

The century was one of decadence and degeneration although, as a religion, it was yet the most powerful force in Asia.

1501 – 1600 years after Parinibbāna (957 – 1056 CE)

Once again there was a resurgence of Buddhism; but it was mainly outside India. However Vikramasilā gave birth to a great scholar monk in Acarya Dīpankara Srijñāna or Atiśa (Dpal-mar-med-mdsa-Ye-Śes or Jo-vor-je Pal-Dan-Atisa) 982 – 1054 CE. He was the second son of Kalyāna Sri, a patron of the Vikramasilā monastery. He became a sāmanera at the age of 12. He first studied at Vikramasilā and then at Nalanda, Rajagaha and back to Vikramasilā under Naropā in charge of the Northern gate. From there he left to Buddha Gayā to study under Mahā Vinayadhara Sīlaraksita and then travelled to Burma and Malayu to study under Ācarya Dharmapāla of Suvaṇṇadvipa. At 31, he was a master of the Tipiṭaka, the Tantras and an all-round scholar. At the age of 44 he left Sumatra and returned to Vikramasilā where he became the chief among 51 scholars and leader of 108 monasteries. His fame spread in the Buddhist world and when he received the messengers from Tibet sent by the Royal ascetic Jñānaprabhā, he resolved to go to Tibet. This was at the age of 57.

Before leaving India he trekked to Buddha Gayā; and after spending two years in Nepal at the invitation of the king of Nepal, came to Tibet. In the biographical account of Atiśa, it is said that at the time "the master left India, Buddhism was, as it were, at its lowest ebb".

This account of Atiśa shows the zeal with which Buddhist missionary monks worked, though it was 1500 years after the *Parinibbāna.* His life was one of scholarship, devotion, humility, resolution and detachment. His impact was greatest due to these qualities. There was a human touch. When he left Vikramasilā, he had no intentions of returning and as if to take leave of the Buddha, whose torch he was bearing to the best of his ability, he visited Buddha Gayā, the place of Enlightenment and spent a few days there.

Atiśa brought the last spiritual impetus from India. During this period, under the patronage of the kings of Western Tibet, Buddhism began to flourish as an indigenous mode of religious and philosophical thought. His teachings were based on the Yogācara school of Maitreya and Asanga, and this led to the establishment of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa school by his Tibetan disciple, Hbrom-ston. There was a synthesis of both Hinayana and Mahāyāna, and the new school enforced celibacy upon the monks and discouraged magic practices. It was as if Atiśa took the beacon light of Buddhism from India to Tibet, with a forward vision of the future debacle of Buddhism in India, its birthplace.

The spiritualism of the Tibetan was kindled. An important development was the Kagudpa school of Yoga, as expanded by the four famous saints Tilopa (975 CE), Naropa, Marpa and Milarepa (1052 – 1135 CE). The last was the most famous and the utterances of Milarepa now translated into English from Tibetan by Prof. C. C Chang and published as the '*Hundred songs of Milarepa*' could emanate only from a mind that is inspired and illumined with a knowledge of liberation (*Vimutti*). In 1050 CE a religious council was held in Tibet and there was a great Buddhist revival associated with Atiśa, Marpa, and Milarepa.

In Nepal, Buddhism was yet the state religion. When Ven. Atiśa was passing through Nepal, King Jayakāmadeva of the Thakuri dynasty was ruling. Atiśa spend 2 years in Nepal on his invitation. During this period he initiated a prince of the royal blood into the order. From Nepal and Tibet, Buddhism spread also to the neighbouring kingdoms of Bhutan, Sikkim and Ladakh which to this day remain as Buddhist states.

Political stability was again brought into China under the Northern Sung (960 – 1126 CE) and the Southern Sung (1127 – 1279 CE) dynasties. The dynasty itself was established by Chao-kuang-yin, a Buddhist disciple, who reigned as Emperor Tai Tsu. There was a great efflorescence of art and architecture during this period, which, besides the royal patronage given to the arts, could be regarded as the culmination or fruition of the intellectual and spiritual activity from the latter part of the T'ang dynasty and the Five dynasties that followed. Both Ch'an Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism were outcomes of these developments.

In Japan there were eight sects by this time. The first sect is the Sanron Sect introduced circa 729 CE by Hui-kuan of Koguryu who had studied under Chi-tsang and resided at Gangoji. Along with Sanron, the Hosso, Kusha, Jojitsu, Kegon and Ritsu sects are known as the six sects of Nārā. To this is added the Tendai and Shingon sects of the Heian period to make the eight sects of the ancient period.

An event of great significance which became a turning point in the history of Burma was the ascendancy of King Anawrata (Aniruddha) in 1044 CE to the throne of Pagan, north of Prome. He raised this small principality into an extensive kingdom including the greater part of modern Burma, and for the first time brought about a political union of the country. Far more important was the complete transformation of Burmese culture under the influence of the Mons. King Anawrata became a follower of Theravāda Buddhism after listening to a Talaing monk of Thaton named Shin Arhan, also known as Dharmadarsi. He was fired by the zeal of a new convert. He sent messengers to the king of Thaton requesting him to send a complete set of the Tipiṭaka. As he refused, King Anawrata marched with his army and having captured the king of Thaton brought monks, Buddhist texts and relics on the backs of 32 elephants.

South East Asia was yet dominated by the Sailendra kings of the Sri Vijaya kingdom. They continued to be patrons of Buddhism and Suvarnadvīpa (Sumatra) yet flourished as a centre of Buddhist learning, especially for foreign monks to acquire a proficiency in Sanskrit before proceeding to India. The standard of scholarship should have been high for Atiśa Dipankara to have decided to stay 14 years in Suvarnadvīpa to study under Ācarya Dharmapāla.

Circa 1005 CE there is a Chola inscription stating that the Sailendra king Chūḍamanivarman commenced the construction of a Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭhana. In or shortly after the 21st year of the Chola

King Rājarāja (985 – 1016 CE) a village was granted for its upkeep. But these friendly relations seem to have been short lived. During the reign of King Rājādhurāja (1018 – 1054 CE) a naval expedition was sent against the Sailendra king and the Chola kingdom was extended to the whole of the eastern coast region of Sumatra and the central and southern part of Malay Peninsula. Sri Lanka was also brought under the Cholas and was under their hegemony from about 1044 to 1070 C.E.

In the kingdom of Campa (Vietnam), in 1010 CE, according to Chinese annals, the Ly Dynasty carne into power. The early missionaries had contributed a great deal to the growth of Buddhism in the county. However, it was during the Ly Dynasty which ruled for 215 years, that Buddhism was declared a state religion.

1601 – 1700 years after Parinibbāna (1057 – 1156 CE)

In Central Asia, the glory that was the past, inspired by Buddhism, had already succumbed to Islamic inroads and was being covered up in sand dunes only to be discovered about a millennium later. The Arab and Turkish Muslims were becoming a mighty force, threatening in the west the Byzantine empire and in the East, India. The riches of both these lands were the chief attraction, fervoured by religious zeal. By 1081 CE, Jerusalem, Antioch and Edissa were already in the hands of the Muslim Seljuks. The next target was Constantinople and the appeals to the Christian West resulted in the early crusades for the recovery of Jerusalem and other holy places of the Christians. Under Mohammed of Ghazni, the Muslim rule, by about 1018 CE, extended from the Indus to the Jumma. From then onwards it was a matter of time till the whole of India was brought under Muhammadan rule by the Moghul rulers. In the South, the Chola kingdom reached its zenith under Rajadhiraja. All these developments were fatal for the course of Buddhism in India.

However, we see during this century a re-establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in the South East Asia region, which in itself is an important development. The official introduction of Theravāda Buddhism to the court of Pagan was in 1057 CE. King Anawrata who reigned till 1084 CE and his son King Kyanzittha (1084 – 1112 CE) became great champions of the Theravāda form of Buddhism and along with their political authority Buddhism spread over the whole of Burma. King Anawrata even arranged copies of the Tipiṭaka to be brought from Lanka and they were compared with the Texts brought from Thaton. During the period more than 5600 pagodas were erected

in the capital. It was a period of great Buddhist resurgence. The most famous temple at Pagan is the Ananda Temple built by King Kyanzittha. The king also had very close links with the Sri Lanka king, Vijayabahu I. The latter drove away the Cholas from Sri Lanka in 1070 CE and sent messages to King Anawrata to send Theravāda Buddhist monks to re-establish the *sāsana* after the total destruction brought about by the Tamil invasion. This was the commencement of a long tradition of very close religious links between Burma and Sri Lanka, which later were extended to Siam, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

The hostility between the Cholas and the Sri Vijaya Sailendra kings had apparently ended as evinced by an inscription which records that in 1090 CE the Chola king, Kulottunga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Sailendra-Cūḍamanivarma vihāra, at the request of the king of Kadara. This is the same Vihāra referred to in the copper plate inscription of King Rājarāja, from which one could infer that a Buddhist community lived near Nāgapaṭṭanam in South India. The power of the Sailendras seems to have dwindled, and, by the end of the century, a great Buddhist empire that for over 500 years ruled the maritime areas of the Malayan Archipelago and supported the seat of Buddhist learning in Sumatra had faded into obscurity.

The Sailendra rulers being supporters of Mahāyāna Buddhism, were chiefly instrumental in propagating Mahāyāna doctrines in the region. In Cambodia from 1002 to 1182 CE was the Sūryavarman dynasty, whose empire extended over the whole of present day Thailand. They were adherents of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus, during this period, in Thailand too it was Mahāyānism that was predominant. The close connection with the Sri Vijaya rulers is borne out by an interesting inscription, now in the national museum at Bangkok, which records that the ruler in Lopburi in Central Thailand, was a king from Nakom Sri Thammarath tracing his ancestry to Sri Vijaya rulers. However, from this inscription we find that both Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism were prevalent in Lopburi. In northern parts of Thailand, which were under Burma, Theravāda Buddhism was more prevalent due to the influence of King Anawrata and his successors.

In the North, Buddhism was active mostly in Tibet. Immediately after the great revival of Buddhism under Atiśa, Marpa and Milerepa, two other sects came into being. They were Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa influenced

by Marpa and the Sa-skya-pa which took Padmasambava as its founder. The latter were recognized by their red caps.

Inspired by their masters, Tibetan Buddhist monks were gradually entering China. The traditional route to India being closed and sea travel being very hazardous, China was becoming more and more influenced by Tibet.

In Korea, Buddhism reached the height of its power during this century when Korea was ruled by the Wang Dynasty. Hitherto Buddhism had been the religion mostly of the aristocracy related to the Silla Dynasty. Due to the efforts of Korean monks led by Yi-T'ien and P'u Chao it became also the faith of the common man. Among the activities of Yi-T'ien was the editing of the catalogue of the Chinese Tipiṭaka called Yi-T'ien-Lu. He went to China for deeper study of Buddhism and on his return propagated the doctrine of both the Houa Yen and T'ien T'ai sects. The introduction of Ch'ang or Zen Buddhism into Korea was the work of P'u Chao. Buddhism in Korea has become unshakeable.

In Japan the most important doctrinal development was the teaching of the Nembutsu by Ryomin (1072 – 1132 CE) and thereby beginning the Yuzu Nembutsu school circa 1124 CE.

1701 – 1800 years after Parinibbāna (1147 – 1256 CE)

In Sri Lanka there was a great revival of Buddhism under Parakramabahu I (1153 – 1186 CE), who re-united the whole of Sri Lanka. The Polonnaruwa period had three great benefactors of Buddhism, Vijayabahu I (1055 – 1110 CE), Parakramabahu I and Nissanka Malla (1187 – 1196 CE). Politically, Sri Lanka reached the zenith of her power during the reign of Parakramabahu, who sent sea expeditions even to Burma and Pandya country in South India. The most important Buddhist event was the reunification of the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jetavana *sangha* in 1165 CE after the holding of a council for the purification of the Sangha under the leadership of Ven. Dimbulāgala Kasyapa. A code of disciplinary rules *(Katikāvata)* was also promulgated by him and recorded in a stone inscription. During this time, Sri Lanka was gaining pre-eminence in the Buddhist world. The Pāla rulers who patronized Buddhism in the North had lost political power and in the South, the Chola, Pandya and Pallava rulers were either Saivite or Vaisnavite and only tolerated Buddhism. In Sri Lanka their policy had been one of destroying

Buddhism for political expediency. In this context the events in Sri Lanka were of special significance for the survival of Buddhism.

After King Anawrata, Burma became a Theravāda country being influenced by the monks of Thaton. It extended her influence especially over upper Thailand but during the century, after a long period of struggle, the Thais were able to establish their independent state at Sukhothai. They later extended their territory to cover present Thailand by expelling the Cambodian rulers from the South. Sumatra was already under Theravāda influence because of Burma. With political expansion Theravāda Buddhism supplanted Mahāyāna in the South as well. This was easy as the Sri Vijaya Kingdom was already breaking up and the religious leadership of the Nalanda University was also fading.

The most notable event, which confirmed the rising light of Sri Lanka in the Buddhist world, was the establishment of a Sinhala Order of monks in Burma by a monk called Cāpāṭa, who had received his ordination in Sri Lanka. The Sīhala monks did not consider those of Burma as validly ordained and this was shared by Cāpāṭa and his disciples. The rivalry between the Sīhala Sangha and the Mramma Sangha continued for three centuries and ended in the final triumph of the former.

In the political scene the most important events were the Mongol conquests. By the middle of the century the many independent Mongol tribes had been welded together into a formidable force. Immediately afterwards they started a series of conquest's that were to forge an empire from the Southern tip of Korea to the shores of the Caspian. In 1206 CE their leader Timurjin took the title 'Jenghis Khan' the Emperor of the Seas.

The Mongols were Buddhists and the cultural links between China, Tibet, Korea and Mongolia were prevalent from about the 6th century CE. During the Chinese T'ang and Sung periods Buddhism was firmly established in Mongolia. This was the first time that the whole of Eurasia, covering nearly the present U.S.S.R., was under one political power. The political arena was ready for a re-introduction of Buddhism to Europe.

In Japan the Kamākurā period, which followed the Heian period, started in 1192 CE with the beginning of the Kamākurā Shogunate. This century saw the birth of four of the most Important schools of Japanese Buddhism. In 1175 CE, Honen (1133 – 1262 CE) who

studied the Nembutsu under Eiku, taught Senjunembutsu which was the beginning of the Jodo school. In 1224 CE Shinran (1173 – 1262 CE) commenced writing the Kyōgyōshinshō, which was the beginning of the Jodo Shinshu school This school has the largest number of adherents today. In 1227 CE Dogen (1200 – 1253 CE) returned from Sung China and began the Soto Zen School and in 1253 CE Nichiren (1222 – 1282 CE) who was active in Kamākurā began the Nichiren school.

The importance of the Kamākurā period was the popularization of Buddhism among the common man and its complete absorption by Japan. The Zen schools emphasized meditation and, salvation through one's own enlightenment,. (*jiriki* or self-power) whilst the Jodo (pure land) schools believed in salvation through faith in the power of others, (*Tariki,* lit, other-power). Since the Kamākurā period Buddhist funeral ceremonies had become universal. Such developments enabled the reconciliation of pre-buddhistic practices with Buddhism in the popular mind.

1801 – 1900 years after Parinibbāna (1256 – 1356 CE)

In 1257 CE the Lankavaṃsa was established in Thailand (Siam) by the monks who came to Sri Lanka and obtained the Upasampadā. The headquarters were in Nakon Sri Thammarath. Later the king of Thailand, Ram Kamhaing, having heard of the good work done by these monks invited them to his capital at Sukothai and gave his royal support for the propagation of the Dhamma. Detailed accounts are given in one of his inscriptions, dated about 1277 CE. Thus in both Burma and Thailand, the supremacy of the Theravāda tradition as preserved in Sri Lanka, was firmly established. From Thailand it spread to the neighbouring kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos.

The greatest event was the ascension of the Mongol ruler Kublai Khan, the grandson of Jenghis Khan, to the Chinese throne. In 1260 CE he established his northern capital at Peking (Khanbaliq) and in the following year he was proclaimed the Emperor of China. This Yuän dynasty ruled from 1260 – 1378 CE. His spiritual teacher had been a distinguished Sa-Skya monk called Hphags-pa of Tibet, and after he became the Emperor of China he gave every encouragement to the Tibetan monks of the Sa-Skya sect to spread Tibetan Buddhism. His empire stretched as far as the Baltic in North and North Burma in the south and from Korea to the Caspian Sea. These Mongolian rulers were the most powerful Buddhist monarchs in history. Although there

is no record of their using force to spread Buddhism, throughout his Empire there was a revival of Buddhism.

For the second time Buddhism appeared in certain parts of Central Asia under Mongol rule. Buddhist communities seem also to have lived in the basin of lower Volga. During this period it is undeniable that the Mongolians exerted an appreciable cultural influence not only on the Russians who were vassals of the Mongolians but also on the Latvians, Lithuanians and the Estonians.

According to a faint tradition, Buddhism seem to have reached Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the three Baltic Republics in Eastern Europe, for the first time during the time of Asoka. Although there is no definite historical evidence, it is pointed out that the influence of early Buddhism is seen in folk songs and tales which are replete with faith in rebirth and the law of karma. It is also shown that the Estonian national epic about the hero Kalevipoeg, son of Kalev and Lind, contain deep Buddhist concepts. The second wave of Buddhist influence seems to have come during this period.

In Tibet, Kubilai Khan conferred the sovereignty of Centra1 Tibet upon the high priest of Sa-Skya (1270 CE). This was the beginning of the new theocratic rule in Tibet. Sa-Skya monks were greatly devoted to learning and were excellent teachers. They took the highest advantage of the patronage given by Kubilai Khan. Their influence was greatest in Mongolia but it penetrated China and even Korea. At its peak, during the Yuăn period, there were over 42,300 Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and about 213,000 lamas, monks and nuns in this region.

The Tibetan Canon was also consolidated during this time. Bu-ston (1290 – 1364 CE) was both a commentator and a historian of repute. He systematically arranged the existing Tibetan translations of Buddhist works into two comprehensive groups, called Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (the Word of the Buddha) in 100 volumes and the Bstan-ḥgyur (the Treatises) in 225 volumes. They comprise the Tibetan Buddhist Canon that has come down to the present day.

With the new developments many Chinese monks left for Japan, but their influence on the development of Japanese Buddhism was not so striking, perhaps due to the language barrier. In 1267 CE Ippen, who taught the dancing Nembutsu, started the Jishu school of the pure abode type. The popularization of Buddhism during the Kamaākurā period continued during the century.

In India, the Buddhist monasteries which were the centres of Buddhism, were destroyed unceremoniously by the early Muslim invaders with inhuman cruelty. Buddhism also had to face the stiff opposition of the reactionary forces of the Brahmanical society. Under these circumstances Buddhism took its last shelter in the frontiers of Bengal, mainly in the regions of Chittagong and Tripuri.

The Buddhists of Lanka made some attempts to revive Buddhism in South India. Sena-Lankādhikāra restored or built anew a shrine housing a stone image of the Buddha at Kanchi (Conjeevaram). Circa 1344 CE, the hierarch Dhammakitti restored a shrine at Dhanayakaṭaka (Amarāvati) and made costly offerings to it.

The sacred shrines of Sri Lanka came to be regarded with the same veneration as those in India. On numerous occasions, Burmese rulers sent rich offerings to the Sacred Tooth Relic and other sacred objects. In 1284 CE Emperor Kubilai Khan sent a mission for the Sacred Tooth, Bowl and Hair Relics. These events show how closely knit were the Buddhist countries of the time.

1901 – 2000 years after Parinibbāna (1357 – 1456 CE)

The heyday of Buddhism was over and generally decadence had set in, heightened by the weakness of the Buddhist rulers. The only important developments were in Tibet.

The political stage was being set for a period of struggle against alien forces. The Turks under the Ottomans had built a vast Muslim empire and although for over 400 years the Christian Byzantine Empire was able to withstand the pressure by waging the ‘Holy” Crusades, in 1453 CE with the fall of Constantinople the empire crumbled. However it resulted in the great Renaissance when the Christian priests fled to the European seats of learning with the valuable books that were a store house of knowledge, lost to the world during the Medieval ages.

The trade of the Indian Ocean was in the hands of the Muslim Arabs. They had their trading outposts first in India and Sri Lanka. After the fall of the Maritime forces of the Cholas and the Sailendras, they gradually took the whole trade into their hand. There were two expeditions during the third Ming ruler of China which went as far as Arabia, circa 1405 – 1411 CE, but they did not achieve much to curb the Arab maritime power. Pockets of Islamic culture began to appear along the maritime routes. Slowly but steadily they penetrated the life of the countries of the Malay Archipelago, more by inter-marriage

than by war. Within the next 500 years, the vast Sri Vijayan kingdom which was supporting a flourishing Buddhist community from the 8th to the 13th century CE, broke into several Muslim states. It was virtually a peaceful revolution which could get repeated in any country. Buddhism was lost except in the small island of Bali.

In China the rise of the Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644 CE) was not very favourable to Buddhism. The earlier Yuän dynasty, being Mongols, was opposed as foreign rulers. The opposition of the Chinese literati was even reflected in their going over to Japan. The Mongol rulers favoured Tibetan Buddhism. The rise of neo-Confucianism was partly due to national opposition to this favoured treatment given to Tibetan Buddhism. Some Ming rulers even prohibited Buddhist observances and practices. Towards the end of their period Confucianism had gained in strength and the dark period of Buddhism had begun. Its influence was seen even in neighbouring countries, especially Vietnam where too there were persecutions of Buddhists.

In Sri Lanka, Anuradhapura, which was the centre of Buddhism and also the politica1 capital, was abandoned after a period of nearly 1500 years. Polonnaruwa was held for only 300 years. After the devastating rule of Magha of Kalinga (1215 – 1236 CE), which brought destruction all round, the Sinhala rulers were forced towards the Central and South West regions. The frequent invasions from South Indian Tamil rulers and the resulting change of citadels ushered in a period of stress, which even affected the cause of Buddhism. Libraries full of valuable Buddhist books were burnt down and Buddhist monks dispersed. Yet the kings remained Buddhist and gave whatever support they could offer for its sustenance. The monks of Sri Lanka, however, maintained their superiority in piety, erudition and scholarship. In 1361 CE a Sangharaja (chief monk) from Sri Lanka was invited by the then King of Siam to organize the *sangha* (Buddhist order) in that country. The Sīhala sangha, who founded the Lankāvaṃsa, played a very important role in the consolidation of Theravāda Buddhism in Siam.

Tibet, fortunately, due to its natural inaccessibility, preserved the Buddhism it received and grew from strength to strength. One of the greatest reformers of Tibetan Buddhism Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1358 – 1419 CE) was of this century. Using Atiśa's reformed teachings as a base he cleansed the doctrine of deviations and superstitious beliefs and established a strong order of Buddhist monks based on sound learning,

discipline and celibacy. The new sect was called Dge-lugs-pa (the school of the Virtuous), popularly described as the "Yellow Hats".

In 1408 CE he founded the Ganden monastery, near Lhasa. Besides, he founded the temples of Depung and Sera near Lhasa and Tashi-Lhumpo in the Tsang province. They became famous centres of learning and continued the work of religious propagation in Mongolia and Siberia. After the power of the Sa-Skya-pa sect had dwindled, the Dge-lugs-pa came to be favoured by the Mongol rulers as spiritual leaders and later as temporal rulers of Tibet. The Dge-lugs-pa both temporally and spiritually dominated Tibetan Buddhism through the religious succession of the Dalai Lamas.

2001 – 2100 years after Parinibbāna (1457 – 1556 CE)

A new force entered the already troubled arena. In 1505 CE the first Portuguese ship reached Sri Lanka and South India. Soon after, the Portuguese Coat of Arms was engraved and a small warehouse and a Catholic church were constructed in Sri Lanka. It was the first European maritime power that discovered a direct sea route to India and their intentions were to capture the spice trade from the Arabs and spread Christianity with the aid of the sword. In the name of God any heinous crime on the 'heathens' was permissible. The inquisitions were a potent weapon used by the Catholics to try all cases of heresy, to censor books, to extort confession by torture and to inflict the penalty of death. During the first 15 years of its existence, in Spain alone 10,000 persons were burnt and penalties were inflicted on 90,000. This tradition was the opposite of the peaceful tolerant attitude of Buddhism. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, and by the British and French.

Although Christianity had existed for over 1500 years there was no direct relationship with the Eastern religions, except during the time of the Roman Empire. After the rise of Mohammedanism, its chief pre-occupation was to save Christendom from Moslem inroads. The discovery of new routes opened new vistas to the Christian Church, whilst to Buddhism, already weakened by Muslim inroads, it became a new challenge. By 1549 CE Catholicism was transmitted to Japan by Francis Xavier.

Buddhism thus was further weakened. The only important historical record was the Kalyāni Inscription of 1476 CE in Burma which gives an account of the final victory of the Sīhala monks. A

Buddhist mission was sent to Sri Lanka by the Burmese King, when Bhuvenekha Bahu II (1470 – 1478 CE) was the ruler.

2101 – 2200 years after Parinibbāna (1557 – 1656 CE)

The Buddhist world was becoming further restricted. In Korea, during the time of the Yuän dynasty of the Mongolian Empire, Tibetan Buddhism and practices spread to Korea. After the decline of this Empire, in Korea, the Rhee dynasty came into power. They supported Confucianism. Buddhism was dislodged from the position of being the state religion, thereby losing royal patronage. However, it remained the major faith of the masses. It later became greatly influenced by Zen Buddhism which is the major component of modern Korean Buddhism.

In Japan the Edo period began in 1603 CE. The Edo Shogunate continued till 1867 CE. During this period Buddhism acquired the character of a national religion under the patronage of Tokugawa Shogunate. Buddhist practices and ceremonies replaced Buddhist scholarship to the degree that Buddhism in popular belief lost its distinctive character. It was a similar development in India which resulted in the last vestiges of Buddhism being completely absorbed by Hinduism. The religious environment was helpful for the resurgence of Shintoism.

In Northern countries Tibetan influence was yet the greatest. Under the Ming dynasty, Buddhism in China did not progress. In Tibet, the Mongolian chief Gusri Khan conferred the sovereignty of the whole of the country on the Dalai Lama. This would be considered a turning point in Tibetan history. Up to about the fifth Dalai Lama (1615 – 1680 CE) they had divine suzerainty only over a part of Tibet. Gradually the Dge-lugs-pa were gaining in power.

2201 – 2300 years after Parinibbāna (1657 – 1756 CE)

There was a commencement of a Buddhist revival. In Western Central Asia Buddhism appeared for the third time, being brought by the western Mongolian people called the Oirates. They went as far as the Volga and took Buddhism with them. However no large monasteries appeared in the Porolzhye Steppes. The Kalmuk monasteries that existed were only of an itinerant type. In 1712 CE Buddhism appeared in the Baikal region. It began to spread among the Buryat Nomads, when 150 Tibetan monks came to the District. in 1741 CE the first Buddhist monastery in Buryati was built in the

Selengin District. Buddhism as a religious teaching yet exists in this region.

As seen from the introduction of Buddhism to the Baikal region, Tibetan influence continued to be exerted outside Tibet especially in Mongolia. The seventh Dalai Lama who reigned from 1708 – 1758 CE was known for his deep learning, tolerance and ascetism. His reign was marked by the visits of Capuchin and Jesuit missionaries in Lhasa.

Christianity was spreading its tentacles far and wide, although there was opposition in certain countries. It was largely the work of Jesuits, who are known as great proselytizers. They acted mainly in the royal courts and acted as teachers to royal princes and princesses. Through them they influenced the court and even made use of the internal dissensions to obtain a political foothold. A typical example was in Sri Lanka where the Portuguese claimed legitimacy to the whole of the maritime provinces, first as the protector and then as the successor of the last King of Kotte, who as a young prince of seven was baptized and then crowned (by crowning an effigy in Lisbon) as Don Juan Dharmapala. By now the real power had passed to the neighbouring Kingdom of Sitawaka.

Due to the coming of Christianity, the rulers of Japan gave a new fillip to Buddhism as they looked with disfavour on the action of the Catholic missionaries. Towards the close of the Edo period greater encouragement was given to Buddhist studies. There were also the reformists who despised the low ebb Buddhism had fallen into as a popular religion. The scholarly studies in Buddhism begun during this period laid the foundation of modern Buddhist studies in Japan. Among the important works of the period are the Mahāyāna studies of Tominagu Chuki (1715 – 45 CE) and the Sanskrit studies of Ven. Jiun Sonja (1718 – 1807 CE) a monk of the Shingon sect.

Burma and Thailand continued in their Theravāda tradition. In Sri Lanka Buddhism reached its lowest ebb due to political infighting and the sacrilegious activities of the Portuguese which were so intense that the Jesuit historian Father Fernaō de queroz, who wrote the voluminous book entitled ‘The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon’ confirmed the visions of a Catholic priest who had predicted the expulsion from Ceylon of the Portuguese as “a punishment from God for the misdeeds of the Portuguese”.

Kandy was made the new capital of Sri Lanka. Thailand was able to pay back its debt to Sri Lanka when King Boromkot (1733 – 1758

CE) sent, at the request of King Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1744 – 188l CE), some Thai monks to re-establish the Higher Ordination ceremony as the succession was lost during the period of political turmoil. The mission was led by Mahā Theras Upali and Āriyamuni and in the course of time the Siyamopāli or Siyam Nikaya, was established in Sri Lanka, with headquarters in Kandy.

2301 – 2400 years after Parinibbāna (1757 – 1856 CE)

Muslim power was contained for some time mainly because of the growth of the European powers. The Renaissance was followed by a reformation of the Catholic Church and from about 1600 CE the church spread with new vigour. Within Europe the religious wars between the Catholics and the Protestants marked the history of the period. The finding of sea routes affected the balance of power and with the Muslim Turks controlling the traditional routes to the East, the power that gained maritime sovereignty virtually became the European leader. In the fifteen hundreds it was the Portuguese and the Spaniards; then the Hollanders and after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, England was forging ahead. The chief opponent was France but English supremacy was convincingly proved in the Battle of Waterloo when Nelson defeated Napoleon. These events changed the history of the World. The success of the French Revolution against the feudal structure and the influence of persons like Rousseau, Voltaire and later Adam Smith marked a revolution in human thought in the West. The English did not have the bigotry of the earlier colonial powers and their liberalism greatly assisted the Buddhist revival that saw its beginnings by the end of this century.

They were soon to realize that when Europe was still in the "Dark Ages", India, China and the East bonded together by Buddhism were living an intense political, intellectual, religious and artistic life. It was their search for this "Wisdom of the East" that resulted in the great desire for the study of the Buddha's life and His Teachings in the century to come, which marked the 2500th year after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha.

A firm foundation was laid by the works of early Indologists like Sir William Jones (1746 – 94 CE) and H. T. Colebrook (1782 CE). Other notable contributions which introduced Buddhism to the West included the collection of valuable Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts brought from Nepal by B. H. Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal (1821 – 1841 CE); the Tibetan-English Dictionary by Csoma de Körös (1834 CE); the critical edition and translation of the Mahavaṃsa, the

Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka by George Turnour (1837 CE); 'Introduction a L' Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien' by Eugene Burnouf (1844 CE); Translation of the Saddharma Pundarika, the Lotus Sutra to French again by Burnouf (1852 CE), and the Latin Translation of the Dharmapada by Professor Vincent Fausböll of Copenhagen (1855 CE). The translation of the Mahavaṃsa assisted Princep to identify "Piyadasi-Rājā." in the inscriptions written in the Brahmi script of the 3rd century B.C. with the Emperor Asoka. This discovery based on the Sri Lankan chronicle was a major breakthrough in the study of the ancient history of India and of Buddhism.

2401 – 2500 years after Parinibbāna (1857 – 1956 CE)

The gratitude for the pioneering work for the great revival of Buddhism during this century and its spread as a World Religion has to be offered mainly to Western scholars. However, there was a systematic pillage of ancient texts and manuscripts from the monasteries, sometimes using authority, as seen in the case of Hodgson, and these were taken to European centres of learning. Being inspired, many European scholars came to the East with an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. They wanted to know more, learn and see more. From being heathens, who could be killed as "soul-less" beings, there grew a respect, out of shame, for the Eastern mind, seeing the high cultural traditions the people have been cherishing for centuries. The Western rulers too encouraged these studies, as they were gradually realizing the value of knowing a people, their thoughts and aspirations, in order to make their rule more effective.

The period has a resemblance to that when Buddhism first went to China and Tibet. The main pre-occupation was the translation of the Buddhist texts to their respective languages. However, there was one major difference. The earlier translations were done by Buddhists with a keen interest to get a deeper comprehension of Buddhism for their own salvation. Many of those who translated the Buddhist texts during the current period were Christians or atheists. They had only a scholarly interest in the new knowledge. Translation of thoughts to a different language is not easy as a language grows in its own culture. Thus, it was a formidable task to render Buddhist concepts, such as *Anātma,* in Western languages which have grown in a Christian environment with concepts of God and Soul. What they failed conceptually, they tried to do linguistically, leading to completely erroneous interpretations. Scholasticism was a feature of the revival of Buddhism during this century.

The earlier remarks were made not in order to discredit the pioneering work, but to give direction to the future. In no way should it to taken as an attempt to lessen the contribution they made in the propagation of Buddhism to the West. What Buddhist rulers did in the past, these scholars did during the century, namely to prepare the soil for the propagation of the teachings of the Buddha by missionary monks. The translations mainly from Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts made a comparative study possible for the first time in modern times.

Pāli texts were translated into many languages: into English by scholars such as Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Mrs. Rhys Davids, W. Stede, R. Chalmers, V. Trenckner, H. Oldenberg, F. Pischel, F. Max Müller, Miss I. B. Horner, F.L. Woodward, Helmer Smith, E. Hardy, Ven. D. Kosambi and others; into German by Karl Seidenstucker, K. E. Neumann, Otto Franke, Wilhelm Geiger, Ven. Ñāṇātiloka, Paul Dahlke, and others; into Russian by Minayeff; into Italian by K. E. Neumann, G. de Lorenzo, P. E. Pavolini and others; into Polish by St. Fr. Michalski-Iwienski; and into French by Poussin, Fernando Hue, J. Filliozat, L. Renou, L. Finot and others.

Some scholars who devoted their time largely to Mahāyāna Buddhist texts were E. Burnouf, Vallée Poussin, A. Weber, A. Schiefner, Alexander Csoma de Körös, Samuel Beal, Hans Ludwig, R. Schmidt, H. Kern, Max Müller, B. Nanjio, Th. Stcherbatsky, E. Lamotte, G. Tucci, V. Bhattacharya, N. D. Mironov and J. Takakusu. These were scholars from Germany, France, England, India, Japan and USSR. Pioneering work on the study of Tibetan Buddhism was done by Sarath Chandra Das who in 1882 CE after his return from his travels in Tibet, gave a series of lectures on “Indian Scholars in Tibet”, in which he brought to light the work of the eminent Buddhist Scholar monks, Sāntarakśita, Kamalasila, Dipankara Srijñāna or Atiśa.

The first expedition to Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein, the English Archaeologist was in 1900/1901. The Central Asian Buddhist studies were undertaken by persons of eminence such as Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Hoernle, H. Lüders, Pargiter, F. W. Thomas, E. Waldschmidt, H. Hoffmann, R. Pischel and S. Lévi.

Of great significance was the forming of the Pali Text Society in England in the year 1881 CE by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids with the objective of “promoting the study of Pāli by publishing ancient Pāli canonical and commentarial texts in Roman characters, by publishing translations of them and from time to time publishing other works

ancillary to the study of Pāli". During the past 98 years of its existence the society has practically completed its task.

Eleven years later, in 1892 CE the Buddhist Text society of India was founded. Some of the notable scholars Were Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhushakar Sastri, Dr. B. C. Law, Professor Barua, Dr. Nalināksa Dutt, Dr. N. P. Cakravarty, Professor A. C. Banerjee and Dr. Nihal Ranjan Ray. Santineketan in West Bengal, Patna and Nalanda in Bihar, Bombay, Poona and Baroda in West India were active centres of Buddhist studies. One of the chief persons who was responsible for Pāli studies in India was Ven.. Dharmānanda Kosambi.

Some notable early translations following the publication of the Pali-English Dictionary by R. C. Childers (1875 CE) were those of Fausböll, Oldenberg and Kern. Fausböll's translation of the Jātakas (1877 – 1897 CE) contributed largely to the study of the cultural material in Buddhist Literature. Oldenberg, who with Rhys Davids translated the Vinaya Piṭaka, (1879 – 1883 CE) opened a new field in Buddhist ecclesiastical studies. Kern, in 1891 CE translated Aryasūra's Jātakamālā, a Sanskrit counterpart of the Pāli Jātakas. This was followed by a translation of the Saddharma Pundarika, which evoked an urge to study more the religious aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Buddhist scholarship was not only confined to Europe. It was almost universal. There were several Universities, Colleges and Research Institutes set up in Japan after the Meiji Restoration (1868 CE), some of which like Otani, Ryukoku, Komazawa, Taisho, Koyasan and Rissho were devoted to the advancement of Buddhist studies. B. Nanjio introduced Sanskrit classes at Otani University and his publication of the Catalogue of the Chinese Tipiṭaka was the beginning of Chinese Buddhist studies.

In the United States "Buddhism in Translation" by H. C. Warren under the Harvard Oriental Series founded in 1891 CE and "Buddhist Legends by E. W. Burlingame (Harvard Oriental Series, 1921 CE), contributed considerably in popularizing Buddhist studies. Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala of Sri Lanka, Ven. Ledi Sayadaw and Ven. Abhidaja Maharatthaguru Nyaungyan Sayadaw and Ven. Mingun. Sayadaw of Burma were sought after by many a scholar because of their deep learning, insight and piety.

An event of deep significance to the Buddhist World was the holding of the Fifth Council (according to Theravāda tradition) at

Mandalay Burma, in 1871 CE and the engraving of the whole of the Tipiṭaka on 729 slabs of marble at the behest of King Mindon. It received the support of the sangha of Sri Lanka, Siam, Cambodia and Laos, and provided an opportunity to compare and edit the Theravāda Buddhist Texts after nearly two thousand years—the last Council recognized by the Southern schools, being the one held in Sri Lanka during the time of Vaṭṭhagamāni Abhaya (89 – 77 B.C.), when the Tipiṭaka was first put to writing.

The deciphering of the Asokan Inscriptions with the clue given by the Mahavaṃsa, which had been edited in Roman characters and translated into English (1837 CE) created a wide interest in Ceylon Buddhism in the West. This was accentuated by the writings of two Christian Missionaries on Buddhism. Bishop P. Brigandit wrote 'The life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese' (1858 CE), and R. Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon wrote several books namely 'Eastern Monachism' (1850 CE), 'A manual of Buddhism' (1860 CE) and 'Legends and Theories of the Buddhist compared with History and Science' (1866 CE). Although these books had many errors they introduced for the first time to the West the Buddhism practiced in Burma and Sri Lanka, as seen through Christian eyes.

In Sri Lanka itself there was much ridiculing of Buddhism through books and pamphlets written in the vernaculars which Christian preachers distributed in propagating their faith. This was besides the mass proselytizing of Buddhist children through the school system. These resulted in an open challenge being made by Ven. Mohottiwatte Gunānanda, to the Christians to defend their faith. It was accepted by the Christian clergy. This led to three public controversies or debates, one at Udanvita in 1866 CE, the second at Gampola in 1871 CE and the last at Panadura in 1873 CE. The Panadura debate was the most important.

Rules were laid down for fair play, and full coverage was given by the leading newspaper of the time 'The Ceylon Times' which sent a special representative to cover the proceedings. The proceedings were published daily in English. Reports of this Debate and the efforts made by the Sinhalese Buddhists to safeguard their rights reached America and inspired a young American lawyer, Henry Steele Olcott to come to Sri Lanka in May 1880 and fight the Buddhist cause. The defeat of the Christians in debate, more than anything else, broke the myth of the

infallibility of the Christian church and was one of the major contributing factors to the Buddhist revival in the country.

On arrival, Olcott became a Buddhist and formed the Buddhist Theosophical Society for the purpose of establishing English schools for Buddhist children. He also made representations to the British rulers and in 1885 made them declare the Full Moon day of Wesak (May) a public holiday. He also felt the need of a special flag for the Buddhists which he created, and which was later accepted by all Buddhists as their flag.

One of the great Buddhist revivalists of the country was Anagārika Dharmapāla of Sri Lanka. He was inspired by and became a close co-worker with Henry Steele Olcott. He took up the idea initiated by Sir Edwin Arnold that Buddha Gaya should be returned to the Buddhists and after seeing for himself the dismal state of places like Buddha Gaya, and Sarnath, so close to the hearts of all Buddhists, he vowed that he would devote the rest of his life to this cause. With this objective he formed the Mahabodhi Society of India in 1891 CE. Two years later in 1893 CE, he was invited to Chicago as one of the speakers on Buddhism at the World Parliament of Religions. His talk impressed so many that he gained the support of a great benefactor, Mary Foster Robinson of Honolulu. The fight to get a just place for Buddhism was epitomized in the legal battle for the restoration of Buddha Gaya to the Buddhists. In the years following, special missions were made by Anagārika Dharmapāla to Burma, Japan and England to whip up enthusiasm among the Buddhists. It was a just cause and one that made the heart of many a Buddhist weep. In 1920 the work of the Dharmarājika Vihāra at Buddha Gaya was commenced. This was followed in 1928 by the Mulagandhakuṭi Vihāra at Isipatana, Sarnath.

With the enthusiasm created by these world events, backed by the deep intellectual interest in Buddhism due to the untiring efforts of Western scholars, Buddhism gradually spread to Western countries. America took a leading role as seen in the work of H. S. Olcott. In 1894 Rhys Davids was invited to deliver a series of lectures in America titled “Buddhism, Its History and Literature” also known as his “American Lectures.”

Across the Pacific there were also very close ties with Japan and many Japanese were finding new homes in the Western coast of the United States. Buddhism spread from Japan to meet the religious needs of these communities. In 1887 CE Rev. Soryu Kubahi came to

Honolulu and established the first Buddhist monastery. In 1893 CE was the first World Parliament of Religions held in Chicago where Buddhism was represented. Some take this event to be the official introduction of Buddhism to the United States, when C. J. Strauss of New York accepted Buddhism. He may have been the first American to do so. In 1899 CE there was a Japanese mission to San Francisco led by Rev. Sokai Sonada, which is the first of its kind recorded. Many of the American Buddhists were originally Japanese or Chinese and therefore almost all the major Buddhist sects in Japan are represented at present. Notable amongst them are the Higanshji Hongani Mission, Honpa-Honganji Mission, Jodo Mission, Nichiren Mission, Rinzai-Zen Mission, Shingon Mission and Soto Zen Mission.

Up to this century the chief influence in Japanese Buddhism was from mainland China. The work of the Pali Text Society in London resulted in a new development, as, through its translations, for the first time, Japanese Buddhist scholars came into contact with Theravāda Buddhism. The Pāli Canon was translated to Japanese in 65 volumes by Prof. J. Takakusu and M. Nagai. Prof. C. Akamura of the Otani University was another outstanding scholar. There followed many comparative studies of Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan Canons.

Although there was much activity in England in the translation of Pāli Texts the first Buddhist mission was only in 1908. It was led by Ven. Ananda Metteyya, an English monk, formerly C. H. A. Bennet who had received his ordination in Burma. He was the second Englishman to be a Buddhist monk, the first being Gordon Douglas who was ordained in Colombo in 1899 CE as Bhikkhu Asoka. Ven. Metteyya was drawn to Buddhism after reading Sir Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia' written in 1879 CE. Besides the work of the Pali Text Society one of Enlgand's greatest contributions to the spread of Buddhism in the West, was this great literary masterpiece. It was such a success that by 1885 CE there were over 30 editions. Up to now there have been over 60 editions in England and 80 in America, where the book seems to be more widely read than even in England. In his preface Sir Edwin Arnold writes "A generation ago little or nothing was known in Europe of this great faith of India, which had nevertheless existed during twenty centuries, and at this day surpasses, in the number of its followers and the area of its prevalence, any other form of creed. Four hundred and seventy million of our race live and die in the tenets of Gautama and the spiritual dominions of this ancient teacher extend, at the present time (1879 CE), from Nepal and Ceylon, over the Eastern Peninsula to China, Japan, Tibet, Central Asia,

Siberia and even Swedish Lapland. India itself might fairly be included in this magnificent Empire of Belief, for though the profession of Buddhism has for the most part passed away from the land of its birth, the mark of Gautama's teaching is stamped ineffaceably upon modern Brahmanism, and the most characteristic habits and convictions of the Hindus are clearly due to the benign influence of Buddha's precepts."

The Buddhist Society for Great Britain and Ireland was formed on November 26th 1907 CE, with Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids as President. In 1924 CE this was replaced by the Buddhist Society of England through the efforts mainly of Mr. and Mrs. Christmas Humphreys. Under its auspices several Buddhist monks visited England to teach the Dhamma. The idea of a Buddhist Vihāra in London originated with the Anagārika Dharmapāla of Sri Lanka, the founder of the Mahabodhi Society. With this intention he started a "Buddhist Mission" in 1928 CE. It became a reality in 1954 CE when a Buddhist Vihāra was established under the auspices of the British Mahabodhi Society with Ven. Saddhatissa of Sri Lanka as chief incumbent monk. The translation work of Pāli Texts was greatly accelerated after the founding of the Pali Text Society. The excellent work of Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids was continued by Miss I. Horner, whose life work has been the translation into English of the Pāli Canon with her co-workers. Mainly due to the links England had with Sri Lanka, as one of her colonies during the early period of Buddhism in that country, the influence of Theravāda Buddhism has been considerable.

Before long, Germany became one of the most important centres of Buddhism. The pioneering work of great Indologists like Max Müller and M. Winternitz was followed by closer studies on Buddhism. One of the first to call himself a Buddhist was the philosopher, Schopenhauer. Persons like K. E. Neumann, Karl Seidenstucker, Otto Francke, Wilhelm Geiger, and Leopold Von. Schroeder were others who brought Germany to the forefront of Buddhist scholastic studies. However the persons who had the greatest impact on the spread of Buddhism in Germany were Paul Dahlke, Dr. George Grimm and Ven. Nyānātiloka Maha Thera.

In 1925 CE Dahlke, who was the author of very comprehensive and lucid treatises on Buddhism, built the 'Buddhist House' in Berlin, Frohnau. Grimm was the founder of the 'Lodge of the Three Jewels' in München. Ven. Nyānātiloka, who spent a great part of his life as a monk at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa in Sri Lanka, has many

standard works on Buddhism to his credit. His influence is greatly visible in shaping the history of Buddhism in that country. He had ordained 54 Westerners, and among his bhikkhu-pupils were Germans, Britons, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Italians, and Jews.

In France, interest in the study of Buddhism was pioneered by Dr. Sylvan Levi and Prof. Louis De La Vallée Poussin. Sylvan Levi's unique services were in the study of Sanskrit Buddhism. In 1892 CE he published for the first time the first chapters of the Buddha-carita of Aśvaghoṣa. He also discovered two Chinese translations of the Milinda Pañha. He had a profound knowledge of Chinese, Tibetan, and the Kuchean languages. His greatest discovery was the Sanskrit texts of the Vijñānavāda School of Buddhism. Vallée Poussin was appointed a Professor of the University of Ghent in 1893 CE, and centred there, he worked for about 35 years mainly concentrating on Buddhism of the Sarvāstivādins. The Abhidharma Kośa of Vasubandhu was translated in 1923 – 31 CE and in 1930 CE the Vijñāptimātrasiddhi of Yuan Chwang. In 1921 CE the Sociéte Belge d'Etudes Orientales was founded in France mainly through his efforts.

The first fifty years of that century could be termed a period of translation of Buddhist Texts in the West. This created deeper and deeper interest in Buddhism, and led to many writings on this subject. In 1896 CE Kern Wrote his 'Manual of Indian Buddhism' followed by 'Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde' which gave, for the first time, a concise and systematic survey of Buddhism in India. In 1878 CE Rhys Davids wrote a book entitled 'Buddhism' which was a reply to Childer's article on Nibbāna. Poussin's works on Mula Sarvāstivāda Buddhism gave rise to many controversial topics, especially on *Ātma* and *Anātma* which engaged the attention of contemporaries like Mrs. Rhys Davids and Stcherbatsky. The latter wrote two monumental volumes on 'Buddhist logic' (1931 CE). Buddhist scholarship was thus growing in the West.

Similarly there was again much Buddhist activity in the East. In 1907 CE the Jetavana Vihāra was established in Nanking China by Yang-Wen-Hui where he gathered about 30 youths to engage in Buddhist studies. In 1911 CE an All China Buddhist Association with headquarters in Nanking was formed and was followed by many similar institutions in Nanking and Shanghai. A person largely responsible for the revival of Buddhism in China after the fall of the Chinese monarchy was Rev. T'ai Hsu (1888 – 1947 CE). His activities were continued by his disciples Lu-Chen, T'ang Yong Tung, Chen-

Ming-Hsu and Rev. Fa Fang. The last studied Pāli at the Vidyalankara Oriental College in Sn Lanka and at Santiniketan.

In Thailand, Buddhism continued to be the state religion. It remained the only Buddhist monarchy. Two great institutes of higher learning established during the century were Maha Makut Rāja Vidyalaya Academy and the Maha Chulālankara Rāja Vidyalaya Academy. With the patronage of royalty, Thailand was becoming more and more prominent in the spread of Buddhism to the West.

However, the most prominent role in the spread and revival of Buddhism was taken by Sri Lanka. Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Pirivenas (Oriental Colleges) founded in 1871 and 1873 respectively had become important centres of Buddhist learning and many monks from Thailand, Burma, Nepal, Cambodia and other Buddhist countries came to these two centres to study Buddhism and the Oriental Languages. Special residences for Bum1ese and Thai monks were built for their convenience. Some of these monks, like Ven. Rahula Sankrityāyana, Jagadiśa Kasyapa and Ananda Kausalyāyana of Nepal, on their return initiated Buddhist revivals in their own countries. Being in the alumni of these two institutes, they formed an important religious link among the Buddhist countries.

Of monasteries, the most important were the Vajirārāma in Bambalapitiya, Island Hermitage in Dodanduwa and the Forest Hermitage in Kandy. Many Westerners, intent on obtaining a deep insight into Buddhism came and lived the Dhamma as monks in these monasteries. Notable amongst them were Ven. Ñānavira and Ñānamoli from England, Ven. Nyānatiloka, Ven. Nyānaponika and Ven. Nyānavimala from Germany, Ven. Nyānasatta from Czechoslovakia and Ven. Ñānajīvaka from Yugoslavia. Monks from the Vajiraramaya also went on Buddhist *dhammadūta* work. The leading monk was the Ven. Nārada Maha Thera. His first mission was to Indonesia in 1934 CE. Later his missions took him to Nepal, Vietnam, Singapore, Bali in the East and to Sweden, Germany, England and many European countries in the West. Ven. Amirtānanda and Ven. Subhodhānanda who obtained higher ordination under Pelene Sri Vajirañāna of Vajirārama were greatly responsible for the revival of Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal.

An event which overshadowed the political, social and economic life of the world was World War II from 1939 – 1945. The breaking up of the vast colonial empires of England, France and other powers and the gaining of political independence was a major political

development. In many of these newly independent countries there was a strong measure of nationalism, which heightened the religious fervour that was growing.

The war also had a lasting effect on the West. The youth who came to the East, discovered a rich culture in Buddhism and when they returned after the war, they continued their interest. It may not be far from the truth to state that the discovery of Buddhism by the commoner in the West (including America) was mainly a result of the war. Buddhism after the war took a popular form in the West.

It was a common belief among the Buddhists, especially in the Theravāda countries, that in the 2500th year, after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha there would be a great revival of Buddhism. In Burma, immediately after the gaining of political independence in 1948, a Buddha Sāsana Council was established, under whose auspices several centres of Buddhist studies were opened. The inclusion of the '*dhammacakka*' the 'Wheel of Law' of Buddhism in the Indian flag and the placing of an image of the Buddha in the Indian Lok Sabha was of great significance to Buddhists. In 1954 CE Dr. Ambedkar, a minister of cabinet rank in the Indian Government, became a Buddhist under the influence of Ven. Lokanātha of Italy and declared that he would devote the rest of his life to the revival and spread of Buddhism in India. He represented the Harijans or the depressed classes. In Sri Lanka the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya was established in 1954 CE and work on a Buddhist Encyclopedia in English was undertaken with Prof. G. P. Malalasekera as the Chief Editor. The translation of the Tipiṭaka to Sinhala was also undertaken as a State venture. In Japan however, there was a minor setback to the position of Buddhism with the enactment of the Religious Juridical Persons Law (Shūkyo-Hejin-Ho) in 1941 CE which made the state a secular one and made the granting of any patronage to a religion illegal. This lifted any restrictions placed on Christianity or any other new religion and opened the doors wide for any kind of proselytism. However, the Japanese Buddhists recommenced religious ties with Hawaii and the Western American States, with greater vigour.

In preparation for the Buddha Jayanti, 2500th year of the Buddhist Era, falling on the Wesak Day of 1956 CE, a Council was held in Burma commencing on May 17, 1954. This great Council, referred as the Cattha (sixth) Sangāyanā, was held in Rangoon with the collaboration of the learned monks coming from various countries of the world, particularly from Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos,

India and Pakistan. It was presided over by Ven. Abhidhaja Maharaṭṭhaguru Bhadante Revata of Burma. The canon engraved on the Marble slabs after the fifth council was compared with the Pāli books now extant in Burma, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, India and the Pali Text Society and an authoritative version of the Pāli Tipiṭaka was compiled. This was completed by the Buddha Jayanti year.

For greater unity among the Buddhists, in 1950 CE the World Fellowship of Buddhists was inaugurated in Sri Lanka. Writing on this event 10 years after, the founder President, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera of Sri Lanka writes "For nearly a thousand years, because of circumstances beyond the control of the Buddhists, the Buddhist nations had been cut off from each other and there had grown, if not actual enmity, much distrust and suspicion, particularly between followers of the Theravāda and those of the Mahāyāna. Happily now, the position is completely different. Misunderstandings have been removed and the fundamental unity of Buddhism, in spite of the diversity of external forms and ceremonial ritual, has been recognized. There are frequent exchanges of visits and pilgrimages of scholars and student and many missions of goodwill. Buddhists everywhere now feel kinship as the members of a single family. The six-coloured Buddhist flag, which until 1950, was used only in Ceylon, has become the symbol of international Buddhism and flies everywhere at Buddhist gatherings, from Iceland to Korea and Japan, from South Africa to Hawaii and Brazil. The full moon day of May (Wesak) is celebrated in every Buddhist Country". The delegates came from twenty-nine different countries from both East and West to the inaugural meeting.

The climax of all these events was the Buddha Jayanti, which was celebrated the world over and marked the 2500th year of the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. The greatest wish of many a Buddhist was to visit the places closely associated with the life of the Buddha. Centuries before, many a Chinese monk trekked along the ancient silk route via Central Asia to achieve this purpose. However, as both land and sea routes were so hazardous only a few could achieve this. The Buddha Jayanti created a new fervour among the Buddhists to re-visit these places. The largest numbers, from Japan, were taking the fullest advantage of the modern means of transport and the post-war economic affluence. In Sri Lanka the Buddha Jayanti was celebrated in a fitting manner with dignitaries of Buddhist countries being invited

for the celebrations centred round each full-moon day of the year which resulted in closer ties being developed amongst the Buddhists.

2501 – 2523 years after Parinibbāna (1957 – 1979 CE)

Two major political events resulted in greater attention being focused on Buddhism throughout the World. In 1959 CE the Dalai Lama fled Tibet to India, under pressure from Communist China. The Tibetan refugee problem was universally canvassed and many Americans and Europeans helped in the sponsoring and education of several of the younger Lamas. Venerable Lama Trungpa and Ven. Lama Akong established the first Tibetan monastery in the West, Samye-Ling in Scotland. Ven. Lama Chime Rinpoche established the Kham Tibetan House and the Marpa Institute in Eastern England and the Gelugpa school started the Manjusri Institute in Western England. Between 1960 and 1978, six such centres were opened in England. Similar centres were also opened in Switzerland and the United States. Tibetan Buddhism which influenced Chinese, Mongolian and Korean Buddhism, especially after the Chinese Yuan period, came to the West after 1959. The Dalai Lama extends his religious influence from the Dharmasala established in Himachal Pradesh in India; but to what extent the scholastic and religious traditions maintained in Tibet could continue is for the future years to see.

The second event was the persecution of Buddhists in Vietnam in 1963 CE by the Diem's Catholic regime. A few Buddhist monks and nuns in Vietnam, immolated themselves by burning themselves to death in complete calm and without any trepidation. The very entry of the United States of America in the Vietnamese war had become a political issue and when these actions were reported there was great agitation the world over. Many a young American returning from the war front had an urge to learn more of Buddhism and its cultural heritage. Due to this, in many of the American Universities, Buddhism came to be taught under comparative religions. In certain Universities like Wisconsin and California even chairs for the study of Buddhism were created. At Harvard and Yale Universities 'Centres' for the study of World Religions were established. The natural inquisitive mind of the American was turned towards the study of Buddhism.

After the Buddha Jayanti, new Buddhist missions were undertaken. In 1956 the first Buddhist society in Brazil was founded by Dr. Mutillo Nunes de Azevedo. The first Theravada Buddhist Vihāra was inaugurated on 8th of June 1967 in Leopoldina, Rio de Janeiro when the Society invited Ven. Talpitiye Anuruddha of Sri Lanka to be the

resident monk. Invited by this society and Anuruddha Thera, the Ven. Piyadassi of Vajirarama, Sri Lanka, came to reside at the Vihāra on the 29th of October 1967 and spent several months engaging himself in Buddhist dharmaduta activities. As a result the Ven. Anuruddha and devout supporters were successful in establishing a Meditation Centre in Santa Teresa in the vicinity of Rio de Janeiro. In Sao Paulo there are several Japanese Judo Shin Temples and a Zen temple, catering to the spiritual needs of nearly 250,000 Japanese Buddhists.

In 1964 there was a visit to the United States of America by Ven. Madihe Paññāsihe Maha Nāyaka Thera and the writer and this resulted in the establishment of the first Theravada Buddhist Vihāra in U.S. in 1965 CE, situated in Washington DC. The first resident monk was Ven. Vinita of Vajirarama sent under the auspices of the Sāsana Sevaka Society of Maharagama, Sri Lanka. Now there are Theravada Buddhist Centres in New York, Chicago Colorado, Hollywood, Maryland, Boston and Los Angeles. The ending of the Vietnamese War in 1975 CE brought many Vietnamese refugees to the United States of whom many were Buddhists. They have established several centres known as "American Buddhist Churches" in a number of states.

In 1974 the Sri Lankan Buddhists in Toronto, Canada, formed the Toronto Buddhist Vihāra Society Incorporated which is affiliated to the Washington Buddhist Vihāra Society Incorporated. From time to time the Mahatheras Piyananda and Gunaratana of the Washington Vihāra and the Ven. Piyadassi of Vajirarama conducted the religious activities of the Buddhists in Toronto and Ottawa. In consequence of the exhortations of the Mahatheras Piyananda and Piyadassi and the enthusiasm of a few active workers, the Buddhist Society was able to establish the Toronto Buddhist Vihāra, in Scarborough in June 1978.

In Europe today, there are many Buddhist organizations belonging to all schools of Buddhism. On October 13, 1975 CE the Buddhist Union of Europe was formed in Paris by representatives of most Buddhist groups from Germany, Austria, France, The Netherlands, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland. Delegates from England were also present. It is an interesting phase in the history of Buddhism in Europe. Earlier Buddhists were reserved as they were looked down as followers of a strange faith. But by now this period had passed and there was a greater knowledge of Buddhism amongst everyone. The establishment of the Union is an important historical development in the spread of Buddhism in Europe as the European Buddhists have

now identified themselves as such and have realized that there are common obstacles to the propagation of Buddhism which should receive their attention. The existence due to historical reasons, of different groups is taken 'as a source of useful comparison rather than a source of rivalry'. In a recent almanac of European Buddhist Organizations and those affiliated with Buddhist studies, addresses of 150 organizations have been given of which 8 are in Austria, 7 in Belgium, 19 in Federal Germany, 27 in France, 63 in Great Britain, 1 in Hungary, 10 in Italy, 11 in the Netherlands, and 5 in Poland. This indicates the widespread nature of Buddhism in Europe today.

There are also groups in Scandinavian lands and Switzerland. The Buddhist Society in Sweden was formed in 1957 CE in Gottenberg as a result of a visit to that country by Ven. Nārada Mahā Thera in 1954 CE. In 1966 CE a Buddhist Research Centre was set up at Halle University in the GDR under the leadership of Professor Heinze Mode.

The first mission to West Africa was the one undertaken by Ven. Piyadassi of Sri Lanka in 1967 CE to Ghana. He took two bodhi saplings from Anuradhapura and planted them on the Full Moon day of the month of Poson (June) 1967 at the Black Star Square in Accra. The Ghanaian Buddhists have now formed a Buddhist Society called 'The Maha-Bodhi'.

In Australia there was much widespread interest in Buddhism after the Tibetan and the Vietnamese incidents. Buddhist Associations started to appear during the last 25 years and today there are about 8 Associations spread throughout Australia. In Melbourne has been formed the Buddhist Federation of Australia, with the function of developing and maintaining contacts between the various Buddhist groups. The oldest organizations are the Buddhist Society of New South Wales, the Buddhist Society of Victoria and the Buddhist Society of Western Australia. Monks from both Sri Lanka and Thailand are engaged in Dharmadūta work. There are also centres of Zen and Tibetan Buddhism, but the Theravāda tradition is strongest in Australia. .

Although Buddhism has been spreading to new lands during this period, in Asia, which was the cradle of Buddhism for over two millenniums, there has been a gradual recession. The whole of Central Asia, Persia and Hindu Kush, Kashmir, Punjab and Sindh areas were lost to Islam. After the fall of the Sri Vijaya Kingdom and the rise of the Muslim Sultanate of Malacca, Malaysia and Indonesia including Java and Sumatra were also lost to Islam. India once again became a

predominantly Hindu state, with Muslims as the second largest minority. After the rise of the Ming dynasty in China (1368 – 1688 CE) Buddhism was in the decline and after 1912 CE when China became a Republic even the little royal patronage to Buddhism was lost.

With Portuguese, Dutch, British and French colonialism came the Christian religion. It was spread with the help of the sword and for the first time Buddhism came face to face with an organized religion. The spirit of Christianity was contrary to the tolerant spirit of Buddhism. With political patronage given by the colonial rulers, although a minority, the Christians became the ruling class. The Buddhist countries of Sri Lanka, Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos had nearly 500 years of political and religious suppression.

Among the Buddhist countries, except in Sri Lanka, political independence was followed by much internal strife. Communist thought was spreading and at times nationalism was mistaken to be communism needing suppressive policies. In 1949 CE after a period of prolonged internal strife, the Peoples' Republic of China was founded. It gradually extended its influence to the neighbouring countries. Although the communist party had a declared policy of religious tolerance there was an initial cleavage between Chinese Buddhists and those of Asia. The fleeing of the Dalai Lama from Tibet created many doubts in the Buddhist world regarding the true policies of China towards religion.

A few years after the Buddha Jayanti, a revolutionary government was formed in Burma. Vietnam experienced a long political struggle. In Cambodia, in 1969 CE. the completion of the work of the Tipiṭaka Commission set up in December 14, 1929 CE by H.M. King Sisorath Monivong to translate, compile and edit in the Khmer language the Pāli text of the Tipiṭaka, was celebrated. But the situation of Cambodia today is pitiable. The excesses and persecutions of the Pol Pot regime are too well known to recount. The political condition of Laos is again far from peaceful for Buddhism to flourish.

There is a greater awareness regarding the Buddha's Teachings in the world, perhaps, than ever before. Books and treatises dealing with Buddhism are being issued in several languages from presses the world over. Nevertheless it is true that some of these publications, according to Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, are "but travesties of the truth and written by people who have no real knowledge of the Dhamma and have no sympathetic understanding of the teachings of the

Buddha". The Buddhist Publication Society of Kandy (Sri Lanka) has done a remarkable job since its inception in 1958, to rectify this situation. During the last 21 years of its existence it has distributed over two million books to 1700 foreign correspondents in 85 countries. This is due to the untiring efforts of Ven. Nyānaponika Maha Thera and Mr. Richard Abeysekera, the founders of this Society.

The Buddhist world of to-day needs a concerted effort, learning from the historical experience in India, China and Japan, to give to the world the real teachings of the Buddha. The rise of Hinduism, Confucianism and Shintoism in those three countries respectively after over 1000 years of Buddhism, was partially due to the gradual erosion of the inner strength of Buddhism, due to Compromises in philosophical thought and practices. It is time to remind ourselves of the section in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta where the Buddha gives advice regarding the acceptance or rejection of any teaching ascribed to the Buddha.

> "Then the Bhagavā (The Blessed One) said: 'In this fashion, Bhikkhus, a bhikkhu might speak: "Face to face with the Bhagavā, Brethren, I have heard and learnt thus: This is the Teaching and the Rule, the Master's Dispensation;" or: "In an abode of such and such a name lives a community, with elders and a chief. Face to face with that community I have heard and learnt thus: This is the Teaching and the Rule, the Master's Dispensation;" or "In an abode of such and such a name live many bhikkhus who are elders, who are learned who have accomplished their course, are preservers of the Teaching, the Rule, and the Summaries. Face to face with those elders I have heard and learnt thus: This is the Teaching and the Rule the Master's Dispensation;" or: 'In an abode of such and such a name lives a single bhikkhu who is an elder, who is learned, who has accomplished his course, is a preserver of the Teaching the Rule and the Summaries. Face to face with that elder I have heard and learnt thus: This is the Teaching and the Rule, the Master's Dispensation." "In such a case, Bhikkhus, the declaration of such a bhikkhu is neither to be received with approval nor with scorn. Without approval, and without scorn, but carefully studying the sentences word by word, one should trace them in the Discourses, and verify them by the Rule. If they are neither traceable in the Discourses nor verifiable by the Rule, one must conclude thus: "Certainly, this is not the Bhagavā's utterance; this has been

misunderstood by that bhikkhu or by that community, or those elders, or that elder." In that way, indeed, Bhikkhus, you should reject it. But if the sentences concerned are traceable in the Discourses, and verifiable by the Rule, then one must conclude thus: "Certainly, this is the Bhagavā's utterance; this has been well understood by that bhikkhu or by that community, or those elders, or that elder." And in that way, Bhikkhus, you may accept it on the first, second, third or fourth authority". "These, Bhikkhus, are the Four Great Authorities for you to preserve".

Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya.

The greatest contribution that Sri Lanka can make to the propagation of Buddhism today is to re-read the English renderings of the Pāli Canon and give to the world an authentic version. Buddhism spread to China and Japan mainly through translations. It is the same in its spread to the West. The world is again in need of erudite monks, living the dhamma and having a deep comprehension of the teachings as preserved in the most ancient traditions and a capacity to unwind the most knotty problems in the Dhamma, that have been brought to light through the translations into a single language, mainly English, of the texts of the different schools. The real challenge to Sri Lanka lies in this. If she fails to-day a future moment may never occur as world forces constantly change the current situation.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT DATES IN THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

There are many problems in preparing a chronological table for a period of 2523 years. The fixing of the actual year of occurrence of an event is the chief among them. For example, although the historicity of the Buddha is now well established, there are several views regarding the year that is ascribed to the *Parinibbāna* (demise) of the Buddha, which is the beginning of the Buddhist era. The year 544 B.C. was taken as the date of *Parinibbāna* and the chronological table was constructed on this basis.

Due to scantiness of information, certain events are placed by historians within broad periods, running into several centuries. In such cases the event is included under the first year or century. As far as possible, the dates occurring in standard books were taken in preparing the chronology.

The inclusion or exclusion of a date or event from the chronology was an individual decision and the prime consideration was to keep it within manageable proportions. This chronology should be taken as a first attempt and not as a final one.

B.E.	C.E.		
–80	–462	Birth of Prince Siddhartha.	
–45	–589	The Enlightenment.	Bimbisara, King of Magadha; Confucius and Lao–Tse in China and Mahāvira in India, lived during this century.
1	–544 (483)	Parinibbāna of the Buddha and First Council at Rajagaha.	Ajātasattu, King of Magadha.
100	–444 (383)	Second Council at Vesali and first schism.	Kālasoka King of Magadha.
218	–326		Expedition of Alexander the Great to India.
280	–264 to –227	Reign of Emperor Asoka	Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage began (264 BC).
294	–250	Emperor Asoka becomes a Buddhist after Kalinga war.	
297	–247	Third Council at Pataliputta, sending of missionaries to Kasmira Gandhāra, Mahisa-mandala, Vanavāsa, Aparan-	

		taka, Mahāraṭṭha all regions in India, Yona country (Greece), Himalaya Region, Suvaṇṇa-bhumi (Lower Burma, Siam and Cambodia) and Lanka (Ceylon).	
298	–246	Greco-Bactrian kingdom founded by Dicdotus.	
304	–240		Kustana, son of Asoka founded the Kingdom of Khotan, Central Asia.
330	–214		Great Wall of China begun.
333	–211	First Buddhist Monastery in Khotan.	
359	–185 to –72		Sunga Period in Central India.
443	–101 to –77	Building of the Great Thupā, Suvaṇṇamali in Anuradhapura	King Dutugemunu in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.
		Beginning of the tradition of Rock cut temples at Karle (1st century BC) Nasik, Kanheri, Junnar, Bhāja (2nd century BC), Ajanta (2nd century BC – 7th century CE) and Ellora (5th century – 8th century CE).	Andras in Ujjeni.
489	–55		Julius Caesar's first expedition to Britain.
500	–44	King Menander, the Bactrian king meets Ven Nāgasena in Sialkot, and becomes a Buddhist; writing of Milinda Panha; Beginning of Greco-Buddhist Gandhāra School of art and architecture which greatly influenced Central Asia.	Bactrian Empire.
514	–30		Establishment of Roman Empire by Augustus.
515	–29 to –17	The Tipiṭaka rendered into writing for first time at Aloka-vihāra, Mātale, Sri Lanka; The Fourth Buddhist Council according to Theravāda tradition held in Sri Lanka.	Reign of Vaṭṭagamani Abhaya in Sri Lanka (29 – 17 BC).
540	–4		True date of birth of Jesus of Nazareth.

542	–2	Yi-chen, an envoy of the King of Yueh-chis arrived in Chang-an and taught Buddhist scriptures.	
544			Christian era began.
569	25		Eastern Han dynasty in China (25 – 221 CE).
611	67	Official introduction of Buddhism to China.	
622	78	Fourth Buddhist Council (not recognized by Theravāda) at Jalandhar in Kashmir; Ven. Vasumitra and Aśvaghoṣa; writing of Vaibhāsa-Sāstra.	Reign of Kushan King, Kanishka Beginning of Saka Era. (other dates 128 CE, 144 CE).
C694	C150	Ven. Nāgarjuna, the propounder of the Madhyamika philosophy—a contemporary of Yajña Sri Gautamīputra.	
710	166		Reign of Satavāhana King of India, Yajña Sri Gautamiputra (166 – 196 CE).
708	164		Great Plague began and lasted to the death of Marcus Aurelius (180CE). This devastated all Asia. Century of war and disorder in the Roman Empire began.
719	175 to 225	Ven. Mon-tscu of China who wrote a treatise comparing Buddhism with the teachings of Confucius and Lao Tse.	
814	270 to 350	Ven. Maitreya (nātha) the founder of the Yogācāra school.	
824	280	Vasubandhu, brother of Asanga (280 – 360 CE).	
843	299	Good will mission from King Vasudeva of Gandhāra to China.	
847	303		Persecution of Christians by Emperor Diocletian.
864	320		Beginning of reign of Chandra Gupta and of the Gupta era (300 – 606 CE).
		With permission from King Chandragupta a Sinhalese	

		monastery established at Buddha Gaya by King Sri Meghavanna (304 – 333 CE).	
888	344	Birth of Kumārajīva.	
894	C350	Asanga, most prominent teacher of Yogācāra.	
916	372	Buddhism introduced to Kogāryu in North Korea by a Chinese monk.	
928	384	Buddhism introduced from Central Asia to Pakche in S.W. Korea by a monk called Ven. Mārānanda	
930	386	Buddhism declared State religion in China	Northern Wei dynasty in China 386 – 353 CE.
943	399	Travels of Fa-Hien (Fa-Hsien) in India (399 – 414 CE)	Reign of Chandragupta II of India 375 – 413 CE
946	402	Buddhism introduced to Silla in SR Korea; Buddhapālita and Bhavaviveke of Mādhyamika school (1st half of 5th century CE); Dinnāga, acclaimed to be the founder of Buddhist logic; Buddhadatta	
953	409	Hiu Shen undertakes a mission to Mexico during the reign of King Yung Yuan. Returned 543 CE.	
964	420	Ven. Sanghavarman translated books on Vinaya from Sanskrit to Chinese	
975	431	Ven. Gunavarman's mission to Vietnam, Java and China. Java became a Buddhist country under his influence.	
979	435	Ven. Gunabhadra, a Sri Lankan arrived in Indra-puri (Hue) from China.	
1002	458	Arrival of Ven. Buddhaghosa, the great Pāli commentator in Mahavihāra, Anuradhapura; Samantapāsadika, the Vinaya commentary was begun in the 20th and finished in the 21st year of the king's reign.	Reign of King Mahanama in Sri Lanka 458 – 480 CE.

1032	488	Ven. Sangabodhi from Sri Lanka arrived in Ton king and proceeded to Jetavana Vihāra Canton	
1046	502 to 549	Ven. Bodhidharma, founder of the Chinese, Ch'an sect.	
1070	526	Ven. Bodhidharma left for China from Vietnam.	
1092	548	Arrival of Ven. Paramārtha (Po-lo-mo-tho) (513 – 569 CE) of Ujjain in Nanking.	
1096	552	Buddhism introduced to Japan from Kudara (Pakche) one of the kingdoms of Korea.	
1114	570		Muhammad was born
1119	575	Ven. Chandrakīrti of the Madhāyamika school	
1138	594	Prince Shotoku issued an Imperial Ordinance supporting and urging the development of the Three Jewels	
1150	606	Ascendancy of King Harsadeva of Kanauj, a great Buddhist benefactor (606 – 647CE)	
1161	617	Ascendancy of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po in Tibet and official introduction of Buddhism into Tibet	
1162	618		Tang dynasty in China 618 – 906 CE
1173	629	Ven. Yuan Chwang or Hieun Tsang (602 – 660 CE) starts on his journey to India; Travelled in India from 633 – 644 and returned to China in 645 CE.	
1215	671	I'Tsing's visit to kingdom of Sri Vijaya. On his outward journey to India. Sri Vijaya a Theravāda centre; Travelled from 671 – 695 CE.	
1228	684	Talang Tuwo Ins. In Sri Vijaya Kingdom.	

1239	695	Re-Visit to Sri Vijaya by I'tsing; Sri Vijaya had become a Mahayana outpost.	
1254	710	Beginning of Nara period in Japan.	Nara made the capital.
1258	714	Persecution of Buddhists in China by Yen T'sing; Pala Rule in Bengal—a Buddhist dynasty; Rise of Nalanda University and the Universities of Vickremasilā and Odantipuri.	
1299	755	Ascendancy of King Khri-Sroṅ-lde-btsan.	
1319	775	Ligor Inscription—patronage of the Sri Vijaya Kingdom to Mahāyāna Buddhism.	
1338	794	Kyoto period in Japan.	Heian, Kyoto became the capital (794 –1194 CE).
1348	804	Beginning of Tendai school in Japan by Ven. Saicho (767 – 822 CE).	
1350	806	Beginning of Shingon school in Japan by Ven. Kukai (771 – 835 CE)	
1366	822	Establishment of the second Ordination Platform on Mount Hiei, Japan.	
1394	850	Nalanda copperplate of Devapaladeva—gift of 5 villages to a vihāra founded at Nalanda by King of Sri Vijaya.	
1411	867	Copper plate Ins. of Rastrakūta King Dantavarman in Kampilya, Gujarat—donation of land to the Kampilya vihara where 500 monks of the sangha of the Sindhu deśa lived.	
1412	868	Ins. of Pandya King Vikramaditya Varaguna with Buddhist references.	
1428	884	Copper plate ins. of the Rastrakūta king Dharāvarsa recording similar	

		grants to Kampilya vihāra.	
1482	938	Ven. Kuya teaches the Nembetsu in Japan.	
1519	975	Kagudpa school of Yoga established by Tilopa in Tibet.	
1526	982	Acarya Dīpankara Sri Jñāna or Atiśa Dpal-mar-med-mdsa-yeśes or Jo-vor-je-pal-dan Atiśa (982 – 1054 CE).	
1549	1005	Cola Ins. of Rajaraja I in Nagapattanam recording the commencement of the construction of a Buddhist vihāra there by Sailendra king Cūḍamaṇivarman.	
1554	1010	Buddhism made state religion in Vietnam during Ly-Dynasty (1010 – 1225 CE).	
1573	1029		Punjab, Kashmir, Gandhāra under Muslim rulers of Ghazni.
1585	1041	Ven. Atiśa's mission to Tibet (1041 – 1054 CE).	
1588	1044		King Anawratha ascended the Burmese throne.
1594	1050	Religious council in Tibet associated with Atiśa, Marpa and Milarepa.	
1601	1057	Conquest of Thaton by King Anawratha and the introduction of Theravada Buddhism into Burma.	
1634	1090	Construction of the Pagan temple in Burma by king Kyanzittha (1084 – 1112 CE).	
1697	1153		Ascendancy of King Parakramabahu I in Sri Lanka (1153 – 1186 CE).
1709	1165	Unification of Mahavihara, Abhayagiriya and Jetavana vihara monks in Sri Lanka. End of all schisms.	

1116	1172	Beginning of Jodo school in Japan by Ven. Honen.	
1725	1181 82	Establishment of the Sīhala order of monks in Burma.	
1736	1192		Beginning of Kamakura Period in Japan (1192 – 1334).
1768	1224	Beginning of Jodo-Shinsu school in Japan by Ven. Shinron (1173 – 1262 CE).	
1771	1227	Beginning of Soto zen school in Japan by Ven. Dogen (1200 – 1253 CE).	
1797	1253	Beginning of Nichiren school in Japan by Ven. Nichiren (1222 –1282 CE)	
1801	1257	Establishment of the Lankā-vemsa in Sukhodaya, later Thailand.	Ramakamhem King of Sukho-daya.
1811	1267	Beginning of Jishu school in Japan by Ippen.	
1814	1270	Creation of the Tibetan theocracy by Emperor Kubilai Khan.	
1902	1358 to 1419	Ven. Tson-kha-pa, the founder of the Dge-lugs-pa (yellow hats) in Tibet.	
1912	1368	Setting in of the decline of Buddhism in China.	Ming Dynasty in China 1368 – 1644 CE.
1952	1408	Founding of the Ganden monastery near Lhasa by Tsonkha-pa.	
1997	1453	Constantinople taken by Ottomon Turks.	
2020	1476	Kalyani Inscription.	
2040	1496		Vasco-da-Gama discovers sea route to India.
2049	1505		Portuguese arrival in Sri Lanka
2093	1549		Xavier brings Catholicism to Japan
2091	1574 to 1608	Taranatha, a historian of Buddhism	

2147	1603		Beginning of Edo period in Japan 1603 – 1867 CE
2256	1712	Buddhism appeared in Baikal region in USSR	
2258	1714	First Buddhist Temple in Buryati, Mongolia.	
2297	1753	Higher ordination brought from Thailand and the beginning of the Syāmopāli vaṃsa in Sri Lanka.	King Kirtisri Rajasinghe in Sri Lanka (1747 – 1781 CE)
2378	1834	Tibetan-English Dictionary by Csome de Köros.	
2381	1837	George Tumour's critical edition and translation of Mahavaṃsa.	
2399	1855	Latin translation of Dhamma pada by Prof. Vincent Fausböll.	
2410	1866	First Public controversy bet ween Buddhists and Christians at Udanvita, Sri Lanka.	
2415	1872	Fifth Council at Mandalay, Burma (Theravāda); Second Public controversy at Gampola, Sri Lanka.	
2416	1872	Third Public controversy at Panadura Sri Lanka, which led to a Buddhist re-awakening. Establishment of Vidyodaya Oriental College (Pirivena), Colombo.	
2417	1873	Establishment of Vidyalankara Oriental College (Pirivena), Kelaniya.	
2423	1879	Light of Asia written by Sir Edwin Arnold.	
2424	1880	Coming of Henry Steele Olcott to Sri Lanka.	
2425	1881	Founding of the Pali Text Society by Prof. Rhys Davids.	
2429	1885	Buddhist flag designed by H. S. Olcott; Waisākha Full moon declared a Public Holiday for	

		the first time under British Rule.
2431	1887	Ven. Soryu Kubahi's mission to Honolulu, Hawaii.
2435	1891	Founding of the Mahabodhi Society by Anagarika Dharmapala.
2436	1892	Founding of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta.
2437	1893	World conference of Religions Chicago; Introduction of Buddhism to USA by Anagarika Dharmapala.
2443	1899	Rev. Sokei Sonada's mission to San Francisco.
2444	1900	First expedition of Sir Aurel Stein to Central Asia.
2451	1907	Founding of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Establishment of the Jetāvana Vihare in Nanking, China.
2452	1908	First Buddhist Mission to U.K.
2455	1911	Founding of All China Buddhist Association in Nanking.
2458	1914	First World War 1914 – 1918.
2464	1920	Commencement of the Dhamma-rajika Vihara at Buddha Gaya.
2465	1921	Founding of Sociête belge d'etudes Orientales
2468	1924	Establishment of the Buddhist Society, U.K.
2469	1925	Buddhist House at Frohnau, West Germany built by Paul Dahlke.
2472	1928	Commencement of Mūlagandha-kuṭi vihāra, Isipatana.
2474	1930	First Pan-Pacific Buddhist Conference in Honolulu.
2478	1934	Ven. Nārada's first Buddhist Mission to Indonesia; Second General conference of Pan-Pacific Young Buddhist Associations in Kyoto.

2383	1939		Second World War 1939 – 1945
2490	1946	Buddhist mission from Sri Lanka to Nepal.	
2492	1948	Buddha Sāsana Council in Burma.	Gaining of political independence By India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma.
2494	1950	Inaugural meeting of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.	
2496	1952	Visit of American upāsikā Dhammadinnā to Melbourne and Sydney and forming of Buddhist Societies of New South Wales and of Victoria.	
2498	1954	Sixth Buddhist Council in Burma (Theravāda) Ven. Nārada's mission to Sweden.	
2500	1956	Buddha Jayanti—2500th anniversary of Parinibbāna of Buddha, Founding of Buddhist Society in Brazil.	
2502	1958	Founding of the Buddhist Publication Society m Kandy, Sri Lanka.	
2503	1959	Flight of the Dalai Lama from Tibet to India.	
2507	1963	Persecutson of Buddhists in Vietnam.	
2508	1965	First Theravāda Buddhist Centre founded in Washington D.C., USA after visit of Ven. Paññasīha Mahanayaka Thera of Sri Lanka.	
2509	1966	Buddhist research centre established at Halle, GDR Tibetan Lama Trungvo Rinpoche arrived in U.K.	
2510	1967	Buddhist Mission to Ghana by Ven. Piyadassi, Sri Lanka. First Buddhist Vihara established in Brazil.	
2513	1970	Buddhist Centre founded in Canada.	

2519 1975 Forming of the Buddhist Union of Europe.

2522 1978 Establishment of Toronto Buddhist Vihāra, Scarborough, Canada.

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