

RITUAL IN EARLY BUDDHISM

Ritual in Early Buddhism

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## INTRODUCTION

Buddhism arose as a moral religion. Its main concern was with the moral perfection of mankind. Buddhism teaches that a man ought to be moral before becoming religious or mystical: "Do not do evil, cultivate good, and purify one's mind" is the basis of the moral teachings of Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> The system of Buddhist morality is indicated in the Noble Eightfold Path outlined by the Buddha, and in the emphasis given to mental discipline.

In the Noble Eightfold Path proposed by the Buddha, which leads to the cessation of dukkha (suffering), the Buddha doesn't talk about God, nor mention anything about the efficacy of rituals or sacrifices by which men could overcome suffering. Since human life is a form of suffering there is no way of salvation unless man renounces the world. To get rid of the misery of the world one has to work out one's own salvation. "One is one's own master; who else will be the master? With self controlled one gets a master difficult to gain." said the Buddha.<sup>2</sup> Thus Buddhism had its basis in individual sacrifice and self-perfection leading up to the final goal of arahantship or nibbāna. To get rid of the misery of the world (cycle of rebirth and death) is the primary condition of a holy life.

An important question is whether the moral discipline advocated by the Buddha was a possible way for the average

layman to attain final salvation. According to many scholars the answer to that question is negative.<sup>3</sup> For one thing, the mental discipline and the ideal proposed by the Buddha are beyond the understanding of the average layman, who leads the life of a householder. Final Salvation could be achieved only by virtue (sīla), mental discipline (sarādhī) and wisdom (pañña). This goal required deep mental discipline and spiritual training and could not be accomplished by the average layman. It was to be achieved only by the monks who had directed their life towards the homeless state. As Dr. Tambiah says, "It is clear from the teaching of the Buddha, salvation is best attainable by those of the homeless bhikkhu (monk) state, and that there is a gap between the way of the life of the monks and the life of the laity, who can practice a lower form of righteousness."<sup>4</sup>

It seems as if the monk's way of life and the way of the world had gone in opposite directions. It follows that there were major differences between the laity and the monks in religious matters. Their religious works differ in level and degree. To give an example, the monks were required to follow the strict rules of celibacy (brahmacariya) throughout their life. The breach of this vow was considered the most serious offence (pārājikā) in the life of the monk. But celibacy was not obligatory for the laity except when they observe the eight precepts (atthanga sīla) on the Uposatha days which come two or three times a month.<sup>5</sup> Thus Buddhism

did not recommend elaborate practices for the laity who led the life of the householder. Although there were a number of laymen who were able to attain the final goal of Arahantship or nibbāna in their life, it was granted that they could attain that final goal, provided they die on the day of their attainment of arahantship.<sup>6</sup> As we have said earlier, the goal was normally achieved by following the path of the monk. For this reason Max Weber says that "Early Buddhism was a religious technology of wandering and intellectually schooled mendicant monks."<sup>7</sup>

In the course of time, however, Buddhism took on a transformation. As we shall see soon, the eremitical life was the lifestyle granted for the monks in early Buddhism. But the texts of the same period also relate that householders gave alms to the Sangha (the order of monks) and that monasteries and dwelling houses for monks had been established. By the time The Questions of King Milinda was written in the Second century B. C., a dual system had emerged with the eremitical ideal still upheld but with monastic life also taken for granted.<sup>8</sup> In his study of Early Buddhism, Dr. S. Dutt has examined this transformation of the wandering mendicant life of the monks to a settled monastic life. Max Weber also suggested that early Buddhism was transformed from a religious technology of the wandering mendicant life to that of a world religion commending allegiance among large masses of laymen.<sup>9</sup>



This process of transformation brought about the rituals and practices of the settled monastic life and of the religious life of the laity. As Dr. A. M. Shastri says,

Buddhism offers the unique example of a religion starting as a rigid puritanism and ending as an elaborate and pious orthodoxy. It arose initially as a simple moral reaction against Brāhmanism, but in the course of centuries of its life it developed its own mythology, rituals and pantheon.<sup>10</sup>

However, it should be born in mind that such rituals, beliefs or practices did not have approval in the doctrinal teachings of the Buddha. To some extent the rituals were borrowed from the current religious practices of the day, and modified to suit the needs of the Buddhists. It is clear from the Pāli Canon that by accommodating them Buddhism did not change its original character. They were synthesised without jeopardising the basic Buddhist position.

The purpose of this study is to make an attempt to examine the rituals and ceremonies of the settled monastic life of the Saṅgha and the religious life of the laity. There has been very little study of the Pāli Canon ritual and ceremony. In this thesis we will attempt to collect the available materials from the Pāli Canon. We will use two categories, those used in the corporate life of the Saṅgha and those associated with the popular teachings directed towards the laity in early Buddhism.

First let us mention a word about the term "the corporate life of the Sangha". In order to know the institutionalized form of Buddhism an understanding of the corporate life of the Sangha is important. The important position which the Sangha occupies in Buddhism is evident from its inclusion in the well-known Three Jewels (triratana) of the Buddhists: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. The nature of Buddhism made the formation of the Sangha a necessity. However, even after the initial formation of the Sangha, the Buddha did not intend to settle the monks in monasteries.<sup>11</sup> In the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Pitaka we find that the Buddha admonished the monks that two of them should not go in the same direction (mā ekena dve agamittha).<sup>12</sup> As we will see in our Second Chapter the organization of the Sangha gradually came into existence with the introduction of the Vassāvāsa or the rainy season retreats. During the period of the Vassāvāsa the monks were expected to live in āvāsas or ārāmas provided by the laymen. So with the introduction of monastic life they formed a corporate community life and new rules and regulations became necessary in order to maintain the corporate life. It was also necessary to introduce certain monastic practices in order to meet the various needs of the corporate life. In this way, ceremonial practices such as the ceremony of the fortnightly assembly of the Sangha on Uposātha days, and the distribution of robes to the Sangha came into existence. We shall approach the early monastic ceremonies as an expression of the corporate life of

the Sangha.

The other ceremonial aspect of early Buddhism involved the way in which the popular teachings of the Buddha were directed towards the laity. The popular interpretations for the laity represent a simplified version of Buddhist doctrine. Their purpose was to raise the level of understanding of the laity as well as to promote morality.<sup>12</sup> This method of teaching is often mentioned in the Pāli Canon as a four stage arrangement of discourses consisting of dānakathā (discourses on offering), sīlakathā (discourses on virtue), saggakathā (discourses on heaven) and nekkhamme ānisamsaṃ (discourses on renunciation).<sup>13</sup> In these discourses the Buddha used popular terminology using many symbols which were in vogue, in order to help laymen who approached him to understand. If a person was ready to listen to his Dhamma, the Buddha did not talk to him in terms of doctrinal points. First he tried to talk to him in the simple terms of dāna or offering, sīla or virtue of life, and sagga or happy birth in the heaven. Only later when the person's mind was softened by such simple sermons did he try to teach him the doctrine. Then only did the person gain insight into the Dhamma, the teaching that "Whatsoever is an originating thing is also a ceasing thing."<sup>14</sup>

In this teaching method one finds two goals within Buddhism: the goal of a happy rebirth in one of the heavens and the goal of final release. It was believed that by the

tire the laymen had acquired sufficient merit to be in one of the deva heavens, they would no longer be interested in seeking that inferior goal and would be able to raise their aspiration to release or nibbāna.<sup>15</sup> In order to understand the lay observances, we must see them in terms of this popular teaching method.

Our study is based on the sources of the Pāli Canon. The Pāli Canon is the most authoritative document of early Buddhist literature. The Pāli Canon is divided into three groups namely, the Sutta Pitaka, the Vinaya Pitaka and the Abhidharma Pitaka. Of these, the Sutta Pitaka and the Vinaya Pitaka are the main sources of our study.

The Pāli Canon is a collection of the philosophical and moral teachings of the Buddha and some of his disciples. They were collected by ancient bhānakas or reciters who roamed around India in the period after the parinibbāna of the Buddha.

The above mentioned Sutta Pitaka contains five Nikāyas viz. Dīgha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Samyutta Nikāya, Anguttara Nikāya and Khuddaka Nikāya. Among them, the Dīgha Nikāya which is regarded as one of the earliest of the Nikāyas contains thirty four Suttas under three Vaggas called Sīlakkhanda Vagga, Mahā Vagga and Pāthika Vagga. Some Suttas of this Nikāya are especially important for our study. To give an example, the Tatiya bhānavāra of this Nikāya contains a list of Cetiyas which were popular in Vesālī at that time. This Sutta also recommends pilgrimage (cārikā) to four places: where the

Buddha was born, attained enlightenment, preached his first sermon, and died. Other important Suttas are Suttas like the Mahāsaraya and Ātānātiya which are helpful in explaining the mythological elements in early Buddhism.

The Anguttara Nikāya which deals with the moral conduct of the laity and the Sangha in the early days provides rich sources for studying the meritorious deeds of the laity. A section called Dāna Vagga in the Duka Nipāta of this Nikāya, and the Dāna Vagga in the Atthaka Nipāta of the same Nikāya are important to study the concept of dāna in Buddhism. These Vaggas describe various forms of deva-vimānas or abodes of gods, and give examples of dāna which result in heavenly births. The results of almsgiving to the Sangha is explained in better ways in the Anguttara Nikāya than in the other texts in the Canon. Similarly, the Uposatha Vagga in the Atthaka Nipāta of this Nikāya gives a list of various uposathas held in those days.

The Samyutta Nikāya, one of the oldest texts of the Pāli Canon also provides useful sources for this study. Devatā Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya provides a record of visits paid to the Buddha by a number of gods and the conversations on Dhamma which they held. The Samyutta Nikāya gives a number of stories of devas who as a result of their lives of giving alms to the Sangha had been reborn in the heavens. This text is helpful in examining the concept of the meritorious deeds of the laity and the mythological origins of early Buddhism. The Jātakas and the Apadānas of the Khuddaka Nikāya provide

examples of Cetiya and Bodhi worship. The Sutta Pitaka generally supplies the most useful information for our study.

The Vinaya Pitaka provides a vast amount of evidence about the purposes and organization of the early Buddhist Sangha. The Vinaya Pitaka deals with the routine life of the Buddhist monastery and its rules and various customs. It also gives a detailed record of the settled monastic life and the ceremonial practices involved with it. It also provides an example of beliefs and practices which appear to be borrowed from the prevailing beliefs and rituals of the day. The Vinaya Pitaka contains five texts, namely, Mahāvagga, Cullavagga, Pārājikā, Pācittiya and Parivāra. Among them, the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga are developed under the name of Khandakas, while the Pārājikā and Pācittiyas are under the name of Suttavibhaṅga. The Mahāvagga gives a detailed record of the running of the monastic life. It also discusses the new problems that arose in the settled monastic life and the solutions offered to them by the Buddha. This text is especially helpful to examine the ceremonial practices in the corporate monastic community. The Cullavagga also tells us much of the rules of conduct of the early Buddhist monastic life.

The period of early Buddhism is normally defined with the beginning of its foundation by the Buddha and ending shortly before the rise of Mahāyāna to paramount position i.e., B. C. C. 500--A. D. 300. It was the formative age of the Vinaya and other important parts of the Buddhist Canonical

literature, an age of great enthusiasm and zeal on the part of Buddhists who propagated their religion in various parts of India and outside. It was also the period of the division of the Buddhist Order into several schools and sects.<sup>16</sup>

An examination of the chronology of early Buddhism needs a longer discussion. We cannot attempt to study this matter further. It is not possible to say to what extent the Canonical literature was compiled in this period. It is probable that the Sutta Pitaka and the Vinaya Pitaka are earlier than the Abhidhamma Pitaka. In general, it has been suggested that the Pāli Canon was compiled and composed in between 600 B.C. and 100 A.D.<sup>17</sup>

The thesis is divided into three Chapters and the subject matters are in brief as follows.

The first Chapter discusses the position of the Brāhmanical religion at the time of the Buddha and the attitude of the Buddha towards its rituals and sacrifices. This Chapter shows that the Buddha's attitude was opposed to the violence of the sacrifices and the complex rituals and ceremonies which incurred heavy economic expenditures. The Buddhists accepted meaningful sacrifices like dāna which could be done in good faith (dhammena). In addition, the Chapter also contains a discussion of four stages of popular discourses of the Buddha which was directed towards the laity. In this context the recognition of the popular gods in early Buddhism is also discussed.

The Second Chapter deals with the transformation of the early Buddhist Sangha from the eremitical stage to that of settled monastic life, and the rituals and ceremonial practices accompanying that transformation. Then the two forms of Buddhist initiation ceremonies are discussed. Here we have made the clear distinction between Pabbajjā and the Upasampadā, indicating that the Pabbajjā was the initial departure from the household life into the houseless state, and the Upasampadā was the recognition of initially ordained monks to full membership in the Sangha. Thereafter, the observances of Vassāvāsa or the rainy retreat, the ceremony of the fortnightly assembly of the Sangha, the ceremony of the invitation for monks for confession of faults and the ceremony of the Kathina or the ritual distribution of robes are discussed.

The Third Chapter attempts to examine the position of the laity and their religious observances. This Chapter discusses the simple forms of religious observances like sīla which were introduced for the laity. The difference among the three forms of sīla (panca sīla, dasā sīla, aṭṭhaṅga sīla) and the difference of the lay Uposatha and the Sangha Uposatha have been discussed. In addition, the role of dāna has been discussed as a primary condition for the laity to get rid of the attachments (e.g. lobha, dosa, moha) and to get a place in heaven. This Chapter also contains a discussion of two forms of worshipping places called Cetiya and Bodhi.



Finally, we would like to say a word about the Pāli terms which we have used in this thesis. These terms can be divided into two, viz. the monastic terms, and the Buddhist conceptual terms. Every monastic term has a special meaning. Throughout the Vinaya texts the legal style is apparent. Many terms used therein are highly technical and bear particular ecclesiastical connotations.<sup>18</sup> We have mentioned them as they appear in the texts, and have attempted to give possible English meanings to them. The terms like nibbāna, arahant and Dhamma which can be considered Buddhist conceptual terms have been used as they appear in the Canon, and have not been given English meanings.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE BUDDHIST MONASTIC AND LAY RITUAL

Before the time of monasteries, Buddhism represented a purely eremitic existence and was a religion of wandering mendicant monks. As we have seen earlier, it has been argued that there were no rites or ceremonies at that time. Mental discipline was the central teaching in this period. The Buddha advocated a life of purity attained by correct mental attitude and high morality, practiced by individuals without the mediation of priests. Thus, Buddhism took a view of the place of rites and ceremonies different from those elsewhere in the religious world of its day. It is therefore important to ask at this juncture how ritual was integrated into the monastic life and the life of the laity, and on what grounds it was justified. In order to understand the recognition of ritual practices in early Buddhism, it may be wise to examine the position of Brāhmanical religion, its ritual practices, and the Buddha's reaction towards them. We shall begin with a brief review of the ritual system of Vedic religion.

#### I RITUALS IN VEDIC RELIGION

Ritual was one of the main characteristics of Vedic religion. In the Vedic age, the belief in the power of gods to determine human destiny was directly associated with rituals and ceremonies. Agni, the personification of the

sacrificial fire; Indra, the god of thunder; Brahaspati, the god of prayer; Āpas, the gods of water; Varuna, the god of moral order; Sūrya, the god of progeny and wealth; Parjanya, the god of rain, were the prominent gods in the Vedic times.<sup>1</sup> They were regarded as the representatives of natural phenomena and honoured as good gods to mankind. More significantly, they were worshipped on account of their close association with creation and life. The object and purpose of ritual offering was to gratify these gods in order to obtain boons from them.

In the beginning of Vedic religion, such rituals were a simple affair.<sup>2</sup> They consisted of invoking a god by a prayer and making an offering of food. The gods thus invoked were expected to grant health, wealth and happiness for the prayer. However, with the invention of many rituals and ceremonies, the nature of ritual gradually changed, becoming more and more complicated.<sup>3</sup> It was in this context that Vedic religion made the Brahmanas into a priesthood. The rituals which were involved with the various sacrifices are described in the Satapatha Brahmana.

The Brahmanic priests of this age occupied a very important place in the religious life of the people. During those times, they were performing their duties as priests as today. The main duty of the Brahmanas was to perform rituals and sacrifices for the welfare of the people. They claimed to have the special knowledge necessary for the conduct

of rituals and sacrifices. They paid them for their material and spiritual welfare. The Brāhmanas claimed they were supreme over the gods.<sup>4</sup> The performance of sacrifice was supposed to lead to a good life after death. The sacrificial fire (agni) was considered as the most important part of the sacrifice. It was the medium to contact divine power. Fire was a messenger between gods and men, bearing oblations from men to the gods. Thus fire was supposed to carry men to the heavens. According to Hopkins, the sacrifice goes up to the world of gods; the sacrificer follows by catching hold of the fee given to the priests. It is to be noted, moreover, that sacrificing for a fee is recognized as a profession. The work (sacrifice is work, work is sacrifice, it is somewhere said in the Brāhmanas) is regarded as a matter of business. There are three means of livelihood occasionally referred to: telling stories, singing songs, and reciting the Veda at a sacrifice.<sup>5</sup> In this way Brāhmanical priests worked out elaborate sacrifices and kept them secret, saying that those who knew them were powerful. It is clear from the above facts that the simple primitive Vedic ritual and sacrifice had grown to be elaborated and complicated.

In this context we would like to mention a word about the kinds of sacrifices held in the Vedic age. The practice of sacrifice was a common feature among the people of this age. Among the various sacrifices, animal sacrifice was important. In animal sacrifice a number of animals such as

horses, oxen, sheep and goats were offered in the sacrificial ground. Some of these sacrifices took a couple of months to complete. To give an example, the asvamedha or Horse Sacrifice took a whole year to complete. The asvamedha was one of the significant rituals in the early Vedic age and was believed to have unlimited saving power. The Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa rules also required the immolation of human beings at the time of the asvamedha.<sup>6</sup>

There is an interesting story in the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa about a human sacrifice. The story is told as follows:

A King called Harischandra, worships Varuna, in order to obtain a son, promising to sacrifice to him his first-born baby. A son is born, named Rohita; but the king delays the sacrifice until Rohita grows up, when his father communicates to him his intended fate. Rohita refuses submission and spends several years in the forest away from home. There, at last, he meets with Ajiṅgarata, a Ṛṣi in great distress, and persuades him to part with his second son Sunahṣepa later to be offered as a substitute to Varuna. Sunahṣepa is about to be sacrificed, when on the advice of Viśvāmitra one of the officiating priests, he appeals to the Gods, and is liberated.<sup>7</sup>

Thus we see that the sacrifices of animals were popular among the ancient Indians and on some occasions human sacrifices also were held.

Again, among the Brāhmaṇical sacrifices, the sacrifices of Soma are remarkable. As regards the sacrifices of Soma, the rule is to elaborate at least one in the course of each year. The Vājapeya or strengthening beverage, the

Pājasūya or royal consecration, the asvamedha or sacrifices of the horse are important sacrifices of Soma yāgas. The offering of Soma, which is referred to as recurring constantly in the Hymns, thus turns out to be exceptional because of all these offerings it is the most expensive. Sometimes the preliminary and final ceremonies last only a day, but ordinarily it takes several days. When it takes more than twelve, it is satra or session. There are satras which last several months, a whole year, and even several years; in theory there are some which last 1,000 years. But whether short or long, these ceremonies require elaborate preparations and entail enormous expense.<sup>8</sup>

As we have seen earlier, in the beginning, ritual was just a simple affair. But in the course of time complexity set in. In fact, in the age of the Brāhmanas it took the form of a mechanical cult. Everything was for the correct performance of the ritual and sacrifice, and every instrument used in a sacrifice was thought to have some mystical meaning. Apparently the ceremony was thought to be everything. The rituals and ceremonies were thus elaborated in the Brāhmanas.

These sorts of rituals and sacrifices were offered in order to propitiate the gods and ask them to grant health, wealth and happiness to human beings. The people of this age believed that ritual and sacrifice was the only way to approach the gods. The Buddha protested against the system

of Vedic ritualism, particularly the blood sacrificial system. In this connection we may see the attitude of the Buddha towards the ritualism of the Veda.

## II THE ATTITUDE OF THE BUDDHA TOWARDS VEDIC RITUALISM

Having undertaken a brief survey of Vedic ritualism it is now necessary to see the attitude of the Buddha towards Vedic ritualism and especially the system of sacrifice. In order to have a proper knowledge of this matter, it is useful to see what is said in the Pāli Canon about the role of Brāhmanas and their ritualistic practices during the time of the Buddha.

The Brāhmanas of this age were a proud class and put themselves forward as ideal priests and teachers who led a life dedicated to the pursuit of Vedic study and the performance of rituals and sacrifices. In the Pāli Canon we find a list of prominent Brāhmanas such as Chanki, Tārukḥha, Pokḥharasāti, Jānussōni, Kūtadanta, Sōnadaṇḍa, Todeyya and Ambaṭṭha, etc, who were engaged in performing rituals and sacrifices.<sup>9</sup> Other Brāhmanas were pictured as engaged with administrations; some were landlords and some were priests.<sup>10</sup> The main duty of the Brāhmanas was the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The status of the Brāhmanas can be seen in the fact that many of them were teachers of the Kings. The Jātakas provide many references which help us understand the power of the Brāhmanas. We find some Kṣastriya princes who were educated under the Brāhmanas

at Takkasilā, a famous Brāhmanical educational centre of the time. Takkasilā is often mentioned in the Jātakas as a centre of education.<sup>11</sup> Only Brāhmanas and Kṣastriyas appear to have been eligible for admission to Takkasilā. Pasenadi, King of Kosala, Mahāli, chief of the Licchavis, and Bandula, prince of the Mallas were classmates in Takkasilā.<sup>12</sup> There were some other Brāhmanas who helped those prominent Brāhmanas to perform the sacrifices. They are often mentioned in the Canon as the disciples of Brāhmanas. For example, the young Brāhmaṇa Vāsetṭha, in the "Vāsetṭha Sutta" of the Dīgha Nikāya is said to be a pupil of Pokkharasāti.<sup>13</sup> It seems that the role of the Brāhmanas during this period was as high as it had been in the Vedic age.

The sacrifices were also well known among the people of this age. In the Pāli texts we find a picture of sacrifices held in this period. In the "Kūṭadanta Sutta" of the Dīgha Nikāya we come across a great sacrifice arranged on behalf of Kūṭadanta, the Brāhmaṇa. According to the Sutta, hundreds of bulls, steers, heifers, goats and rams had been brought to the sacrificial ground for the purpose of sacrifice.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, in the "Yañña Sutta" of the Samyutta Nikāya we find an animal sacrifice which was proposed to be held by the King Pasenadi of Kosala, on the advice of Brāhmanas in order to avert the effects of his evil dreams.<sup>15</sup> The "Tevijja Sutta" of the Dīgha Nikāya also provides important evidence as to the Brāhmanical religious practices of this age. In this Sutta



we find elaborate invocations to gods like Māra, Yama, Brahma and Pajāpāti, etc.<sup>16</sup> According to this Sutta it would seem that the elaboration of the sacrificial ritualism which began in the days of the Brāhmanas continued to the time of the Buddha. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the form of Brāhmanical religion known in the days of the Buddha was mainly a sacrificial ritualistic one.

Keeping the above in mind we shall attempt to examine the Buddha's attitude towards the Vedic ritualism, particularly to the sacrificial system of the Brāhmanas. Let us start with what he has said about the authority of the Vedas.

The Buddha disregarded the authority of the Vedas. In the "Tēvijja Sutta" of the Dīgha Nikāya the Buddha showed the futility of the belief that a knowledge of the Three Vedas leads to the attainment of reunion with Brahma.<sup>17</sup> In the "Kālāma Sutta" we find some reference in refutation of traditions and authority. In this Sutta the Buddha stated that whatever he has taught should not be accepted as authority.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in the "Sandaka Sutta" we find the Buddha's criticism of religion based on the authority.<sup>19</sup> Once the Buddha said, "I do not talk on the basis of hearing from other Samanas or Brāhmanas but I talk only that which I have known and seen by my own knowledge."<sup>20</sup> It seems that the Buddha refused to accept the authority as a safe source of knowledge until he had seen it on the basis of his own knowledge. On this basis he refused to accept the authority of the Vedas as a source of true knowledge.

Scholars have attempted to examine the Buddhist criticism towards Vedic authority. According to Oldenberg, the Buddha did not make a downright condemnation of the Vedic tradition.<sup>21</sup> According to K. N. Jayatilleke, the criticism of the Buddha towards the Vedas differed from the criticism of the materialists. The materialist condemnation of the Vedic tradition was absolute. According to them the authors of the Vedas were both utterly ignorant as well as vicious; they are called "buffoons, knaves and demons"; but the Buddhists held that the original seers who were the authors of the Vedas merely lacked a special insight (abhiñña) but did not doubt their honesty or virtue.<sup>22</sup> Although the Buddha criticized the Vedic authors, he never did offer a wholesale rejection of their views. He recognized their moral life (DN I. 242). In fact, he was tolerant of heretics. One day he visited a sacrificial place of the "Kassapa brothers" of Gayā who used to perform fire sacrifices, and even stayed one night in a room where the fire was kept (MV I. 24). This example shows the liberal attitude of the Buddha towards the religions of others. Although he blamed Brāhmanas for their ceremonialism and other vices, he always praised Brāhmanas in the true sense of the word, genuine or ideal Brāhmanas. He was not that sort of man who takes amiss anything good or bad, because of its connection with others.<sup>23</sup> Even with regard to the sacrifices, he was very critical and vehemently opposed only to blood sacrifice and the complicated rituals involving wasteful expenditure of human

energy and economic resources. He condemned them since they were considered to be harmful to the development of human beings.

Let us now see the Buddhist criticism towards the institution of the sacrifice. The Buddhists came to be critical of Brāhmanic sacrifice in two ways. They were, firstly, critical of the more formal, elaborate sacrifice centred upon the sacrificial fire due to their horror at what seemed senseless, unnecessary and totally futile slaughter of numerous animals.<sup>24</sup> The nature of the Buddha's attitude towards animal sacrifice is depicted in the Pāli Canon. His attitude on animal sacrifice is well explained in the "Yeñña Sutta" of the Samyutta Nikāya<sup>25</sup>. According to this Sutta an animal sacrifice was proposed to be held by Pasenadi, King of Kosala, on the advice of the Brāhmanas in order to avert the effects of the King's evil dreams. Hearing of this sacrifice, the Buddha declared that such sacrifices would not yield good results. On this occasion the Buddha proposed a new system of "sacrifices" which does no harm to anyone. In order to clarify, we shall give the following quotation from the Samyutta Nikāya:

The sacrifices called "The Horse" "The Man"  
 "The peg-thrown site" "The Drink of Victory"  
 "The Bolts Withdrawn", in spite of all the  
 mighty fuss,  
 These are not rites that bring a rich result  
 Where diverse goats and sheep and kine are slain  
 Never to such a rite as that repair  
 The noble seer who walk the perfect way.  
 But rites where is no bustle nor fuss,

Whose offerings meet, bequests perpetual,  
 Where never goats and sheeps and kine are slain,  
 To such a sacrifice as this repair  
 The noble seers who walk the perfect way.  
 These are those entailing great results.  
 These to the celebrant are blest, not cursed  
 Then the oblation runneth o'er the gods are pleased.<sup>26</sup>

Thus it seems that the Buddha's vehement opposition was mainly to the violent sacrifices. He was not opposed to the simple sacrificial offerings which could be done in good mind. It was probably a sacrifice of dāna where there was no slaughter of animals.

In order to make this point clear, let us see the meaning of the term "Yañña". Etymologically the term "Yañña" (sanskrit Yajna) means 1, a brāhmanic sacrifice, 2, almsgiving, charity a gift to the Sangha or a bhikkhu. The Brāhmanic ritual of vedic times has been changed and given a deeper meaning. Buddhism has discarded the outward and cruel form and has widened its sphere by changing its participant, its object, as well as the means and ways of "offering", so that the "Yañña" now consists entirely of a worthy application of a worthy gift to a worthy applicant. The second connotation of the term "Yañña" denotes the custom of making offerings of a gift (deyyadhamma) to the Sangha. Therefore, it is possible that the word "Yañña" in Buddhism has been used as a parallel word to the Brāhmanic term "Yajna". The prevailing meaning of "Yañña" in the Pāli Canon is that of "gift, oblations to the bhikkhu, almsgiving".<sup>27</sup>

Thus, evidently, the concept of dāna in Buddhism is reflected in the Brāhmanic "Yajna" or sacrifice. The references are found in the Nikāyas to the arahants attending such simple sacrifices where no cattle are slain, and no injury is done to living beings (SN I 76). According to Hopkins, the Buddha never actually taught that sacrifice was a bad thing.<sup>28</sup>

There is an interesting account in the Kūtadanta Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya about a great sacrifice. According to the Sutta, the Brāhmaṇa Kūtadanta consulted the Buddha on the best way of making a sacrifice efficacious, and the Buddha explained to him a sacrifice held in days of yore by King Mahā Vijitāvi, under the guidance of Brāhmanas. The sacrifice is undertaken with the co-operation of the four divisions of the subjects. There are no killings of animals or any other beings. No trees are cut for the "yāgatthamba". The sacrifice is offered with simple food like butter, ghee, oil, milk, sugar and honey.<sup>29</sup> It is no doubt, possible that the Buddhists attempted to give a new meaning to the sacrifice. From the Buddha's point of view, the sacrifice involving the offering of animals or any other beings would not bring results, and should not be performed. Sacrifices which do not involve killing animals would on the other hand bring great results and should be performed by a wise man. Thus the Buddhist attitude towards the animal sacrifice is very critical.

The reason for this criticism is obvious. Early Buddhism paid great attention to the teachings of ahiṃsā.

or non-violence. This teaching involved the protection of animals as a consequence of an awakened sense of sympathy and understanding of all beings living around one. The Buddha was a man full of deep compassion. He also loved all living beings with mettā and karunā. The role of ahimsā is to ward off sorrow from other beings. Buddhism is free from any kind of bloodshed. It seems that the doctrine of ahimsā has led the Buddha to condemn animal sacrifices. Thus we may conclude that the attitude of the Buddha on animals or any other blood sacrifice proceeds from his compassion to all living creatures.

### III AN ACCOMMODATION OF RITUALS AND PRACTICES INTO EARLY BUDDHISM

In the previous section we have seen the attitude of the Buddha towards the Brāhmanic sacrifice. Although the Buddha criticized the Brāhmanic sacrifice and rejected many of the beliefs and practices of his day, his attitude towards the prevailing thought of his time was not entirely negative. Although he did not hesitate to point out the "false views" and meaningless practices he did not make wholesale rejection of contemporary thought. He was ready to accept custom, institution or anything else which he thought helpful to his new religious system. As Bhikshu Sanghrakkhita says, "He was as ready to accept as to reject. He did not condemn the practice of ceremonial ablution, for instance, so much as to insist that

real purification comes by bathing, not in the Ganges as people thought but in the cleansing waters of Dharma. He did not ask the Brāhmanas to give up tending the sacred fire, with which so many ancient traditions and so much religious emotion were bound up, but to remember that the true fire burns within, and that it feeds not any material object but solely on the fuel of meditation.<sup>30</sup> It seems that the Buddha had maintained a balanced attitude towards contemporary thought, and had attempted to give new shape to it. We already have seen the Buddha interpreting the Brāhmanical "Yañña" as the "best" sacrifice. So in common with other Indian customs he also formulated the rite of uposatha, the rite of Pavāraṇa, and the offering of robes to the members of his Order. Buddhism also formulated many elaborate rules to govern the corporate life of the Sangha, regulating the robes, food and ceremonial activities. It also developed ecclesiastical rank, grades of the corporate community. In Vinaya Pitaka one may find the following gradations: 1, Sāmanēra (novice), 2, Bhikkhu (fully ordained monk), 3, Ācariya (instructor), 4, Upajjhāya (preceptor). The Buddha permitted them, since they were demanded by the corporate body of the Sangha. As we have said elsewhere, they were accommodated into early Buddhism with the transformation of wandering mendicant life into the settled monastic life.<sup>31</sup>

It is obvious that every religion must provide a system of religious practices for the smooth functioning of the religious community. The members of the Buddhist Order can be no

exception to this matter. Therefore, the growth of the Sangha demanded some form of monastic ceremonial practice according to their needs.

It remains for us to see what sort of religious practices were formed for the laity in early Buddhism. During that time the system of Buddhist monasticism was welcomed by the lay community. It rendered a great service to the laymen. The laity in supporting the Sangha accumulated the merit which insured them a happy rebirth. However, Buddhism provided the laity on an individual basis with a system of simple religious observances. In order to know this new system, offered for the lay community one should consider this matter from a Buddhist point of view. Nibbāna or arahantship was considered to be the final goal of Buddhism. In order to achieve this goal an individual was expected to follow the four stages of the path: sōtāpatti, sakadāgāmi, anāgāmi and arahant in order. In the very beginning, the Buddha also had realised that a few of his laymen would attempt to follow this path.<sup>32</sup> Thus it was felt that nibbāna or arahantship was a distant goal for the laity, who led the household life. Since nibbāna or arahantship was such a distant goal, it was necessary for Buddhism to form a special goal for the laity. This new goal was to achieve rebirth as a god in one of the deva heavens. This goal has been often mentioned in the Pāli Canon and has been described through the medium of popular terminology in order to make easier understanding for the laity. In order to achieve this goal one



had to follow the religious practices such as dāna, sīla and bhāvanā.

It was perhaps after the introduction of this new goal that the Buddhists attempted to make a system of Buddhist gods and the dēvalokas (worlds of gods) connected with them. In the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta of Samyutta Nikāya we find <sup>33</sup> six kinds of such deva worlds. Although Buddhism turned away from the Vedic gods in some ways it also accommodated many of the gods from Vedic mythology. In this connection we find a number of popular gods who played a significant role in early Buddhism. For example, gods like Inda (Indra), Brahma, Varuna, Pajāpati (Prajāpati), Pajjunna (Parjanya), Soma, Veṅhu (Visnu), Agni, Chanda (Chandra), Suriya, Yama and Māra, etc., are still found in the Nikāyas.

The Ātānātiya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya contains a vivid description of gods and spirits. This Sutta was narrated to the Buddha by Vessavana, who is often mentioned as King of the Yakkhas or demons. Vessavana told the Buddha that the Yakkhas did not believe in the Buddha, they were averse to the teachings of the Buddha, they disagreed with the Dhamma and they were irritated by the dogmas of the five precepts. Vessavana told the Buddha to learn the Ātānātiya word "rune" (rakkha) and to tell his disciples to learn and repeat it in their retreat in the forest, so that they might take protection from the gods, who had no faith in the Buddha. <sup>34</sup> In this Sutta names of forty-on gods are mentioned. Among them, the Four Regent Gods are

described as custodians of the four quarters of the world, viz. Dhatarat̥ṭha (Dhritarāṣṭra) in the East, Virud̥ha in the South, Virūpak̥kha (Virūpāk̥ṣa) in the West, Vessavana (Vaish-ravana) in the North.

The Lahāsamaya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, which contains a list of the names of seventy gods, is also especially interesting to see the origin of mythological beings in early Buddhism.<sup>35</sup> According to this Sutta, when the Buddha was staying at Mahāvana in Kapilavatthu with five hundred arahants, the gods of the ten thousand world system (dasasu ca lokadhātusu dēvatā) had come to see the Buddha and arahants and to pay homage to them. According to Dr. Malalasekara, "Most of these gods were probably local deities, the personification of natural phenomena, guardian spirits, fairies, harpies, naiads, dryads, and many others, who are here represented as adherents of the Buddha, come to do him honour."<sup>36</sup> This Sutta is a good example of Buddha's recognition of a subordinate role of the gods. The role of these gods was to venerate the Buddha and arahants.

According to the Buddhist doctrine, the gods are helpless in changing the destiny of man. The Buddha exploded the theory of a God creating the universe. In the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, the Buddha showed that it is a fallacy to state that a God created this world (DN.1. 1-46). Thus Buddhism, which does not believe in a creator God states that even Brahmā is subject to transmigration and impermanence.

Though the Buddha denied the creator God he did not directly deny the existence of impermanent gods in the world. Once a Brāhmana named Bhāradvāja inquired from the Buddha whether gods existed or not. In this connection the Buddha said there may or may not be gods, and that the belief in gods is a conception adopted by the people in the world. According to this discussion it is clear that the idea of the Brāhmana Bhāradvāja was to elicit information from the Buddha as to the existence of god. The Buddha's reply was that it is a popular idea in the world. Yet he did not directly discard the existence of the impermanent gods (SN. 1. 160). His object was to improve the good character of men while they still believed in a god in their heart of hearts. The same question and the same answer is found in the Saṅcārava Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (MN. II. 209). Thus without directly denying the existence of the gods or their ability to help human beings, the Buddha showed that man, by leading a virtuous life, comes to be regarded with admiration and respect by the gods. And further by developing his mind he can rise to still greater heights, wherein he comes to be regarded with awe and respect even by the highest of the gods.<sup>37</sup> In this way, in Buddhism we find a host of gods who are influenced by the Buddhist culture. Those gods who came into Buddhism, changed their original character in keeping with the Buddhist atmosphere. Buddhism teaches us that even deities have to undergo several births according to one's own good or bad karma. For example, Inda

(Indra) who is the possessor of a warring temperment becomes a devotee in Buddhism. According to the Pg Veda, Indra is known as Vritra han since he killed Vritras, the Asuras.<sup>38</sup> Indra is described in many texts of the Canon as one who helped Buddha and his disciples. This is an attempt by the Buddhists to make him a devoted disciple.

From the Canonical point of view, however powerful a god may be, he has to be subservient to the Buddha when he enters the Buddhist dispensation because the Buddha is said to be the teacher of men and gods (satthā dēvaranussānar). In the Nikāyas we find a number of instances of the prominent gods visiting the Buddha for instructions of some doubts about the Dhamma. The Sakkapañña Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya is a good example of this (DN. II. 263). The Brahma Sahaspati is the god who came to the Buddha and asked him to teach the Dhamma (DN. II. 37).

Early Buddhism did not consider the gods as objects of worship. Buddhism taught that, instead of making offerings to the gods, the gifts should be given to the Sangha for this would bring the best benefits and a happy birth after death. Despite this, we find some references in the Nikāyas to the offerings made to the gods. In some of the Suttas we see that Buddhists used to ask the gods for help. For example, a few Gāthās of the Patana Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta contain a request to the gods to receive offerings and homage, and to protect

the worshipper from danger (SUN. 39). The Karaniya metta Sutta says that monks should practice goodwill towards the gods (SUN. 25). The Chandina Sutta mentions an incident of the Buddha's request to 'Pāhu-Asurinda' to free its victim (SN. i. 50). The Mora Jātaka refers to the worship of the Sun god.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from these, there are indications that on some occasions men and women used to pray to the tree gods for progeny. Sujātā, a daughter of Senani once made a promise to the god of the Nigrōdha tree: If I am married to a man of the same status and beget a first born male child, then I will spend every year a thousand coins as an offering.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, a banker called Sumaṇa made an offering to the tree-god and made a promise to make a further offering, if his aspiration was fulfilled.<sup>41</sup> Such indications show that in the early days the Buddhists used to make offerings to the tree-gods in connection with the birth of a child. The tree gods were thus petitioned to grant the birth of a child.

There are some examples in the Nikāyas with regard to the importance of offerings made to the gods. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya says that the Vajjin will increase and not decrease as long as they revere the places (cetiya) of the gods. The same Sutta tells, "Wherever a wise man lives he makes offerings to the gods and reverences them and in turn he is respected by the gods."<sup>42</sup> Regarding the worshipping of gods, H. Van Glassenapp says,

Though the Buddha abhorred the Brāhmanical blood sacrifices and denied the value of the complicated rituals that accompanied these ceremonies, yet there is no doubt that from the very beginning Buddhist laymen brought flowers and food to the gods, as indeed is still the custom today in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, etc.<sup>43</sup>

It seems that the followers of the Buddha and the adherents of other religions lived in the same community, and followed the rites of a number of religious traditions simultaneously with no exclusive walls between them.

Scholars have attempted to examine the origin and the position of the gods in early Buddhism.<sup>44</sup> Dr. M. M. Marasinghe observes,

The Buddhist re-evaluation of the gods as well as the cosmological conceptions of the time were achievements of considerable importance in the field of religious symbolism. Instead of an outright denial of the gods, Buddhism accepted and transformed them to such an extent that what remained at the end of this process of transformation were no longer the original gods but merely the outer "shells" of the original gods. The gods who were once recipients of sacrifice and prayer were made to serve as elements of the symbolism of an ethico-philosophical teaching.<sup>45</sup>

Whatever the origin of the gods, they had been accommodated into early Buddhism in a new way. In the Vedic religion, the gods took the highest place, but in Buddhism they took a subordinate place. Buddhism accepted and modified their character according to the Buddhist atmosphere. In Buddhism, the gods were considered inferior to the Buddha and the arahants. (DN. II. 254). Since rebirth as a god to live in heaven was an ideal goal provided for the laity, it was necessary to develop a Buddhist mythology.

CHAPTER TWO  
RITUALS AND CEREMONIES IN THE MONASTIC LIFE  
OF THE EARLY BUDDHIST SANGHA

In this Chapter we propose to study the rituals and ceremonies in the monastic life of the early Buddhist Sangha. We shall begin with a brief examination of the nature of the early Buddhist Sangha and its development into the monastic life.

During the time of the Buddha, there were groups of ascetics (tāpasas), hermits (jatilas), mendicants (paribbājakas), and many other religious sects (añña-titthiyas) who were sometimes wandering around and sometimes residing in fixed hermitages. Normally they used to shave their heads and to live on alms. In the early Nikāyas we find many references to such groups of ascetics and the religious practices to which they resorted.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha himself also started his career as a religious mendicant.

In the beginning, the followers of the Buddha also followed the above practices and were expected to live in rukkhavūlas (dwelling under tree). The ideal life set up for the early Buddhist sangha was to be a free, unsocial and eremitical one. In the early Nikāyas we find several evidences of this. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, we find the Buddha declaring, "So long as the brethren shall live in the forests seats, so long they may

be expected not to decline but to prosper."<sup>2</sup> The same idea is found in the Khaggavisāna Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta: "Let him wander alone like a rhinoceros" (ekō care khaggavisāna kappō).<sup>3</sup> The same idea is to be also found in the four Missayas, according to which the bhikkhus had to (1) subsist on food they could obtain by alms (pinḍiyālōpabhōjanar), (2) put on the robes made of rags thrown away by the laymen (pansukūla civarar), (3) dwell under the trees (rukkhamūla sēnāsanar), (4) use urine as a medicine (rūtimutta bhēsajjam).<sup>4</sup> In many stanzas of the Dhammapada and the Theragāthā this eremitical ideal is repeatedly mentioned.

In this eremitical stage there were no rites or ceremonies characterizing the life of the Sangha. As G. F. Allen says, in this primitive philosophy we find no mention of a god or of any supreme deity, nor of any religious obligation or observances such as worship.<sup>5</sup> There was no ecclesiastical organization of the Sangha. The eremitical lifestyle was thought to enable them to follow the path of the Buddha. It was perhaps for this reason that the Buddha did not set up any particular type of organization for his followers. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, the Buddha said to his disciple Ananda that after his death the Dhamma would be the satthā or teacher (yō vō mayā dharmō ca vinayō ca desitō sō mamaccavēna satthā).<sup>6</sup> The Dhamma had nothing to do with rituals and ceremonies. However, in the course of time, some form of organization was necessary in order to get hold of the scattered members of the Order.



This need eventually led to the introduction of the "Vassāvāsa" or rain retreat.

To accommodate the Saṅgha during the rainy season and perhaps during their regular meeting as well, the āvāsas or residence in the countryside originated. To the Buddha and his disciples such āvāsas had been donated and maintained by devoted laity.<sup>7</sup> The idea of the institution of Vassāvāsa was that the monks were not to live alone during the annual rainy season but should get together in groups. The institution of Vassāvāsa gradually changed the eremitical lifestyle of the Saṅgha and it eventually became a unified settled group. In this eremitical stage the Saṅgha was often called "cātuddisa bhikkhu saṅgha" (the order of monks of the four quarters).<sup>8</sup> But with the introduction of the Vassāvāsa in the rainy season there arose many particular Saṅghas belonging to the different āvāsas. Those who habitually lived in the particular āvāsas (sarāna-samvāsika) were distinguished from those who lived in other places (nānā-samvāsika).<sup>9</sup> Nānā-samvāsika bhikkhus were not allowed to take part in the official Saṅgha business (Saṅgha karma) of another āvāsa.<sup>10</sup> The original conception of the Saṅgha as a unitary body comprised of all bhikkhus was in practice replaced by groups of bhikkhus who were identified with particular retreats.<sup>11</sup> Dr. S. Dutt has seriously examined this transformation of wandering mendicant monks into settled monastic life.

According to him, the transition from groups of wanderers to many well settled communities was probably accomplished by the beginning of the fourth century B. C. He further observes "At the time when āvāsas began to develop, the bhikkhus had already come into a rich heritage of ecclesiastical laws, legal commentaries, hymns, fables and philosophic speculations which provided them a none too inconsiderable intellectual pabulum. This cloistral learning went on, modified, developed, and systematized at the āvāsas by Suttantikās, Vinayadharas, Dharmakathikas, and other professors. The Pitakas were not yet closed, and there was still ample scope for the play of original thought and speculation.<sup>12</sup> This new settlement pattern strengthened the corporate life of the Sangha and brought the rules, practices and rituals to the settled monastic life. Thus, we find in the Vinaya Pitaka ceremonies of Pabbajjā and Upasampadā, the observance of Vassāvāsa in the annual rainy season, the rite of Uposatha, of which the recital of Patimokkha took an essential place, the rite of Pavārana which held at the end of the Vassāvāsa and the ceremony of Kāthina which marked the annual rainy season. These rites and ceremonies must now be discussed. We shall begin them starting with two Buddhist initiation ceremonies.

## BUDDHIST INITIATION CEREMONIES

In the Vinaya Pitaka we find two initiation ceremonies called the Pabbajjā (going forth) and the Upasampadā (higher ordination). In the early stage of the Buddhist Saṅgha the Pabbajjā and the Upasampadā were not considered as separate ceremonies. Originally they indicated a common departure from the household life and from wealth and social activity. In the course of time, however, these two ceremonies took different forms and acquired distinct ceremonial value in the corporate life of the Saṅgha. In order to understand these two ceremonies, a description will be presented first, followed by an analysis of their roles in the early Buddhist Saṅgha.

### THE PABBAJJĀ CEREMONY

The literal meaning of the term Pabbajjā is "going forth from household life into the houseless state" (agārasmā-anagāriyaṃ pabbajito).<sup>13</sup> In other words, it denotes the adoption of the mendicant life by abandoning the household life and putting on the yellow robes of the mendicant. This is the technical word used in the Vinaya Pitaka for the initial departure of the recluse.

In the early stage of Buddhist initiation an admission of a person into the Saṅgha was gained by uttering the following phrase: "labheyyāmaḥ bhantē bhagavatō santikē

pabbajjaṃ labheyyamaṃ upasampadam" (May I receive the pabbajjā and upasampadā in the presence of the Blessed One). Then the Buddha responded by saying "Come O monk (ēhi bhikkhu), the Dhamma has been well taught, lead the holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering" (svākkhātō dhammō, cara brahma cariyaṃ samma dukkhassa antak-iriyāya).<sup>14</sup> With this response the ordination was completed.

According to the earliest procedure, monks obtained their pabbajjā and Upasampadā simultaneously. As an example, the five former companions of the Buddha (pancha vacchīyā bhikkhu) obtained their Pabbajjā and Upasampadā simultaneously.<sup>15</sup> In this earliest procedure, the Pabbajjā consisted of a simple declaration of intent to leave the household life and enter the houseless state and the Upasampadā consisted of the Buddha's saying "Come O monk" (ēhi bhikkhu). Although the formula appears as a twofold request, in reality it is one and the same. At this stage there were neither rites nor ceremonies and the formula was only a simple declaration of the departure from the house to houseless state.

However, in time, with the increase in the number of followers applications for admission into the Sangha became numerous. Applicants also came from many parts of the country. It is mentioned in the Mahavācga that the Buddha had difficulty appearing before each applicant by himself. Because of this the Buddha finally gave permission to the

elder bhikkhus, who were living in different regions, to perform the ordination ceremonies, by using the "three refuges" (tisaranāgarāna) formula.<sup>16</sup>

According to the "three refuges" formula the person who was admitted into the Sangha was first called a Sāmanēra or novice. In order to be a Sāmanēra one had to be admitted by an elderly monk. The candidate had to be under fifteen years old.<sup>17</sup> If the candidate was a child, he had to have permission from his parents.<sup>18</sup> The candidate also had to be physically fit and provide himself with suitable robes.<sup>19</sup>

The Pabbajjā ceremony of a person was to be performed as follows: The candidate having his hair and beard cut off, gets someone to offer him a yellow robe, arranges his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sits down on his haunches, and salutes the assembly of the Sangha with joined hands. He is then asked to repeat the "tisaranāgarāna" formula three times as follows:

I take the Buddha as my refuge  
I take the Dharma as my refuge  
I take the Sangha as my refuge<sup>20</sup>

Thus the candidate was ordained as a Sāmanēra by reciting the "three refuges" formula. After this he was instructed to abide by the Ten Precepts (dasa-sīla).<sup>21</sup>

There were certain persons to whom admission into the Sangha was forbidden at that time. These were: One who had not obtained permission from his parents, one suffering

from diseases such as leprosy (kutṭham), boil (gaṇḍo), eczema (kilāso), consumption (sāsō), and epilepsy (aparāro)<sup>22</sup> one who was in the King's service (rājabhato), a thief (cōrō), one who had escaped from the jail, and one who belonged to the non-human world (tiracchāna vōni), and one who had entered into the Saṅgha without proper ordination. It is stated in the Mahāvagga that anybody who ordains such persons, commits the offence of dukkata.<sup>23</sup>

Thus the rite of admission into the Saṅgha was done by Pabbajjā, denoting "leaving the household life for the house less state or mendicant life."

#### THE UPASAMPADĀ CEREMONY

Upasampadā means the higher ordination of the admitted candidate (pabbajjā) into the duly qualified membership of the Saṅgha. This is one of the most important ceremonies of the Buddhist Saṅgha. A number of requirements for the candidacy into the full membership are laid down in the Vinaya Pitaka.

In order to hold an Upasampadā ceremony an assembly of at least ten fully ordained bhikkhus was required, and an Upajjhāya was present.<sup>24</sup> The Upajjhāya plays an important role in this ceremony for he acts as the preceptor during the Upasampadā of a bhikkhu. Therefore a person who wishes to obtain Upasampadā must find a competent and able bhikkhu

as his Upajjhāya. It was required that the candidate had to be at least twenty years old.<sup>25</sup> It was also required that the candidate be a Sāmanēra and that he had undergone instructions under an ācariya (teacher) for some period of time. Any candidate, other than the Sāmanēra could be considered for the Upasampadā only if he shaved his head and beard and then sought out an Upajjhāya who would present him before the Sangha. He was provided with mendicant robes and alms-bowl and instructed on how to behave when he was presented before the Sangha for his Upasampadā. When the instructions are finished the candidate comes forward and adjusts his robes so as to cover his left shoulder and bows down before the sangha. Then he sits on his legs in the ukkutika posture and begs admission for full membership into the Sangha by uttering the following formula three times: "I wish to enter into the full membership of the Sangha. So please have compassion on me and uproot me (ullurratumāṃ) from the world. Then the Sangha asks certain questions which he is expected to answer. He is asked the following: Are you free of all debts? (manussōsi). Are you a man? (purisōsi). Have you completed twenty years of age? (parirunnavisati vassōsi). Have you an alms-bowl? (peripunnar-te patta civarar). What is your name? (kinnāmōsi). Who is your Upajjhāya? (kō nārō tē upjjhāyo). These questions are put with a view to find out whether he is an eligible person

for the higher ordination. If the answers are satisfactory, an able and competent bhikkhu proclaims the following natti (announcement of a resolution) before the assembly of the Sangha:

Let the Sangha, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N. N. (i.e. with the venerable N. N. as his upajjhāya). If the Sangha is ready, let the Sangha confer on N. N. the upasampadā ordination with N. N. as Upajjhāya. This is the natti... And for the second time I am speaking to you: Let the Sangha... (etc. as before). And for the third time I thus speak to you: Let the Sangha (etc. as before). N. N. has received the upasampadā ordination from the Sangha with N. N. as upajjhāya. The Sangha is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand.<sup>26</sup>

Soon after the Upasampadā, the new monk is admonished to put his trust in the four Nissayas as the resources on which he should depend. He is also instructed about the four Forbidden (pārājikā) viz. abstention from sex, from killing, from stealing and from saying that he possesses miraculous power.<sup>27</sup>

We have so far discussed the procedure of entry into the Buddhist Sangha, as expounded in the Vinaya texts. Of these, the rite of Pabbajjā (going forth from home) consisted of a declaration of intention to leave the household life and seems to have been an informal affair. In this ceremony, an individual merely utters the formula of



the three refuges (tisaraṇāgamana). The Upasampadā, the higher ordination ceremony, beginning with the candidate's begging for admission into the Sangha was a more formal affair. E. J. Thomas seems to think that this form of admission ceremony was introduced so that bhikkhus already in the Sangha could admit new candidates without referring them to the Buddha.<sup>28</sup> The rite of Upasampadā provides a bhikkhu with all the privileges belonging to the Sangha. For example, an Upasampadā bhikkhu is expected to observe all the monastic rules formulated for the bhikkhus. He also is expected to attend to all the Sangha kamma.

The terms Pabbajjā and Upasampadā are technical words used in the Pali texts to denote the initial departure of the recluse. Scholars have attempted to interpret these two terms in many ways. Prof. H. Oldenberg says that "the pabbajjā is the going out from a prior state, from the lay-life or from a monastic sect holding another faith."<sup>29</sup> According to Dr. S. Dutt, the distinction between the earlier and the latter formulas is interesting. In one case the formula is uttered by the person who ordains which is always Buddha himself; in the other case by the person who is ordained. One is an invitation; the other is a confession of faith. An invitation could be made only by the leader of the Sangha.<sup>30</sup> H. Kern says, "The broad distinction between the first admission, Pravrajyā, and the Ordination Upasampadā, is clear enough, but if we descend into details, the matter

becomes embarrassing.<sup>31</sup> However, Oldenberg seems to be correct when he describes the former i.e. Pabbajjā as "Lower initiation" and the latter, i.e. Upasampadā as "Higher initiation".<sup>32</sup>

In summary, the rite of Pabbajjā was the first procedure on entering the Buddhist Order, and the Upasampadā was the second procedure in order to obtain full membership in the Sangha. It seems that the Pabbajjā came to be regarded as the initial step to the higher ordination (upasampadā). It should be pointed out again that the Upasampadā was an elaborate method of gaining full membership in the Sangha, with all the privileges belonging to the monkhood. Thus the Upasampadā can be distinguished from the initial rite of Pabbajjā as a state. The custom of Buddhist initiation began from the simple utterance of "ehibhikkhu upasampadā" (by uttering only "Come O monk") and gradually developed in the environment of the corporate life of the Sangha.

THE OBSERVANCES OF THE VASSĀVĀSA (RAIN RETREAT) AND THE  
CEREMONIES ASSOCIATED WITH IT

The custom of observing rain-retreat (vassāvāsa) was originally a necessity, enforced by the tropical rainy season in India when travel became physically impossible. However, in the course of time its original meaning gave way to a religious ceremonial significance.

The religious wanderers of ancient India were accustomed to seek shelter and retreat in the period of the rainy season. During the time of the Buddha this custom had acquired a certain sanctity and ceremonial value. It was not limited to any particular religious sect and was observed by non-Buddhist sects and Buddhist monks. Dr. S. Dutt points out the following:

In the ancient texts which prescribe the rules and regulations of the Sanyāsins, it is laid down that the Sanyasin should have a fixed residence (Dhruvasila) during the rains; for the Yati (the wanderers of the Nīganthas sect) the same observance, called (Pājjunna), is enjoined, and its venerable antiquity is insisted on, for the Buddhist Bhikkhus, it was called Vassa.<sup>33</sup>

This custom was introduced by the Buddha, following the practice prevailing among the non-Buddhist religious sects. In the Mahāvagga (I. 137-156), however, where a full chapter is devoted to the Vassāvas, a specifically Buddhist explanation is given by stating that

the retreat was instituted because of the laymen's apprehension of injury to the rainy season insects.

In Buddhism there were two possible periods for taking up the Vassāvāsa called "the earlier time (purimikā)" and "the later time (pacchirikā)".<sup>34</sup> The earlier time was the day after the full moon of āṣhādha (June and July) and the later time was a month later. If it was not possible to take up the earlier one, the later one was to be taken up. Those two periods for entering the Vassāvāsa seem to correspond to a special period of the ritual year observed throughout ancient India. Prof. Phyllis Davidson and Oldenberg point out:

Very probably this double period stands for the double period prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras for most of the Vedic festivals. Thus the sacrifice of the Varunapraghāsas, with which the Brāhmaṇas began the rainy season, was to be held either on the full moon day of āṣhādha or on the full moon day of the following month, Srāvaṇa, quite in accordance with the Buddhistical rules of the Vassūranāvika.<sup>35</sup>

As we have pointed out elsewhere, the Buddhist idea of Vassāvāsa was not to live alone, but to live together in an āvāsa. During the period of Vassāvāsa, the monks were expected to live permanently in āvāsas donated for this purpose by the laity. There is no direct indication in the Vinaya Pitaka about the way of entering upon the Vassāvāsa. However, at the end of the Vassūpanāvikkhandhaka of the Mahāvagga, we find the following:

The monk who intends to take the vassāvāsa should come to the dwelling place, on the day after the Uposatha day, and prepare a lodging place, set out drinking water, and water for washing, and sweep the cell. Thus he starts his Vassāvāsa.<sup>36</sup>

Ācariya Buddhaghosa says that the observance of the Vassāvāsa should be done by this formal resolution of the monks, "I will observe the vassāvāsa for three months in this Vihāra." (inasmīṃ vihāre irama tērasaṃ vassaṃ uperi idha vassaṃ uperi).<sup>37</sup> This should be repeated three times. There were special types of āvāsas donated to the Buddha and his disciples by the laymen for the above purpose.<sup>38</sup>

According to the Vinaya rules, the monks had to reside in the āvāsas. If they did not do so, they committed the offence of Dukkata. During the period of Vassāvāsa monks were not allowed to go out even for one night. If anybody went out, according to the rules he committed the offence of Dukkata.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the period of Vassāvāsa monks paid a great deal of attention to the interests of the laity. The monks were allowed to leave their residence if their parents were sick or if they were invited for an offering of dāna or listening to the Dhamma of a layman. But they must return to their āvāsas within a week. However, if their absence from the āvāsas was extended due to unavoidable circumstances, then the Vassāvāsa was regarded as "broken" (Vassacchēda).<sup>40</sup> In such a case he was not allowed to participate in the closing Kathina ceremony.

During the period of Vassāvāsa, the monks were expected to live in harmony. Regarding the importance of the Vassāvāsa Dr. S. Dutt says, "The Buddhist Vassa became an occasion for bhikkus to live together in congregation."<sup>41</sup> The period of Vassāvāsa ended with two important ceremonies called "Pavārana" and "Kathina". We shall now discuss these ceremonies.

#### THE PAVĀRANA CEREMONY

The Pavārana was the ceremony held during the termination period of the Vassāvāsa. The word "Pavārana" (s. Pravārana), means "invitation" (Pavārēti).<sup>42</sup> The origin of the Pavārana is mentioned in the Mahāvagga thus: A group of monks of Kosala country entered upon the rain-retreat and, in order to spend the period in harmony, they decided to observe total silence. The Buddha is said to have instituted the "Pavārana" as a way of spending the rainy season on friendly terms because he disapproved of such silence.<sup>43</sup>

According to the Mahāvagga the ceremony was held on the full moon day of the month of Asvin. But in some cases it was postponed to the Kōmudi cātumāsini.<sup>44</sup> In any case it must be performed within a week after the expiry of the term of the Vassāvāsa.<sup>45</sup> In this ceremony every monk was expected to "invite" (Pavārēti) his fellow members of the Sangha to point out his "faults", if any, seen (dittha), heard (suta)

or suspected (parisankita).<sup>46</sup> This ceremony had developed among the early Buddhist Sangha and was considered as a sacred ceremony. The details of the ceremony are described in the "Pavāranakkhandaka" of the Mahāvagga (I. 157-178).

In order to perform this ceremony all the monks who had completed their Vassāvāsa assembled at one place, and the ceremony was declared by a "Natti" (announcement of a resolution). This declaration was made by a specific formula in the following way. An able monk proclaims thus: "Today is the Pavārana day. If the Sangha is ready let the Sangha hold the Pavārana." Then each monk, beginning from the eldest to the youngest adjusts his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, presents himself before the Sangha and saluting the Sangha sits down in the "squatting posture" (ukkutikam nisiditvā) and "invites" his fellow members by uttering the following words three times: "Venerable sirs, I invite the Sangha in respect of what has been seen, heard, or suspected. Let the Venerable ones speak to me out of compassion, and seeing I will atone for it."<sup>47</sup> This was repeated three times.

According to the Mahāvagga all the monks living in one limit (simā) must get together at one place where the ceremony should be held. No Pavārana could be held in separate groups (vagga) of monks and no monk was allowed to absent himself from this ceremony.

The expression of purity (pārisuddhi) of the monks seems to be the main function of the Pavārana. The idea of

the expression of purity was an important factor in the life of the monks enabling them to live in the community in peace. No community could do it without a system of correction for well defined cases, and the maintenance of purity was a most important aspect of the life of the monks. Therefore in the day of the Pavāraṇa monks used to request the assembly to call them to indicate if they had seen, heard or suspected them to be guilty of any offence during the period of Vassāvāsa.

The expression of purity could be done in two ways. If anyone had committed minor offences (ḍukkatāpatti), this could be done in a simple way. In order to make it easily intelligible we will give an example. Venerable A. for example, was aware that Ven. B. had committed some offence. Ven. A. would ask Ven. B. to leave the assembly in order to reprove him for the offence. If Ven. B. leaves, Ven. A. has him reproved accordingly, and Ven. B. is entitled to rejoin the Pavāraṇa.<sup>48</sup> In the case of major offences this mere friendly reproof was, however, not enough. The rule laid down in the Vinaya Pitaka is that if a monk has committed a major offence he is not eligible to join the Pavāraṇa ceremony unless he has already purified himself by preliminary confession in private. He could confess it to a fellow monk in private and could gain his purity.<sup>49</sup> If he repeats the offence he is not allowed to join the Pavāraṇa until he is purified and so the Pavāraṇa had to be postponed until



there was a purification of the offence. This postponement of the Pavāraṇa was called "Pavāraṇa-thapana."<sup>50</sup> It is interesting to see the delaying of the Pavāraṇa on the Pavāraṇa day. Some monks who had committed offences used to delay the Pavāraṇa. In the Mahāvagga references are made to six monks called "chabbaggiya" who were constantly making quarrels and delaying the Pavāraṇa of others on the Pavāraṇa days. Strict rules were laid down with regard to the delaying of the Pavāraṇa.<sup>51</sup>

Thus the Pavāraṇa was one of the most important rites in the corporate life of the Saṅgha. It was a common gathering of all monks who had completed their Vassāvāsa together and was a public expression of their purity before the Saṅgha.

#### THE KATHINA CEREMONY

The end of the Vassāvāsa was marked by the ceremony of Pavāraṇa, and immediately after it came the Kathina ceremony or the ritual distribution of robes. The details of the ceremony are expounded in the Kathinakkhandaka of the Mahāvagga (I. 253-265). The details of the ceremony are somewhat difficult to understand, however the general meaning is clear.

The Buddhists designated the "Kathina" as "Kathinadāna" which indicates that it was understood as a meritorious giving of gifts to the Saṅgha. In order to understand the

role of the Kathina ceremony in the corporate life of the Sangha, we must interpret the religious value of the Kathina.

The term "Kathina" literally means "hard" and refers to a bundle of cotton cloth to be made into robes.<sup>52</sup> This bundle was provided by the laity for the use of the Sangha during the ensuing year and was held as a common property until distributed to individuals. The clothes had to be cut, sewn and shaped into robes in one day. This gift is quite different from the others such as the dāna or offering of food to the Sangha which could be given to the Sangha at any time and place throughout the year. The Kathina dāna could not be given in such a way and could be given to the Sangha only once in a year.

In order to see these unusual features of the Kathina we should say a few words about the robes prescribed for the Buddhist monks. The robe was one of the most important requisites of the monks. The Buddhist monks were therefore meticulous about its use. In the Vinaya Pitaka we find a large number of rules with regard to the use of the robes.<sup>53</sup>

The Buddha used to advise the monks to make use of their robes properly. In the very beginning, they were advised to dress themselves in robes made of rags taken from the dust heaps.<sup>54</sup> This state of things continued for a period of twenty years when Jivaka, the royal physician came forward for the first time to offer a suit of Siveyyaka

cloth to the Buddha. He accepted it without objection.<sup>55</sup> This became an opportunity for the Buddha to sanction the use of robes given by laymen or lay-robes (gahapati civara) to the monks.<sup>56</sup> Thus monks had an option either to use the rag-robes or lay-robes. The use of lay-robes made the monks lavish in the use of dress. The number of robes to be used at any time was fixed. Then they were allowed a set of robes, a double waist-cloth (sanchāti), a single upper garment (uttarāsanga), and single under-garment (anataravāsaka) as their ordinary robes.<sup>57</sup> In the course of time many of the rules of the robes were changed. The monks were allowed to have many special privileges connected with the robes after the introduction of the Kathina ceremony. In this ceremony the laity had an opportunity to offer special gifts called Kathina for individual monks. At the end of the Vassāvāsa the monks and the laity looked forward to the Kathina. The monk took this opportunity to show compassion to the laity by receiving their generosity, and the laity took this golden opportunity to bestow their magnanimity on the monks. It was a rare opportunity which came once a year for the monks and the laity. Thus the Kathina robe achieved a different form from the other gifts.

The Mahāvagga explains some of the characteristics of this robe material as follows: It may be a new cloth, a rag, or a piece of cloth bought from the market. But it is not a cloth taken by theft and it is not a cloth which is taken for temporary purposes. It is a cloth which cannot be kept for

more than one day after being received. It is a cloth which could be cut into five or more pieces and then stitched.<sup>58</sup>

It is important to note here that the cutting and dyeing are the most important features of making robes. According to the Vinaya rules it is against the rules to use uncut cloth, so the monks made their robes out of small pieces of cloth sewn together and then dyed them. Accordingly, any sort of cloth offered to the monks was changed by cutting and dyeing irrespective of their value and quality.

In order to perform the ceremony the monks used to meet together and announce that they were going to perform the Kathina ceremony. The laymen who wished to offer a Kathina-robe to the monks presented the cloth in the morning to the monks. All the monks who had kept their Vassāvāsa within the sinā and who had taken part in the Pavārana were entitled to attend the Kathina ceremony.

The ritual distribution of the Kathina robe was the main function of the ceremony. When a cloth was offered to the monks, they selected a monk to make one of the three robes (sanghāti, uttarāsāncha, antaravāsaka) from the cloth received by them. The role of this monk was to cut, sew and dye the Kathina cloth and to make one of the robes. This was to be finished on the same day.<sup>59</sup> When the new robe had been made, a recipient monk was selected by the Sangha. Normally the Kathina robe was offered to a monk who if found to be the poorest in respect of his robes and who had lived harmoniously

with the others during the rainy season. Then the recipient monk performed a symbolical act called "atthāra" (spreading out) in which he puts aside his old robes and spreads out the new one in its place. Thereafter he was required to utter the following: "Imāya sanghātiya kathinar attharami" (by this Sanghati I spread it as Kathina).<sup>60</sup> This seems to be a sort of acceptance by the monk and to indicate that he had received the Kathina robe ceremonially. Finally the monk informed other monks that he had "spread" the Kathina ritually. After the Kathina ceremony the period of Vassāvāsa was over and the monks were free to go round the country.

The Kathina ceremony was an important ceremony in the corporate life of the Saṅgha. This ceremony provided a means of ensuring that there was an equality of treatment within the Buddhist Saṅgha. It also allowed the laity an opportunity to visit the rain-retreat and to gain merit by its annual support of the needs of the monks.

THE BUDDHIST UPOSATHA CEREMONY AND THE RECITAL OF THE PĀTIMOKKHA

The Buddhist rite of Uposatha played a very important role in the monastic life of the Sangha. In this Section we shall attempt to examine the origin and the early history of the Uposatha rite and its introduction into Buddhism.

The Uposatha was one of the oldest customs in ancient Indian religious life. The earliest reference to the Uposatha is made in the Satapatha Brāhmana. According to this text, in the Vedic age, the Full Moon and the New Moon days were regarded as auspicious days and observed as the sacred days for the performance of certain Vedic sacrifices. On these days, two sacrificial rites called "Darṣa" and "Paurnamāsa" were offered.<sup>61</sup> In preparation for these sacrifices, the sacrificer abstained from food and contact with women and retired to a special house where the ceremonies were held. These days were called "Vrata" or preparatory days. In the Satapatha Brāhmana, it is said that on these days gods come to live with the intending sacrificer.<sup>62</sup> These Vrata days of purificatory observance used to be called "Upavasatha" days. Thus the Uposatha days had acquired an important religious significance even in the Vedic age. The Jainas also used to observe the Uposatha days in ways which are surprisingly similar to the "Vrata" ceremonies, found in the Vedic literature.<sup>63</sup> The Paribhājakas or wandering teachers also observed these days and used to preach their Dharmas to the laymen.<sup>64</sup> This

custom was carried over into Buddhism and took an important place in the corporate life of the Sangha.

The Mahāvagga says that the practice of gathering together on uposatha days and expounding of Dhamma were introduced by the Buddha at the request of Birbisāra, the King of Magadha. It is said in the Mahāvagga that when the Buddha was staying at Pājagaha, the Paribbājakas or wandering teachers achieved strength and increased the number of adherents by teaching their Dharmas (samnipatitvā dhammar bhāsentī) to the laity on the days of the New Moon, the Eighth, the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth.<sup>65</sup> It seems that the Buddha established this institution with a view to complying with the prevailing religious custom of his day. The Buddhists used these holy days not only to preach the Dharma to the laity but also to engage themselves in other related activities.

It is important to note here a major change in the days on which the ceremony was held. Originally the monks used to perform the Uposatha ceremony on the eighth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth days of the fortnight. However, in the course of time these days were reduced to two and the eighth day function was dropped.<sup>66</sup>

After the initial introduction of Uposatha, the ceremony came to be divided into a number of categories. In the Vinaya Pitaka we find several kinds of Uposathas. One of them was called "Samaggi Uposatha" which was held on any day in order to give a seal of reconciliation to a quarrel which

existed within the Saṅgha. The "Gaṇa Uposatha" seems to be one which could be held by any Gaṇa of monks. When Uposatha was held by one monk, it was called "Puggala Uposatha". The Uposatha held for declaration of the Pārisuddhi (entire purity) of the Saṅgha was called "Pārisuddhi Uposatha". When the Uposatha was held by four or more than four monks it was called a "Saṅgha Uposatha".<sup>67</sup> The Saṅgha Uposatha appears to be the most important Uposatha and the one in which the recitation of the Pātimokkha took an important place.

Originally, the Buddha introduced the prevailing custom of Uposatha to the monks only for the rehearsal of the Dharma (Dhamam bhāsitaṃ). It was a little later that he introduced the recitation of the Pātimokkha on Uposatha days.<sup>68</sup>

The custom of the rehearsal of the Dharma seems to have existed from the beginning of Buddhism. In the early days, the texts for the rehearsal of the Dharma were the Buddha's legends, the Gāthās and the Buddha's sayings. For example, the Pabbajjā Sutta and the Kasibhārdvāja Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta are probably such sayings.<sup>69</sup> When the Pātimokkha was accepted as a code of monastic life, it became the text for the rehearsal of the Dharma on Uposatha days.<sup>70</sup> It seems that in the early days the Buddhist Saṅgha used Uposatha days not only for the rehearsal of the Dharma but also to engage themselves in other religious activities.

The Pātimokkha as it came to be accepted as a code of monastic rules consisting of 227 rules is one of the earliest



books of the Buddhist texts. The name "Pāṭirokkha" is given to the rules to be observed by the Buddhist Order. Originally the Pāṭimokkha contained rules of conduct prescribed for the Buddhist Order that existed in the earlier tradition. According to Dr. S. Dutt, "The Buddhist Sangha rested originally on a community of faith and belief, but an external bond of union, a Pāṭimokkha, was afterwards devised which served to convert this Sect into a religious Order, and this Pāṭirokkha originally consisted in periodical meetings for the purpose of holding a communal confession of faith by means of hymn-singing." He further says, "The present ritual form of the Pāṭimokkha was not its original form--the original was a mere code. It was only subsequently that it became the ground of a Buddhist ritual and was re-edited for that purpose."<sup>71</sup>

The original purpose of the Pāṭimokkha was to regulate the life and the conduct of individual monks. In settled monastic life, the ritual became a recitation of the list of transgressions against the collective Sangha life. Dr. Prebish says that many of its characteristics indicate that it was prepared particularly for the purpose of ritual recitation. He further observes that the introductory section of the text (Nidāna) describes the right attitude for the confession of sin. This ritual form of the Pāṭirokkha was intimately bound with the Buddhist observance of the Uposatha.<sup>72</sup> Thus the recitation of the Pāṭimokkha became the main function of the Uposatha ceremony.

The recitation of the Pātimokkha was one of the most important items of the Urosatha ceremony. Normally it was recited in its full extent by an elderly monk (thēradhikar pātimokkham). If the oldest monk could not do it another senior monk replaced him.<sup>73</sup>

According to the "Nidāna" of the Pātirokka, there were certain necessary preparations (pubbakarana) before the ceremony began. First of all the "Upōsathācāra" (Urosatha hall) was to be cleaned and furnished with necessary articles. Newly ordained monks were charged with sweeping the "Upōsathācāra", keeping the seats for the Sangha, keeping the water and keeping the lamp lit.<sup>74</sup> These preparations show us how carefully the function of Upōsatha was organized.

All the Bhikkhus-Sanghas who lived within the sīma (limit) were required to attend the ceremony. No one was allowed to be absent from the ceremony unless he was seriously ill. If he was unable to move, he had to be carried out on his bed to the assembly. If not, he had to "dispatch" his entire purity (pārisuddhi) through an able monk to the assembly. The monk who carried the Pārisuddhi of a sick monk was called the "Pārisuddhihāraka". The role of the Pārisuddhihāraka was to inform the Pārisuddhi to the assembly without delay. Only the pure monks were allowed to join the Urosatha services. If anyone was guilty of an offence, he had to be purified before joining the Urosatha.<sup>75</sup> His purification had to be done during Parivāsa, a period of living apart on probation

for five or ten days. If someone repeated the offence he had to begin a new term of probation.<sup>76</sup> He was not allowed to join the Uposatha until he was purified, and so the recitation of Pātimokkha had to be postponed until there was a purification of the offence.<sup>77</sup> The postponement of the recitation of the Pātimokkha was called "Pātimokkha-ṭhapana". According to the Vinaya, the Pātimokkha should be recited in the presence of "pure monks".

When the necessary preparation had been made and all the monks had assembled, a senior monk proclaimed the following Natti or announcement of a regulation:

Venerable monks, announce your Pārisuddhi (entire purity). I will recite the Pātimokkha. Those who have committed offences should declare them. If there are no offences you should be silent. By your silence I will thus understand that the Venerable monks are pure.<sup>78</sup>

In the Uposatha, extreme care was taken to ascertain the Pārisuddhi of the monks. The nature of the Uposatha function seems to be a confession of sin. In the above declaration we find that the senior monk asks the assembly, "Those who have committed offences should declare them. If there are no offences there should be silence." It seems that the Uposatha function was an evidence of purification. This is further evidenced by the story of Mahākappina, a senior arahant, who was hesitating to attend the Uposatha. Once he thought, "Should I go to the Uposatha or should I not go? Should I go to the

Uposatha or should I not go? I, nevertheless, am purified with the highest purification." Then the Buddha admonished him not to neglect to go to the Uposatha.<sup>79</sup> The silence of Mahākappina about the Uposatha shows that the Uposatha was to be considered as a ceremony to expose the omissions and commissions of guilty monks. It also seems that confession was expected only from those who had fallen into sin. Mahākappina did not intend to attend the Uposatha ceremony since he believed that he was an extremely pure monk. Therefore it is clear that the Uposatha ceremony was a confessional rite held on Uposatha days. Dr. P. Olivelle observes,

That public and ritual confession of guilt absolves a person of sin, is a popular conviction going back to Vedic times. In the Varunaprachāsa sacrifice barley is roasted on the southern sacrificial fire (the one connected with magical rites), and porridge made of it, one plate for each member of the family. Then they make a public confession of their sins without which there could be no absolution or purification. It is believed that the sins pass on to the dishes which are later burnt. The ceremony is concluded with a general confession of all sins, even of those committed unconsciously: "Whatever sin we have committed in the village, in the forest, among men and in ourselves, that by sacrifice we remove here." Similarly the introductory exhortation of the Pātimokkha says: "Offences remembered should be confessed, for once they are confessed he is free."<sup>80</sup>

In the light of the above fact, it can be seen that the Uposatha was a ceremony in which all the monks assembled in order to confess their failure in the observance of any of the Vinaya rules. Thus, the Buddhist rite of Uposatha

in which the Pāṭirokkha recital became the main item, played an important role in the settled monastic life of the early Buddhist Sangha.

CHAPTER--III  
 RITES AND CEREMONIES FOR THE LAITY  
 IN EARLY BUDDHISM

In this chapter an attempt is being made to investigate the rites and ceremonies developed for the laity in early Buddhism. In order to have clear sight of the subject it is important to first understand the role of the laity during the time of the Buddha.

The mendicant life was well regarded in ancient India. The people paid gratitude to the mendicants by providing them with their daily meal and shelters, because they had renounced all their possessions. As Dr. S. Tatt writes, in those days the Samanas and the Brāhmanas enjoyed intellectual pre-eminence over the people and they were regarded as chosen exponents of philosophic ideas and speculations.<sup>1</sup> The monks depended on the good will of the laity and the laity depended on the blessings of the monks. Thus, in the early days there was a mutual relationship between them. This situation existed during the time of the Buddha.

In the beginning of Buddhism, two classes of followers of the Buddha existed. They were known as the bhikkhūs or mendicants and the upāsakas or laymen. Ācariya Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A. D. defined an upāsaka as "yō kōci saranagatō gahathō upāsakō", a layman who has taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. Buddhaghosa further describes the

upāsaka when he says "ratanattaya saranagatō" (The one who worships three gems is a layman).<sup>2</sup> Ācariya Dhammapāla also gives a similar definition of the term upāsaka. He says an upāsaka is the one who fulfils the characteristics of taking refuge.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was essential for a layman to accept the refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha before entering into Buddhism. An upāsaka was not an ordained person (anupasampanna) and hence was not a member of the Sangha. In Buddhist terminology, the general member of the faith was called an upāsaka or layman.

The formal procedure to become a lay-disciple consisted in saying the formula of three refuges. To begin with, there were only two "refuges" -- the refuge in the Buddha and the refuge in the Dhamma. It was only a little later that the third refuge was added. According to the Mahāvagga, the first men who became lay-disciples by the two-fold formula (refuge in the Buddha and the Dhamma) were Tapassu and Bhalluka, famous traders of the time. This took place long before the preaching of the first sermon of the Buddha.<sup>4</sup>

Yasa's father was the first among men, and his mother and his wife were among the first women who became lay-disciples of the Buddha, by the three-fold formula. This was soon after the first sermon of the Buddha.<sup>5</sup> According to this three-fold formula, faith was considered the most important element, with faith in the Buddha as the emancipator, in the Dhamma as the truth, and in the Sangha as the symbol of the doctrine.

After the lay-disciples were admitted into the religion,

it was necessary to provide a specific goal for them, for it was felt that nibbāna was too distant a goal for them. It was probably in this context that the idea of merit developed in early Buddhism. The layman's attainment of nibbāna could be only after many rebirths which were determined more or less according to his acquisition of merit by which all his evil kamma would be made inoperative and his good kamma rewarded. The specific goal that the Buddha introduced for the laymen was to be reborn as a deity in one of the deva heavens. In order to achieve this goal the laity had to do certain religious practices. A number of ways of acquiring merit thus came to be established. It was believed that after the layman had acquired adequate merit to be reborn in one of the deva heavens, no longer would he be interested in seeking such an inferior worldly goal and would then be able to raise his aspirations to nibbāna.<sup>6</sup> We come across many examples in the Pāli Canon which make this point. Once Mahānāma, the Sakya asked the Buddha about the kind of admonition that should be given to the lay-disciple when he was on his death-bed. According to the Buddha, the admonition should help him to make up his mind to be reborn in better conditions in the human world, then through the enjoyments in the heavens.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, in the 'Sāleyvaka sutta' of the Majjhima Nikāya it is explained in detail about the conditions of rebirth in heaven and hell. In this Sutta it is also said that good actions will lead to rebirth in heaven and bad actions will lead to rebirth in hell.<sup>8</sup> According to the 'Makhādēva sutta' of the



same Nikāya King Makhādēva having practiced four Brahma Vihāras (sublime or divine state of mind) was reborn in the world of Brahmā.<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the early Nikāyas, there are many references to the rebirth as a deity in one of the deva heavens. Therefore it can be seen that the concept of rebirth as a deity in the heaven was perhaps an ideal goal held up by early Buddhism for the faithful laymen. In fact, such a goal was quite useful to the needs of the laity. This dual system of goal with both rebirth in one of the deva heavens and the final goal of nibbāna was important since it enabled the laymen to find a place in Buddhism.

Lay ethic was directed towards merit making. All good deeds were called "kusala kamma" (acts of merit). They were ways of earning merit and ensuring a happy rebirth. In this chapter we shall attempt to examine three meritorious deeds: Dāna or offering of food to the Sangha, Sīla or virtue, and the worship of a Cetiya and Bōdhi tree. This chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part will examine the religious practice of Dāna. The second part will deal with the lay-observance on the Uposatha day. The third part will investigate places of ritual worship.

## PART ONE

I DĀNA OR OFFERING OF FOOD TO THE SANGHA

In the early days, the laity was expected to offer four kinds of things to the Sangha, namely, Dāna (alms), Civara (robes), Sēnāsana (beddings), and Bhēsajja (medicine).<sup>10</sup> Here we shall be concerned only with the offering of food to the Sangha.

Dāna played a very important role in the religious teachings of the Buddha. In the Nikāyas we find three categories of meritorious deeds: Dāna, Sīla and Bhāvāna.<sup>11</sup> Out of these, the most important place was given to Dāna. The merit that a person could acquire and the particular place where he could be born by the practice of Dāna are described in the Nikāyas. Before we progress into a detailed discussion of the rules of Dāna, it is perhaps useful to investigate the early history and the religious significance of the concept.

Dāna, which is frequently mentioned in the Canon, was a common practice in ancient India. Evidence is found in the ancient Brāhmanical literature with regard to alms-giving in ancient India. Giving of alms to religious mendicants was considered a highly valuable practice in Brāhmanical religious thinking. According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, giving of alms to the religious recluse was one of the four duties of man.<sup>12</sup> It is said in the Āpastarbaka Dharma Sūtra that the Brāhmanical student should beg his daily food from the householder and eat

with his teacher. This text further says that he should beg from everybody except apapātas or low caste people and abhisastas or accused people.<sup>13</sup> According to these religious texts, alms-giving to religious students was regarded as a meritorious deed.<sup>14</sup> As we have mentioned in the beginning of our discussion, it was a duty of the laymen to provide them with their daily needs during their religious life. The Buddhists also seemed to have seen the prevalence of this custom and adopted it to the Buddhist atmosphere. However, it should be mentioned here that the Buddhist Dāna has its own character which we shall describe in the next section.

## II THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DĀNA

Dāna is a particular form of virtue shown in practical action. According to the Buddha, his lay-disciples had to follow a very noble life. For this purpose, the ideal which he put before them was "One should live in the house with a mind free from impurities such as avarice" (vigatamala macchēra cetasa agaramajjhāvasatha).<sup>15</sup> Dāna was a practical action to be cultivated as a virtue. It was also of fundamental importance to the laymen in that it helped them to get rid of impurities such as avarice (macchēra) and impediments such as worldly possessions. This seems to be the underlying philosophy of the Buddhist Dāna. From this point of view, Dāna can be defined as a way of freedom from attachment. In the Anguttara Nikāya, we find three kinds of attachments: greed (lōbha), hatred (dōsa), and delusion (mōha). The freedom from these attachments and the establishment of non-greed, non-hatred and non-delusion is a fundamentally important condition to enable the laity to attain the final goal of nibbāna. Many examples of this point are cited in the "Thirteenth chapter" of the Anguttara Nikāya.<sup>16</sup> Once, in a sermon the Buddha said, "One who acquires wealth by his sweat striving for it in a rightful manner can make himself happy, his parents happy, his wife, children, servants and friends happy. Then only will he be able to achieve a perfect life. He also will then be in a position to offer Dāna to religious recluses and also to cultivate his mind. 17

When we think of the Buddha's teaching on Dāna, it seems to us that on many occasions he appears to be propagating the idea of Dāna amongst the laity. Once he said that by the giving of Dāna one can accumulate merit and can get a place in heaven.<sup>18</sup> In a sermon given to Anāthapindika, he said "he who gives alms to religious recluses, gains a long life wherever he is born."<sup>19</sup> Thus, in several places in the Nikāyas, Dāna is described as a way to get rid of greed and attachment as well as a way to get rebirth in one of the deva heavens. In many Jātaka stories we learn of the importance of Dāna in order to have a noble life. In the Vessantara Jātaka, the Bōdhisatta gave two of his children in charity to a Brāhmana called Jūjaka.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Dānapāramitā was one of the Ten perfections (dasā-pāramitā) in many lives of the Bōdhisatta. Thus the significance of Dāna can be seen in many ways. The lay-disciples who seek a noble life should be free from excessive attachment and the practice of Dāna was a most successful way to achieve such a noble life. In fact, the Buddhist Dāna was regarded as a means to secure a happy rebirth and finally to attain nibbāna.

### III THE WAY OF OFFERING OF DĀNA

We already have seen that Dāna is frequently mentioned in the Canon as a way of accumulating merit and a way of getting a place in heaven. The value of merit acquiring action consists not only in the kind of things given but also in the quality and intention of the mind and the kind of person to whom they are given. These appear to be some of the important aspects of the offering Dāna.

According to the Anguttara Nikāya, in order to acquire good merit, the offering should be made in six ways. For example, once Vēlukanthaki-Nandamātā offered a Dāna to the Sangha with Sāriputta and Moggallāna at its head. Regarding her offering the Buddha says "Her offering is complete in six ways--three on the part of the giver and three on that of the recipients. The giver is glad at heart before making the gift, is satisfied while giving, and rejoices after the gift. The recipients are either free from lust, hatred and delusion, or are on the way to such freedom. The merit that can be obtained from such a gift is infinite in nature."<sup>21</sup> It is also said in the Pāyāsi sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya that the Dāna which is practiced with a good intention will give a heavenly birth after death.<sup>22</sup>

According to this Sutta the results of Dāna are conditioned by the degree of purity of intention in the performance of the act. What we learn from this evidence is that the giver had to be established in a pure mental attitude while performing this

meritorious act.

The next question is the proper recipients. The role of recipient is also important in the performance of Dāna. The giver has to know where to give away his gift and also has to identify who are the proper receivers of his gift. In the Nikāyas, the recipients are generally called Dakkhineyya-Sangha or those worthy of receiving an offering of Dāna. They are capable of receiving the gifts of laymen. Therefore, they are regarded as a "field of merit" (puññakkhetta).<sup>23</sup> In a sermon the Buddha said, "If one gives Dana to a person of right views it would bring great fruit".<sup>24</sup> In another sermon he said, "If one gives gifts to members of the Sangha who are on their way to arahantship they will bring good results."<sup>25</sup> In the Sēla sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, it is said that the Sangha is a field of merit which provides an opportunity for laymen to acquire merit.<sup>26</sup> Thus the fact that the Sangha was to be the recipient of gifts is well established in the Nikāyas. They were considered spiritually advanced, and therefore they were regarded as excellent recipients of offerings. As we have pointed out in the beginning of our discussion, in the Brāhmanical religion, the Brahmaçāri student was regarded as the proper receiver of alms. In Buddhism, the Buddha and his ariya sangha or the noble disciples were regarded as the proper recipients of alms.

When Dāna became an action in the life of the laymen, the act of giving naturally acquired some form of ritual and

ceremonial value. It became a religious ritual when food was offered to them.

As we have pointed out in our previous chapter, a person who becomes a monk is taught the rules of the four Nissayas just after his conversion. The pindiyālopa bhōjana or the use of food collected from begging tours was one of them. According to this rule, the monks were expected to be satisfied with whatever was left over of the householder's meal. Thus the monks were expected to beg their daily food from various houses and had to come to the monastery for eating. Invitations for a whole meal, however, were accepted by the Buddha and the monks were also allowed to accept such invitations from the faithful laity. Such invitations were called "Nirantana bhatta" or direct invitations to the monks for a meal from the laymen.<sup>27</sup> This can be seen in the life of the Buddha himself, who often accepted layman's invitations.<sup>28</sup> According to the Sōnadanda sutta of the Digha Nikāya, Sōnadanda the Brāhmaṇa satisfied the Buddha and the Sangha, from his own hand with sweet food, both hard and soft, until they refused any more.<sup>29</sup>

When Dāna took the form of an invitation to the monks, it also took the shape of a ceremony. In the following account we shall describe the proper way of offering food to the monks and the way of receiving the food by the monks. This discussion is mainly based on the accounts of the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Pitaka.



The proper way of accepting a Dāna is described in the Cullavagga. First of all, it is important to note that the monks were allowed to take only one meal a day. They also were expected to have their meal before mid-day.<sup>30</sup>

When the monks were invited for a meal in the house of a layman, they had to proceed to the house in the way prescribed for them. They had to proceed to the house with their alms-bowls, slowly and carefully with downcast eyes. They also had to avoid at all cost pushing their way in front of the elders, or proceeding to the house with disordered robes, or loud laughter, or with swaying limbs, or putting their hands on the hips, or with covered head, or with unusual gait, or with a fickle mind looking here and there. Also they were not supposed to encroach on the elders or to debar a junior from a seat or to spread their robes as a mat when taking a seat in the house for a meal.<sup>31</sup>

When they were seated properly, the laity had to offer the meal with both hands. By giving the food in both hands, they showed respect to the monks. The monks received the meal in their alms-bowls, and before they received them they were supposed to have washed their alms-bowls with the water which was given to them.<sup>32</sup> When the monks started eating the meal, they were expected to follow certain customs. Even an elder monk was not allowed to start eating until the food had been offered to all. Besides these, pressing the food from the top, gazing at others' bowls with greed and eagerness, making a very

large opening of the mouth in advance, putting the whole hand in the mouth, talking while the food is in the mouth, tossing the food in the mouth, biting the food playfully, and the like were prohibited for the monks.<sup>33</sup>

At the end of the alms-giving there was an "anumōdanā" or act of thanksgiving to the donor. It was a custom of the monks to thank the donor when they had a meal at the house of a layman. According to the Buddha, this "anumōdanā" should be done by the senior monk among the monks who took the meal in the house.<sup>34</sup> The anumōdanā consisted of a religious discourse given to the donor by the invited monks. According to the Cullavagga, on many occasions the Venerable Sāriputta gave such an anumōdanā.<sup>35</sup> The monk who gave anumōdanā used to explain the kinds of results which the donor could get by the performance of Dāna.

Our attention is next brought to Dāna as a meritorious act. It is important to note here that the moment of the offering of food is an important one in the performance of Dāna. First of all, the donor should be established in a pure mental attitude. He also should give alms with a faithful mind (cittappasāda). When he presents the gifts, he must think both before and after the gift is presented, that he gives to one who is possessed of virtue. It is requisite that the thing given, the intention of the giver, and the receiver of the gift all be pure.

The way of giving is also an important aspect of the layman's alms-giving. The recommended mode and attitude of dāna is stated thus, in the Pāyāsi Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya: "Give your gifts with thoroughness, with your own hands, with due thought, and give not as if you were discarding somewhat."<sup>37</sup> In a sermon that the Buddha gave to Sigāla, which is often said to be his most comprehensive discourse on the duties of a layman, he is reported to have said, "In five ways should the clansman minister to recluses and Brāhmaṇas as the zenith: by attention in act and speech and mind, by keeping house with them, and by supplying their temporal needs."<sup>38</sup>

The layman by giving material gifts, expected to accumulate merit in the form of ethical energy. The monk in turn, in accepting the gifts confers merit on the donor. This conceptualization of giving and receiving is seen as an important dimension of offering dāna. The thing given brings returns in his life and in the other. It may automatically bring the donor an equivalent return. It is not lost to him but becomes reproductive. The donor finds the thing itself again, but with increases. The idea of food given away means that food will return to the donor in his lifetime; it also means food for him in the other world and in his many reincarnations.<sup>39</sup> The following examples will illustrate this view. In the Anguttara Nikāya it is stated that the giver of food gives the recipient five things; viz., āyu, (long life), vanna (beauty), sukha (ease), bala (strength), and pañña (intelligence),

having given which he in turn receives these when he is reborn either among the devas or among men.<sup>40</sup> The householder Ugga of Vesāli, offered a dāna to the Buddha and after death was reborn in a deva world and visited the Buddha.<sup>41</sup> From the above facts it is clear that by giving Dāna one may accumulate merit and get a place in heaven.

We have shown elsewhere that the idea of Dāna has been adopted in Buddhism as a parallel concept to the Brāhmanic idea of sacrifice (yajna). In Brāhmanical religion, sacrifices were held to propitiate the gods and to ask them for health, wealth and happiness. Buddhism taught that instead of offering gifts to the gods, the gifts given to the "Dakkhineyya-sangha" will bring those benefits and happy birth in heaven. According to the Buddha, this sort of simple ritual could be done by anyone with ordinary food like ghee, butter, oil, etc. and could be done without involving bloodshed. It seems that the Buddha set an ethical and spiritual value in the place of Brāhmanical yajna. As Professor K. N. Jayatilleke says,

"The Buddhists while condemning the elaborate Brāhmanical sacrifices of the time as wasteful and immoral in that they involved a waste of effort and valuable resources as well as the killing of animals (D. I. 141), was not averse to the simple sacrificial offerings of the earliest Brāhmanas who killed no animals (SN. 245) and made their offerings in good faith (dhammēna). It was probably to such sacrifices where there was no slaughter of animals that the Arahants were allowed to go (nirārambham yaññanam upasankamantiarahantō), i.e., the Arahants attend sacrifices in which there is no slaughter (A.II. 43).

We find Buddhism interpreting yanna at its best to be the highest religious life as advocated in Buddhism. 42

In the light of the above, it can be seen that the Buddhists formulated the idea of Dāna in the place of the sacrifice of Brāhmanical religion. During the Buddha's day ethical teaching played an important role in the life of the people. The people of this age were attracted to the religious teachings whether Buddhist or non-Buddhist. It was a period which was involved with higher ethical ideals.<sup>43</sup> Thus it is possible that the Buddha's new approach to the Brāhmanical yajna, emphasizing its ethical and spiritual value, seems to have been directed to the felt religious needs of the people at that time.

In summary, the aim of the laymen was to offer Dāna in order to be born in the heavenly worlds. Nibbāna was the main goal of Buddhism, but was only a distant goal for laymen. Since the laymen were unable to understand the philosophical concept of nibbāna, early Buddhism developed the idea of a proximate goal for a happy rebirth in heaven. It was much easier for laymen to understand and accept the idea that good deeds would be rewarded in the happy deva heaven while the bad deeds would lead to suffering in hell. Achieving rebirth as a god in heaven was an ideal goal used in early Buddhism to encourage the laity towards the practice of ethics. The offering of Dāna was a practical action by which one could

achieve such an aim. Thus it can be seen that the role of Dāna was to instruct the laity to have a happy rebirth in one of the deva heavens, and finally to attain nibbāna.

## PART TWO

THE LAY OBSERVANCE OF SĪLA ON THE UPOSATHA DAY

In our first part we have shown how Dāna came to be regarded as a useful merit making ritual in gaining a reward in one of the deva heavens. Likewise, there was another practice called Sīla or the following of precepts which was observed by the laity in order to achieve such a reward. Since the concept of Sīla in Buddhism is a vast subject we shall consider only one practical expression of it. This lay observance should not be confused with the monastic Uposatha ceremony described in the first chapter. This Part will deal with the value of the Uposatha in the religious life of the laity.

Scholars have shown that the Buddhist Uposatha was adopted from non-Buddhist religious sects.<sup>44</sup> As we have said earlier, the Uposatha was introduced for the Sangha following the practice of the non-Buddhist religious sects, but it was introduced for the laity on a different basis.

To understand the adoption of the Uposatha for the laity, we find an interesting episode in the Dēvadūta sutta the Anguttara Nikāya. It has been said in this Sutta that on the thirteenth day of the lunar month, the ministers of the four Great Kings come down to the world to see whether the men are dutiful towards their parents and to observe the Uposathas and do good deeds. In the same way it is said that on the

fourteenth day of the lunar month, their sons come down to the world for the same purpose. And finally, on the fifteenth day, they themselves come down to the world. After making an investigation they go back and report to the gods of Tāvātimsa Pēva word while they assemble in the Sudharma sabhā. The gods were happy if a great number of people on the earth observed the Uposathas.<sup>45</sup> The idea found here in the Dēvaḍūta Sutta is somewhat similar to that found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa where we saw that on the Uposatha days the gods used to come to live with the intending sacrificer. This point is further evidenced by a Sutta of the Anguttara Nikāya, where it has been said that Sakka, the King of the gods admonished the gods to keep the eight Uposatha vows. Thus we could suggest that the adoption of the Uposatha for the laity was based on the Brāhmanical idea of a close association of the gods with human beings during the Uposatha days.

In the early days, the Upōsatha played an important role in the religious life of the laity. It was perhaps more important for the laity than for the monks. We have seen in our Second chapter that the custom of gathering together on Uposatha days was introduced for the monks in order that they might recite the Pātimokkha and preach the Dhamma. But for the laity it was the day to observe religious vows.

Uposatha (sk. upavasatha) is an old institution in India. The term "Upavasatha" stood for the day of fasting. In the early days, fasting was regarded as a religious practice.



It was sometimes practiced as the penance of a sinful action but in general for the purpose of attaining holiness."

According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the fasting was to be observed by the sacrificer, and it was the duty of the householder to abstain from certain kinds of food, especially eating of meat, and other casual pleasures. He had to cut off his hair, except the crest-lock; sleep on the ground in one of the chief fire-houses and observe silence during the ceremonies.<sup>46</sup> The idea found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa is similar to the "Uposatha-sīla" formulated for the laity in Buddhism. On days in which the Uposatha-sīla is observed, the Buddhist laity take the main meal at midday and do not eat again during that day. They are also expected to avoid sitting on comfortable seats and enjoying the pleasures of the senses by watching dancing, singing and the like. These ideas seem to have been taken over from the Brāhmanical religious customs in those days.

Before we discuss further the Uposatha-sīla, a word should be mentioned about the Uposathas held in early days. To Visākhā-Migāramātā, the Buddha spoke of three types of Uposathas held in his day. They are Gopālupōsatha, Niganthupōsatha, and Ariyupōsatha.<sup>47</sup> In the Anguttara Nikāya, the Buddha describes these Uposathas in the following way. He says Gopālupōsatha is like a cowherd who in the evening while coming back home thinks, "Tomorrow I will take these cows to

such and such a place for grazing." Likewise, a person who thinks before the day of fasting, "Tomorrow I will eat such and such a food" and spends the whole day indulging in such a craving, is not following a real Uposatha. The Niganthupōsatha is the fasting of naked ascetics (niganthas). According to the Buddha, such an Uposatha also will not result in great fruit. The third Uposatha is called Ariyupōsatha which is observed by the Buddhist laity themselves. This is regarded as the best among those Uposathas.<sup>48</sup>

Let us return to the study of the Buddhist Sīlas (precepts). There is a gradation from the 150 precepts which apply to the bhikkhus, to the ten (dasa-sīla), eight (atthanga-sīla) which apply with subtle distinctions to novices (sāmanēra) and laymen (upāsaka).

Pancha-sīla was the fundamental principle of the Buddhist lay ethic. Laymen were expected to observe Pancha-sīla throughout their life. They are: abstain from killing living beings (pāṇātipātā vērāmani), abstain from taking that which is not given (adinnādānā vērāmani), abstain from misconduct in sexual action (kamēsumicchācārā vērāmani), abstain from false speech (musāvādā vērāmani), and abstain from intoxicating liquor (surāmēraya majjapamādaṭṭhānā vērāmani).<sup>49</sup>

The Pancha-sīla was regarded as "the treasure of virtue" (sīladhana). Those who observed the Pancha-sīla lived as householders with self-possession (visārada). On particular

occasions, however, Pancha-sīla is extended to eight precepts (at̐ṭhaṅga-sīla). By adding three precepts to the Pancha-sīla, the at̐ṭhaṅga-sīla is formed. Then these are observed on Uposatha days, and they too are sometimes called the Uposatha-sīla. These additional precepts are: abstain from eating at improper times (vikāla bhōjanā vēramani), abstain from dancing, singing, music and plays (naccagītavādita visūka dassāna-vēramani), and abstain from occasion for adorning oneself with garlands, perfumes and unguents (mālā-gandha vilēpana dhāraṇa maṇḍana vibhūsanat̐ṭhanā vēramani).<sup>50</sup> This at̐ṭhaṅga-sīla can be observed by a layman, voluntarily upon Uposatha days. The Dasa-sīla was laid down for novices (sāmanēras). By adding two more precepts to the eight precepts, the Dasa-sīla is formed. The two precepts are: abstain from the use of high and large beds (uccāsayana mahāsayanā vēramani), and abstain from accepting gold and silver (jātarūpa rajata patiggahanā vēramani).<sup>51</sup> The Dasa-sīla also can be voluntarily observed by the layman. Among the above-mentioned Sīlas, At̐ṭhaṅga-sīla is often mentioned in the Canon. A good number of examples of the At̐ṭhaṅga-sīla are found in the Anguttara Nikāya.<sup>52</sup> In the Dhammika Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta the Buddha told this At̐ṭhaṅga-sīla to Dhammika Upāsaka and also recommended that it be observed on Uposatha days.<sup>53</sup> In a sermon the Buddha explained the At̐ṭhaṅga-sīla vows pertaining to Uposathas.<sup>54</sup> It is stated in the Anguttara Nikāya that those who observed the At̐ṭhaṅga-sīla or Uposatha-sīla would

go to the heaven after death.<sup>55</sup>

The Atthanga-sīla is a more highly advanced discipline than the Pancha-sīla. It aims to lead the layman to a more religious life than the observing of Pancha-sīla only. Regarding the significance of this Sīla, Dr. Ven. H. Saddhatissa says,

"A significant advance in the Uposatha-sīla consists in the practice of celibacy. While the daily observance of the five precepts preserves the status of family life and only prevents the laymen from indulging in unlawful sensual acts, the laymen observing the eight precepts must practice complete celibacy. A layman strictly observing the Uposatha-sīla is confined to meditation and other religious performances in Viharas or woods, or separate apartments. For the period of observance he is dressed in the simplest garments. But essentially while observing Atthanga-sīla he must not live attached to his family since the observance constitutes a form of temporary renunciation."<sup>56</sup>

In order to understand the deepest religious significance of Uposatha-sīla, we must look into the above-mentioned Dasa-sīla prescribed for the Sāmanēras. The Sāmanēra had to observe the Dasa-sīla at his initiation ceremony. He was expected to observe them as long as he remained a Sāmanēra. This Dasa-sīla must be observed even by the arahants. As we have indicated above, Dasa-sīla may be voluntarily practiced by the layman. The Atthanga-sīla which was to apply to the layman was a part of Dasa-sīla. In other words, these eight precepts are included among the Dasa-sīla prescribed for the Sāmanēras. So by observing the Atthanga-sīla on Uposatha

days, the laity also had to abstain from sexual actions, from eating at improper times, adorning their persons with garlands, from dancing, singing and music, from the use of high and large beds, from taking meals after noon, and from using perfumes. Thus it is possible that the Buddhist laity used to take up Sāmanēra's life on Uposatha days as the Brāhmanical householder used to prepare for the sacrificial rites on Upavasathas.

#### THE WAY OF OBSERVING UPOSATHA-SILA

The Uposatha vacca of the Anguttara Nikāya gives an account of the way to observe the Uposatha-sīla. In this Vacca the Buddha explains how the Uposatha should be observed. To make the point intelligible, let us give the following translation from the Book of the Gradual Sayings:

"Herein, monks, an Ariyan disciple reflect thus, all their lives arahants abandon taking life and abstain therefrom; they dwell meekly and kindly, compassionately and mercifully with all beings, laying aside stick and sword. I too, now during this day and night, will dwell meekly and kindly, compassionately and mercifully with all beings and lay aside both stick and sword. So in this way, I shall follow the example of arahants. All their lives arahants abandon taking what is not given and abstain therefrom. I also during this day and night will act like them. So that I shall follow the example of the arahants and observe the Uposatha. They abstain from sexual actions, I shall act like them. They abstain from lying, I also act like them. They abstain from looking at shows and fairs, I also act like them. They abstain from using high and large beds, I shall act like them. So in this way I shall follow the example of arahants and observe the Uposatha.<sup>57</sup>

From the above passage it is clear that by observing the Uposatha-sīla, the Buddhist laity is imitating the advanced religious life the monks. Thus, it is possible to determine that the Pancha-sīla was the basis of Buddhist lay ethics, but the Atthanga-sīla or the Uposatha-sīla was the primary religious Vrata or rite practiced by the laymen in the early days.

## PART THREE

## THE PLACES OF WORSHIP FOR THE LAITY

In this section, we shall examine a few places of worship mentioned in the Pāli Canon. The "Mahāparinibbāna Sutta" of the Dīgha Nikāya gives an account of two objects of Buddhist worship. They are: (I), The relics of the Buddha's body collected after his cremation (sāririka cetiya), (II), The articles used by him (pāribhōgika cetiya). The Bōdhi tree under which he attained enlightenment was also included in this latter group.<sup>58</sup> In developing this concept two places of worship were formed in the early days. They are called respectively Cetiya worship and Bōdhi tree worship. Here we shall attempt to describe the early patterns of these two forms of worship.

I THE WORSHIP OF CETIYAS

The worship of Cetiyas became a prominent feature in the life of the Buddhist laymen. The word Cetiya has many meanings. It is derived from the root ci, to heap up, cp., citi, cinati i. a., tumulus, sepuchral monument, cairn.<sup>59</sup> In the early days, the trees also were termed Cetiyas. According to the Dhammapada, a Cetiya can be a tree, stone or garden inhabited by a god or spirit. Dr. Malalasekara observes, "The worship of trees and the spirits inhabiting them is one of the most primitive forms of religion. Some, at least, of the

yakkhas are called rukka-cetiya (spirits of trees) and others bhumma-devata<sup>60</sup> (spirits of the earth). Macdonell says that the trees and mountains have been regarded as gods and spirits in Vedic hymns.<sup>61</sup> Thus, we find that a belief in tree worship may have been due to the belief that the tree was an abode of the gods or spirits. So, apparently, the veneration of the Cetiya is of pre-Buddhist origin.

In the Tatiya-bhānavāra of the Mahāparinibbāna sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya we find a list of Cetiyas which were in Vēsāli. They are: the Makutabandha Cetiya, of the Mallas and the Manimālaka, Udēna, Gōtamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputtaka, Sārandada, and Cāpāla Cetiyas of the Yakkhas.<sup>62</sup> In this Sutta, the Buddha says, "So long as the Vajjins shall continue to honour, esteem, revere, and support the shrines in town or country and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given to fall into neglect, they will not decline but prosper."<sup>63</sup> It is possible that these could refer to worshipping places associated with certain religious practices.

The "Mahāparinibbāna sutta" says that the Buddha visited Udēna Cetiya, Gōtamaka Cetiya, Sattambaka Cetiya, Bahuputtaka Cetiya, Sārandada Cetiya and Cāpāla Cetiya with the elder Ananda and declared them to be beautiful Cetiyas.<sup>64</sup> It can be demonstrated that the Buddha made solemn utterances in respect of many Cetiyas he visited.

From the Buddhist point of view, the Cetiya is the place where the relics of the Buddha and of his disciples were



kept. The Mahāparinibbāna sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya says that the Buddha before his death had indicated how after his cremation his relics should be treated. He instructed the elder Ananda as to how they should treat the remains of the Buddha, "A Cetiya should be erected over the remains of the Buddha."<sup>65</sup> Thus the erection of the Cetiya had the sanction of the Buddha. This Sutta further says that the Cetiya should be built at the four-cornered junction, and the offering made to it to bring health, wealth and happiness and to be reborn in one of the deva heavens after death.<sup>66</sup> This idea led to the making of Cetiya worship among the laity.

After the death of the Buddha, Cetiyas seem to have been built enshrining the relics of the Buddha and of his disciples. It may be noted here that four kinds of people were mentioned in the Dīgha Nikāya as being worthy to be worshipped by making Cetiyas and enshrining their relics; namely, a Buddha, a Paccēka Buddha, a Tathāgata-sāvaka (disciple of the Buddha), and a Cakkavatti rāja (a king of kings).<sup>67</sup> It can be seen that the Cetiya was the sacred religious place where the relics of the Buddha and of his disciples were preserved. This may be the reason that the Cetiyas came to be regarded as places of worship by the Buddhist laymen. It was believed that the existence of the relics was equivalent to the existence of the Buddha. Thus, the Cetiya came to be an object of the Buddhist worship and played an important role in the life of the Buddhist laymen.

It is important to note here that worshipping at the Cetiya was to be only for the Khattiya, Brāhmana and Gahapatis and monks were expected to reserve their energies for their own spiritual attainments.<sup>68</sup> In this respect it can be assumed that in the early days, Cetiya worship seems to have been developed only for the laity.

Let us now examine a few laymen who went for worshipping the Cetiyas in the early days. We find some references both in the Canon and the Atthakathās about worshipping Cetiyas. The Ghatikāra Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya tells us of a Cetiya near Tōdeyya which was worshipped by the people without knowing the significance of Cetiya worship. The Buddha explained that it was the Cetiya of the former Kassapa Buddha.<sup>69</sup> In the Pulinathūpiya apadāna of the Apadāna we find an interesting story of Cetiya worship. Here a person called Pulinathūpiya made a Cetiya out of sand on the bank of the river, in the name of the Buddha and worshipped it with great honour.<sup>70</sup> In a previous birth, Mangala a Bōdhisatta, worshipped the Cetiya of a Buddha by wrapping his body in cloth drenched with oil, setting fire to it and walking round the Cetiya throughout the night, carrying on his head a golden bowl filled with scented oil and lit with one thousand wicks.<sup>71</sup> According to the Sankha Jātaka, the Bōdhisatta Sankha made a Cetiya in the name of his son, who died as a Paccēka Buddha. Sankha weeded the grass around the Cetiya, sprinkled sand, watered it, scattered wild flowers round the shrine, and raised aloft his

robe as a banner over it.<sup>72</sup> We are told in the Mahākapi Jātaka that the relics of the Bōdhisatta were honoured and worshipped by the entire kingdom according to the instructions of the King of Banaras.<sup>73</sup> Many such examples are cited in the Jātakas. It seems that the making of Cetiyas in the name of holy men and making offerings to them was a common practice in those days.

In this context we must study the Cetiya as a place of pilgrimage. The worshipping at and visiting (cārikā) of the Cetiya was regarded as a way of making merit. In a way, the Cetiya can be considered a place of pilgrimage. In the Mahāparinibbāna sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, soon after the instruction regarding the visiting of the Cetiya, we find four places of pilgrimage. They are: the birth place of the Buddha, the site of his enlightenment, the site of his first preaching of the Dhamma, and the site of his parinibbāna. Speaking of the merit that can be gained by visiting these places the Buddha said, "The person who dies in the course of visiting these places will be reborn in heaven."<sup>74</sup>

The concept of Cetiya worship is well developed in the Pāli Atthakathās. Ācariya Buddhaghosa says that at that time, men used to go a distance of ten to twelve yōjanas to worship relics in Cetiyas.

How a person should worship a Cetiya is explained in these texts. In interpreting the Sumanjalavilāsini, the commentary to the Dīgha Nikāya, Dr. Adikaram says the following:

If the Cetiya is big, the devotee should circumambulate it thrice and bow down at four places. If it is small he should circumambulate in like manner and bow down at eight places.<sup>75</sup>

It was believed that such worship brings great merit.

In wanting to describe the offerings made at the Cetiyas we do not find enough materials to make a strong case. However, we have come across some evidence in the Canon which gives us a general idea on the subject.

In the Mahāparinibbāna sutta we find a reference to an offering made to the Cetiyas. It is stated in the Sutta: "Whoever shall put flowers, or perfumes, or lights or makes veneration there, or become in his presence calm in heart, that shall long be to them, profit and a joy." (tattha yē mālam vā gandham vā vannakam vā arōpessanti abhivādessanti vā cittaṃ va pasādessanti).<sup>76</sup> It is possible that flower offering was the usual offering associated with Cetiya worship.

Offering of flowers was a popular feature of Buddhist worship. From the Buddhist point of view, the flower is a symbol of the impermanence of life. When flowers are offered, the devotee is supposed to meditate on the fact that as these flowers fade, so does my body reach a state of destruction. This seems to be the underlying idea of flower offering. The offering of flowers became essential in all Buddhist worship, but was evidently associated with Cetiya worship as well as the Bōdhi tree worship. This tendency is well developed in later Buddhism.

## II THE WORSHIP OF THE BODHI TREE

The worshipping of the trees was a common practice in ancient India long before the Buddha's time. As we have shown earlier, in the early days trees were regarded as sacred, because they were believed to be inhabited by gods or spirits. In those days, people used to worship the trees with devotion combined with fear. One of the trees that was regarded as sacred in the Vedic age was the Asvattha (Ficuse religiosa) tree. According to the Kathōpanishad, the root of the Asvattha tree is identified with Brahman.<sup>77</sup> A similar idea is found in the "Third Mundaka" of the Mundakōpanishad.<sup>78</sup> Professor Rhys Davids writes that the Asvattha (the Bodhi tree of the Buddhist) was held in high esteem before Buddhism even as early as the Vedic period.<sup>79</sup> Thus the Asvattha tree became an object of veneration before the beginning of Buddhism.

The Buddhists took the ancient Asvattha as the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment (sammā-sambuddhō assatthassa mūlē abhisambuddhō).<sup>80</sup> E. J. Thomas remarks, "The tree is mentioned in the list of the trees of the last seven Buddhas in Mahāpadāna-s, Digha, II, 4, and is said to be an Asvattha, the sacred fig-tree, Ficus religiosa."<sup>81</sup>

Let us inquire into how the Asvattha tree came to be venerated by the Buddhists. As we have shown elsewhere, there were four sacred places for the Buddhist pilgrimage. The site of the Buddha's enlightenment is one of them. It is

possible that the Bodhi tree became venerated not because of any hidden power behind it but because of the fact that the Buddha attained enlightenment under this tree. As Professor Phyllis Davids says, "the wisdom was the wisdom of the Master not of the tree or of the tree-god, and could not be obtained by eating of its fruits."<sup>82</sup> Thus the Asvattha tree venerated by the people of pre-Buddhistic time came to be known as the Bodhi tree among the Buddhists and came to be regarded as the tree of enlightenment.

How the Bodhi tree came to be regarded as an object of Buddhist worship is well explained in the Kālinga Bōdhi Jātaka. According to the Jātaka, the lay-devotees came from distant places to Jētavanārāma and brought flowers and perfumes to offer to the Buddha in the place where the Buddha was residing at Sāvatti. But since he was not there, they became disappointed and put those flowers at a place in Jētavanārāma quite close to the Buddha's residence and went away. When Anāthapindika and other Upāsakas saw what had happened, they were grieved and wished that they might have a permanent object of worship where they could put their offerings when the Buddha was on his alms tours. They told this to Ven. Ananda, who in turn told the Buddha about it. Then the Buddha said to Ananda to send to get a root of the tree of Gayā, and set it in front of the Jētavanārāma. The Buddha also said that he who worships it will get the same reward as if he worshipped me in person. Since the Bodhi tree was regarded

as an object used by the Buddha, people of Sāvatti brought a Bōdhi seed and planted it at the entrance to the Jētavanārāma.<sup>83</sup> According to Dr. Malalasekara,

It was planted in a golden jar by Anāthapindika. A sapling immediately sprouted forth, fifty cubits high, and in order to consecrate it, the Buddha spent one night under it, rapt in meditation. This tree, because it was planted under the direction of Ananda came to be known as the Ananda Bodhi.<sup>84</sup>

Thus the Bōdhi tree became an object of the Buddhist worship. Since Buddhism came into existence as a highly intellectual and rational philosophy, it gave relatively little place to external ritualism. But in due course, the common man developed certain rituals as a means of gaining consolation during troubled times. This point is illustrated by examining the religious significance of the Bōdhi tree and the role it played in Buddhism. In Buddhist mythology the Mahābōdhi was the religious spot where the first lotus seed took root and around which the earth gradually took its shape. In interpreting the Commentary to the Dhammapada, Dr. Malalasekara says,

When the world is destroyed at the end of a kappa, the Bodhimanda will be the last spot to disappear; when the world emerges into existence again, it will be the first to appear. A lotus springs there bringing it into view and if during the kappa thus begun a Buddha will be born, the lotus puts forth flowers, according to the number of Buddhas.<sup>85</sup>

The problem of the sacred places of religions is of central significance. In Hinduism, Mount Kailāsa was considered not only the highest place of the world, but also the dwelling place of God Shiva. In Buddhism, Mahābōdhi Maṇḍa (Ground around the Great Bodhi tree) of Gayā is the sacred place where the Buddha attained enlightenment. This was to be the most important ground for the Buddhists.<sup>86</sup>

The sacredness of the centre of the earth is recognised by its closeness to the sky and the heaven. In Hinduism, Mount Kailāsa was close to heaven. This idea is somewhat similar to the idea found in the Kāliṅga Bōdhi Jātaka, where it is said that the Mahābōdhi Maṇḍa is the navel of the earth (puṭhuvi nābhar bōdhi maṇḍam), and that even the gods cannot go over Mahābōdhi Maṇḍa (mahābōdhi maṇḍassa uparibhāgena gantum nāgō na sakkā).<sup>87</sup> Although these ideas belong to popular mythological beliefs, they are important in order to understand the religious significance of the Bōdhi tree as a sacred object.

It is essential now to inquire into the ritual offering made to the Bōdhi tree. We have already seen that the people of Sāvatti, led by Anāthapindika, told Ananda that a place should be provided where they might offer flowers in the name of the Buddha, when he was away on his alms tours. It seems to be that it would have been flower offering which was made to the Bōdhi tree in those days.



Although it is difficult to see the original form of flower offering, it seems to have been an old custom among Indians. According to A. L. Basham, the flower offering was known during the time of the Buddha.<sup>88</sup> In the Anguttara Nikāya, a caste called "pukkusa" is mentioned. Dr. Malalasekara describes them as "those who sweep up flowers which are offered at shrines and are not removed by the devotees who have given them."<sup>89</sup> If the pukkusa's duty was to remove the flowers from the shrines that seems as added proof that flower offering was a prominent feature in Buddhist worship in the early days. This is further evidenced from the story of Nīla Thēra who belonged to a family of flower-sweepers.<sup>90</sup>

There are references in the Apadāna as well as in the Jātakas about the offering of flowers to the Bōdhi tree. For example, a Thēri called Panēdīpadāyika one night sat at the foot of a Bōdhi tree and wished that the tree should shine in radiance. Her wish was granted and for seven days she sat there and offered flowers to the tree and lit lamps under the tree.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, a Thēra called Pupphthūpiya in his previous life, hearing of the Buddha's appearance in the world, wished to visit him but fell ill on the way. Then he made a thūpa of flowers in the name of the Buddha and died soon after.<sup>92</sup> As we have seen earlier, the detailed references about the flower offerings are cited in the Kālinga Bōdhi Jātaka

From the above facts, it can be seen that the offering of flowers to the Cetiyas as well as to the Bōdhi tree was a common rite in the early days. These evidences suggest that Buddhism although a rationalistic religion was not fully free from the prevalent religious customs of the time.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to make an attempt to examine the rituals and ceremonies in the settled monastic life of the Sangha as well as the religious life of the laity. In understanding these two aspects we have used the expressions "corporate life of the Sangha" and "popular teachings of the Buddha" in order to see the dimensions of these new elements in early Buddhism.

Buddhism initially arose as a moral religion. As a religion and ethical philosophy its main concern was with the problems of the moral perfection of mankind. In this primitive stage, there were no rites or ceremonies, no mention of a god or any religious observances such as worship. However, along with the evolution of Buddhism it accommodated various forms of beliefs, rituals and practices and modified them according to the Buddhist atmosphere. As we have said earlier, these elements did not have approval in the doctrinal teachings of the Buddha. They were synthesized without jeopardising the basic Buddhist position.

We have observed the evolution of temporary dwelling-places (rukhamūlas) of the early Buddhist Sangha into permanent monastic residences. According to the Pāli Canon, this process of evolution took place with the introduction of the Vassāvāsa or rainy season retreats. The period of Vassāvāsa led the Sangha to settle for three or four months in a particular

āvāsa. We have shown that there developed certain ceremonial practices in the monastic life of the Sangha in order to meet the needs of this life together. For example, the development of the rite of Uposatha and the rite of Pavāraṇa were important aspects of settled monastic life. We have suggested that the ritual of Pātimokkha as well as the ritual of Pavāraṇa were the instruments for achieving purity in the monastic life.

We have drawn our attention to the Buddha's attitude towards the Brāhmanical sacrificial system. The information supplied by the Pāli Canon regarding this matter is especially important. We have shown that, while criticizing the Brāhmanical sacrifices the Buddha explained the nature of the best way of making sacrifices. To fulfil the needs of the common men, he also formulated the scheme of an ethical or spiritual system of "yañña". If anybody were to insist on the performance of sacrifices, he could perform them with ordinary and common food and avoid the shedding of blood. We have seen that even the arahants used to attend such simple forms of sacrifice in which there was no killing. The evidence of the Canon thus helps us to arrive at a new picture of the place of the sacrificial system in early Buddhism.

We have also indicated the position of the laity in early Buddhism. The Canon helps us to understand the dual system with the proximate goal of rebirth and the ultimate goal of final release for the laity. This accounts for the

motivation for gaining merit which dominated the lay ethic. Our evidence suggests that the aim of the laymen was to perform meritorious acts in order to be born in one of the deva heavens. Nibbāna through meditation was a distant goal for the ordinary laymen. In this way, the idea of giving dāna constituted one of the highest merits available to the laity. In this context, we observed the recognition of the gods in early Buddhism. Instead of denying the Vedic gods, Buddhism accepted them and shaped them according to the Buddhist atmosphere. In Vedic religion, the gods were the recipients of sacrifices. In Buddhism, they were not the object of sacrifices but were made to serve as elements of the symbol system serving moral purposes. The evidence has suggested that, among the laymen, the desire for a rebirth as a god in the heaven provided the motivation for the development of the Buddhist pantheon of gods.

We have seen that the early pattern of Buddhist worship was mainly centred around the worship of Cetiya and Bōdhi, which are the important symbols around which a cult of devotion had grown. In the early days, the growing Buddhist community had drawn much attention to a relatively new form of worship. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya we have seen this new form provided by pilgrimages to Cetiyas which venerated certain moments in the life of the Buddha. It has been said in the Dhammapadam that "Him from whom you have known the Dhamma

as taught by the Truly Enlightened, you should honour him, as a Brāhmaṇa does the sacrificial fire."(DP, XXVI, 392) Such teachings seem to have led the Buddhist laymen to develop certain forms of worship systems.

## REFERENCES

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in these notes:

AN	Anguttara Nikāya
CV	Cullavagga
DHA	Dhammapadatthakathā
DN	Dīgha Nikāya
DP	Dhammapada
DPPN	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names
PD	Paramatthadīpani
PM	Pātimokkha
PTSD	Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary
MN	Majjhima Nikāya
MV	Mahāvagga
SN	Samutta Nikāya
SUN	Sutta Nipāta
SV	Sumangalavilāsini

## INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>DF, hymn, 193 (Buddhavagga). A great many of hymns of the Dharrapaḍa describe the Buddhist moral teachings. For detailed discussions of the Buddhist morality, see S. Tachibana, The Ethics of Buddhism, 1961, p. 65 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., hymn 160 (Attavagga).

<sup>3</sup>The system of the Buddhist morality has often been criticized by scholars. E. J. Hitel commented, "Buddhist morality has an essential negative character. It is a morality without a God and without a conscience. See Three lectures on Buddhism, 1884, p. 79. Also see, Dr. Richard Lambert and Bert E. Roselitz, The Role of Savings and Wealth in Southern Asia and the West, 1963, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup>Dr. S. J. Tambiah, Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-east Thailand, 1970, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup>S. Tachibana, The Ethics of Buddhism, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup>Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, Buddhism: The Light of Asia, 1968, p. 100. Dr. Richard Lambert and Bert E. Roselitz make the following comments in this regard: "Despite the minority of laymen who are cited as having attained nirvana or high spiritual states it is the path of the bhikkhu that is conceived as direct path to end. The laity therefore are forced to resign themselves not to annihilation of volition but to the engaging in good volition which would improve their rebirth chances. And the definition of a good rebirth is at best conceived as being reborn into one of the godly paradises (from which state the upward path will have to be pursued) or be born as a chakkavatti in this world." See The Role of Savings and Wealth in Southern Asia and the West, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup>Max Weber, The Religion of India, tr. H. H. Gerst and Don Martin Dale (Glencoe, III, 1958), Chapter VII. p. 206.

<sup>8</sup>S. J. Tambiah, Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-east Thailand, p. 65.

<sup>9</sup>Weber, Chapter III.

<sup>10</sup>Dr. A. M. Shastri, An Outline of Early Buddhism, 1965, p. 151.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 114.



<sup>12</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 21. Here the Buddha's admonition to the Sangha is found in the following way, "caratha bhikkhave cārikar, bahujana hitaya, bahujana sukhāya," (Wander forth O monks, for the welfare and well being of the all...) and "Nā ekena dve acamittha" (Two should not go in the same direction).

<sup>13</sup>P. L. Matsunaga, A Critical Analysis of the Buddhist Concept of Hell, 1969, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 10. This popular method of teaching is often mentioned both in the Sutta and the Vinaya. For more examples, see PN, Vol. I, p. 110 (ambattha), MV, Vol. I, p. 18. Also see PTSD, p. 101. See also, N. K. Prasad, Studies in Buddhist and Jaina Monachism, p. 66.

<sup>15</sup>P. L. Matsunaga, p. 20.

<sup>16</sup>Shastri, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>The chronology of the Pāli Canon has been widely examined by many scholars who have held different views. B. C. Law, A History of Pali Literature, 1933, pp. 11-12 suggested that the Pāli Canon was compiled and composed between 500 B.C. and 100 A.D. Also see B. W. Adikaran, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 1953, p. 76 ff., A. L. Basham, The Wonder that was India, 1961, p. 266, G. C. Pande, Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, 1959, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup>Fr. C. S. Upasaka, Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, 1975, p. 11.

## CHAPTER ONE

<sup>1</sup>For detailed discussions of Vedic gods and their characteristics, see E. W. Hopkins' The Religions of India, 1970, pp. 105, 128, 136.

<sup>2</sup>P. B. Keith, The Religions and Philosophy of the Veda (H. O. S., 1925) Vol. I, pp. 252-6.

<sup>3</sup>Keith makes the following comments: "The essential nature of sacrifice has been variously interpreted. Some take it as ancestor-worship, others see its rotive in gift-offering, still others look upon it as a fertility-rite and some consider it as airing at the communion with deity itself. Some evidence in support of each view can be found in the Brāhmanas which only suggests that by that time several strands of thought were intricately interwoven. The Pinḍa-pitryajna has obvious reference to ancestor-worship, the Asvarecha is indicative of fertility-rite and the practice of Idabhaksana implies the idea of communion with deity." See The Religions and Philosophy of the Veda, pp. 257 ff.

<sup>4</sup>SBE, Vol. XII, p. 328. See also, M. Hiriyanna, Outline of Indian Philosophy, 1951, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup>E. W. Hopkins, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup>Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, 1875, p. 31. See also Hymns of the Rig Veda, trans. F. T. Griffith, ed. J. L. Shastri (revised ed., 1973) Vol. I, CLXIII, 22.

<sup>7</sup>Griffith, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup>P. Barth, The Religions of India, 1963, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup>DN, Vol. I, p. 235. For Brāhmana sacrificers see AN, IV, p. 41; DN, Vol. I, p. 127, 141.

<sup>10</sup>See for status of Brāhmanas (DN) Ambaṭṭha, Scnadanda, Kūṭadanta, etc. See also, N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, 1960, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>11</sup>V. Fausboll, The Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 391. For detailed study of Takkasilā see, DPPN, Vol. I, p. 982 ff.

<sup>12</sup>DPPN, Vol. I, p. 982.

<sup>13</sup>DN, Vol. II, p. 147.

<sup>14</sup>DN, Vol. I, p. 145. See also T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, pp. 161-181.

<sup>15</sup>SN, Vol. I, p. 75. BPPN, Vol. II, p. 679.

<sup>16</sup>DN, Vol. I, p. 244. The names of these gods are indicated in the "Tevijja Sutta" as follows: "Indar avhayāra, Sorar avhayāra, Verunar avhayāra, Isanar avhayāra, Pajāpatir avhayāra, Brahmar avhayāra, Mahidāhir avhayāra, Yamar avhayāra." See also T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 298 ff.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>AN, Vol. III, p. 653. Here we find an important passage about the refutation of authority.

<sup>19</sup>MN, Vol. I, p. 513.

<sup>20</sup>SN, Vol. V, p. 390. "Naññassa samanassa vā brāhmanassa vā sutvā vadāmi, api ca yadeva rayā saram nātar samam dittham tadēva'ham vadāmi ti." This example is cited in K. N. Upadhyaya's Early Buddhism and the Bhagavadgītā, 1971, p. 241.

<sup>21</sup>L. Oldenberg, Buddha, 1882, p. 170 ff.

<sup>22</sup>K. N. Jayatilleke, Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge, 1963, p. 188.

<sup>23</sup>S. Tachibana, p. 174.

<sup>24</sup>Peter Masfield, Translation to the Virānavatthu Commentary (Unpublished paper, 1981), p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>SN, Vol. I, p. 75; BPPN, Vol. II, p. 679.

<sup>26</sup>The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saryutta Nikāya) Vol. I, pp. 102-3. See also V. P. Varma, Early Buddhism and its Origins, 1971, p. 76.

<sup>27</sup>PTSD, p. 547.

<sup>28</sup>F. W. Hopkins, p. 320.

<sup>29</sup>DN, Vol. I, p. 145. See also T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 181. See also BPPN, Vol. I, p. 658. A similar account is found in the "Pāyāsi Sutta" of the Dīgha Nikāya Vol. II, p. 353.

<sup>30</sup> Bhikshu Saṅgharakṣita, A Survey of Buddhism, 1966, p. 54.

<sup>31</sup> S. J. Tambiah makes the following comment: "I would argue therefore that when Buddhism became an institutionalized religion, the Buddhist monk had to make a passage that was the reverse of the one made by the brahman (who while remaining in the caste system appropriated some sannyasin values). The monk, while standing for a way of life set apart from that of the householder, nevertheless had to have regular ritual and material transactions with the laity. It is this same organized relation, which presupposes and makes possible a separate monastic communal life distinct from and contrasted with lay life, that also largely distinguishes the life of the bhikku from that of the wandering, individualistic (and at best loosely organized) sannyasin in India. Op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>32</sup> MV, Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

<sup>33</sup> SN, Vol. V, p. 420. MV, Vol. I, p. 10

<sup>34</sup> DN, Vol. III, p. 194.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 253.

<sup>36</sup> PPN, Vol. II, p. 564.

<sup>37</sup> M. M. J. Marasinghe, Gods in Early Buddhism, 1974, p. 39.

<sup>38</sup> A. A. Macdonell, The Vedic Mythology, 1963, pp. 55-7, 61. See also Hopkins, pp. 42, 49.

<sup>39</sup> V. Fausboll, The Jātaka, Vol. II, p. 33.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 68.

<sup>41</sup> JNA, Vol. II, p. 40.

<sup>42</sup> These examples are cited in H. V. Glasenapp, Buddhism: A Non-Theistic Religion, 1954, p. 21.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 20 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding the studies of the "gods" see H. V. Glasenapp, Buddhism: A Non-Theistic Religion, pp. 19-47; M. M. J. Marasinghe, Gods in Early Buddhism, 1974, pp. 65 ff.; Charles Godage, The Place of Indra in Early Buddhism; UCR, Vol. III, 1945, pp. 41-72. Also see, PPN, Vol. I, p. 1118 and ETSD, p. 329, entry "deva".

## CHAPTER TWO

<sup>1</sup>In the early Nikāyas non-Buddhist religious sects are often called annatitthiyas. For their lifestyle see DN, Vol. III, p. 137, DN, Vol. I pp. 66-7 (Kassapasihanāda Sutta) DN, Vol. III, (Udumbarika-Sihanada Sutta), p. 36 ff., AN, Vol. IV, p. 184. For detailed discussions of these sects see S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, 1924, Chapter II, A. L. Basham, History and Doctrines of Ājivaks, 1951, pp. 10 ff., and G. C. Pande, Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, 1957, pp. 329 ff.

<sup>2</sup>DN, Vol. II, p. 77. See also T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>SUN, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 58; CV, Vol. II, p. 274, 278; DN, Vol. III, p. 137, 141.

<sup>5</sup>C. F. Allen, The Buddha's Philosophy 1959, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup>DN, Vol. II, p. 154. See also S. Dutt, The Buddha and Five after Centuries, 1937, pp. 62 ff.

<sup>7</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 39. According to Mahāvaccā, the first such donation was made by King Birhisāra of Paṇḍya. See S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, 1962, pp. 54-5, 58-9.

<sup>8</sup>DN, Vol. I, p. 145; PTSD, p. 264.

<sup>9</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 134 (antonym "sarānasarvāsaka") ibid., p. 321. See also S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup>MV, Vol. I, pp. 315, 319.

<sup>11</sup>Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, pp. 55-6.

<sup>12</sup>Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 128.

<sup>13</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 22; DN, Vol. I, p. 60. Regarding the meanings of the two terms, see PTSD, pp. 414, 147, and Upasaka's Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, pp. 46, 137. See also H. Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 347 and H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 1896, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>14</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 12; I. E. Horner, The Book of the Discipline, 1962, Vol. IV, p. 18; T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha Part I p. 169, and C. S. Prebish, Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātirōksa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins, 1975, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>15</sup>MV, Vol. I, pp. 12, 15 and Kern, p. 77.

<sup>16</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>17</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 82, see under "sāmanēra pabbajjam". Ibid., p. 79. Later the age limit for pabbajjā was changed and a boy who could send away a crow (kākutthepakara dāraḥ) was permitted to be ordained. MV, Vol. I, p. 79.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 82 (na bhikkhavē ananuññatō rātāpituhi putto pabbajetabbō (Let not the pabbajjā be conferred on a boy without his parents' permission.)

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 22, 82.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-78.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>26</sup>MV, Vol. I, pp. 95, 96, 97, 98; CV Vol. II, pp. 272-4. SPE, Vol. XIII, pp. 169-70; H. Kern, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>27</sup>MV, Vol. I, pp. 96-7; PTSD, pp. 374, 454. See also Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 112. Many examples are cited in the Pāli Canon, regarding the four Nissayas. For detailed discussion of the Nissayas, see N. K. Prasad, p. 107.

<sup>28</sup>E. J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, 1927, p. 90.

<sup>29</sup>Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 347.

<sup>30</sup>Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 177.

<sup>31</sup>Kern, p. 76.

- <sup>32</sup> Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 347.
- <sup>33</sup> Dutt, The Buddha and Five after Centuries, p. 66.
- <sup>34</sup> MV, Vol. I, p. 137. (dvē rē bhikkhavē vassupanāyikā puririkācā pacchirikācā.) There are two tires for beginning the rainy retreat; puririkā and pacchirikā.)
- <sup>35</sup> T. V. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, eds., Sacred Rocks of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 300.
- <sup>36</sup> MV, Vol. I, p. 155. "so taṃ vihārar gantvā uposatham karōti, patipadēna vihārar upēti, sēnasanaṃ paññapēti, jāniyaṃ paribhojanīyaṃ upatthāpēti, narivēnaṃ sammajjati.)
- <sup>37</sup> This example is taken from SBE, Vol. XIII, p. 302.
- <sup>38</sup> DN, Vol. II, p. 79; MV, Vol. I, p. 39.
- <sup>39</sup> See for examples, MV, Vol. I, pp. 139, 152, 154.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 148, 149, 150, 151, ff.
- <sup>41</sup> Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 156.
- <sup>42</sup> PTS, p. 443. See also I. B. Horner, Book of Discipline, Vol. IV, p. 211 and H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.
- <sup>43</sup> MV, Vol. I, pp. 157-8. See also Horner, p. 208.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 163.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 159.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 189.
- <sup>49</sup> MV, Vol. I, pp. 172-3.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 170-1.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 170. See also, Horner p. 221.
- <sup>52</sup> SBE, Vol. XIII, p. 149; PTS, p. 178.

<sup>53</sup> See for the rules of robes, "Civaravagga" of IV, Vol. I, pp. 268-311 and the "Kathina-khandaka" of IV, Vol. I, pp. 233-265. Also see Upasaka, Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> A long list of the materials used for the robes of recluses is given in "Kassapa-sihanāda Sutta" of the DN, Vol. I, pp. 166-7. See also IV, Vol. I, pp. 58, 281 ff.

<sup>55</sup> MV, Vol. I, pp. 280 ff. See also N. K. Prasad, p. 129.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 280-1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 289.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 303-4. See also Horner, p. 354 and Upasaka, p. 60.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 254-6. See also SBE, Vol. XVIII, p. 151 ff. Translation is taken from Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, p. 62.

<sup>61</sup> Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 101; SBE, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. See also Dutt, Buddha and Five after Centuries, p. 74 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 102.

<sup>64</sup> MV, Vol. I, p. 101.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 125-6.

<sup>68</sup> In this regard, Dutt remarks, "The legends record that, though the Buddha's original injunction to the Bhikkhus had been to observe the uposatha days by 'rehearsing the dharma ('Dharmam bhasitum'), it was later that he prescribed a specific text--the Patirokka--for recital and turned the occasion into a confessional service. It is undoubtedly the legendary version of the fact that, following the change in the character of the Sangha from a Sect to an Order, the code of monastic discipline became for the Sangha its special Dharma-text--the Dharma-refuge (Dharma-ratisarana) as Ananda characterized it in the Graka-Noggallana Sutta." Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 74.



<sup>69</sup>SUN, pp. 14, 73.

<sup>70</sup>Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 74.

<sup>71</sup>Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, pp. 90, 99.

<sup>72</sup>C. S. Prebish, p. 47.

<sup>73</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 116.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-8; See also Horner p. 155.

<sup>75</sup>IV, Vol. I, pp. 120-1, 127.

<sup>76</sup>A number of rules are laid down in the "Parivāsika-khandaka" of the Cullavagga, regarding the Parivāsa. See for examples CV, Vol. II, p. 65 ff.

<sup>77</sup>CV, Vol. II, p. 241 ff; IV, Vol. I, p. 126 ff.

<sup>78</sup>IV, Vol. I, pp. 102-3. See "Middāna" of the Pātimokkha. See also SBE, Vol. XII (pātimokkha), p. 1. and Thoras, History of Buddhist Thought, p. 16 and Prebish p. 25.

<sup>79</sup>MV, Vol. I, p. 105. See also Horner, p. 136 ff.

<sup>80</sup>P. Clivelle, The Origins and the Early Development of Buddhist Monachism, 1974, p. 52.

## CHAPTER THREE

- <sup>1</sup> Tutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 42.
- <sup>2</sup> sv, Vol. I, p. 234. For the meaning of the term, Urasaka, Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, p. 50.
- <sup>3</sup> PD, Vol. I, p. 60.
- <sup>4</sup> MV, Vol. I, p. 3 ff.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 15ff and AN, Vol. I, p. 212, Vol. II, p. 58.
- <sup>6</sup> J. Hastings, ed., Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1908, Vol. IV, p. 134.
- <sup>7</sup> SN, Vol. V, p. 408 ff. See for more examples, Marasinghe, Gods in Early Buddhism, pp. 126, 254, 272, ff.
- <sup>8</sup> IN, Vol. I, p. 285.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 78.
- <sup>10</sup> AN, Vol. II, p. 65. Also see "Datta sutta" of the SN, Vol. III, p. 250 and PTSE, p. 318.
- <sup>11</sup> AN, Vol. IV, p. 241.
- <sup>12</sup> SBE, Vol. XII, p. 181.
- <sup>13</sup> SBE, Vol. II, p. 11.
- <sup>14</sup> APS, Vol. I, pp. 1, 3, 26; SBE Vol. II, p. 12.
- <sup>15</sup> AN, Vol. II, p. 66.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 91. (Dāna Vagga). See also fourth Vagga of the atthaka Nipāta of the same Nikaya.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 67.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 68.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 63-4.
- <sup>20</sup> Fausboll, The Jātaka, Vol. VII, p. 495.
- <sup>21</sup> AN, Vol. III, p. 336. See also DPPN, Vol. I, p. 1071 and S. Tachibana, p. 149.

- <sup>22</sup>DN, Vol. II, p. 357.
- <sup>23</sup>AN, Vol. III, p. 41.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 42.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 50.
- <sup>26</sup>SUN, p. 110, verses 568-9.
- <sup>27</sup>CV, Vol. II, p. 175. See Upasaka, p. 120.
- <sup>28</sup>Many examples are cited both in the Sutta and the Vinaya. See DN, Vol. I, p. 125, AN, Vol. III, p. 50, MV, Vol. I, p. 58.
- <sup>29</sup>T. W. Phys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 158.
- <sup>30</sup>PN, 5.85.
- <sup>31</sup>CV, Vol. II, p. 213. See also SBE, Vol. XX, p. 290 ff. and N. K. Prasad, p. 122.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup>CV, Vol. II, p. 14. See also SDE, Vol. XX, p. 288.
- <sup>34</sup>CV, Vol. II, p. 212.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup>AN, Vol. III, p. 42.
- <sup>37</sup>DN, Vol. II, p. 316 and see T. W. Phys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 374.
- <sup>38</sup>DN, Vol. III, p. 180. This example is cited in Tambiah, p. 93.
- <sup>39</sup>See Tambiah, p. 213.
- <sup>40</sup>AN, Vol. III, p. 244.
- <sup>41</sup>AN, Vol. III, p. 50 also see PPN, Vol. I, p. 334.
- <sup>42</sup>K. N. Jayatilleke, Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge, p. 104.

<sup>45</sup>E. N. Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, 1931, p. 104.

<sup>44</sup>Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, pp. 82-3. Also see Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 74.

<sup>45</sup>AN, Vol. I, p. 142. See also Marasinghe, pp. 271 ff.

<sup>46</sup>SBE, Vol. XII, I note

<sup>47</sup>AN, Vol. I, p. 205 ff. See also PTSD, p. 151.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>DN, Vol. III, p. 235. Here the Panca-sila is found mentioned under the heading of "pancasikkhāpadāni". See also PTSD, p. 712. For detailed discussion of the Sīla, see H. Saddhatissa, Buddhist Ethics, 1970, p. 87 ff. and S. Tachibana, p. 42 ff.

<sup>50</sup>AN, Vol. IV, p. 248.

<sup>51</sup>PTSD, p. 712.

<sup>52</sup>The Atthanga-sīla is often mentioned in the Canon. For examples see AN, Vol. IV, p. 248 and SUN p. 70. Also see PTSD, pp. 18, 712 ff. See also Politella, Buddhism: A Philosophy of the Spirit and A Way to the Eternal, 1966, pp. 27, 78, 89, 90.

<sup>53</sup>SUN, p. 69. (Dharmika sutta).

<sup>54</sup>AN, Vol. I, pp. 214-248.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., Vol. III, p. 203.

<sup>56</sup>H. Saddhatissa, p. 111.

<sup>57</sup>The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttara Nikaya).

<sup>58</sup>DN, Vol. II, pp. 140-1.

<sup>59</sup>PTSD, p. 272.

<sup>60</sup>DEPN, Vol. II, p. 675. See entry "yakkhas". See also Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, p. 136, note 6.

<sup>61</sup>Macdonell, p. 154 ff.

- <sup>62</sup> DN, Vol. II, p. 160; SN, Vol. I, p. 208.
- <sup>63</sup> DN, Vol. II, p. 75. See also E. W. Phyllis Davids, Lalocues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 80.
- <sup>64</sup> DN, Vol. II, pp. 102, 118.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 142.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 142. "catunnaṃ mahāpathe Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo".
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid. (Tathāgato Arahan sammā-sarabuddho thūpāraho, Pacceka-Buddho thūpāraho, Tathāgata-sāvako thūpāraho, rājā-cakkavatti thūpāraho).
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 145.
- <sup>69</sup> MN, Vol. II, p. 45.
- <sup>70</sup> This example is cited in the DPFN, Vol. II, p. 240.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 408.
- <sup>72</sup> The Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 374.
- <sup>73</sup> The Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 15. See also EPFN, Vol. II, p. 979.
- <sup>74</sup> DN, Vol. II, p. 141. "yeṇi keci Ānanda cetiya cārikam ahindantā pasannacittā kālaṃ karissanti, sabbe te kāyssa bheda parammarāṇā suaciraṃ saḍḍam lokam uppajjanti".
- <sup>75</sup> Adikaram, p. 138.
- <sup>76</sup> DN, Vol. II, p. 142.
- <sup>77</sup> Kathopanishad, Vol. I, pp. 1-2. Sri Ramakrishn, 1956. Also see "The Twelve Principal Upanishads", Vol. I, p. 87.
- <sup>78</sup> "The Twelve Principal Upanishads", 1931, Vol. I, p. 160.
- <sup>79</sup> Phyllis Davids, Buddhist India, 1950, p. 231.
- <sup>80</sup> PTSD, p. 90.
- <sup>81</sup> E. J. Thomas, The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History, p. 68. Thomas remarked, "The Buddhists shared with older religion the popular belief that trees are divine beings. It is

seen throughout the Jātakas and in the legend in which Gotara is mistaken for a tree god."

<sup>82</sup>Phy's Davids, Buddhist India, p. 230.

<sup>83</sup>The Jāataka, Vol. IV, p. 228. See also DPPN, Vol. I, p. 585.

<sup>84</sup>DPPN, Vol. II, p. 320, see entry "Bodhi rukkha".

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, p. 320.

<sup>86</sup>Shanta Ratnayaka, "A Phenomenological Study of the Pirit Ceremony, 1978, p. 22.

<sup>87</sup>The Jāataka, Vol. IV, p. 233.

<sup>88</sup>A. L. Basham, History and Doctrine of the Ajivakas, p. 136.

<sup>89</sup>DPPN, Vol. II, p. 214. See also, ETSI, p. 462.

<sup>90</sup>DPPN, Vol. II, p. 83.

<sup>91</sup>This example is cited in the DPPN, Vol. II, p. 101.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, p. 233.

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