Pali Text Society

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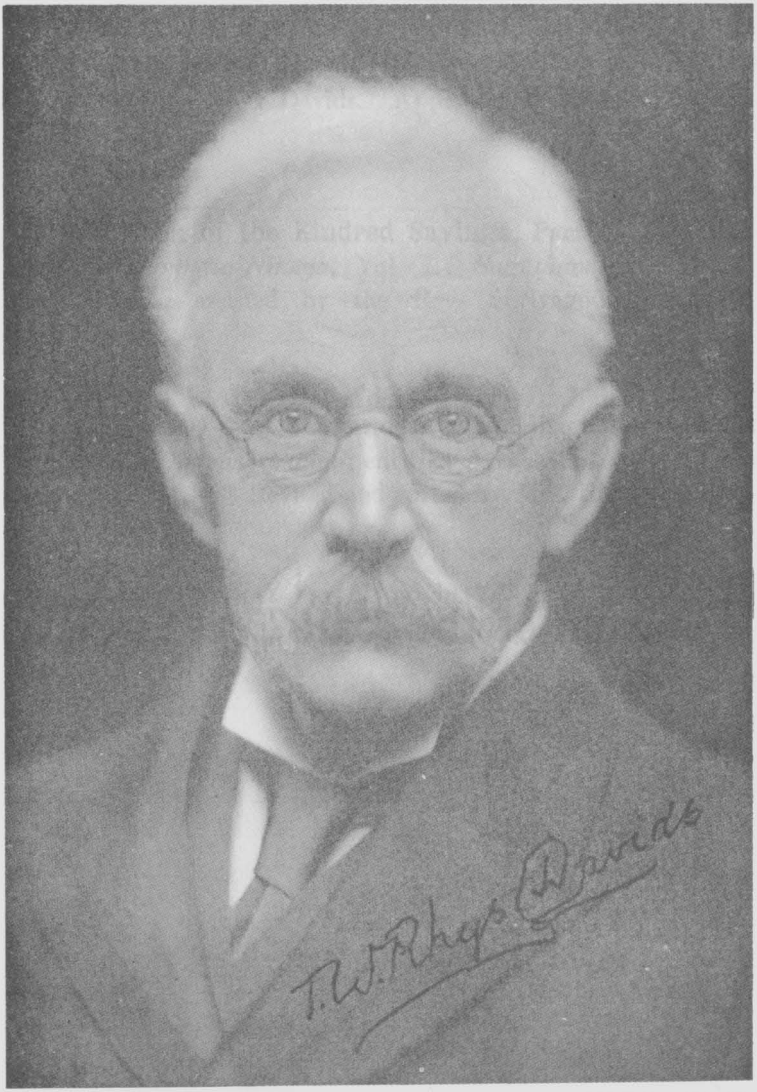

Photo by] [*Lizzie Caswall Smith.*

Frontispiece.

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RULES OF THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY

1. THE Society is founded to edit in Pali, and if possible to translate into English, such Pali books as still exist in MSS. preserved either in Europe or the East.

2. Members of the Society are those who subscribe in advance one guinea a year towards the expenses of the Society, or give a donation of not less than £5.

3. The management of the Society shall be conducted by a President and Hon. Treasurer, a Council or Committee of Management, and an Hon. Secretary.

4. It shall be the duty of the President to choose the books to be edited, and to arrange with editors or translators to do their work, with printers to do the printing, and with publishers or other persons to distribute the volumes when printed.

5. It shall be the duty of the Hon. Secretary to keep accounts of all moneys received or spent, to answer enquiries, to conduct the correspondence of the Society (except as stated in Rule 4), and to issue yearly a Report.

6. From time to time, as finances allow, the Society shall publish a Journal containing short texts, articles on some point of Pali literature, a Report on what the Society has done and hopes to do, and a Statement of Accounts. In any case the Report and Statement of Accounts shall be published as early as possible in the year after the year to which they refer.

7. The Society shall publish two volumes yearly. These volumes shall be sent post free to every member who has paid his subscription for the year.

8. Should the financial position of the Society allow of an extra volume or volumes being published in any year, then a special subscription price shall be fixed for each of such

volumes, and they shall be sent post free to any member who shall have paid the extra subscription.

9. Claims from members for issues subscribed for but not received must be sent in within the year following the publication of the issue, or such claim cannot be considered.

10. No member shall be entitled to any profit from any working of the Society. The whole of the profits, if any, shall be devoted to the purposes set out in Rule 1.

11. As the members of the Society reside in all parts of the world no ordinary meetings of the Society can be held, but at each meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists, or at any other convenient opportunity, a meeting of such members of the Society as may be present shall be held to discuss the working and prospects of the Society.

12. The Council may at any time summon a meeting of the Society, and the Hon. Secretary shall do so if requested in writing by not less than ten members. In the latter case, the meeting shall be held in London, the objects of the meeting shall be placed on the agenda in the form of one or more resolutions with the names of proposer and seconder, and the agenda shall be posted to every member of the Society residing in England ten days before the date fixed for the meeting. No other business shall be transacted at such meeting.

13. The President shall preside at any meeting of the Society, or in his absence a member of the Council. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

14. The President shall be elected by the Council. His term of office shall be five years, and he shall be re-eligible. He shall be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council, and a member of all committees appointed by the Council.

15. The Hon. Secretary shall be chosen by the President. His term of office shall be two years, and he shall be re-eligible. He shall be *ex-officio* member of Council, and member and secretary of all committees. A reasonable sum shall be allowed to the Hon. Secretary for clerical labour and office expenses.

16. There shall be at least six members of the Council or

Committee of Management besides the *ex-officio* members. The term of office of a member of Council shall be three years, and he shall be re-eligible. On the occurrence of a vacancy the Council shall co-opt another member or re-elect the retiring member. Failing such co-option or re-election the President may fill the vacancy.

17. The Council will usually conduct its business by correspondence; but meetings of the Council may be summoned by the Secretary. At such meetings members of Council residing on the Continent or in the East, or otherwise unable to attend, may express their opinion by letter.

18. The power of adding to or altering the Rules of the Society shall be vested in the Council. Should a member of Council wish to proceed under this rule he should send his proposal to the Hon. Secretary, who will communicate it to the other members of the Council. The President shall then either convene a meeting of the Council, or decide the matter in accordance with the views of the majority of the Council.

19. Persons of either sex are equally eligible for membership or office in the Society.

THE PASSING OF THE FOUNDER

In issuing the following Report, the Committee have to record with deep sorrow the death of the Founder and President of the Society on December 27, 1922, in his eightieth year.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids was the son of a well-known Congregational minister, the Rev. T. W. Davids, and was born at Colchester, May 12, 1843. After school years at Brighton he refused a good opening for following the profession of a solicitor, and passed to the University of Breslau, where he studied Sanskrit under Professor Stenzler, and took the degree of Ph.D. In 1864 he entered the Ceylon Civil Service, and at first, it is believed, acted as Secretary to the Governor. His philological training soon enabled him to acquire a working knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil, and a curious incident directed his interest and his studies to Buddhism. Some case about the occupation of a village vihara, involving questions of canon-law, came before him as magistrate, and a document was produced before the court in evidence, but it was in a language which no one present could read. Inquiry revealed that it was Pāli, in which the sacred books of Buddhism were written. He immediately resolved to make himself acquainted with it. Further enquiry brought him the aid of Yātrāmullē Unnānsē, to whose elevated

personality he afterwards paid a striking tribute in his Hibbert Lectures (1881):

"When he first came to me, the hand of death was already upon him. He was sinking into the grave from the effects of a painful and incurable malady. I had heard of his learning as a Pāli scholar, and of his illness, and was grateful to him for leaving his home, under such circumstances, to teach a stranger. There was a strange light in his sunken eyes, and he was constantly turning away from questions of Pāli to questions of Buddhism. I found him versed in all the poetry and ethics of the Suttas, and was glad to hear him talk. There was an indescribable attraction about him, a simplicity, a high-mindedness, that filled me with reverence."

Under such a teacher it was natural that the young student should make rapid progress, and opportunities of archæological research soon opened before him. He copied inscriptions, made investigations on the site of Anurādhapura, explored the Sigiri rock, and studied the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Disagreement with a superior led eventually to his return to England (of course with character unsmirched) in 1872; he proceeded to read for the Bar, and was duly admitted to the Middle Temple in 1877. But in the meantime other interests had completely absorbed his energies; he practised little —he had no legal backing—and devoted himself to the interpretation of Buddhism.

The papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1875 on "Inscriptions of Parâkrama

Bâhu," "Sigiri, the Lion Rock," and "Two Old Sinhalese Inscriptions," signalized the entry of a keen and well-equipped scholar into the general field of research. A new and valuable instrument was just ready for use. Eight years before Rhys Davids quitted Ceylon, Robert Cæsar Childers had come home in 1864. He, too, had discovered the existence of the Pāli literature, which Turnour and Gogerly had already used, while Spence Hardy had presented Buddhism in two books for English readers, founded on Sinhalese materials. Childers had realized that no real progress could be made without a dictionary. Fausböll, at Copenhagen, was already issuing valuable texts. Other scattered material existed in the journals of European societies, and Sinhalese scholars were publishing mediæval works of importance. These labours were all surveyed by Rhys Davids, who had been in correspondence with Childers since 1869, in a contribution on Pāli and Sinhalese to the Presidential Address to the Philological Society by the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris in 1875 (pp. 60 to 79). It was a fine sample of the breadth of his outlook and the thoroughness of his work. The same year witnessed the completion of the dictionary to which Childers had given himself with such self-denying labour. The first volume had appeared in 1872; its successor followed in 1875. Its value was afterwards indicated by Rhys Davids in the following terms:

"This great and important work did for Pāli what Wilson's Dictionary had done for Sanskrit. It was

not only the most valuable contribution that had yet been made to the study of that language, but it was the indispensable means by which further progress could be made. Like Wilson's, it was sure to be superseded, for it made possible that rapid advance in the publication of Pāli texts which has been the most marked feature in Oriental studies since its appearance. It was the foundation of all that subsequent work by the various editors engaged on the Pāli Text Society which has rendered it inadequate."*

In the meantime, Rhys Davids occupied himself with continuous study. Often invalided by attacks of malarial fever contracted in investigations in the Ceylon forests, which it took years for his system to surmount, he read widely on the general history of Buddhism, and gained more and more mastery over Pāli. He fell in with Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, which had appeared during his absence from England. He read it with avidity. It made a lasting impression on him, and supplied him with a method of thought which influenced all his subsequent writings. He contemplated an edition of the *Dīpavaṃsa* for which he had brought home materials. But one day Dr. Oldenberg, then working on the *Vinaya Piṭaka* in the India Office, called to consult him about a similar project. With characteristic generosity he immediately handed to his visitor all the *collectanea* in his possession, and the delighted scholar could hardly express his thanks for his emotion.

* "Dictionary of National Biography," article on R. C. Childers.

In 1877 he was ready with a treatise on the *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, in which he endeavoured to fix the date of the death of Gotama, by arguments founded on Sinhalese tradition, within a few years of 412 B.C. But this result did not win general acceptance, and he himself abandoned it in later life.

At the same time, he was busy with the little manual on *Buddhism* in the series on Non-Christian Religions issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This appeared in 1878, and its wide influence was attested by the issue of the twenty-third edition in 1914. It was founded on all the Pāli material then available concerning the life and teachings of the Founder, and embraced a short sketch of the history of the Order and the Scriptures. One important result was due to the writer's insight. By collecting and comparing the passages then published from the Piṭakas containing the much-discussed term Nirvāna (*nibbāna*) he proved that it did not signify "annihilation" in the sense so often assigned to it; it denoted "a moral condition, to be reached here, in this world, and in this life." This conclusion was justified two years later by Dr. Frankfurter's publication of three passages from the Saṃyutta Nikāya, in which Nibbāna was defined as the extinction of the threefold fire of *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha*.

His reputation now brought him into correspondence with an increasing number of scholars, and the opportunities of interpreting Buddhism were

multiplied. He began a translation of the Jātaka-book with its important introduction in the *Nidāna-Kathā* prefixed to Fausböll's edition, which appeared in 1880. The next year saw his first contribution to the Sacred Books of the East under the editorship of Professor Max-Müller, in *Buddhist Suttas* (vol. xi.), and he co-operated with Professor Oldenberg in three volumes of Vinaya Texts in the same great series (1881-85). The Hibbert Lectures of 1881 enabled him to emphasize some of the results indicated in his manual three years before, and in a strain of stately eloquence he described the new outlook to which research and reflection had brought him:

"It is not too much to say that a new world has been once more discovered by adventurers as persevering as Columbus, and perhaps at present earning as little gratitude as he did from his contemporaries; and that the inhabitants of the Old World cannot, if they would, go back again to the quiet times when the New World was not, because it was unknown. Everyone to whom the entrancing story of man's gradual rise and progress has charms peculiarly its own will welcome the new light; others will have to face the new facts, and find room for them in their conceptions of the world's history—that history which is the epic of humanity. Happy are we if the strains of that epic are ever ringing in our ears, if the spirit of that epic is ever ruling in our hearts! An abiding sense of the long past, whose beginnings are beyond imagina-

tion, and of the long future, whose end we cannot realize, may fill us indeed with a knowledge of our own insignificance—the bubbles on the stream which flash into light for a moment and are seen no more. But it will, perhaps, bring us nearer to a sense of the Infinite than man in his clearest moments, in his deepest moods, can ever otherwise hope to reach. It will enable us to appreciate what is meant by the solidarity of man, and will fill us with an overpowering awe and wonder at the immensity of that series of which we are but a few of the tiny links. And the knowledge of what man has been in distant times, in far-off lands, under the influence of ideas which at first sight seem to us so strange, will strengthen within us that reverence, sympathy, and love which must follow on a realization of the mysterious complexity of being, past, present, and to come, that is wrapt up in every human life."

In the second of these lectures Rhys Davids had the gratification of announcing the next great step in the promotion of the aim which he had at heart. On the model of the Early English Text Society (in which his friend, Dr. Morris, had been active) a Pāli Text Society had been established. A group of distinguished scholars in France, Holland, Germany, and the United States, had welcomed the project, and important promises of co-operation had been secured. Rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature were lying unedited and practically unused in manuscripts scattered throughout the public and

University libraries of Europe. These it was proposed to publish. Their importance was thus described:

"The historical importance of these texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about 400–250 B.C.). For that period they have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by any outside influence, of the everyday beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully and for so long a time so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. And in the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the various modern forms of speech in India. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity; and it is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history, and especially of religious

history, than the publication of the Vedas has already been."

To this paragraph we may append another of the same date, which emphasizes the significance of the early Buddhist literature for the history whether of language or religion in India, and relates its thought to significant parallels, ancient or modern, in the West (S. B. E., xi., 145, 1881):

"This Buddhist idea of the perfect life has an analogy most instructive from an historical point of view with the ideals of the last pagan thinkers in Europe before the rise of Christianity and of the modern exponents of what has been called fervent atheism. When, after many centuries of thought, a pantheistic or monotheistic unity has been evolved out of the chaos of polytheism—which is itself a modified animism or animistic polydæmonism—there has always arisen at last a school to whom theological discussions have lost their interest, and who have sought for a new solution of the questions to which the theologies have given inconsistent answers in a new system in which man was to work out here, on earth, his own salvation. It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the Agnostic Philosopher of India, the Stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves."

The missionary spirit of early Buddhism was, in fact, active in Rhys Davids. He saw in the ancient

teachings of the Founder a noble moral force and a discreet intellectual reserve in powerful combination, and he set himself with enthusiasm to inspire respect for its deep sincerity and love of truth. His untiring labour for its appreciation was rooted in the secret reverence of his nature, and he prosecuted the work of the Society which owed its origin to him with a persistence that never failed. The scope of the work may be estimated from the simple statement that the Society has issued sixty-four separate texts in ninety-four volumes, extending over 26,000 pages, besides many important articles and notes by European and Oriental scholars, and for forty years it has never failed in its annual output. The lamented death of Dr. Morris after a few years deprived Rhys Davids of his only English co-operator in actual production, and the conduct of the Society practically devolved upon him until his marriage, in 1894, brought him a most accomplished and devoted helper. With unflagging energy he corresponded with scholars at home and abroad. He collected funds and managed the Society's finances; he made arrangements with printers and superintended publication.

Appointed Professor of Pāli in University College, London, in 1882—a post which he resigned on his removal to Manchester in 1904—he inspired some of his students with his own ardour. To the end of his life he loved to feel a pupil's response to his teaching; he delighted in their advance, and was never happier than in helping them over their diffi-

culties, watching their progress, and enlisting their aid. As secretary and librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society (1885-1904) he was constantly in touch with investigations in other fields of Indology as well as in the wider field of the whole continent. With his vivid interest in so many phases of history —to say nothing of contemporary politics—it was impossible for him to become a pedant, and he never fell a prey to the cramping influences of acute specialization.

From time to time his aid as a translator and interpreter was still sought. Two volumes of "The Questions of Milinda" appeared in the Sacred Books of the East in 1890 and 1894. To a separate series of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists he contributed the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya (a text in which he had the aid of J. E. Carpenter) in 1889, a second and a third following, in co-operation with Mrs. Rhys Davids, at long intervals in 1910 and 1921. The masterly introductions to the successive "Dialogues" enabled him to discuss numerous points of Buddhist teaching, and ranged over many topics of sociological and literary import, while the notes contained frequent philological data of much value. A visit to America in 1894-95 enabled him to inaugurate an important series of lectures on the "History of Religions," with a volume on *Buddhism: Its History and Literature* (1896).

Rhys Davids had left Ceylon without visiting India, and the desire to see the actual sites of

Buddhist story was naturally strong. Opportunity was at last found for absence in the winter of 1899-1900, when he went to Gayā and other traditional localities. Two results of this journey may be here named. A survey of the social and political conditions in which Buddhism arose was greatly needed as a setting for the Teacher's activity and the labours of his disciples. This was provided by his *Buddhist India* (1903) in the "Story of the Nations" series, written, after long cogitation, with remarkable freshness and rapidity while the glow of his Indian travel was still on him.

An interview with the Viceroy in Calcutta brought him into close connection with a larger enterprise. He laid before Lord Curzon the outline of a scheme for the publication of a series of books of reference on the history of India. His Excellency so far approved the idea that he wished to have fuller details presented to him. In the summer of 1900 the plan had been considered by the Council of the Asiatic Society, and with their approval it was submitted to the Government of India. The essence of it was the publication of a series of historical volumes corresponding to the Rolls Series and the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in this country. Rhys Davids suggested the inclusion of both texts and translations, the preparation of indices or dictionaries of proper names, personal or geographical, of importance for Indian history, and the production of monographs summarizing the historical data scattered through

numerous Oriental texts already accessible to scholars. He pointed out that while such documents would have little or no literary merit, they would be materials out of which the history of the development of the social conditions, the industries, and the political relations of the peoples of India could be reconstructed. Under Lord Curzon's auspices the scheme was not only accepted, it was still further extended. Rhys Davids was at first actively concerned in promoting it. Changes in the original arrangement, under which the Indian Government proposed to entrust the publication to the Asiatic Society, and his own removal to Manchester, led to his withdrawal from all participation in the enterprise. In taking leave of it, he pointed out the kind of aid which the student might derive from the data which it would collect and classify, and expressed the earnest desire that Indian scholars might be led to co-operate in investigations which should not only illuminate their own past, but also promote the future welfare of their country.

"I may be permitted," he wrote (August 5, 1906), "to express the confident hope that a scheme so generously adopted by Government, and so generously enlarged and improved, will continue through the years to provide a succession of just the sort of books that, as tools to a craftsman, will enable the historian of India to trace out the evolution of social institutions, religion, and literature, in the same manner as the provision of the necessary tools has enabled the historians of Europe to do for the West.

The result cannot fail to be of value for the history of humanity as a whole, for what, in the absence of a better word in English, we are compelled to call *Weltgeschichte.* Already, in the history of government, of tribal customs, of land tenure, and of marriage, the Indian evidence has been much used, and has proved of considerable service to Western scholars. It will certainly prove more so in proportion as it becomes fuller and more exact. There are many similar questions on which the Indian evidence has not been utilized merely because it is not sufficiently known. And there is action and reaction in all these matters. The more the Indian evidence is used, and compared with evidence from other sources, the more light is thrown upon the real value and bearing and meaning of the facts recorded in India, the clearer become our views of the order in which they should be arranged, the more suggestive and instructive the study becomes.

"And there is another consideration. It has long been a matter of regret that the natives of India afford us so small a degree of help in the study of the history of their own country or countries. . . . This cannot be for want of intellectual power. . . . Is it too much to hope that, when this series of scholarly handbooks shall have placed in their hands sufficient examples of the right methods in historical research, some of them may be moved by emulation to take up these studies for themselves, and themselves to join, in much larger numbers, in the work? Is it too much even to expect that a more widely

diffused knowledge of the history of their own land, of the causes that led to intellectual achievements, and also to long periods of intellectual decay; of the reasons why the social and economic conditions were in some times and places favourable, in others almost disastrous; of the predisposing factors of the rise and fall of governments—is it too much to expect that knowledge of such questions, and of the many similar ones that are included under the name of history, may incidentally also have its due effect in suggesting and strengthening, among the educated youth of India, high ideals of life and policy?"

In 1904 Rhys Davids accepted the chair of Comparative Religion in the Victoria University, Manchester, the first University post created in this country for that purpose. He left London to reside near Manchester, in 1905, and then took his leave of the Royal Asiatic Society, when a presentation was made to him by Lord Reay on behalf of a large number of the members. In the course of his reply, Rhys Davids dwelt on the way in which each generation of scholars furnished the means for the advance of the next.

"Whatever work I have been able to accomplish on the history of thought in India, or towards the publication and elucidation of the historically important literature of the early Buddhists, will, I hope, soon be superseded by better work, done partly on the basis of those labours. And the greater my success in inducing other scholars to devote their

attention to those matters, the sooner will that desirable end be reached.

"So also with the schemes with which the usefulness and credit of the Society is so intimately bound up—the Translation Series and the Monograph Series—they, having been nursed with much care and trouble through a frail and ailing infancy, are at last standing on their feet. They may be expected (and in this connection I should not omit my pet baby, the Indian Text Series) to grow continually. . . .

"We shall not be in the least dismayed because our studies are at the present juncture the reverse of popular. The study of nature looms so much more largely in the public eye than the study of man, that our own pursuits—and especially the history of philosophy, literature, and religion, of economics and social institutions in the East—seem to be left out in the cold. We have no quarrel with science—quite the contrary. But we have a reasonable hope that the contempt in which Orientalism is now regarded is but a passing phase, and that our work is really helpful, in a modest way, to that increase of knowledge, that broadening out of ideas, which is the main basis of the welfare and progress of mankind."

At Manchester University his teaching ranged over the whole field of the history of religion except Greece and Rome, which were reserved for the professors of the classics. He read widely in all directions, but found time to throw off, in 1908,

a small book on *Early Buddhism* (in Constable's series on "Religions, Ancient and Modern"), which he afterwards regarded as the embodiment of his maturest views. A little later he wrote a chapter on "The Early History of the Buddhists" for the first volume of the "Cambridge History of India," the publication of which was delayed by the war till last year. In the meantime he was concentrating his energies more and more on the preparation of a new Pāli Dictionary, for which the Pāli Text Society had provided so much fresh material.

After the death of Childers, his own copy of his Dictionary was sent to Rhys Davids. With the interleaved volume beside him, as he read page after page of the new texts, fresh words, unusual grammatical forms, and peculiar meanings or applications were duly entered. An immense store of linguistic usage was thus constantly accumulating. Other scholars were interested in the same object, and it was hoped at the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen, in 1908, that a scheme of international co-operation might be arranged. Certain letters were allotted to different fellow-workers. Some contributions were sent in and were published in the Journal. But the constant pressure of other engagements prevented the punctual fulfilment of expectations, and, finally, the outbreak of the war severed all scientific relations with Germany. It became more and more clear that the execution of the plan devolved on the courage and determination of Rhys Davids alone.

Full of years and honours, in 1915 Professor Rhys Davids left Manchester. Many years before the University of Edinburgh had conferred on him the degree of LL.D. Manchester made him a Doctor of Letters; Copenhagen and Sheffield enrolled him as a Doctor of Science. In 1902 he had been one of the original founders of the British Academy. In Manchester he had served as President of the Manchester Oriental Society.

In 1910 the newly formed India Society made him their President, and attendance at its council meetings and those of the British Academy induced him not infrequently to undertake the journey to and fro of nearly 400 miles—an exertion to him sorely irksome, the more so as his infirmities grew upon him. At sea it was otherwise. The years seemed to fall from his shoulders with the open spaces, the pure air, the shelved business of a sea-voyage, and the movement over tossing billows had no terrors for him. It was partly the prospect of enjoying a spell of this that induced him at the request of the Colonial Government to represent it once more at the Congress of Orientalists at Athens in April, 1912. Greece to him was disappointing, save only in the haunting beauty of the Parthenon. Perhaps she veiled herself from his vision, recognizing in him a heretic mind, one ever a rebel to her siren call and her traditional domination. *Ex Oriente lux.*

He had won the confidence alike of the foremost scholars in Europe and America, and of the representatives of Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, and

Siam. Both in this country and on the Continent he was the acknowledged leader of Pāli studies. He settled at Chipstead, in Surrey, still able for a while to enjoy a round of golf, even a game of tennis, or a quiet game of billiards at home. He wrote many reviews for the *Manchester Guardian*, but concentrated his remaining strength chiefly on the preparation of the Dictionary for the press. He secured as his collaborator a younger scholar, commended to him by the late Dr. Windisch, Dr. W. Stede, who undertook the heavy labour of the final sifting and arrangement of the materials which had been collected in his forty years of study or contributed by a few friends and fellow-workers. Cross-references had to be added, etymological puzzles solved, various or faulty readings compared and corrected. Illness, frequently involving disabling pain, laid a heavy burden on his last years, but with undaunted resolve he still worked on. In the preface to Part I., dated in July, 1921, he showed that he was under no illusion about the permanence of the work. As it would supersede Childers's first effort, it would itself, he hoped, be superseded, and much sooner.

"This work is essentially preliminary. There is a large number of words of which we do not know the derivation, but rather the reverse. It is so in every living language. Who could guess, from the derivation, the complicated meaning of such words as 'conscience,' 'emotion,' 'disposition'? The derivation would be as likely to mislead as to guide.

We have made much progress. No one needs now to use the one English word "desire" as a translation of sixteen distinct Pāli words, not one of which means precisely desire. . . . The same argument applies to as many concrete words as abstract ones. Here again we claim to have made much advance. But in either case, to wait for perfection would postpone the much-needed Dictionary to the Greek Kalends. It has therefore been decided to proceed as rapidly as possible with the completion of this first edition, and to reserve the proceeds of the sale for the eventual issue of a second edition which shall come nearer to our ideals of what a Pāli Dictionary should be."

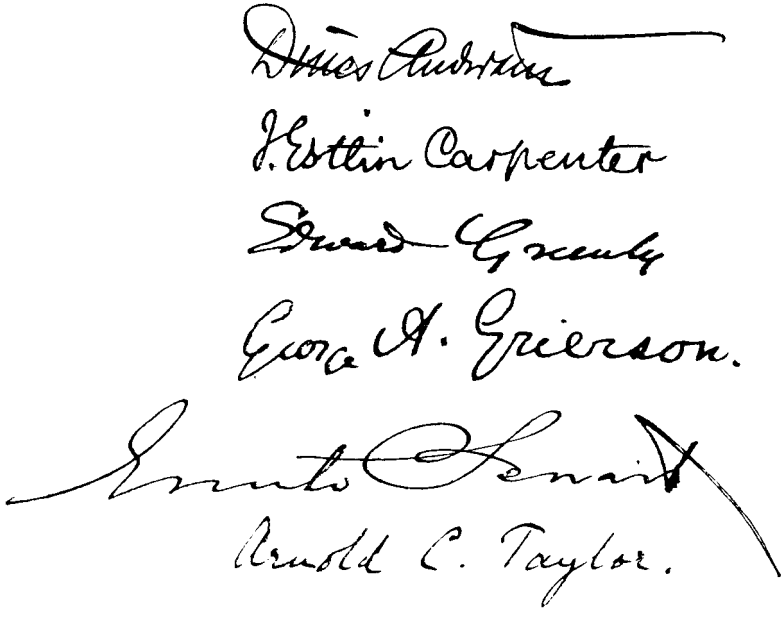
The eventual second edition can only remain a very distant vision. Fifty years had elapsed since the publication of Childers's first volume; will another half-century elapse before a scholar with the enthusiasm, resolve, and insight of Rhys Davids carries his ideal nearer to fulfilment? He lived to see the third part—nearly half the work—issued to subscribers, when hypostatic pneumonia supervened upon other maladies, and, after two days of suffering, he passed peacefully away.

Of his home life, of the sorrow which the war brought him in the death of his brilliant and only son, who quitted the captaincy of Eton to enter the air service, and won unusual distinction, of his warm regard for his friends, his generous helpfulness to younger scholars, his magnanimity in the face of differences or misunderstandings, nothing can here

be said. The Committee commend his memory to the members of the Society not only as its Founder, but as a high example of the spirit in which knowledge should be sought and truth be loved.

* * * * *

At the request of the Committee, Mrs. Rhys Davids has kindly consented to prepare the annual statement of the Society's work for the past year, and to carry on its operations as Interim Hon. Treasurer till fresh arrangements can be made. In due course a fresh President and Treasurer must be elected. It has been suggested that a meeting of the Society should be held, when some of the foreign members may be present, in connection with the celebration of the Centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society next summer.



REPORT OF THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY FOR 1922

TILL a few days before its close, the past year was very uneventful. Work on the one hand and income on the other had progressed satisfactorily. Only those about him could realize the long, losing fight with old age and suffering maintained by the man to whose faith and energy and devotion this Society owed its existence and very largely its persistence. Suddenly the friendly Healer of us stooped swiftly, and in two days there was no more any pain. Quiet and timely for all its suddenness, this event has called forth in and beyond the membership of the Pali Text Society tributes of appreciation and sympathy that would have surprised no one more than the self-effacing founder himself. His incorrigible sense of humour would have led him to say, it was worth while passing away to hear how his work was appreciated.

As the most notable occurrence of the year in the Society's annals, its personal loss is that with which my Report must be chiefly concerned. This being so, it may interest subscribers to have, in these pages, a supplement to the memoir presented by the Committee in such other tributes to the work of the founder and its significance, to his character and his influence, as have reached me from many who, in different countries and on different grounds, have come to be affected by the work and the man. They will serve, not as perishable wreaths on a tomb, but rather as fraternal greetings to us and those after us, testifying to steadfast service faithfully rendered.

In the first place I have to report the receipt of expressions of sympathy from—

The Royal Asiatic Society.
The Librarian of the India Office.
The Secretary of the British Academy.
The School for Oriental Studies, London.
The India Society.
L'Association française des Amis de l'Orient.
The Secretary of the Manchester Oriental Society.
The Manchester University.
The Provost of University College, London, on behalf of the College.
The Quest Society.
The Mahābodhi Society, Calcutta.
The Buddhist Society, Great Britain and Ireland.
The Buddha Society, Bombay.
Principal Hartog, Dacca University,

and very many other friends.

I give first a few words of personal tribute from members of the Committee.[1] To one of them—his oldest surviving friend, Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter—we owe the compilation of the memoir.

From Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.S.I., Member of the Pali Text Society Committee:

". . . He has left a void which will be acutely felt, not only in his own immediate circle, but over the whole world. Personally, though separated by distance, I have always had a lively affection for him and admiration for his wide range of learning, and I have never been in contact with him that I did not experience an act or word of kindness."

From Dr. Edward Greenly, Member of the Pali Text Society Committee:

"I cannot find words for the sympathy I would fain

[1] It should be said that the citations are from letters addressed to myself as expressions of sympathy, and not composed in any case for publication. Where it seemed advisable, I have asked (and received) permission to publish any portions of them here.

express . . . perhaps I can best open out a way . . . by saying that my own life has lost (in so far as it can ever lose) one of the best friends I ever had. A friend of my outer life, by the deed of kindness he did for me a year or two ago. A friend of my inner life, by the light which, both through his own life's work as a whole, and through personal contact . . . with that great worker, has come to me and is with me growingly. In another aspect, too, I have long felt it a privilege to have known so well one whom I regard as one of the great men of our time. And so sunny and sweet a nature withal: I used to marvel at that, knowing how he was, even then, suffering so much and so long. . . . And to think that the last message I had from him, just lately, was an offer of help over work of mine! when he could hardly do his own work, but was heroically sticking to it to the last!"

From M. Émile Senart, Member of the Pali Text Society Committee:

". . . M. Rhys Davids a été un serviteur éminent des études bouddhiques, et je n'ai jamais oublié les marques d'amicale bienveillance qu'il m'a accordées. . . . Le Pali Text Society a été son œuvre très utile et très glorieuse. J'avais été très sensible de l'honneur qu'il m'avait fait d'y associer mon nom, alors qu'il assumait toute la charge."

From Dr. Arnold C. Taylor (Pali Text Society Committee):

". . . To a wider circle the loss is . . . equally great. His was the ideal scholar's life, devoted to truth and learning for their own sake, with an enthusiasm rare in this country. He has left a splendid monument behind him in the long row of texts and translations, which would never have come into being but for him, and so many of which are his own work. . . . For my own part, I shall never forget his kindness and sympathy. . . . I never met anyone whose enthusiasm for his work was so inspiring and infectious. . . . His death is an irreparable loss to learning, but it is no small achievement to have built so enduring a monument in the space of a single lifetime."

The President of the Royal Asiatic Society has most kindly presented me with copies of the memoir on Rhys Davids, which he has written for the *Journal* of his Society. This was to forward my wish to send a copy to every recipient of this volume.

Dr. W. Stede has written an In Memoriam tribute appearing with the midway portion of the Dictionary he has been co-editing, contemporaneously with this *Journal*. Here I will only add a fragment from his letter as bearing out what others have written:

"What Rhys Davids has been to me nobody but he and I knew and know. What I thought of him he must have felt when I confided my troubles to him sitting by his side. What he was to me I realized each time I looked into his clear eyes and felt the touch of his kind hand. Kindness, sympathy, gentleness—in one word, that *mettā*, on which he loved to quote the Iti-vuttaka—was the prominent trait of his character. I have his picture in my mind, and I shall always remember him as my *kalyāṇamitta*."

Among other messages from those who have contributed to our texts I quote from the following:

From a letter by Geheimrath Professor Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, late of Erlangen, now of Munich, University:

"Sie wissen ja, wie ausserordentlich hoch ich Ihren Gatten verehrt habe, dessen unermüdlichen Arbeitskraft und dessen Organisationstalent wir es zu danken haben, dass die Paliforschung das geworden, was sie heute ist. Mit mir trauern um ihn alle die, die diesen Studien nahe stehen. Was er aber gearbeitet hat, das überdauert seinen Tod und auch die neue Generation der Paliforscher wird auf dem Boden stehen, den er verbreitet hat, und wird dankbar seiner als eines Führers und Bahnbrechers gedenken. Nun ist wieder einer von den Grossen dahin gegangen und wir Alten . . . werden immer einsamer. Aber was Schönes und Erhebendes ist es doch, wenn man beim Sterben zurückblicken kann auf ein so reiches Leben, wie das Ihr Gatte durfte. . . ."

M. Helmer Smith, of Stockholm, editor of Sutta Nipāta Commentary, etc., writes:

". . . Par une lettre de M. Dines Andersen j'apprends votre perte qui met en deuil tous ceux qui s'occupent de Pali et du Bouddhisme; et je me rends compte, non sans amertume, que si cet été j'aurai occasion de voir l'Angleterre, et le centre des études palies, ce sera trop tard pour rendre hommage au grand homme, dont j'admire avec tout le monde les ouvrages si pleins de résultats solides, mais dont je garde aussi, comme un souvenir précieux tout personnel, une lettre de recommandation la quelle a grandement contribué à l'accueil favorable que j'ai trouvé à Lund il y a deux ans.

". . . J'apprends beaucoup ici à Paris . . . du contact avec les Indologues qui ont abordé les problèmes bouddhiques d'un autre côté . . . mais pour ce qui regarde le traitement de mes textes préférés, j'apprends surtout à admirer davantage la sagacité de ceux qui, en Danemarck et en Angleterre, ont su indiquer définitivement la méthode à appliquer:—Fausböll et Rhys Davids."

Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin writes:

". . . J'éprouvais autant de sympathie pour l'homme que de respect et d'admiration pour le savant et ce génie plein de force, de clairvoyance et d'enthousiasme. Je voudrais bien . . . vous remettre un hommage pas trop insuffisant à l'œuvre considérable de votre mari, et à l'ouvrier; mais . . . le médecin m'interdit absolument tout travail. . . . Je ne vois pas quand j'irai mieux; dès que cette heure viendra, je tiendrai a m'acquitter, pour ma part, de la dette commune que tous les amis du Bouddha doivent à Rhys Davids."

From Dr. Georg Landsberg, of Breslau, co-editor of the commentaries on the Puggala-Paññatti and Iti-vuttaka:

"In meinem Gedächtuiss wird der ehrwürdiger Mann, der mir für Wissenschaft und Leben so viel gespendet hat, immer unvergessen bleiben."

Professor Charles R. Lanman, Pali Text Society representative in America, writes:

"I must tell you how much we owe to his courageous persistence, through all these many, many years of sunshine and of storm, in devoting himself to a work the greatness of which is *now* obvious, and the importance and value of which he had the *vision* to see long before other scholars awoke to it—or, at any rate, before they, awaking, could transmute their vision into action."

From other scholars' letters I quote as follows—

Dr. F. W. Thomas, India Office:

". . . We shall all feel that he had abundantly earned his rest, and he had seen the completion of his great design of publishing the Pali Tripiṭaka in its entirety. No ordinary energy and concentration, even with his singular power of attracting and inspiring collaborators, would have been equal to the task."

From Sir Israel Gollancz, Secretary, British Academy:

". . . For us who knew him so well, and who were privileged to work with him, there is a heavy sense of loss. Undaunted, he pursued the tasks he had set himself, and by these labours and by his personality he will live in the hearts of men. It is a great comfort to learn that his cherished scheme (the Dictionary) will be carried through. We of the Academy will wish later on to pay a tribute to his memory. I, who was with him at the very first meeting, know how devoted he was to its aims and aspirations. He served learning well."

From Sir E. Denison Ross, Director, and Professor of Persian, School of Oriental Studies:

"This death leaves a great blank in the world of all who loved and admired him. I remember him with great affection as one of my oldest and kindest friends—one who did more than almost anyone else to encourage me in the path of Orientalism. No other scholar I have known combined the seriousness of study with the human side of everyday life to the same extent. He carried out a great life's work and leaves an undying name; but what I shall always remember best about him are the warm greeting, the cheery smile, and the constant charm that compelled affection."

From Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz, University of Prague:

"Here in Santiniketan, this true 'abode of peace,' I read in an Indian newspaper the sad news. . . . No man living, and scarcely one single man in the past, has contributed so much to our knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature as he. His name will always be remembered as that of a most enthusiastic and devoted scholar, but those who have had the good fortune to know him personally will also cherish his memory as that of a kind and lovable *man*, of a Buddhist in the best sense of the word."

Among voices from the founder's native country I may quote—

Mr. John Ballinger, Librarian of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwith:

". . . May I say how thoroughly your husband's work and his great scholarship is recognized by all those in Wales who care for such things. We are proud of, and grateful for, what he was able to do, and deeply regret the loss of him."

From Professor T. Witton Davies, Ph.D., D.D., Bangor:

"His loss is a great loss to learning, and our world is a good deal poorer by his death. . . . For many years I have always found him one of the kindest and most genial of men."

Lastly, voices from the East raise no uncertain tribute.

From Mr. Maheshchandra Ghosh, Hazaribagh Representative, General Committee of the Sadhara Brahmo Samaj:

"Kindly allow an Indian to offer you his heartfelt sympathy. I have never seen your husband, but even from this distant land I have learnt to love and reverence him . . . he has become to me as near and dear as my dearest kinsmen. The relation has become to me personal and spiritual. The loss, dear madam, is not simply yours. It will be felt throughout the civilized world, and very keenly by those who take an interest in Buddhist literature. . . . He has done for us what no others have done or can

do. Who could have dreamt before '82 that a Pali Text Society would be formed and would live a vigorous and useful life for so long a period? Forty-one years have passed and yet it shows no sign of decay—nay, is more vigorous than before. The labour has been self-denying and colossal. The publications . . . are really a monumental work . . . a work undertaken out of *mettā*, *karuṇā*, and *muditā*."

From Mr. Prabhat K. Mukherji, Librarian, Santiniketan University:

". . . That great soul was of India, and his death is as much to us as to your countrymen. . . . May that Blessed One, whose scriptures he so long and so religiously read, edited, and translated, work and let His teachings be translated in our lives! We cannot say anything more than that."

From Mr. K. N. Sitaram, M.A., Ph.D.:

". . . I would have been there to pay the tribute of gratitude to one who has done more than any other scholar to spread the knowledge of the religion and teachings of one of the greatest sons of Mother India. . . ."

From Dr. W. A. de Silva, Colombo, Pali Text Society representative in Ceylon:

"Dr. Rhys Davids was eminently fortunate in this life in being able to be of the greatest possible service to mankind. His was not mere scholarship, eminent as it was; his was the opportunity, and he took it, to expound to the world the Dhamma of the Great Master. And we in Ceylon had, in him, one who not only loved the island and the Sinhalese, but who was able to place before the world the best we had ever acquired in our history. May the great results he has acquired carry him through Saṇsāra from power to power, influencing humanity in his upward path to advance in light and love!"

From Dr. C. Alwis Hewavitarne, Colombo, Trustee Simon Hewavitarne Bequest:

". . . His was a life well spent, and we Buddhists in Ceylon will always honour and cherish his name. Only

a few of us knew him personally and came into contact with his kindly presence and charming personality. But to the majority of the Buddhists he was more than a name . . . he appeared at a time when missionary prejudice was misrepresenting Buddhism and undermining their faith, and beckoned them back to the glories of Buddhism. In Ceylon his influence is everywhere. . . . To me his writings have been of the greatest help, in that they created a desire to know more about Buddhism and gave me a new viewpoint. I am sending you a telegram on behalf of the Buddhists of Ceylon expressing our sense of loss."

A generous donor (Anagarika H. Dharmapala) writes from Ceylon:

". . . When will England give birth again to a man like Rhys Davids? He gave life to those indifferent to religion. By the publication of the Pali texts, in roman character, he brought the Buddhavacana within the reach of the poor scholar. His name will never be forgotten by the Pali student."

Mr. P. Maung Tin, B.Litt., M.A., our representative for Burma, writes:

". . . To me the works of Professor Rhys Davids have been a source of joy and inspiration. I have always admired not only his wonderful mastery of Pali and the wide range of his knowledge, but also, and especially, his sympathetic attitude towards Buddhism. No one will deny that he, more than any other scholar, made Buddhism known to the West. I will not presume to say what he has done for Pali scholarship in the West. But I can say with certainty, after six years' study of Pali at college and eight years' teaching of it, that to the younger generation of Pali students in Burma (where Pali is being studied on Western lines) Rhys Davids is a name that is held, and will continue to be held, in greater respect and admiration than that of any other scholar. . . . And his easy style and lucid exposition obviate very largely the difficulties foreign students in their English reading have to overcome."

From Japan, Professors Anesaki, Kimura, and Takakusu have wired condolence.

Professor S. Tachibana writes from Tokyo:

". . . We now remember his name with renewed gratitude. He devoted the greater part of his life to promote the knowledge of Buddhism in the West, and all know how much he has done therein. His contribution to it is greater than that of any other scholar. He has left behind him the greatest trail of all. I pay the deepest homage to his memory."

The list could be extended. It has been limited to those who have been, or are, connected with the Pali Text Society and the studies affected more directly by its work.

With regard to the Far East it may be set on record that the last of the many utterances stimulating fresh inquiry, or rejoicing over the same, which I have heard him say were, respectively, spoken and written in the last weeks of his sojourn on earth to three Japanese students and a gentleman of Siam, a former pupil. "Can you trace in the history of your Buddhism," he asked the former, "at what time its votaries began to ascribe divine attributes and status to the Buddha? This is worth your investigating."

At the Dictionary, re-revising the manuscript, he struggled on well into December last. While reading, his eyes would close while he sat holding his pen. "Get out my Vinaya Texts for me," was his last effort, "there's a note about Buddhaghosa on *a-desanāgāminī*. It doesn't mean this. It just means 'not going to church.'" But he knew full well some time before that he would not be here to finish. Let us not, for all that, put up for him the vow that should to-day belong to the dead things of the past: R.I.P. If there was one conviction which they held who knew him really well and long, it was this: strip off decay and disease of body, no one would be less likely than he to be happy inert and idle. Let us rather pray: L.C.G.: May he work with joy!

The issues of the past year were five in number: two texts, two parts of the Dictionary (which happens to be very suitably, for a Pali work, made "Eightfold," aṭṭhangika!) and a translation. Professors James H. Woods and D. Kosambi brought out the first volume of their (first roman letter) edition of the Commentary on the Majjhima. We were disappointed not to be able to complete the Sutta-Pitaka texts by an edition of the Apadāna. This work is sister to the Commentary on the Anguttara in the difficulties that with successive intending editors have long beset its being brought to birth in a European edition. But the delay has, at all events, enabled us to complete this year another Piṭaka—of which the pages of this volume have more to say presently.

For the present year we have the satisfaction of producing, together with this *Journal*, the first part of Mr. P. Maung Tin's translation of the Visuddhi Magga—the morals or virtue section. It is of slender bulk as compared with the two remaining sections, on *samādhi* and *paññā*—two words so hard to reduce to any two English terms—but various considerations obliged us to bring out the work in sections, and these three are the structural division of the book. The translator's Oxford studies have made it impossible for him to complete the second part just yet, but for the next translation we have an English version of the Puggala-Paññatti of the Abhidhamma, which Mr. Bimala Chandra Law, of Calcutta University, has sent us together with a donation to cover the cost of producing the volume. Thus it is once more to India that we owe a valuable gift in work and in money. To Mr. Law we wish to express our warm thanks.

We have also to thank for donations: Mr. Gilbert H. Richardson for another £20 (this time earmarked for the Dictionary), Mrs. Greenly, Dr. Greenly, and Captain Meysey Thompson for further donations, and Mr. Maung Ba (Dictionary), Mrs. Yeoman, Mrs. Carl F. Holmes, and Mrs. Philpot for first donations.

In the matter of books received we have had occasion to

thank once more the trustees of the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest for the gift of Volumes XI.-XIII. of their texts, to wit, the Commentaries on the Khuddakapāṭha, Buddhawaŋsa, and Paṭisambhidā (now going through press); and the Rev. W. Dhammananda Thera for his edition of the Cariyā Piṭaka Commentary.

In the matter of MSS. of texts received, while we still wait for more Papañca Sūdanī, promised for this year, we have pleasure in recording the arrival of a large instalment of Professors Takakusu's and Nagai's Samanta-Pāsādikā.

Part IV. of the Dictionary is now ready, and we hope to issue Parts V. and VI. before this year is done, and the remaining two parts in 1924.

It may be well in conclusion to follow the example set by the founder—or chairman, as he used to call himself (and this Society for a long time was in a very special sense his "chair")—in the early *Journals*. This was to draw up lists of the works yet to be edited, both those that were "placed" and those that were not. The tables at the end of this volume show what has been done and what is to be done next. The editors at work on, or about to undertake, the latter portion are as follows:

Apadāna (Sutta Piṭaka)	M. E. Lilley.

COMMENTARIES.

A.—Vinaya.

Samantapāsādikā	J. Takakusu.
Kankhāvitaraṇī	Suzanne Karpelès

B.—Suttanta.

Remainder of Sumangala-Vilāsinī (Dīgha)	U. Ñāṇa.
Remainder of Papañca-Sūdanī (Majjhima)	J. H. Woods and D. Kosambi.
Sāratthappakāsinī (Saŋyutta) ...	F. L. Woodward.
Manorathapuraṇī (Anguttara) ...	M. Walleser.
Paramatthadīpanī (Udāna) ...	F. L. Woodward.
Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā) ...	C. D. Chatterjee.

Abhidhammattha-dīpanī (Iti-vuttaka)	G. Landsberg.
Saddhammappajotikā (Niddesa) ...	—
Saddhammappakāsinī (Paṭisambhidā)	C. V. Joshi.
Visuddhajanavilāsinī (Apadāna) ...	Friedrich Weller.
Madhuratthavilāsinī (Buddhavaṇsa)	—
Cariyā Piṭakatthakathā	Rev. V. Piyatissa.

If we include the ex-canonical Peṭakopadesa, the edition of which Dr. B. M. Barua has not yet been able to send, this is all that now remains to be edited of the original programme.

But the question of exhausted stocks can still arise, notably in works the first editions of which just preceded this Society's existence—the Vinaya and the Jātaka. These texts are still asked for, and may possibly come in for the Society's activities before it judges that the task it undertook is done.

THE EDITOR.

In a letter which has reached me only as this Report goes to press, the Vice-President writes from Tokyo:

"It was with very real sorrow that I learnt from your letter of December 27 the news of the death of the venerable President. Only a few hours before I received it, I had been thinking that if, as I hope, I am able to take leave this summer and spend a few months in England, I should have the pleasure of seeing him again. And I remembered that, when we parted early in 1920, I wished him *au revoir*, and he had replied that we should never meet again. . . . I feel his death as a very personal loss, as well as being a disaster for oriental scholarship. . . .

"Yours sincerely,

"C. ELIOT."

EDITORIAL NOTE

In the preceding memoir Rhys Davids' work as a popularizer has had scanty justice done to it. I am not here referring to the fact that most of his books were more popular than academical; this is, of course, evident. He was the Max-Müller of Buddhism. He had not the leisure or other opportunities of a professional academician to concentrate on either Pali or Buddhism. Moreover, he came to the work, not as a student, but as a man of the world. He once said with a rueful humour: "Yes, the Germans call me a *Forscher;* they never call me a *Gelehrter.*" Let us be thankful for that.

But it is his work as a popular lecturer that I refer to. Between the years 1876-1904 he lectured much and in many places, in single lectures and in series, and for the most part to audiences of a more popular stamp than those who attended the Hibbert lectures. Very often he spoke to working-men, and loved doing so, for he found among them his keenest listeners. Often he lectured to earn what he would call "miserable pence." Oftener he lectured for nothing. He was of an incorrigible missionary spirit, and whereas he knew that much of his Pali work was a "dealing in futures," he was always ready to make his Buddhist work of present practical use in just the way in which he indicates at the conclusion of the following lecture.

This was delivered in February, 1877—before (?) the appearance of his S.P.C.K. manual—at South Place Hall or

St. George's Hall, London. I do not think it was ever published as it stands. Although he has touched on this subject of interdependence in his popular works, he nowhere gives so clear an exposition of the reasons for his conclusion. I discovered the MS. among his more carefully kept papers. It seemed to me a message of his best, too good to be longer withheld, fresh and vivid for all its forty-seven years of back-shelf, likely to be of interest and of service to not a few, and a good illustration and memorial of his work as a lay-preacher and helper of his fellow-men.

THE EDITOR

WHAT HAS BUDDHISM DERIVED FROM CHRISTIANITY?

"22. 2. 1877."

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

Ever since Buddhism has begun to be understood in Europe, the remarkable resemblances between it and Christianity have attracted increasing notice. Father Bury, one of the first of the Roman clergy to be brought into contact with the Lāmaism of Tibet—a system which bears somewhat the relation to early Buddhism that Roman Catholicism does to early Christianity—was struck with horror by the closeness in the resemblance, and thought that the devil had established in those remote regions a grotesque and blasphemous mockery of divine truth,[1] just as Nathaniel Hawthorne suggested that Satan had perpetrated monkeys with the malicious purpose of mocking man, the masterpiece of divine creation. Each of these resemblances is capable, however, of a less theological explanation; and while some are beginning to believe that man's resemblance to the monkey may be better explained by supposing both to be descended from the same or similar ancestors, so others have expressed an opinion that the resemblances between Buddhism and Christianity are too close to have arisen by chance, and that, as these two religions were not both derived from the same earlier faith, Christianity, the later of the two, has borrowed from Buddhism, the earlier.

It will be my object this afternoon to examine the resemblances referred to in order, if possible, to arrive at

[1] In Kerson's *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1854, p. 185.

a definite conclusion as to whether Christianity has indeed borrowed from Buddhism. If so, in what manner, and to what extent? If not, how did the resemblances between them arise?

The resemblances may be classed in three divisions: (1) Those between the Gospels and the Buddhist accounts of the life of Gotama, the founder of Buddhism; (2) those between the Christian and Buddhist monastic systems and public worship; (3) those between Christian and Buddhist moral teachings. Each of these subdivisions would afford ample material for a separate lecture, and it will only be possible now to touch on each of them in the broadest outline. In order to save time I shall also confine myself chiefly to one side of the comparison, laying before you only the Buddhist side, and trusting to you to supply, as we go, the other—that is, the Christian side—from your own memory.

1. With regard to the first division, it should be noticed in passing, that the Buddhist accounts are derived from books which cannot be satisfactorily traced back earlier than about 150 years after the death of the great Teacher whose life they purport to record. But as they were then included in the canon of the Buddhist sacred scriptures as fixed by the Council of Patna held under the auspices of the Emperor Asoka, they must necessarily have existed some time before that, and undoubtedly contain a great deal of older material. You will recollect that though the Christian canon was not finally settled till the Council of Trent in the year 1546, the Gospels, substantially as we now have them, were certainly current and generally received towards the close of the second century after Christ (that is, about 150 years after his death), and that they undoubtedly contain a good deal of older material.

We find in the Buddhist lives of Gotama that his birth is described as having occurred in a supernatural manner. He had no earthly father, and was conceived by his mother some time after she had withdrawn herself into holy meditation and seclusion, and in consequence of a dream

in which she is carried by four archangels to heaven. The holy child lived as a deity in heaven before he descended to earth, which he did of his own accord out of pity for humanity to save men from their sins. The Catholic Father, Jerome (*fl. circa* A.D. 390), says in his treatise against Jovinian that Buddha, the founder of the religion of the Indian Gymnosophists, was said to have been brought forth *by a virgin* from her side. This is, however, so far incorrect that Gotama's mother is nowhere in the oldest Buddhist books represented as a virgin, though the later church of the Mongol Buddhists is said to lay stress upon her virginity. The Buddha was born while his mother had left her usual home and was resting in a garden on her way, and archangels came from heaven to assist at his birth. Though the legend does not make him the actual son of his mother's husband, his apparent father, it takes great pains to prove that that father was of royal lineage; and accordingly, by means of genealogies which are quite unreliable, it derives his descent from the most famous monarchs of old. The holy child is formally presented in the temple of the gods, and an aged saint prophesies with great emotion that, at his bidding, the misery and wretchedness of men would disappear and peace and joy prevail; that by him many would find deliverance from sorrow, and be saved from the consequences of their sins and errors. Wise men, travelling from the south, are attracted to the place where the young child lies, and in verses, whose beauty surprises us in the midst of so absurd a legend, declare that he will provide the Water to extinguish all the sorrows of life; that he is the Light which will illumine the ignorance and darkness of the world; that he is the Way out of the wilderness of care, the Deliverer from the bonds and shackles of existence, and the great Physician who will cure all our diseases and death.

The only incident related of the boyhood of the Buddha is an account of the wonderful precocity of his wisdom, so that he puzzled the teachers who were appointed to teach

him and surpassed them all in knowledge and skill.[1] I had occasion in a former lecture I had the honour to deliver before this Society to point out some curious coincidences between some of the details of this legendary account with those of the corresponding Christian legend.

After his dedication to a religious life, and before he entered on his public mission, he is represented as having retired to a lonely forest and there to have been tempted of the devil, Māra, the arch-enemy of mankind. He sits calm and unmoved during the violent attacks made upon him by a visible tempter and his wicked angels.

After his victory over the tempter, the Buddha begins his public career by proclaiming a *kingdom of righteousness*, and at his first sermon, as at the first preaching of the apostles, crowds of hearers of different races imagine themselves each to be hearing in his own tongue the wonderful words that are said.

After the commencement of Gotama's public teaching, one of his first disciples is a rich young man who comes to him by night from fear of his relations; and who even after his conversion does not openly attach himself to the Society of Mendicants which Gotama founded.

At the close of the first year of his mission Gotama sends out his disciples, then sixty in number, to go two by two into the villages and countries round about and proclaim the new kingdom of righteousness—a mission which seems to have been singularly unsuccessful; as we hear no more of its results than we do of the results of the corresponding mission in the Gospels.[2]

From this time till his death Gotama spent his life wandering up and down through the plains of the Ganges, publishing his new system of salvation, not by sacrifices, or

[1] Long after the date of this lecture, the writer published the older canonical "great legend" of the Seven Buddhas (Dīgha Nikāya, ii., 1 *f.*, 1910). In this the precocity of Gotama (as of each preceding Buddha) is shown to have been manifested in his judicial sagacity, aiding his father, as he sat on the latter's hip, in administering justice. —EDITOR.

[2] *Cf. Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E.), I., p. 114, and Luke x. 17.—EDITOR.

penance, or outward rites, but by self-control and love; and he inculcated these lessons chiefly by parables and stories. He was always accompanied by a few of his more ardent disciples, the leaders of whom are called in the Parinibbāna Sutta the twelve great disciples. It is true that on the whole he seems to have been regarded with favour by the chiefs and the people, and he died peacefully in a grand old age, surrounded by his friends. But he did not escape the enmity of the priests, nor the fickle temper of the mob. There is an interesting analogy to Christ's entry into Jerusalem in Gotama's entry into Rājagriha, the capital of the Buddhist Holy Land. On his second visit to the place the rāja came out to meet him, and he was conducted back into the town in triumph by all the people. They took delight in the new teacher, but when he really began to carry out his views their opinion changed; and a few short weeks afterwards they openly reviled and persecuted him and his followers, so that he was obliged to leave the town.

One of the most constant and faithful of Gotama's followers, named Ānanda, occupies a somewhat similar position, as the beloved disciple, to that occupied in St. John's Gospel by John; while another of his disciples, named Devadatta, who three times tried to have him killed and who succeeded in stirring up dissension in the community or order which Gotama had founded, occupies a similar position to that of Judas in the Christian story.

Now I do not deny that many of these coincidences are striking and instructive, but when they are thus brought together it is evident, I think, that they are not of such a nature as to drive us to the conclusion that the incidents of the one account must necessarily be borrowed from those of the other. They seem to me to amount simply to this, that two teachers—each of whom was a reformer, the leader of a reaction against dependence on formal rites and the ascendancy of a priestly caste—experienced in some respects a similar fate. And further, that two sects of religious dissenters, whose beliefs and hopes were depen-

dent on the teachings of a single man, came each in ages similarly uncritical and under conditions of a similar kind, to believe in the supernatural birth, the marvellous childhood and the miraculous powers of their revered Teacher.

Some of the resemblances in the lives of the two teachers are real resemblances, the others arise from real resemblances in the mental habits and education of their followers. None of them is so close as to prove, independently of the historical evidence which I shall presently lay before you, that the authors of the Gospels were acquainted with the Buddhist lives of Gotama, or even that their ideas were modified by vague traditions of the great Teacher who lived 600 years before they wrote, in the far-distant East.

But while the consideration of this part of our subject has thus brought us to a negative conclusion, the case is by no means so clear with regard to the monastic systems and the moral teachings of the two religions. In 1850 the Rev. Spence Hardy, a Wesleyan missionary in Ceylon, published an elaborate volume on the Buddhist Order of Mendicants as then existing in that island, and he throughout compares that Order with the different Christian Orders in the West, not concealing his opinion that the latter derived many of their rules and customs from the Buddhists.

The closeness of the resemblance is indeed remarkable. The Buddhists take the vows of celibacy and poverty, they shave the head, they wear long and flowing robes, they have a noviciate and a full membership of the Order, they were originally, and many of them still are, mendicants like the Begging Friars of the West, and the rules they observe with regard to sleeping, residence, and diet are much like those of several of the still existing Catholic Orders. Among the Northern Buddhists, especially among the Lāmas of Tibet, the monks resemble still more closely the brethren in Europe, the resemblance extending even to minute points such as the use of rosaries, holy water, and incense. Nothing will make this clearer than a description of the daily service in the Cathedral at the capital of Tibet

—a description I have already had occasion to give in this hall. It is taken from the travels of Fathers Huc and Gabet.[1]

Mr. Köppen, whose admirable work on Buddhism is an excellent example of the accuracy and thoroughness of German scholarship, thought that we had in these resemblances evidence of the influence of Christian missionaries upon the later Buddhists, and the Rev. Spence Hardy thought that Buddhists must have penetrated to Egypt, where, as is well known, the ascetic Orders of Christianity had their origin, and where they first became numerous and important. Now it will be seen, when we come to the historical question, that it was by no means unlikely that Buddhists from India may have travelled through Persia to Asia Minor, or along the south coasts up to Alexandria during the first and second centuries of our era. And it is well known that Nestorian missionaries had penetrated into Mongolia and China before the ritual of the Lāmas had been developed in Tibet. But we shall return to this question immediately after the discussion of our third point —the resemblances in moral doctrine.

These are much closer than Christian writers have as yet at all clearly recognized. It is not too much to say that almost the whole of the moral teaching of the Gospels, as distinct from the dogmatic teaching, will be found in Buddhist writings several centuries older than the Gospels: that, for instance, of all the moral doctrines collected together in the so-called Sermon on the Mount, all those which can be separated from the Theistic dogmas there maintained are found again in the Piṭakas. In the one religion as in the other we find the same exhortations to boundless and indiscriminate giving, the same hatred of pretence, the same regard paid to the spirit as above the

[1] Given in the writer's *Manual of Buddhism*, S.P.C.K., 1877, twenty-second edition, 1910, chap. ix., p. 248 *f.* In his last years Rhys Davids first insisted on a difference in Eastern and Western monasticism with respect to obedience. No formal vow of obedience, nor injunction to the same, is found in the Buddhist Vinaya, *Dialogues*, iii, 181, *n.* 4.—EDITOR.

letter of the law, the same importance attached to purity, humility, meekness, gentleness, truth, and love. And the coincidence is not only in the matter; it extends to the manner also in which these doctrines are put forward. Like the Christ, the Buddha was wont to teach in parables, and to use homely figures of speech; and many of the sayings attributed to him are strangely like some of those found in the New Testament. And yet, in the midst of all this likeness, there is a difference no less unmistakable arising from the contrast between the Theistic creed which underlies the Christian and the Agnostic creed which underlies the Buddhist doctrines.

Let me read to you the Buddhist parable of the treasure laid up where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break not through to steal.[1] . . .

These simple verses will, I hope, convey to you a true impression of the kind of resemblance between the moral teachings of the two religions. Had I confined myself *entirely* to the passages where the similes used or the turns of expression in the words of the Piṭakas might remind us of the New Testament, I might have made the resemblance seem somewhat closer, but in so doing I should not have

religion which denies the existence of the soul and openly confesses its ignorance of God, and therefore implies that such morality at least can exist without, and is altogether independent of dogma, not only of dogmas constituting the elaborate systems of Rome or Moscow or Tibet, but also of the simpler theistic creeds which have satisfied more enlightened minds.

I am afraid that this may disappoint some. There are freethinkers who realize so fully the evil effects resulting from the dogmatic systems which have usurped the name of Christianity, who so dislike the bonds in which public opinion has been held by powerful Christian ecclesiastical organizations, who so resent the wrong done to themselves by the arrogant way in which some professing Christians explain free thought by moral depravity, that they would be delighted to satisfy an old grudge by any distinct proof that Christianity's finest feathers were after all only borrowed plumes.

Of course it cannot for a moment be supposed that anyone here present to-day would so allow his judgment to be warped, but if anyone here present should have an acquaintance on whom the word Christianity, or the word priest, acts at all like a red flag upon a bull, he might perhaps with advantage tell him the following story from the Buddhist scriptures:

Gotama the Buddha entered once a public hall at Ambalaṭṭhika and found some of his disciples talking of a Brahmin who had just been accusing Gotama of impiety, and finding fault with the Order of Mendicants he had founded. "Brethren," said Gotama, "if others speak against me, or against my religion, or against the Order, that is no reason why you should be angry, discontented, or displeased with them. If you are so, you will not only bring yourselves into danger of spiritual loss, but you will not be *able to judge* whether what they say is correct or not correct"—a sentiment surely most enlightened. St. Paul's Anathema on those who differed from him sounds very weak beside it.

But to return to our subject. If our comparisons hitherto have brought us to a negative conclusion, or at least not confined us to a positive one, what does the external evidence say, the evidence that is outside the sacred books of the two religions? Does history record that any Buddhist came to Europe or Palestine, and that anyone travelled hence to India and brought back Buddhist teaching? Does any Christian or pre-Christian author mention Buddhism, or refer to any Buddhist book, or any Buddhist saying? Well, there is a vague idea that there was a very great traffic between East and West. The Greeks had a tradition that Pythagoras, the Christians that St. Thomas, went to India; and Pliny tells us of an embassy from Ceylon to Rome. A rigorous criticism has left very little of these stories; but we know that Alexander penetrated to the Indus in the fourth century B.C., and that Megasthenes wrote his celebrated work, *Ta Indika*, in the first years of the third century B.C. This writer, Megasthenes, was sent by Seleukos Nikator as ambassador to Chandragupta, king at that time of the valley of the Ganges, whose capital, the modern Patna, was in the very centre of Buddhism. He divides the Indian philosophers into two classes: the Brahmins and the Sarmānai. Now in the inscriptions we owe to Chandragupta's grandson, the Buddhist Emperor Asoka, the religious teachers, whom the people are repeatedly exhorted to respect, are called "Samaṇā" and "Brahmaṇā." Of these the first word "Samaṇā" is the name of the Buddhist monks. But Megasthenes tells us little about the Buddhists besides the name and a few details of their daily life, and as his work was almost the only source from which the Greeks and Romans for many generations derived their knowledge of Indian affairs, it is not surprising that we find no other mention of the Buddhists till long after.

Alexander Polyhistor, who wrote about 60 B.C., mentions in a similar way both the Buddhist and naked philosophers, or the Jains, but says nothing about their philosophy, or their ethics. About A.D. 160 an embassy from India was

sent to Antoninus Pius, and from the members of that embassy the Gnostic writer Bardesanes drew his account, of which a few extracts have been preserved for us in the Fourth Book of Porphyry's treatise in favour of vegetarianism, *De abstinentia ab esu animalium*. He says of the Buddhist monks that they lived in groups of houses built by the kings close to the temples, and spent the whole day in talking of divine things. Stewards or treasurers were appointed by the kings to see that the *samanaivi*—that is, the monks—were duly fed. They were fed on rice, bread, apples, and vegetables. When they assembled in the eating-hall a bell was rung, after which they said their prayers. On the bell ringing a second time the steward gave to each monk a separate dish. The dishes contained usually rice; but if any monk desired a change, vegetables or a dish of apples was added. The monks ate very fast.

This can scarcely be regarded as a complete and adequate account of Buddhism, and yet it is the *longest account* which appears in any writer till nearly a thousand years afterwards.

We next come to a Christian Father, Clement of Alexandria, who wrote the Miscellanies about A.D. 200. In the first book, § 15, he says: "Thus philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its lights over the nations. . . . First in its ranks were the prophets of the Ægyptians, and the Chaldæans among the Assyrians, and the Druids among the Gauls, and the Sarmanaivi among the Bactrians." Now by Bactria we are to understand the northern valley of the Indus, and the numerous Buddhist ruins still existing there show that Clement was quite right in putting the Buddhist monks in that country. Passing to India proper, he divides the philosophers there into Sarmanas and Brahmins, and continues: "Some also of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha, whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to divine honours." Clement is quite unaware, you will notice, that the Bactrian monks and the Indian philosophers he has just mentioned

also obeyed the precepts of Buddha, and it is evident that he knows as little about them as he does about the Druids, whom he mentions with them.

Jerome also, writing about A.D. 430, probably following Clement, divides Indian Gymnosophists or philosophers into two classes, Brahmins and Samanaioi; and in another passage, to which I have already referred, *Contra Jovinianum*, I., 42, in the midst of a panegyric on virginity, he says incidentally that among the Indian Gymnosophists the tradition was handed down that Buddha, the founder of their system, was born from a virgin's side.

There is one other passage where Buddha is mentioned: it is in a work called the *Acta disputationis Archelai*, the author of which is unknown, but which must have been written about the commencement of the fourth century. This work, of which we have only a Latin translation, is a controversial tract against the Manichæans, and gives a most curious account of the origin of that heresy. It says, Skythianus, a Saracen, lived in Egypt, and afterwards came to Judæa and taught. He had a slave named Terebinth, who wrote out at his dictation four books. After the death of Skythianus, Terebinth fled to Babylon, and there gave out that he was full of all the wisdom of the Ægyptians, that his name was no longer Terebinth, but Buddha, that he had been born of a virgin, and had been nourished in the mountains by an angel. While at Babylon he went up on to a high roof to invoke his deities, and whilst he was doing so the most just God sent an angel to push him off the roof, and thus "the second wild beast was cut off." His books afterwards came into the hands of Manes, the founder of the Manichæans. The same story is repeated by Cyril and Epiphanius, who lived at the end of the fourth century, by Socrates, who wrote his *Ecc. Hist.* towards the end of the fifth century, and is referred to by later writers against Manichæism. This extraordinary legend seems so clearly to connect Buddha with the origin of the Manichæan heresy that I hoped, when first I read it, that we should certainly find some

clear traces of Buddhism in Manichæism at least, but I have been unable to find any confirmation whatever of the tradition. (*Cf. Ency. Religion and Eth.* "Manichæism."—EDITOR.)

I have now laid before you *all* the passages in which the Christian fathers and other Western writers mention, or refer to, Buddhism, or its founder. It is evident that their knowledge of Gotama himself and of his Order was most meagre, vague, and incorrect, and that they were completely ignorant alike of his moral and of his philosophical teachings.

I had intended to consider here the passages in Indian books in which reference is sometimes supposed to have been made to Christianity and to the visits of the Nestorian missionaries, and even of the Apostle Thomas to India. The subject is, however, a very intricate one, and I see that my time is almost gone. I will only state, therefore, generally that in no instance have the supposed references to Christianity in the earlier books been made out, though it is clear that the Nestorians did make converts in India as early as the ninth century of our era. Dr. Lorinser, of the Breslau University, has published a volume of great learning and acuteness to prove that the Bhagavad Gītā, one of the most sacred of the Sanskrit books, contains quotations and adaptations from the New Testament, but he has not as yet found anyone to support him.

You will now anticipate the answer we shall have to give to our question stated at the commencement of this lecture. Our question was: Did Christianity borrow from Buddhism? If so, how and how much? If not, how did the resemblances between them arise?

The answer must be, that of direct borrowing there is absolutely no evidence whatever, but that on the contrary there is sufficient proof that such knowledge of Buddhism as the early Christians did actually possess only reached to a few details of the outward life of the Buddhist monks and of the legends about the Buddha; and that, even as

regards these points, it was vague and uncertain in the extreme.

This first part of our answer is, I venture to think, exactly what we might have expected if we had followed the very safe method of judging of past events in the light of the present. Take, for instance, our relations with China. Our commerce with that country is more extensive and closer than the commerce of Alexandria or Rome ever was with the East. Many more of us have visited China, and we know much more of China than the ancients did of India. Yet how much influence has Chinese thought—the common sense and calm reason of the great Confucius, the mystic Pantheism of Lao Tse, or the moral philosophy of Chinese Buddhism—had upon any of the religious sects which occupy the same position in England to-day as the Christians did in the early Roman Empire?

And, secondly, the answer to the last part of our question must be that the very curious resemblances which have been discovered by scholars between the two religions are due to one or other of three causes.

Firstly, and least of all, and as regards only the monastic systems, it is possible, although it is not as yet at all proved, that the vague knowledge of the outward life of Brahmin and Buddhist ascetics, which we have seen to have existed in Alexandria just about the time when the Christian monastic system arose in Egypt, may have contributed to a movement which that knowledge alone could never have brought about, and may have influenced some of its details.

Secondly, that the similar characters of the Buddha and the Christ, the similarities of their conflict against the doctors of divinity of their day, the fact that both addressed themselves openly to the people, that both endeavoured to found a kingdom of righteousness in which an inward change of heart should take the place of outward rites and formal observances—all this naturally and inevitably produced a certain resemblance, occasionally almost an identity, between the matter and even the style and form of some of

the most general, and, if I may so say, the most humanitarian, of their moral teachings.

And, thirdly, that the similarity of the stage to which culture had reached, the like absence of the critical faculty among the early adherents of the two faiths, the like presence of a noble hero-worship and of a fresh enthusiasm —all this produced, naturally and inevitably, a close resemblance in the kind of things which Christians and Buddhists gradually came to believe regarding their revered Teachers: their miraculous birth, their wonderful infancy, and their supernatural powers.

And I cannot but venture to think that these results are full of instruction, full of much-needed help, to a right solution of another question now increasingly pressed upon our attention: the question, namely, of the true history, the true meaning of Christianity. How difficult, how impossible it seems for those brought up as Christians, for those whose religious feelings and moral aspirations have found satisfaction in the current views of Christianity, to look at it in the cold light of reason, even to listen without indignation to any argument which seems to imperil their belief in its divine origin and its supernatural growth! Must this not so continue as long as those arguments run round and round in the circle they now so diligently tread, deriving the rules of true historical criticism from the history of early Christianity only, while the converse is the truth—namely, what is true of early Christianity depends on the rules of historical criticism?

When we say that Christ did not call Himself divine, we are referred to passages in the Gospel of John. We reply that the gospel is not by "St." John, and our principal argument is, that it puts statements into the mouth of Christ inconsistent with the simplicity and ingenuousness of the Christ of the earlier Gospels.

But as the mist of the ages rolls away from the history of Buddhism we have revealed to us on the other side of the world a religion whose development runs entirely parallel with that of Christianity, every episode, every line

of whose history seems almost as if it might be created for the very purpose of throwing the clearest light on the most difficult and disputed questions of the origin of the European faith.

Born, like Christianity, from a reaction against the worst features of a system of formalism and priestcraft, which had in both cases arisen from the development of a more ancient worship of the powers of nature, and especially of the sun and moon, Buddhism, like Christianity, owed its origin to the insight and earnestness and prophetic zeal of a single man—one of those few heroes of humanity who have made epochs in the history of our race, the nobility of whose character, the grandeur of whose individuality, were already dimly revealed to those with whom they lived, whose true greatness stands out clearer and brighter as the ages pass, and at whose feet all the races of mankind will one day come to lay their reverence and their love with a more real appreciation and a truer worship than those teachers have ever yet received.

Need we be surprised that they were only half understood, that succeeding generations failed to learn the lessons of simplicity they had taught, and that the old errors of formalism and ritualism soon corrupted the pure doctrines of their religions of humanity?

Need we be surprised that in each case the deep impression of their personal superiority gave rise to those legends and stories which are, as it were, the modes of expression in which an uncritical age *tried to say true things*—stories miraculous and incredible, occasionally even absurd, but not without a beauty of their own to those who could read between the lines of these first endeavours at reproducing in words the effect produced on others by noble qualities of mind and heart?

And so Jesus, who recalled man from formalism to the worship of God, His Father and their Father, became the Christ, the only begotten Son of God Most High, while Gotama, the Apostle of Self-control and Wisdom and Love, became the Buddha, the Perfectly Enlightened, Omniscient

One, the Saviour of the World. True or half true at first, these great words contained too much. As disputes arise and sects are formed, those who hold to the simpler faith are always called heretics, infidels, dissenters; the powerful church, the numerous church, becomes in each case the orthodox one. The creed of this orthodox church becomes so full of new dogmas, even of new deities, that the earlier teachings are smothered at last, and give place to elaborate creeds, to the gorgeous rituals, the powerful hierarchies of modern Christianity and of modern Buddhism.

But if the one religion had borrowed from the other, all this would be lost. The resemblances would no longer be due to the same laws acting under similar conditions. As it is, the arguments which prove the miracles of the Christ prove also the miracles of the Buddha, the arguments which prove the miracles of the Catholic saints prove the miracles of the Buddhist arahats. The same questions arise about the canon of the Piṭakas as arise about the canon of the Bible, and the answers given in the one case depend on the reasons which must guide us to the answer to be given in the other.

The alchymists sought for the philosopher's stone and they found the first-fruits of the science of chemistry. If we seek in Buddhism for the historical origin of Christianity we shall be looking for what is not, for a philosopher's stone. But we shall find the rudiments of a science of religions, and we shall realize as we never realized before the real significance, the real causes of the growth of the beliefs now current, not in Asia only, but in Europe and in England too; we shall see how the thoughts of men have been widened by the suns, and be enabled to look forward with clearer view and with calmer faith to the great changes which are now being prepared, and which will be fully revealed in the ages yet to come.

A MILESTONE IN PALI TEXT SOCIETY WORK

By the EDITOR.

We have come this year to another milestone in the Society's annals—that is, the completion of our editions of the seven books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka and of the three books of the Commentary thereon ascribed, in the Pali recension which we find in the palmleaf MSS., to Buddhaghosa. All of these are first (roman letter) editions, and their history dates almost from the start of the Society. In the first *Journal* (1882) we find that three of the seven books had been already put in hand and, in the second *Journal*, one of the Commentaries. Of those three one text was brought out in 1883, and one, albeit with a change of editors, in 1885. The Commentary, it is true, was postponed till 1914, the Commentary first published making its appearance (fire at the printers' had partly destroyed the MS.!) in 1897. This year we complete our edition of the seventh, or so-called Great Book of the Paṭṭhāna, and the Commentary on the second book, Vibhanga, the voluminous Sammoha-Vinodanī, "She who disperses bewilderment"—admirable title for an exegetical Baedeker such as the Commentaries were. Below is the inscription on our milestone:

Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

Date of Issue.	*No.*	*Text.*	*Editor.*
1883 ...	4.	Puggala-Paññatti.	Richard Morris.
1885 ...	1.	Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi.	Edward Müller.
1892 ...	3.	Dhātu-Kathā.	Edmund Gooneratne.
1894-5 ...	5.	Kathā-Vatthu.	Arnold C. Taylor.
1904 ...	2.	Vibhanga.	Mrs. Rhys Davids.
1906, 1921-3	7.	Paṭṭhāna.	Mrs. Rhys Davids.
1911, 1913	6.	Yamaka.	Mrs. Rhys Davids.

COMMENTARIES.

Date of Issue.	*No.*	*Text.*	*Editor.*
1889 ...	3.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā.	J. P. Minayeff.
1892 ...	3.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Dhātukathā).	Edmund Gooneratne.
1897 ...	1.	Atthasālinī.	Edward Müller.
1912 ...	6.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Yamaka).	Mrs. Rhys Davids.
1914 ...	4.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Puggala-Paññatti).	Mrs. Rhys Davids and Georg Landsberg.
1921-3 ...	7.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Paṭṭhānā).	Mrs. Rhys Davids.
1923 ...	2.	Sammoha-Vinodanī.	A. P. Buddhadatta and Miss A. M. Dibben.

TRANSLATIONS.

[1900. Of the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, second edition, 1923.]

1915. Of the Kathā-Vatthu (Points of Controversy), by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids.

1920-1. Of the Commentary: Atthasālinī, *The Expositor*, by P. Maung Tin.

1923-4. Of the Puggala-Paññatti, *Designation of Human Types*, by Bimala C. Law.

All then is now done, unless it be judged well (*a*) to make more translations, (*b*) edit any Ṭīkās. Whatever may be decided about (*b*) it is not in this Society's *original* programme to publish editions of these. Of (*a*) it might be worth while to publish translations of the Commentary on the Vibhanga and on the Kathāvatthu. It is true that our *Points of Controversy* gives the gist of the latter. The former is a voluminous work, longer by 100 pages than its predecessor *The Expositor*, but in no way a repetition, and, in so far as it illustrates further the half-erudite, half-childlike, *historically* wholly uncritical mind of its day, is quite interesting. Besides these, the first pages, the Paccaya Niddesa, of the Paṭṭhāna, are worth presenting in English.

If we discount the many topics of clerical controversy discussed with much crude inconclusive dialectic in the Kathāvatthu (together with the irruption of that dialectic itself), we can say that the analysis of causation into the twenty-four passages or modes of relation, considered as causal, is the most outstanding and significant contribution to anything approaching an epistemology in the whole Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The only other matter to put beside it in constructive value is the analysis of sense in the Rūpa-kaṇḍa of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. We may look in vain for any other contributions in these seven books of a like positive nature.

Indeed, as to the rest of the Paṭṭhāna, the whole of the Yamaka, of the Dhātukathā, and a good deal of the Vibhanga, we, as looking back from our new world, may well marvel that it was ever held worth while to compile them. I have not said this hastily, but as one who has spent a long slice of one life-span in the work of revealing the contents of this Piṭaka. I should be too glad to learn that the time was not wasted. But the venerable Ledi's apologia[1] did not convert me.

Have we, who have taken forty-one years in laying these many volumes on library shelves, any sheaves to show that may serve, first the historian of science and of religion, and then, through him, the average educated masses? We have left him with plenty of problems, but, as the founder used to say, "we have deepened their significance." Let me try to make a brief and quite provisional summary.

Taking the problem of the order in which these seven books came to be compiled and made canonical, why on earth was the book usually called the latest made the fifth and not the seventh? Is not the simple solution this: that at the Council of Patna there were no such six books as we now have (*plus* the so-called latest, the fifth) to be included; that there was still only that Mātikā, referred to in the Vinaya as co-ordinate with Vinaya and Dhamma, the "heads of discourse," preserved in the first pages of the

[1] See *Yamaka*, II., pp. 220 *f.*; *J.P.T.S.*, 1914, pp. 115 *f.*

Dhammasaṅgaṇi?[1] It is true that the Kathāvatthu refers to two or three of the twenty-four paccayas. But just when it would have served the orthodox apologist to cite the Paṭṭhāna (since it, too, was, if in a modified degree, held to be Buddhavacana), no such citation is given. And more: where points calling for citation, in support, from the Dhammasaṅgaṇi occur, this work is also not referred to. Hence I incline to think it possible that the Council of Patna had an Abhidhamma Mātikā, but that it had no more a seven-book Abhidhamma Piṭaka than had the two earlier Councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī. That the three Councils—three at least—were held as recorded I see no reason to doubt.[2] *Why* should such accounts be fictitious? But we may well be accepting too uncritically the commentarial account of the Patna Council.

Not for me is it to try to solve the problem. But a comparative study of the internal evidence to be got out of these texts may widen and deepen its significance.

Further, we can now better mark, with them as an intermediary stage, the growth in the older Buddhism of the cult of words and of wordiness, the growth of a rudimentary logic of division and definition, the growth of co-ordination and subsumption in term-concepts (*paññatti*), and the discovery or the specialization of terms for concepts. On this I have dwelt more than once as our work was progressing.[3] Here I will only instance such new appearances as the division *cittacetasikā dhammā* for the clumsy old pentad of the five Khandhas—a system which later on that division entirely routed;[4] the specialization of *hetu* under the wider induction of *paccaya*[5] (these terms were used as alternatives in the Suttas); the evolution of introspective analysis (we may compare the rudimentary catalogue in

[1] See text, pp. 1 *f.*; translated only in the second edition of the translation.

[2] For a sceptical view, *cf.* R. O. Franke's discussion, *J.P.T.S.*, 1907.

[3] See *Bud. Psy. Ethics* and preface to *Vibhanga*.

[4] *Cf. Dhs.*, § 1022, with the *Compendium*, pp. 1 *f.*

[5] In *Dhs.* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

the Anupada-Sutta of the Majjhima with those in the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi); and the appearance of the term *bhavanga* for the continuum or flux of *actual* life and *potential* mental activity.[1]

More significant are these books in the growth of the church of the Theras than we have perhaps realized, and more sinister. It is a different growth from the flamboyant metaphysics of Mahayānism, but it is no less effective in smothering up for us the very reason why, and for what, that church first came into existence. In Mahayāna the cult of words begat a metaphysic of Absolutism, in the Theravāda the cult of words begat some psychology and a logic. In both the founder as a real man, and his real gospel, were practically lost sight of.

For the chief outcome of these years of work on the Abhidhamma is perhaps just this—and it does deepen the significance of the problems confronting the historian of Buddhism—the necessity of distinguishing, far more acutely than has yet been done, between these two factors in Theravāda Buddhism—the work and message of the living friend of his fellow-men, Gotama, and the overwhelmingly monastic teaching of his order, his church. In the Abhidhamma the founder has become a shadow, an echo, a most unreal concept, a term, a word. His central message, turned long before into an eightfold formula, is cut up and slashed about, with all the life-sap gone out of it.

We need not quarrel with our Ābhidhammikas on that account, nor hold them worse perhaps than the man in orders who, so frequently in this country, teaches his school classes in a purely "secular" way. With the spread of "the Dhamma" from Asoka's time, and its annexation of so much of the culture of that and succeeding centuries, the Ābhidhammikas became necessarily to some extent secularized schoolmasters, teaching a somewhat narrow, crabbed curriculum. Much the same thing went on in Europe in Christendom.

[1] *Paṭṭhāna*, p. 34, etc. Occurring once in an Anguttara Category, it is paraphrased in the Commentary as *attabhāvo*.

But we do need to be ever profiting by increase in materials, such as these texts afford, to sharpen and clarify our historical perspective. We need to be ever recalling Aquinas's word *Distinguo*. We need to be ever sceptical when the uncritical glibly quote the "Buddhavacana," saying, the Buddha said this and that, even when the passage bears sure finger-marks of the cloistered editing compiler, filling out with set phrase and church formula the fragmentary, but living natural sentences which alone have survived oblivion.

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