

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN SOCIETY

AS DEPICTED

IN THE PALI CANON

by

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## A B S T R A C T

We are concerned in this study firstly with the ascertainment of the kinship system as it existed in north Indian society at the time of the composition of the earlier strata of the Pāli Canon. In the first chapter we have discussed the sources and outlined the use of anthropological technique in the study of history. The second chapter deals with settlement patterns as denoted by terms such as gāma, nigama, nagara, janapada, and points out their relative significance. Some of the ruling extended kin-groups have been studied in relation to their residence. In the third chapter we have studied social stratification after making an analysis of terms of address and reference and face-to-face behaviour; our conclusions are derived from the tabulated data which has been added as an appendix. In the next chapter we examine the pattern of economic life and the role of the gahapati therein.

The conclusion contains a summary of the main results of our enquiry.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.O.	Archiv Orientalni
A.A.	Anguttara Aṭṭhakathā
Abhi.	Abhivādeti
Ang.	Anguttara Nikāya
A.S.I.	Archaeological Survey of India
B.O.D.	Book of the Discipline
B.I.	Buddhist India
C.H.I.	Cambridge History of India
D.O.B.	Dialogues of the Buddha
Dh.A.	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā
Dig.	Dīgha Nikāya
D.P.P.N.	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names
Ex-Kin	Extended Kin group
G.S.	Gradual Sayings
I.A.	Indian Archaeology
I.E.T.	India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
J.P.T.S.	Journal of Pāli Text Society
J.R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
K.S.	Kindred Sayings
M.A.	Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā
Majj.	Majjhima Nikāya

Manu	Mānava Dharma Śāstra
M.L.S.	Middle Length Sayings
P.E.D.	Pāli English Dictionary
P.T.S.	Pāli Text Society
R.E.	Rock Edicts of Asoka
S.S.	Saddhim Sammodi
Saṃ.	Saṃyutta Nikāya
S.B.B.	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East
Su. Ni.	Sutta Nipāta
T.A.I.	Tribes in Ancient India
Vin.	Vinaya Piṭaka

Chapter I

Introduction

In this study we present our observations on the social structure of the period which is so intimately connected with the personality of the Buddha. At this stage our research mainly centres on an analysis of the patterns of society. We follow the social scientists who study contemporary societies and maintain that the description of a society can best be made through assuming the existence of a "pattern". We are fully aware that, unlike some social scientists, we do not aim to draw from our studies any laws either of the society or human behaviour. We must be content, at least for the time being, with a description of society as depicted in the Pāli Canon, which helps us and others to understand it.

There are, of course, limitations to this kind of study. Our sources consist of a mass of literary material which is mainly religious in character. The formation of the Pāli Canon, which is our main source, is associated traditionally with at least two councils, one taking place



at Rājagaha immediately after the death of the Buddha, and the other held at Vesāli hundred years later.<sup>1</sup> The canon was committed to writing in Ceylon under King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (Cir. 100 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

The bulk of the canonical literature, especially the major portions of the Sutta and Vinaya Piṭakas, belongs to the pre-Asoka period. Striking evidence in this connection is provided by the Bhabra Edict of Asoka, wherein he urges the Buddhist monks and nuns to make a special study of seven selected passages. Four of the passages have been identified as being in the first four Nikāyas, one in the Vinaya, and the rest in the Sutta Nipāta.<sup>3</sup> The exact correspondence of the contents of the Edict and the Pāli texts, as we have them in their present form, is difficult to establish. Nevertheless, it certainly shows that Asoka knew a number of Pāli texts, some of which must have been identical with those found in the Nikāyas and the Sutta Nipāta.<sup>4</sup>

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1. J. Przylinski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris, 1926.
  2. E.W. Adikaran, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp.73-79, he goes into some detail as to how the texts came to be written - their political and religious background.
  3. Rhys Davids, *D.O.B.* II. p. xiii f; *G.H.I.* I. p.193; Winternitz, *History of Indian literature*, pp.16, 606-609; B.M. Barua, *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, p.314f; see also Bhattacharya, *Buddhist text as recommended by Asoka*, Calcutta, 1948.
  4. cf. Winternitz, *OC. Cit*; G.C. Pande, *Origins of Buddhism*, p.15.

Speaking of the antiquity of the Pāli Canon whose contents may have been older than the 2nd century B.C., A. K. Warder remarks, "A comparison with the Prakrit inscriptions shows that the Pāli language is closest to the earliest records (e.g. preservation of intervocalic consonants, without voicing) and it may therefore be regarded as having flourished in and probably before the Moriyān period. The canonical texts ... have the appearance of standing close to a living language rather than that of an artificial production in a dead language, like their commentaries, and therefore would seem to belong to the period when that language flourished."<sup>1</sup>

Our account of the social structure of this period is based mainly on the first four Nikāyas, the Vinaya and the Sutta Nipāta of the Canonical texts. Rhys Davids feels that the four Nikāyas and the Vinaya belong to the same chronological strata (about 100 years after the death of the Buddha). That this was so he has shown from the internal unity of the books demonstrable through material contained, formal structure and so on.<sup>2</sup> The fifth Nikāya, which contains

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1. A. K. Warder, A study of the Evolution of Early Middle Indian Metre, based on the verse preserved in the Pāli Canon, pp. 5-6, unpublished thesis, University of London, P.L.D.1954.
  2. Rhys Davids, C.H.I. I. pp.192-197; see also B.C.Law, History of Pāli literature, II. p.42, where he differs from the stratification suggested by Rhys Davids but accepts the pre-Moriyan dating of the Nikāyas and the Vinaya, Ibid., pp.15, 30-33.

miscellaneous texts, does not appear to have been recognised by schools other than the Theravāda and is a supplementary Nikāya.<sup>1</sup> Commenting on the usefulness of the Nikāyas, G. C. Pande says, "The Nikāyas.. appear to reflect the first and the earliest period of the history of Buddhist thought when the Saṅgha was, in appearance at least, doctrinally one." "It has, of course," he adds, "to be remembered that particular versions of the Nikāyas may be expected to contain much editorial retouching, addition and even expurgation."<sup>2</sup>

The Vinaya Piṭaka consists of (1) Sutta Vibhaṅga (2) Khandakas (3) Parivāra (4) Pātimokkha. It exists in different versions which belong to different sects. Pātimokkha is practically the same for all the sects. But the agreement is supposed to extend to the Vibhaṅga and even Khandakas.<sup>3</sup> Parivāra is more or less an index to the Vinaya and is, therefore, later in time than the other sections of the Vinaya.<sup>4</sup> Also in Cullavagga of Khandakas the chapters dealing with the convening of the two Buddhist councils are generally considered

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1. G. C. Pande, Op. Cit. p.7; Étienne Lamotte, Problèmes concernant lextexts canoniques, "Mineurs," Journal Asiatique, 1956, pp.249-263.

2. Ibid., p.13.

3. Ibid., p.2.

4. cf. Winternitz, Op. Cit. p.33; B.C.Law, History of Pāli literature, II. pp.13-14.

as later additions to the original book.<sup>1</sup>

About the relationship between the Sutta Nipāta and the prose Nikāyas, apart from the evidence of passages common to both the sets of books, N. A. Jayawickrame comments, "The social conditions reflected in the Sutta Nipāta regarding peoples and castes, countries and towns, brahmins and sacrifice are no different from those in the prose Nikāyas."<sup>2</sup>

The material contained in the Vinaya, Nikāyas, and Sutta Nipāta, for our purpose may roughly be taken as reflecting the condition of the period between 500 B.C. - 300 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars like Richard Fick, Rhys Davids, A. N. Bose, and R. Mehta, in their study of the social history of the Buddha's time, have mainly relied on the Jātakas, though often they have included the evidence of the Vinaya and the Nikāyas.

Some of the Jātaka stories contain very old legends, but generally they represent an extensive period of development from the Buddha's time (500 B.C.) down to the

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- 1. Winternitz, Op. Cit., p.25 and fn 2.
  - 2. Jayawickrame, Analysis of Sutta Nipāta, p.10; Unpublished Thesis, London University, P.L.D., 1947.
  - 3. cf. G. C. Pande, Op. Cit. p.16.

2nd or 3rd century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. Winternitz, Op. Cit. pp.115 ff; Gokuldas De, Calcutta Review, July 1930, pp.83-84; R. Mehta, (Pre-Buddhist India, pp.xxi ff ), has assigned a pre-Buddhist dating to some of the poems and prose narratives; but D. D. Kosambi, An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, pp.259-260, and also his Early Stages of the Caste System in Northern India, (JBBRAS, 1946 p.33) suggests that the Jātakas represent a state of society which provided suitable conditions for trade during the Sātavahana period (2nd century A.D.) and that they do not represent the social structure of Magadha at the time of the Buddha. The view that the Jātakas belong to the Sātavahana period has been criticised by R. S. Sharma ("Sudras in Ancient India, p.85), on the ground that regulations regarding trade in Kauṭilya presuppose an extensive economy. Sharma, following Fišer's, The problem of Seṭṭhi in Jātakas, L.A.O., pp.338 ff, believes that "the stories of the Present", are the younger element of the Jātakas (late in chronology) and that they occur in the cities of Eastern India, Savatthi and Rājagaha, whereas "the stories of the Past" form the older Jātakas (early in chronology) the scenes of which lie in the central or western part of India. Sharma considers these 'stories of the Past' as belonging to pre-Asokan period. We may note that in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas we have rarely a mention of the western or central parts of India. Benares, although important because of its connections with the Buddha's enlightenment, is occasionally mentioned elsewhere. The same is the case with Gāndhāra, Taxila and Avanti, which are considered as distant lands. cf. Jennings (Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha p.xxxiii), mentions this fact while describing the Buddha's journey. See also Winternitz, Op. Cit. pp.119-20.

Rhys Davids has analysed the internal evidence of the Jātakas and has shown that in the first two volumes the majority of the stories are simple narratives, but they become complicated and long-winded in the third, fourth, and fifth volumes.<sup>1</sup> Commenting on this lack of homogeneity in the Jātakas, Maurice Winternitz says, "Not only every large section and every single narrative, but often also every single gāthā will have to be tested independently as regards its age."<sup>2</sup> The gāthās (verses) of the Jātakas have been generally accepted as constituting the oldest stratum. On the other hand, the late prose portions show marked signs of editing, perhaps at the hands of the Buddhist monks.<sup>3</sup> Having considered this vagueness in the chronology of the Jātakas, we have decided not to include them in the present study. However, the Nikāya and Vinaya material can safely be taken as a reliable guide to conditions during 500 - 300 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

As a rule, facts given in detail or the exposition of points in the commentaries have been left out entirely, or are mentioned only incidentally when the points are too

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1. Rhys Davids, BI, p.208.  
 2. Winternitz, Op. Cit., p.122.  
 3. Ibid., 119-124; Gokuldas De, Op. Cit.  
 4. See above p.10

obscure and need elucidating. In one or two places we have compared the findings of our texts with those of the commentaries.

We examine briefly the contents of our sources.

- (1) Vinaya books contain rules of behaviour for the monks and nuns as laid down by the Buddha. The rules are in the form of a number of stories in which a monk or a nun (a stock character) behaves improperly. There is gossip which ultimately reaches the Buddha. The Buddha makes a rule.
- (2) Dīgha Nikāya contains discourses by the Buddha and other monks. They contain parables, similes and anecdotes giving sociological data, descriptions, objective observations and religious advice.
- (3) Āṅguttara Nikāya is mainly concerned with numerical categorisations. All items appearing here have from one to eleven sub-divisions, i.e. there are seven types of wives, five types of goals for a brāhmaṇa, eight paths of knowledge, four types of concentration, four ways of losing and gaining wealth.
- (4) Majjhima Nikāya contains religious and philosophical controversies. It also deals with the brāhmaṇic claim to social and ritual superiority.
- (5) Samyutta Nikāya deals with the behaviour of groups and individuals who were the associated of the Buddha. It provides descriptions of groups and life stories of individuals, and also the discourses they have with the Buddha and with one another.

(6) Sutta Nipāta is a collection of verses containing religious doctrine.

Much of the sociological material which can be abstracted from these is in the form of similes, stories, direct verbal statements and objective observations. Very little material is directly in the form of sociological description and even that is highly formalised. It is also repetitive and occurs at several places. A significant point here is that the very incidental nature of our material increases its value as a historical source.<sup>1</sup>

As against this literary background, we have the solid testimony of archaeological finds which may be related to the period we examine. These are chiefly in the shape of cities, material objects<sup>2</sup> and inscriptions of Asoka. The city of Rājagaha had outer stone walls 25 to 30 miles in circumference (see the illustration) on an average 8 ft. tall and 16 ft. wide, with superstructures of bricks and also several stone watch towers. A road made of stone, stone wells and a number of stone-foundations of buildings have been found at Rājagaha. The excavation at Rājagaha

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1. cf. Rhys Davids, C.I.H.I., I. pp.172-174.

2. cf. R. S. Sharma, op. cit. p.85, who makes a note of punch marked silver and copper coins coupled with a large number of objects which are associated with Northern Black Polished ware (cir.600 - 250 B.C.).



was conducted in the year 1905;<sup>1</sup> many places and buildings have been identified since, on the basis of topographical material found in our texts. The recent excavations at Rājagaha have unearthed the foundations of the Jivakamravana<sup>2</sup> (the monastery buildings donated by the famous physician Jivaka). Recently the excavations at Kosambi (1957-59) have revealed the existence of Ghositārāma, a high rampart around the city and the stone fortress of Udayana.<sup>3</sup> These and many other remains of the cities,<sup>4</sup> which belong to our period (500-300 B.C.), have helped us to visualize the state of society. The existence of these cities presupposes extensive agricultural lands to support them,<sup>5</sup> the use of cash economy, the division and specialisation of labour and a growing awareness of social stratification based on riches,

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1. A S, Annual Report, 1905-06, pp.86-102; New Imperial Series, Vol. L I, 1931, pp.112-131.
  2. I A, A Review, 1953-54, p.9; 1954-55, p.16; and 1957-58 p.11.
  3. G. R. Sharma, The Excavations at Kausāmbī (1957-59), pp.20 & 37f.
  4. For example, Vesāli, Sāvatti, Pāṭaliputta, Ujjain etc; see I A, loc. cit., 1959-60, p.14 and 1960-61, p.6; A S, 1907-8, pp.81-131; A S, 1912-13, pp.53-86; I A, loc. cit., 1957-58, pp.34-36.
  5. cf. D. D. Kosambi, (Early Stages of the Caste System in Northern India, JBBRAS, p.44), maintains that at the time of the Buddha, except for a few who still had tribal organisations, "the tribes have dissolved into loose organisations of landholding and land farming overlords," see also our interpretation of tribe and extended kin-groups, below p.82.

power or ritual status, or combinations of these attributes. To a greater or lesser extent, these necessary accompaniments of urban life have been projected in our literature.

In our presentation of the data, we have used an analytical technique. As far as possible, we have made no primary statements which are not supported by internal evidence. The secondary statements are inferred from two or more primary statements and we have gone straight to the sources for our analysis.

We have used the principles of social anthropology, probably for the first time for this kind of historical research, only as a framework of reference under which "descriptions" will be subsumed. Each of our chapters has an introduction which broadly explains the nature of its contents. Some of them have summaries and conclusions. As far as possible we have avoided direct comparisons with modern data compiled in the sociological studies of the modern village-urban societies of India and elsewhere. However, we must understand the functioning of the modern Indian caste society in a city or a village in order to acquire a deeper insight into the past. It is equally

incumbent on an anthropologist to know the "history" of our "time-honoured" institutions.

In the second part of our introduction we have outlined the use of social anthropological methods in the study of History. Some of the points or suggestions made there, have been used in our research. The others may prove to be useful in future research, or else may be considered as points of general illustration on methodology.

Anthropological framework and Historical analysis:

We postulated that it was our intention to use social anthropological methods - to be more precise the method of social structural analysis - in our approach to historical data. This needs more elucidation. In connection with this two questions arise.

- (1) What are the methods available to current anthropology in its study of societies and what has dictated our choice?
- (2) What are some of the more detailed characteristics of the methods of social analysis?

I

Broadly speaking two different approaches are made nowadays to study social phenomena (a) We can study the

social structure (b) We can make a global approach and make a descriptive study of all the phenomena that we come across - Social relations, art, religion, philosophy, material culture and so on.<sup>1</sup> This method does not enable us to isolate one set of social phenomena like social relations and correlate it with other sets like ideas and material culture and in this way link changes in one with changes in the other. But fundamentally this method is alien to our purpose, which is primarily to study the social structure of a given society at a given time and if possible to trace changes in the structural relationships. Hence the global method, the method of study of the 'total culture', as it is called, is ruled out for us by the very limits that we have set to our aims. There is, therefore, no question of arguing about which method is better in this context.

## II

We have now to discuss some of the more detailed characteristics of the method of structural analysis and deal with certain criticisms of it. The method of structural analysis, generally speaking, deals with the isolation of

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1. Kroeber, *Anthropology of*  
Herskovits J., *Man and his works.*

regular patterns of behaviour as between persons and groups. In this way we try to see if there are, for instance, any regular patterns of behaviour between husband and wife, father and son, pupil and teacher, aristocrat and farmer. When we observe such regular patterns, we summarise the set of individual relationships and describe it as a structural relationship. The word "norm" can be used in this context. But we have to be careful to distinguish between the two uses of the word "norm". It can be used in the sense of "the average" as above, or in the sense of the "ideal". In all cases they do not coincide, and where the "norm" as "an ideal" does not coincide with the "norm" as "the average" behaviour pattern we must note the difference. It may also be necessary to explain the difference. Thus the norm as ideal may be to uphold the joint family and the norm as average may be to set up the nuclear family. The theory of studying regular patterns between persons and group received its greatest initial impetus from Radcliffe-Brown.<sup>1</sup> His successors have discussed technical questions as to the level at which such studies should be conducted - lineage, extended family, nuclear family, interpersonal relationships.<sup>2</sup> Some have stated that only the larger groups

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1. Radcliffe Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Societies,  
 (ed.)  
 2. Raymond Firth, Man and Culture, Introduction, pp. 157-187

like lineages, kinship groupings and political groupings should form the level of structural studies, as they represent more stable and larger groupings. Others have differed and included groupings like the nuclear family pattern. Here we must exercise judgement. A choice has to be made while endeavouring to gather data about the larger kinship and political groupings. We shall also include the nuclear family and smaller groupings. We shall exclude the study of groupings smaller than these, such as relations of friendship etc. We shall also leave out, generally, groupings larger than the political area we have circumscribed for our study. Our analysis will be conditioned by the limits we have set up for ourselves, and in assessing them note has to be made of these limits. Apart from discussions on the levels of structural analysis made above, the successors of Radcliffe-Browne discussed a number of other questions which are relevant to our inquiry.

I.

The first is the concept of "role playing". We mentioned that structural anthropologists sought to find the

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1. Radcliffe-Browne, Structure and Function in Primitive Societies, p.188 ff.

more regular pattern of behaviour between persons and groups. This was more or less Radcliffe-Browne's statement of aims. Relationships between groups, however, Nadel explained, were achieved through individuals "playing rôles". This was the case, of course, in interpersonal relationships also. He tried to clarify the concept of rôle playing in order to make the technique of investigation more precise, we arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behaviour the pattern (network, system) of relationships obtaining "between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another".<sup>1</sup> From this "role-playing" we can generalise what is the average or the "norm", as we discussed before, whether there are opposing "norms", and whether the "average" conflicts with the "ideal" or not. This is really a deepening of our definition. But it is a useful technique in historical studies as it can show the emergence of divergences and social change, and perhaps the reasons for them. Historical data like ours consists of both the "average" and "the ideal". It is desirable to distinguish between the two. The brahmanical lawbooks set down the "ideal" rather than "the average". Much of Buddhist literature contains both. We can detect

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1. Nadel, *Theory of Social Structure*, pp.

changes in "ideals" by changes in succeeding lawbooks. The historian then faces the question of explaining these changes and inferring social facts from them, provided data is available. His inference, of course, may range from the "more probable" to "the less probable".

## II.

The second theoretical issue taken up by social anthropologists after Radcliffe-Browne was the latter's concept of "function". It appears that he held "a priori" that all structural relationships existed to maintain and preserve existing society. Historians noting social change will naturally differ. The general trend among social anthropologists now is to take a more sophisticated view of function and note the existence of 'disfunction', of trends which lead to changes in structural relationships.

There have been other views on the meaning of the word "function". Some have deprived it of any purposive connotation or effect and have merely regarded it as synonymous with activity. We shall not concern ourselves with these discussions on "function". For our purpose we shall try to discover whether there are activities which seek to preserve a certain structure and others which seek to change it. A question of interest to us in this context is: 'Were there



changes in relations to Brāhmaṇas, in our area and period, and if so, to what extent?

In connection with this we must state that our data, as well as the study of modern peasant societies, forces us to abandon the notion of a single closely related social structure. We find it more helpful to recognize the existence of a plurality of structures in a certain geographical area and time, and see if any relations exist between them or not. There may be two political states in an area otherwise structurally similar and consequently cannot be subsumed under the head of a single social structure. The area we have dealt with is Majjhimadesa which has been described more fully in Chapter II.

### III.

The third development in structural theory which is of considerable significance to us is the link between groups of persons (from which we abstract structure) and the aims and activities conducted by these groupings, i.e. institutions. For current anthropology merely to describe structure and leave out institutions is incomplete as description.<sup>1</sup> It also does not enable us to establish possible

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1. Raymond Firth, 'Elements of Social Organisation', pp. 34 ff

correlations. From the point of view of historical analysis "institutions" do form a large part of our data and have to be analysed and explained if possible. As data they are relatively more available than structural relationships, which have often to be inferred. The type of institutional data like "celibacy among monks" is relatively more plentiful than data on the organization of monasteries and the relationships between monks and laymen. The technique of analysis proposed by Nadel is helpful to our purpose, as it enables us to make use of inference where data is scarce. He postulates that in society we observe "individuals in co-activity". From this we mainly isolate two aspects:

- (1) Types of institutional activity
- (2) The social group which carries out this institutional activity and the relation within this group.

Analysis has to be conducted on both levels (1) and (2) and if possible linked. Where only groupings are mentioned in historical data we may try to search for institutional activity. Where institutional activity is mentioned we may search for the groups involved in it.

We may also classify institutions and relate them.

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1. Nadel, Foundations of Social Anthropology p.78 ff; esp. Domestic Order.

For example, we may relate kinship to the economic structure.

In describing groupings we may examine (a) the internal order of groups and (b) the external order of groups.

Having briefly stated our scope, and the theoretical premises behind our approach and techniques, let us state more precisely what we do not intend to do. Current British structural anthropology has been criticized by others, particularly Americans, on a number of issues which include neglect of questions of child training, psychology, technology and linguistics and disinterest in history.<sup>1</sup> We stated before that we have deliberately avoided the method of a "global" cultural study. We mention this criticism in passing in order that our use of structural analysis of groupings and institutions should not raise the same criticisms. Theoretically we are interested in questions of child training and psychology but are doubtful if the necessary data is currently available. We have deliberately left our historical linguistics from our scope because we shall not be in a position to find any relations between it and social structure in our present enquiry. We have at the outset narrowed our field with respect to details of technological development.

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1. Murdock, American Anthropologist, Vol. 53, 1951. pp. 465-73

With respect to history, of course, our attempt is precisely to see if certain approaches and techniques used by this school of social anthropologists are applicable or not, i.e. to answer the criticism made.

The applicability of such techniques depends, of course, on their number, variety, relevance and refinement. Given a certain amount of data, analysis could be progressively deepened and widened. Thus we can proceed from level to level. We shall confine ourselves in this work to a certain level, if for no other reason than that of space. This does not, however, imply that a deeper analysis is not possible.

The second shortcoming has been mentioned before, but we can mention again in this context that, compared to current field data, historical data is always more or less limited. Inference can be resorted to - but it will inevitably be in terms of greater or lesser probability. This we believe is a task historians must now shoulder. The use of the approach and techniques outlined above, we hope, may show a new and interesting aspect of historical research.

We shall deal with the following aspects: Pattern of settlement, social ranking as expressed in modes of address, kinship groupings and occupational divisions. We shall not concern ourselves here with the political and ritual aspect of society due to the necessity of space.

## Chapter II

### Patterns of settlements

In trying to understand the life of a community we must begin at some specific point. In our study we are faced with a large and, as it appears to us, nebulous society. Our aim is to trace the network of relationships, bounded ultimately only by the limits of the area covered by expansion of contemporary Aryan culture, which connects one individual, familial group or small settlement with others. Such a network of institutionalised relationships is present in every local group, whether it be a village, town or a city, for ' the townsman and rustic dwell in the same community but lead somewhat different lives!'<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that we attempt to discover the patterns of settlements in the Buddhist society.

In the Pāli texts there are numerous references to cities, towns, villages, where the Buddha or his disciples stayed for a while and preached to the people.

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1. Robert Redfield, / Peasant society and culture / p.11.

It is not unlikely that the records of these journeys are based upon a precise and detailed tradition and they can be substantially corroborated from present day topographical and historical knowledge. Jennings observes, "Though there is doubtless a superstructure of fictitious localities, claims and incidents set down among the Sutta, the conviction of the general truth of the itineraries, however, remains ...."<sup>1</sup> Our primary interest, however, is not in the topography or the history of the specific towns, cities or villages, but only in the social characteristics of the settlements described. In so far as evidence permits us to contrast one town with another, one city with another and one village with another, we shall do so in order to discover any additional characteristics we may find.

There are numbers of terms in the Pāli texts which refer to local groupings of one sort or another, the meanings of which are not always clear. We shall, therefore, attempt to attribute a meaning to each of them by analysing, among other things, its relationship with the social groups of which we have some knowledge. Whenever possible, we shall also examine the economic aspect of the

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1. Jennings, *Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha*, p. xxxii

local groupings.

### Gāma

We find the term gāma not infrequently used in our texts. The English rendering of gāma invariably as a village is inadequate, as the term has been used in more than one sense. For instance, it may mean a ward, hamlet, a temporary settlement, etc. As we shall see, we have references to various types of gāmas and each type is a unit of social recognition.

Vinaya writers define a gāma which may consist of single kuti, two kutis, three kutis or four kutis.<sup>1</sup> The term kuti is normally translated as a hut, usually made of sticks, grass and clay (daub and thatch).<sup>2</sup> However, kuti, when mentioned as a gāma, cannot be a single cabin or little hut. A gāma of one kuti (ekakutiko gāmo) then, would probably refer to a hamlet of one large house perhaps surrounded by a few smaller buildings in which the dependants and servants of the family dwelt.<sup>3</sup> Most likely,

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1. Vin. III. p.46; cf. Dhammapada I.313 where a gāma of eight kutis is mentioned (atthakutiko gāmo)

2. Miss. I.B. Horner, 'B.O.D.', III. p.74; P.Ā.D. sv.

3. The size of the kuti cannot be determined from the available references. In the forest hermitage of the jatilas we find separate rooms for performing fire worship. See, Vin. I. pp.24 seq.

this and the gāmas of two or three or four kuṭis were dispersed settlements in the forests, outlying woodlands, hilly tracks and mountainous areas which surrounded the rich plains of the Gangetic valley. These hamlets had to be reckoned with because the Bhikkhus and other ascetics stayed in them or had to depend on them for their maintenance. That this was so can be seen from the fact that some of the Bhikkhus are described as forest-dwelling (ārañṇako bhikkhu)<sup>1</sup> and some of them are specifically referred to as staying in the forest kuṭis.<sup>2</sup> Aggika jaṭila, an ascetic of the type following orthodox Vedic practices of fire worship, lives in a kuṭi and comes out of his forest abode perhaps to replenish his provisions.<sup>3</sup> The ancient brāhmaṇas go into the forest, build kuṭis of leaves and depend for their livelihood on the outlying gāma-nigama-rājadhāni and meditate.<sup>4</sup> The Bhikkhus construct kuṭis in the mountains of Isigili, (near Rājagaha), spend

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1. Ang. III. pp. 100-2; IV. pp. 21-2; V. p. 60; Vin. I. p. 92

2. Saṃ. I. p. 61; III. p. 116; IV. p. 380

3. Dig. II. pp. 339-40.

4. Ibid., III. p. 94 te araṇṇāyatane panna-kuṭiyo karitvā panna-kuṭisu jhāyanti... gāma-nigama-rajadhāniyo osaranti ghaṣaṃ esana.



four months of the rainy season in there, and when leaving, demolish the kuṭis.<sup>1</sup>

There are gāmas which are inhabited by the people and those which are devoid of them.<sup>2</sup> Miss. I.B. Horner interpretes this type of gāma as ' a village with human beings and a village with beings who are not human '.<sup>3</sup> She supports her statement by taking the word amanussa to mean a yakkha, spirit or ghost.<sup>4</sup> It may be supposed that the deserted gāmas are often the haunts of yakkhas and in that sense they were inhabited by non-human beings. But these non-human beings seem to have been thought of as present in every gāma. Thus in one instance, the Buddha enjoins the nāgas and yakkhas that they should not maltreat gāmas and nigamas because if they did so they would not get hospitality and respect.<sup>5</sup> It was reputed of the Buddha that in whatever gāma and nigama he stayed

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1. Vin. III. p.41 tinakutiyo karitvā, kuṭis of tina (grass)
  2. Ibid., p.46 samanusso pi gāma amanusso pi gāmo (Note that this is the definition of the gāma.)
  3. Miss I.B. Horner, B.O.D. I. p.147
  4. Ibid., n.2
  5. Dīg. III. p.203

there the non-human beings did the humans no harm.<sup>1</sup>

We believe that the idea of the gāmas being deserted is the predominant one in the phrase amanusso gāmo. We are, therefore, inclined to translate amanusso as that which is without people, a deserted place, thus retaining its literal meaning. Examples of people deserting their gāmas are not lacking in the texts. We find gāmas burnt by fire or flooded by water.<sup>2</sup> A man sees an empty gāma, and whatever house he may enter he finds empty, deserted and void. Thereupon that man might be told that this was so because of the fear of robbers.<sup>3</sup> Because of the fear of robbers, a gāma comes to be removed and is split into two.<sup>4</sup> Angulimāla, the robber, makes gāmas into agāmas (no gāma).<sup>5</sup>

There are gāmas with surrounding walls and some without walls. This is another of the definitions of gāma given by the Vinaya writers.<sup>6</sup> The walls seem to have been of three kinds, of brick, stone and wood.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Ibid., I. p. 116
  2. Vin. I. p. 149
  3. Sam. V. p. 173
  4. Vin. I. p. 149
  5. Majj. II. pp. 97, 100
  6. Vin. III. p. 46
  7. Ibid., II. p. 121

The reference to the gonisādinivittḥo gāmo seems interesting.<sup>1</sup> This term has been wrongly rendered by Miss I.B. Horner as ' a village arranged fortuitously '.<sup>2</sup> According to the Pāli dictionary the term gonisādika is an ox-stall and the word gonisādi has a similar sense.<sup>3</sup> Gonisādinivittḥo gāmo, therefore, would indicate an organised cattle establishment or farm which formed a gāma.<sup>4</sup> These permanent cattle camps are different from temporary ones, which are called vaja. Thus the monks spend the rainy season in a vaja. When the vaja is removed,<sup>5</sup> the monks go to another vaja.

A Gonisādinivittḥo gāmo was most probably inhabited by people who tended and lived with the cattle. Thus the brāhmaṇa Dhāṇanjāni managed his dairy outside the town. He was getting his cows milked when the monk

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1. Ibid., p.46

2. Miss I.B. Horner, 'B.O.D.', I. p.74

3. Rhys Davids and Stede, 'F.E.D.' p.84; see also Vinaya texts (S.B.E.) II. p.121 n.1. where gonisādika is translated as an ox-stall to be used as a provision room for the monks; cf. gosālā, cow-stable Ang.I. p.188; also gogana, herd of cattle, Majj. I. p.220; Ang.I. p.229.

4. Gonisādinivittḥo=go+nisādi+nivittḥo. Go which is used in a plural sense means cattle. Nisādi, ni+sad=lying down, encamped, well arrayed. Nivittḥa, which is an adj.pp. of nivesa, used in the locative case, would mean, bent upon, devoted to.

5. Vin. I. p.152 vajo vutthāsi

Sāriputta visited him.<sup>1</sup> Gopaka Moggallāna brāhmaṇa also indulges himself with the similar occupation.<sup>1 a</sup> In the Sutta Nipāta we find a cattleman Dhaniya who says that " he lives by his own earnings and is nobody's servant ".<sup>2</sup> He is to be distinguished from the ordinary herdsman known as gopāla<sup>3</sup> or govinda<sup>4</sup> who was a hand hired to look after the cattle.

A caravan camping more than four months is called a gāma.<sup>5</sup> This is the last settlement to be defined in the Vinaya under the heading of gāma. Obviously, this indicates the practice of the caravans to stop at places for a considerable period. Some of the caravans belonged to merchants who conveyed their goods right across the country. Often the way was beset with dangers and it was a great relief to find inhabited areas after a long journey through deep forests.<sup>6</sup> In the Dīgha Nikāya we find a caravan called "sakata - sattho" (caravan of waggons)

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1. Majj. II. pp. 185-6 gorakkha, the cattle keeping is usually combined with kasi (agriculture) and in the Vinaya it is given as a superior profession, Vin. IV. p.6. Also see below, p. 33 On.
  2. Su. Nipāta, 25, 24 vs. 1a. Majj. III. pp. 7, 8
  3. Vin. I. p. 152, 243; Majj. I. p. 79; Saṃ. IV. p. 181.
  4. Aṅg. III. p. 373; Majj. I. p. 85.
  5. Vin. III. p. 46 sattho atirekacatumāsanivittṭho gāmo
  6. Dīg. I. p. 73; Majj. I. p. 276; see Rhys Davids, 'B.I.', p. 98

managed by a thousand men.<sup>1</sup> A regular caravan road is referred to in the Vinaya.<sup>2</sup> The bhikkhus were allowed to pass the rainy season with a caravan.<sup>3</sup> It is but natural that some of the caravans, at least the larger of them, halted for a period lasting more than four months. These caravans had to extend the period of their stay presumably because of their considerable business transactions which involved buying and selling. Bad transport facilities may have been another cause for the prolonged stay. Even now in some parts of India in the rainy season the roads are laid waste.

There is yet another possibility that this type of settlement may also refer to wandering bands of gypsy-like people. The following instance suggests this.<sup>4</sup> Aggika Jaṭila knows a group of people who were migrating. The jaṭila goes to the caravan camp (sattha-vāso) with the intention of getting some food from them, not knowing

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1. Dig. II. p. 344

2. Vin. IV. p. 63 sattha gamaniya maggo

3. Ibid., I. p. 152

4. Dig. II. pp. 338 f.

that the caravan had moved on the previous night.

However, he sees there an abandoned child lying on its back. With a compassionate heart, the Jatila carries this baby to his forest hermitage and rears it.<sup>1</sup> This reference to the young child left behind alone suggests that the wanderers followed the custom of child exposure which is still found in some of the wandering bands of India.

The evidence of the commentary on the Jain canonical literature, although it may not correspond to the age of our texts, is nevertheless worthy of notice. The Jain text mentions five types of caravan travellers (1) those who carried their goods by carts and waggons (bhandi), (2) who carried their goods by camels, mules and bullocks, (3) who carried their own loads (bhāravāha), (4) wandering people who travelled to earn their livelihood and went from place to place (odariya) and (5) the Kārapātika ascetics.<sup>2</sup> When the Vinaya writers mentioned caravan

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1. Dig. II. p. 344

2. Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya 1.3066 ff, (quoted in J.C. Jain, 'Life in the Jain Canonical literature', p. 117)

settlements, most probably they had in their minds the type nos. 1 and 4 of the Jain canonical literature.

Specialization seems to have been a particular feature of the age. We find, therefore, a growing tendency of the people of similar occupations and professions to group together and organize. The process of urbanization must inevitably lead people into this. This also led people of similar interests to live in settlements. The formation of a gāma out of the professional group is illustrated by an example from the Vinaya:<sup>1</sup> King Bimbisāra of Magadha expresses his wish to the monk Pilindavaccha to give an attendant for a park. But soon afterwards he forgets about this incident. Remembering after a time, he asks a minister who is concerned with all the affairs of state whether a park attendant whom he promised to be given to the Buddha has been given. The king is told that it has not been done, and it is 500 days since he last gave his promise to Pilindavaccha. Under the king's instruction, the minister hands over five hundred park attendants to Pilindavaccha. A distinct gāma establishes itself.<sup>2</sup> They even call the

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1. Vin. I. p.207; III. pp.147-249

2. Vin. III. p.249, pāṭiyekkho gāmo nivisi

settlement the gama of park attendants and also Pilindagāma, after the monk.<sup>1</sup>

The number five hundred, both for the people and the days, is doubtful. It may be conventional, implying a sizable group of park attendants with their families,<sup>2</sup> presumably attending to all the parks in the city of Rājagaha. A gāma of reedmakers (naḷakāra) is situated near the city of Sāvatti,<sup>3</sup> and a gāma of saltmakers (lonakāra) is to be found near Kosambi.<sup>4</sup>

Although we do not have any direct reference to a gāma of actors (naṭa),<sup>5</sup> we can deduce from the fact that as the actors had gāmanis (headmen of the gāmas) they must have had gāmas. In the same way as we have gāmas of elephantry and cavalry,<sup>6</sup> they must have grouped themselves into a gāma. Gāmas in the above cases indicate a group of professional people settling in bands.

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1. Vin. III. p.249, Ārāṃikagāmaṃko ti pi naṃ ahaṃsu Pilindagāmaṃko ti pi naṃ ahaṃsu.
  2. Ibid., III. p.250; a park attendant's wife and a daughter is mentioned.
  3. Majj. II. p.205.
  4. Vin. I. p.350; Ang. II. p.182
  5. Saṃ. IV. pp.306-8.
  6. Ibid., p.310.



Gāma and kin-group:

A gāma may belong to one particular kin-group and may in turn be known as the gāma of that group. Thus a kin-group may also acquire the name of a gāma. We can discern this from the following case:<sup>1</sup>

Not far from Vesāli there is a gāma called Kalandaka.<sup>2</sup> In that gāma Sudinna, the Kaladakuputta, is the son of a setṭhi (setṭhiputta).<sup>3</sup> Sudinna goes to Vesāli with many friends.

Sudinna becomes a monk and lives dependant on a certain gāma of the Vajjis. At that time the Vajjian region is short of alms food, for there is a famine. Sudinna goes to Vesāli and stays there because he is sure that his ñātis in the city will give him food, which they do.

One fine morning he enters the gāma of Kalandaka for alms and comes to his parental

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1. Vin. III. p.11 ff.

2. Ibid., Vesāliya avidūre Kalandakagāmo nāma hoti.

3. Ibid., Sudinno nāma Kaladakuputto setṭhiputto hoti.

residence (sakapitu nivesanam). A female slave of Sudinna's nāti (nātidāsi), while throwing away the previous evening's barley gruel, sees Sudinna and recognizes him. Immediately she runs to Sudinna's mother and tells her that Sudinna is back. In the meantime Sudinna is busy eating the barley gruel in the room provided for that purpose. Sudinna's father, coming from his work, sees Sudinna and requests him to go to his own house.

We may note few points from this case. (1) It is significant that Sudinna is known as Kalandakaputta as well as a setthiputta, but his gāma affiliation is recognized by his nātis from Vesāli who refer to him as Sudinna Kalandakaputto. (2) When Sudinna approaches his parental residence, his nāti's female slave sees him. Also when Suddinna's father calls him home, he asks Sudinna to come to his own house (sakam geham). Thus the household was large and within it there was a nāti who had a female slave. The slave did not belong to his own parents. The term residence (nevesa), in this connection should be taken to mean a residential area. We have thus within a unit of a gāma, which belonged

to a nāti, sub-units such as residential areas, most probably enclosed and attached to individual households.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the room provided for the almsgiving, called kuddamūlaṃ, was common to all.

In the Majjima Nikāya a somewhat similar case is to be found, but this has also other implications:

A brāhmaṇa youth is described as Subha Todeyyaputta. He visits the Buddha, and during the talks, which took place in the city of Sāvatti, the Buddha addresses him as Subha and brāhmaṇa. After the discussions, while on his way, Subha Todeyyaputta meets the brāhmaṇa Jāṇussoṇi of Sāvatti. Jāṇussoṇi, however, addresses him as Bhāradvāja (i.e. by his gotta name).

We have here two systems of recognition of status operating side by side. In the secular circle, Subha was another brāhmaṇa, whose status was indicated by his gāma name.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Cf. Vin. III. p.200 where a gāma belonging to one kula is mentioned.  
2. Majj. II. pp. 208, 209  
3. Dh. A. III. 250 mentions Todeyyagāma - a gāma between Sāvatti and Benares.

On the other hand, he was called by his gotta name, Bhāradvāja within his own group of the brāhmaṇas. The key to the explanation is to be found in the modern usage. In modern times in India, a brāhmaṇa who goes to another village is known as the brāhmaṇa of a certain village. But when he meets another brāhmaṇa, the sub-division of the brāhmaṇa comes into effect.

Brāhmaṇa gāmas:

The brāhmaṇa villages or settlements were mainly in the Magadhan and Kosalan regions. Brāhmaṇas such as Ekañāla,<sup>1</sup> Khānumata,<sup>2</sup> and Pañcasālā<sup>3</sup> were in Magadha. In Kosala we find Iccānañkala,<sup>4</sup> Veludvāra,<sup>5</sup> Opasāda,<sup>6</sup> Nagarāvinda,<sup>7</sup> Venāgapura,<sup>8</sup> Sālā,<sup>9</sup> and Manasākaṭa.<sup>10</sup> The mention of these brāhmaṇa gāmas in the above two regions does not necessarily indicate that in other regions

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1. Saṃ. I. p. 172
  2. Dig. I. p. 127
  3. Saṃ. I. pp. 113-4
  4. Dig. I. p. 87
  5. Saṃ. V. p. 352
  6. Majj. II. p. 164
  7. Majj. III. p. 290
  8. Añg. I. p. 180
  9. Majj. I. p. 400
  10. Dig. I. p. 235

the presence of the brāhmaṇas was insignificant; these were places where the brāhmaṇas were presumably a dominant group both numerically and politically.

The reason for the presence of the brāhmaṇa gāmas in these two regions is likely to be found in the early development of brahmadeyya landownership in those areas. Brahmadeyya was the royal gift of land or an estate to well known brāhmaṇas and others, for the services, probably ritual in nature, which they rendered to the king. Some of the brahmadeyya lands are specifically described as brāhmaṇa gāmas. Khānumata and Opasāda,<sup>1</sup> which are given respectively by kings Pasenadi and Bimbisāra to the brāhmaṇa Kuṭadanta and Caṅki, are thus described. On the other hand, Campā, Ukkaṭṭha and Sālavaṭṭika,<sup>2</sup> although these places belong to the brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa, Pokkharasādi and Lohicca respectively, are known only as brahmadeyya lands.<sup>3</sup> The ownership rights of the brāhmaṇas coupled with their residence seem clear in the first instance. In

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1. op.cit.

2. op. cit.

3. Dig. I. pp.111, 87 and 224 respectively.

the second only the ownership rights seem to have been uppermost in the minds of the writers. We suggest that the brāhmaṇa gāmas, at their inception, were the lands given as gifts to the brāhmaṇas by the kings. In course of time, because of the settlements of other brāhmaṇa families in those areas, they became known as brāhmaṇa gāmas. The mention of brāhmaṇa gāmas as existing only in Kosala and Magadha both under monarchical rule, seems to support our view.

The predominance of brāhmaṇas in the brāhmaṇa gāmas is obvious. The following instances will elucidate our point. We have brāhmaṇa-gahapatis mentioned in all the brāhmaṇa gāmas and although the latter are referred to elsewhere in the texts,<sup>2</sup> it is only in the brāhmaṇa gāmas that we find them addressed as gahapatis, thus

1. The two terms, brāhmaṇa and gahapati, have often been used as a compound. Depending on the context, these may refer to two distinct entities or groups (see the references in below) or to one single group. This ambiguity is due to the fact that the brāhmaṇas were also gahapatis - the well-to-do people, the heads of households - and yet different from the latter because of their birth in brāhmaṇa families. In the brāhmaṇa gāmas the term brāhmaṇagahapati refers to the brāhmaṇa householders. They address the Buddha as bho Gotama.
2. See, for instance, Vin. I. pp.36-37; Majj. II. pp.141-2, 55; Dig. I. pp.111-2.

seemingly emphasizing the role of the brāhmaṇas in these villages both as gaḥapatis and brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup> Besides the brāhmaṇa-gaḥapatis, we find many hundreds of brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country residing temporarily in Opasāda and Khānumata.<sup>2</sup> Well known brāhmaṇas such as Caṅki, Tārukka, Fokkharasāti, Jāpussoṇi and Todeyya sojourn at Manasākata and Iccānankala.<sup>3</sup> In Pañcasāla, brāhmaṇa householders do not offer food to the Buddha even at festival time.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, this is the sole reference in the text where the Buddha is refused food on his begging round. And that, too, very significantly in a brāhmaṇa gāma. In Iccānankala the Buddha criticizes the claims of superiority of the brāhmaṇas over other classes on the basis of birth alone.<sup>5</sup> In Ekanālā, the farmer Bhāradvāja-brāhmaṇa has so much land that he needs 500 ploughshares to plough it.<sup>6</sup>

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1. See p. 111

2. Majj. II. pp. 164-5 and Dig. I. pp. 128-9

3. Dig. I. p. 235, Majj. II. p. 462 (Nālandā Edition)

4. Saṃ. I. pp. 113-4

5. Majj. II. p. 462 ff (Nālandā Edition)

6. Saṃ. I. p. 172

Possibly because of their riches, some of the brāhmaṇa villages seem to have been fortified. The Buddha, commenting on the luxurious way of life led by the brāhmaṇas, brings to the notice of the brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha that the ancient brāhmaṇas lived in jungles and led a chaste and unpretentious life. In contrast to this, the brāhmaṇas of the present day lived in fortified places, guarded by men with swords.<sup>1</sup> The names of the brāhmaṇa gāmas such as Nagaravinda (fort, 'Vinda') and Venāgapura (fort, 'Venāga')<sup>3</sup> assume significance in the light of the Buddhas's criticism.<sup>4</sup>

#### Gāma and Nigama

In the sphere of common activities, the two terms gāma and nigama are often mentioned together. That which is applicable to gāma, is also generally applicable to nigama. This may be gleaned from the following cases. In some cases gāma and nigama are both described as situated

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1. Dig. I. pp. 104-5

2. Majj. III. p. 290

3. Aṅg. I. p. 180

4. See below p. 56



close to sāla woods.<sup>1</sup> Men, oxen and cows might come and drink from the great lake near a gāma and nigama.<sup>2</sup> Boys and girls, coming out from the gāma and nigama, draw near to the pond, lift a crab from the water, and play with it.<sup>3</sup> A great heap of grain, presumably in a market place, happens to be near a gāma or nigama from which people carry away corn on pingoos, in baskets, in their laps or in their hands. And if one should approach them and question them saying, "From where did you bring this corn?" the people would best explain the matter by saying, "We bring it from that great heap of grain near a gāma and nigama".<sup>4</sup> A monk comes to be dependant on a gāma or nigama for alms.<sup>5</sup> The brāhmaṇas build their fire-houses (aggyāgāra) near the boundaries of a gāma or nigama and worship the fire.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Majj. I. pp. 124, 235, 366; III. p. 130

2. Aṅg. III. p. 395

3. Saṃ. I. pp. 123, 126

4. Aṅg. IV. p. 163 gāmassa vā nigamassa vā avidure mahābhāṅgarāsi

5. Saṃ. II. p. 271

6. Dīg. I. p. 102

~~Before execution a culprit wants to see his friends and acquaintances and his agnates, in this or that gāma or nigama.~~ A man who may have been absent a long time from his gāma or nigama may see a man recently come from that gāma or nigama. On seeing him, the first man would enquire about the safety, the plentifulness of food and the absence of sickness in his former gāma or nigama.<sup>2</sup> The other man would gladly lend his ear to these enquiries, for these would arouse in him feelings of fellowship, and he would then willingly associate with the former.<sup>3</sup> Both gāmas and nigamas have gāmanis as their headmen.<sup>4</sup>

In fact these two words gāma and nigama have been used more or less as synonyms. In one particular instance, they are even used as a compound. Vegaḷinga is thus described as gāmanigama.<sup>5</sup>

But the size of the nigama seems to be somewhere

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2. Majj. II. pp.253-4 tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā khemattam ca subbhikkhatam ca appabhāhatam ca samseyya

3. Ibid.,

4. Saṃ. IV. 309 ff.

5. Majj. II. p.45.

between that of the gāma and that of the nagara (city) or rājadhāni. Thus in his discourse to a brāhmaṇa, the Buddha advances a simile in which he says: ' A man wanting to go to Rājagaha might approach the brāhmaṇa who knows the way leading to Rājagaha. The brāhmaṇa would direct the way by saying, "My good man, this road goes to Rājagaha; go along it for a while; when you have gone along it for a while you will see a gāma. Go further for a while and you will see a nigama. When you have gone still further, you will see Rājagaha with its delightful parks and ponds."<sup>1</sup>

The term nigama has been variously rendered as a market town,<sup>2</sup> a town,<sup>3</sup> a township<sup>4</sup> and a district.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Majj. III p. 5

2. Miss I.B. Horner, M.L.S. II. p.30; III. p.39; B.O.D. II. p.63 n.2, she argues that the word nigama comes from nadi-gāma, which she renders as market town or little town. She feels that originally commodities were sent by water rather than by land and hence villages on rivers became the centres of trade. However, Pāṭaligāma which was situated near the river Soṇa is not called a nigama. The nigamas mentioned in the texts are not specifically said to have been near rivers. We are also not sure whether commodities were originally sent by water. We have mention of land routes in our texts, but hardly any river routes. Thus the association of the word nadi (river) with gāma to form nigama, which in any case seems etymologically very irregular, is improbable.

3. Rhys Davids, D.O.B. p.126; E.M. Hare, G.S. III. p.186

4. Mrs Rhys Davids, K.S. I. p.233

5. F.L. Woodward, G.S.I. pp.171, 216

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The Pāli dictionary derives the meaning from the Sanskrit root gama with the prefix ni, having the sense of meeting, coming together.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedic literature we have no equivalent term for nigama, which probably corresponds to the Sanskrit term mahāgrāma, which is often found in the contemporary Sūtra literature.<sup>2</sup> We feel that if we take gāmas as settlements of kin-groups or occupational and professional groups, the nigama should be taken as a gāma composed of members of various groups, more or less integrated. The nigama, therefore, should be considered as a large and complex gāma, a bigger economic unit.

That the gāma could form an integral part of the nigama is very apparent from the following case. In one of his important self-declarations the Buddha says, "Pursuing the good, seeking the supreme path of tranquility, I journeyed by stages among the Magadhas and came to Uruvela, the nigama of the army (senā-nigama). There I saw a fair grove, and a clear flowing river, delightful and easy of approach, and finally a gāma in which to beg food..... Here

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1. Rhys Davids and Stede, P. <sup>E</sup>. G. D. p. 190

2. Cf. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtra*, p. 150 ff.

I settled, for here was everything needed for effort".<sup>1</sup>  
 The gāma in army most probably refers to a settlement of a division of the army, references to which occur in the Samyutta Nikāya.<sup>2</sup> References to the traditional four-fold army are fairly frequent<sup>3</sup> and it is probable that different sections of the army settled in groups within a nigama.

The existence of the army nigama thus sets for us a pattern to further clarify the nature of the nigama, in which we should expect to find the 'living together' of more than one social group. In a nigama of the Kurus, Thullakoṭṭhika, we find both brāhmaṇas and gaḥapatis, in this case identified as brāhmaṇa-householders. This is further supported by the fact that Raṭṭhapāla, who was present in the assembly of brāhmaṇas and gaḥapatis who had gathered to hear the Buddha preach, is mentioned as 'the son of the leading family of Thullakoṭṭhika'.<sup>4</sup> His father

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1. Majj. I. pp. 166-7

2. Saṃ. IV. pp. 308-10

3. Ibid., I. pp. 83-4; Vin. II. p. 83; IV. p. 105, where the army (senā) is defined as consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, and is also sub-divided into sections.

4. Majj. II. p. 55 Thullakoṭṭhike aggakulikassa putto

was a gahapati, not a brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> In Vegalīṅga gāmanigama, the brāhmaṇa Jotipāla is a friend of Ghaṭikāra, the potter, who stays with his blind and aged parents.<sup>2</sup> In Kammāsaddhaṃ, the Buddha puts up in the firehouse of a Bhāradvāja brāhmaṇa.<sup>3</sup> In Ātuma, the barber asks his sons to go round the community and gather food by offering their services, in order that he may give a meal to the Buddha.<sup>4</sup> In Apana, Keṇiya Jaṭila has many brāhmaṇa sponsors. The Buddha is, therefore, doubtful of Keṇiya's ability to provide a meal for him and his 1200 monks.<sup>5</sup> In Khomaddusa, owing to sudden and unexpected rain, the Buddha enters the assembly hall (sabhā) while a meeting was in progress. The brāhmaṇa-gahapatis rebuke the Buddha for not knowing the laws of the assembly hall. The significant point in this passage is that this incident takes place in the nigama of the Sākya (politically) who are most likely to be the dominant group/in that nigama. And yet the brāhmaṇa-gahapatis seem to maintain their separate existence.<sup>6</sup> ~~We have dealt with this concept of~~

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1. Ibid., p.62

2. Ibid., pp.45, 52

3. Ibid., I. p.501

4. Vin. I. p.248

5. Vin. I. p.246

6. Sam. I. p.184

~~dominance of extended kin groups in certain parts of our region elsewhere in this chapter.~~<sup>1</sup> In a nigama of the Mallas, the monk Ānanda has talks with the gahapati Tapussa, the subject of the conversation being the welfare of the householders.<sup>2</sup>

The term nigama also appears in derivative nominal from negama, a body of persons connected with the nigamas. This term occurs only with reference to cities like Rājagaha and Sāvatti, and in that context nigama would indicate a ward in a city. Nigama, as we have pointed out earlier, is a gāma composed of members of various groups more or less integrated. In a city the nigama and the groups would have the same integrated relationship, but with one difference. Because of the urban complexities and the existence of the number of wards side by side, only a representative body, formed of the leading household heads (gahapati) could possibly effectively co-operate in the government of a city. Since the ruling council of a city came from nigamas, the word negama must have originated to

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1. See below p.

2. Aṅg. IV. p. 438

denote the nature of that body.

The negama had access to the king. Twice they are recorded as presenting their cases before the king. The negama of Rājagaha, through the good offices of king Bimbisāra, instructs the physician Jivaka to cure a setthi gahapati.<sup>1</sup> In the second instance, at their behest, Bimbisāra installs the courtesan Sālavatī, so that the city of Rājagaha may prosper through her fame.<sup>2</sup> As its members belonged to the well-to-do classes, it is but natural that the negama would help its class members. To the gahapati Anāthapiṇḍika they make offers of money to help him out of his difficulties when he invites the Buddha to a meal.<sup>3</sup> They help the setthi gahapati mentioned above because they think 'he is very helpful to the negama'.<sup>4</sup>

#### Pura and Nagara

The occurrence of the word pura is rare. In the

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1. Vin. I. p.273

2. Ibid., p.269

3. Vin. II. p.157

4. Ibid., I. p.273 bāhupakāro.. negamassa ca



Sutta Nipāta, a yakkha of Ālavi declares that he will wander from gāma to gāma from pura to pura.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after his enlightenment, the Buddha plans to go to the 'pura of the Kāsis' (Kāsinam puram) to beat the drum of deathlessness; it is further added that in due course he approaches Benares.<sup>2</sup> These passages are considered to be amongst the earliest ones in the Pāli Canon and it seems clear that in these pura means a city.

The word nagara, which is so commonly used for city, is said to have a non-aryan origin.<sup>3</sup> "This term in early Vedic literature is found only in the derivative adjective, used as proper name nagarin. It appears in the sense of 'town' in the Taittiriya Āranyaka and is frequently used in the later language."<sup>4</sup> As our subject does not include the origins of the word, we will confine our study to the nature of nagara in Pāli sources, where it is used to mean an inhabited place or area.

The Vinaya refers to a hypothetical case involving

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1. Su. Ni. verses 976, 991

2. Vin. I. p.8; Majj. I. p.171

3. P.E.D. S.V.

4. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I. p.432

a theft.<sup>1</sup> The one responsible for the theft, among other punishments, will be either imprisoned or banished. The imprisonment (bandheyyum) is defined as holding tight (the thief) by means of rope, fetters, and chains. He might be imprisoned within the ghara (house), nagara, gāma and nigama. The people might also appoint a guard of men to keep a watch on the thief.<sup>2</sup> However, he might be banished (pabbājeyyum) from the gāma, nigama, nagara, janapada and janapadapadesa. In the first instance the nagara means a fortified enclosure and is so used in its proper sequence; while on the other hand the territorial aspect of the nagara is apparent in the next one. This subtle distinction probably existed in the minds of the writers of the Canon and it seems to occur again in the passage where it is said that the robber, Angulimāla, depopulated gāmas, nigamas and janapadas.<sup>3</sup> The reasons for not mentioning nagaras, which imply fortifications, seem to be obvious. Angulimāla would find it difficult

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1. Vin. III. p.47

2. Ibid., bandheyyum purisguttim kareyyum

3. Majj. II. p.97

to attack places which were well fortified. In the days of political turmoil, in which 'fish ethics' in politics was the order of the day, it is not surprising that the major powers in the country should take such care for their defences.

Nagara in some cases is clearly a fortress rather than a city. One such fortress is described in the Digha Nikāya.<sup>1</sup> The king, it says, might have a frontier nagara, strong in its foundations, rampart<sup>2</sup> (pākāra) and towers, and with only one gate and a gate-keeper (dovārika).<sup>3</sup> The duties of the gate-keeper are specified. He keeps off strangers and allows known persons to enter the fort. As he patrols all round the fort he might not notice a crevice in the wall or a hole big enough for a cat to slip through. But whatever creatures of any size entered or left this fort would all enter or leave by this gate. In the Ānguttara Nikāya, the seven defences and the four kinds of supplies which make a king's frontier fortress impregnable, and the

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1. Dig. II. p.83; Āng. V. pp.194-5, nagara here is translated as a town both by Rhys Davids and Hare; see, D.O.B. II. p. and G.S. V. p. respectively.
  2. Ibid., pākāra, an encircling wall, rampart, a fence; cf. Majj. III. p.11; Saṃ. IV. p.194; Āng. IV. p.107; Vin. II. p.121; IV. p.266.
  3. Ibid., rañño paccantimam nagaram daluddāpam dālha-pākāratoṇam eka-dvaram tatra assa dovāriko.
  4. Āng. IV. p.106 ff.

corresponding qualities in a monk who is unaffected by the evil insinuations of māra, are mentioned.

In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, the monk Ānanda considers Kusināra as (1) a kuddanagaraka (2) an ujjāṅgala nagaraka or (3) a sākha nagaraka. He suggests that the Buddha should not die in Kusināra but in a mahānagara, such as Campa, Rājagaha, Sāvattī, Sāketa, Kosambi and Baneres. Rhys Davids renders these nagarakas as (1) a little wattle and daub town, (2) a town in the midst of jungle and (3) a branch township, respectively. He seems to have caught the general sense fairly enough but his rendering may be somewhat off the mark. It does not give us, for instance, any idea of the forms of architecture of the nagara represented by the Pāli words. We are inclined to believe that these words also specify three types of fortifications by which the nagara was known.

In kudda-nagaraka, the word kudda is connected with the Sanskrit root ksud, to grind, and thus suggests a powdery substance of some kind used in construction. It may, therefore, indicate a nagara with ramparts of mud bricks.

1. Dig. II. p. 147.

2. Rhys Davids, D.O.B. II. p. 161

3. The explanation of kudda at Visuddhimagga 344 which is gehabhittiya etam adhiyacabam, 'this is an epithet of a house wall, seems to support our contention; cf. Rhys Davids, D.O.B. II. 161 n. 1, where he thinks that the word kudda is perhaps kudya (mud).

Ujjaṅgala literally means hard, firm and barren soil. We prefer the explanation given in the Peta Vatthu<sup>1</sup> which says, "Ujjaṅgala is a very hard area of ground (ativiya thadda bhūmibhāga)," to its alternative meaning of 'sandy and deserted place'. Ujjaṅgala nagaraka thus would refer to the nagaras constructed on hilly terrains, as these afforded a natural protection. We might also find in such a nagara cyclopean walls. Rājagaha, the capital of Magadhā, had two distinct towns, of which the older called Giribajja was a hill fortress, while the later town at the foot of the hill was known as Rājagaha proper. The walls of Giribajja are among the oldest known stone buildings in India.<sup>2</sup>

The third in the list of nagarakas mentioned above is sākhā nagaraka. The commonest meaning of sākhā is a branch of a tree.<sup>3</sup> The sākhā nagaraka may, therefore, be a type of nagara fortified by branches of trees which were presumably cut into stakes, sharpened at the end, and

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1. Peta Vatthu. II. p.9.

2. Rhys Davids, B.I. pp.37-38.

3. Sākhā, see Vin. I. p.28; Majj. I. p.135; Aṅg. I. p.152

fastened together to construct a wall. Possibly this was the most common form of defence, owing to the ready availability of wood. That wood was widely used for fortification is clear from the following case. Dhaniya, a Buddhist monk of Rājagaha wants to build a house of wood; so he goes to the keeper of a wood-yard (dārugāhe ganakam) to beg for wood. The keeper tells him that the wood was held for king Bimbisāra, serving to repair the nagara in case of accident.<sup>1</sup> The city of Pāṭaliputta had wooden walls, the remains of which have been excavated.<sup>2</sup>

The relationship between nagara as a town and nagara as a fort or fortified enclosure is very close. In fact, the one cannot exist without the other. Thus, we find the brāhmaṇa ministers of the king of Magadha, Sunidha and Vassakāra, building a nagara (fortress) at Pāṭaligāma to hold the Vajjis in check.<sup>3</sup> However, we cannot say that the whole of Pāṭaligāma was fortified. The meaning which

1. Vin. III. p.43 devagahadāruni nagarapatīsaṅkhārikāni āpadatthāya nikkhittāni

3. Dig. II. pp.86-7 Sunidhavassakāra Magadho mahāmatto Pāṭaligāme nagaram māpeti Vajjinam paṭibāhaya; cf. Majj. III. p.9 Rājagaham patīsaṅkhārapeti ranno Pajjotassa asaṅkhamāno, distrusting King Pajjota, the king (Ajātasattu) was having Rājagaha strengthened.

2. See above p. 15 fn. 4

seems to be more probable is that a fortress was built near Pāṭaligāma and in course of time, as mentioned in the text, that gāma became an agga-nagara.<sup>1</sup> Pataligama originally seems to have been a settlement of traders and a small market.<sup>2</sup> Since it was between Vesali and Rajagaha, it also had an important strategic position. It was on the confluence of the Ganges and Sona, one of its (Ganges) tributaries. In this passage, therefore, we seem to have the key to the understanding of a nagara as a city. This passage would indicate that in the beginning there is a gāma, a nagara comes to be built near it and, because of economic and other factors, the Nagara is extended and grows into a city.

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1. Dig. II. pp. 86-86
  2. The text explains this by the phrase pāṭaliputta putabhedanam. For the detailed account see, D.P.P.N. sv.

We may recall that Ānanda identifies Kusināra as a nagaraka.<sup>1</sup> The word nagaraka is used as diminutive of nagara, and in this context it would mean a small town. The word nagaraka does not occur elsewhere in the texts, and its occurrence with the word mahā-nagara indicates that the former was used only to bring about a sharp contrast between Kusināra and other cities such as Sāvatti, Rājagaha, Kosambi etc. Kusināra seems to have been a town with a fort, and it is likely that surrounding gāmas and nigamas would be left uncovered by the walls of the fort. It is more likely that ruling families, in the case of Kusināra the Mallas, would stay in the area covered by the walls of the fort, to guard themselves from external enemies; to protect themselves from their own subjects, and to maintain a social distance from the other groups. We may discern some of the points made above from the following instance:<sup>2</sup>

Just before his death the Buddha comes to Kusināra and stays in Upavattana, the sāla-grove of the Mallas. The Buddha instructs Ānanda to go and

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1. See above p. 58

2. Dig. II. p. 147 ff.



tell the Mallas of Kusināra the news of his sickness. Since the Buddha was staying in their land (gāma-khetta), the Buddha intentionally does this so that the Mallas should not feel hurt that they were not informed of the news of the Buddha's forthcoming death. The Mallas, on hearing the news from Ānanda, go to meet the Buddha.

The Mallas come with their sons, daughters-in-law, wives and entourage, forming their family circles (kula-parivatta). Ānanda thinks it useless to introduce the Mallas individually as that would have taken considerable time and instead he introduces them to the Buddha by family groups, each led by its head.

After the Buddha's death, the monk Anuruddha sends Ānanda to announce the news. Ānanda starts in the morning (pubbana-samayam) and arrives in Kusināra just before midday (atta-dutiyo).

The Mallas mourn the Buddha's death, decorate his body and pay homage to it. On the seventh day they think of removing the body for cremation. They propose to take it with proper ceremony to the southern part of the nagara and to cremate it outside the nagara facing the

south.<sup>1</sup> However, they cannot lift the body as a devatā intended differently. According to the wishes of <sup>the</sup> devatā, they carry the body towards the north of the nagara, enter the nagara through the north gate, take the body to the centre of the nagara, leave by the eastern gate, and finally cremate the body towards the east of the nagara near the Mukutabandhana, the ancestral shrine of the Mallas.<sup>2</sup>

The Mallas of Kusināra preserve the funerary deposits and elaborately put them in their Santhāgāra. The other ruling powers of the region, when they hear the news of the Buddha's death in Kusināra, claim the remains of the body. The Mallas of Kusināra claim the body on the ground that the Buddha died in the area of their settlement (gāma-khetta). It is clear from this that in the area known as Kusināra there was a fort (nagara) and surrounding areas which were distinct from the fort. The town of Kusināra covered both of these. The Mallas seem to have lived in the fort with their families. The area of the town as a

1. Ibid., p.160 dakkhinena dakkhinam nagarassa haritvā bhāharena bhāharam dakkhinato nagarassa Bhagavato sarīram jhāpessamīti
2. Ibid., uttarena uttaram nagarassa haritvā, uttarena dvārena nagaram pavesetvā, majjhena nikkhamitvā puratthimato nagarassa Mukuta-bandhanam nama Mallanam cetiyam, ettha Bhagavato sarīram jhāpessamati.

whole seems to have been considerable. Ānanda took a few hours to cover the distance between that part of Kusināra where the Buddha's body lay dead and the residence of the Mallas, their nagara. The account of the funeral procession is interesting. At first the Mallas seem to show reluctance to carry the body of the Buddha into the nagara, the rights of which they probably reserved for their own kinsmen. A devatā had to intervene to take the body of the Buddha into the nagara and to give it a place of honour by installing the body near the Mallan shrine, outside the city. This clearly shows that the Mallas held the nagara as their exclusive enclosure.

#### Nagara and Mahānagaras

The big cities are full of people and are great sources of wealth. In Ānanda's list of mahā-nagaras, we find six such cities mentioned - Sāvatti, Rājagaha, ~~Sāvatthi~~, Sāketa, Kosambi and Benares. Ānanda seems to stress the importance of their wealth as he feels that the rich gahapatis, brāhmaṇas and khattiyas in these cities will do proper homage to the Buddha's body.<sup>1</sup> We find other cities such as

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1. Dīg. II. p. 147

Kapilavatthu and Vesāli which, although they do not come under the category of mahā-nagara, are sufficiently important. Vesāli is prosperous and flourishing, full of people and well off for food. It contains 7707 pāsādas, 7707 kuṭāgaras, 7707 parks and 7707 lotus ponds. In it dwells the courtesan Ambapāli, beautiful and charming. She is clever at dancing, singing and lute playing, and much visited by the people, and through her Vesāli acquires fame.<sup>1</sup> Kapilavatthu, too, is rich and contains food and people in plenty. It is crowded with elephants, horses, chariots, carts and men, all swaying and rolling along.<sup>2</sup> The ideal city of Kusāvati, as presented by the Buddha, is more or less the same as Vesāli and Kapilavatthu. It is full of rattle and din of elephants, horses, chariots, various musical instruments such as trumpet (bheri) Vīṇā, and mutiṅga and singing. In addition to these noises, we find there frivolity and merrymaking, with much eating and drinking.<sup>3</sup>

~~In the Vinaya, Vesāli is mentioned together with other cities~~

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1. Vin. I. p.268

2. Saṃ. V. p.369

3. Dig. II. p.147

(Campā, Rājagaha, Bārāṇasi, Kosambi and Sāgata) where people might go in time of famine.<sup>1</sup> Sudinna the monk goes to his relatives in Vesāli as he is sure that his nātis in the city will give him food, which they do.<sup>2</sup> Vesāli is also known for its delightful shrines (cetiya) which were apparently popular pilgrimage centres for the people of Vajjis.<sup>3</sup>

The cities are characterised by affluence. To cure a disease of his head, setthi gahapati of Rājagaha has to give 100,000 (coins) to the king and as many to the physician Jīvaka.<sup>4</sup> Jīvaka gets in all 16,000 kahāpanas and a few other gifts from the setthi gahapati of Sāketa for curing his wife.<sup>5</sup> The setthi gahapati of Benares gives 16,000 kahāpanas to Jīvaka for curing his son.<sup>6</sup> Soṇa Kolivisa of Campā renounces ' 80 cartloads of gold (asītasakataṅga hiraṇṇam) and a herd of seven elephants ' and joins a monastery.<sup>7</sup> In Sāvatti we

- 1. Vin.
- 2. Vin. III. p.15
- 3. Dig. II. pp.102-3; cf. Ibid., p.75, where the Buddha urges the Vajjis to regularly pay homage to the Vajji cetiyas.
- 4. Vin. I. p.275
- 5. Ibid., P.276
- 6. Vin. I. p.272
- 7. Ibid., p.185

find khattiya, brāhmaṇa and gahapati mahāsālas, men of authority, owning great treasure, great wealth, immense aids to enjoyment, immense supplies of goods and corn, deliberately telling lies through and because of and in connection with their wordly desires.<sup>1</sup> In Sāvatti the setthi gahapati dies intestate, leaving behind him gold, worth 100,000 (kahāpanas), to nothing silver.<sup>2</sup> In all these cases the figures may be exaggerated but they imply the existence of extensive cash economy and the comparatively greater affluence of the big cities with respect to other inhabited places.

There seems to be a tendency amongst the cities to vie with each other in respect of wealth and prestige. Seeing the prosperity of Vesāli because of her courtesan Ambapāli, the toast of society, the negama (urban council) of Rājagaha appoint Silāvati as their chief courtesan. While Ambapāli charged fifty (kahāpanas) this Silāvati took a hundred from her customers.

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1. Saṃ. I. p.75

2. Ibid.; p.61

3. Vin. I. pp.268-9

In the cities, the examples of people bestowing lavish gifts on the Buddhist Saṅgha and other religious orders are abundant. We give below but a few. The setthi gahapati of Rājagaha gives a meal to the Buddha, whereas his brother-in-law from Sāvatti, Anāthpindika gives the entire Jeta-vana.<sup>1</sup> The setthi gahapati of Rājagaha presents sixty buildings for the monastery to the Buddhist Saṅgha.<sup>2</sup> Even a poor worker in Vesāli has the ability to give a meal to the Buddha and his Saṅgha, however frugal it might have been.<sup>3</sup> In the city of Sāvatti we find guilds (pūga) instituting a regular supply of food to the monks and nuns.<sup>4</sup> Cities were thus undoubtedly the great store-rooms of wealth, which attracted people of diverse interests, habits and origins.

The inhabitants of the cities seem to stay in quarters or wards (nigama), which they seem to have based on their own nigamas whence they originally came. We know

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1. Vin. II. pp. 154-59

2. Ibid., p. 147

3. Ibid., pp. 75-76

4. Ibid.

very little about the relationship which existed between the people living in the city and in the gāmas and nigamas outside it. Kinship ties must have played a prominent part in deciding these relationships, but evidence to substantiate our hypothesis is lacking. At best we have a few hints which suggest this. Thus the monk Sudinna goes to his ñātis in case of difficulty. The ñātis fulfil their obligations by giving him food<sup>1</sup>. A nun who is in Sāvatti sees a ñātaka from her gāma.<sup>2</sup> Another nun from Sāvatti quarrels with other nuns and goes to her ñātikulāni in a gāma.<sup>3</sup>

It is significant that setthi gahapatis seem to be found only in the cities. Gahapatis are the household heads and well-to-do people. In the cities these household heads, or the more wealthy amongst them would be likely to categorise themselves into a class, or rather would be so categorised by the people. Thus the setthi gahapatis would mean the leading "middle class" gahapatis as distinct from the brāhmanas by birth and the members of ruling aristocracy. Nowhere in the

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1. Vin. III. p. 15

2. Vin. IV. p. 268

3. See ~~p.~~ Vin. IV. 227-228



text we are told of the profession of the setṭhi gahapatis, although they are generally taken as merchants. They are certainly wealthy enough to be able to afford costly gifts and fees.<sup>1</sup>

Janapada

Janapada is a term for a region comprising gāma, nigama and nagara and is often combined with these smaller territorial units. An often quoted simile of the Buddha runs as follows:

A man sees a beautiful woman of the janapada (janapada kalyāṇī).<sup>2</sup> He wants and desires her.

Another man might say to the first man, 'my good fellow, do you know anything about her?', and ask various questions. The class of the janapada kalyāṇī is enquired about, whether she belonged to the khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa or sudda vanna; her name and gotta; about her complexion, whether she is dark (kāli), fair (sama) or golden (maṅgura); and the last query is to what gāma, nigama or

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1. See p.

2. Dig. I. p.93; Majj. II. p.33; cf. A.III.90 where certain gāma and nigama are known for lotus-like beauty.

nagara she belonged.

The order in which these questions about the janapada kalyāni are asked is interesting. It seems to reflect the whole structure of the janapada which should be understood as a socio-cultural region, a structural entity consisting of various sub-units which start from kula, and end with residential units of gāma, nigama and nagara. In the Samyutta Nikāya<sup>1</sup> it is said that people (bahujāna) flock together, crying 'janapada kalyāni janapada kalyāni.' Then that girl, displaying all her charms, dances and sings for them. Still more people might gather and bestow showers of praise upon her saying, 'The janapada kalyāni sings and dances.' This passage incidentally betrays the sense of unity which lies behind the use of the term janapada. This relation which existed between the janapada and the people is abundantly seen in the passage in the Dīgha Nikāya, where the brāhmaṇa chaplain of the legendary king Mahāvijita counsels the king on doing good to people:<sup>2</sup>

The king's janapada is harassed and oppressed.

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1. Sam. V. pp. 169-70

2. Dīg. I. p. 135; Translation after Rhys Davids, D.O.B. p. 114.

The gāmas, nigamas and nagaras are being destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Roads are unsafe. So long as the janapada is in this state, it is most unwise to levy fresh taxes.

Even if the king manages to stop the scoundrel's game by degradation, banishment and fines, and by putting some to death, their licence cannot be satisfactorily put a stop to so. The remnant left unpunished would still go on harassing the janapada. The king should supply the farmers and cattlekeepers with seeds and fodder, should give capital to the trader and pay wages and food to the employees in his service. Then these men, following each his own business, will no longer harass the janapada; the king's revenue will go up, the janapada will be quiet and at peace; and the people pleased with one another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors."

This is an idealized picture of a happy janapada. The term here is again used as a socio-economic unit in which the

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1. Rhys Davids, D.O.B. p. 114 translates here, that the villages, towns and cities are pillaged by the decoits, but there is no such indication in the text which reads gāma ghātā pi nigama ghātāpi nagara ghātāpi dissanti. Probably the people living in it were harassed by the king and his officers.

prosperity of the janapada depended on the economic welfare of the people. The usual components of the janapada, gāma, nigama and nagara, are also present.

Sometimes janapada denoted an undefined and extensive region. We find a great caravan of a thousand carts going from the eastern region (puratthimā janapada) into the western region (pacchimam janapadam). While passing through the jungle, the leaders of the caravan encounter a yakkhā in the guise of a traveller. The leaders ask him, 'from where do you come?' he replies, 'from such and such janapada;' then, 'where are you going?' asks the yakkha, 'to such and such a janapada,' replies the leader. In the conversation between the caravan leaders and the yakkha the names of the janapada are not given, as this simile was meant to be a point of general illustration. But obviously both of them must have known the broad divisions of the region, and what they would be interested in asking each other would be the exact names of the janapada. Thus a two-fold meaning of janapada is apparent here. In the first part of the story it means a very wide and vague region, while in the conversation it implies a smaller specified one. In the

second instance, a trustworthy informer of a king may tell him of a janapada, rich, full of gold, women, food etc., and which may be situated to the east, west, north or south or even overseas (pārasamuddato). The king would like to conquer and subjugate that janapada (abhivijaya ajjhāvasceyyāma).

On account of regional variations in social habits, the Buddha is said to have relaxed some of the rules which he had established for the monks in the majjhima janapada and which were difficult to apply in other regions. The peculiarities of the region Avantidakkhināpatha are noticed by the monk Mahākaccāna, himself a resident of Avanti. He even suggests the changes the Buddha should introduce in his Vinaya laws for that region. The following are his arguments:

(1) In the Avantidakkhināpatha the surface-soil is dark, hard, trampled by the hooves of cattle, and the Buddha should allow sandals with many linings in this region. (2) Since people there attach importance to bathing and to purification by water, the Buddha should allow constant bathing. (3) In the Avantidakkhināpatha coverings of sheep-hide, goat-hide and deer-hide are used, whereas in the majjhima janapada

coverings of eragu, moragu majjhāru and jantu are used.

The Buddha should allow hide covering (4) The other changes deal with the Vinaya procedure which are not important at this juncture.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha conceded to these requests of the monk Mahākaccāna.

Admittedly, the term majjhima janapada has been used by the monk in the sense of an extensive region. This looseness in the application of the term is to be seen in the passage when the Vinaya writers try to define the extent and the limits of the majjhima janapada. The only way they could do so was by pointing out what seems to be the rough sign posts which demarcated the boundary lines of the majjhima janapada. The boundaries of the majjhima janapada are

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1. Vin. I. pp.195-96
  2. Vin. I. p.197. Attempts have been made to identify these places mentioned as boundaries of majjhima janapada, but as yet no satisfactory explanation is available. It is noteworthy that the Buddha was halting at Sāvatti when he defined these boundaries. In the Jain Canonical literature, (Bṛhatkalpasūtra 1.50 quoted in J.C. Jain, Social conditions in the Jain Canonical literature p.250) Mahāvira when he was at Sāketa gave the following instructions to his disciples: 'The monks or nuns may wander towards to the east as far as Aṅga-Magadda, towards the south as far as Kosambi, towards the west as far as Thūna and towards the north as far as Kuṇāla (uttara Kosala).' It is interesting to note that Kaṅgaṅala was situated towards the east of Campā, the capital of Aṅga; see Rhys Davids J.R.A.S. 1904. Usiradhvaja mountain slopes are north of Kaṅkhal, see B.C. Law Early Geography of India, p.34. Kankhal was in the Himalayan region, so, too, uttara Kosala. Thūna seems to be identical with brāhmaṇa gama, Thūna.

described as follows:

"Kajāṅgala nigama is in the eastern direction, beyond it is Mahāsālā, further than that are outlying regions (paccantimā janapadā), on this side are the middle (orato majjhe). The river Sallavatī is in the south-eastern direction further..... Setakaṇṇika nigama is in the southern direction further..... Thūna, the brāhmaṇa gāma is in the western direction.... The mountain slopes called Usiraddhaja is in the northern direction further....."

This definition carries the implication that Majjhima janapada was more or less culturally homogeneous region vis-à-vis the others. Majjhima janapada is thus contrasted with outlying regions (paccantimā janapadā) which also apparently included the region known as Avantidakkhināpatha.<sup>1</sup> The customs of different regions are noted, only to be criticised or commented upon. Thus we are told that in the dakkhina janapada, they have a ceremony called dhovana celebrated by feasting, dancing and singing. Buddha, however, calls this custom of dhovana

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1. The term Dakkhināpatha occurs in Sutta Nipāta verses 1011, where it is used as descriptive of a settlement known as Assaka. Together with Avanti, Assaka is to be found in the list of 16 great janapadas B.C. Law (Geography of early Buddhism, p. 69.) identifies it as the whole tract of land lying to the north of the river Godavari and to the south of the Ganges.

unaryan, vulgar and uncondusive to the attainment of nibbāna.<sup>1</sup> In another instance the Buddha refers to an ancient custom in a certain janapada where people throw dust, cowdung and ashes on newly wed girls without, however, knowing the import of such an action.<sup>2</sup> By way of illustration the ignorance of the people of outlying regions (paccantimā janapadā) is brought forward; thus:<sup>3</sup>

A conch blower (saṅkha-dhamo), once goes to the outlying janapada. Early in the morning he goes to the gāma of that janapada and blows his conch. The people of that gāma apparently have never heard this instrument being played before, and when they listen to it they are charmed. They all gather and go to the conch blower who, in the meantime, has placed the instrument down and is sitting on the ground. The people experiment with the instrument, hoping that it will blow of its own accord, without realizing the fact that it is the blower who is responsible for creating the music. "How silly are these people born in the outlying janapada", remarks

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1. Ang. V. p.216
  2. Dīg. III. p.89
  3. Ibid., II. p.337



the conch blower, and while they look on, he takes his conch, blows it thrice and goes away.

This broad regional difference is manifested in the field of social interaction. In the Majjhima Nikāya, the brāhmaṇa Assalāyana advocates the claims to superiority made by the brāhmaṇas as regards their birth and status. Denying this claim the Buddha tells Assalāyana how in Yona and Kamboja and other outlying regions there are two vannas, the master and the slave, and that it is possible for a master to become a slave or for a slave to become a master.<sup>1</sup>

The unity of a region is expressed in terms of the stubbornness of its people in keeping to their regional dialects. Thus the Buddha admonishes the monks saying that one should not deviate from the common dialect of the region. In different janapadas they know different words for a bowl. They call it pati, patta, vittha, sarāva, dhāropa, pona and pisāla. A person knowing only one of these words will imagine that this only is right and all others are wrong.<sup>2</sup>

We see this spirit of preservation of the unity of the janapada projected elsewhere and sometimes the

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1. Majj. II. p.149

2. Ibid., pp.134-5

differences in the nearby region within a broader cultural area are indicated and these are worthy of consideration. At Devadaha, a nigama of the Sakyas, many Bhikkhus bound for the western land (pacchābhūmagāmikā) approach the Buddha and express their intention to go west (pacchābhūmaṃ janapadam) and make their residence there.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha asks them to consult Sāriputta over this matter. Sāriputta advises them saying, "Now friends, there are people who question a bhikkhu who goes from one place to another (nāvēverajjagatam). Wise men may enquire of him, saying, 'what doctrine does your teacher declare, what does he announce?' ". He then gives them a discourse on the Buddha's doctrine. That the Bhikkhus were liable to questioning by others about their teacher and the particular creed which they professed makes it clear that the western region was new to some of them and they had to face unforeseen difficulties. Pacchābhūmaka janapada seems to have been used in a very general way to mean any place lying west of Sakyan territory. Similarly we find pacchābhūmaka brāhmaṇas in Nālanda.<sup>3</sup> Whatever may be the origin of these pacchābhūmaka brāhmaṇas,

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1. Saṃ. III. pp. 5-6

2. Saṃ. IV. p. 312

they are considered different from the indigenous people of Nālandā. In modern India, especially in the north, the difference of "east" and "west" is fairly common. A person living on the upper Ganges above Prayāga will call a person living across the river, a man coming from the west and in doing so he will claim superior cultural traits. Of course, this feeling is usually reciprocal.

We have shown that the janapada is a loosely used term which denotes a territory or a region. The term jana is used in the sense of individuals or a group of individuals (bahujana), whereas janapada refers, among its other varied uses, to a people (in fact, the term jānapada means the people of a janapada) that is, in our period to an extended kin-group or a socio-cultural group, presumably with a territory of their own, though not exclusively held by them. Thus any geographical area may comprise the territories of the two jānapadas interspersed. Such a situation is often to be found even in modern times, where the same geographical areas may be occupied by more than one tribe, all of them distinct social entities and having cultural contacts with each other. The relationships of these extended kin-groups will be more clearly understood after further examination of the data.

Janapada and extended kin-groups

In discussing various groups in relation to the janapada we shall use the term 'extended kin-group' for them in preference to other terms like 'tribe' or 'clan', which have been generally used hitherto. At this stage we may also clarify certain notions regarding tribal and caste society. As today, no doubt, tribes existed in this period. By tribal organisation we mean a society which is on the whole not based on occupational division. Caste society, on the contrary, is based on occupational division, though a society based on extended kin-groups need not necessarily develop all the features of caste. As we intend to show, the society of these books is not tribal, but is one in which an extensive division of labour has taken place, including the growth of trade.<sup>1</sup> Hence in describing kinship and allied features of this society we would prefer not to use terms like 'clan', as they are often used in conjunction with tribal organisation. In their place we shall use the following terms: Family, extended family, lineage, kin-group, and extended kin-group.

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1. See below pp. 29ff. - 'chapter V'

Extended kin-groups, for our purposes have legendary or real common descent, a name and a common social structure exclusive to them, encompassing a definite group of people, common customs, folkways, mythology etc., and a common territory. The individual identifies himself with the group, while the group as a whole juxtaposes itself against other such groups within the larger social structure. As pointed out already, the same territory may contain two co-existing groups who maintain their separate identity by emphasizing their internal differences, though they have much in common otherwise. This will be made clear in the following pages.

We will first consider the 16 mahājanapadas, which are as follows: Anga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vaṃsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja.<sup>1</sup> This list has been interpreted by most scholars as indicating the political subdivisions of Buddhist India.<sup>2</sup> But this is of minor significance to the

1. Ang, I. p. 213

2. see Raychoudhary, Political History of India, pp. 95 ff.

present study, where the significance of the janapada as socio-cultural regions is more important. Undue emphasis has been laid on the interpretation of janapadas as political entities, and this has led to much confusion resulting from stretching the term's meaning to convey a wide range of political implications. We are inclined to believe that a socio-cultural interpretation of the word is more in accordance with the ideas of its original users. Rhys Davids feels that the main idea in the minds of those who drew up or used the above list was still "tribal and not geographical".<sup>1</sup> If this was so, it is difficult to explain the absence of the several important groups, such as Sakyas, Licchavis, Kālāmas and Koliyas who were distinct social entities and who had separate territories of their own. The list of the 16 janapadas most probably refers to broad geographical divisions, each occupied by one or more ethnic group. In this respect the order in which the sixteen are mentioned is noteworthy. In the Janavasabha Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya,<sup>2</sup> the Buddha spoke of

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1. Rhys Davids, BI. p.23

2. Dīg. II. pp.200-202

the rebirths of his followers who had died in the janapada round about,<sup>1</sup> mentioning the regions of Kāsi-Kosala, Vajji-Mallas, Ceti-Vaṃsa, Kurupañcāla and Maccha-Surasenā. But he did not mention those followers living in Anga-Magadha. Ānānda realized that there were also Magadhan followers (Māgadhaka paricāraka) who had died with profound faith in the Buddha's doctrine, and he thought, "One might think Anga-Magadha devoid of Māgadhan followers".<sup>2</sup> Two things appear from this passage: firstly the regions are mentioned in pairs, and, secondly, Anga-Magadha denotes one territory and the Magadhans are here mentioned as belonging to the Anga-Magadha territory. In another case, at the time of the great sacrifice of Uruvela Kassapa the jatila, a vast concourse of Angas and Magadhas wished to attend it with plentiful provisions of food. Kassapa knew this and thought, "My great sacrifice is at hand and a vast concourse of Angas and Magadhas wish to attend it; if on that occasion the Buddha should perform a marvel of power before the people (mahājanakāya) his gain and honour would increase".<sup>3</sup> The two territories are

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Dig. 1. Ibid., 200 parito parito janapadesu

2. Ibid., 202

3. Vin. I. p.27

thus considered as one region and the people of these are proposing to engage themselves in common religious activity. In the light of this and the other passage mentioned above, the pairing of janapads seems to have existed in the minds of the authors.

We may now consider some of the janapadas mentioned in the texts, including some of those referred in the list of 16 mahājanapadas. As a choice has to be made in the selection of the janapadas for treatment, we shall mention only those of which we have sufficient knowledge and which furnish us with further evidence of the characteristics of a janapada.

Magadha.<sup>1</sup>

We are inclined to believe that nowhere in the texts does the word Magadha specifically refer to an extended kin-group, although it may have been so used in the early Vedic period.<sup>2</sup> The implication of its being a territory

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1. Rhys Davids, CHI. I. p.182, gives as probable boundaries of Magadha the Ganges to the north, the Son to the west, the country of Aṅga to the east and the dense forest reaching the plateau of Chota Nagpur to the south; B.C.Law, TAI. p.198 says that Magadha corresponded at the time of the Buddha to the modern district of Patna but with the addition of northern half of the modern district of Gaya. In recent times the inhabitants of this region called it Maga, obviously derived from Magadha.

2. B.C.Law, TAI. p.194, cf.



seems clear in the text. Thus in the Vinaya Mahavaggā, the king of Magadha, Bimbisāra, together with a vast number of brāhmaṇas and gahapatis of Magadha goes to see the Buddha, who had at that time recently arrived at Rājagaha.<sup>1</sup> Many distinguished sons of the families of Magadha (Magadhika Kulaputta) led a holy life with the Buddha. Because of this, the people (manussā) become angry and disturbed and accuse the Buddha of breaking of the family (kulapacchedaya).<sup>2</sup>

It is the stock phrase at many places that so and so was journeying among the Magadhas (Magadhesu), and this apparently suggests only that he was staying or journeying in the territory of Magadha. Thus in references to the Buddha's places of residence in Magadha, specific details of their location are often given together with the general location "among the Magadha" (Magadhesu),<sup>3</sup> which seems here evidently to be thought of purely geographically. The expression of the name of regions and districts in the plural may also be

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1. Vin. I. pp.35-36

2. Ibid., p.43

3. Dig. I. p.111

found in Indian literature of much later date.

Magadha, with its capital Rājagaha, and kings Bimbisara and Ajatasattu, sometimes was known as a mahājanapada.<sup>1</sup> The same was the case with Anga. But in some passages Magadha and Anga taken together seem to comprise a single mahājanapada.

Anga.<sup>2</sup>

We find the Buddha traversing the territory of Anga which was politically affiliated with Magadha. Two nigamas of Anga are mentioned, Assapura<sup>3</sup> and Āpaṇa.<sup>4</sup> Āpaṇa is mentioned twice; in the first instance it is stated simply to belong to the territory of Anga, while in the next it seems that the texts more accurately mention it as in the territory north of Anga (Anguttarapesu). The capital of Anga was Campā and the residents of this city were known as Campeyyakas.<sup>6</sup> A Bhaddiya nagara is mentioned, which seems to lie in between

1. Sam. I. p.172

2. B.C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 6-7

3. D.P.P.N. Sv.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. B.C. Law, loc. cit.

the territory of Anga and Magadha. Bimbisāra once referred to it as being in the "land conquered by us (vijite)".<sup>1</sup> However, there seems to be no indication as to whether it belonged to the territory of Magadha or Anga, as the name of this nagara occurs without the usual Pāli prefixes, such as Angesu and Magadhesu. It seems most likely that the area occupied by that nagara was common both to Angas and Magadhas, a cross-cultural zone brought about by the intermingling of the people of two distinct geographical areas; that presumably is the reason for the disconnection of the words suggesting the geographical entities.

Kosala.<sup>2</sup>

We find much more information about this janapada than any other. Sāvatti, the capital city of Kosala, was the centre of activity of Buddhism. Woodward calculated all

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1. Vin. I. p. 240

2. The northern frontier of Kosala included hills of Himalayas, the present day Nepal. Its southern boundary was the Ganages and its eastern boundary was in the eastern limit of the Sakyas territory, see CHI. I. pp.178, 190

the references of Sāvatti in the four Nikāyas, and he states that 871 suttas are said to have been preached in Sāvatti, of which 844 were delivered in the Jetavana, 23 in the Pubbārāma, and four in the suburbs. These suttas are made of six in the Dīgha, 75 in the Majjhima, 736 in the Samyutta and 54 in the Āṅguttara.<sup>1</sup> This clearly shows the familiarity with which the authors of the texts viewed Sāvatti and its surrounding regions. The king Pasenadi of Kosala was more widely known than his contemporary kings, Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Pajjota and Udena. The whole of the third Samyutta, consisting of 25 anecdotes each with a moral bias, is devoted to the king of Kosala, and there are about an equal number of references to him in other parts of the literature.<sup>2</sup> In contrast there are in the first four Nikāyas only six suttas which mention the Magadhan king Bimbisāra, and Vidūḍabha of the commentaries is barely mentioned in the

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1. Woodward, KS, V. xviii; Mrs. Rhys Davids, (quoted in DPPN. loc. cit.) conjectures from this that either the Buddha 'mainly resided there or else ~~centre~~ of that Sāvatti was the earliest/for the collection and preservation of the talks. The first alternative is referred to by Malalasekera, DPPN. II. p.1127.

2. Rhys Davids, BI. p.8.

Nikāyas.<sup>1</sup> The king of the Vacchas, Rājā Udena is mentioned twice,<sup>2</sup> and so also is king Pajjota of Avanti.<sup>3</sup> This again testifies to the fact that Kosala, with its capital and king, were favourite topics among the Buddhist writers.

In spite of this familiarity with the Kosalan region, the word Kosala does not seem to refer to a specific extended kin-group. The Kosala region abounded in brāhmaṇa gāmas alongside which were few nigamas. We have mentioned earlier the Kosalan brāhmaṇa gāmas.<sup>4</sup> Among the nigamas mentioned are: Daṇḍakappa, Caṇḍakappa, Paḍadhā and Nālakapāna.<sup>5</sup> Sāketa, which was regarded as one of the six great cities of India, the others being Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatti, Kosambi and Benares, was in the Kosala. King Pasenadi used to visit this city, which was a day's journey from Sāvatti, and which seems to have been his second capital.<sup>6</sup> Ayojjha, another Kosalan city, is mentioned only once.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Jennings, Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha, p.262 n.4.

2. Majj. II. pp.110,127.

3. Vin. I. p.276 and Majj. III. p.7.

4. See above p. 43

5. D. P. P. N. sv

6. Law, op. cit., p.5

7. Sam. III, p. 140

Kosala and Sākya:

It is noteworthy that we find in the Kosala janapada the nigamas and the nagara of the Sākya. In the Anguttara Nikāya the Buddha while journeying in the Kosala region came to Kapilavatthu the capital of the Sākya. The other instance tells us about the Buddha's stay in Kapilavatthu. In the first instance the Buddha is journeying (cārikam caramāno), not staying (viharāti), in the Kosala region. Thus only a geographical sense of the word is implied, in that it gives a notion of a broad regional division. Staying in Kapilavatthu, however, implies a temporary residence there. In this context, therefore, although the territory occupied by the Sākya came under the broad classificatory region known as Kosala, this difference in presentation of the words seems to bring out the vagueness of the term. This again is made clear in a passage in the Sutta Nipāta.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha tells of his Sākyan origin to King Bimbisāra of Magadha in his capital Rājagaha. It appears from the passage that he probably knew Kosala region, but was, perhaps, unaware of the independent existence of the Sākya. The Buddha says

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1. Sutta Nipāta, pp.15-19

to the king: "There is a people dwelling just by the side of the Himalayas, in the Kosala region (Kosalesu), endowed with wealth and power. Their gotta is Ādicca and they are known as Sākyans by birth (jātiya). From that group (kula) I have accepted monkhood, forsaking all sensual pleasures". The general way by which the term Kosala is used here to help to establish the identity of the Buddha and his extended kin-group is noteworthy. In the Majjhima,<sup>1</sup> the Buddha stayed in the territory of the Sakkas in a nigama of the Sākyans called Medālumpa. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, met him there. Pasenadi gave many reasons why he showed signs of respect and affection to the Buddha, one being that the Buddha like himself was a khattiya and a Kosalan. It is most likely that the Kosala king is referring to Kosala in the sense of its being a broad regional entity to which the Buddha and he, himself, belonged. The use of the word Khattiya is also significant here, for Khattiya is also a general term, a conceptual grouping wherein all the ruling groups could be accommodated without their losing identity. Presumably, in the same broad sense the Kosalan region was understood and used, and it does

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1. Majj. II. pp.18 ff.

not necessarily allude to the political dominance of the Kosala King.

From the above passages it seems clear that the Sākyans were distinctly identified as an extended kin-group. Their nagara Kapilavatthu is always mentioned along with their group's name. We also find references to their nigamas, such as Naṅgaraka, Medaḷumpa, Devadaha Khomadussa<sup>1</sup> etc. All these nigamas are specified as belonging to the Sākyans (akkānaṃ) and also being in the territory of Sākyans (Sakkesu). But unlike the Kosala and Aṅga nigamas who are also mentioned similarly in the text, these nigamas seem to allude to the Sākyan dominance in these nigamas.

Malla.

The region known as Malla, which is included in the list of mahājanapadas, was situated to the east and south east of the territory of the Sakkas.<sup>2</sup> An extensive belt of the Himālayan forest, Mahāvana, covered some portions of Vajji and Malla territory. The Mallas are at some places addressed as Vāsetthas, their gotta name.<sup>3</sup> Malalasekera wrongly thought

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1. D.P.P.N. 54.  
2. cf. Rhys Davids, Psalms of the Brethren. p.10 n. where he refers to the account of Chinese chroniclers who locate the region on the mountain slopes eastward of the Sākyan region; BI. p.26.  
3. Dig. II. pp.47, 159; III. p.207.



that the Licchavis were also referred to by this gotta.<sup>1</sup> Later on, however, both the Mallas and the Licchavis are classified as Vrātya kaṣṭriyas.<sup>2</sup> Kosambi maintains that they were described as mixed castes by Manu because they did not follow brāhmanic rituals and this is proved by their not performing Vedic sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, we have indications that the brāhmanas were active in this region in the Buddha's time. The funeral rites of the Buddha performed by the Mallan chiefs suggest the brāhmanic ritual described in the Kalpa Sūtra literature.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the Mallas were called Vāsetṭhas may prove the increasing influence of the brāhmanas over this group. Manu seems to treat these extended kin-groups as castes, which suggests that, in course of time, these extended kin-groups were slowly ossified into castes. It is quite likely that the leading members of the Licchavis and Mallas in the time of the composition of the Manusmṛti were the followers of non-brāhmanic sects and had perhaps forsaken the brāhmanic rituals.

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1. Malalasekera, DBPN. II. p.454; He does not substantiate his statement with proofs.

2. Manu X.22

3. D.D. Kosambi. Introduction to Indian History, p.147

4. cf. Kane, History of Dharmasāstra IM. p.235.

Hence, though they were already under the influence of the brāhmaṇas at the time of the Buddha, they had become Verātyas some centuries later, when Manu was composed. The evidence of the latter period is not necessarily true of the former.<sup>1</sup>

We find the Mallas in two centres, at Pāvā and Kusināra. Pāvā, is specified as a nagara of the Mallas (Pāvā nāma Mallānam nagaram),<sup>2</sup> whereas Kusināra is mentioned without such specification.<sup>3</sup> We do not know about the relationships of these two groups, whether they belonged to the same stock of the Mallas or not. In this context the remarks made by the Mallas of Pāvā when claiming the relics of the Buddha, are worthy of notice. They claimed them on the ground that they were khattiyas and the Buddha was a khattiya. The Kusināra Mallas claimed them on the ground that the Buddha died on their land (gāma khetta).<sup>4</sup> Thus while claiming the relics, the Mallas of Pāvā do not seem to make use of any ties, kinship or otherwise, with the Mallas of Kusināra.

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1. Bühler, Laws of Manu, SBE, Introduction, p.CXVII, advocated that the recension of Manus code was made during the period 200 B.C. - 200 A.D.

2. Dig. III. p.207

3. Ang. V. p.70; II. p.79

4. Dig. II. p.165

Vajji

It has been maintained that the Vajjis included eight confederate clans of which the Licchavis and the Videhans were the most powerful.<sup>1</sup> The relation of the Videhans to the Licchavis or the Vajjis is not stated in the Vinaya or the first four Nikayas. We have the stock phrase 'journeyed in the territory of Videhans' (Videhesu) mentioned twice in the text, and both times it is mentioned in connection with its capital Mithila, which was about 35 miles north west from Vesāli. Indeed, it is difficult to establish the membership of the Videhans in the Vajjian confederacy at the time of the Buddha. The word confederacy implies a political league and in that sense we cannot be

1. Rhys Davids, *Bl*, pp.25, 26; *BC.Law*, (ETSJ), pp.121-22; Malalasekera, *DPFN*, Vol. II. pp.813, 879, also takes for granted that at the Buddha's time the Videhans were a part of Vajjis. However, he disregards the statement about the atthakulaka, which for some scholars implied heads of eight clans (confederate). Malalasekera believes that as there is no other evidence regarding the number of clans except that of *DA* p.591, the conjectures of scholars is doubtful. We agree with his suggestion that atthakula were a judicial committee; cf. ~~K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p.117~~ see also *Dig.* II. p.160, where eight Mallan chiefs (family heads?) officiate at the funeral of the Buddha.
2. *Majj.* II. pp.73, 133. The territory of Videha borderees on the Ganges, on one side of which was Magadha and on the other Videha. Adjacent to it were Kasi and Kosala. It is noteworthy that at the time of the redaction of the Brahmanas the Kosala-Videha occupied an important position and lived to the east of the Madhyadesa. See Julius Eggeling, *SBE*. Vol.XII, Introduction. XLII, XLIII.

sure of the relation of the Vajjis with any other ruling extended kin-groups, as there is no direct or indirect proof of it in the text. The territorial implication of the term Vajji is less vulnerable to doubts. It has been mentioned as mahajanapada along with the land of the Mallas. The land of the Vajjis thus represented an area inhabited perhaps by an association of extended kin-groups. It may be conjectured that the Videhans were taken as Vajjis in the sense that they belonged to the same region.

The identity of the Licchavis and the Vajjis is, however, clear in the text. In fact, the words seem to have been used as synonyms. Thus in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* many Licchavis come to the Buddha, who speaks to them thus; "I will teach you Licchavis, seven conditions securing welfare..." The Buddha concludes by saying, "As these shall (Vajji dhammas) endure among the Vajjians and the Vajjians shall be instructed in them, the prosperity of the Vajjians should be expected and not the decline." In the next discourse the brāhmaṇa Vassakāra, the Magadhan minister comes to the Buddha at the command of the King Ajātsattu to ask him about the means of destroying the Vajjis. The Buddha instructs Vassakāra saying: "At one time I stayed at Vesāli at the Sarananda shrine; there I<sup>1</sup> taught the Vajjians the seven conditions securing welfare..."<sup>3</sup>

1. *Aṅg.* IV. p.16

2. *Ibid.*, p.17

3. *Aṅg.* III. p.75.

There is, however, a certain confusion in the minds of scholars concerning the term Vajji. B.C. Law thinks that it connotes a confederacy as well as a separate constituent clan of that confederacy and that 'the confederacy is also associated with the name of Licchavis forming another constituent clan'.<sup>1</sup> Law, thus seems to consider Vajjis and Licchavis as two different constituent clans. But at another place he contradicts his own statement by mentioning 'the Vajjis or Licchavis as possessing bright complexion'.<sup>2</sup> We have pointed out above that Licchavis are called Vajjians in the text, but that other extended kin-groups probably associated with them were incorporated in the vajjian territory. This seems to be borne out by yet another passage. Young Licchavis who have been out hunting become meek and subdued and pay homage to the Buddha. Mahārāma the Licchavi on seeing this exclaims, "They will become Vajjis." (bhāvissanti Vajji).<sup>3</sup> Hare<sup>4</sup> interpretes this remark to show the cultural superiority of the Vajjis over the Licchavis, and presupposes the separate existence of the Vajjis as an ethnic entity for which we do not seem to have any adequate proof. The more appropriate explanation seems to be that offered by Malalasekera, when he points out that there was a prospect of these

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1. B.C. Law I.E.T., p.123

2. Ibid., p.124

3. Aṅg. III. p.75

4. Hare, G.S. III. p.62, ns. 1 and 3.

young men becoming true Vajjians practising the seven conditions of welfare taught by the Buddha which ensured their prosperity.<sup>1</sup> This is supported by the fact that these Licchavi youths were deprecated by Mahārāmā for being greedy, ill-tempered and rough hooligans. He was naturally pleased to see them acting so meekly before the Buddha.<sup>2</sup>

We do not find reference to a separate territory of the Licchavis. Among their gāmas were, Hatthigāma, Ambugāma, Bhaṇḍagāma,<sup>3</sup> and Koṭigāma<sup>4</sup> and all these are mentioned as belonging to the territory of the Vajjis (vajjisū). Two place-names, Ñātika and Bhoganagara, are referred to individually without any reference to Vajjian territory, although these are at times mentioned in connection with the other Vajji gāmas. Thus in the Vinaya Mahāraḡga<sup>5</sup> we read that the Buddha, after staying for some time at Koṭigāma went to Ñātikas. There he lodged in the ñātika's brick hall. The term ñātika in all probability refers to an extended kin-group to which Mahāvira the jain belonged.<sup>6</sup> In

1. D.P.P.N. II. p.814

2. Ang. III. 75 f.

3. Dīg. II. p.123

4. Saṃ. V. p.431

5. Vin. I. pp.231-232

6. This may be the reason why Mahāvira was called ñātaputta (the son of the ñātas) by the Buddhist writers; cf Jacobi (S.B.B.) Jain Sutra Vol. I. Introduction p.x.

The Mahaparinniban Sutta, a Bhoganagara is mentioned last in the list of place names, after Bhandagāma, Hatthigāma, and Ambujāgāma. This order describes the Buddha's route between Vesāli and the Mallan country. Bhoganagara was perhaps common nagara belonging both to the Vajjis and the Mallas.

Miscellaneous ruling extended kin-groups.

In the Digha Nikāya the following extended kin groups, among others are mentioned. (1) The Bullis of Allakappa (2) The Koliyas of Rāmagāma (3) The Moriyas of Pippalivāna (4) The Bhggas of Samsinara (5) The Kālāmas of Kesaputta.<sup>2</sup> ~~Of these,~~ Besides the occasional reference to the Koliyas and Kālāmas, we have little or no knowledge of these <sup>2 3</sup> kin groups. B.G.Law who considers them as tribes says "They are mere passing shadows in the early Buddhist records, there being scarcely any data for an historical account"<sup>1</sup>. We may not agree with Law's use of the term "tribe" to designate these kin groups, but his observations seem to be accurate.

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1. Dig. II.p.123.
  2. Ibid.,pp.164 ff.
  3. T A I, p.281

Chapter III

Social groups and ranking

Introduction:

In this chapter we consider the inter-personal relationships found in the texts. They are to be found in the descriptions of instances of actual behaviour between various persons. These descriptions, among other things, consist of a limited number of phrases and terms which recur in a large number of instances. We shall refer to these as 'formalisation'. We are concerned with the three main categories of formalisations found in the texts, viz.

- (1) forms of salutation described by the writers of the texts.
- (2) the terms of address used by the persons involved and
- (3) the terms of reference used for the persons involved.

A particular formalisation may cover a different set of persons each time it occurs.

In each instance of inter-personal relationship the persons occupy two separate roles. A number of such roles, in which the same formalisations occur, taken together



may indicate that all the persons involved fall into two interacting groups. The formalisation may in such an instance be taken to indicate the group affiliation of the persons involved. In the case of each formalisation there may be more than one set of opposing groups.

The formalisation, however, also indicates the specific nature of the relationship existing between the persons involved. Such a relationship may be characterised as either that between equals or that between an inferior and superior. The status of each person (and the group) vis-à-vis the other may be inferred from the actual words which comprise the formalisation.

We argue at this stage that from a study of formalisations, it is possible to discern a number of groups existing within those in social contact with the Buddha and his disciples. Furthermore, it is possible to order not only the opposing groups referring to a single formalisation but all the groups formed through formalisations into a general system of ranking. This is what we attempt in this chapter.

We have dealt with the formalisations in two ways. On the one hand we have collected a number of instances in tabular form where the persons involved fall

into two distinct groups and wherein a single set of formalisations occur. Through this we indicate the existence of various groups. It must be noted that the tables are illustrative of the group and may not contain all the instances of a group. On the other hand we have taken actual instances which significantly establish the nature of the relationship between the persons (and through them the groups) involved. It may be pointed out that in the second type of treatment we have assumed that the persons are representative of the groups to which they are affiliated. We have also dealt with those specific instances where the formalisations obtained do not conform to the group affiliation earlier indicated and hence need further explanation.

Coming to the actual material, we find it convenient to take the Buddha as one of the parties in each of the instances we examine. The advantages of such a practice are obvious. The Buddha is a central figure in the text in more ways than one. Every person or group finds his distance from the Buddha through the terms of address which the Buddha uses for him and which he uses for the Buddha, the way in which he greets the Buddha and is in turn greeted and that in which he refers to the

Buddha and is himself referred to. The Buddha, in our analysis which follows, is at the centre of the social order. The social distances are measured in each case with reference to the Buddha and vary in each case. The degree of social distance varies with the group, and through the formalisation of their mode of address the groups themselves find their relationship with the Buddha.

Simultaneously, we also examine the relationship of the groups vis-à-vis each other, through formalisations but without the intermediacy of the Buddha, whenever this is possible.

#### The Buddha and the brāhmanas:

It will be noted from the table in appendix, that while addressing equals the commonest mode of address used by the brāhmanas is bho.<sup>1</sup> In addressing the Buddha

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1. Vacative of bhavant. In the Sutta Nipāta vs. 620, a brāhmaṇa is called bho-vādin, (one who utters bho) in contrast to a good brahmana. See also Dhammapada vs. 396.

they invariably use the term bho Gotama, implying their equality with the Buddha. The term bho Gotama denies special status to the Buddha in that bho, which is a term used among the brāhmaṇas when addressing each other, denotes equality, whereas Gotama refers to the Buddha's gotta affiliation and not to his unique personality.

The exception to the rule, however, occurs when a brāhmaṇa addresses the Buddha in anger. A case in point is that of Asurindakabhāradvāja brāhmaṇa, who when angry addresses the Buddha as samana.<sup>1</sup> Another such case is that of Paccaṇṇika brāhmaṇa who deliberately insults the Buddha by calling him samana.<sup>2</sup> Another exception is in the case of the brāhmaṇa Udaya. Buddha goes to the brāhmaṇa Udaya's house and begs for alms. The brāhmaṇa fills the Buddha's bowl with rice. The Buddha repeats it

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1. Saṃ. I. p.163  
2. Ibid., p.179

the next day. After he has done so, the third time, Udaya says to the Buddha, "A pertinacious man is the samano Gotamo<sup>1</sup> that he comes again and again."

Only in one instance does the brāhmaṇa resort to the use of bhante to address the Buddha. A certain brāhmaṇa invites the Buddha to a meal in competition with others, thereby showing his obvious leaning towards the Buddha. In his formal invitation to the Buddha he addresses him as bhante along with bho Gotama.<sup>2</sup> By addressing the Buddha as bhante the brāhmaṇa manifests his deep respect towards him; the additional bho Gotama indicates his retention of the membership of the brāhmaṇa group.

In another exceptional case, the brāhmaṇa Piṅgiyāni comes forward before the assembly of the Licchavis and addresses the Buddha as Bhagavā and Sugata.<sup>3</sup> He utters an impromptu couplet in which he praises and compares the Buddha with the Āngirasa the sun. The Licchavis, however, reward him for this act by presenting him with 500 robes, which the brāhmaṇa gives the Buddha.

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1. SdM. p. 173

2. Vin. I. pp. 212-213, also exchange of greetings take place (s.e.)

3. Ang. III. pp. 239-40

The Buddha is referred to by the brāhmaṇas as samaṇo Gotamo.

The usual description of the salutation the brāhmaṇas use for the Buddha is saddhim sammodi (exchange of greetings), once again implying equality of status, whereas the behaviour of other classes towards the Buddha is described through the term abhivādeti. Like everyone else, the brāhmaṇa also sits and talks to the Buddha. However, in angry or insulting mood he does not do so. Thus, the brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha was sent on an errand by his teacher Pokkharasādi to confirm the 32 marks which were on the Buddha's body. Ambaṭṭha, along with other young brāhmaṇas, enters the Buddha's chamber. They exchange greetings (s.s.), but while others sit down, Ambaṭṭha, walking about, says something polite in an offhand way. He stands and fidgets all the while, even though the Buddha is seated.<sup>1</sup> When the Buddha points out his lack of respect for his elders, he replies that he reserved his good manners only for brāhmaṇas.<sup>2</sup>

In another case, Mānatthadha brāhmaṇa, being hotheaded, keeps quiet instead of exchanging greetings

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1. Dig. I. pp. 89-90 kañci kañci katham sārāṇīyam vitisāreti, tthito pi nisinnena bhagavatā kañcikañci katham sārāṇīyam vitisāreti

2. Ibid., p. 90

(s.s.) with the Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

The brāhmaṇa's behaviour changes, however, when a brāhmaṇa becomes an upāsaka. The case of the brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa illustrates this. Soṇadaṇḍa invites the Buddha for a meal after he becomes an upāsaka. After the meal he proposes a form of behaviour, alternative to the one customary for an upāsaka. He would join hands in salutation on entering the assembly only symbolically, by stretching forth his joined palms, and bow down low in salutation also symbolically, only by waving his hands whilst leaving.<sup>2</sup> Usually upāsakas, whether householders, monks, or kings salute (abhi.) the Buddha and keeping their right side to him circumambulate and take leave of him. Soṇadaṇḍa the brāhmaṇa acts less respectfully for fear of loss of status.

The behaviour of the brāhmaṇa Brahmāyu<sup>3</sup> is different. Like others of his group, he also initially exchanges greetings (s.s.) and addresses the Buddha as bho Gotama. But, after seeing the 32 bodily signs on the Buddha's body and listening to Dhamma, unlike other

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1. Saṃ. I. pp. 177-78  
2. Dig. I. pp. 125-126  
3. Majj. II. pp. 143-44

brāhmanas he falls at the feet of the Buddha, strokes and kisses his feet and pronounces his name.<sup>1</sup> This is a most unusual spectacle to the onlooking brāhmanas. They are awestruck and repeat the formula, "Indeed, it is wonderful, indeed it is marvellous how great is the psychic power and the majesty of the recluse in virtue of which the brāhmaṇa Brāhmāyu, well known and renowned, pays such deep respect".<sup>2</sup>

Such behaviour by a brāhmaṇa is extremely rare and one suspects the missionary bias of the Buddhist writers in describing the scene. In any case the account clearly implies that for a brāhmaṇa to pay such respect to a non-brāhmaṇa was looked on as very unusual.

The practice in the case of those who become arahats, or enter the Buddhist Saṅgha is very different, even when the converts are brāhmanas. Thus Sela brāhmaṇa who joins the order and becomes an arahat thenceforth addresses the Buddha as Bhagavā.<sup>3</sup> We also notice a change in terms of reference in the text. The prefix

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1. Majj. p. 144; Brāhmāyu brāhmano utthāyāsanaṁ ekamasam uttarāsaṅgam karitvā bhagavato padesu sirasā nipatitvā bhagavato padāni mukhena ca paricumba paṇihi ca parisambahati naman ca saveti.

2. Ibid.

3. Majj. II. pp. 401-2 (Nālanda Edn.)



āyasmā is added to these brāhmaṇas who become monks.<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha-brāhmaṇa relationship, in terms of mode of address and salutation, is characterised by four stages of social distance. Farthest from the Buddha are those hostile brāhmaṇas who address him as samaṇa. Those favourably inclined address him as bhō Gotama, but do so only through fear of the loss of status within the brāhmaṇic order. An upāsaka does not relinquish his former status on becoming a Buddhist. The nearest to the Buddha are the monks and Arahats who have renounced not only their faith in the brāhmaṇic teaching but also their membership of the brāhmaṇic order.

Buddha, on the other hand, in addressing brāhmaṇas, uses a number of terms which normally include the title brāhmaṇa. Sometimes in familiar cases he also addresses particular brāhmaṇas by referring to their gotta.<sup>2</sup> Brāhmaṇa gahapatis when in a group are addressed by him as gahapatayo, stressing their role as heads of households. The brāhmaṇa youths, however, he addresses by their personal names or as mānava.

The Buddha reciprocates the brāhmaṇas' salutation in the same terms (s. s.). He does not refer to them by personal names, but only by their gotta.

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1. See appendix pp. 358-59 item nos. 22, 25, 31

2. Ibid., p. 360 items 43-47

When a brāhmaṇa becomes a Buddhist monk, he is addressed by the Buddha with his gotta and never as brāhmaṇa. In the terms of reference the personal name and gotta are used. In addition, the usual forms of address and the titles used in addressing monks, such as āvuso and āyasmā respectively, also occur.

#### The Buddha and the Jains:

Very few Jains are actually mentioned in the text although their doctrine was known to the Buddha. A Niganṭha-putta Saccaka has talks with the Buddha among others, in which he addresses the Buddha as bho Gotama. The Buddha, however, addresses Saccaka by his gotta Aggivessana. Saccaka's mode of address is coupled with the usual exchange of greetings (s.s.).<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note Prince Abhaya's behaviour towards the Buddha and Niganṭha Nātaputta. He salutes (abhi.) the Niganṭha Nātaputta, sits down, and addresses him as bhante. Winding up the conversation he salutes him, circumambulates him and goes to the Buddha. He repeats the whole procedure when he approaches and takes leave of the Buddha. Both the Buddha and the Niganṭha Nātaputta address him as rājakumāra.<sup>2</sup> The activities of the prince Abhaya mentioned above suggest that he gave equal respect to these two religious heads.

1. Majj. I. pp.229-30

2. Ibid., 392-94

The Buddha and the paribbājakas:

The type of recluses mentioned as paribbājakas can be grouped into three categories according to their attitude towards the Buddha: (1) those who consider the Buddha as their equal, (2) those who do so in the beginning and in the end are converted, thereby bringing about an essential change in their attitude towards the Buddha and (3) those who have already acknowledged him as their superior.

Generally the Buddha is addressed as bho Gotama; he in his turn uses either the personal names or the gotta names of the paribbājakas. The latter is illustrated by the case of Dighanakha paribbājaka.<sup>1</sup> The name Dighanakha is obviously a soubriquet, but the Buddha addresses him by his gotta Aggivessana. He does not resort to the term āvuso, which is used, as shown above, in addressing the Jains.<sup>2</sup> ??

Bho followed by Gotama (gotta) seems to have a formal bearing on the social relationships of the paribbajakas and the Buddha. Its use indicates that the

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1. Majj. I. 497

2. see p. 112

paribbājakas thought that they were of at least an equal but separate status with the Buddha. The Buddha, however, does not show equal respect, and in many cases addresses them by their names without the title bho. It is also of great significance to note the exchange of greetings (s.s.) which is usually followed by the familiar bho, in the Buddha-paribbājaka relationship.

In angry mood the paribbājakas change their mode of address from bho Gotama to samano Gotamo. Thus the paribbājaka Vekhanassa addresses the Buddha as bho Gotama, and exchanges greetings with him. However, during the conversation with the Buddha, the Buddha tells him that it is hard to understand "sense pleasure or the happiness in sense pleasure or the topmost happiness in sense pleasure" as the latter is not an arahat. The paribbājaka does not like this remark. He becomes angry and displeased, "scorning even the Buddha, despising even him, saying "the samana Gotama shall be disgraced".

A certain amount of fluctuation in interpersonal relationships is bound to occur. Our second type of

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- 1. Majj. II. pp.40, 41-44
  - 2. Ibid., p43; samano Gotamo pāpito bhavissati

relationship in which the paribbājaka ultimately acknowledges the Buddha's greatness, is well illustrated by an example from the Majjhima Nikāya. Vacchagotta paribbājaka, at first, when he approaches the Buddha, exchanges greetings (s.s.) with him and addresses him as bho Gotama. Convinced of Buddha's doctrine, after his discourse, we find the paribbājaka Vacchagotta asking the Buddha for ordination. After he is ordained, Vacchagotta addresses the Buddha as bhante, Bhagavā. The transformation from bho to bhante thus shows the change in relationship, from mutual respect to the admission of the Buddha's superiority. In this particular instance the change in the term of address follows the change in the relative status of a man, here implied by the entry of Vacchagotta paribbājaka into the Buddhist Saṅgha. Thus Vacchagotta paribbājaka becomes āyasmā Vacchagotta.<sup>1</sup>

In the Kassapa Sihanāda Sutta, Acela Kassapa puts out a reported allegation against the Buddha, " that

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1. Majj. I. pp. 489, 493 ff.

he reviles and finds fault with everyone who lives a hard life." Acela follows the usual procedure of exchange of greetings (s.s.) with the Buddha followed by the familiar bho Gotama . The Buddha refutes the charges made against him. Apparently pleased with the Buddha's arguments, Kassapa asks him another question, but this time he addresses him as āvuso Gotama . The formal ties with the Buddha expressed through bho are thus replaced by more relaxed and friendly terminology. His conviction of the truth of the Buddha's doctrine and his express desire to join the order are accompanied by a change in his mode of address to the Buddha who is now addressed as bhante.<sup>1</sup>

By the use of the term bhante, Bhagavā, used in addressing the Buddha, the paribbājakas of the third

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1. Dig.I, p.163ff. Acela Kassapa is not mentioned as a paribbājaka but may be included in the group because of similar attitude of the Buddha towards the paribbājakas and this Acela Kassapa cf. Vin.IV, p.91, where the Acela is defined as paribbājakasamapanna " has reached the stage of wanderer "

type manifest their acknowledgement of the Buddha's superiority. The manner in which paribbājakas of this type receive the Buddha is formalised. The formula runs as follows: "Let bhante, Bhagavā come, there is welcome for him, it is long since the Bhagavā made the opportunity to come here. Bhante, Bhagavā, let him be seated on the appointed seat".<sup>1</sup>

Then the paribbājakas take a low seat and offer the high one to the Buddha. After this, throughout the conversation, bhante is used for the Buddha. In a sense, these paribbājakas are lay converts who have adapted their own rules to their change of faiths and outwardly express this by the use of the term bhante.

In general paribbājakas assume a status equal to that of the Buddha and these few examples are deviations from their normal pattern of behaviour towards him. The following case will bring out the point clearly. The householder Pessa, the son of an elephant rider, and Kandaraka paribbājaka call upon the Buddha. Pessa salutes

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1. Diḅ. I. 179, etukho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassam kho bhante Bhagava imam pariyayam akāsi yadi idam idh' agamanāya, nisidatu bhante Bhagavā, idam asanam pañnattan ti.

the Buddha and sits on one side (abhivādetvā ekamantam nisīdi), and afterwards addresses the Buddha as bhante, while, on the other hand, Kandaraka the paribbājaka exchanges greetings (s.s.) and stands on one side (ekamantam atthāsi) and introduces the conversation with bho Gotama, using this form throughout. Thus we find here two distinct relationships, the first one implies, by the term bhante, that for Pessa the Buddha stands high in ritual ranking; the second is the relationship of equality of status.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Buddha and the monks:

Being the head of the Buddhist hierarchical system, the Buddha is always addressed as bhante by the monks.<sup>2</sup> The monks refer to the Buddha with a special term, Bhagavā, which they reserve for him to the exclusion of all other human and non-human beings. They salute (abhi.) the Buddha on meeting him and usually at the end of the conversation again salute (abhi.) him, circumambulate

1. Majj. I. pp. 339-342

2. On occasions, bhadante, a variant of the form bhante, is used by the monks for the Buddha. The monks usually use this term when they are in groups, see Dig. III. pp. 142, Ang V. 354



him, and take his leave.

There is only one instance of a departure from this mode. Once the Buddha was mistaken for an ordinary monk, and the monk Pukkusāti addresses him as āvuso.<sup>1</sup> On realizing the true identity of the Buddha, Pukkusāti, rising from his seat, arranging his robe over one shoulder and bowing his head to the Buddha's feet, speaks, "A transgression, bhante, has overcome me, in that, foolish, errant and unskilled as I was, I supposed that Bhagavā could be addressed as āvuso. Bhante, may the Bhagavā acknowledge my transgression for the sake of restraint in the future".<sup>2</sup>

This incident indicates the relative importance of bhante and āvuso in speaking to a person. Bhante is certainly higher in terms of respect than āvuso.

In the Vinaya Mahāvagga, which is considered the oldest portion of the Pāli canonical text, we observe a notable change from āvuso to bhante, in

1. Majj. III. pp.238 ff.

2. Ibid., pp.246-47, accayo/<sup>me</sup> bhante, accagamā yathābālam yathāmūlham yathākusalam yoham Bhagavantam avuso vādena samudacaritabbam amnissam. tassa me, bhante, Bhagava accayam accayato patiggaṇhātu āyatim samvaraya ti.

relation to the Buddha. Just after his enlightenment the Buddha goes in search of the group of five monks who are residing at Benares.<sup>1</sup> These monks had previously been his followers but had left him because he was reputed to be 'living in abundance'. They are now sceptical of the Buddha's views and when they see him coming (referred to as samana Gotama), they agree among themselves not to show him respect. However, they do not keep their agreement and honour the Buddha, addressing him by his gotta name, Gotama and the term āvuso. The Buddha is a changed personality. He admonishes the monks for addressing him as āvuso for 'he had become the Tathāgata, the holy, absolutely enlightened one'.<sup>2</sup> He tells the monks that he wants to preach the new way of life which he had discovered through his insight. At first the Bhikkhus (monks) pay no heed to him, and thrice they address him as āvuso Gotama. Only on the fourth occasion, they give in and address the Buddha as bhante.

The Buddha addresses the Bhikkhus (monks) as

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1. Vin. I. pp.8-10  
 2. Ibid., I. p.9 araḥaṃ bhikkhave tathāgato sammāsambuddho

Bhikkhave, when they are in groups, and individual monks with their personal name or gotta name. The text refers to some monks by their ethnic affiliations. Thus we find monks such as Visākha Pañcālaputta, Upasena Vāngataputta, Sakyaputta Upananda and Dabba Mallaputta,<sup>1</sup> Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, Mahāmoggallāna, Kaccāyanagotta, who are mentioned by their gotta affiliations.<sup>2</sup> We notice, however, a difference in the mode of address used for them by the Buddha. Names indicating ethnic affiliations are dropped in addressing those monks possessing them, while the gotta is retained in the case of monks whose names indicate gotta affiliations. Thus Upananda Sakyaputta is addressed as Upananda by<sup>3</sup> the Buddha while Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja is addressed by him as Bhāradvāja.<sup>4</sup> The latter practice is strikingly shown in the following case. The Buddha addresses a novice referred to in the text as samaṇaudessa Acimvata as Aggivessana.<sup>5</sup> In this

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1. Ang. II. p. 51; Vin. III. p. 230; Vin. III. p. 211; Vin. II. p. 75, respectively.

2. Vin. II. p. 112; Vin. III. p. 7; Saṃ. II. p. 17, respectively.

3. Ibid.,

4. Ibid.,

5. Majj. III. pp. 129-130

case, even when the gotta name is not alluded to in the initial description of the individual, it is revealed in the mode of address.

The Buddha and the gahapatis:

The formalised mode of address for the Buddha used by the gahapatis is bhante. The Buddha addresses them as Gahapati.<sup>1</sup> On meeting the Buddha they salute him (ebhi.).

There is, however, one noteworthy case of a certain Poṭaliya, who resents being called merely gahapati.<sup>2</sup> He points out to the Buddha that it is improper and unsuitable that he should be addressed as gahapati. He had given up all avocations (vohāra samuccheda), handed over the property and wealth to his sons and totally withdrawn from giving advice and instructions to others.<sup>3</sup> Poṭaliya also claims that he lives on a minimum of food and covering. He addresses the Buddha as bho Gotama, thus

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1. The authors of the Pāli English Dictionary (p.77) suggest a possible English rendering of the term gahapati in vocative singular as sir, and vocative plural as sirs (gahapatayo). But these English substitutions do not seem to carry with them the full force of the original Pāli sense. For that reason it would be best to retain the original Pāli form.

2. Majj. I. pp.359-360

3. Ibid., I. p.360 anovādi anupavādi

assuming a status of equality for himself. Only after listening to the Buddha does he address him as bhante. The statement of the gahapati Poṭaliya indicates that he still assumed the full responsibility of household. Despite his austere way of life, he is still a layman.

The Buddha invariably addresses the gahapatis by their term of reference, gahapati. He does not address them by their names, although the term of reference contains gahapati coupled either with the personal names, nicknames or professional names.

Only in one notable case was this convention of addressing the gahapatis in this manner, broken. Gahapati Anāthapiṇḍika, who is elsewhere addressed as gahapati by the Buddha,<sup>1</sup> was only once addressed by his personal name Sudatta.<sup>2</sup> The reaction on Anāthapiṇḍika was instantaneous. Anāthapiṇḍika was much elated and was overwhelmed with joy that the Buddha should call him by his personal name. The incident clearly indicates the obliteration of the social distance which existed between the gahapati and the Buddha. Buddha addresses the gahapatiputtas, however,

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1. Ang. IV. p. 91

2. Vin. II. p. 156

by their personal names.<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha and the King:

The respect given to the Buddha by kings is seen from their use of bhante and their offering of proper salutation (abhi.). Only once does the rājā Pasenadi of Kosala address the Buddha as bho Gotama, on his first visit to him. It must be noted that the king has only heard about the greatness of the Buddha and has yet to see him. On seeing him, he exchanges greetings with the Buddha (s.s.); after listening to the Buddha he changes his mode of address from bho to bhante.<sup>2</sup> After this instance Pasenadi of Kosala uses bhante and salutes (abhi.) the Buddha, in most of his encounters with him.<sup>3</sup>

The Buddha addresses the kings with their title mahārāja. For the princes he uses, rājakumāra and in turn is addressed as Bhante.

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1. See p. as in the case of brāhmaṇa youths.

2. Saṃ. I. pp.68-69 (Kosala - Saṃyutta)

3. Saṃ. I. 69 ff.

The Buddha and the gāmaṇi:

In his conversation with the Buddha the gāmaṇi addresses him as bhante and salutes him (abhi.). The gāmaṇi is referred to in the text as gāmaṇi, and addressed as such by the Buddha.

In one particular instance, however, a change in the mode of address by the gāmaṇi to the Buddha, seems to have resulted in a change of status of the Buddha in the mind of the gāmaṇi.<sup>1</sup> Pāṭali the gāmaṇi once approaches the Buddha and asks him either to confirm or deny the rumours that the samaṇa Gotama knew magic. He addresses the Buddha as bhante Bhagavā and salutes him (abhi.). The Buddha replies that those who alleged that he knew magic spoke in accordance with his views. When the gāmaṇi hears this, he at once lapses into the familiar bho Gotama, and in anger he says, "So after all the samaṇa, bho Gotama, is a trickster (māyāvīti)". Thus the change in the attitude of the gāmaṇi, from one of respect to one of low esteem, is reflected in the change in the mode of address,

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1. Saṃ. IV. p. 340

from bhante Bhagavā to bho Gotama.<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha and the extended kin-groups:

The Buddha addresses the members of his Sakya group, whether members of his order or not, by their personal names. He follows the same practice while addressing the members of other extended kin-groups such as the Licchavis and others.

The case of the Oṭṭhada the Licchavi, however, requires further explanation before we can show that it follows the rule. The Buddha addresses the Licchavi Oṭṭhada as Mahāli.<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids believes this to be the name of the gotta.<sup>3</sup> It will, however, be seen from the table that other Licchavis, such as Bhaddiya, Vaḍḍha

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1. See, Woodward, K.S.IVp.244 n.5, who notes this change in the mode of address but feels that, as in the sentence below the gāmani says bhante again, the reading should be bho instead of bhante. However, Woodward fails to notice the change in the term of reference which occurred simultaneously. As is seen, bhante Bhagavā is replaced by bho Gotama. Thus a definite effort is made to distinguish the two terms.

2. Dig. I. p.151

3. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, [p.199, n.2.



Nandaka and Sāḷaja, are addressed by their personal names.<sup>1</sup> The Licchavis in groups, however, are addressed simply as Licchavis by the Buddha.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, most likely that Oṭṭhada was a nickname arising out of some personal peculiarity, possibly a hare lip, and that Mahāli was his personal name. Rhys Davids, when he states elsewhere that it was not the practice to address others by their nicknames, thus seems to contradict his own statement.<sup>3</sup> Our supposition is strengthened by the occurrence of another Mahāli Licchavi in the text.<sup>4</sup> It is quite likely that in order to distinguish the two Mahāli Licchavis in the text, one was referred to as Oṭṭhada and the other simply as Mahāli. In both the cases, the personal name Mahāli is retained.

It is noteworthy that the Mallas from Pāvā when in groups, are addressed by the Buddha as Vāsetṭhas;<sup>5</sup> the Sakyas, too, on one occasion are addressed as Gotamā<sup>6</sup> (belonging to Gotama gotta). Buddha addresses his father

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1. See p. 368 in the (Appendix) items nos. 157, 158  
 2. See p. 368; item no. 161  
 3. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 196. Rhys Davids observes, "it would seem that the nicknames when once generally known tended in speaking of a person to drive the others out of use. But a nickname is never used in speaking to the person referred to by it."  
 4. *Sam.* III. p. 69 f.; *Ang.* V. p. 86  
 5. *Dig.* III. p. 20  
 6. *Sam.* IV. pp. 182-183

as Gotama<sup>1</sup> and he is himself addressed as Gotama by others, as seen in the many cases above.<sup>2</sup> Without further elucidation at this stage we state that the use of the gotta term is considered a mark of respect and it seems to be used as a status symbol.<sup>3</sup> We cannot definitely say whether the use of the gotta term, takes into account the extended kin-group's following their brāhmaṇa teacher such as, Vāseṭṭa and Gotama. Presumably it was common among the non-brāhmaṇas to take their gotta from that of their Purohita or family priest. There is only one instance in the text where we find the use of a totemic name Vyagghapajja. The Buddha uses this to address a Koḷiyan.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Vin. I. p.82; cf. vin. II. pp.253, 255, where the Buddha addresses his mother's sister (mātuccā) who had married his father, as gotami.
  2. See pp. 205ff.
  3. In hunting and food gathering stage we generally find a totemic organisation that is a certain kin-group identified as totem. When they become pastoral or agricultural, this method of identification is often retained in spite of other methods of identification having been developed. Thus we get a linking up of a tortoise (Kassapa) group or (Bhādvāja) partridge group with a cowpen (gotta). At a later stage certain gotta names have greater status than others and seem to have been adopted by many irrespective of their affiliations. - See also pp.273f
  4. Ang. IV. p.281.

Buddha is always addressed as bhante, followed by Bhagavā, by the members of extended<sup>kin</sup> groups, and as a mark of respect they salute him (abhi.).

Another exception is to be found in the case of Daṇḍapāṇi Sakya.<sup>1</sup> He greets (s.s.) the Buddha but stands at one side leaning on his stick.<sup>2</sup> Addressing the Buddha as samaṇa, Daṇḍapāṇi asks the Buddha to declare his views and teachings. When the Buddha proclaims his teachings, Daṇḍapāṇi, 'sticks in his hand, shaking his head and wagging his tongue, departs leaning on his stick, his brow furrowed into three wrinkles'. The Buddha also shows his social distance from Daṇḍapāṇi by addressing him as āvuso and not by his personal name.

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1. Majj. I. p.108

2. Ibid., dandam olubbha ekamantam atthasi

The Buddha and the upāsakas:

In this we include the social relations of the Buddha with the remainder of his followers, who cannot be conveniently accommodated in the other groups. This residual category has no terms denoting group affiliations such as gahapati, brāhmaṇa, etc. The Buddha showed his intimacy by calling the Upāsakas by their names. One of them, Dighāvu Upāsaka, addresses his father Jotipāla with the epithet gahapati, though he is not referred to as gahapati-putta.<sup>1</sup> The term upāsaka covers him, but also has a wider connotation and is applicable to any lay devotee or follower of the Buddha. We have also included in this category the royal minister and commander-in-chief of the army.<sup>2</sup>

The upāsakas address the Buddha as bhante and Bhagavā, salute (abhi.) him, and, before leaving, circumambulate him.

In one notable instance, the Buddha addresses a poor worker (daliddo kammakāro), who is an upāsaka, as āvuso.<sup>3</sup> The text describes this poor man without mentioning

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1. Sam.V.p.344  
 2. See p.370 (appendix)-184 item no.  
 3. Vin.III.p.76

his name. Buddha seems to have elevated his status by calling him āvuso. As the story goes, this man borrows money in order to give a sumptuous meal to the Buddhist monks. This may be another reason why he is addressed as āvuso.

The Buddha and the others:

Those who do not know the identity of the Buddha consider him to be samana and address him as such. No salutation (abhi.) or exchange of greetings (s.s.) is indicated. When the Buddha goes to meet the ferocious robber Angulimāla, cow-herds, goatherds, farmers, and travellers try to stop him and request him not to go further. They address him as samana.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha faces Angulimāla without any fear and steadily walks towards him. Angulimāla, calling him a samana, asks him to stop where he is.<sup>2</sup> This indicates that samana, although a term of respect, denotes a certain indifference. Its use indicates the group status, which is that of an unorthodox ascetic. Although we have excluded any non-human beings such as

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1. Majj.II. p. 98  
2. Ibid.

devas and yakkhas in our study, we may mention here an instance where the Buddha converses with the yakkhas. The Buddha was once way-laid by two yakkhas who wanted to know whether he was a samana or samanaka. They stopped the Buddha with the mode of address samana and asked him questions, till they were satisfied that he was a true samana.<sup>1</sup>

Monks and monks:

Before setting forth the actual mode of address between the monks and other monks, we point to the instructions the Buddha gave to Ānanda before his final release (parinibbāna).<sup>2</sup> The Buddha said, "Ānanda, when I am gone, do not address one another in the way in which the monks have been addressing each other up till now, with the epithet āvuso. A younger monk may be addressed by an elder (thera) either with his name, his gotta or as āvuso. But an elder should be addressed by a junior monk as bhante or as āyasmā. However, the use of the gotta name to address the elder (thera) was later on permitted

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Su.Ni. p.48 (PES edn)

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2. Dig. II. p. 154

by the Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed from the table that the commonest mode of address among the monks is āvuso. The term āvuso is usually followed either by the monk's personal name or by his gotta name.

It seems that the term bhante, which later became a common mode of address for the senior monks, came into vogue after the Buddha's death.<sup>2</sup> It is also worth noting that such monks as Anuruddha, Mahākassapa, Upāli, Mahākaccāna and Sāriputta, who are addressed as bhante by some of the monks, are of considerable seniority and importance in the Buddhist Saṅgha.

It is important to note that Anuruddha took charge of the assembly of monks immediately after the death of the Buddha. He consoled the weeping monks and

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1. Vin. I. p.92, where Ānanda, unable to pronounce his elder's name, Thera Mahākassapa, was in difficulty. Buddha then introduced a new rule allowing the monks to make use of the gotta name to address the elders. This also shows the importance of the gotta as a symbol of status; wielding its influence, so to say, outside the pale of ~~Pay~~ society, in the Buddhist Saṅgha.
  2. Otto Franke, 'J.P.T.S.' (1908), pp.32 ff.

sent Ānanda to convey the news of the Buddha's death to the Mallas of Kusināra on whose land the Buddha had died.<sup>1</sup> Mahākassapa's role is equally important. On hearing the news of the Buddha's death he hurriedly started towards Kusināra, where the Mallan chiefs were trying unsuccessfully to set fire to the funeral pyre, on which lay the Buddha's body. The wood would not catch fire until Mahākassapa saluted (abhi.) the feet of the Buddha. Only after Mahākassapa did so, the funeral pyre miraculously caught fire and the Buddha's body was consumed. Mahākassapa was also the chief amongst those who convened the first council.<sup>2</sup>

In the Vinaya Cullavagga, chapters xi and xii, the consistency in the observation of the rules of seniority (through bhante) made Otto Franke feel<sup>3</sup> that these chapters were later added to the Vinaya as a form of exercise, according to the instructions of the Buddha as he laid them down to Ananda in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta to which

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1. Dig. II. p. 158

2. Dig. II. pp. 162-163; Vin. II. pp. 284 ff.

3. Otto Franke, The Buddhist Councils of Rājagaha and Vesāli, J.P.T.S. 1908, pp. 32 ff.



we referred above.<sup>1</sup>

Below the monks in the Buddhist hierarchical ladder were the novices, known as samanudēsa. They address the monks (referred to as āyasmā) as bhante, and salute (abhi.) them.

There are many regulations which affect the monk's behaviour within the Saṅgha. Some of these regulations paved the way for the internal classification of the monks and their gradation according to seniority. Paying of reverence, rising up in reverence, salutation (abhi.)<sup>2</sup> proper respect and appointment of the best seat, serving of water and food, says the Buddha, "shall be done according to seniority".<sup>2</sup> At present, we are concerned with those descriptions dealing with the outward behaviour of the monks which indicate the scale of seniority within the monastic fold.

In most cases on meeting each other the monks exchange greetings (s.e.). In the case of the Buddha-Monk relationship, at the end of the conversation with him, the monk salutes (abhi.) circumambulates and leaves. Among themselves monks follow a different procedure. Thus

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1. See above p. 132 n2.  
2. Vin. II. pp. 31 ff.

the monk Yamaka approaches Sāriputta, exchanges greetings (s.s.) and in the end compliments (abhinandati) Sāriputta on his discourse.<sup>1</sup>

Generally the texts refer to the monks with āyasmā prefixed to their names. During the conversation, sometimes, the monks refer to other monks similarly. Thus on meeting Ānanda, the monk Channa, exchanges greetings (s.s.) with him and they address each other as āvuso. Later on, in the religious conversation, Channa says to Ananda "āvuso may the āyasmā Ānanda teach me, so that I may see the Dhamma."<sup>2</sup> Sāriputta and Moggallāna, who are described at one place as staying in the same cell, are noted for their friendship. They exchange greetings (s.s.) and address each other as āvuso. In the course of conversation, however, they refer to each other as āyasmā.<sup>3</sup>

There are exceptions where the monks are not referred to as āyasmā. For example, in the case of the monk Ariṭṭha,<sup>4</sup> whenever his name occurs, it is also added that he had formerly been a vulture-trainer and that he

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1. Saṃ. III. p.120

2. Saṃ. III. p.133 f.

3. Saṃ. II. pp.276-277

4. Vin. II. p.25

held pernicious views (pāpakaditthi). Chabbariya<sup>1</sup> monks, who committed all sorts of crimes, and the monks Mettiya and Bhummaja,<sup>2</sup> also fall into the category of those who are disapprovingly referred to simply as bhikkhu and not as āyasmā. Devadatta,<sup>3</sup> who joined the Buddhist order, and was responsible for sowing dissension in the community and who actually hatched a plot to defile and murder the Buddha, is mentioned without any sort of appellation. However, all these monks, considered bad by the compilers of the texts, are addressed as āvuso by other monks.

Monks and the paribbājakas:

The monks and the paribbājakas address each other with the epithet āvuso and also exchange greetings (s.s.).

The actual relationship between the monks and paribbājakas, however, is not always friendly. Thus a

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1. Vin. IV. p.44, where these monks bully other monks and throw them out of their lodging.
  2. Vin. III. 160 ff.
  3. Vin. III. 171 ff. He refers to the Buddha as samano Gotamo.

number of paribbājakas belonging to different schools (aññatitthiya paribbājakā) come to the monk Anurādhā, exchange greetings (s.s.) with him and address him as āvuso. The paribbājakas, however, are dissatisfied at the end of the religious discourse and say of Anurādhā, "this bhikkhu must be a novice (navo) not long ordained, or if he is an elder (thero), he is an ignorant fool".<sup>1</sup> Potaliputta the paribbājaka exchanges greetings (s.s.) with the monk Samiddhi and uses the mutual term of respect āvuso. But soon after the conversation, Potaliputta takes leave of Samiddhi, "neither rejoicing nor protesting against what Samiddhi had said".<sup>2</sup>

It is different, however, in the case of Ānanda and the paribbājaka Kokanuda.<sup>3</sup> Before knowing the identity of Ānanda as a Buddhist monk, Kokanuda addresses him as āvuso, but soon afterwards, realizing the true identity of Ānanda, he changes his mode of address from āvuso to

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1. Sam. III. p.116. Socāvam bhikkhu navo bhavissati acirapabbajitothero vā pana bālo avyattoti  
 2. Majj. III. p.207.  
 3. Ang. V. pp.196-98

āyasmā. Kokanuda thus uses the term of reference instead of āvuso, the usual mode of address. Although this incident does not result in a change of faith on the part of the paribbājaka, it may none the less reflect the growing respect felt for Ānanda by others.<sup>1</sup>

Paribbājakas with gotta affiliation are addressed by their gotta, and the mode of address is somewhat different in that āvuso is omitted. The monk Moggallāna exchanges greetings (s.s.) with Vacchagotta the paribbājaka and addresses him as bho Vaccha, and in reply Vaccha addresses him as bho Moggallāna.<sup>2</sup>

The monks and the brāhmanas:

Brāhmanas behave towards the monks in much the same way as they do towards the Buddha. They address the monks with the term bho coupled with their names. In turn the monks address the brāhmanas as brāhmana, without, however, using their personal or gotta names. Like the

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1. Aṅg. V. pp. 196-98

2. Saṃ. IV. p. 391

Buddha, the monks either address brāhmaṇa youths as mānava or use their personal names. An exception is the case of the monk Nāgita, who exchanges greetings (s.s.) with the brāhmaṇa messengers from Kosala and addresses them as āvuso.<sup>1</sup>

The form of salutation between the monks and the brāhmaṇas is that of exchange of greetings (s.s.). Although an equality of status is implied in this, the actual behaviour varies.

Thus in the case of the encounter between Ghoṭamukha the brāhmaṇa and the monk Udena, the customary greetings (s.s.) and form of address are exchanged (bho-brāhmaṇa). When, however, Udena sits down first on the best seat without offering one to Ghoṭamukha, the latter keeps standing till he is properly offered one.<sup>2</sup> Another case is that of the meeting of the brāhmaṇa woman teacher, Veraccāni, and the monk Udena. Greetings are exchanged (s.s.) and the proper forms of address used. After the

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1. Dig. I. pp. 150-151

2. Majj. II. p. 158

meal the brāhmaṇa woman requests the monk to recite the Dhamma. She addresses him as samana, occupies a higher seat, veils herself and wears sandals. The monk refuses her request and leaves the place. The incident is repeated thrice and only on the fourth occasion does the brāhmaṇa woman change her total behaviour. She addresses the monk by the term bhante, a very unusual act for a brāhmaṇi<sup>1</sup>.

Monks and Kings:

Some of the kings who encountered the monks, exchange greetings with them (s.s.) and address them with the term bho. Probably because of their deep faith kings such as, Pasenadi of Kosala, Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and Muṇḍa,<sup>2</sup> address the monks as bhante and offer salutation (abhi.). The monks address them with their title mahārāja. The prince Jayasena is addressed as rājakumāra by the monk Bhūmija, who is in turn addressed as bho Bhūmija.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Saṃ. IV. pp.122-124

2. Majj. II. pp.101-102, 113; Vin. III. p.248 f. and Aṅg. III. pp. 59-62, respectively.

3. Majj. III. p.138

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Monks and the Extended groups:

The members of the ethnic groups invariably address the monks as bhante and also offer salutations (abhi.). Like the Buddha, the monks address the members of the ethnic groups with their personal names, but sometimes āvuso is added as a prefix to the names. While addressing the Mallas, the monks Anuruddha and Ānanda use the Mallas' gotta affiliation, Vāsetthā;<sup>1</sup> in the case of the Koliyans Ānanda uses their totemic name, Wagghapajjā.<sup>2</sup>

Monks and gahapatis:

All the gahapatis address the monks as bhante and also salute them (abhi.). The monks in speaking to gahapatis use the term gahapati, which is also a term of reference.

Gahapatis generally do not distinguish between elder and junior monks. Dhasama the gahapati salutes (abhi.) and addresses as bhante a nameless bhikkhu (aññatara bhikkhu) as well as Ānanda, who is widely known in the

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1. Dig. II. pp. 159-60  
 2. Ang. II. p. 194



Buddhist Sangha because of his nearness to the Buddha himself.<sup>1</sup> Gahapatis sometimes refer to the monks as ayya along with the name of the monk, usually preceded by the term bhante.

In the event of estrangement between monks and gahapatis, it is the monk, although ritually superior to the gahapati, who is made to change his behaviour and come to terms with the gahapati. The following case illustrates this:<sup>2</sup>

A monk Suddhamma is described as a regular diner (dhuvabhattika) at the gahapati Citta's house. Suddhamma is also a constant advisor of the gahapati on matters concerning invitations to monks, either individually or in groups. Many well known elder monks such as Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Mahākaccāna and Anuruddha visit Citta and greatly please him by giving him religious talks. Following this, Citta invites them to a meal, without, however, consulting Suddhamma on this matter. He only asks Suddhamma to come and join them at the meal. Suddhamma takes this as a deliberate affront and refuses the invitation.

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1. Aṅg. V. pp. 342-343  
2. Vin. II. pp. 15-18

Out of jealousy, Suddhamma goes in the morning to Citta's house to see what has been prepared for the guests.

Citta welcomes him by saluting (abhi.) him and offers him a seat. But Suddhamma's mind is set on the food and he points out to Citta that out of the plentiful dishes the sesamum cake has been left out. This outrages the gahapati Citta, who remarks that for all the Buddha's doctrine, the monk could think only of sesamum cake. The monk takes this remark as an insult and directly accuses the gahapati of reviling him, threatening to leave the premises immediately. In a very restrained manner, the gahapati still addressing him as bhante, asks Suddhamma to calm down and to remain in his house, which is still open to him. In spite of this treatment, the monk goes away to the Buddha and tells him the story. The Buddha, however, rebukes the monk. "How can you, foolish man", the Buddha says, "over a low thing jeer and scoff at the gahapati Citta when he has faith in the doctrine, and is a benefactor, a promoter and a supporter of the Sangha".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Vin. II. p. 18; gahapatim pasannamdayakam karakam sanghupattahakam hinena khinsessasi hinena vambhessasi.

The Buddha then asks the community to carry out a formal act of reconciliation (paṭisāraṇiyakamma) for the monk Suddhamma, saying to him : "Gahapati Citta should be asked to forgive you". Suddhamma in the end asks for forgiveness and is in turn forgiven by the gahapati.

#### Monks and upāsakas:

As mentioned earlier,<sup>1</sup> in the category of the upāsakas we include the rest of the followers of the Buddha who cannot be grouped otherwise. The upāsakas are the lay devotees of the Buddha. They address them as bhante and salute them (abhi.). The monks in turn address the upāsakas as āvuso, occasionally using their personal names. Thus the monk Mahākaccāna addresses the upāsaka Soṇa Kuṭṭikāṇṇa as Soṇa<sup>2</sup> and the upāsaka Sālha is addressed by the monk Nanadaka as Sālha.<sup>3</sup> The appellation ayyā is used by the upāsakas as a term of reference following bhante.

However, in the case of misconduct on the part

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1. See page p.130

2. Vin. I. p.194

3. Aṅg. I. p.193

of the monks, the upāsakas look down upon them and criticise them. In such cases the term of reference undergoes a change. The following will illustrate this. A certain widow salutes (abhi.) the monk Udāyi (referred to as āyasmā in the text) and addresses him as bhante. The monk asks her to co-habit with him and she consents. But afterwards Udāyi changes his mind and, calling her an evil smelling wench, departs. Udāyi's conduct enrages the woman. She shouts, "These Sākyaputta samanās are lecherous liars". In her anger, she refers to Udāyi as samana Udāyi.<sup>1</sup>

Monks and others:

Generally the Bhikkhus in groups are identified by others as sākyaputta samanās. This is the stock term of reference in the Vinaya whenever the people are critical of the monk's doings in general.<sup>2</sup> The people thus allude to their group affiliation, which is that of an unorthodox samana. In the royal palace the monks were

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1. Vin. III. 131-32. cf. Vin. III. p. 119  
 2. E.g. Vin. I. p. 209; II. p. 212; IV. pp. 164, 167 and 169; III. 119, 131-32

criticised because they were reported as receiving gifts of gold and silver from others. This allegation, however, was refuted by the gāmani Maṇicūlaka.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, the monks are referred to as Sākyaputta samāna. It may be remarked that the criticism only brings forth the true group affiliations of the Buddhist monks, as members of a large class containing many sects of unorthodox ascetics.

In one particular case, the monk identifies himself as a Sākyaputta samāna. Kakanuda the paribbājaka meets Ānanda at the Tapoda Park near Rājagaha, and he asks Ānanda: "Who are you āvuso?" "I am a bhikkhu, āvuso" replies Ānanda. "One of what bhikkhus?" Kakanuda again asks. "One of Sākyaputta samanās" says Ānanda.<sup>2</sup>

The residual category, which include robbers, relatives, strangers on the high road and others, address the monks as bhante and are in turn addressed as āvuso.\*

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1. Saṃ. IV. p. 325

2. Ang. V. p. 196

The gahapatis and the Jains:

The Majjhima Nikāya describes Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as being in a large company of householders (gihi-parisāya), headed by gahapati Upāli of Bālaka. Gahapati Upāli addresses the Nigaṇṭha as bhante and salutes him (abhi.). Soon afterwards he becomes a staunch devotee of the Buddha, so much so that he gives instructions that no alms should be given to the followers of the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. When, however, the latter comes to see him, Upāli addresses him with his customary bhante, but drops his usual mode of salutation (abhi.). Moreover, he does not offer Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta the best seat but keeps it for himself. The Nigaṇṭha takes this to be a deliberate insult.<sup>1</sup>

In another instance we find that the gahapati Citta, a loyal devotee of the Buddha, addresses the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta with bhante. However, he also does not salute him (abhi.), but exchanges greetings (s.s.).<sup>2</sup>

The Jains address the gahapatis as gahapati.

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1. Majj. I. p.374 ff.  
 2. Saṃ. IV. p.298 f.

The gahapati and the paribbājakas:

The gahapati Citta, a staunch follower of the Buddha whom we have mentioned above, addresses Acela Kassapa, an old family friend (gihisāhaka), as bhante; but he only exchanges greetings (s.s.) with him and does not salute him.

We mention here, a group of religious mendicants (sambahula titthiyā) and a certain paribbājaka, whom the gahapati Mendaka and Vijayamāhita<sup>1</sup> address as bhante and to whom they show their respect by saluting them. In return these paribbājakas address them as gahapatis.

The exception is in the case of the gahapati Sandhāna who addresses the paribbājaka Nigrodha as bhonto (plural of bho). The term bhonto may not be as high as bhante but it none the less shows respect. Nigrodha in turn addresses him as gahapati.<sup>2</sup>

The gahapatis and the brāhmanas:

When the brāhmaṇa Subha Todeyyaputta<sup>3</sup> comes to

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1. Saṃ. IV. p.300 f.  
2. Vin. I. p.241; Aṅg. V. p.189.  
3. Majj. II. pp.196-197.

Sāvattthi on some business, he stays with a certain gahapati. Subha expresses a wish to pay respect to the samaṇa-brāhmaṇas who were arhats, as he had heard that Sāvattthi is frequented by them. The gahapati urges Subha to go and visit the Buddha in Sāvattthi at Jētavana. The non-brāhmaṇa gahapati addresses the brāhmaṇa as bhante and refers to the Buddha as Bhagavā. It may be noted here that Bhagavā is a term mostly used by his upāsakas to refer to the Buddha. The others refer to him as samaṇa Gotama. It is, therefore, quite likely that the Gahapati was an upāsaka of the Buddha.

The brāhmaṇa Subha refers to the gahapati as gahapati and addresses him as such.

The gahapati and the king:

The king refers to the gahapati Mendaka with the term gahapati, which is mentioned with the latter's name. There seems to be only one instance of a talk between a gahapati and the king. The king Seniya Bimbisāra addresses the gahapati Anāthapiṇḍika as gahapati, while the gahapati addresses the king as deva.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Vin. II. p.157



Prince Jeta, a well known and distinguished man, (abhiññāto nātamanusso) owns Jetavana, a pleasure resort near Sāvatti. Anāthapiṇḍika approaches him to buy the Jetavana, in order to give it to the Buddhist Saṅgha. Anāthapiṇḍika addresses prince Jeta as ayyaputta and in turn is addressed as gahapati.<sup>1</sup>

The gahapati and the gāmaṇi:

There is no actual case of conversation between a gāmaṇi and a gahapati. However, the gāmaṇi Asibandhaka-putta shows his acquaintance with the doings of a gahapati who was a peasant (kassaka). Asibandhaka-putta refers to him as gahapati.<sup>2</sup>

The gahapatis and others:

We give below the style of address used by the gahapati in conversation with his sons, his friends and relatives and his employees.

The young men of the family (kulaputta), such as Raṭṭhapāla and Sudinna, after they have become monks,

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1. Vin. II. p. 158

2. Saṃ. IV. p. 315

address their fathers as gahapati, while the latter still retain the mode of address tāta for their sons.<sup>1</sup> Dīghāvu, however, though still only an upāsaka, addresses his father Jotipāla gahapāti as gahapati.<sup>2</sup>

The wives of the gahapatis also address their husbands as gahapati. Thus Nakula's mother addresses Nakula's father as gahapati.<sup>3</sup>

Gahapati Citta is sick, stricken with a sore disease. His friends, acquaintances and agnates (mittāmaccā nātisālohita) come to see him. At their request gahapati Citta instructs them with the Buddha's teaching. Throughout the conversation, the friends, acquaintances and agnates use the term ayyaputta to address him, and not gahapati.<sup>4</sup>

The gahapati's employees address him as bhante. Thus gahapati Sirivaddha instructs a certain man (aññātara puriso) to deliver a message to Ānanda. He addresses the

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1. Majj. II. p.62; Vin. III. p.17.  
2. Saṃ. V. p.344.  
3. Aṅg. III. pp.296-7.  
4. Saṃ. IV. p.303.

messenger as ambho purisa, and in turn is addressed as bhante.<sup>1</sup> Gahapati Upāli's doorkeeper addresses him as bhante.

#### Gahapati and gahapati:

On meeting one another, gahapatis exchange greetings (s.s.) and the mutual term of address is gahapati. Thus Anāthapiṇḍika gahapati addresses the Seṭṭhi gahapati of Rājagaha as gahapati; in reply he is addressed as gahapati. An exchange of greetings also takes place.<sup>2</sup>

#### Brāhmanas and brāhmaṇa:

The brāhmaṇa group falls into a number of sub-groups. As indicated in the table, brāhmanas such as Pokkharasādi, Kuṭadanta and Soṇadaṇḍa, represent a sub-group who had sovereign rights over their lands, which were given to them by the kings. Another sub-group comprises students, householders and so on. Within the group status differences are played down, and the brāhmanas

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1. Saṃ. V. pp. 176-77

2. Vin. II. p. 155

use bho to address each other. The brāhmaṇa Brahmāyu addresses his pupil Uttara as tāta, a kinship term used between father and son. In return Uttara addresses him as bho.<sup>1</sup> This term of address is often coupled with either the personal name or the gotta name.

The brāhmanas and the king:

The brāhmanas address the king either with his title deva or with bho, but do not address the kings with the title mahārāja commonly used by the monks, the Buddha and the paribbājakas. The king addresses them as brāhmaṇa. One exception is that of a young brāhmaṇa Sudassana, whom king Pasenadi of Kosala addresses as tāta.<sup>2</sup>

Another exception is when the king Pasenadi of Kosala, in his formal invitation to the brāhmaṇa Sañjaya of Ākasagotta, addresses the latter as bhante. Later on, however, the king addresses the same brāhmaṇa with the epithet brāhmaṇa. The brāhmaṇa in turn addresses the king as mahārāja and not deva.<sup>3</sup> We may note here that he is a well known brāhmaṇa whom the king and his army chief

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1. Majj. II. p.134  
2. Saṃ. I. p.82  
3. Majj. II. p.127

consult on religious and philosophical matters. The king extends to the brāhmaṇa an invitation to come and see him. In the meantime, the king consults the Buddha on his problems and is satisfied by the answers the Buddha gives him. So when Ākasagotta arrives at his palace, he has no need for a consultation with the brāhmaṇa; hence the change of address from bhante to brāhmaṇa. This may thus show the gradual lowering of the status of the brāhmaṇa in the eyes of the king.

The brāhmaṇa, the prince and the barber:

The prince Bodhi instructs a brāhmaṇa youth, Sañjikāputta to deliver a message inviting the Buddha to a meal. The Prince asks the brāhmaṇa messenger to bow down and salute (abhi.) the Buddha (bhante, Bhagavā) on his behalf, and to address the Buddha thus:

" Prince Bodhi bows down in salutation at the feet of bhante, Bhagavā and enquires whether he is free from sickness and suffering and is in enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health. May Bhagavā together with Saṅgha, consent to take his meal with Bodhi tomorrow". The brāhmaṇa messenger, disregarding the instructions,

exchanges greetings (s.s.) and takes his seat. He repeats the formal invitation but not without substituting bho Gotamassa, bhavam Gotamo (grammatical variations of bho Gotama) for bhante, Bhagavā. Later on also, while announcing the meal, he retains the specific mode of address, bho Gotama. Prince Bodhi addresses Sañjikāputta as samma Sañjika; in turn, he is addressed as bho.<sup>1</sup>

In the second case, the brāhmaṇa Lohicca<sup>2</sup> instructs the barber Bhesika to deliver a message inviting the Buddha to a meal. The brāhmaṇa uses the term bho Gotama (bhavantam Gotamam, bhavam Gotamo) which is the same as above. Moreover, 'the salutation and bowing down' at the feet of the Buddha are also absent from his instructions as well as the message. Yet the barber substitutes his own mode of behaviour for that given in his instructions, addressing the Buddha as bhante, Bhagavā, and acting as a non-brāhmaṇa should. The brāhmaṇa Lohicca addresses the barber as samma Bhesika while the barber addresses the brāhmaṇa as bhante.

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1. Majj. II. p.91  
 2. Dig. I. p.225

These two cases show how the brāhmaṇa and the barber retain their specific behaviour towards the Buddha which is determined by their affiliation to their respective groups. The fact that they are both messengers does not affect their behaviour.

Brāhmaṇa and paribbājaka:

Both the paribbājaka Māgaṇḍiya and the brāhmaṇa Bhāradvājagotta address each other as bho.<sup>1</sup> As mentioned earlier,<sup>2</sup> equality of status is denoted by the modes of address used in the conversation between the paribbājaka and the brāhmaṇa.

In the encounter between the brāhmaṇa Jāṇussoṇi and the paribbājaka Pilotika, the former uses the latter's gotta name Vaccāyana to address him. The paribbājaka, of course, uses bho.<sup>3</sup>

*Ruling extended kin-groups*

The brāhmaṇa and the ~~st/nto~~ group:

The brāhmaṇa Doṇa in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta addresses, among others, the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā,

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1. Majj. I. p.502
  2. see p. 106
  3. Ibid., I. p.175

as bho also (in the text plural bhonto ). The brāhmaṇa Doṇa is addressed as brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

### Analysis

We recall that at the beginning of this chapter we mentioned that it is possible to draw inferences about the outline of the social order through a study of the terms of address, reference and modes of salutation. We also maintained that the Buddha was in a central position inside this order. We shall now examine how far our contentions are justifiable, from the data which we have presented.

One of the results of our detailed examination of the data is the fact that it has been possible for us to discern the broad social groups under which we have presented the individual examples of interpersonal behaviour. These groups, obviously, are not mutually exclusive categories and hence it is quite possible for individuals to belong to more than one group.

Before we proceed further, it will be useful to enumerate the groups. They are (1) The Buddha (2) Brāhmaṇas (3) Gaḥapatis (4) Kings and Princes (5) Gāmaṇis (6) Monks (7) The upāsakas (8) Persons belonging to the ex-kin groups (9) Paribbājakas and

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1. Dig. II. p.66.



and Jains and (10) others. It is not difficult to see from this that the groups are neither of a uniform nature in terms of their functions, nor are they equal in size. Functionally, these groups are primarily (1) Social (2) Religious and (3) Political. We use the term social in a narrow sense here to cover those aspects of society which cannot be categorised as religious, political or economic. In the first category, of course, come (1) the Buddha (2) the brāhmanas (3) the gahapatis (4) the persons belonging to the Exakin groups (5) the others. In the second category come the Buddha (2) the brāhmanas (3) the upāsakas (4) the persons belonging to exakin groups (5) the paribbājakas (6) the Jains and (7) the others: In the last category are (1) the Buddha (2) the kings and Princes (3) the gāmanis and (4) the gahapatis. It is in terms of these functional groups that we shall attempt to establish ranking. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that any single individual may occupy different positions which decide his actual inter-personal relationship. Reversing this argument, we propose that it is possible to analyse the instances of actual inter-personal behaviour in terms of these groupings. This is what we have done so far, Now we proceed further and attempt ranking of groups

in terms of the functional categories outlined above.

Social Relationship:

In their relationship with the Buddha, the brāhmaṇas maintain an uncompromising attitude of equality, as can be envisaged from their modes of address (bho) and salutation (saddhim sammodi). On his part the Buddha recognises the special position of the brāhmaṇas in the society and their caste claims by addressing them as brāhmaṇa. The Buddha also refrains from addressing brāhmaṇas by their personal names and whenever possible uses their gotta names. In fact, the gotta affiliation appears to be so important that whenever available it is used by the Buddha in preference to any other forms of address. This can especially be seen from the instances where the Mallas of Pāvā and Kusināra<sup>1</sup> are addressed as Vāsetthās although in the ordinary course of events they would be addressed, when in groups, as Mallas. It appears that possession of a gotta name is a predominantly brāhmaṇic feature reserved mainly for the brāhmaṇas but also extended to the members of certain groups who have to some extent come under brāhmaṇic influence. Thus, as if in reciprocation of the Buddha's acceptance of this

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1. Dig.II.p.160

brāhmaṇic element, they also address the Buddha with his gotta name.

There is, however, an active conflict involved in the Buddha-brāhmaṇa relationship. Often, the brāhmaṇas take offence at some attitude or action on the part of the Buddha or his followers and lapse into addressing the Buddha as samana Gotama. Sometimes the brāhmaṇa's hostility towards the Buddha and his order exists without any immediate cause. In such a case also, samana Gotama is used and exchange of greetings (saddhim sammodi) is deliberately omitted. The angry and insulting nature of such behaviour is explicitly recognized in the text whenever such a situation is depicted. The conotation of samana as a mode of address becomes apparent only when we realize that the robber Angulimāla, the social outcast, is the person who addresses the Buddha as such and omits to exchange greetings (saddhim sammodi) with him.<sup>1</sup> Presumably, there is no greater denial of the Buddha's central position within

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1. Majj.II.99

the society.

Towards brāhmaṇa youths, the Buddha's attitude is more mellow, yet no less 'formal'. He uses the term mānava, or in more familiar cases their personal names. The youths on their part do not treat the Buddha differently from their elders.

Though disrespectful as a term of address, as a term of reference, samana is not necessarily derogatory. The brāhmaṇas refer to the Buddha and his monks by this term. In fact Ānanda once initially identifies himself as a bhikkhu but on further questioning does not mind describing himself as Sākyaputta samana.<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps the common descriptive term for the Buddhist monks in circles outside that of their followers.

In comparison with the foregoing, the Buddha's relationship with members of various <sup>tribe</sup> /ex. kin groups is definitely closer. The members of such groups address the Buddha as bhante, the form used by all the followers of the Buddha, monks and others. They invariably salute him (abhivādeti).<sup>2</sup> The Buddha on his part recognises the identity which they feel with him and addresses them

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1. see p. 147

2. see pp. 126-127

by their personal names in most instances. Only when  
 in groups, does he use their <sup>EX. Kin groups</sup> ethnic affiliation to  
 address them. Even here, as we have pointed out before,  
 he recognises their gotta affiliation, a brāhmaṇic element.

The relationships between the brāhmaṇas and the  
 members of the ex.kin groups are analogous to those  
 existing between the brāhmaṇas and the Buddha. Whereas  
 the brāhmaṇas address the members of the ex.kin groups  
 as bho, the latter use the term brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> There is the  
 usual exchange of greetings (saddhim sammodi). But though  
 there are several cases of hostility between brāhmaṇas  
 and the Buddha, we can find no instances in which the  
 brāhmaṇas show overt signs of hostility towards members  
 of the ex.kin groups. Apparently they do not feel any  
 challenge to their secular position coming from these  
 people.

The gahapati group consists of the heads of  
 households, who only are accorded social recognition.  
 In this sense they represent the whole household in its  
 relationship to the other groups. If this is so, it

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<sup>1</sup> see above p. 158

becomes quite clear that as a group they do not exclusively belong to either the Buddhist or the brāhmanic order. It can be seen from the data that they include brāhmanas among others. We shall examine the full import of the role of the gahapatis in the <sup>Fifth</sup> next chapter. It is sufficient here to state that in social and political, as well as religious affairs, they form the basis of Buddhist Society. Respectful to the Buddha, the brāhmanas, the king and the members of the ~~ex.king~~ groups (in this context the members of the politically dominant groups), they address them all (and many others) as bhante or ayyaputta. Yet their social position is not necessarily low, as can be seen from the fact that brāhmanas may also belong to their group. In fact, when they do, the Buddha recognises this fact in addressing them as gahapatayo in preference to the more correct and formal brāhmanas. It is also significant that the brāhmanas do not take offence at this.

The term gahapati as a mode of address may also involve respect, since the gahapati's son and gahapati's

wives, we have seen, address him as such. Only his servants, who are definitely inferior to him address him as bhante, a term denoting the greatest respect.

To sum up the social group ranking then, on the one side are the Buddha and the members of the ex.kin groups, where the latter without exception recognize the Buddha's superiority. Their relationship to the Buddha is characterised by respect, apparent in the terms bhante and Bhagavā, and in salutation (abhivādeti). The Buddha on his part accepts his own membership of the group vis-à-vis the group itself as well as the society at large. Below them stand the non-brāhmaṇa gahapatis, who accept both the Buddha and the members of the ex.kin groups as superior to them. Below them are their servants. On the other side are the brāhmaṇas (and brāhmaṇa-gahapatis)<sup>1</sup> who do not accept the Buddha's claim to a superior social position. They insist on treating him solely as a member of an ex.kin group and address him as bho Gotama, as they would any other members of the group. Yet in their hostility and uncompromising attitude we see them recognising the

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1. see above pp. 106 f.

Buddha's special position within the society, for the denial of the Buddha's position is, as it were, a negative recognition of it.

On the other hand the gahapatis also pay respect to the brāhmanas, whatever their individual persuasion. Thus, a gahapati, apparently inclined towards the Buddha, does not find any incongruity in welcoming a brāhmaṇa to stay in his home and even enjoining him to go and listen to the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> Both the Buddha and the brāhmaṇa, and for that matter even paribbājakas, command his respect, but none his exclusive attention.

We now turn to an examination of the religious relationships.

Religious Relationships:

The Brāhmanic, the Buddhist and the Jain are the three major religious traditions in existence at the time (we have excluded the Ājīvikas because of the scanty evidence, and have incorporated them into the paribbājaka group). Within each of these traditions are those members who have in varying measure renounced mundane

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1. see above p. 150



considerations and thereby gained a specific position in society. The Brāhmanic order consists of the brāhmaṇas who are involved actively (perhaps vocationally) in religious and philosophical activities. Below them come the numerous paribbājakas who were the "professional mendicants", in search of true knowledge and living on alms, and also retired hermits in search of salvation. They were not necessarily brāhmaṇas and often entered the Buddhist order, convinced of the Buddha's doctrine, usually at the end of a discourse. Yet, as the stories of these conversions show, each of them usually at least initially maintained his position, which was that of equality with the other orders, by addressing the Buddha as bho. Even a gahapati who had turned a paribbājaka maintained his independence by addressing him thus.<sup>1</sup> This incident also shows that gahapati is an affiliation commanding a lower degree of respect than paribbājaka, presumably because being a gahapati did not involve exclusive attention to religion. That the gahapati occupies a definitely lower position in religious affairs than all classes of priests or mendicants can be seen by his use

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1. see above p. 122

of bhante for all men of religion irrespective of their allegiance to any order.<sup>1</sup> Nigrodha paribbājaka, however, is an exception. He is addressed by Sandhāna gahapati as bho instead of the usual bhante.<sup>2</sup> But the implication of such an address becomes clear when we find that Nigrodha addresses the Buddha as bhante, thus acknowledging himself to be an upāsaka of the Buddha as well.

The position of the upāsaka was different from that of the gahapati. Being actively concerned with religious affairs the upāsakas were convinced of the Buddha's doctrine and became his lay devotees, according to the texts usually converted after an argument with the Buddha or a well-known monk. Among them were brāhmaṇas as well as others. Brāhmaṇa converts generally chose not to completely relinquish their membership of the brāhmaṇa order and become monks. But while the non-brāhmaṇa upāsakas found it easier to retain their membership of the orthodox social order, the brāhmaṇa upāsakas had to resort to various subterfuges in openly acknowledging

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1. see pp. 143, 149, 150

2. Dig. III. p. 37

the Buddha as their superior, even when they were intellectually convinced of his superiority. The Buddha, however, became their professed superior if they became monks.

It is obvious that the monks are those nearest to the Buddha in the Buddhist religious order. However, as we have seen from the data, the monks are not a uniform group where everyone is equal. The Buddha himself recognises differences within the Saṅgha. In fact, we may say that even within the Saṅgha a person retains his past group affiliation to some extent. This is particularly true of the members of the two important groups, the brāhmanas and the exkin groups. Although both these groups acknowledge the Buddha's superiority, the brāhmana monks, even the distinguished ones, retain their gotta affiliations. Those belonging to the exkin groups are invariably addressed more informally with their personal names. Addressing a monk by his gotta name, whenever it existed, was made a Vinaya rule.<sup>1</sup>

We have already dealt with the different terms

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1. See above p. 133 n.1

used by the monks among themselves. It is sufficient to point out here, that āvuso denotes equality, while bhante denotes the addressee's superiority. Āyasmā as a term of reference and in rare cases the term of address, denotes mutual respect, and is more formal than āvuso.

We have pointed out the nature of relationships between the Jains and the Buddha and his monks. They have both retracted from the Brāhmanic order, yet there is no actual recognition of equality. Indeed, there is a fierce competition for a position of superiority. ~~The Jain monks who follow the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta address the Buddhist monks in the same manner as the Brāhmanas~~  
do.

The gahapati, as has been pointed out before, addresses all of them as bhante; but does not necessarily remain neutral in the "tripartite struggle" for religious superiority. Thus, Citta gahapati exchanges greetings (s.s.) with Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta and the Acela Kassapa, but salutes (abhi.) the Buddha. This and his other behaviour do not fail to infuriate the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. <sup>4 1</sup>  
In general, however, the Jains derive their form of

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1. See above p.  
4.1 Sam. IV. pp. 298-99

behaviour from the brāhmanas, who are equally hostile to the Buddhist order. If at all, they go out of their way to engage in violent discussions with the Buddha and his monks.

To recapitulate then, there are three religious orders, each fighting against the other for superiority. To the brāhmaṇa order belong the brāhmaṇa, the paribbājaka, some gahapatis and others; to the Buddhist order belong the Buddha, the monks (brāhmaṇa and others) and the upāsakas. The ex.kin groups are aligned in this struggle on the Buddha's side; the third is the Jain order, comparatively less significant but no less hostile to the others. Their following consists of Nigaṇṭhas such as Dīgha Tappasi, Saccaka and so on, and lay disciples.

All the three groups contend for superiority in the eyes of the gahapati who represents the bulk of society. He is respectful to all men of religion, but sometimes has his own preferences. His importance, from the point of view of the sources lies in his patronage of one or the other order. Whenever he changes his patronage, the losing order takes it as an insult. That his importance

is recognised is seen from the fact that the Buddha orders the monk Suddhamma to seek pardon from the gahapati Citta, even when in fact the gahapati behaved disrespectfully to the monk first.<sup>1</sup>

#### Political Relationships:

The king obviously is at the head of the political order. His subordinate and representative at the social level is obviously the gāmaṇi, the administrative chief of the village. He seems to be recruited from the gahapati group but by his political rank is outside them. Of the gahapatis, he alone has the courage to challenge the Buddha for being a magician. Conversely, he alone defends the Buddhist monks in the king's court<sup>2</sup> (rāja antepura) from various charges.

The king is formal in his behaviour to the brāhmaṇas as well as to the Buddha. The King, like the Buddha, uses the term brāhmaṇa for the Priestly class. The young brāhmaṇa he addresses as tāta, a term reserved for a son. On the other hand, his attitude towards the Buddha may vary from bho Gotama and Saddhim Sammodi to bhante Bhagavā and may thus indicate his religious sympathies.

1. See above pp. 143-44

2. Sam.IV. pp. 325-26

Both by the Buddha as indeed by monks and paribbājakas (including the leaders of the well known schools of thought such as, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, Sāñjaya Belaṭṭhaputta, Makkhali Gosāla, Purāṇa Kassapa and so on), the king is addressed as mahārāja. The employees and the subjects of the king address him as deva.<sup>1</sup> Brāhmaṇas address him, among other modes of address, as deva. Ākasagotta, who addresses him as mahārāja, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> is a brāhmaṇa of great spiritual renown, so much so as to be addressed as bhante by the king. In this sense he can be said to belong to paribbājaka group. While on the one hand, the Buddha, the monks, paribbājakas and their "fellow travellers" seem to deny any ritual status to the king by addressing him as mahārāja, which emphasizes the earthly powers of the king; on the other hand, those who address him as deva, accept the king's divinity. In other words the king's divinity is not challenged by those within the bonds of the society; those outside it refuse to endow him with that special status.

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1. E.g. Dig.I.47,49; Sam.I.82,86;Majj.II. 75,118; Vin.I.273

2. See above p.154

The gahapati's position vis-à-vis the king is not certain, but the former addresses a prince as ayyaputta, denoting not only respect but also some privilege. It is only here that we find the gahapati using neither bhante nor the less respectful bho. The king on his part, like others, refers to the gahapati by the title coupled with his personal name.<sup>1</sup>

The gāmaṇi usually follows the gahapati's practice in addressing the Buddha as bhante and in salutation (abhi.). Yet he may address the Buddha as bho Gotama, as in the case of Pāṭali gāmaṇi.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the same gāmaṇi refers to the Buddha as samana bho Gotama, suggesting that he may not go as far as the brāhmaṇas and the paribbājakas in disapproving of the Buddha and his order.<sup>3</sup>

The brāhmaṇa's attitude to the king is marked by the term of address to the latter, bho. Even when a brāhmaṇa is a minister, his behaviour scarcely changes very much. For instance, when king Ajātasattu sends the

1. Vin.I.p.240
2. See above pp 125-26
3. See above pp 106, 114



brāhmaṇa minister Vassakāra on a mission to the Buddha to find out ways and means of destroying the might of the Vajjis, he addresses Vassakāra as brāhmaṇa.

Vassakāra addresses the king as bho. The message the king commands the brāhmaṇa to deliver is a formal one. The king instructs Vassakāra to bow down at the feet of the Buddha and convey his salutation (abhi.) and refer to the Buddha as Bhagavā. The brāhmaṇa Vassakāra substitutes his own behaviour for that of the king in his actual encounter with the Buddha. He exchanges greetings (s.s.) instead of saluting (abhi.), addresses the Buddha as bho Gotama, instead of bhante Bhagavā used by the king.<sup>2</sup>

The legendary royal chaplain brāhmaṇa Mahāgovinda also behaves with King Reṇu with the same degree of respect as paid by the brāhmaṇa Vassakāra to the king Ajātasattu by addressing the latter as bho.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes, however, there is a deviation in the behaviour of the brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇa Vassakāra

1. Dig. II. pp.72-73

2. Ibid., II. p.237

addresses king Bimbisāra as deva.<sup>1</sup> By accepting the divinity of the king the brāhmaṇas tend to enhance their own position in society, as they also claimed divine origin in the text. It was an often repeated claim of the brāhmaṇas that they are the sons of Brahmā, born out of his mouth.<sup>2</sup> We hope to study this inter-relationship of the political and ritual structure at the time of the Buddha in our future research.

Summary:

In summing up, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, we have examined various modes of address, reference and salutation, found in the meetings of various persons. We have tried on the one hand to establish the various de facto social groups implied in such formulae, ascertaining the group affiliation of the persons involved.

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1. Vin. III. p.43.

2. Majj. II. pp.148 | 84.

On the other hand, we have tried to bring out the meaning of various terms and establish a triple system of ranking. The meaning attached to these terms, we may point out, is specifically inter-actional, and the proof of its validity lies only in its consistency. We have demonstrated this throughout our presentation of the data as well as the conclusions.

On a different level, our conclusions mainly indicate a three-fold system of ranking. In the social sphere the brāhmanas successfully maintain their hostile equality with the Buddha. But in the religious and political fields, they are not as successful. In the religious field the Buddhist order more than holds its own and claims several distinguished brāhmanas within its fold. Politically, too, the Buddha is less encumbered than the brāhmanas. Unlike them, he is not servile to the king. Despite their actual humility in the king's presence, in their mode of address the brāhmanas recognise no superior in any system of ranking, but at the most only equals. They and the Buddhist have an equal hold on the gahapatis, who represent the more or less secular population, the prizes in the religious struggle.

Chapter IVIntroduction:

The recognition that the study in Kinship is an important aspect of Indian social history goes as far back as Sir Henry Maine. He and many others after him have studied various elements of Kinship in India, such as gotra, caste, clanship, the institution of marriage and so on for different periods of history. These historians studied these elements (whatever number of these, they studied) each one isolated from the other. Sometimes they attempted to establish the presence of a particular element or its types at a given time. At others they studied particular elements over a long period and attempted to demonstrate social change over the period. They also studied the ritual, economic and political concomitants of these elements but in a more generalised setting. More modestly, in the course of their preoccupation with other aspects of history they provided data covering their own period which contributed to some current controversy about the existence or nature of some elements of kinship. Important as these studies are, they do not illustrate, if one might use the term, the more detailed structure of a

particular region of Indian society in a given period and its functioning.

We propose to study the kinship and marriage as reflected in the Pali texts, not as various elements but as a system, i.e. in the manner in which it is studied by the present day social anthropologists. The meaning of this contention will be clear from the following remarks of Radcliffe-Brown. He writes:<sup>1</sup>

"A system of kinship and marriage can be looked at as an arrangement which enables persons to live together and co-operate with one another in an orderly social life. For any particular system as it exists at a certain time we can make a study of how it works. To do this we have to consider how it links persons together by convergence of interest and sentiment and how it controls and limits those conflicts that are always possible as the result of divergence of sentiment or interest. In reference to any feature of a system we can ask how it contributes to the working of the system. This is what is meant by speaking of its social function. When we succeed in discovering the function of a particular custom, i.e. the part it plays in the working of the system to which it belongs, we reach

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1. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, "African systems of kinship and marriage", Introduction P.3.

an understanding or explanation of how it came into existence. This kind of understanding of a kinship system as a working system linking human beings together in an orderly arrangement of interactions, by which particular customs are seen as functioning parts of the social machinery, is what is aimed at in a synchronic analytic study. In such an analysis we are dealing with a system as it exists at a certain time, abstracting as far as possible from any changes that it may be undergoing. To understand a process of change we must make a diachronic study. But to do this, we must first learn all that we possibly can about how the system functioned before the changes that we are investigating occurred. Only then we learn something of their possible causes and see something of their actual or probable effects. It is only when changes are seen as changes in or of a functioning system that they can be understood."

Of the treatment of kinship by some historians, A.R.

Radcliffe-Brown has the following to say:

"The literature dealing with kinship is loaded with theories that can only be described as pseudo-historical. There are many varieties of such theories, but they all have one thing in common. Starting from some known condition in the present

or in the historically recorded past, an 'explanation' of it is invented by imagining some condition or event in the unrecorded past and arguing on a priori grounds that the known condition might or must have had its origin in this way. The devotion to pseudo-history has had unfortunate results. It has led to the adoption of false ideas about the facts as they are, and has often influenced or vitiated observation and description."

But we have nothing to lose by applying the anthropological technique to our datable historical material in an attempt to study the contemporary structure of society without, however, theorising on earlier antiquity.

To quote Radcliffe-Brown again:

"The reality of a kinship of kinship system as a part of a social structure consists of the actual social relations of person to person as exhibited in their interactions and their behaviour in respect of one another. But the actual behaviour of two persons in a certain relationship (father and son, husband and wife, or mother's brother and sister's son) varies from one particular instance to another. What we have to seek in the study of a kinship system are the norms ... Actual observations of the way persons do behave will enable us to discover the extent to

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1. Op.Cit. p.1

which they conform to the rules and kinds and amounts of deviation....." 1

"A kinship system thus presents to us a complex set of norms, of usages, of patterns of behaviour between kindred. Deviations from the norm have their importance. Where there is a marked divergence between ideal or expected behaviour in the actual conduct of many individuals this is an indication of disequilibrium; for example, when the rule is that a son should obey his father but there are <sup>notably</sup> frequent instances of disobedience."

The main import of these lengthy quotations is that we should study kinship and marriage in their own right as functional wholes in which the persons are related by convergence of sentiment and interest. The contents of these wholes are: 1. Various interpersonal relationships comprising normative and actual behaviour; 2. Institution of marriage; 3. The various kinship groups which we can derive and the principles of such groupings and; 4. The inter-group organisation. We shall deal with these in this chapter.

An additional point that A. R. Radcliffe-Brown makes is that an analytic study of the type he proposes

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- 1. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, Op.Cit, p.10
  - 2. Ibid.,10-11



must necessarily be synchronic and that the social change can be dealt with only at the end of such a study. What is more important is that there should be no a priori assumptions of conditions previous in time from which the present conditions should be derived.

Interpersonal relationships among relatives - stereotypes and actual behaviour.

Parents and sons.

The term for mother and father in Pāli is Mātā-Pitā. The relationship between parent and son is that of love and affection. Describing a son's attitude to his parents, the Buddha says; "Parents cannot be repaid even if a son should provide them with all the physical care and comforts that they may need and also earn for them all the power and riches on earth; this is because the parents bring their children into being and nourish them." "Parents are like Brahmā; they are the ancient teachers, they are worthy of gifts. The wise worship them, honour them and satisfy their material needs, for they are compassionate to their children".<sup>2</sup> Of the six quarters, the parents are represented by the east;

1. Aṅg. I p.62. Mātā-pitaro puttānam āpāḍakā posakā imassa lokassa dassetaroti

2. Ibid., II. p.70

hence a son should support them, fulfil the duties which he inherits from his father; continue the lineage, be worthy of inheritance and pay homage to the ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

However, only some persons behave towards their fathers in this ideal way. On the one hand, we find persons who behave ideally. The brāhmaṇa Dhānañjāni, exploits the king and the rahapatis playing them off against each other in order to support his parents and family.<sup>2</sup> Gaṇṭhikāra, the potter, supports his blind parents.<sup>3</sup> Another brāhmaṇa is nicknamed 'a supporter of his mother' (mātuposako) because he maintains his parents by begging. The Buddha approves of him and says that he will go to heaven because of this.<sup>4</sup> Sudinna Kālandaka, even after he has become a monk, succumbs to the plea by his mother that he should fulfil his duty towards her and his father by providing a son in order to continue the lineage.<sup>5</sup> The doctor Jīvaka presents his substantial first earnings to his foster-father, prince Abhaya, in gratitude for having him brought up.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand we find Ajātasattu who admits before the Buddha

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1. Dig. III. p.189  
2. Majj. II. pp.185-186  
3. Majj. II. pp.50 ff  
4. Saṃ. I. p.181  
5. Vin. III. pp.10-16-18  
6. Ibid., I.P.272

that he has killed his father Bimbisāra, a righteous man, for the throne.<sup>1</sup> The brāhmaṇa Mānattadda respects neither his parents nor his elder brother.<sup>2</sup> The action of upāsaka who presented a store room to a group of nuns is challenged by his fathless son in a court after his death.<sup>3</sup> When the Buddha sees a rich brāhmaṇa looking worn out and ill-dressed, and inquires about his state, he says that it is his four sons and their wives who have driven him out of the house.<sup>4</sup> Rāhula instigated by his mother addresses the Buddha (his father) as samana, a term of indifference rather than affection, and asks for his inheritance.<sup>5</sup>

Ideally the parents desire a son to be born in the family because he will add to the possessions, perform the family duties, perpetuate the lineage, transmit the inheritance to his sons in turn and pay homage to the ancestors.<sup>6</sup> The parents also restrain a son from vice and exhort him to virtue, train him in a profession, marry him suitably, and hand him over his inheritance in due time.<sup>7</sup>

In practice we find that the parents have deep love and affection for their sons. Aggīca Jaṭṭila, a mendicant, out

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1. Dig. I, pp.85-86

2. Saṃ. I. p.177

3. Vin. IV. pp.223-224

4. Saṃ. I. p.176

5. Vin. I. p.82

6. Dig. III. p.189

7. Ibid.

of affection addresses the foundling he brought up as 'tāta'; while the child addresses him as pitā (father).<sup>1</sup> Yasa, the son of a setthi gahapati, and Anuruddha, the Buddha, are all supported in great luxury by their parents. According to a stock formula repeated in each case, they are given three mansions each for a different season and many women to serve them.<sup>2</sup> Sopa Kolivisa, another son of a setthi is so delicately nurtured 'that hair grew on the soles of his feet'. When the king sends for Sopa, his parents send him in a palanquin.<sup>3</sup> Upāli's parents want to choose a suitable profession for him, so that he may live at ease after their death. They reject scribing (lekha) lest it may pain his fingers, counting (ganana) because it may hurt his chest, and money changing (rūpan) because it may weaken his eyes. Finally they choose monkhood for their son, because the monks live at ease, eat good meals, and take a siesta sheltered from the wind after the meals.<sup>4</sup> A gahapati is so grieved at the death of his son that he stops eating; leaves his business and often visits the funeral ground shouting for him.<sup>5</sup> When Raṭṭhapālā wishes

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1. Dig. II. p.340  
 2. Vin. I. p.15; Vin. II. p.180; Aṅg. I. p.145  
 3. Vin. I. p.179  
 4. Vin. I. p.77  
 5. Majj. II. p.106



to join the order, his parents seek to stop him, by saying, "you are our only child, dear, beloved, you live in comfort. You are well cared for and you do not know suffering. Eat, drink and amuse yourself. You can do meritorious deeds and enjoy the pleasures of senses at the same time. If you were to die, we would become desolate. How could we then let you go when you are still alive."<sup>1</sup> The friends of Raṭṭhapālā intervene at the instance of the parents but fail. In the end, the parents give in on the condition that Raṭṭhapālā should visit them after he becomes a monk.<sup>2</sup> When Sudinna Kālandaka wants to become a monk, his parents also seek to stop him in a similar way.<sup>3</sup> When Yasa leaves his house secretly, it is his mother who notices his absence first. Later, the setṭhi gahapati, Yasa's father, while pleading with him says, "Your mother is full of grief and laments. Give life back to your mother."<sup>4</sup> In the Anguttara, it is said that a mother cannot bear to see her son grow old. She says, "I am growing old; let not my son grow old". (The son likewise cannot bear to see his mother grow old).<sup>5</sup> When the Buddha leaves home, his parents have faces "with tears caused by crying".<sup>6</sup> Suddhodana Sakka, the Buddha's father

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1. Majj. II. pp.56-57  
 2. Ibid., II. p.60  
 3. Vin. III. pp.13-14  
 4. Ibid., I. p.17  
 5. Ang. I. p.179  
 6. Majj. II. p.166; Dīg. I. P.115.

requests him to make a rule that a son cannot join the order without his parents' consent. Describing his own feelings he says, "When you (Buddha) went forth there was great sorrow, the same happened when Nanda did so. But when Rāhula went it was extreme. The affection for a son is deeply set in the body. It cuts to the marrow and it goes deep in the bones." <sup>1</sup>

In contrast to this melodramatic expression of affection towards the son we find the Buddha advising the brāhmaṇa Mahāsāla who was driven out of the house by his sons, to shame them in public. Accordingly the brāhmaṇa recites a verse taught by the Buddha, in a public hall. He says, "He (the father) was glad at the birth of sons while they (the sons) in concert with their wives drove him out of the house. These sons are shameless and impious. They call him tāta but really they are the demons in the guise of sons. They do not care for an old man just as they do not care for a horse. So they leave him in the lurch. He is their father, the senior of his children. Yet he begs at others' doors." The sons are duly ashamed when they hear this, and they clothe him anew and respect him. <sup>2</sup>

Among the family responsibilities of a son, that

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1. Vin. I. pp.82-83  
 2. Sam. I. pp.176-177

of maintaining the family lineage is very important. In the instance of Suddina Kālandaka, we see concern with the continuation of the lineage.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the Buddha is accused of making families sonless and thereby destroying them (aputtakatāya .. Kulupacchedāya).<sup>2</sup>

The succession to office is from father to the son. Ajātasattu kills his father Bimbisāra in order to succeed him on his throne.<sup>3</sup> Inheritance is the most important aspect of parent-son relationship. The property of both the mother and the father goes to their son, but where there is none, the property goes either to the next of kin or to the state. Thus Suddina Kālandaka's mother, in persuading her son who has become a monk to give them a child, argues that if he does not provide a son the property would go the Licchavis.<sup>4</sup> Raṭṭhapāla as well as Suddina are tempted by the offers of the wealth of their father, mothers and their paternal grandfathers.<sup>5</sup> Suddhodana Sakka is extremely pained at the ordination of Rāhula, his son's son, presumably because he has no heir left after him.<sup>6</sup> The property of a setthi gahapati

1. Vin. III. p.18

2. Ibid., I. p.43

3. Dig. I. p.85

4. Vin. III. p.18

5. Majj. II. p.63; Vin. III. p.17; Majjhima account has this. mattikam dhānam, annam pettikam annam pitamaham; whereas in the Vinaya we have an addition of the words. matumattikam and additional. itthikāya itthidhānam. Thus mother's wealth is specified as woman's wealth.

6. Vin. I. pp.82-83

who dies intestate is confiscated by King Pasenadi.<sup>1</sup> The importance of inheritance is demonstrated by the Buddha, who explains this happening by saying that in the previous life the intestate gahapati had killed his brother's only son for the sake of property.<sup>2</sup> That the inheritance was divided equally between all sons can be seen in the case of a brāhmaṇa who dies leaving a son by one of his two wives. When the other wife is pregnant the son goes to his mother's co-wife (mātu sapattim) and asks her to hand over the property. He says, "Whatever wealth there is, is mine. There is nothing here for you whatever; make over to me the inheritance of my father". She, however, replies, "Wait till a child is born to me; if it is a son he will share the property with you equally, if a girl she shall wait on you."<sup>3</sup> Hence it appears that both wife and daughter are excluded from inheritance which is patrilineal. It is natural, therefore, that we find King Pasenadi sad when a daughter is born to him instead of a son.<sup>4</sup>

Property can be transferred in the life time of the father. Thus, gahapati Paṭaliya has handed over the inheritance

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1. Saṃ. I. pp.89-90  
 2. Ibid., I. p.92  
 3. Dig. II. p.331  
 4. Saṃ. I. p.86



to his sons as befitting one who is concerned with spiritual affairs. He is no longer concerned with advising his sons.<sup>1</sup> A gahapati of Vesāli gives property to his sister's son in preference to his own. He asks the monk Ajjuka to ascertain which of the two has faith and belief (in the Buddha). Ajjuka decides in favour of the sister's son, to the annoyance of the gahapati's own son.<sup>2</sup> The latter appeals to the monk Ānanda and asks rhetorically, "Who is the father's heir (pituno dāyāṅgo), the son or the sister's son?" Ānanda replies that the son is the heir to the father. Then the son of the gahapati blames the monk Ajjuka. In a final appeal, the monk Upāli while silent on the question of inheritance confirms that the monk Ajjuka is right in siding with the one who has faith.<sup>3</sup>

The last factor is the ancestor worship which consists of paying homage to the ancestors by the son. Thus, when the parents are dead, among other things, the son has to make offering to the ancestors.<sup>4</sup> The son (Kulaputta) has also to give a share (bali) of his hard-earned wealth to ancestors (pubbapēta).<sup>5</sup>

1. Majj. I. p.360

2. Vin. III. p.66

3. Vin. III. pp.66-67

4. Dīg. III. p.189; Petānaṃ kālakatānaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ anupādassati

5. Ang. II. pp.67-68

Father-mother and daughters:

Daughters are the responsibility of the parents; like sons, daughters also need to seek permission of their parents in order to become nuns.<sup>1</sup> Daughters are protected by their parents (Mātu rakkhitā, pītūrakkhitā and mātāpitaro rakkhitā).<sup>2</sup> At proper age they are married to suitable husbands and sent to their new homes.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes widowed daughters come back and reside with their parents. Thus a poor Bhāradvāja brāhmaṇa, among other things, is encumbered by the presence of his seven daughters. All his daughters are widows each with one or two issues. The section concerning this brāhmaṇa itself is subtitled "Bahudhiti" i.e. concerning many daughters.<sup>4</sup>

There is a close tie of affection between a mother and her daughter. A girl Kāṇā, who returns on a visit to her parents' home is referred to as going to her mother's house (mātu ghara) and not her father's.<sup>5</sup> In the Vinaya another woman who quarrels with her husband also goes to her mother's house (mātughara).<sup>6</sup> A former courtesan is unwilling to give

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1. Vin. IV. pp.334-335  
 2. Ang. V. p.264  
 3. Ibid., IV. p.265  
 4. Saṃ. I. p.171  
 5. Vin. IV. p.79  
 6. Ibid., III. p.144.

her beautiful daughter in marriage to strangers from a distant village, but does so on the intervention of the monk Udāyi. When the daughter complains to her that her husband's household treats her harshly, the mother goes to her daughter's house to plead with the latter's husband and his parents.<sup>1</sup> It must be noted, however, that in this case the mother being a courtesan had to assume the role of a father as well as a mother.

We have seen that the father prefers a son to a daughter and also that she does not inherit her father's property if he has a son.<sup>2</sup> A father's attitude to his daughter is described by the Buddha when he consoles Pasenadi, who is disappointed by the birth of a daughter. The Buddha says, "A female child may prove an even better offspring than a male one. For she may grow up wise and virtuous. She will honour her mother-in-law (sasaudēvā) and be faithful to her husband (patibbatā). The boy that she may bear may do great deeds".<sup>3</sup> In Buddha's words we also see the ideal of behaviour for daughters and wives.

A woman must please her parents. Thus the enamoured and lustful monks implore a woman to consent to their wishes by saying 'When will your mother be reconciled? When will

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1. Vin. III. p.135

2. Dig. II. p.331. comp.

3. Sag. I. p.86

your father be reconciled?<sup>1</sup>

Brother and brother:

The elder brother commands respect from his younger brother. In this respect he is next to the parents. Thus, the brāhmaṇa Mānatthaddha neglects to respect not only his parents but also his elder brother (jettha bhātara).<sup>2</sup> The elder brother reciprocates this behaviour by exercising authority and by caring for the younger brother. Mahānāma Sakka, on the death of his father, looks after the property and keeps his brother Anuruddha in luxury, so that the latter does not know how to replace his brother when he desires to become a monk.<sup>3</sup> We may also note that Yasa and Paṭṭhapāla, who are described as living in luxury, are mentioned thus by their parents.<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes brothers are mentioned together without indicating the difference of age between them. They are also shown as following the same occupation. This suggests the solidarity of the brothers in their relationship with others.

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1. Vin. III. p.129

2. Saṃ. I. p.177

3. Vin. II. pp.180-181; Here taking Mahānāma as an elder brother we have relied on the fact that his name invariably precedes that of Anuruddha.

4. See above p. 186

Furana and Isidatta are both architects (thāpati).<sup>1</sup> Yemolu and Tekula, the two brāhmaṇa brothers, approach the Buddha with the suggestion that the latter should introduce a metre (chanda) to preach the dhamma.<sup>2</sup> Two farmer brothers lie dead with their oxen, while the Buddha is meditating near <sup>3</sup>by. The two Jatāla brothers, who are fireworshippers, follow the example of their elder brother in giving up the fire-worship and joining the Buddhist Saṅgha.<sup>4</sup>

The brothers share their father's property. Thus a brāhmaṇa woman who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death, asks her step-son to wait till her child is born. "If he is a boy", she says, "he will take half the share".<sup>5</sup> The 'half share' indicates an equal share. An upāsaka who presented a store-room to a group of nuns in his father's life time, his unfaithful son says to his faithful brother after the upāsaka's death, "let us divide (bhājāma) the property, the store-room is ours."<sup>6</sup> Suddhodana Sakka, who is grieved at the Buddha's going forth, is equally grieved at Nanda going forth, presumably because he has lost both his

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1. Majj. II. p.123; Ang. III. p.348  
 2. Vin. II. p.139; Chandas has been taken to mean Sanskrit by D.P.P.N.S. V.  
 3. Dig. II. p.139 'dvo kassaka bhātarā'  
 4. Vin. I. pp 33-34.  
 5. Dig. II. p.331  
 6. Vin. IV. P.223

heirs.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, the inheritance passes from one brother to another or from the son of brother to another brother. Thus, the King of the Sakkas, Bhaddiya puts off going forth until he transfers the management of his estate to his sons and brothers.<sup>2</sup> A setthi dies without an heir, because he had in previous birth killed his brother's only son for the sake of property.<sup>3</sup>

Sister and sister:

In describing a "sister-like wife" the Buddha says, "Like the respect which a sister gives to the elder sister (jeṭṭha bhagini), a "sister-like wife" respects her husband. "Acting meekly she serves her husband's every wish."<sup>4</sup> Hence it is obvious that the elder sister was respected.

Solidarity between sisters is shown by the fact that Mahāpajāpati and her sister Māyā, the Buddha's mother, were both married to Suddhodana Sakka.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it is

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1. Vin., I. p.82  
2. Ibid., II. p.182 'yāvāhaṃ putte ca bhātare ca rajjaṃ niyyādemīti'  
3. Saṃ. I. p.92 'bhātuca pana ekaputtakam sapatheyyassā karanā jivita voropesi'  
4. Ang. IV. p.93  
5. D.P.P.N, sv

Mahapajapati who serves the Buddha as his mother's sister, nurse and foster mother.<sup>1</sup>

Brother and sister:

The term of address and reference for a sister is bhagini. It is also used in a classificatory sense by the monks, who address all women as sisters. Since the monks should avoid all sexual relationships with women, this usage indicates that such relationships were prohibited between brother and sister. We find further proof of this in the fact that Ratthapala, Sudinna Kalandaka and others, when they become monks, address their former wives as sisters, to the despair of the wives.<sup>2</sup> The monk Udayin whose wife has also become a nun, addresses her as sister.<sup>3</sup> Similarly Ugga gahapati who is an upasaka of the Buddha, addresses his wives as sisters at the time of his renunciation of worldly ties.<sup>4</sup>

The brother-sister relationship is characterised by 'avoidance'.<sup>5</sup> The proof of this is a little complicated.

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1. Ang. IV. p.276 'bahupakara mahapajapati Gotami Bhagavato matuccha apadiko posika.
  2. Majj. II. p.64; Vin. III. p.17; see also Vin. IV. 263
  3. Vin. II. p.205
  4. Ang. IV. p.210
  5. An avoidance relationship calls for a minimisation of actual contacts. It is opposed to normal relationship in that individual temperaments of the persons do not play a great role. The sexual relationship between persons is prohibited but where it occurs, there is no incest. In fact, it is to avoid the sexual relationship that 'avoidance' is practised. An example of avoidance relationship in modern Indian society is that between a daughter-in-law and a father-in-law.

On the one hand we find that the nuns address each other as ayye, a term denoting respect.<sup>1</sup> The lay followers also address the nuns as ayye.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand we find that the monks address all women as sisters.<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no prohibition against normal relationship between either two nuns or between a nun and a lay follower. We also find that the relationship between a monk and woman is minimal. In one instance, the Buddha says, "It is better to talk with a man with a sword in hand than to be with a woman alone."<sup>4</sup> We may, therefore, presume that the minimal relationship is denoted in the use of the term "sister" by the monk. We find a further proof of this when the Buddha describes the seven types of wives to Sujātā.<sup>5</sup> One of the type is a "sister-like wife". She behaves towards her husband as she would towards an elder sister (i.e. with respect) and not a brother. The implication of change in the sex of the husband, only in the case of a "sister-like wife", suggests that the brother-sister relationship could not provide a model of

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1. Vin. IV. pp.332-333, where a senior nun addresses a probationer as ayye. They also refer to other nuns as ayyā; Vin. IV. 326

2. Ibid., IV. p.318, 211

3. The exception is, however, made in the case of Pajāpati Gotamī who is addressed by the monk Ānanda as Gotami. It may be remembered that it was she who admitted woman into the Buddha sangha. - See Vin. IV. p.254

4. Ang. III. p.69 sallape asihatthena

5. Ang. IV. p.93



behaviour for a wife. The only reason we can imagine for this is that the brother-sister relationship was an avoidance relationship, which would not be feasible between a husband and a wife. This is not surprising in a society where customary divorce is practised and where the household unit is the polygamous extended family, so that we may find half-sisters and classificatory sisters within the household.

Husband and wife:

The terms of address for the husband are ayya, ayyaputta, gahapati, sāmi and the terms of reference are pati, sāmi and gahapati. Marriage is polygamous and the term for a co-wife is sapatni.

That the marriage is polygynous, we can see from a number of instances. The brāhmaṇa Mahāgovinda has forty wives,<sup>1</sup> Raṭṭhapāla has many<sup>2</sup> (the number is not specified) and Uggā gahapati has four.<sup>3</sup> In some cases marriage is monogamous, as in the case of Nakulapitā,<sup>4</sup> Meṇḍaka gahapati,<sup>5</sup> Suppiya upāsaka,<sup>6</sup> Sudinna Kāladaka,<sup>7</sup> Rājā Muṇḍā<sup>8</sup> and a seṭṭhi of

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1. Dig. II. pp.239, 245  
 2. Majj. II. p.64  
 3. Aṅg. IV. p.210  
 4. Ibid., III. pp.295-298  
 5. Vin. I. pp.240-241  
 6. Ibid., I. pp.216-217  
 7. Ibid., III. p.17  
 8. Aṅg. III. p.57 ff.

Rājagaha.<sup>1</sup> At least in the cases of Rājā Muṇḍā and Nakulapitā, monogamy is accompanied by mutual love between husband and wife. There is reason to believe that monogamy was associated with poverty, but not necessarily so. Thus the brahmana who has many widowed daughters has "one wife, a tawny and speckled one."<sup>2</sup> At another time, the Buddha says that it is much more difficult for a man with one wife, ugly and poor, to go forth than for a rich man with wives.<sup>3</sup>

No special reason is given in the text as to why a man takes another wife, except in the case of Kaṇa, whose husband takes another wife out of pique because Kaṇa's mother would not send her back to him in spite of his repeated warnings.<sup>4</sup>

If the husband is polygamous, the wife too, can obtain a customary divorce and even remarry. When Ugga gahapati renounces worldly ties, he offers his four wives a choice, "If there is any man whom you desire, I could give you to him." The eldest one chooses to take another man and is given to him by Ugga.<sup>5</sup> The brahmana Purohita, Mahāgovinda also offers the

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1. Vin. I. p.272  
 2. Saṃ. I. p.170  
 3. Majj. I. pp.450-51  
 4. Vin. IV. pp.78-79  
 5. Aṅg. IV. p.210

same choice to his forty wives, when he renounces the worldly ties, but they choose to follow him in the path of renunciation.<sup>1</sup> The mother of Nakula during the illness of her husband reassures him that after sixteen years of conjugal life she will not "go to another man."<sup>2</sup> In one case, however, divorce and consequent remarriage are forced upon the husband and wife by the wife's nātakas. The husband unable to find any way out, kills the wife and commits suicide.<sup>3</sup>

In the polygamous household wives are sometimes jealous of each other. Thus, in the Vinaya, there is a story of two co-wives, one fertile and another barren. The latter secures the death of the unborn child of the former by administering a drug through a monk.<sup>4</sup>

A widow does not necessarily remarry. The mother of Nakula reassures her husband in the following words: "May be you think, when I am gone, the mother of Nakula may not able to support the children nor to keep the household together. But by skill at spinning cotton and carding matted wool, she can support the children and run the household."<sup>5</sup> We also find

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1. Dig. II. p.245

2. Aṅg. III. p.296; II. 61

3. Majj. II. p.110

4. Vin. III. p.83

5. Aṅg. III. p.296

that after their husbands become monks, the wives of the Buddha,<sup>1</sup> Sudinna,<sup>2</sup> Raṭṭhapāla<sup>3</sup> and so on remain in their marital households. The only exception are the wives of Ugga gahapati.<sup>4</sup> We do not know the social status of Ugga, but it seems that the wives of others did not leave their marital home because they belonged to families of high social status.

A wife does not inherit the property of her husband after his death. The son of a brāhmaṇa after the death of his father goes to his mother's co-wife and asks her to give him back the property of his father.<sup>5</sup>

On an inter-personal level, there exists conjugal love and affection. Rājā Muṇḍā is so much afflicted by the death of his beloved queen that he gives up bathing, anointing, eating and all work and clings day and night to her body. He even asks his treasurer to preserve her body in oil.<sup>6</sup> King Pasenadi, when he heard the news of his queen Mallika's death, "was sorely grieved and sick at heart, his shoulders drooped, his mouth fell and he sat brooding, unable to speak."<sup>7</sup> The

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1. Vin. I. p.82  
 2. Ibid., III. p.17  
 3. Majj. II. p.64  
 4. Aṅg. IV. p.210  
 5. Dig. II. p.331  
 6. Aṅg. III. p.58  
 7. Aṅg. III. p.57

mother of Nakula says to her husband, that they were married in young age and hence were not conscious of having transgressed even in thought, much less in action.<sup>1</sup> When he expresses the fear that she may take another man after his death, she replies that they have lived a chaste life together for sixteen years and that has satisfied her; so she would keep her virtue in full.<sup>2</sup> The woman whose nātakas propose to give her in marriage to another man says to her husband, "My nātakas have forcibly taken me from you, they want to give me to another man, but I do not want him." The husband in despair kills his wife and commits suicide, thinking that they will be together thereafter.<sup>3</sup> Monk Raṭṭhapāla's former wives desire him to go back to them.<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes, however, the wife's devotion to her husband arises out of duty rather than love. Thus, former wife of the monk Sudinna sets out to seduce him at the behest of his mother.<sup>5</sup> The brāhmaṇa Mahagovinda's forty wives desire to follow him into renunciation.<sup>6</sup>

A woman is valued by her husband more than by her

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1. Aṅg. II. p.61  
 2. Ibid., III. p.296  
 3. Majj. II. p.110  
 4. Ibid., II. p.64  
 5. Vin. III. pp.17-18  
 6. Dig. II. p.246

other relatives. Thus, when the wife of a seṭṭhi gahapati of Rājagaha is cured by Jivaka, the son, the son's wife and the woman herself, each give four thousand coins to Jivaka in gratefulness. But her husband gives him four thousand coins, plus a male and a female slave and carriage.<sup>1</sup> In another instance, when a seṭṭhi gahapati's son is ill and is to be operated upon, the doctor Jivaka permits only the wife to be present at the operation.<sup>2</sup>

There are also cases of wives who quarrel with their husbands or treat them contemptuously. In one case the wife, who has become a nun, scolds her husband who is a monk, for not accepting personal services from her as he used to do so.<sup>3</sup> The wife of a poor brāhmaṇa with many daughters, wakes him up with her feet in the morning.<sup>4</sup> An old brāhmaṇa who marries a young girl is very henpecked. He promises to present her with a pet monkey (Makkaṭacchāpako) if she gave him a boy. She is given the monkey before a child is born. Still dissatisfied, she sends him to the dyer to get the monkey dyed, pressed and smoothened, and thus makes a fool of him.<sup>5</sup>

Some wives are not chaste. One such wife who becomes

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1. Vin. I. p.272
  2. Ibid., I. p.276
  3. Ibid., IV. p.263
  4. Saṃ. I. p.170
  5. Majj. I. pp.384-385

pregnant by her lover when her husband is away, gets medicine from a monk in order to secure an abortion.<sup>1</sup> A Licchavi man consults the Licchavi gana in order to get their consent to kill his wife for committing adultery.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the instances of actual behaviour outlined above, we find the following stereotypes of the husband-wife relationship. In Sigalovada Sutta, it is said that the husband should treat his wife with respect, courtesy and faithfulness, hand over the authority to her and provide her with adornments. In turn, she should be hospitable and chaste, skilled and diligent in all work, and should safeguard the property of her husband.<sup>3</sup> In another place the Buddha addresses the young women about to go to their husbands' house (pati Kulāni). He says, "(1) A wife rises earlier than her husband and is the last one to retire. She willingly helps her husband, carries out his wishes and speaks with him affably. (2) She honours, reveres and respects all whom her husband reveres, such as his parents, Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. (3) She manages the household and those who live in it, the slaves, messengers and domestic servants. She cares for both the able and the sick and distributes food to every one

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1. Vin. III, p. 83

2. Ibid., III, p. 225

3. Dig. III, p. 190

according to his lot. (4) She is deft and nimble in the crafts of her husband's household and she knows how to get the work done and how to do it herself. (5) She safeguards her husband's property, his money, grains, silver and gold, and she is not like a robber, wastrel, or carouser. Only such a wife, the Buddha adds, can be reborn a Deva after death.<sup>1</sup>

In another instance the Buddha advises Sujātā, the unruly daughter-in-law of Anāthpīṇḍika who comes from a rich family. He says there are seven types of wives, some approved and others not so. The first is "the slayer" (vadhaka) who is pitiless, corrupt, neglects her husband at night, and passes her time with others. She has been bought with money and is murderous. The second type is "the robber" (corisāmā), who takes his money and longs to impoverish him. The third is "the mistress-like wife" (ayyasamā), who is lazy, indolent, expensive to maintain, who loves gossip and talks with strident voice. She lessens her husband's zeal and industry. These three types are harsh and distrustful, and live in hell after their deaths. But the fourth type is "the mother-like wife" (mātusamā), who has sympathy for her husband, cares for him as she would for

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1. Aṅg. III. pp. 36-38



an only son, and safeguards her husband's property. The fifth type is "the sister-like wife" (bhagini samā), who respects her husband as she would an elder. The sixth type is "the companion-like wife" who is full of joy on seeing her husband, just as one meeting a friend after a long time. She is of gentle birth, chaste, and faithful to her husband. The last type is "the slave-like wife" (dāsi samā) who does not fear to take beating from her husband and is calm, patient and obedient. These wives are virtuous and will go to heaven on death. Sujātā after the discourse prefers to become a "slave-like wife".<sup>1</sup>

Mother's brother and sister's son:

Outside the family and the household, the mother's brother (mātula) is the most important relative. He is affectionate towards his sister's son, educates him, gives him gifts and settles him in life. Even when the latter injures him directly, he still remains lenient. Sonadaṇḍa the brāhmaṇa points proudly to his sister's son Aṅgaka, of whom he says, "He is born well, is studious, learned, handsome and of good character. He is truly a learned man."<sup>2</sup> On another occasion he says, "He is born well on both the

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1. Aṅg. IV. pp.92-93

2. Dig. I. p.123

mother's and the father's side. I know his parents..... I gave him learning."<sup>1</sup> In another case<sup>2</sup> a man requests the monk Ajjuka to choose between his sister's son and his own and decide who is the more faithful. The monk chooses the sister's son. The mother's brother thereupon gives his wealth and settles his family,<sup>3</sup> to the annoyance of his own son. The son appeals to Ānanda who decides that a monk should not interfere in such matters and that inheritance should go to a son. The monk Upāli to whom the final appeal is addressed, however, absolves the monk of interfering in the rule of inheritance, by saying that the monk has only to decide who is the more faithful one. He is not responsible for the consequences. It is clear that although the sister's son has no right of inheritance, he can benefit economically from his mother's brother.

The king Ajātasattu attacks his mother's brother Rājā Pasenadi of Kosala and defeats him. But when they meet a second time in battle, Pasenadi captures him alive. Pasenadi, however, sets Ajātasattu free after taking his entire army as prisoners, thinking, "The king injures me without my doing so to him, yet he is my sister's son."<sup>4</sup>

1. Dīg. 1/2 jahaṃ assa mātapitaro jānami.. ahaṃ assa mante vacetā

2. Vin. III. pp. 66-67

3. Ibid., p. 66

4. Sam. I. p. 85; rājā māgadho Ajatasattu Vedehiputto adubbhantassa dubbhati, atha ca pana me bhagineyyo hotis

Even the Buddha recognises the importance of the mother's brother. A monk visits his mother's brother (mātula) who is ill in the army, although a visit to the army is an offence involving expiation. The Buddha after hearing a complaint about this makes an exception of the mother's brother who may be visited even in the army when ill.<sup>1</sup>

Among female relatives with whom sexual relations are considered incestuous is the mother's brother's wife (mātulāni). In this, ranks with mother (mātā), mother's sister (mātuccha), teacher's wife (ācariya bhāriyā), and preceptor's wife (guru dārā).<sup>2</sup>

The Husband's parents and son's wife:

The terms of reference for the husband's father and mother are sassura and sassu respectively; that for a daughter-in-law is suna.

An important point about relationship between the husband's parents and daughter-in-law is that the latter derives her relationship through her husband, whom she must obey and respect. The husband in turn has the relationship

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1. Vin. IV. p.105

2. Dig. III. p.72

of obedience and respect towards his parents. Thus, a daughter-in-law is in a doubly inferior position. That she sees her husband and his parents as a single category to whom she owes respect and obedience, is clear from the fact that in any reference to her the husband's mother, his father and the husband are usually mentioned together in that order.

A bride on marriage goes to the family of her husband which is alien to her. She, therefore, tends to see it as a single unit. We find that a newly married woman (vadhuka) feels 'extreme fear and bashfulness in the presence of her husband's mother, his father, and domestic servants.'<sup>1</sup> The family also sees her as an alien coming to seek membership. Hence we find that in the Vinaya<sup>2</sup> the female members of the family are classified in descending order as, (1) woman of the family (kula itthī), (2) the daughters of the family (kula dhītāyo), (3) the young girls of the family (kulakumāriyo), (4) daughters-in-law of the family (kula sunhayo) and (5) the women slaves (kula dāsiyo).<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that the daughter-in-law is at the end of the list of relatives in the family but just before

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1. Aṅg. II. p.78  
 2. Vin. III. p.120  
 3. Vin. III. p.120

the slaves who are obviously outsiders; and are considered as members of the family only because they stay in the household. It is not, therefore, surprising that the daughter-in-law is sometimes treated as a slave. A prostitute's daughter who married into a respectable family, complains that for a month she was treated as a daughter-in-law should be, but afterwards as a female slave.<sup>1</sup> In the same story, however, we find a statement that some daughters-in-law are satisfied with their husbands' parents and husbands, while others are not.<sup>2</sup>

That the daughter-in-law is a member of the family is not in doubt. Thus, gahapati Menḍaka's household includes, his wife, his son, son's wife, slaves and domestic servants. However, among those who possess psychic power (iddhi) are Menḍaka, his wife, his daughter-in-law and his slave.<sup>3</sup> The possession of psychic power indicates the full integration of the daughter-in-law as a member of the family. Among the persons who give gifts to the doctor Jivaka on the recovery of the seṭṭhi gahapati's wife is her daughter-in-law. Like

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1. Vin ., III. pp.136-37  
 2. Ibid., p.137  
 3. Ibid., I. pp.240-41

her mother-in-law and her husband, the daughter-in-law also pays four thousand coins.<sup>1</sup>

In terms of ideal behaviour, the daughter-in-law should rise up and offer seats and water to her husband's parents.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha consoles Rājā Pasenadi on the birth of a daughter by saying that she will get married and will respect her mother-in-law.<sup>3</sup> Here, the mother-in-law is referred to as sassudevā.

The actual behaviour of the daughter-in-law varies from one instance to another. When Sudinna desires to become a monk, it is his mother and not his wife, who attempts to dissuade him. Sudinna seeks his parents' permission but not his wife's. When he returns, it is again his mother who persuades him to give the family a child. It is she who instructs her daughter-in-law to be ready to receive him. The wife herself plays only an instrumental and passive role.<sup>4</sup>

But a daughter-in-law is not always obedient and respectful. Once the monk Udāyi goes to a house,<sup>5</sup> where the

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1. Vin. I. p.273

2. Aṅg. III. p.37

3. Saṃ. I. p.86

4. Vin. III. pp.13-18

5. Vin. IV. pp.20-21

mother-in-law sits at the entrance door (nivesana dvāra), while the daughter-in-law is in the living room (āvāsatha dvāra). The monk gives Dhamma first to the mother-in-law and later to the daughter-in-law, separately and in private. As a result each of the women suspects Udāyi to be the lover of the other. It is, however, the mother-in-law who first asks her daughter-in-law a direct question to find out what the monk had said to her. The daughter-in-law replies suitably and in turn asks her mother-in-law and gets a similar reply. Then both blame the monk for arousing their suspicions.<sup>1</sup> In this instance we find that, although the mother-in-law has a superior position, she obtains the dhamma first, and declares her suspicions first, there is familiarity on the part of the daughter-in-law and even contempt in her suspicions. At another place it is said that a daughter-in-law after living in her husband's family long enough and gaining confidence addresses her husband and his parents thus: "Away with you, what do you know?"<sup>2</sup> Here also the daughter-in-law shows familiarity and contempt.

The Buddha, visiting the home of Anāthapiṇḍika, finds it full of high and loud voices. On enquiring he is

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1. Vin. IV. pp.20-21; It is significant <sup>to</sup> / nce that mother-in-law addresses in a suspicious mood the daughter-in-law as Je, a term of address which is elsewhere used for slaves.

2. Ang. II. p.78

told that the cause of the noise is Sūjātā, the daughter-in-law of the house (ghara sunha) who is herself rich and has been brought from a rich family (addha, addakulā ānitā).<sup>1</sup> The Buddha is also told, "she pays no heed to her husband's parents, to her husband or even to the Buddha." Anāthapiṇḍika requests the Buddha to advise her. At the end of his discourse Sūjātā becomes a "dāsi-like wife"; respecting and serving all.

Lastly, we find that an old Brāhmaṇa in torn cloths complains to the Buddha that his sons in collusion with his daughters-in-law have shown him the door.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the daughters-in-law have gained power over their husbands as well as their father-in-law.

Other relatives:

Among other relatives mentioned in the text are the mother's sister (mātuccha),<sup>3</sup> mother's sister's son (mātucchaputta),<sup>4</sup> father's sister's son (pituccha putta),<sup>5</sup>

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- 1. Ang . . . IV. pp.92-93
  - 2. Saṃ. I. p.176
  - 3. Vin. II. p.254
  - 4. Saṃ. II. p.281
  - 5. Saṃ. II. p.281



father's brother (pitā peyya),<sup>1</sup> and father's mother (ayyakā).<sup>2</sup>

As we have seen, the Buddha is brought up by his mother's sister, who is also his mother's co-wife.<sup>3</sup> A sexual relationship with the mother's sister is sinful as that with a mother, and is, therefore, incestuous.<sup>4</sup> Sudinna's parents attempt to dissuade him by pointing to his father's wealth which he will inherit.<sup>5</sup> Rājā Pasenadi on the death of his father's mother says, that he would have given an elephant<sup>6</sup> or a priceless horse or estates in order to save her life.

#### Marriage:

We find various forms of marriages and unions mentioned in the text. The most approved of them are the two forms Āvāha and Vivāha, invariably mentioned together. It is not very certain whether these are two ceremonies of one single form or two different forms. Āvāha-vivāha is arranged by the parents. The parties to the marriage are young and chaste (kumāra-kumārikā). Upon marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's family. The following case

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1. Ang. III. p.347

2. Saṃ. I. p.97

3. Ang. IV. p.276

4. Dig. III. p.72

5. Vin. III. p.16

6. Saṃ. I. p.97

will make some of the points of this marriage clear:

The monk Udāyi sees an unmarried youth (kumārakaṃ vā apaḷāpatim) and an unmarried girl (kumārikā vā apātikam). He praises the girl in the presence of the youth's parents. Udāyi says, 'The girl is of such and such a family (amukassa kulassa). She is beautiful (abhirūpā), charming (dassaniyā), lovely (pasādikā), learned (panditā), accomplished (vyuttā), wise (medhāvinī), clever (dakkhā), and industrious (anālasā). She is suitable for the youth.' The youth's parents reply, 'they (the girl's family) do not know us - who and what we are. If, you will induce them to give her, we may convey the girl to the youth.'

The monk Udāyi then praises the boy in the presence of the girl's parents. He uses the same words of praise and advises that the girl is suitable for the youth. The girl's parents say to Udāyi, 'they do not know us - who and what we are, nor do they know how much is the girl's property. If you will beg (yācāpeyya), we may give the girl to the youth.' Thus Udāyi brings about "leading (āvāha) of the bridegroom

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1. Vin. III. p.135

2. Ibid., amhe na jānanti ke vā ime kassavāti, Kismim viya kumārikāya vatthum.

by the bride's family and "leading away" (vivāha) of the bride and the marriage takes place (vareyyāni pi vattāpeti).<sup>1</sup>

A number of points are noteworthy. Firstly, the individual opinions of the girl and youth are conspicuously absent, although compatability is suggested by imputation of identical qualities to both the parties. Secondly, the families of both the parties are unknown to each other. Thirdly, it is the status and position in society of the families on both sides which are of importance. Presumably the families must be equal. However, when the marriage is being arranged the relationship between them is not equal but the youth's family is superior. We can see this through the way they appeal to the monk to bring about the marriage. While the youth's parents would like to induce the girl's parents, the latter would beg them to arrange the marriage. Also the youth's parents have to establish only the status and positions, while the girl's parents have an additional obligation to pay dowry (vatthu). Fourthly, the marriages were arranged through an intermediary, in this case a monk. Lastly, āvāha literally means the leading of the bride (by the bride's family) and vivāha leading her away (by the

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1. Vin. III. p.135

bridegroom's family). The marriage is "virilocal". But the point is significant enough to give the form its nomenclature.

We have translated the term mātā-pitaro as parents; however, it appears that it may not necessarily refer to the mother and father only. It is perhaps of some significance that the parties to marriage are not son and daughter (putta-dārā) but youth and a girl (kumāra and Kumārikā). This interpretation of mātā-pitaro is compatible with the meaning which we have assigned to it earlier.<sup>1</sup> We may, therefore, presume that the parents arranged the marriage, not only of their son's and daughter's but also all the charges under them within the extended family.

Another reference to āvāha-vivāha occurs in one of the Buddha's utterances. Contrasting supreme perfection to āvāha-vivāha, the Buddha says:<sup>2</sup>

"There is no reference to the question either of birth (jāti-vāda), gotta (gotta-vāda) or the prestige (māna-vāda), which says, 'you are held as worthy as I or you are not held worthy as I,' it is in the talk of marriage (āvāha-vivāha) that reference is made to these things."

1. See pp. 185 - 186

2. Dig. I. p. 99

Here once more the emphasis is on the status and prestige in connection with āvāha-vivāha. This time, however, status is expressed in terms of birth and gotta.

Another reference to āvāha-vivāha is made when a setṭhi of Rājagaha, invites the Buddha for a meal. Anāthapiṇḍika, the husband of the host's sister mistakes the preparations for the meal with those for a great sacrifice, invitation to a king and a marriage (āvāha-vivāha).<sup>1</sup> This suggests that āvāha-vivāha involved considerable expense, particularly in the case of the rich.

There are ten forms of marriage mentioned in the text, all in one place.<sup>2</sup> These are (1) When a woman is bought with money (dhanakkhitā), (2) When a woman stays of her own accord with a man (ohandavāsini), (3) When a man gives her money (bhogavāsini), (4) When a man gives her clothes (patavāsini), (5) When an ablution of water is performed (odapattakāni), (6) When she removes her head-wear (ob<sup>ha</sup>tacumbatā), (7) When she is also a female slave (dāsi-nāma), (8) When she is also a servant (kammari<sup>kā</sup>), (9) When she is temporarily with a man (muhuttikā) and (10) When she is captured in a raid (dhajāhatā). It is

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1. Vin. II. pp.154-155

2. Ibid., III. pp.139-140

obvious that the last four are no more than recognized unions. In the case dhanakkhitā, patavāsini, and bhogavāsini, there is some economic exchange involved and presumably, this gives some permanence to the union. In the case of odapattakāni and ob<sup>h</sup>atacumbaṭā, a symbolic ceremony is emphasized. Chandavāsini, is the only form where any symbol in the form of economic exchange or a ceremony are conspicuously absent. The woman lives with her lover of her own will. This is the nearest we get to a free and willing union. In the case of dāsī and Kammakāri, the union may not be temporary but in these cases the special position of the woman is a pre-requisite to the union. It is to be noted that not all dāsīs and kammakāris entered into union by virtue of their position; if anything, these forms of marriage show the strength of the authority-obedience relationship between the master and servant.

It seems that the above do not exhaust all forms of marriage.<sup>1</sup> Thus:

Some disciples of ājīvikas coming from a distant village ask for the beautiful daughter of an ex-courtesan (ganaki) for their son. The ex-courtesan, however, at first refuses to give her

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1. Vin. III. pp.135-136

daughter in marriage, but agrees after the intervention of the monk Udāyi. The proposal is accepted only on the fourth time. The marriage is described in the following manner, "that ganaki, gave her daughter to the disciples of the ājīvikas."<sup>1</sup>

It is to be noted that in this case, not the intermediary, but the family of the bridegroom makes the proposal, the intermediary also the monk in this case, mediates only when the refusal occurs. No āvāha-vivāha is mentioned, but the marriage is signified by the proposal 'deyyāmi' and its compliance, adāsi. Both the terms denote the aspect of giving, presumably because in this form of marriage it is the girl's family who have a bargaining position.

In another case:

Monk Anuruddha once stays at an inn (āvāsathagāra) in a village. The keeper of the inn, a woman (itthi), properly adorned, makes a proposal for a union to the monk (pajāpati bhaveyyam). When the monk refuses, she tempts him by undressing. The monk still pays no attention. Thrice ignored, this time the woman offers wealth along with herself, but, of no

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1. Ibid., p.136; atha kho sā ganakī tesaṃ ājīvakaṃ sāvakaṇaṃ dhītaram adāsi.

avail. Surprised and shocked by the monk's refusal, she says, "men have sent for me with a hundred or a thousand (coins), but this monk in spite of my begging, did not desire to take me or my wealth (sāpateyyam)."<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that the woman at first proposes a temporary sexual union and only at last does she propose a permanent alliance. The term for union is pajāpati bhaveyyam. In this connection it may be noted that in the earlier case kumāra is described as apajāpatim (kumāri as aptikam).<sup>2</sup> The emphasis in the term pajāpati is obviously on the sexual aspect of the union and not on the procreation of children as the etymology of the term denotes. The woman here is itthī and not kumāri, hence the use of the term pajāpati. It is used here only euphemistically. It is to be noted that elsewhere the term pajāpati is also used to refer to wives.<sup>3</sup>

Yet another form of marriage is described in the case of Uggā of Vesāli:<sup>4</sup>

Of himself Uggā says, "I had four wives (pajāpati), all young (komāriyo), and I

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1. Vin. IV. p.18

2. See above p.216

3. Ang.I. p.137; IV. p.210; Vin. I. p.23; II. p.25; Sam II. p.243

4. Ang.IV. p.210



went and spoke to them thus, "sisters (bhaginiyo) I have embraced the five rules of training. Who wishes may enjoy the wealth of this place, or may do deeds of merit, or may go to her own nāti-kula; or are there some men you desire to whom I may give you.' When I stopped speaking the eldest wife said to me, 'ayya, give me to such and such a man.' Then I sent for that man. Taking my wife by the left hand and holding a pot of water in my right, I poured water on their hands. Yet I was not the least discomfited at parting with my wife (dāram pariccante)."<sup>1</sup>

In this case the wife is given away by a ritual denoted by the term onojesim. This term occurs elsewhere, in connection with a gift.<sup>2</sup> The aspect of gift is also emphasized by pariccante, which denotes severance. The wives are described at first as pajāpatiyo and komāriyo thus emphasizing their sexual desirability. In the gift, however, the eldest wife is described as dārā, obviously a more socially correct term for a wife. The second

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1. Aṅg. IV. p.210; taṃ parisam pakkosāpetvā vāmena hatthena pajapatim gahetvā, dakkhinena hatthena bhīngaram gahetvā tassa purissassa a onojesim.

2. For the term Onojesim, see Majj. I. p.236; Vin. I.p.39.

marriage of the elder wife appears to be no less recognized than other forms of marriage which involve ritual. Uggā's abandonment of any rights in his wife is doubly emphasized first on an emotional level through the term bhaginiyo, and second on a ritual level.

The brāhmaṇa practice of marriage:

There are five types of Brāhmaṇas mentioned in relation to marriage:<sup>1</sup> (1) The celibate 'Brahmā-like' (brāhmaṇa Brahmāsama), (2) 'god-like' (brāhmaṇa devā sama), (3) those who follow tradition (brāhmaṇa mariyādā), (4) those who break tradition (brāhmaṇa sabbhinnamariyādā) and (5) the brāhmaṇa outcaste (brāhmaṇa caṇḍāla). The first type of brāhmaṇa is obviously celibate like the god Brahmā. The second and third type must marry only brāhmaṇa women, and with a ritual in which water is poured on the woman (udakūpassattham). The fourth and fifth type of brāhmaṇas marry both brāhmaṇa and other women, khattiya, vessa, sudda, caṇḍāla, nesāda, vena, rathkāra, and pukkusaka. The ceremony in the last two types is through pouring of water (udakūpassattham) as well as through buying and selling (kāyena vā vikkayena).

All types of brāhmaṇas, irrespective of their

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1. Ang. III. pp.223-230

behaviour, are described as pure in lineage and also as versed in the vedas. The second and third type of marriage were for the procreation of children (pajathāva) and not for sexual enjoyment (kāmattha, davattha and ratattha), while the last two types were for all these.

It is obvious that only the first three types of brāhmaṇas carry some approval. The last two are disapproved of but do not lose their caste affiliation. All brāhmaṇas are pure in lineage. This is shown in the following case:

In an argument with the brāhmaṇa Assalāyana, regarding the claims of the brāhmaṇas to superiority on the basis of birth, the Buddha gives an example of the brāhmaṇa. He says, "In Yona-Kāmbōja and other outlying regions there are two vannas, the master (ayya) and the slave and it is possible for the master to become a slave or for a slave to become a master."<sup>1</sup>

The story assumes a meaning, when related to the explanation offered in Majjhima Atthkathā.<sup>2</sup> It says that if a brāhmaṇa and his wife go trading in an outlying Janapada, he may die there leaving no son. His wife may have previously had

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1. Majj. II. p.149

2. M.A. III. p.409

intercourse with a slave or servant (dāso vā kammakāro).

In that case any son born would be a slave, although pure on his mother's side. This son goes to trade in a majjhima janapada and married a brāhmaṇa woman. Any son born will be a brāhmaṇa, though pure only on his mother's side.

Whatever the truth of the commentary written a few centuries afterwards, a number of implications within the text and commentary are noteworthy. Firstly, the explanation offered in the commentary is social and not philosophical in its content, although the latter would be the easier to offer. Secondly, the term vanna is used to denote a two class hierarchy, supposedly existing in Yona-Kambojā and other outlying regions. Thirdly, the class affiliation of the brāhmaṇa woman in the commentary also applies to her son, whereas in Yona-Kamboja he is a slave, in majjhima janapada he is a brāhmaṇa, can marry a brāhmaṇa woman and also have a brāhmaṇa son. Lastly, the tracing of caste affiliation is through the mother when the father's lineage is partly or wholly non-brāhmaṇic.

In this connection we also find the names of brāhmaṇas, such as brāhmaṇa Sañjikāputta<sup>1</sup> and Sāriputta<sup>2</sup>

1. Vin. II. p.139

2. Majjī. p.185, see also D.P.P.N. s.v.

significant. The names are derived through the name of the mother in each case.

In another controversy with Assalāyana, the Buddha gives an example of brāhmaṇa union outside the brāhmaṇa group.<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha says, "a khattiya youth consorts (saddhim samvāsam kappeyya) with a brāhmaṇa girl. A son who is born out of this union is like his father and mother. He will be a khattiya and brāhmaṇa."

The implication of this case becomes clear in yet another one which we give below:

The Buddha argues with brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha<sup>2</sup> "A khattiya youth consorts (saddhim samvāsam kappeyya) with a brāhmaṇa girl or a brāhmaṇa youth consorts with a khattiya girl. A son is born out of such a union, the brāhmaṇas offer him seat and water. They invite him to partake food of sāddha, thālipāka, yañña, and pāhunaka.<sup>3</sup> They also instruct him in sacred verses and do not prohibit his mingling with their women (itthī).

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1. Majj. II. p.153

2. Dig. I. p.97

3. Festive occasions of the brāhmaṇas.

The Khattiyas would not consecrate such a son, because he is not pure by birth by seven generations on the mother's side in one case and on the father's side in another.

In the above cases, it is apparent that the brāhmaṇas recognize the caste affiliation of a person who is a brāhmaṇa on either side and there is no stigma attached to partial non-brāhmaṇic origin. The khattiyas, however, are more rigid and refuse to accept in their own group a man who is not pure by birth for seven generations on both father's and mother's side. It may also be noted that the term for marriage in this case is not āvāha-vivāha but staying together (saddhim samvāsankappeyya).

In earlier part of the last case, the Buddha tells the brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha that the Sakkās are pure in descent and the brāhmaṇas are of mixed descent. He then tells the following story:<sup>1</sup>

The ancestor of the Sakkās Okkāka sends his sons into the exile. The sons go to the Himalaya and through fear of breaking the purity of the line intermarry with their own sisters.

Ambaṭṭha's ancestor Kapāyana is born

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1. Dig. I. p.92

of a slave girl of king Okkāka.  
Kaphāyana, having performed austerities  
returns to king Okkāka and marries  
his daughter.

In this story, too, the emphasis is on the purity of line.  
The Buddha suggests that purity was maintained by brother-  
sister marriage, among the Sakkas. Brāhmanas on the other  
hand have a mixed origin, with a slave woman for an  
ancestress. The form of marriage here is the same as  
mentioned in other brāhmana-khattiya unions.

The last type of marriage is among the Vajjis.<sup>1</sup>  
One among the seven dhammas recounted by the Buddha to the  
Vajjians prohibits the overpowering of young girls and  
women of the family.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that all the relatives  
(kula) do not come under the prohibition of marriage.

Summary:

It would be useful to summarise the points we have  
made above. There are several forms of marriage, none of  
them exclusively recognized. At one end, the union is

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1. Aṅg. IV. pp.18-19  
2. Ibid., p.19; "Vajjī, yā tā kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo, tā  
na okkassa pasayha vāsessanti..."

muhuttikā, a momentary sexual union; at the other end, we find āvāha-vivāhā with a ceremony elaborate enough to be mistaken for a royal feast. Āvāha-vivāha marriage seems to be the ideal one for the Gahapatis, since the term occurs in connection with them. The religious brāhmaṇas on the other hand have a ritual ceremony prescribed for them. The Sakkas, however, seem to recognize the special situation created by the union between the brāhmaṇa and Khattiya through the use of the special term describing such unions. The Vajjians and Sakkas do not disapprove of marriage between brother and sister. Although the myth of Sakkan origin from brother-sister union is obviously an exaggerated claim to purity, the accumulative evidence does not rule out marriages with classificatory sisters. Hence the Buddha's injunctions to Vajjians not to overpower Kula kumārīs and Kula itthīs. We assume, of course, that the injunction was a rebuke to the Vajjians for a prevailing practice. That this is so, becomes more likely from the statement that 'a Licchavi husband who wants to kill his wife because she has committed adultery goes to the Licchavi Gana for counsel before doing so.<sup>1</sup> The extended kin-group would be more

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1. Vin. III. p.225



interested in women who claimed affiliation on both sides than in those who claimed it only through the husband.

The brother-sister marriage should not be taken literally in view of the scanty evidence. It is quite possible that the brother-sister union does not imply anything more than ex-kin<sup>groups</sup>/solidarity. On the one hand the injunction is to marry within the extended kin-group (we can see this from the non-recognition of the son born of a union with an outsider). On the other hand, there is the insistence on the "fraternal-sororal" solidarity of the ex-kin group. In this connection the story of a man from Vesāli is of great interest. With the approval of a monk he gives gifts (dāna) and establishes (kutumbam santhāpesi) his sister's son in preference to his own. No doubt, the son objects to such an act, referring to gift and settlement as inheritance (dāyājja).<sup>1</sup> Although we recognize the fact that mother's brother-sister's son relationship is important in all tribal and peasant societies, the story would assume a totally different meaning if either cross-cousin or parallel cousin were practised.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Vin. III. pp.66-67; *ibid.*  
2. It is interesting to note that a number of Himalayan tribes in Assam and Nepal practice, "matrilateral cross-cousin" marriage today.

Lastly, it would not be out of place to mention the account given by Buddhaghosa of Licchavi origins:<sup>1</sup>

An ascetic found a lump of flesh in a jar which turned out to be a boy and a girl. The two were attached to each other by the skin (linā-chavi) as if sewn together, so that they came to be known as Licchavis. The cowherds brought them up in the Vajji country. When they were sixteen years of age the king married the girl to the boy, and made a rule that no bride should be brought from outside, or a girl be given away outside. Sixteen pairs of twins were born to the couple (a boy and a girl each time). As those children grew up, there was not enough room for them. Hence a city grew up, and was named Vesāli (from Visāla, large).

The story of origin is the same in its essence, as the one told by the Buddha of the Sakkas' origin.<sup>2</sup> The same credence may be attached to it, the only additional points are the sanctioning of the marriage and the resulting fertility of the union. If at all, this suggests a greater necessity to justify brother-sister marriage in Buddhaghosa's time than it was in our period.

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1. AA. I.p.158 ff.

2. see above p. 228-229

### Kinship Grouping:

We now turn to the problem of ascertaining the kinship and quasi-kinship groups that may be found in the text. This is not an easy task, since they are not directly mentioned, but have to be inferred. We shall do this in two ways. Firstly, we shall examine a number of key terms and formalisations found in the text and impute to each of them some specific meaning. In doing this we shall no doubt find that some of these terms carry at various times different connotations, or that different terms denote the same group. But this should not prove an obstacle. On the contrary, we shall find, in the understanding of these connotations and denotations a true picture of the system of grouping. Secondly, we shall take the conceptual definition of the kinship groups most likely to be found in the Buddhist society (such as e.g. the household group, family, agnates) and find out how far they can be inferred from the data available from the text.

### The household group:

Within this group, it seems, a man's first duty is to his wife (dārā). Buddha, in giving a simile, mentions

that a man, who contracts a debt and sets up a business, should have a surplus (of income) to support his wife as well as to repay the debt.<sup>1</sup> In another case a rich gahapati and a gahapatiputta offer to lend money to a shopkeeper (pāpanika) so that he may enter the trade. They ask him to support his son and wife (putta dāra) and repay the debt by instalments.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers (uyyodhika), potters and silk-weavers carry on with their livelihood in order to maintain their sons and wives (putta-dārā).<sup>3</sup>

After fulfilling the duty to support his wife and children, in other respects a man's mother and father (mātā-pitaro) take precedence over them. Such is the case when Dhānañjāni brāhmaṇa, accused of not being diligent, defends himself by saying that he should support (poṣetabba) mother and father, son and wife, slaves (dāsa), household servants (kammakaraporiso).<sup>4</sup> On another occasion a good man (sappurisa) is defined as one who cares for the welfare of mother and father, son and wife, slaves, and household servants among others.<sup>5</sup> The Buddha advises that a man should work for the

1. Dig. I. p.71

2. Aṅg. I. p.115

3. Vin. III. pp.224,244; IV.107

4. Majj. II. p.186

5. Aṅg. IV. p.244

welfare of (sakkaroti) the members of his family defined in the same formula, as well as those who are employed by him in agriculture and trade and those who manage them (khettakammaṇṭa samantasamvohāre).<sup>1</sup> In all these examples mother and father take precedence over all others. These descriptions being formal, such precedence denotes the prime importance of the mother and father in the household group. This can also be seen from the following instances where son and wife (but not mother and father) are significantly excluded on two important occasions. In the first instance, the Bodhisatta enquires of his charioteer about a corpse they see. In the reply given, we find that it is the mother and father (mātā-pitā) and agnates (ñāti-salohita) who are grieved because they will not be able to see him (the dead man).<sup>2</sup> In the second instance in the Vinaya, a monk is permitted to visit only his mother and father (mātā-pitā), brother (bhātā), sister (bhagini) and ñātakas, when they are ill.<sup>3</sup> It is clear from the above that the mother and father are the most important members of the household group, in spite of the fact that a man's duty to support his son and wife rank first.

Before we proceed with the position of the other

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- 1. Aṅg., III. p.79
  - 2. Dīg. II. p.26
  - 3. Vin. I. pp.147-148

members within the household group, it is necessary to deal briefly with the implications of the sequences referring to kinship and quasi-kinship found in the text. Taken together, they apparently denote the total extent of a man's relationships. But this is not all. We find that the persons mentioned in the sequences vary from one instance to another depending on the context in which they are used. From this we may argue that in each of the sequences taken separately there is a gradually expanding circle of recognition of kinship and quasi-kinship, although the recognition itself depends on the context in which it is accorded. If we examine some of these contexts, we may find functional kinship and quasi-kinship groups that exist within the society. The following instances will make the arguments clear.

We suggest that the mother and father (mātā-pitā), son and wife (putta-dārā), slaves (dāsā) and household servants constitute the household group. In the instance where a good man (sappuriso) is defined as acting for the benefit and welfare of the whole sequence of beneficiaries consists of the mother and father (mātā-pitun<sup>n</sup>am), son and wife (putta-dārassa) slaves (dāsa), household servants (kammakarap<sup>o</sup>risassa) friends and acquaintances (mittāmaccānam),

ancestors (pubbapetanam), the King (raññanam), the gods (devatanam), the recluses (samana-brāhmanam)<sup>1</sup> In the case of Dhānañjāni quoted above we have already mentioned that he should support only the mother and father (mātā-pitā), son and wife (putta-dārā), slaves (dāsa) and household servants (kammakaraporisa). Apart from these, he should fulfil his obligations to (karaniyam-katabbam), friends and acquaintances (mittāmaccānam), agnates (ñātisālohitānam), guests (atithinam), ancestors (pubbapetanam) and the gods (devatanam). He should also do his duty to the king (raññāyam/rājakarniyam-kattabbam).<sup>2</sup> There is thus a significant difference between the responsibility to support (posetabba) and to fulfil obligations (karaniyam katabbam).<sup>3</sup> In another instance when the wife of a merchant of Rājagaha is treated by the doctor Jīvaka, those who give gifts to the doctor in gratitude include the merchant's wife (setthi bhāriyā), her son (putta), her son's wife (sunha) and the merchant (setthi gahapati) who gives the most.<sup>4</sup> Other subordinate members of

1. Ang. IV. p.244; see Ibid., 245 where in the verse it is said rañño hito, devahito - ñātīnam sakhiṇam hito.

2. Majj. II. p.186

3. Majj. II. p.186

4. Vin. I. p.272

the household, such as the gate keeper (dvarapala) and slaves are mentioned, but they do not give gifts. Instead the merchant makes a gift of a male and female slave (dasa dasi). Mendaka, the gahapati's house (ghara) consists of wife (bhariya), son (putta), son's wife (sunha), slaves and household servants; of these all except the household servants are described as possessing psychic power (iddhi).<sup>1</sup> The Buddha tells Anathapindika that alms are given as thank-offering for the enjoyment of good food (ularaya bhattabhogaya), clothing (ularaya vatthabhogaya), vehicles (ularaya yanabhogaya), for the five fold sensual pleasures (ulāresu pancesukāmagunesu) and for having sons (puttā), wives (dārā), slaves (dāsā), messengers (peṣṣā) and servants (kammakara).<sup>2</sup> Son (putta), wife (dārā), brothers and cousins (bandhava), acquaintances (ammaccā) and the caste group (nāti saṅghā) are said to be dependent (anujivino) on a virtuous and believing head of the kula (kulapati).<sup>3</sup> We find that the two kings Seniya Bimbisara and Pasenadi and the respected brahmana Pokkharasadi are mentioned as accompanied by sons (saputto), wives (sabhariyo), servants (sapuriso) and

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1. Vin. I. p.240

2. Ang. IV. p.393

3. Ibid., I. p.152



and acquaintances (sāmacco).<sup>1</sup> Ananda proposes to transmit the last homage of the Malla families of Kusināra to the Buddha through a formula which mentions the individual Malla family head by name, accompanied by sons (saputto), wives (sabhāriyo), servants (sapuriso) and acquaintances (sāmacco).<sup>2</sup>

From the various sequences mentioned above, we can see that mother and father, son, wife, son's wife and slaves form the inner core of the household group. The household servants, although a part of the group, do not stand in the same relationship as the slave, since in the context of possession of psychic power, the former, but not the latter, are excluded.

That the friends are acquaintances (mittāmacca) do not form a part of the household group is clear from the fact that in other sequences, where the members of the household groups are not mentioned, they figure along with agnates (nātisālohita). The following are some examples in point:

When Keniya, the jatila, invites the Buddha and the monks for a meal, he asks his friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca)

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1. Dig. I. pp.116, 133  
2. Dig. II. p.148

and agnates (nāṭisālohita) to help in the preparations.<sup>1</sup>

When a Yakkha in the guise of a man attempts to persuade a leader of a caravan to throw away the provisions, the leader argues with his followers that since the man is neither a friend and acquaintance (mittāmacca) nor an agnate (nāṭisālohita) they should not act as if they trusted him.<sup>2</sup>

In a third instance, an order to boycott Vaddha the Licchavi, is passed in the monastery when he accuses the monk Dabbha Mallaputta of committing adultery with his wife. When he "faints" on learning about the order, it is his friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca) and agnates (nāṭisālohita) who console him and promise to reconcile him with the Buddha.<sup>3</sup>

It is the friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca) and agnates (nāṭisālohita) who gather round the gahapati Citta who is sick.<sup>4</sup> The friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca) and agnates (nāṭisālohita) of a leper (kutthi<sup>d</sup>/puriso) procure the services of a surgeon to cure him.<sup>5</sup> On one occasion the

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1. Majj. II. p. 397 (Nālandā Edition)

2. Dig. II. pp. 345-346

3. Vin. II. p. 126

4. Saṃ. IV. pp. 302-303

5. Majj. I. p. 506

Buddha advises,<sup>1</sup> "Listen to those with whom you have sympathy (anukameyyātha) and to those who think you should listen to them (ye ce sotabbam maññeyyūṃ), whether they be friends (mittā vā), acquaintances (amaccā vā),<sup>2</sup> "caste fellows" (ñātivā) or agnates (sālohitā vā). In the last instance, the king (rājā), and the king's ministers (rājamahāmatā), friends, acquaintances (amaccā) and agnates (ñātisālohitā) are mentioned as tempting the monks to return to lower life by offering them wealth (bhoga).<sup>2</sup>

From the above instances it is clear that although there is a constant and close relationship with friends and acquaintances, they are not a part of the household group but fall just outside it. That this is so, is apparent from the instance of the monk Channa, who committed suicide as a result of disease. In this case, the Buddha blames the families of friends (mittakulāni, suhajjakulāni) who, he thinks, instigated Channa to do so.<sup>3</sup> The use of the term mitta in conjunction with the term kula leaves no doubt that

1. Ang. I. p.222

2. Sam. IV. p.190; V. pp.300-301

3. Sam. IV. p.59

the friends did not belong to the household group.

We suggest that the term mittāmacca covers those persons who come into close interpersonal relationship and yet are not related through kinship-ties. We may conjecture that these include not only friends and acquaintances in the modern sense of the term but also neighbours not related otherwise. Although there is little evidence, we may also argue that the term mitta refers to the neighbours of high or equal status and amacca to those of comparatively lower status than the person concerned.

In the context of kinship, more than one term is used to denote the household group. One such term, though rarely used, is kutumbam. In one instance we find it used in the case of a gahapati who establishes his sister's son by giving him gifts<sup>1</sup> to the annoyance of his own son, who describes the gifts (dānaṃ) as his inheritance (dāyājja). Obviously the term Kuṭumba is related in some manner to the concept of dāyājja, which is the right of a son, but not of sister's son. In another instance, a man has two wives (dve pajāpatiyo) one barren and another fertile. It is said in this connection that if a wife becomes fertile she becomes the mistress of the whole Kuṭumba.<sup>2</sup> The term kuṭumba refers,

1. Vin. III. pp.66-67; kutumbaṅca santhā pesi dānaṅ ca paṭṭhapesi

2. Ibid., sabbassa kuṭumbasse issarā bhavissati

it seems, rather to the household group in its economic aspect, as is apparent from both these instances.

Another term sometimes used for a household group is ghara. Nakula's father<sup>1</sup> who is ill is worried lest his wife should not be able to keep the household together (gharāvāsam santharitun-'ti'). On learning of his worry his wife reassures him. She says, among other things, "Do not think; when I am gone the gahapati's wife (referring to herself) will go to another house," (gahapatani mamacchayena aññam gharam gamissati).<sup>2</sup>

A third term for the household group is 'kula'. The monks begging alms are usually described as<sup>3</sup> being dependent on household (kulūpako hotum) or as going to many households. Thus Udayi is described as being dependent on households - going to many households.<sup>4</sup> The term 'kula' has also been used to denote residence. Thus, in giving a simile to the hostile brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha, the Buddha says, "The quail, little bird (sakunikā) though she be, in her own nest (kulāvake= residence), she can say what she likes; it is the same with the Sakkas in their own home in kapilavatthu."<sup>5</sup>

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1. Aṅg. III. p.295

2. Ibid., ghapa-III. p.296

3. Saṃ. II. p.200; Vin. III. p.83; 248-249

4. Vin. IV. p.20; 'kulūpako hoti bahukāni kulāni upasam kamati'.

5. Dig. I. p.91

Recapitulation

The household group as we saw, includes such quasi-kin as the slaves (dāsa) and household servants (kammakārapuriso). We advisedly call them quasi-kin, although they are not related by kinship ties in any sense, because in terms of responsibility for support they rank with the closest relatives. This is particularly true of the slaves, who are obviously in a better position in this respect than the household servants.

We have only followed the convention in translating the term dāsa as a "slave." We have contrasted it with the term Kammakārapurisa, which may be literally translated as "worker-men." We have, however, rendered this as "household servants," for two reasons. Firstly, we intended thereby a separation of the two categories, "dāsa" and "kammakāra purisa." Secondly, through the adjective "household" we emphasized their membership of the group. The notion of worker (Kammakāra), we felt, was sufficiently covered by the rendering "servants." We hardly need to point out that what is of significance is the interactional difference which exists between dāsa and the Kammakārapurisa. Although in the modern senses of the terms "slave" and "servant", the former has the inferior position vis-à-vis the master, it need not be necessarily so.

In fact, it is obvious that the slave-master relationship was comparatively more privileged for the slave than the servant-master relationship was for the servant. In the important instance cited above, the slave receives the family's iddhi, but not the servants.<sup>1</sup>

The family:

Till now we have confined our attention to the household group. We turn next to the concept of family. An important difference between the concepts of "household" and family is that in the latter there is a greater emphasis on the recognition of kinship ties. Obviously, the members of the household group also consist of relatives but, as we have seen, other persons are also present. The family as a kinship group is a part of the kinship structure and hence bears relation to other parts.

The most important term denoting the family is 'kula. From the numerous instances we have discussed in relation to the household groups, it is obvious that 'kula denotes an extended family rather than a nuclear one. The former consists of mother and father (mātā-pitā), son and

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1. Vin. I. p. 240-241

wife (putta-dārā), son's wife (sunha), brother (bhātā) and sisters (bhagini) and possibly other relatives also.

Perhaps the clearest reference to the family (kula) is when it is stated that the mother and father "desire a son to be born in the family" so that he may add to the property what should be added; do what should be done, establish permanently the family line, receive and transmit the inheritance and give offerings to the departed ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

That the term "kula" has been used to denote the family is also apparent from the following references found in the text. Thus, the brāhmaṇa Lohicca inviting the monk Kaccāna says, "As Kaccāna visits the families of the lay devotees (upāsaka-kulāni) of Makkarakāṭa village, let him visit the family of Lohicca (Lohicca kulam).<sup>2</sup> On another occasion the king puts the family of a keeper of a garden (ārāṃikakulam) into prison. A little earlier, the keeper of the garden is described as having a wife and a daughter.<sup>4</sup> On a fourth occasion the Buddha inquires of Anāthapiṇḍika whether alms are given in his family (kula) or not.<sup>5</sup> In a

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1. Dīg. III. p.189f

2. Saṃ. IV. p.121; see also Dīg. I. p.110

3. Dīg. I. p.110

4. Vin. III. pp.249-250

5. Aṅg. IV. p.393



fifth instance a woman (māturāma) is described as going to the family of her husband (patikulam) in tender age and becoming without the ñātakas.<sup>1</sup> In a sixth instance, the Buddha is accused of bringing about barrenness (aputtkatāya), widowhood (vedavyāya) and distinction of the family (kulupacchedāya).<sup>2</sup>

The conotation of the family by the term kula is also apparent in the use of such terms as Kulaputta, Kulapati, Kulajettha and so on. The term Kulaputta refers to a junior male member of the family and stands in contradistinction to such terms as kulapati and kulajettha. Thus the Buddha advises on different occasions kulaputtas, one of them, a Dīghajānu Koliya putta, and another a brāhmana, Vijaya, to mix with the gahapatis, gahapatiputtas and elders (daharā Vuddha).<sup>3</sup> In another instance, a son of a setthi when asked by the monk Upananda for the robe which the former is wearing, refuses saying

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1. Sam. IV. p. 239
  2. Vin. I. p. 43
  3. Ang. IV. pp. 282, 286 ff.

that, being a Kulaputta, people will enquire about his wearing only one robe (instead of the usual two).<sup>1</sup> In another instance, Kulaputtas are described as going from the household to a state of houselessness (agārasmā anagāriyam).<sup>2</sup> Since the Bhikkhus think about Brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha that he is of distinguished family and a pupil of the brāhmaṇa Pokkharasāti, the Buddha will not find it difficult to hold conversation with ~~s~~a kulaputta.<sup>3</sup>

The term kulaputta has the connotation of being a junior member of groups, based on the extended family or otherwise. Thus, as mentioned above, we find the Buddha referring to Dīghajānu Koliya putta as kulaputta.<sup>4</sup> On another occasion the Buddha refers to his monks as kulaputtas.<sup>5</sup> In yet another instance the Buddha's attendant, the monk Meghiya, refers to himself as kulaputta, thus acknowledging the headship of the Buddha.<sup>6</sup>

The term Kulapati definitely refers to the head of

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1. Vin. III. p.211
  2. Aṅg. II. p.123
  3. Dig. I. p.89
  4. Aṅg. IV. p.282
  5. Aṅg. V. p.89
  6. Aṅg. IV. 355 f

the family. Those under his tutelage (antojano) progress as a result of faith, chastity, knowledge and perception.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen earlier, those who progress under him are son and wife, brothers, acquaintances and members of the 'caste' group (extended kin-group). (putta-dārā, bandhava, amacca nāṭisaṅghā).<sup>2</sup>

The relationship between the junior members of a family and the head are described in the following instances. In the first a good man (<sup>P</sup>sapuriṣo), is described as among other things, one who defers to the elder of the family (kula jettā).<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in a list of those who must act for the welfare of their charges is he who makes himself a power in the family (kulesu pacchekādhipaccāṇam), coming as he does in the sequence after the consecrated king (khattiya muddhāvasatha), the head of a country (raṭṭhikassa petanikassa), the chief of an army (senāya senāpatikassa), the chief of a guild (puṇa gāmanikassa) and the head of a village (gāma gāmanikassa).<sup>4</sup> Here, however, the kula refers perhaps not so much to an individual extended

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1. Ang. I. p.152
  2. Ibid.,
  3. Ibid., IV. p.244
  4. Ibid., III. pp.76, 300.

family but to some larger kinship group.

Turning to the economic aspect of the family (kula), we find in the Vinaya Suttavibhanga that a village (gāma), a residence (nivesana), a stable (uddhosita), a verandah (atto), a watch tower (mālo), a cottage (hammiya), a boat (nāva), an agricultural land (khetta), and a threshing floor (dhāññakaraniya), may all belong to one family (eka kulassa), or to many separate families (nānā kulassa).<sup>1</sup> In another instance, the Buddha says that families which have acquired great wealth do not retain it permanently due to four actions.<sup>2</sup>

A term denoting a group larger than the family and perhaps including the family is kulaparivatta. We find a reference to this when Ānanda transmits the last homages of the Mallas of Kusināra to the Buddha. Apprehensive that the night may pass before the Mallas are able to pay the homage individually, Ānanda thinks of causing the Malla families to stand in groups (kulaparivattaso) so that he may refer to them (in his announcement to the dying Buddha) through the name of the Malla (itān nāmo Mallo) and as accompanied by sons (saputto), wives (sabhāriyo), with servants and slaves (saporiso), which indicates household staff including dāsas.

1. Vin. III. p.200

2. Ang. II. p.249; kulāni bhogesu mahantāni pattāni na ciraṭṭha kāni bhavanti.

and Kammakāras), and acquaintances (samacco).<sup>1</sup> The circle here is presumably larger than the family since it has among it the acquaintances. The friends (mittas) are conspicuously absent, presumably because they themselves, being of equal or higher status, form their own circle of families. Kulapativatta, however, is only a temporary group, formed to meet the emergency, since we do not find any other reference to it elsewhere in the text.

Whereas the term kula denotes family in general, whether one's own or somebody else's the term ñātikulāni denotes families other than one's own but belonging to the same 'caste' or extended kin-group (ñāti). The following instances will make the content of the term clear. In the first instance, when a monk of Rājagaha arrives after a long time to the "caste families" (ñātikulāni),<sup>2</sup> the people says, "The most respected one has arrived at last. Please keep the meal ready and so on." Although the actual behaviour suggests the affection and respect felt towards the monk by the members of his "caste-families," the term manussā (for the people) is highly general and significantly fails to

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1. Dig. II. p.147

2. Vin. IV. p.67

indicate any specific relationship. In the second instance, however, the relationship is more specific. Ugga gahapati, renouncing secular life, suggests that his wives should have the option of going to their caste families (nātikulāni).<sup>1</sup> In a third instance, the brāhmaṇa Mahagovinda, who actually accepts the life of a Saṃaṇa, makes a similar suggestion to his forty wives before leaving the household.<sup>2</sup> In a fourth instance, a nun, a pupil of Bhaddakāpilini, having quarrelled with other nuns, comes to the village of her caste families (gāmakam nātikulam āgamāsi).<sup>3</sup> In a fifth instance a brāhmaṇa invites monks for a meal. The monks eat at the brāhmaṇa's house to their satisfaction and yet go to their "caste-families" (nātikulāni) with alms bowls, where some of them eat and some receive alms. Only when the annoyed brāhmaṇa talks to his neighbours (paṭivissaka) does the matter reach the Buddha, who makes such conduct an offence involving expiation.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that some of the monks found it in order to receive alms and even eat a second time in the houses of caste families. The Buddha made it an offence in order that the monk may not over-eat and not annoy the first host. There is no injunction against either eating with "caste

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1. Aṅg. IV. p.212

2. Dīg. II. p.249

3. Vin. IV. p.227

4. Vin. IV. p.81

families" or receiving alms from them. On the contrary, the first and the last instances taken together, suggest that such action constitutes privileged behaviour welcome to both - the monks and the "caste families". It should, therefore, be avoided only when it annoys a host who has already entertained the monk concerned.

Nātisālohita:

The only kinship term to be found in the texts which refers etymologically to the blood tie is nāti-sālohita. Obviously it denotes the agnates. It occurs on most occasions in conjunction with and immediately after the term for friends and acquaintances (mittamacca) and hence we may take it that the relationships are similar in both cases and as such are evoked on the same occasions. The following references make the agnatic relationship clear.

From the case of brāhmaṇa Dhānañjāni, we find that one should oblige the agnates.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha advises that one should listen to the agnates, for one has sympathy with them and they think that one should listen to them.<sup>2</sup> Keniya, on his part, calls upon his agnates to help him when he invites

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1. Majj. II. p.186 f

2. Saṃ. V. p.365

the Buddha and his monks to a meal.<sup>1</sup> Vaseṭṭha, a lay disciple wishes that his agnates may also keep a fast along with him so that they, too, may obtain merit.<sup>2</sup> The caravan leader, whose charges have been persuaded by an ill-meaning Yakkha to throw away the provision in the midst of a forest, calls upon his men to ignore the Yakkha on the grounds that the latter is not an agnate and hence should not be listened to.<sup>3</sup>

That the agnates on their part have an affection and responsibility for the person is seen through the following examples. A devatā (presumably the dead ancestor) who is the agnate of Tapussa and Bhāllika asks them to carry food to the Buddha and thus acquire merit.<sup>4</sup> On a man's death, apart from the mother and father, it is the agnates who grieve since they will not see the dead man again.<sup>5</sup> In the case of a leper it is his agnates who procure the service of a surgeon, to cure him of the disease.<sup>6</sup> Similarly when the gahapati Citta

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1. Majj. II. p.397 (Nālandā Edition)  
 2. Ang. IV. p.259  
 3. Dig. II. p.345  
 4. Vin. I. p.4; nāṭisālohita devatā.  
 5. Dig. II. pp.26-27  
 6. MajjIp.510



is ill, his agnates, among others, gather round him.<sup>1</sup> In his quarrel with the monk Dabbha Mallaputta, Vaddha Licchavi is assured by his agnates that they will intervene to reconcile him.<sup>2</sup> The text mentions on two occasions that it is the king and his ministers, friends and acquaintances and the agnates who tempt a monk to lower life by offering him riches.<sup>3</sup>

It is significant that the agnates loom large in sickness and in death and even thereafter especially ritually. Apart from the instances noted above, there is another one in which prince Dighāvu finds the dead bodies of his parents, kins Dighiti of Kosala and his queen, in the ground where they were executed. The Prince Dighāvu makes the funeral pyre for them and lights it. King Brahmadata of Kāsi who observes the scene from his palace and does not know the identity of the son, concludes that the lighter of the funeral pyre must be an agnate (nāti vā sālohitō vā) of those who were on the funeral pyre.<sup>4</sup> In yet another instance we find that a brāhmaṇa, explaining to the Buddha, maintains

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1. Saṃ. IV. pp. 302-303  
 2. Vin. II. p. 126  
 3. Saṃ. IV. p. 190  
 4. Vin. I. p. 345

that the purpose of the sāddha (śrāddha. skt.) is that the gifts (dāna) made therein should reach the agnatic ancestors (ñātisālohitaṇaṃ petānaṃ).<sup>1</sup>

The Ñātakas:

If ñātisālohita refers to the patrilineal side, the term ñātika recognises the bilineality of the kinship group. On several occasions in the text, a ñātika is defined as one who is related "on the mother's side or on the father's side, back through seven generations".<sup>2</sup> That the affines are not included under ñātikaḥ is apparent from two separate instances. In the first one, a woman who goes to the family of her husband (patikulaṃ) is described as "becoming without the ñātakas" (ñātakehi vinā hoti).<sup>3</sup> In the second one the monk Udayi on being questioned by the Buddha whether a particular woman is his ñātika or not, denies that she is one although she is his wife.<sup>4</sup> From these two instances as well as the definition, it becomes clear that even a wife remains outside the bilineal kinship group (of

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1. Ang. V. p.269

2. Vin. III. pp.206,212,214,216,219,235; IV. pp.60,61.

3. Sam. IV. p.239

4. Vin. III. p.207

her husband).

The nāṭaka relationship is analogous to that of the agnates. Thus we find that a warrior (yodhajiva) wounded by his enemy dies being carried on his way to his nāṭakas<sup>1</sup> and that a man whose limbs were severed lives surrounded by his nāṭakas.<sup>2</sup> Similarly when a monk falls ill, his nāṭakas send a message offering to nurse him during his illness, more significantly, the Vinaya rule permits a monk to go to his nāṭaka's home in such a case.<sup>3</sup> That the saṅgha should recognise the nāṭaka ties even after a person becomes a monk is repeatedly made clear. Thus, Vinaya elsewhere permits a monk to visit his sick mother, father, brother, sister and nāṭakas if he is sent for.<sup>4</sup> A monk can accept as much curry from a nāṭaka as he wants, but from others he must take half in solid food and only half in curry.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, from the incident between the monk Upananda and the seṭṭhi's son, when the former asks the latter for the robe that he is wearing, the Buddha makes a rule that to insist on getting

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1. Aṅg. III. p.96  
 2. Vin. I. pp.147-148  
 3. Vin. III. p.198  
 4. Vin. I. pp.147-148  
 5. Ibid., IV. p.190

such a robe from anyone who is not a nāṭaka would mean an offence involving forfeiture (nissaggiya).<sup>1</sup> On the positive side, when the monk Sudinna goes to Vesāli, his nāṭakas give him sixty offerings of food, a costly but willing recognition of the relationship.<sup>2</sup> In the instance involving Udayin and his wife (who is a nun), the Buddha observes, "One (a woman) who is not a nāṭaka does not know what is suitable and what is unsuitable, what is pleasant or what is unpleasant..... whatever monk should get a soiled robe, washed dyed or beaten by a nun who is not a nāṭaka, there is an offence involving forfeiture."<sup>3</sup> Ordinarily, a monk may not get a robe washed or dyed by a nun, ask for a specific cloth from householders,<sup>4</sup> or a robe for which he makes specifications,<sup>5</sup> or ask for dying, combing and washing of wool by a nun<sup>6</sup> or accept robes (S. III. )

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1. Vin. III. p. 211  
 2. Ibid., p. 15  
 3. Ibid., p. 207  
 4. loc. cit.  
 5. Ibid., p. 216, 258-59  
 6. Ibid., p. 235

from a nun,<sup>1</sup> or give robe material to her<sup>2</sup> or sew or cause to be sewn a robe for a nun.<sup>3</sup> But in all such instances these acts are permitted if they occur between the ñātakas. On the other hand the Buddha disapproves of a nun who met in private her ñātaka puriso who came from a distant village. The Buddha rules that a third person must be present at such meetings.<sup>4</sup>

The above references to the ñātaka group are concerned solely with extending or limiting recognition to it in so far as the Saṅgha was concerned. The group as such is recognised by the monks as well as the saṅgha, but the son and wife (whom one's prime duty is to support) are conspicuously omitted, lest the renunciation be meaningless. But we have no evidence whether in secular affairs, when monkhood and the saṅgha were not directly involved, putta-dārā were included under the term ñātaka or not.

That ñātiśālohita is a group covered under the bilineal ñātaka is clear from the following instance. It is said that the man who loses his 'caste' (ñāti) feels,

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1. Vin. III. 209
  2. Ibid., IV. p.60;
  3. Ibid., IV. p.61
  4. Vin. IV. p.268 f.

'Formerly I had many friends and acquaintances and agnates (ñātisālohita) .... now these ñātaka have diminished (ñātakā parikkhayam gacchati). So it is not easy for me to acquire more wealth or to use what is already with me.<sup>1</sup>

Summary:

We have isolated four kinship and quasi-kinship groups viz., the household group, the family, the agnatic group and the bilineage. We saw that the household consists of a number of primary relatives, the wives of these relatives who are affines and the dependents such as slaves, household servants and so on. We found that the family is a somewhat different unit from the household in that in the latter case the emphasis is on living together, while in the former it is on its recognition in society as a kinship unit. Thus we found that Kula approximated to the concept of family in which not only the members of a household but also others such as friends and acquaintances were sometimes included. The unity of the kula was recognized by the use of such terms as Kulaputta, Kulapati or kulajettha, the former meaning the junior member of the family and the latter the head of the family, or by the use of such expressions as

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1. Majj. II pp. 67-68.

Kulupako hoti referring to the dependence of monks on certain families for alms and other purposes.<sup>1</sup>

While the total membership of the above two groups is understandably vague, that of the agnatic and the bilineal group is definite. The membership of the agnatic group is indicated through the reference to the blood tie contained in the term as well as the contexts in which it has been used. The membership of the nāṭaka group on the other hand has been explicitly defined in the text and the definition indicates the bilineality.

In this connection we may note that there is no separate term for the affinal group, although a number of affines are separately mentioned, as can be seen from the inter-personal relationships outlined at the beginning of this chapter. This does not necessarily mean that the affines outside the family group i.e. with the spouse's parents and siblings, were rarely or never recognised. Though, of the many possible affines, we find only two mentioned in the texts. The first is in connection with an encounter between Anāthapiṇḍika, the seṭṭhi of Sāvattī, and his sister's husband, when the former goes to Rājagaha.<sup>2</sup> The second one

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1. See above p. 243

2. Vin. II. p.154 ff.

is when an ex-courtesan goes to plead on behalf of her daughter, married at a long distance, with the latter's husband's parents.<sup>1</sup> Another set of relatives are the mother's brother (mātula) and his wife (mātulāni). According to a strict interpretation of the term nātaka, the mother's brother and his wife stand outside the group. Whatever their position, it must be remembered that in almost all societies which make an extensive use of kinship organization, the mother's brother and his wife occupy a special position. That this is so, is seen from the instances of interpersonal relationship among the sister's son and mother's brother and his wife described above, especially the fact that sexual intercourse with the mother's brother's wife is classed as incest.<sup>2</sup>

Inter-group organisation:

We have already shown in some detail the membership of the kula and how it represents an extended family unit.<sup>1</sup> It is then inevitable that the kula should also figure in the organization at the inter-group level (i.e. in social stratification). To start with, we may note some of the

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1. Vin. III. p.138  
 2. See above p. 209



instances which illustrate the kula as a unit of interaction at a group level.

One such instance is when the brāhmaṇa Lohicca requests the monk Kaccāna to visit the Lohicca's family (Lohicca Kulam) as the latter visits the upāsaka's families (upāsaka kulāni) of the Makkarakaṭṭha village.<sup>1</sup> Another instance is that of a horse-trainer who destroys an untrainable horse lest his teacher's family (ācariyakula) should lose status<sup>2</sup> (avanno ahoṣiti, literally means become without vaṇṇa). A third instance is when the junior member of an ancient family (porānakulaputto) is described as having lost status<sup>3</sup> (khina koliṇṇam: literally weakened quality of kula). In the fourth instance the parents desire a son to be born in the family (kule jāyamānam) so that he may establish the family line permanently<sup>4</sup> (kulavamso ciram thapassati). In the fifth instance we find various reasons given why the kula 'having attained great possessions does not maintain wealth in permanence (kulāni bhogesu mahantam pattāni na ciratthakāṇā bhavanti).<sup>5</sup> We need hardly point out that in all these

1. Saṃ. IV. p.121

2. Aṅg. II. p.112

3. Vin.I.p.86

4. Aṅg. III. p.35

5. See above p.250

instances the different kulas are thought of as units and that in each case we may infer a preoccupation (however vague) with status or prestige.

There are a number of ways in which the kula figures as a unit in the system of stratification of the Buddhist society. One such way is when the term is used in conjunction with the basic conceptual (sometimes also real) social groups such as the brāhmaṇa, khattiya, vessa, sudda, gahapati, and so on. Thus we find the following statement: 'there are four kulas, they are khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda' (kulā nāma, cattāri kulāni).<sup>1</sup> In another instance those who are born in high kula (uccakala pacchājāto), are identified as the khattiya, brāhmaṇa and gahapati, and described as being bright (joti hoti) but likely to go into darkness (tamo parāyano) or brightness (joti parāyano). Those born in low kula (nīca kula pa chājāto) are the caṇḍāla, nesāda, Veṇa, rathakāra, and pukkusaka, who are in darkness (tamo hoti) but likely to go into darkness or brightness.<sup>2</sup> In the third instance the Buddha refers to the khattiyakula, brāhmaṇakula, and rājaññakula and contrasts them with caṇḍālakula, nesādakula, veṇakula, rathakārakula, and pukkusaka kula.<sup>3</sup> Ekusāri, the

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1. Vin. III. pp.184; IV. 80, 177, 272.  
2. Ang. II. p.85  
3. Majj. II. p.183

brāhmaṇa claiming the superiority of his class refers to their kula and maintains that everyone, i.e. the khattiya, vessa and sudda should serve the brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

The brāhmaṇakula seems to be of special importance. Thus, the Buddha in his conversation with the brāhmaṇa Vāseṭṭha refers to the latter as being born of a brāhmaṇa (brāhmaṇa jaccā) belonging to a brāhmaṇa (brāhmaṇa kulina) going from a brāhmaṇa kula house to houselessness<sup>2</sup> (brāhmaṇa-kulam agaram anagāriyam pabbajito).

On another occasion a group of nuns passing through a village in Kosala Janapada is described as approaching a brāhmaṇakula, i.e. the house of a brāhmaṇa.<sup>3</sup> In another instance the Buddha refers to brāhmaṇakula whilst enquiring about the 'paccārohana' ceremony of the brāhmaṇa.<sup>4</sup> When others come to know of the low ancestry of the brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha they call him ill-born (dujato), not a junior member of the kula (akulaputto) but the son of a slave mother (dāsiputto).<sup>5</sup> The brāhmaṇa Pokkharasādi addresses the

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1. Majj. II. pp. 177-78

2. Dig. III. p. 81

3. Vin. IV. p. 274

4. Aṅg. V. p. 234

5. Dig. I. p. 95

Buddha as "the son of Sakka" (Sakkaputta), one who has left the Sakka kula (Sakkakulā pabbajito).<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere the Buddha is referred to similarly.<sup>2</sup>

All these instances go to show that Kula affiliation was more important to the brāhmaṇa and those of the high status; those of low status were imputed kula affiliation in order to assert their status rather than to express their unity.

In the above instances the Kulas are identified through their affiliation with the larger social groupings, such as the khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda, gahapati, rājañña, caṇḍāla, nesāda, Veṇa, rathakāra, and pukkusaka. Although some of these groups overlap each other, and others such as rājaññas are a category, the aim is to categorise the kula into them and assign them either high or low status. Our interest lies in the fact that it is not the individual but the kula which is the unit of reckoning.

The term kula of high status (uccakula) is also used in order to indicate the economic status of the family. Thus, we find that the Buddha is referred to as belonging to a kula of high status (uccakula), which is resolved

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1. Dig. I. p.87

2. see, for instance, Dig. I. pp.88, 124 ; Majj. II. pp.134, 164

gradually into (I) prime khattiya kula (ādinna khattiyakula), (II) rich kula (addha kula). Addha kula is, however, resolved into great riches and great fortunes (mahaddhanā mahā bhogā).<sup>1</sup> On one occasion the Buddha talks about men from (I) kula of high status (ucca kulā), (II) great kula (mahā kulā), (III) kula of great riches (mahābhoga kulā) and (IV) kula which is extremely wealthy (uḷārabhoga kula).<sup>2</sup> On another occasion the kulas of high status (uccākulāni) are resolved into prosperous (mahāsāla) khattiya kula, brāhmaṇa kula, and gahapati kula.<sup>3</sup> In this reference, prosperity is obviously associated with membership of the three social groups with high status, viz. khattiya, brāhmaṇa and gahapati.

That the high status of the kula and the individual belonging to it is correlated to the fact of birth is clear from the following examples. The Buddha apparently not liking the brāhmaṇa Sundarika's enquiry as regards his origin says, "Do not ask of the origin (jāti), ask of the behaviour. Just as fire can be born out of any wood, so can a saint be born in a kula of low status (mā jātim puccha carañña ca

1. Dīg. I. p.115

2. Majj. III. pp.37-38

3. Majj. III. p.177; cf. Aṅg. I. p.107

puccha katthā have jāyati jātavedo; nicākulīno pi muni  
dhītimā).<sup>1</sup> The famous saying, "not by birth one becomes  
a brāhmaṇa but by deed (na jaccāhoti brāhmaṇo... Kammuno  
hoti brāhmaṇo)" expresses a similar attitude. The Buddha  
gives explanation as to why some human beings belong to low  
families (nīcakulīno hoti) and some to high families  
(uccākulīno hoti). He says that a woman or a man who is  
callous (thaddhō) conceited (atimāni) and who does not  
respect and honour, wherever the honour and respect is due,  
is born after death in a low family. Whereas a woman or a  
man who behaves properly by doing exactly the contrary to  
what is stated in the case of a behaviour of a low born, is  
born in a high family.<sup>2</sup> However, the fact that a person  
is born in a low family may not hinder his spiritual growth.  
Thus here the Buddha refutes that jāti affiliation was  
"of any ultimate importance." On the other hand the  
brāhmaṇa<sup>3</sup> Soṇadanda describes his sister's son, Aṅgaka  
as well born (sujāto). We have already seen how the  
brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha is found to be of low status  
(dujāto).<sup>4</sup> That the origin is recognised from both the

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1. Saṃ. I. p.168

2. Majj. III. p.205

3. Dig. I. p.123

4. See above p. 265

parents is apparent when a well known brāhmaṇa or the Buddha is described as born well from both the sides, mother's as well as father's (ubhato sujāto mātito ca pitito).<sup>1</sup> This leads us to the general issue of status ascribed on account of the birth in a particular social group.

### Jāti:

Jāti is only one of the several concepts found in the texts which ascribe status on account of birth. Like the kula, jāti is also resolved into khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa and sudda groups.<sup>2</sup> The Vinaya elsewhere states that there are two jātis: the low jāti (hīna jāti) and the excellent jāti (okkatta jāti). The low jāti are, caṇḍāla jāti, basketmaker jāti (vena jāti), hunter jāti (nesāda jāti), charioteer jāti (rathkāra jāti) and sweeper jāti (pukkusa jāti). The excellent jāti are the khattiya and the brāhmaṇa.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion also there are said to be two jāti, the high (ucca) and low (nīca), and they are resolved into the khattiya-brāhmaṇa and vessa, sudda, caṇḍāla and pukkusa jāti respectively.<sup>4</sup> The third grouping based on jāti is attributed

1. Dīg. I. pp. 113, 131

2. Vin. III. p. 169

3. Ibid., IV. p. 6

4. Aṅg. I. p. 162.

by the Buddha to his contemporary Pūraṇa Kassapa. According to Pūraṇa Kassapa there are six jātis. The first one is the black jāti (kaṇhābhijāti) and consists of mutton butchers (orabbhikā), pork butchers (sūkarikā), fowlers (sākunikā), hunters (māgavikā), violent men (luddhā), fishermen (macchhātakā), robbers (corā), robber-killers (coraghātakā), jailers (bandhanāgārikā) and all who follow a bloody trade (kurūrakammantā). The blue Jāti (nilābhijāti) consists of: bhikkhus who live as though with a thorn in the side (kaṇḍa-kavuttikā) and all other who profess the deed and doing theory (kammavādākiriyāvāda). The red jāti (lohitābhijāti) include the jains with one cloth (nigantthāekasātakā). The yellow jāti (haliddābhijāti) consists of white robbed householders (gihī odatavasanā) and followers of naked ascetics (acelakasāvakā). Ājīvakas and their followers are the white jāti (sukkābhijāti). The purest white jāti consists of the Ājīvaka leaders, Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṅkicca and Makkhali Gosāla.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha, however, refutes the six-fold groupings made by Pūraṇa Kassapa and maintains that there are two jātis, the black and the white. Even these are decided by birth since the black jāti may breed a black one or white one and white jāti may do the same. On another occasion the Buddha

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1. Aṅg. III. p. 384



denies that any reference can be made to the theory of jāti (jātivāda) when supreme perfection in wisdom and righteousness are being considered. The Buddha says, "Jātivāda, gottavāda, Mānavāda theories of jāti, gotta, and māna (prestige) which says you are held as worthy as I, you are not held as worthy as I, it is only in marriage (āvāha-vivāha) that a reference is made to such matters."<sup>1</sup> On another occasion the text states that a king would enlist as bowmen the khattiyakumāra, brāhmaṇakumāra, vessakumāra, and suddakumāra, irrespective of their birth (jāti).<sup>2</sup>

The grouping made through the use of the concept of jāti is interesting in many ways. Firstly, it recognises the two-fold division of the society, the low and high, the low and excellent, and the black and white. Even the Buddha accepts the last division though he uses it to refute the concept of jāti in the matters of spiritual attainments. In doing so the Buddha expressly recognises the operation of jāti-gotta and māna in social inter-action. Pūraṇa Kassapa on the other hand is obviously interested in conceptualising the existing divisions (groups and categories) within the society based on occupation trade, caste and sect affiliations. He is in that sense a forerunner of Manu. The textual

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1. Dīg. I. p.99

2. Saṃ. I. pp.99-100

resolution of the low jāti into occupational groups starting with caṇḍāla and ending with pukkusaka should be taken to indicate an order of lowness in which caṇḍāla is the lowest and pukkusaka is the highest (similarly among the high jāti khattiya is the highest and sudda or gahapati or rājañña are the lowest).<sup>1</sup> We may also point out that jāti was sometimes used as an identification in conjunction with other criteria such as name, gotta and mānta (vedic learning) in the case of a brāhmaṇa.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha on one occasion has been identified with the Sakka jāti by the brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha.<sup>3</sup> Suṇḍarika brāhmaṇa asks the jāti of the Buddha not recognising him at first. The Buddha answers that he is of Sakkajāti.<sup>4</sup> That both sides the mother's and father's are important, is illustrated from Soṇadaṇḍa brāhmaṇa's claim that his sister's son is born well on both sides,<sup>5</sup> and Ambaṭṭha's stigmatisation as dāsi putta.<sup>6</sup> The Buddha as well as the well known brāhmaṇas such as

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- 1. Vin.IV.p.6
  - 2. Dig.I.pp.99,123
  - 3. Ibid,pp.90-92
  - 4. Su.Ni. 423 vs
  - 5. Dig.I.p.123
  - 6. Ibid.,p.195

Soṇadaṇḍa, Pokkharasādi, Kūṭṭadanta, Caṅki are described among other things as 'born well on both sides' and recognised according to the theory of jāti (anupakk<sup>u</sup>ṭṭhe jātivādena) literally meaning not ignored by the theory of jāti.<sup>1</sup>

Gotta:

Gotta has been used mainly as a diacritical mark (i.e. for the purpose of identification). Thus a brāhmapa woman is described as belonging to Veracchāni.<sup>2</sup> Angulimāla, the robber who turned a monk, claims that he is of Gaggeya gotta by his father and of Mantāpi gotta by his mother.<sup>3</sup> A man who sees a beautiful country woman (janapada kalyāni) should enquire of her gotta among other matters.<sup>4</sup> A man shot by a poisoned arrow insists on knowing the identity of the bowman and enquires of his gotta among other things.<sup>5</sup> As we have already seen, a man remembering his previous births comes to know of his earlier gotta.<sup>6</sup> Ambaṭṭha who

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1. Dīg. I. pp. 113, 130; Majj. II. p. 165 respectively.

2. Saṃ. IV. p. 122

3. Majj. II. p. 102

4. Dīg. I. p. 193

5. Majj. I. p. 429

6. Dīg. III. p. 111; Aṅg. I. p. 164

is thought to be of Kaṇhāyana gotta is found to be dāsiputta of the Sakkas, when he follows the name and gotta of his ancestors (mātāpetikam nāmagottam anusarato).<sup>1</sup> Other gottas mentioned specifically are Bhāradvāja,<sup>2</sup> Kassapa,<sup>3</sup> Akasa.<sup>4</sup> The Buddha acknowledges himself to be of Gotama gotta.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes gotta name is preferred to the first name of a person when he is addressed. Thus, brāhmaṇa Saṅgārava, is addressed by the Buddha as Bhāradvāja.<sup>6</sup> Buddha addresses his father Suddhodana as Gotama.<sup>7</sup> The gotta in this sense (from the above cases) denotes lineage affiliation.

However, the text maintains that gotta affiliation is rendered valueless in spiritual affairs. Thus it says, "The mortals are purified by deeds, knowledge and dhamma, not by gotta or wealth."<sup>8</sup> On another occasion it is said, "As rivers lose their name and gotta when reaching the ocean, so the four vāṇas, lose their name and gotta when they

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1. Dig.I.p.92

2. Saṃ. I. p.170

3. Aṅg. II. p.238

4. Majj. II. p.127

5. Dig.II.p. 51

6. see above pp. 127-128. Majj. II. pp. 210-11

7. see above p. 127-128

8. Dig.I.p.99

accept dhamma and join the order; they are known as samana sakyaputtiyas."<sup>1</sup> Thus, the gotta is used in the sense of a diacritical mark here. On becoming monks persons lose their lineage affiliation and acquire a new one.<sup>2</sup>

However, gotta is also used to indicate status. Thus, the Vinaya states, "There are two gottas, the low (hina) and the excellent one (ukkatta). Kosiya gotta and Bhāradvāja gotta, are low in this janapada; Gotama, Moggallāna, Kaccāna, Vāseṭṭha are high."<sup>3</sup> The implications of the gotta and its brāhmanic influence has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

The Vinaya definition follows immediately after the definition of jāti<sup>5</sup> and hence it is not difficult to see why gotta has been categorised into high and low. However, as we see, even the text recognises the impossibility of using gotta in the two-fold division and hence limits the observation to "this janapada" (presumably meaning majjhima janapada).<sup>6</sup> We may safely conclude that though gotta, through indication of lineage affiliation does carry status and prestige with it,

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1. Aṅg. IV. pp.198 f.  
2. Aṅg. IV. pp.373; V. 23  
3. Vin. IV. p.7  
4. See above p. 160  
5. Vin. IV. p.6  
6. Ibid., 7

it does not reinforce the two-fold stratification of society into high and low. It is also significant that there are almost no references to the affiliation of the low group. Presumably they did not possess one. The only exception is Aṅgulimāla. But he is not only a robber but also a brāhmaṇa. Moreover, there is something of the prodigal son returning home in him.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Vanna:

Like jāti and gotta, the vanna too has been used as a "diacritical mark." A description of true brāhmaṇa contains a reference to his vanna.<sup>2</sup> The monk who remembers his previous births also remembers his vanna.<sup>3</sup> A man desires a beautiful woman (janapada kalyāṇi), but cultivates an imaginary interest in her without, however, knowing about her vanna, that is whether she is of black (kālo), brown (sāmo) or pale (maṅguro) complexion (vanna).<sup>4</sup> The man shot down by the poisoned arrow inquiring about the identity of his assailant wants to know, among other things, whether he is of black, brown or pale vanna.<sup>5</sup> In a guest house (āgantukāgare) the people, namely Khattiya, brāhmaṇa, Vessa and

1. Majj. II. pp.97, 100; cf. D.P.P.N., sv.

2. Majj. II. p.165

3. Dig. I. p.82

4. Dig. I. p.193

5. Majj. II. p.429

Sudda, come from four directions and take up their residence there.<sup>1</sup>

The term *vaṇṇa* has also been used to indicate the four-fold division of the society. It is often stated that there are four *vaṇṇas* and they are *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vessa*, *sudda*.<sup>2</sup> In conversation with the Buddha, Rjāā Pasenadi asks, "I am asking about a future state. There are four *vaṇṇas*, *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vessa*, *sudda*, and they are possessed of five qualities of striving. Now, Lord (the Buddha), could there be any distinction, any difference between the four *vaṇṇas*." The Buddha answers through a simile, "It is as if there may be among elephants, horses, or oxen to be tamed, two elephants, two horses or two oxen that are well trained and well tamed, and two of each that are not tamed and trained. What do you think about this? Would these two elephants, horses and oxen that are to be tamed, when so tamed and trained, reach the tamed state? Would they attain a tamed rank?"<sup>3</sup> The Buddha explains to the King Pasenadita that there are four *vaṇṇas*, *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vessa* and *sudda*. Among these the *khattiya* and the

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1. Saṃ. IV. p.218

2. Majj.II.pp.128-29

3. Ibid.

brāhmaṇa are pointed to as chief; that is to say in the way of addressing them rising up from one's seat for them, saluting them with joined palms and rendering them service.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the Buddha like the text recognises the four-fold division, which is real and yet through his simile, professes an eventual extinction of it, when the lower vaṇṇa (presumably) will reach the standards of the higher, through the five qualities of striving. That the Buddha accepts the four-fold division is clear from another instance. The brāhmaṇas of Sāvattī hear of the Buddha that "Gotama teaches the purity of four-fold vaṇṇa (gotama cātuvannaṃ suद्धim paññāpeti)"<sup>2</sup> and these brāhmaṇas come to verify this statement.<sup>2</sup> On another occasion the Buddha in describing his dreams says that four birds of different vaṇṇa come from four directions and sit at his feet; likewise the monks from four vaṇṇas, khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda, come within his fold.<sup>3</sup> When a man joins the Buddhist order, he becomes without a vaṇṇa (vevanniyamhi).<sup>4</sup> A khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa and sudda, if he exerts himself may attain the supreme purity.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Majj. II. p.128

2. Ibid., 147

3. Ang. III. p.242

4. Ibid., IV. 210

5. Saṃ. I. p.166



There are instances where the term *vaṇṇa* is absent, though the four-fold division of the society into *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vessa*, *sudda* group often occurs. We have referred to some of these before, and we refer to further cases here. Thus we find that a man who gives gifts to a *samaṇa-brāhmaṇa* in the hope of some return concentrates (so that he may obtain them) on wealthy *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, and *gahapati* (*khattiya Mahāsāla*, *brāhmaṇa mahāsāla* and *gahapati mahāsāla*).<sup>1</sup> While instructing the monks, *Sāriputta* tells them that during their wanderings in various *janapadas*, they are likely to be asked questions by *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *gahapati*, and *samaṇa* scholars (*Pandita*).<sup>2</sup> King *Pasenadi* complains to the Buddha that as a judge he saw a wealthy *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa* and *gahapati* (*khattiya mahāsāla*, *brāhmaṇa mahāsāla* and *gahapati mahāsāla*) deliberately lying in order to fulfil worldly desires.<sup>3</sup> Queen *Mallika* says to the Buddha that in the *rājas* family (*rājakula*) there are *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa* and *gahapati* maidens (*kañṇā*) and over them she holds supremacy (*issarādhipaccam kareṃ*).<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere a *khattiya* is described as one whose aim is wealth, quest is wisdom, resolve is power, ideal is domination, want is territory. The *brāhmaṇa* is one

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1. *Ang.* IV. 239

2. *Sam.* III. p. 8

3. *Sam.* I. p. 74

4. *Ang.* II. p. 205

whose aim is wealth, quest is wisdom, resolve is Vedic learning, ideal is sacrifice and want is the fruit of sacrifice. The gahapati is one whose aim is wealth, quest is wisdom, resolve is craft and want is the fruit of work (kammantopayoja, enterprise).<sup>1</sup> Whereas there are four vannas there are eight assemblies (parisā). They are khattiya parisā, brāhmaṇa, gahapati, samaṇa, cātumahārāja (four divine kings), tāvatiṃsa gods (thirty three gods), mārā, and the assembly of the Brahmā gods.<sup>2</sup>

From the above instances and those throughout the chapter, it is apparent that the four-fold division of society into khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda group is sometimes replaced by a three-fold one consisting of khattiya, brāhmaṇa and gahapati.

#### Ñāti:

We argue that ñāti or extended kin-group functions as an effective caste and in that sense, therefore, is nearer to the modern sub-caste.

The Buddha gives a special permission to former members of another sect (aññatitthiya pubbo) who are Sakkas

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1. Aṅg. III. p. 363

2. Dig. II. pp. 85, 109.

by birth (jātiyāsākiyo), because they are the same ñāti as Buddha.<sup>1</sup> For others, however, there is a probationary period. When the Buddha died, remains of his body (sarīra bhāga) were claimed by the Licchavis of Vesāli, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Mallas of Pāvā, the Bullis of Allakappa and the Moriyas of Pippalivana, on the ground that they were khattiyas and the Buddha was also a khattiya. Ajātasattu of Magadha claimed the body on the ground that he was a khattiya and the Buddha was also a khattiya. It is claimed by the brāhmaṇa of Veṭṭhadipa on the ground that he was a brāhmaṇa whereas the Buddha was a khattiya. But the Sakkas of Kapilavatthu claimed it on the ground that the Buddha was the greatest one in their ñāti (amhākaṃ ñātisettho).<sup>2</sup> The monk Sudinna during the famine goes from Vajjian territory to Vesāli so that he may get alms-food from his ñāti, and by giving food his ñāti may achieve merit. Roja Malla says to Ānanda, "I am not impressed by the Buddha, Dhamma or samgha, but a rule was made among the ñāti (ñātihi saṃgāro kato) that whosoever does not go to meet the Buddha will be fined five hundred (coins). It is due to fear of punishment from

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1. Vin. I. p.71; bhikkhave imāhaṃ. ñātinam āvenīyam parihaṃ dammiti 11.

2. Dig.II.p.165

nātis (nātinam dandabhayāya) that I go."<sup>1</sup> Among the four kinds of losses which cause renunciation, loss of nāti (nātipārijuñnam) is one. The loss of nāti is further explained as reduction in the nātakas (nātakā anupubbena parikkhayaṃ gacchanti).<sup>2</sup> A man of low character lies when he is asked to go as a witness before a meeting (sabhāgato), an assembly (parisāgato), nāti (nāti majja gato), a royal family (rājakulamajjagato).<sup>3</sup> The brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa refers to the Buddha as 'The samaṇa Gotama who has left his home after giving up a great nāti group (mahantaṃ nātisamghaṃ ohāya pabbajito).<sup>4</sup> The gahapati, gahapatiputta or others leave home after giving up a small or great circle of nātis (appam vā nātiparivaṭṭam pahāya, mahantaṃ vā nātiparivaṭṭam pahāya pabbajito hoti).<sup>5</sup> A woman (itthi) is protected by nāti, among others. Here the text explains that it is the nātakas who protect her.<sup>6</sup> The Buddha, if he becomes a householder he will be a king who will have abundance of wealth.

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1. Vin. I. p.247

2. Majj. II. p.68

3. Majj. II. pp.47-48; Ang. V. p.264

4. Dig. I. p.115

5. Dig. I. p.62

6. Majj. III. p.46; Vin. III. p.139

and corn, land and property fourfotted animals, strong and able nātis.<sup>1</sup> There are five losses (vyasanāni) among which the loss of nāti and of wealth are given precedence over the others.<sup>2</sup>

The powers of a respectable woman (mātugāma) are the power of beauty (rūpabalam), of wealth (bhogabalam), of nāti (nātibalam) of having a son (puttabalam) and of chastity (silabalam).<sup>3</sup> A man with faith (ariyasāvaka) who obtains riches through work and diligence must give five shares (balis). These are shares to nāti (nātibalim), to a guest (atithi balim), to ancestors (pubbapētabalim) to the king (rājabalim) and to the gods (deva balim).<sup>4</sup> Among the various topics prohibited to a monk is the gossip about nāti (nāti-kathā).<sup>5</sup> The man whose limbs have been cut off is surrounded by his nātaka in the house belonging to the nāti (nātighare... nātakehi samparikinno hoti).<sup>6</sup> When the monk Sudinna goes to his own village, his nātidāsi sees him and reports the matter to his mother.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Dig. III. p.165

2. Ang. III. p.147

3. Saṃ. IV. p.246

4. Ang. II. p.45

5. Vin. III. p.164

6. Vin. I. pp.147-48

7. Vin. III. p.15

The term nāti is sometimes used in conjunction with kula (family) as can be seen from the following instances. The gahapati Uggā of Vesālī permits his wives to go to their nāti-kula if they so desire.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the brāhmaṇa Mahāgovinda permits his forty wives to go to nātikula and seek another husband (nātikulāni gacchanta, añām bhāttāraṃ pariyesatu).<sup>2</sup> When a monk of Rājagaha arrives after a long time to his nātikula, people say, "At last the reverend has come, keep the meal ready."<sup>3</sup> The monks re-invited by the brāhmaṇa go to their nātikula even after they are satisfied by him, some of them with alms bowl to beg food.<sup>4</sup> A nun, a pupil of Bhaddā Kāpilāni who quarrels with nuns, goes to her nāti kula in a village (gāmaṃ nātikulaṃ āgamaṣi).<sup>5</sup>

At this stage, it would be useful to point out the significance of various usages of the term nāti mentioned above and at the same time compare nāti with the modern concept of caste. Thus we can see from the above usages that when the term nāti has been used by itself, it denotes like the modern caste a social group. At other times it is coupled

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1. Aṅg. IV. p.210

2. Dig. II. p.249

3. Vin. IV. p.227

4. Vin. IV. p.81

5. Vin. IV. pp.227-228

with the terms such as sangha or pariyatta (circle) which themselves indicate grouping. It is significant that Sakkajāti (those born of Sakka) are the same ñāti as the Buddha, who is also born a Sakka. The Buddha, instead of disregarding this affiliation (as he does in the case of other conceptual or 'status imputing' groups such as khattiya, brāhmaṇa and sudda or high and low, low and excellent, jāti, vanna or gotta) specifically recognises it in rules of recruitment in the sangha. The Buddha is acknowledged by the Sakkas of Kapilavatthu as their ñātisettho, whereas the other extended kin-groups (ruling) claimed identification with Buddha on the grounds of their common khattiya origin. This shows that ñāti is a smaller group than the jāti or vanna groups which are normally mentioned as khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda, or as khattiya brāhmaṇa and gahapati. It is also significant to note that the term ñāti is not used to indicate status. There is no arrangement of ñāti in the same manner as in jāti. The last is due to the fact that where a status is associated with social functions, there is an absence of a general caste system in the modern sense.

Like the modern caste ñāti may take evidence, make rules and impose punishment in the form of a fine. A man must offer a share to the ñāti when he obtains wealth. The

loss of ñāti is serious and may lead to renunciation. A woman may rely on her ñāti and consider it a power. A nun may go to ñāti on account of a quarrel. A monk may resort to it at the time of a famine. Women on being forsaken by their husbands can go back to their ñāti families. And the people welcome a monk of their ñāti with food. The monks have to be prohibited from gossip about ñāti. (ñātikathā).<sup>1</sup>

There is no direct reference as to the composition of the ñāti group. But the use of the term in conjunction with the term kula suggests that it possibly consisted of a number of Kulas. In the term ñāti-kula, ñāti is used as an adjective qualifying kula. The intention of such a use is clear; it seeks to point only to a certain kula, not one's own, from which help may be sought.

In one of the instances mentioned above, ñāti is resolved into ñātaka, to bilineage. Buddhaghosa<sup>2</sup> defines ñāti as the spouse's parents (i.e. affines). But in view of the above illustrations, Buddhaghosa's explanation does not stand. The text as well as the Buddha are in clear agreement that ñāti is a kinship group, equated with ñātaka.

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1. Ang. V. pp.128-129  
 2. Sārathā-ppakāsinī. III p. 286



by text, with affines by Buddhaghosa. To take the textual explanation as correct, would mean the existence of two terms for the same real (as opposed to conceptual) group, which is not a very tenable situation. The only way out is to accept that Buddhaghosa by indicating affines sought to show that the ñāti group was larger than ñātaka and also included the affines. In such a case, we are not confronted with the existence of two terms for one real group. The text would be right in having two terms especially as we have shown that ñātaka obviates the necessity of a separate term for affines. Buddhaghosa too would be partially justified in pointing out that the specific affines, the spouse's parents that are difficult to subsume under the term ñātaka are the ñāti. Thus Buddhaghosa's explanation is correct in so far as he sought to indicate a larger group than the ñātaka, wrong in so far as he limited ñāti to specific affines.

The equation of the Buddha's ñāti to Sakka in fact suggests, that although ñāti was a kinship group, it was larger than the sum total of actual kinship generally recognised under terms such as ñātaka, ñātisālohita, Kula and so on.

#### The conceptual and real social groups:

It would be appropriate to discuss the general issues

of the kinship groupings. This can be done by isolating and pointing to the real from the conceptual groups mentioned in the text. The reality of a group lies in the fact that such a group can be isolated on the basis of the functions it performs. Secondly, a real group is related to other such groups which are within the society. Thirdly, the actions of the members of a real group are governed by the knowledge of the membership of it. Conceptual groups are those which categorise the society in terms of some sociological criteria usually for the purpose of understanding the working of a society. They may or may not be real. In so far as they are not real, they will be categories rather than groups. The validity of categorisation will depend on the concept used. An elementary use of concept of high and low in order to understand the stratification is an example in point.

We have found that the concepts of household, family, nātisālohita, nātaka, vanna, jāti, gotta, and nāti, have been used in the text. The concept of household is chiefly expressed through the mention of relatives and quasi-relatives in given order. Sometimes the term kuṭumba also bears the meaning of household. The term for the family group is kula and its variations, nātisālohita, nātaka and nāti are the larger kinship groups we have been able to

discover. All these groups are real. In contrast vanna and jāti and its subdivisions are the concepts found in the text in relation to social stratification. It occurs where a status-position is claimed or denied because of it. We may conclude from this that the very claims and their denial suggest the absence of settled grouping in terms of jāti and vanna. The most we can claim about the reality of jāti and vanna is that they were the criteria in terms of which, high and low status was contested by an individual. As criteria of grouping we must deny their reality.

Conclusions:

1. Nature of the extended family:

From our study of the inter-personal relationships at the beginning of the chapter it is apparent that the family unit was larger than the nuclear family (man, wife and unmarried children). The extended family unit, as we would like to call it, consisted of a man and his mother-father, son, wife, son's wife, brothers, sisters and other dependent relatives. The household group on the other hand was even larger, and included slaves and household servants. It perhaps included friends and acquaintances, agricultural workers and their superintendents.

From the extensive use of the term kula and various meanings that we have been able to discern from its usage it is clear that there were no hard and fast divisions in day to day affairs between the family and the household group.

The family with which the literature deals in its kinship aspect was a patrilineal group with a head known as Kulapati or kulajetta. The junior male members of the family were known by the generic term kulaputta. Ideally the behaviour of the family members towards the head was marked by respect and obedience, and the head on his part exercised wisdom and authority.

The position of women in the family was definitely inferior to that of men. A woman was respectable only if she was protected by some one. She had her immediate relatives, her mother, father and husband as protectors. The residence on marriage was patrilocal.

Descent was patrilineal and so was inheritance. Only in one case do we find a sister's son preferred to one's own. However, from the importance attached to the ñataka group, and also from specific references where the mother's lineage has some bearing on the social status of a person. In a ritual context on the other hand the family was a patrilineal unit. The evidence of ancestor worship and the

extended nature of the family are sufficient to indicate this. Succession was also patrilineal.

The family was also an economic unit. As we shall see in the next chapter in the economic and non-kinship aspects, the head of the family was generally described as a 'gahapati'. We shall also show that the term gahapati was not restricted to one caste but could apply to any householder in non-kinship and economic affairs.

2. Caste:

We have mentioned that ñāti is the largest kinship group in the Buddhist Society. However, the term, by itself and when it is used in conjunction with the term kula, fails to indicate any definable inter-actional relationship between it and the person concerned. The term is very much unlike ñataka or ñātisālohita, both of which have been defined in the text directly or otherwise. Much as we may try we cannot arrive at any specific definition

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of the term nāti in terms of actual kinship relationship. This leads us to believe that the term which is obviously a kinship term refers not to actual kinship relationships but to potential ones. This fits in with the idea of caste as we know it.

The presence of caste-like elements in Buddhist Society, however, does not necessarily imply the presence of a developed caste-system. By a caste system we mean a system of social stratification, in which caste was used as a unit of ranking. So far as we can see, endogamy and commensality, the two fundamental characteristics of modern caste, are absent. Such evidence as we have, point to the fact that marriage with a non-nāti was permissible outside caste especially when the two category-stratification was not violated. Thus, we find marriage between khattiya and brāhmaṇa mentioned without any ~~strong~~ disapproval. On the other hand when a brāhmaṇa is married to a dāsi there is a definite stigma attached to it.

### 3. Social stratification:

A number of systems of stratification have been used, of which vanna is one. To stress the obvious, it is based on the four categories, khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda. As we have seen, however, only the brāhmaṇa and khattiya are social groups in any true sense. The vessa and sudda categories are residual and cannot be identified with the real social groups.

From the evidence presented we can see that vanna is a two category system with brāhmaṇa and khattiya forming the upper category, and vessa and sudda forming the lower. The struggle for status was confined mainly to khattiya and brāhmaṇa groups. They form the two opposing sub-categories, each one aspiring for a <sup>ritually</sup> superior status. It seems that the brāhmaṇas in fact do occupy a status superior to that of khattiyas, and the latter challenge it through the person of the Buddha and through their political power. We repeat that the khattiya is a category and at best a diacritical mark; the real social groups are the ruling extended kin-groups which bear this mark. The vessas and suddas form the lower category which do not participate in the khattiya-brāhmaṇa struggle for superior social status.

Chapter V

OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS

In this chapter we examine some of the implications of the kinship system, which is described in the last chapter. Firstly we attempted to demonstrate the fact that kinship plays a vital part in the ordering social relationships in the Buddhist society. Secondly, we showed that the extended family is an important social group within the kinship system. We may, therefore, expect with some justification that kinship relationships and particularly the family, influence the ordering of economic relationships. That this is so, we demonstrated partly in the last chapter by stressing the mutual economic obligations of the relatives and by pointing out that the family was both a consuming and property-holding unit. In this chapter, however, we shall be mainly concerned with productive and distributive activities and, therefore, will attempt to find out whether the family operates as a group in these economic activities as well, and if so how. We shall deal with this in due course. For the moment we turn to the immediate task of ascertaining the nature of productive and distributive activities and how they are organised. We shall describe these activities and consider



how many of them are organised as occupations. It is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory definition of occupation but we may define it for our purpose as a set of activities designed to produce a livelihood. But in deciding whether or not an activity (or a set of activities) may be called an occupation, we shall use the following criteria. Firstly we shall ascertain the specialisation involved in it. Such specialisation usually involves the acquisition of skill or of a period of apprenticeship. But it may also be based on the possession of the appropriate ritual or social status by the person who engages in it. This status may again be achievable or ascribed. Secondly, we shall consider whether a number of separately mentioned activities, which are similar in other respects (though not identical) and carry the same ritual and social connotations, can in fact be grouped under a single occupational label or not. This would be useful, especially where the prolificity of terms indicating activities denotes variety in material culture but not so much in the social organisation. For example, Ambapālaka (keeper of a mango orchard) and Jambupālaka (keeper of a rose-apple orchard) mentioned in one single social context do not enhance our knowledge even if we

differentiate between Amba and Jambu. In such cases, it would indeed be more sensible to group both together and call it one occupation. What we are concerned with in our analysis is not so much the variety of fruits as with the social position of the pālakas (the keepers) of fruit orchards vis-à-vis other occupations.

A variety of productive and distributive activities is mentioned in the texts through the descriptive terms which refer to the men engaged in such activities. For example, pottery as an activity is shown through the term kumbhakāra. Our task is then made simple if we make a list of such terms and proceed with their material and socio-economic implications through examining the various contexts in which they occur. We shall call these 'activity-denoting' terms occupations. But those terms which do not add to our knowledge in the socio-economic context, we shall group under one generic occupation and deal with as such.

Of the variety of such occupations, food producing (i.e. kasi-gorakkha) and trading (vānijja) are more or less open to all. But as they need to be dealt with in some detail, we shall turn to them later. For the moment, we deal with the other terms.

The most important of the terms concerned with

occupations is sippa. It is sometimes translated as craft.<sup>1</sup> That the term is a generic one can be seen from its use in the instance where a brāhmaṇa living by various crafts (puthu sippena) is called a sippiko.<sup>2</sup> In another place sippas are divided into high and low. The high sippas are specified as counting coins (muddā), accounting (ganana) and writing (lekhana); the low ones are those of the (cammakāra) leather-worker, the reed-worker (nalakāra), the potter (kumbhakāra), the tailor (pesakāra) and the barber (nahāpita).<sup>3</sup> Also Jīvaka in desiring to learn a sippa chooses medicine.<sup>4</sup> In yet another context a low caste acrobat, while talking to his assistant (antevāsi), calls their activity a sippa.<sup>5</sup> With reference to this, farming and cattle rearing (kasi-gorakkha) and trading (vanijja) are referred to as vocations (kamma).<sup>6</sup> In yet another place sippa is differentiated from farming (kasi), trading (vanijja), cattle-rearing (gorakkha), bowmanship (issitthena), the king's service (rājaporisena)

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1. Horner, B.O.D. II. p.176

2. Su.Ni. 613 vs.

3. Vin. IV. pp. 6-7

4. Ibid., I. p. 369

5. Sam. V. p. 169

6. Vin. IV. p. 6

and mendicacy (bhikkhācariyāya).<sup>1</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the term denotes what may be called professions; manufacturing crafts such as those of the potter and reed-worker, the service crafts such as that of the barber, and lastly entertaining, which is better described as an art. In our opinion, therefore, sippa is a term which covers both manual and non-manual skills and hence is a more inclusive term than craft when craft is used to denote a manual skill only. We may, therefore, translate it as occupation. But in doing so we must also remember that the texts do not necessarily always identify all occupations as sippa, and that there are some occupations at least which may not be identified as Sippa.

Service occupations:

Seen in the above manner we find that the washerman-dyer (rajaka), the painter (cittakāra), the barber (nahāpita, kappaka kasāvato), the tailor-weaver (pesakāra, antavāya, tunnavāya), and cook (ālārika, sūda) are the persons who follow service occupations. The rajaka washes the clothes and returns them to the owner.<sup>2</sup> He also dyes cloth, and

1. Ang. III. p. 225

2. Sam. III. p. 131

perhaps paints on it as well.<sup>1</sup> The cittakāra also paints but does so on well polished panels, walls and cloth.<sup>2</sup> That of nahāpita (also known as Kappaka, and kasāvata) is perhaps the most recorded of the service occupations. His sons, who follow the same craft when he is old, go round the local community giving their services in exchange for food to be used in giving a meal to the Buddha and the monks.<sup>3</sup> He acts as a messenger for a brāhmaṇa.<sup>4</sup> When the Sakka youths go out of their country to join the order, he is their servant-companion and the recipient of the personal effects (alamkāra) of his masters.<sup>5</sup> His occupation is listed as a low sippa<sup>6</sup> and he is abused by angry nuns as lowborn (nihīna-jacco) and the remover of dirt (malamajjhano).<sup>7</sup> Yet his craft may not have been very low, because the brāhmaṇa Lohicca uses him as a messenger and even the king Makhadeva addresses him as samma, a term which denotes

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1. Sam. II. pp. 101-102
  2. Ibid.
  3. Vin. I. p. 249
  4. Dig. I. p. 225
  5. Vin. II. pp. 182-183
  6. Vin. IV. p. 7
  7. Vin. IV. p. 308

familiarity, instead of bhane, the term more appropriately used by a master for a servant.<sup>1</sup> The fact that he is used as a messenger at all shows his role to be greater than denoted by his occupation. That this is so, can also be seen from the fact that he betrays king Dīghiti, who was at one time his master, to the king of Kasi, where he stays.<sup>2</sup> On another occasion, he receives the gift of a village (gāma varam) from the legendary king Makkhādeva for being his personal attendant.<sup>3</sup>

The occupation of a pesakāra is also described as low sippa.<sup>4</sup> He is described as tantavāya and from the description of his activities he is a weaver.<sup>5</sup> In another place a tunnāvāya or tailor is described as poor (daliddo) where he attempts to build a house for the monks without the proper material for building and without the proper guidance on how to build it.<sup>6</sup> The cook (sūda) is seen in the king's service and receives payment (vetana), clothing (aochādana) and gratuity (abhihāra) for good service.<sup>7</sup>

The last service occupation in our list is that of the nahāpaka or the bath attendant. We do not know much about

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- 1. Dig. I. p. 225
  - 2. Vin. I. p. 344
  - 3. Majj. II. pp. 75-76
  - 4. Vin. IV. p. 7
  - 5. Vin. III. p. 259
  - 6. Vin. II. p. 159
  - 7. Sam. V. p. 149

him except the detailed description of his craft.<sup>1</sup> However, he has an assistant (antevāsi). This last point is of interest since this is in contrast to the rajaka and the nahāpita both of whom have putta working for or instead of them. We shall discuss the significance of the term antevāsi later, when we have all the instances of its use in front of us.

Artisans:

In the second category of occupations those of the artisans are, the reed-worker (nalakāra), the potter (kumbhakāra), the vehicle-maker (vānakāra), the needle-maker (sucikāra), the goldsmith (suvannakāra), the metal smith (kammāra), the carpenter (palaganda), the ivory-worker (dantakāra), the garland-maker (mālākāra) and the silk manufacturer (kosiyakāra).

The nalakāra is a basket-maker but is to be differentiated from another class of basket-maker, the vena. His craft is a sippa<sup>2</sup> albeit a low one.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the other artisans in the group, the nalakāras have the distinction of living in their own settlement (nalakāra gāma).<sup>4</sup> The story

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1. Dig. I. p. 74
  2. Vin. IV. p. 6f
  3. Ibid.
  4. Majj. II. p. 206

in which this is mentioned also puts forward the possibility of a nalakāra who has never left his settlement. However, the meaning of this statement is not very clear. In another place a monk, committing suicide from the Gijjakūṭa peak near Rājagaha, accidentally falls on a nalakāra and kills him.<sup>1</sup> It may be conjectured from all this that the nalakāra families lived in their own settlements on the border of the cities. With their need for collecting reeds from the forest they could hardly live in the middle of the other city population without creating a subsidiary occupation of reed-collecting. Of this, however, we find no mention. Our conjecture is, therefore, not unjustified.

The next craftsman is the potter (kumbhakāra) who is the most important of all the artisans. His craft consists of making earthenware on the banks of rivers and ponds.<sup>2</sup> The King Ajātasattu identifies the potter's activities as a sippa.<sup>3</sup> His occupation is a low sippa.<sup>4</sup> He is not a rich man and seems to live solely by his craft. This can be seen from the fact that the monks who take the gift of bowls from him reduce him to a position where his family and occupation<sup>5</sup>

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1. Vin. III. p. 72  
 2. Majj. II. p. 51  
 3. Dīg. I. p. 51  
 4. Vin. IV. p. 7  
 5. Vin. III. pp. 244-245



(perhaps business) suffers. On the other hand his ritual position is not very low. Dhaniya Kumbhakāra is a monk and Ghatikāra Kumbhakāra is a faithful devotee of the Kassapa Buddha. The Buddha Kassapa addresses him as Bhaggava, a term denoting gotta. Although he is poor and can offer only rice and curry he is held in deep affection by the Buddha Kassapa; so much so that the latter declines the king's invitation to spend the rainy season at his residence and prefers instead the Ghatikāra, the Kumbhakāra's meagre alms. The same kumbhakāra addresses a brāhmaṇa youth Jotipāla as samma, a term denoting familiarity. He pulls him by the waist and later by the hair when the latter is in a state of ritual purity. One explanation of this behaviour is that he is a favoured and religious devotee of the Buddha Kassapa and that he wants at all cost to convert Jotipāla in Buddha's faith. We believe, however, that such familiarity and flouting of brāhmaṇa ritual purity cannot be possible if the Kumbhakāra has a very low ritual position. What is more likely is that the Kumbhakāra's ritual position, although low, is perhaps mitigated in some way either because of the antiquity of his craft or because of his historical importance. About this, however, we know nothing but the fact that he is the

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1. Vin. III. pp. 41-42
  2. Majj. II. pp. 48, 53

bearer of the gotta Bhaggava which is derived from the name of one of the ten rasis mentioned in the text serially.<sup>1</sup> In the text Bhagu from which the Bhaggava gotta is derived is at the lower end of the series. But in the Vedic period he is associated with the Angirases.<sup>2</sup> In one place the Buddha is compared to an Angirasa.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion the Buddha goes to stay in the kumbhāra's home. On this occasion the potter is referred to as Bhaggava kumbhāra and is so addressed.<sup>4</sup> King Dīghiti of Kāsi, when in hiding, seeks refuge in a Kumbhāra's house only to be betrayed by a barber.<sup>5</sup> The monk Dhaniya, who was formerly a kumbhāra,<sup>6</sup> is a man of patience. The women collecting break his hut made of grass and sticks. When this happens he builds one made of earth. He is frustrated even in this effort because a monk may not kill 'germs' (Pali) in the process of kneading mud. At last he builds a hut made of wood. But even here, he involves himself in trouble with the king. He obtains cut wood from the king's store-keeper (dārugaha-ganaka) on the strength of the king's general proclamation that monks may take freely what is not privately owned. He

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1. Dig. I. p. 104  
 2. See MacDonell and Keith, Vedic Index, S. V.  
 3. Ang. III. pp. 239-240  
 4. Majj. III. pp. 237-238  
 5. Vin. I. p. 344  
 6. Vin. III. pp. 41-42

is found misinterpreting the king's proclamation and goes unpunished only because he is a monk.

Of the vechile-maker (yānakara) we know very little except that he is shown as repairing a felloe of the wheel.<sup>1</sup> Instead of an antevasi, which we find in other crafts, in this context, it is a yānakara putta, who does the work.

The fourth artisan is the needle-maker (sucikara)<sup>2</sup> who is differentiated from the needle-vendor (sucivaniija). This apparently reflects the existence of some trading in needles. He must be differentiated from the needler (sucaka) who presumably uses needles to goad the animals and consequently suffers in hell.<sup>3</sup>

The next artisan is the metal-smith (kammara). In one context, he is the person to whom a man finding a gold ring may go in order to check the worth of it.<sup>4</sup> He is thus equated with suvannakara the goldsmith. Cunda, who is a

1. Majj. I. pp. 31-32

2. Sam. II. p. 215

3. Vin. III. p. 106

4. Ang. IV. p. 120

kammāra-putta, is a rich man owning a mango grove. It was at his place that the Buddha ate his last meal.<sup>1</sup> Cunda's opulence was not unnatural since his craft involved dealing in gold, the most prized metal at that time.<sup>2</sup> In another place a bronze vessel (kamsapāti) is sold in a smith's shop.<sup>2</sup> He is also shown as a possessor of a family (kammāra-kula), a distinction which is usually reserved for a man of substance or status (except in cases where poverty and low status are contrasted with wealth and high social status).<sup>3</sup> The phalaganda is a carpenter. Apart from the fact that he is so and that he has an assistant (antevāsi), we do not know anything about him.<sup>4</sup>

The ivory-worker (dantakāra) is another craftsman who suffers because the monks take away too many needle cases from him.<sup>5</sup> Like the carpenter, he, too, has an assistant.<sup>6</sup>

The garland-maker's (mālākāra) craft is described by the king as a sippa.<sup>7</sup> Whether he is an artisan in our

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1. Dig. II. pp. 135-136
  2. Majj. I. p. 25
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ang. IV. p. 127
  5. Vin. IV. p. 167
  6. Dig. I. p. 78
  7. Ibid. I. p. 51

8.

sense is doubtful since the work of the flower-cutter (pupphachandaka) is described as low, (hina kamma).<sup>1</sup> Of the last artisan manufacturer, the silk-worker (kosiyakāra), only the technique of worm rearing and silk making is indicated.<sup>2</sup> He works against the ritual injunction not to kill in order to support his wife and children.

Professions:

For want of a better substitute, we may describe the next group of occupation as professions. Within this group are the occupations of the doctor of medicine (vejja, bhisakka) and surgery (sallakata), and the professions involving writing (lekhana), accounting (gaṇana) and money changing (muddaor rupam).

Of all the occupations, the doctor's profession appears to be socially valued the most. This may be seen from the fact frequent appreciative mention of activities of the doctor Jīvaka. He is the son of the courtesan Silāvati and his paternity is unknown.<sup>3</sup> The monk Upāli formerly a barber, who later became an expert in Vinaya, and the doctor Jīvaka are two important persons in the

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1. Vin. IV. p. 6.  
 2. Vin. III. pp. 224-225  
 3. Vin. I. p. 269

Buddhist society whose status ascribed to them through low birth is not compatible with that achieved by them through their actions. But whereas the barber Upali is abused at times by the ignorant and angry nuns, Jivaka does not meet with even a trace of insult. On the contrary at one place he is specifically stated to be one who is "much liked by the people (puggalappasannanam)". About Jivaka's professional capacities we have variety of material into which it is unnecessary to go in detail. He is not only the best doctor but also one of chief Buddhist lay devotees, who uses his professional activities in order to convert people to the Buddhist way of life. He is the king's physician and a trusted friend of king Ajatasattu of Magadha. It took him seven years of training and a visit to Taxila to become the good doctor that he was. In this connection it is noteworthy that seven years is the ideal period of training. For example, Dabha Mallaputta, after seven years of training in the Buddhas doctrine (as a monk)

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1. Vin.IV.p.308

2. Ang.I.p.26

3. See for instance, Vin.I.p.270 ff.

4. Ang.III.p.451

5. Vin.I.p.72

6. Vin.I.p.273

7. Dig.I.p.48-50

8. Vin.I.p.270

becomes an arahat. The Buddha considers him fit to hold a responsible position, that of looking after the lodging and boarding of the Buddhist monks.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to this the pupil of nun Uppalananda, spends seven years in mastering the Dhamma, but she could not remember it.<sup>2</sup>

The only other doctor mentioned by name in the text apart from Jivaka is Akasgotta Vejja, who performs a surgical operation on a monk. Unlike Jivaka, he seems to be a brahmana. He is hostile and even insulting to the Buddha and addresses him in the style of all brahmanas as bho.<sup>3</sup> The actual task of an ordinary bhisakka or sallakata or doctor of medicine or surgery, is described as that of removing poisoned arrows from the body.<sup>4</sup>

Money changing and counting, accounting in general, and writing are identified positively as the only high sippas in the text.<sup>5</sup> In a society where intellectual occupations are necessarily the preserve of the few, who only can find the requisite opportunity and capacity, it is natural that ~~such occupations are considered very high~~

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- 1. Vin. II. p. 74
  - 2. Vin. II. p. 261
  - 3. Vin. I. p. 215
  - 4. Majj. I. p. 429
  - 5. Vin. IV. p. 6

such occupations are considered very high, if not the highest. It is for this reason that young Upāli's parents when planning their son's career think of writing (lekhana), accounting (ganana) and money-changing (rupam). Yet almost immediately they come to the conclusion that even these occupations, predominantly intellectual as they are, involve some physical pain for their young and delicate son. They choose monkhood for him only because they think it does not involve any mental hardships for him and provides all the essential physical comforts, or at least a guaranteed livelihood without manual work.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be the wisdom of Upāli's parents in their choice of monkhood, there is no doubt that after it (though it is hardly a profession), they considered writing, accounting and dealing in money to be the best of professions.

The Entertainers:

The actor (nata), dancer (nataka), acrobat (langhika), magician (sokajjayika), drummer (kumbhathunika), woman fortune-teller (ikkhanika), courtesan (ganika) and common prostitute (vesi) are the chief entertainers. The first four of the entertainers showed their arts mainly at fairs (samaja)<sup>2</sup> but

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1. Vin. I. p. 77  
 2. Cf. Vin. II. p. 107, 150 ; IV. p. 267; see also Dig. I. p. 6



also at other times and places as well.<sup>1</sup> Although they obviously lived on the spontaneous but conventional or perhaps traditionally prescribed remuneration for their acts from their audience, their position does not seem contemptable in Buddhist society. They have gamanis to look after <sup>their</sup> ~~natas'~~ interests, who preach the virtues of the nata's profession. One such gamanis asks the Buddha whether it is true that actors if they exert themselves in the performances will be reborn in the deva world.<sup>2</sup> A low caste entertainer/<sup>(candāla vamsika)</sup> and his assistant (antevasi), apparently acrobats of a different type, seem to be poorer and socially more inferior. The term literally means born of the candāla lineage and if anything indicates extremely low ritual status. His art is the only one described. It did require some skill and apprenticeship, a fact which is shown by the presence of the assistant. It is a commonplace that at the lowest level of the social hierarchy, the sophisticated rules which differentiate social status in inter-personal behaviour seldom apply. It is perhaps for this reason that we find that the candāla-vamsika and his assistant address each other as Samma,<sup>3</sup> a term

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1. Eg. The big cities are known for their varied interests in dancing singing and instrumental musical performances, see Dig II p. 147;
  2. Sam. V. p. 369
  3. Sam. V. p. 168

denoting familiarity which is used by two people of the equality of status.<sup>1</sup> It may also be that the physical risk involved in their performance and their mutual interdependence during it may have engendered a feeling of equality.

The courtesan (ganikā) does not seem to be despised. They could become nuns.<sup>2</sup> An ex-courtesan (purana ganikā) does not find great difficulty in getting her daughter married. In the marriage negotiations, she is addressed by her affines as ayye a term used for a respectable woman.<sup>3</sup> Ambapāli, the famous courtesan of Vesāli, is the pride of the city, so much so that the local council (negama) Rājagaha find Silāvati in order not to fall behind in the reputation which the courtesan brings to a city.<sup>4</sup> Ambapāli is the first to invite the Buddha and the 1250 monks in his entourage for a meal and even refuses to relinquish that privilege in favour of Licchavis of Vesāli for all the wealth of the city. She is obviously rich and has her own chariot. She dedicates an ārāma for the order.<sup>5</sup> Yet she does not have an untarnished social status, for Licchavis in their verbal conflict with her over the

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Suddhinna, a son of a Setthi and Ratthapāla, a son of a gahapati are  
 1. addressed by their friends as samma, see Vin. III. 13-14, Majj. I. 59  
 2. Adhākāsi, a courtesan wishes to become a nun and could not do so because others prevented her and not the Saṅgha, D.P.P.N. s.v  
 3. Vin. III. p. 136  
 4. Vin. I. p. 268-269  
 5. Dig. II. pp. 96-97

privilege of being the first to invite the Buddha and his monks for a meal, address her as Je, a term which is used solely for a dāsi, a woman slave.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, however high it may be, she also has a price for her body; fifty coins for a night. Silāvati, who is a mere shadow of the glamour of Ambapāli, has the misfortune of being pregnant. But she may not keep her child or even publicise the fact of pregnancy and childbirth.<sup>2</sup> Hence she abandons her child. In a society where Visākhā Migāramātā receives her status and dignity through the presence of her many children and grandchildren, the social status and the glamour attaching to a courtesan seem a little hollow.<sup>3</sup>

The common prostitute (vesi) by comparison is a more unsophisticated woman and forthright in her activities. When invited through a messenger to a picnic by men she refuses to go to them on the ground that she does not know what sort of men they are. "I am rich", she says, "and have many ornaments and, therefore, would not go out of the city to meet strangers."<sup>4</sup>

In the ritual context, the fortune-teller (ikkhanika) is the most despised woman in Buddhist society. According to the texts she will go to hell because of her odious and

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1. For instance see Vin. III p. 15
  2. Vin. I. pp. 268-269
  3. see Vin. III. p. 178
  4. Vin. III. p. 237

despicable practices.<sup>1</sup> And yet in fact her status may not have been so low. She may have been despised and yet respected overtly through the fear of the supernatural. But on this point we do not have any evidence.

### The warriors: King's Service

Next we consider the various kinds of warriors who are employed in the king's service. These warrior-servants are known symbolically through the art of bowmanship (issithena) and under the term Yodhājiva which literally means those who live by fighting battles.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere they are referred in greater detail by the king Ajātasattu, who described their occupation as Sippa. They are the elephant riders (hatthāroha), the cavalier (assāroha), the charioteer (rathika as distinct from rathakāra), archers (dhanugahā), standard bearers (celakā), billeting officers (calakā), supply corps (pindadāyaka), fierce warriors (ugga), princes (rājaputta), veteran warriors (pakkhandino), warriors brave as nagās (mahānāgā), the heroes (surā), warriors in buckskin (cammayodhino), and body disposers (kāranikā).<sup>3</sup> It also consisted of the chief of the army (senāpati)<sup>4</sup> and the four fold army (caturang sena).<sup>5</sup> That this extensive specialisation

1. Vin. III. p. 107

2. Majj. II. p. 465 (Nālandā Edition)

3. Dīg. I. p. 59

4. Aṅg. III. p. 76

5. Vin. II. p. 83

in warfare was necessary, can be seen from the accounts of several wars which we find in the text. In contrast to this there was perhaps an equal degree of specialisation in the king's civil administration. Those who were in the king's service were known as rājaporiṣā. This consisted among others the king or the consecrated khattiya (khattiya muddhāvasāth), the different ministers (mahāmacca), the territorial governors (ratthikas), the estate holder managers (pettanikas), the royal chamberlain (thāpati), elephant trainer-rider (hattiroha), cavaliers (assāroha), the horse trainers (assadamaka, assadamaka sārathi), the policemen (rāja bhata), the gaoler (bandhanāgārika), the village head man (gāma gāmani, gāmani), the village overseer (gāmika), spies (carā), and the messengers (duṭā), batmen (khattā), park-keepers (ārāmika), the store keeper of wood used for the purpose of maintaining fortifications (dārugaha ganaka), the slaves and their families (dāsa, dāsi, dāsakaputta), personal messengers (peṣsa) and workers (kammakārā). Over and above these, there were often a number of service occupations such as the barber, the tailor, the cook and so on, who were in the king's employment.

The importance of the king in the economic sphere evidently lies in the fact that he is the largest single

employer of the persons doing the greatest variety of jobs. He may have derived from this fact much of his political power and social prestige. A third important fact is that the king himself and many of his servants fulfilled the managerial and proprietary functions only in the processes of production. They may have provided some capital, but hardly contributed to non-managerial labour.

Coming back to the actual description of the king's servants we find that ministers (mahāmacca) possess the highest degree of power. It is natural, therefore, that there is some division of labour among the ministerial group. In support of this we find that in the text the minister of justice (vohāramahāmacca),<sup>1</sup> the treasurer (ganaka mahāmatta) and the minister of all affairs (sabba-kāranika mahāmacca)<sup>2</sup> <sup>sabba-kāram mahāmatta</sup> are mentioned. They possess delegated authority and power, which are as strong as those of the king.

Kammikas, gāmikas and rājabhata are the next important group since they interfere directly by influencing the economic activities. Kammikas act as customs officers. Thus a caravan from Rājagaha going south intends to evade the tax. Kammikas come to know of this plan and they infest

1. Vin. IV. pp. 223-24

2. Vin. I the p. 223 b. 240

the way, seize the caravan and confiscate it.<sup>1</sup> The tax collecting centres of the King have been referred to as situated in a mountain pass or at a ford in a river, or at the gate of a gāma.<sup>2</sup> The function of a gāmikā the overseer of a village, is not specified but these seem to be important ones. He receives personal instructions from the King and seems to have been chosen from leading families. King Bimbisāra had 8,400 gāmas and gāmikas of equal number to whom he gives instructions.<sup>3</sup> Amongst those who receive instructions is soṇa, a son of a setthi.<sup>4</sup>

The roads between <sup>the</sup> big cities were not infrequent by highwaymen (cora). Even the monks who by their professions, follow a <sup>χ</sup> homeless creed, are deprived of their goods and sometimes their lives.<sup>5</sup> The road between Sāketa and Sāvattī is mentioned as being infested with highwaymen. Rājabhāṭas from Sāvattī catch them, return the stolen goods to the owners and even lead the robbers to execution.<sup>6</sup> The importance of rājabhāṭas is recognized by the Buddhist Saṅgha and it makes

1. Vin. IV. p.131

2. Vin. III. p.52

3. Vin. I. p.179

4. Ibid

5. Vin. I. p.88; IV. pp.120, 165

6. Ibid

it an offence if one were to ordain them.<sup>1</sup> Although rājabhāṭas safeguard the property of the people, they are rough in dealing with them and are described as evil men (dussile pāpadhamme).<sup>2</sup> The profession of a rājabhāṭa does not seem to be low. We find a brāhmaṇa making his living as a rājabhāṭa (nibbitharājabhāṭa). However, he is angry at the behaviour of a nun who accidentally throws rubbish on his head with the result that he is prepared to set fire to the nunnery. This brāhmaṇa receives wages in cash from the king.<sup>3</sup>

#### Trading and Commercial Activities:

Vanijja is a broader term for commercial or trading activities and is mentioned together with agriculture and cattle-keeping.<sup>4</sup> To earn money through trading was considered very natural. The impact of these activities in the society was felt even by the Buddha. Criticising certain religious mendicants on their mode of thinking, the Buddha says that these maintain that they will be such and such in

1. Vin. I. p.93.

2. Saṃ. IV. pp.341-342; The bhāṭas mentioned here are not working for any king but for the ruling extended kin-group known as Koliyas and they are distinguished by their long hair (Koliyānaṃ lambacūlake bhāṭe).

3. Vin. IV. p.265.

4. Majj. I. p.85.



the next world. "It is as though a trader who has gone out trading (vānijassa vānijjāya) should think, 'I will have this from there, I will get this from there!'"<sup>1</sup> In another instance, the monk Sāriputta sets before the Buddha the four probable outcomes for persons engaged in trade (vānijjā payutta). For some persons either it turns out to be a failure (chedagāminī hoti), or does not turn out as intended (na yathēhippāyā), or turns out as he intended (yathāhippāyā) or there is prosperity beyond his expectation (parāhippāyā hotiti). The Buddha explains these phenomena by resorting to the principles of Kamma, the act and its retribution. He says that a person's prosperity or failure in trade in present life depends on a proportionate ratio as to how much more or less a person offers in his previous life to religious mendicants.<sup>2</sup> In yet another instance, the Buddha compares agriculture to trading. "Agriculture", he says, "is an occupation where there is a great deal to do, many duties, large administration, great problems, which, if succeeded in, yields great profit." On the other hand trading involves far less duties, administration and problems and yet a successful venture brings in a great profit.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is not surprising that, along with agriculture

1. Majj. II. p.232.

2. Ang. II. pp.81-82.

3. Majj. II. pp.197-199.

and cattle-keeping, the occupation of trading is considered high (ukkatthakamma).<sup>1</sup> However, the Buddhist ethics do not permit an upāsaka to undertake certain trades, namely, trade in weapons (satthavanijjā), trade in human beings (sattavanijjā), trade in flesh (mamsavanijjā), trade in intoxicants (majjavanijjā) and trade in poisons (visavanijjā).<sup>2</sup> The need to classify these trades as bad obviously arises out of Buddhist considerations not to hurt human beings, nevertheless it testifies to the prevalence of certain trades. A brāhmaṇa, a gaḥapati or even a member of an extended kin-group could follow this occupation. Thus in his advice to the brāhmaṇa Vujjaya the Buddha expects kulaputtas to follow anyone of these vocations - that of trading, cattle-keeping and agriculture.<sup>3</sup> Similar advice is given to Dīghajānu Koliyaputta, a member of the ruling extended kin-group.<sup>4</sup> A gaḥapati or a gaḥapatiputta also, as we shall see elsewhere, engages himself with trading or commercial activities.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Vin. IV. p.6.  
 2. Aṅg. III. p.208.  
 3. Aṅg. IV. p.285; see also Aṅg. III. p.225 f., where brāhmaṇas follow this occupation.  
 4. Ibid., p.281.  
 5. See below p.326

Trade by Water:

We have several references to trade by land but the evidence to support sea trade is also not altogether lacking. The Buddha talks of sea merchants who, on their voyage, take with them a bird to sight-land (tiradassim sakunam gahetvā). When the ship is out of sight of land they free the bird which flies all round the ship. And if the bird sights land nearby it goes away for good; but if it sees no land, it returns to the ship. In another instance we find a sea going ship (samuddikāya nāvā) rigged with<sup>a</sup> mast which is beached on the shore for the winter. Affected by wind, rain and heat, the hull of the ship weakens and rots away, if not properly looked after.<sup>2</sup> Although the term samudda generally refers to sea it may also mean a large river for instance the Ganges.<sup>3</sup> In this connection we may note<sup>that</sup> the geographical limits of majjhima-janapada does not include any sea ports of western or eastern India.<sup>4</sup> We have virtually no reference to sea ports in our texts.

1. Aṅg. III. p.368.

2. Ibid., IV. p.127.

3. P.E.D. s.v.

4. See above p.77

Trade by land:

Trade by land was evidently more common than trade by sea. We find many land routes between the cities referred to in the text. The information we get of these routes is likely to be precise and perhaps accurate for the Buddha, his monks and his followers would most likely traverse the same roads which the traders long since had been following. Jivaka, the physician, was indeed a widely travelled man. He gets his education at Takkasila. He goes to Sāketa from there and ultimately returns to Rājagaha. From Rājagaha he is sent to Benares on the king's summons to cure a setthi. To cure King Pajjota of Avanti he goes to Ujjaini via Kosambi.<sup>1</sup> The gahapati Anāthapiṇḍaka goes to Rājagaha where he stays in his brother-in-law's house.<sup>2</sup> He also has a kammanta gāma (business estate) in Kāsi.<sup>3</sup> The merchants from Ukkala, Tappussa and Bhallika, while they were on their way to Benares see the Buddha and give him food.<sup>4</sup> But the most travelled man of all, as it appears from the texts, was the Buddha himself. Sāvattī and Rājagaha were his more or less/head-quarters from where he used to go to a number of places which

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- 1. Vin. I. p.272 ff.
  - 2. Ibid., II. p.154 ff.
  - 3. Ibid., IV p.162
  - 4. Vin. I. p.84

are faithfully recorded in the texts. We may mention here one of his journeys which took him to Kusināra from Rājagaha. He started from Rājagaha and from there he went to Ambalaṭṭhikā - Nālanda - Pāṭaligāma - Koṭigāma - Nādikā - Vesāli - Bhandagāma - Hatthigāma - Ambagāma - Jambugāma - Bhoganagara - Pāvā - Kusināra.<sup>1</sup>

People also travelled in caravans. We find caravans with 1,000 carts going from one janapada to another, and which had to pass through deserted areas.<sup>2</sup> A caravan halting more than four months has been designated as a gāma.<sup>3</sup> Also a caravan road is referred to in the Vinaya.<sup>4</sup> A monk can spend his full rainy season with a caravan.<sup>5</sup> Caravans had to pay taxes to <sup>the</sup> King's men and thus were a source of income to the King.<sup>6</sup>

Besides these references to caravans we find carts full of goods going from one place to another. One such group of 500 hundred carts is mentioned as passing by a

1. Dig. II. pp.72-168; see Jennings, Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha, p. 157, where he records the Buddha's journeys. The economic importance of these routes has been more or less overlooked.
2. Dig. II. p.344.
3. Vin. III. p.200.
4. Vin. IV. p.63.
5. Vin. I. p.151.
6. Vin. IV. pp.131-132.

stream, where the Buddha was meditating.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha was once journeying from Andhakovinda to Rājagaha. On the way he met Belaṭṭha Kaccāna, who was going towards Andhakovinda with 500 waggons, all filled with jars of sugar.<sup>2</sup> The point to note here is that Belaṭṭha was going from Rājagaha (a city) to Andhakovinda (a town). He is presumably a sugar dealer, selling sugar <sup>in the</sup> to countryside. Merchants from distant land come to sell their goods to Majjhima Janapada. Thus horse dealers from Uttarapathaka (Uttara Kuru) come to Verañja with 500 horses.<sup>3</sup> Within the broader region of Majjhima Janapada certain economic products were known by the region in which they were manufactured eg. The product of Kāsi such as Kāsi cloth and Kāsi sandalwood.<sup>4</sup> The bronze dishes of Kosala (Kosālikā kamsapāṭi) also seem to <sup>have been</sup> be popular as <sup>term</sup> the <sup>was</sup> used in a metaphor where it was compared with the shining eyes of a serpent king.<sup>5</sup>

#### Small traders:

Under this heading we include shepherders who sell all sorts of merchandise including meat and wine. In the

1. Dig. II. p.128.
2. Vin. I. p.224.
3. Vin. III. p.6.
4. Majj. II. p.87.
5. Sam. I. p.106.

Vinaya a group of nuns who practised the following trades are prohibited <sup>doing</sup> from/so in future. They set up a tavern (pānāgāraṃ thapenti), a slaughter house (sūnaṃ thapenti), offered things for sale in a shop (āpanaṃ pasārenti), engaged in usuary (vaddhīṃ payojenti), engaged in trade (vaṇijjāṃ payojenti) and dealt in greens and leaves (haritakapaṇṇikāṃ pakīṇanti).<sup>1</sup> It is significant to note from this that women could occupy themselves with these petty trading. What is prohibited for nuns is not for those women outside the nunnery. Also the term vaṇijjā is differentiated from setting a shop or engaging in usuary. In another instance, the nuns made a hoard of many bowls. People saw this and questioned, "Will these nuns do a trade in bowls (patta vaṇijjāṃ karessanti) or will they set up an earthenware shop (āmatthikepanaṃ pasāressanti)."<sup>2</sup> In this and <sup>the</sup> previous passage vaṇijjā is separated from setting up of a shop. However, the considerable accumulation of goods are the prerequisites for both. The probable explanation to this is that vaṇijjā or trading refers to wholesale transactions of goods and setting up of a shop indicates retail selling of goods.

The shopkeeper (pāpaniko), it is said, must have three characteristics, shrewdness, capability and the ability

1. Vin. II. p.267.

2. Ibid., IV. p.243.

to inspire confidence, in which case in a short time he becomes wealthy. "This article, bought for so much and sold for so much, will bring in so much money, such and such profit." That is how he is shrewd. He is clever at buying and selling goods. He becomes known to a rich gahapati or gahapatiputta and they think, "this shopkeeper is shrewd, capable and resourceful, competent to support his son and wife and from time to time pay us interest (amhākañ ca kālena kālañ anuppadatum ti)."<sup>1</sup> They make him offers of wealth (bhogehi nimantanti).<sup>1</sup> In his skill in raising finance, and buying and selling things this shopkeeper seems to resemble a modern entrepreneur and the gahapati or gahapatiputta who give him loans appear similar to modern bankers.

The shrewdness of the shopkeeper is again seen in the Vinaya. An upāsaka, having for a kahāpana bought ghee from the house of a certain shopkeeper, gives it to nun Thullananda. Thullananda says that she is in need of oil and not of ghee. The upāsaka goes back to the shopkeeper and tells him to give in exchange the oil for the ghee. The shopkeeper replies, "If we take back again goods that were bought, when will our goods be sold? Ghee was taken owing

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1. Añg. I. pp.116-117.



to the purchase of Ghee; give money for the purchase of oil and you shall take oil." The existence of such business ethics, which is however crude, shows the <sup>transition from</sup> ~~transference of~~ barter economy to an established monetary economy in big cities like Sāvattī where the incident took place, if nowhere else.

The social status of persons who sold meat, at least in the eyes of the Buddhist writers do<sup>es</sup> not seem to be high. The killing of animals is considered as a cruel occupation (kurūrakamanta).<sup>2</sup> The Buddha says that a fisherman who sells his fish will remain poor here and hereafter.<sup>3</sup> A butcher suffers in hell.<sup>4</sup>

Miscellaneous commercial-trading activities:

Sometimes the texts are not specific about certain types of trading activities. In the Dīgha Nikāya, it is said that if a man should start an enterprise (kammante payojeyya) after contracting a loan and if his business should succeed, he should not only be able to pay off the old debt he had incurred, but there should be a surplus over to maintain a

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- 1. Vin. IV. p.248.
  - 2. Ang. III. p.383.
  - 3. Ang. III. pp.307-303
  - 4. Vin. III. p.105.

wife.<sup>1</sup> A clever and energetic man starts earning 1/2 kahāpanas a day in some business or other (yen kenaci kammattārena). Energetically such a man gradually makes 50 kahāpanas a day. And thereby daily earning a 100 or a 1,000 kahāpanas and hoarding what he had got he would soon be a rich man.<sup>2</sup>

The specialization of occupations which we have noted earlier in the chapter and the development of large and small scale trade confirm that this society is not a simple undifferentiated tribal society.

#### Agriculture and cattle-keeping:

In a peasant society where agriculture is the most important productive source it is but natural for people of diverse social groups to participate in this activity. Mahānāma Sakka describes to his younger brother Anuruddha, the duties incumbent on a person who is engaged in agricultural activities. The entire agricultural operations from ploughing the field to winnowing the chaff and separating the grains have been described by Mahānāma. "The operations", Mahānāma explains to his brother, "do not stop, they are

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1. Dig. I. p.71.

2. Ang. V. p.83. The Buddha gives this example to Sākyans of Kapilavatthu.

un-<sup>ending</sup>. Even when our fathers and grandfathers passed away the operations were not stopped." Mahānāma was the a member of the ruling extended kin-group (~~kin-group~~), and it is most likely that he would be <sup>performing</sup> ~~doing~~ only the managerial and proprietary functions in his ancestral farm. The income from his farm must have been substantial so as to be able to let his younger brother live in luxury (sukhumālo), and also therefore <sup>must</sup> ~~indicate~~ a big land holding.<sup>1</sup> We find <sup>the</sup> ~~Mallās~~ of Kusināra referring to their gāma khetta (agricultural lands).<sup>2</sup> Dīghajānu Koliyaputta is told amongst others about this occupation of Kāsi which a young man could follow.<sup>3</sup> We find brāhmaṇa farmer Bhāradvāja ploughing his land which requires 500 ploughshares. Proudly he says to the Buddha that he ploughs, sows and eats. Perhaps Bhāradvāja wanted to imply from this statement that the Buddha was incapable of doing constructive work such as agriculture.<sup>4</sup> A kassaka gahapati tends his śāli-rice farm with great care in order to reap a rich harvest.<sup>5</sup> <sup>when</sup> ~~the~~ Mendaka/gahapati's slave ~~when he ploughs with~~ <sup>miraculously</sup> one ploughshare seven furrows/come from it.<sup>6</sup> We find two farmer brothers who, while ploughing the land, are struck by

1. Vin. II. p.179-80, compare Dīg. III. p.93, where the definition of khattiya is "Lord of the field" khettānam patitī kho Khattiyo.

2. Dīg. II. p.166.

3. See above p.

4. Saṃ. I. p.172.

5. Aṅg. I. pp.241-242.

6. Vin. I. p.240, ekena naṅgalena kasantassa satta sitāyo gacchantīti.

lightning and consequently die along with their four oxen.<sup>1</sup> In this instance, we may note that ploughing is carried by free men farmers and not by a slave as in the earlier case. In another instance we find a brāhmaṇa farmer experiencing bad days. His sesamum farm has gone bad, leaving only one or two stalk of sesamum. His barn is empty and he is deeply in debts.<sup>2</sup> Kasi (agriculture) is considered a high vocation.<sup>3</sup> Whenever these three occupations - agriculture, trading and cattle-keeping - are mentioned, agriculture is always given precedence over the others.<sup>4</sup> We have mentioned earlier that according to the Buddha agriculture requires elaborate preparations.<sup>5</sup>

In the Vāsettha Sutta<sup>6</sup> one who lives by cattle-keeping (gorakkham upajivati) is called a kassaka, (a farmer). This may have been so since both the vocations are connected with food producing activities. However, cattle-keeping for some at least seems to have been a specialized vocation. Gopakamoggallāna brāhmaṇa and Dhaniya are the two examples in point. Both of them make their living by keeping cattle.<sup>7</sup> We have dealt with the existence of cattle camps and of cattle farming in the Chapter II.<sup>8</sup>

1. Dig. II. p.131; dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā.

2. Saṃ. I. pp.170-171.

3. Vin. IV. p.6.

4. See e.g. Majj. I. p.85; Vin. IV. p.6.

5. See above p. 319

6. Majj. II. p.464 (Nālandā Ed.).

7. See above p. 34

8. See above pp 33, 34

Gahapati

Miss. I. B. Horner renders the Vinaya definition of gahapati as " he who lives in a house" ( yo koci āgaram <sup>1</sup> ajjhāvasati). The term ajjhāvasati however, has the distinct sense of ownership. Thus king Bimbisara rules over Kāsi-kosala ( Kāsi-kosalam ajjhāvasati). The brāhmana Lohicca has ownership rights over Sālavatika ( Sālavatikam ajjhāvasati) and <sup>3</sup> also he has many persons dependent on him for their livelihood. The brāhmanas Sonadanda and Caṅki are also owners of lands <sup>4</sup> donated to them by the kings. A king is informed of a rich country which he could attack, conquer and rule over ( ajjhāvase- vyāmāti). <sup>5</sup>

In the light of the above meanings of the term ajjhāvasati, which denotes ownership rights, it is most likely that the definition of gahapati given in the Vinaya refers not so much to " one who lives in a house" but to " one who has the full ownership rights of the household". The term gahapati is thus applied to a household head. In this it corresponds to its meaning as found in Vedic texts. <sup>6</sup> Also he

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1. B.O.D. II.p.47

2. Dig.I.p.229

3. Ibid., p.228

4. Dig.I.p.111; Majj.II.p.164

5. Majj.II.pp.71-72

6. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, S.v.

has to bear the full responsibility of the household. A gahapati according to the Anguttara has to preserve a sacred fire (gahapatiaggi)<sup>1</sup>. Also a gahapati has to hand over the responsibilities to successors before retirement.

Potaliya the gahapati says that he has handed over to his sons, as their inheritance, all that he had of his property and has now retired from active participation in day-to-day affairs.

This idea of giving up is denoted by the word vohārasamucchedam.<sup>2</sup> Buddha says that gahapati or gahapatiputta has to forsake his fortune, small or great and the circle of his extended kin-group, however few or many, and don the yellow robe.<sup>3</sup>

He has thus to sunder all secular ties.

But this is not the only sense in which the term gahapati is used. The Vinaya gives another definition of the word. It says: "excepting the king and he who is in the king's service and the brāhmana, he who remains is called a gahapati".<sup>4</sup> But this definition is also contradicted by the actual use of the term in the text. Thus we find the existence of brāhmana

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1. Ang.V.p.45
  2. Majj.II.p.339
  3. Dig.I.p.61
  4. Vin.III.p.222; B.O.D.II.p.67

<sup>1</sup>  
gahaptis. With respect to the kings servants and the khattiyas ( the ruling extended kin groups), the term is associated with them never as a term of reference to an individual. They are included in a broad scheme of classification. Thus in the Samyutta and Anguttara Nikāyas, under the subsection of the gahapati (gahapati)vagga following are mentioned.

(1) Raja Udena (2) Sona gahapatiputta (3) Ghosita gahapati (6) Upali gahapati (7) Ugga gahapati of Hatthigama (8) Lohicca brāhmaṇa (9) Veracchāni brahmani (10) Ugga gahapati of Vesāli (11) Hatthaka of Ālavi (12) Mahānāma Sakka (13) Jivaka Komārbhaṇḍa .<sup>2</sup> However this scheme of classification is not applied in actual practice. Thus it can be said that the term gahapati is not generally applied to khattiyas and king's servants. The general application of this term appears to be to persons whose growing wealth and influence marks them out as separate from their extended kin groups. We see this borne out in the following examples, which give us a number of characteristics of the persons labelled gahaptis. We have seen earlier in our chapter III, that the term gahapati is much used as a mode of addressing such people.

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1. See above pages. 44, 111
  2. Sam. IV. pp. 109-124; Ang. IV. pp. 209-235

We may give here the case of Mendaka gahapati. He is a resident of Bhaddiya nagara. Mendaka and his family are known for their eminence in psychic power. All Mendaka has to do is to wash his head and sweep his granary so that, as a result of his psychic power, soon a shower of grain will fall down and fill the granary. Sitting down besides only one bowl of the capacity of an alaka (measure) and one helping of curry and condiments, his wife served<sup>s</sup> food to his household employees (dāsa-kammakāra <sup>o</sup>/rīsam). Not until she gets up is it exhausted. His son, using only one purse containing a thousand (coins), gives six months wages (chammasikam vetanam) to each of his employees. His daughter-in-law provides food for six months wages in kind (bhattam) to the employees of Mendaka, only by sitting next to one basket of the capacity of four doṇa (measure). Lastly when the slave of Mendaka gahapati ploughs with one ploughshare seven furrows come from it. Mendaka feeds the kings entire army and gives them wages in kind and in cash and also orders 1250 cowherds (gopālika) to give fresh milk to the Buddha and his Samgha.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Vin.I.p.240-244



The description of Mendaka and his family, although very unusual and improbable, symbolises his role; as a tax-giver he pays the king's army's wages; as a donor he institutes 1250 cowhards to serve the Buddha and the sangha. Above all we are struck by the affluence of the gahapati. Indeed it is in his role as producer of wealth that he and his family are characterised. It is noteworthy that ~~he~~ Mendaka is not referred to as setthi gahapati and from the description of his psychic powers and from the nature of his gifts to the Buddha his occupation is connected with agriculture and cattle keeping and he is not purely a trader. Also in their relationship with other ~~the~~ whole household of Mendaka seems to act as a unit.

There are a number of other gahapatis who are known in the text for their affluence. Anāthapindika, though not in the possession of psychic power, yet is capable of paying a fabulous price for Jeta vana, a plot of land which he donates to the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> His brother-in-law, a setthi gahapati of Rājagaha, prepares a huge meal for the Buddha. Anāthapindika on seeing this mistakes it for a meal prepared for a marriage ceremony, or a big sacrifice,

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1. Vin.II.p.158

or for the king and his army.<sup>1</sup> When Anathāpindika intends to give a meal to the Buddha, the king, as well as the urban council of Rājagaha, show their willingness to help him in

doing so.<sup>2</sup> To the physician Jivaka, a gahapati of Sāketa gives 16000 coins, a male and a female slave and a horse-drawn chariot. We may note here that the gahapati, his son, wife and his daughter-in-law, each contributed to this reward.<sup>3</sup>

In another instance a gahapati of Banaras has to give 16000 coins for curing his son,<sup>4</sup> while another setthi gahapati of Rājagaha, for his brain operation, gives 100000 coins to the king and 100000 to Jivaka.<sup>5</sup>

When a setthi gahapati dies without any heir to the property, king Pasenadi gets a very substantial amount in gold and silver.<sup>6</sup>

The gahapati is mentioned as one of the seven jewels of the king. This jewel, the gahapati, draws gold from the midst of the Ganges and gives it to him.<sup>7</sup>

This instance of giving gold to the king is supposedly a symbolic representation

of the gahapati's abilities to give the king taxes in kind or

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- 1. Ang.V.pp.342-343
  - 2. Ibid.,V.p.117
  - 3. Majj.II.p.185
  - 4. Sam.II.pp.112-113
  - 5. Ang.V.p.40

in cash. The gahapati Dāsama of Atthaka -nagara gives Ananda many robes and a building for the monastery which was worth 500 coins.<sup>1</sup> As a financier the gahapati lends money to promising shop-keeper.<sup>2</sup> The brahmana Dhananjani exploits gahapati and king by setting each against the other and thus makes his living.<sup>3</sup> Other men are covetous of his wealth and wish him harm, and he has to keep a strong bodyguard to defend himself.<sup>4</sup> Also slaves and labourers are envious of his position.<sup>5</sup>

There are a number of cases where we find gahapatis extending their patronage to the Buddhist order. They provide them with food and lodging and thus nourish their philosophical fancies. In our chapter III we have dealt with many of these gahapatis and to some extent examined their position vis-a-vis the Buddhist order. In the cities gahapatis are often associated with dealings which involve money transactions. We have pointed this out in our chapter on the Settlement Patterns.

The development of the gahapati from the Vedic householder to a comparatively wealthier head of the household may represent the growing disparity of wealth within society. The

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1. Ang.V.pp.342-342
  2. Ibid. V.p.117
  3. Majj.II.p.185
  4. Sam. II.p.485. 112-113
  5. Ang.V.p.40

evidence in the texts is not altogether blind to this. It could not ignore the living conditions of the poor and the needy. The Vinaya in its usual cryptic manner says, "Life is called evil (pāpakam nama jīvitam)". The life of the poor is evil compared to the life of the rich; the life of the unwealthy is evil compared to the life of the wealthy; the life of mankind is evil compared to the life of the devas.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha observes that a poor man with an ugly wife, a dilapidated hut and little or no store of grain might see a monk in monastery, This monk is sitting in the cool shade intent on higher thought. He has just washed his hands and feet and has had a delicious meal. It might occur to the poor man, "Indeed monkhood is pleasant and healthy. I suppose I should go forth from home into homelessness." But he is not able to give up his present condition, his ugly wife etc. because for him it is a strong bond like a thick log of wood which does not rot away. As opposed to this poor man, the Buddha puts forward the case of a rich gahapati or gahapatiputta. He sees the monk in exactly the same manner in which the poor man has seen him earlier and thinks of joining the order. He might be able to bring himself to give up his abundant

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1. Vin.III.p.73

gold ornaments, his wealth and property. Because for him that is a weak bond that rots away.<sup>1</sup>

Again commenting on the condition of the poor and the realities of their situation, the Buddha says, that a certain man has to go to prison for the theft of half a kahāpana, a kahāpana, a hundred kahāpanas. Another person does not have to go to prison, though he steals the same amount. This was so, the Buddha explains, "because the former is a poor fellow of small means (bhoga). The man who does not go to prison is a rich man of great means.<sup>2</sup>" In another instance, it is said, that a butcher has power to strike or bind or slay or treat as he pleases a certain man who steals a goat but not another man who does the same. In the first case a poor man suffers at the hands of the butcher if he should steal a goat. But in the case of <sup>a</sup> rich man, a man of great means such as rājā or rājās <sup>he</sup> minister/cannot be taken to task for doing the same. There is nothing for the butcher to do but beg him with clasped hands, "., give me back my goat or the price of it."<sup>3</sup>

However, people do not seem to like men who spend beyond their means and those who talk foolishly about

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1. Majj.I. pp.450-51, 452.

2. Ang.I. pp. 351-352

3. Ibid.

riches. Thus a man borrows money, a smart <sup>carriage</sup> ~~carriage~~,  
 rare jewels and earrings and parades in the market. People  
 may see him and say of him that he must be <sup>a</sup> wealthy man for  
 wealthy men employ their wealth like that. However,  
 the owners of those borrowed things if they see him thus, <sup>They</sup>  
 will expose him of his borrowed splendour.<sup>1</sup> In another instance  
 it is said, a man quite poor should prate of wealth (daliddo  
vā samāno addhavādam vadeyya) and one without ~~possession~~  
 should prate of ~~possession~~ (adhano ... dhanavādam vadeyya)  
 and one without property should prate of property (abhogavā ..  
bhogavādam vadeyya) and when an occasion to acquire wealth,  
 possession and property arises he fails to do so.<sup>2</sup>

As it appears to us the society was ~~aiming~~  
 aiming at an equipose in the developing economy. That at least  
 seems to be the idea the Buddha had in mind ~~while~~  
~~giving~~ giving advise to Dighajānu Kollyaputta, a member  
 of the ruling extended kin-group. The Buddha says; "A Kulaputta  
 while experiencing both gain and loss in wealth, should continue  
 his business calmly, without being unduly overjoyed over  
 gains and worried about the loss. He should think, "this is  
 how my income, after deducting the loss, will stand and my out  
 goings will not exceed my income." If a kulaputta have but  
 small earnings and if he should live on a grand scale, the people

1. An Majj.I.pp.365-366  
 2. Ang.V. p.43

"  
 will say of him, This kulaputta eats his wealth like a  
 " fig tree glutton( udumbarakhādikaṃ). If his earnings be  
 great and he lives meanly, people will say of him " This  
 " kulaputta will die like a starveling ( ajadhūmārikaṃ )  
 Just as one holding up the balance or his assistant, knows  
 on holding up the balance that either by so <sup>m</sup>uch it has  
 dipped down or so much it has lifted up; even so a kulaputta  
 should adjust his earnings. He should lead a balanced  
 life ( samajivita )<sup>1</sup>.

C o n c l u s i o n s

In this region of North India we find a peasant society with growing specialization of skill and artisanship etc. with expanding trade, knowing the use of money, and with increasing disparity of wealth within the extended kin-groups. The more prosperous heads of households are called gahapati. The emergence of this gahapati appears to be an interesting feature of this period and region. Two social groups are repeatedly mentioned, the brāhmaṇas and the khattiyas more specifically the Licchavis, Mallas, Sākyaṇs etc. The brāhmaṇas were ritually superior to the members of the ruling extended kin-groups or khattiyas but were politically subservient to them. Whereas the term gahapati seems never to have been applied to the khattiyas, the brāhmaṇas, on the other hand seem to have allowed themselves to be referred to by this term. There is evidence of some rivalry between the khattiyas and brāhmaṇas.

The bulk of the population was landowning and land-farming peasants, but the typical vaisya of the Hindu texts was not yet sharply differentiated from the poorer groups



of peasants and artisans. The poorer groups were perhaps lumped together in the conceptual framework of the Suddas.

Though there was considerable division of labour and much active trade, trade differentiation also does not seem to have crystallised into a rigid caste system as yet. People might often change their occupations.

We find different social groups often existing side by side. There seems to be greater emphasis on the role of kinship as compared with later Indian caste society where, of course, kinship is still a very vital element. At the same time, society is not tribal. On the other hand caste has not yet developed to its full extent. The term jñāti (Pāli=ñāti)<sup>1</sup> seems to have implied a group broadly similar to a modern sub-caste and implied a kinship grouping, whether real or imagined. Hence ideas of kinship and similar occupations were closely interwoven.

At a stage when increasing differentiation of social functions was taking place on the basis of kin-groups, it was quite natural for people to stress rather the kinship

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1. ñāti in Pāli is used sometimes as nominative singular and at other time as plural. We may compare the modern terms for sub-caste, such as ātmiya (Bengāli), bhāibandha (Hindī), and jñāti (Marāthi), which are used in singular.

aspect to the functional one. This perhaps explains the puzzling terminology of our texts involving the use of ñāti and gahapati with conditions very different from those of their Sanskrit equivalents in orthodox Hindu sources. We find alternative use of the word ñāti and jāti for an extended kin-group, just as we find the synonymous use of the word jñāti and jāti in modern times, for instance amongst the people of Mahārāṣṭra where both terms denote sub-caste.

Some of these kinship terms such as ñāti and ñātaka are found in the inscriptions of Asoka. Asoka often pointedly refers to these, but never seems to use the more orthodox conceptual terms like Vanna and Jāti, which denote social groupings. It seems that Asoka wrote his edicts to display his prowess as a mighty and benevolent king. At the same time they were meant for people of all ranks of his empire. He was admonishing them in the language they understood. From the edicts it appears that Asoka believed that kinship ties were the sources of the strength of the people, and that to foster them was in their best interests.

At this time Vanna and Jāti were the concepts of the theorists. The actual state of society was one in which blood relationship functioned as a more important social bond.

1. cf. R.E. 3 (Jangada) L. 3, 4 (Jangada) L. 4, 3 (Shabazgarhi) L. 6, 13 (Girnāra) L. 4, 5 (Girnāra) L. 8, 11 (Kalsi); Ls. 37, 38, 5 (Kalsi) L. 16, etc. The contents of these and many others, show a remarkable affinity to those of Pāli passages cited above pp. 163 ff. (References to the inscription are from the Ed. Hultzsch).

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<u>ITEM NOS.</u>	<u>WHO ADDRESSES</u>		<u>WHO IS ADDRESSED</u>		<u>TERM OF ADDRESS</u>
	<u>IDENTIFICATION</u>	<u>GROUP AFFILIATION</u>	<u>IDENTIF- ICATION</u>	<u>GROUP AFFILIATION</u>	
1.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Soṇadaṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
2.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Pokkharasādi	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
3.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kuṭadanta	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
4.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Caṅki	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
5.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uggatasarīra	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
6.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uṇṇābha	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
7.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Jānussonī	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
8.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ujjaya	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
9.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Piṅgalakoccha	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
10.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ekusāri	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
11.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Tikaṇṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
12.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Saṅgāraṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
13.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Vassakāra	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
14.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Doṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Doṇa Brāhmaṇa

<u>TERMS OF REFERENCE</u>	<u>TERMS OF SALUTATION</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>	<u>REFERENCES</u>	
Soṇadaṇḍa Brāhmaṇa	-	The brāhmaṇa becomes an Upāsaka.	Diḡ. I. 119 ff.	1.
Pokkharasādi brāhmaṇa	-	The brāhmaṇa becomes an Upāsaka.	Diḡ. I. 108 ff.	2.
-	-	-do-	Diḡ. I. 134 ff.	3.
-	-	We do not know whether he becomes an upāsaka or not.	Majj. II. pp. 165-68.	4.
-	-	He becomes an upāsaka	Āṅg. IV. pp. 41-46.	5.
-	-	He does not become an upāsaka	Saṃ. V. pp. 217-219.	6.
-	-	He becomes an Upāsaka	Āṅg. II. pp. 173-76; IV. pp. 54-56. Majj. I. 16 ff.	7.
-	-	-do-	Āṅg. IV. pp. 285-89	8.
-	-	-do-	Majj. I. pp. 198-208.	9.
-	-	-do-	Majj. II. 177 ff.	10.
-	-	-do-	Āṅg. I. pp. 163-66.	11.
-	-	-do-	Āṅg. I. pp. 168-73.	12.
-	-	Vassakāra does not become an upāsaka	Āṅg. II. pp. 172-73.	13.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka	Āṅg. III. pp. 223-30.	14.



15.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Udāyi	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
16.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nālijaṅgha	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
17.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Verañja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
18.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Devahita	Brāhmaṇa	
19.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sikha Moggallāna	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
20.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Gaṇaka Moggallāna	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
21.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kasi Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
22.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Jaṭā Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	
23.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Suddhika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
24.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Navkammika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
25.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Asurindaka Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
26.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Akkosaka Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
27.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bilaṅgika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa

-	-	Does not become an upāsaka	Ang. II. pp. 43-44.	15.
-	-	He does not become an upāsaka of the Buddha	Majj. II. pp. 108-10.	16.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka	Ang. IV. pp. 173-79.	17.
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. p. 175.	18.
-	-	Does not become an upāsaka	Ang. II. pp. 232-33.	19.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka	Majj. III. pp. 1-7.	20.
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. pp. 172-173.	21.
-	-	The brāhmaṇa joins the Buddhist Saṅgha and becomes an arahat. He is then referred to in the text as <u>āyasmā Bhāradvāja</u> .	Sam. I. p. 165.	22.
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. p. 166.	23.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka	Sam. I. pp. 179-80.	24.
-	-	Becomes an arahat. See above item, no. 22.	Sam. I. pp. 163-4.	25.
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. pp. 162-3.	26.
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. p. 164.	27.

28.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ahimsaka Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
29.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mānetthadda Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
30.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Paccānika	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
31.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhāradvāja- gotta	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
32.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sundarika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
33.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Aggika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
34.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mātuposaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
35.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Paribbājaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
36.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Lokāyata	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
37.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhikkhaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
38.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Hunhka jātika	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
39.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmāyu	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
40.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahāsāla	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
41.	Bhagavā	Buddha	'Aññatara'	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
42.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Two Brāhmaṇa 120 years old	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa

-	-	-do-	Sam. I. pp.164-5.	28.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka	Sam. I. pp.178-9.	29
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. p.179.	30.
-	-	Becomes an arahat. See above item. no.22.	Sam. I. pp.160-61.	31
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. pp.167-171.	32.
-	-	-do-	Sam. I. pp.166-7.	33.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam. I. pp.181-2.	34.
-	-	-do-	Ang. I. pp.157-58.	35.
-	-	-do-	Sam. II. p.77.	36.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam. I. p.182.	37.
-	-	Does not become an Upāsaka.	Vin. I. pp.2-3.	38.
Brahmāyu Brāhmaṇa	-	Becomes an upāsaka.	Majj. II. pp.142-45.	39.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam. I. pp.176-7.	40.
-	-	-do-	Ang. I. pp.156-7.	41.
-	-	-do-	Ang. I. p.155.	42.

43.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	Lohicca
44.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Assalāyana	Brāhmaṇa	Assalāyana
45.					
45.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Saṅgārava (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhāradvāja
46.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kāpaṭhika (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhāradvāja
47.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Vāseṭṭha (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Vāseṭṭha
48.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Subha Todeyyaputta (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Subha-1 Māṇava-2
49.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uttara (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Uttara
50.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Māgha (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Māgha
51.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ambaṭṭha (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Ambaṭṭha
52.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Sāla	Brāhmaṇa	Gahapatayo
53.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veranja	Brāhmaṇa	Gahapatayo
54.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veḷudvāra	Brāhmaṇa	Gahapatayo

-	-	-do-	Dig. I. pp. 224-7, 234.	43.
-	-	-do-	Majj. II. pp. 147-48, 157.	44.
-	-	-do-	Majj. II. pp. 210-11, 213.	45.
Kāpaṭṭika māṇava	-	-do-	Majj. II. pp. 168-69, 177.	46.
-	-	-do-	Majj. II. pp. 462-3, 468. (Nālanda ed.) Dig. I. pp. 236-237, 252.	47.
-	-	Becomes an upāsaka of the Buddha.	Majj. II. pp. 197-208.	48.
Uttara māṇava	-	Uttara māṇava sees the 32 marks of greatness on the body of the Buddha and reports it to the Brahmāyu brāhmaṇa. But does not become an upāsaka.	Majj. II. pp. 141-42.	49.
-	-	-	S. U. N. pp. 87-91.	50.
Ambaṭṭha māṇava	-	He does not become an upāsaka of the Buddha. While taking leave of the Buddha, he says that 'he is busy and has much work to do'.	Dig. I. pp. 89-90, 106.	51.
-	-	They become the upāsakas of the Buddha.	Majj. I. pp. 285-290.	52.
-	-	-do-	Majj. I. pp. 356-59. (Nālanda Ed.)	53.
-	-	-do-	Sam. V. pp. 352-356.	54.
-	-	-do-	Majj. III. pp. 291-93.	55.

55.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Nagaravinda	Brāhmaṇa	Gahapatayo
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The Buddha and the Jains:

56.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dighatapassi	Jain	Tapassi
57.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta	Jain	Tapassi
<del>58.</del>	<del>Bhagavā</del>	<del>Buddha</del>	<del>Nigaṇṭha</del>	<del>Jain</del>	<del>Nigaṇṭha</del>
58.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Saccaka Nigaṇṭhaputta	Jain	Aggivesana

The Buddha and the paribbājakas:

59.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mandissa & Jāliya	Paribbājaka	avusa
60.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Alāra Kālāma	Paribbājaka	avuso Kālāma
61.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uddaka Rāmaputta	Paribbājaka	avuso Rāma
62.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Acela Kassapa	Paribbājaka	Kassapa
63.	Bhagava	Buddha	Vacchagotta-1 Vacchagotta-2 Vacchagotta-3	Paribbājaka	Vaccha-1 Vaccha-2 Vaccha-3
64.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dighanakha	Paribbājaka	Aggivesana
65.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Vekhanassa	Paribbājaka	Kaccana

THE BUDDHA AND THE JAINS

-	-	-	Majj.I. 371 ff.	56.
-	-	-	Majj.II. 243 f.	57.
-	-	-	He does not become an upāsaka, but invites the Buddha for a meal.	Majj.II. pp.228-30, 236. 58.
-	-	-	<u>The Buddha and the paribbajikas</u> They do not become upāsakas.	Dig.I. pp.157-58. 59.
Aḷāra Kālāma	-	-	Majj.I. pp.163-65.	60.
Rāma	-	-	Majj.I. pp.165-66.	61.
-	-	-	Acela Kassapa becomes a monk and an arahat by stages. See text p. . After he has become a monk, he is referred to as <u>āyasmā</u> <u>Kassapa</u> .	Sam.II. pp.19-22. 62. Dig.I. pp.167-177.
-	-	-	He becomes an upāsaka Becomes a monk and an <u>arahat</u> .	Majj.I. pp.484-88. 63.
-	-	-	He does not become an upāsaka.	Majj.I. pp.489-497. ,,
-	-	-	He becomes an upāsaka	Majj.I. pp.481-83. ,,
-	-	-	He becomes an upāsaka	Majj.I. pp.497-501. 64.
-	-	-do-	Majj.II. pp.40-44.	65.
-	-	-	He becomes an arahat. Referred to as <u>āyasmā</u> <u>Māgandīya</u> .	Majj.I. pp.503-513. 66.
-	-	-	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam.V. pp.73-75. 67.



66.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Māgaṇḍiya	Paribbājaka	Māgaṇḍiya
67a.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kuṇḍaliya	Paribbājaka	Kuṇḍaliya
68.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Moliya Sīvaka	Paribbājaka	Sīvaka
69.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Timbaruka	Paribbājaka	Timbaruka
70.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Poṭaliya	Paribbājaka	Poṭaliya
71.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nandiya	Paribbājaka	Nandiya
72.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uttiya	Paribbājaka	Uttiya
73.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ajita	Paribbājaka	Ajita
74.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kandaraka	Paribbājaka	Kandaraka
75.	Bhagavā	Buddha	(sambahula paribbājaka) 1. Antabhāra, 2. Varadhara, 3. Sakuludāyi	Paribbājaka (group)	Paribbājaka
76.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Subhadda	Paribbājaka	Subhadda
77.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhaggavagotta	Paribbājaka	Bhaggava
78.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sakuludāyi	Paribbājaka	Udāyi
79.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sutavā	Paribbājaka	Sutavā
80.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nigrodha	Paribbājaka	Nigrodha

-	-	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam. IV. pp. 230-31.	68.
-	-	-do-	Sam. II. pp. 22-23.	69.
-	-	-do-	Ang. II. pp. 100-101.	70.
-	-	-do-	Sam. V. pp. 11-12.	71.
-	-	Does not become an upāsaka.	Ang. V. pp. 193-94.	72.
-	-	-do-	Ang. V. pp. 229-230.	73.
-	-	-do-	Majj. I. pp. 339-40	74.
-	-	-do-	Ang. II. pp. 176-77.	75.
-	-	He becomes an arahat. Referred to as <u>āyasma Subhadda.</u>	Dig. II. pp. 148-153.	76.
-	-	Does not become an upāsaka.	Dig. III. pp. 1-2, 35.	77.
-	-	-do- However, in the Majj. II. 39 ff. expresses his desire to join the Buddhist Saṅgha, only to be dissuaded by his fellow paribbājakas.	Majj. II. pp. 1-2, 22; 39 ff.	78.
-	-	He does not become an upāsaka.	Ang. IV. pp. 369-371.	79.
-	-	-do-	Dig. III. pp. 38, 39.	80.
-	-	He becomes an upāsaka of the Buddha.	Dig. I. 179 ff; 202.	81.

81.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Poṭṭhapāda	Paribbājaka	Poṭṭhapāda
82.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sajjha	Paribbājaka	Sajjha
83.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sabhiya	Paribbājaka	Sabhiya

The Buddha and monks:

84.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ānanda	Monk	Ānanda
85.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Rāhula	Monk	Rāhula
86.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Tissa	Monk	Tissa
87.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nanda	Monk	Nanda
88.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bāhuna	Monk	Bāhuna
89.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Puṇṇiya	Monk	Puṇṇiya
90.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Upāli	Monk	Upāli
91.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Upavāna	Monk	Upavāna
92.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Udayi	Monk	Udayi
93.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhaddāli	Monk	Bhaddāli
94.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Susima	Monk	Susima
95.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Subhūti	Monk	Subhūti
96.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uttiya	Monk	Uttiya

THE BUDDHA AND MONKS

-	-	But unlike the other paribbājakas (see, items nos, 65(1), 66-7, 68(a)-72) who address the Buddha as <u>bho Gotama</u> while becoming the upāsakas, Poṭṭhapaḍa addresses the Buddha as <u>bhante Bhagavā</u> .	82.
-	-	-	83.
-	-	Sabhiya joins the Saṅgha and becomes an arahat.	Su.W. pp. 101-102. 85.
-	-	-	Majj. III. pp. 253-58; 84. Saṃ. II. pp. 92-98; Aṅg. V. p. 108 etc.
-	-	Buddha's son	Majj. I. pp. 414-420. 85.
-	-	Buddha's father's sister's son (pitucchāputto)	Saṃ. II. p. 282. 86.
-	-	Buddha's mother's sister's son (mātucchāputto)	Saṃ. II. p. 281. 87.
-	-	-	Aṅg. V. p. 151. 88.
-	-	-	Aṅg. V. p. 154. 89.
-	-	-	Aṅg. V. p. 70. 90.
-	-	-	Saṃ. II. p. 41. 91.
-	-	-	Saṃ. V. pp. 89-90. 92.
-	-	-	Majj. I. pp. 437-38. 93.
-	-	-	Saṃ. II. pp. 127-28. 94.
-	-	-	Aṅg. V. p. 337. 95.
-	-	-	Saṃ. V. p. 22. 96.

97.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Anuruddhā Kimbila Nandīya	Monk	Anuruddhā
98.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Visākhā Pañcālaputta	Monk	Visākhā
99.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Upsena Vaṅgataputta	Monk	Upsena
100.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dabbhā Mallaputta	Monk	Dabbhā
101.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kaccānagotta	Monk	Kaccāna
102.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Upananda Sakyaputta	Monk	Upananda
103.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Piṇḍola- Bhāradvāja	Monk	Bhāradvāja
104.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahākassapa	Monk	Kassapa
105.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahāmoggallāna	Monk	Moggallāna
106.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sāriputta	Monk	Sāriputta
107.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mālukiya-putta	Monk	Mālukiya-putta
108.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Moliyaphagguna	Monk	Phagguna
109.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Gulissāni	Monk	Gulissāni
110.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ariṭṭha	Monk	Ariṭṭha

-	-	Anuruddha is addressed in plural. At another place, Bhagu, Kuṇḍadhān, Revata & Ānandare added to the list but the mode of address is the same. This shows the seniority of Anuruddha.	Majj.I.p.205 and Majj.I.pp.462-63.	97.
-	-	-	Saṃ.II. p.280; Aṅg.II. p.51.	98.
-	-	-	Vin.III. p.230.	99.
-	-	-	Vin.I. p.74 f.	100.
-	-	-	Saṃ.II. p.17.	101.
-	-	Buddha uses <u>gotta</u> name.	Vin.III. p.211.	102.
-	-	-do-	Vin.II. p.112.	103.
-	-	<u>gotta</u> used	Saṃ.V. p.78.	104.
-	-	-	Vin.III. p.7.	105.
-	-	-	Vin.III. p.7.	106.
-	-	-	Saṃ.IV. p.72.	107.
āvuso Phaggaṇa	-	The Buddha refers to him by this term, while the monks refer to him as <u>āyasmā</u> Phaggaṇa.	Majj.I. p.122.	108.
-	-	-	-	109.
āvuso Ariṭṭha	-	The text refers to him as <u>bhikkhu</u> Ariṭṭha	Majj.I. pp.130-1.	110.

111.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kokālika	Monk	Kokālika
112.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sāti Kevaṭṭhaputta	Monk	Sāti
113.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Thera	Monk	Thera
114.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahācuṇḍa	Monk	Cuṇḍā
115.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhagu	Monk	Bhikkhu
116.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kumāra- kassapa	Monk	Bhikkhu
117.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhikkhus	Monk	Bhikkhave
118.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dhammika	Monk	Brāhmaṇa
119.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Aciravata Samanuddesa	Monk (junior)	Aggivesana
120.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahākappina	Monk	Brāhmaṇa
121.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Āṅgulimāla	Monk	Brāhmaṇa

The Buddha and Gahapatīs:

122.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ugga of Vesāli	Gahapati	Gahapati
123.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ugga of Hatthigāma	Gahapati	Gahapati
124.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Citta of Macchikasāṇḍa	Gahapati	Gahapati
125.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dārūkammika (woodworker)	Gahapati	Gahapati

-	-	-	Ang.V. p.170; Sam.I. p.150.	111.
āvuso Sāti	-	The text refers to him as <u>bhikkhu</u> .	Majj.I. p.256 ff.	112.
āvuso Thera	-	-	Sam.II. p.283.	113.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.40.	114.
-	-	Buddha had newly arrived in Kosambi and it is likely that he did not know the name of this monk. Hence the mode of address.	Majj.III. p.155; Vin.I. p.350.	115.
-	-	The answers which the Buddha gave to the riddles of the monk were very general, and meant for all bhikkhus.	Majj.I. p.142.	116.
-	-	-	Sam.III. p.5 ff. Sam.II. p.1 ff. Majj.I. p.12.	117.
-	-	-	Ang.III. p.366 f.	118.
-	-	-	Majj.III. pp.129- 130.	119.
-	-	-	Vin.I. p.105.	120.
-	-	Monk Angulimāla was about to become an arahat that was when the Buddha.	Majj.II. p.104.	121.



The Buddha and Gahapati

Bhagava

Abhi.

Uggha is noted for his  
gifts to the Buddha

Abhi.

This and the gahapati  
mentioned above are  
identified by their pl  
names and not by profo

Bhagava

Abhi.

He salutes in the end  
and then goes away.

126.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Seṭṭhi	Gahapati	Gahapati
127.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Upāli	Gahapati	Gahapati
128.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nakulapitā	Gahapati	Gahapati
129.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Paṭaliya	Gahapati	Gahapati
130.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Anāthpāṇḍika	Gahapati	Gahapati-1 Sudatta -2
131.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Pañcakāya Thāpati	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2
132.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Isidatta-purāna	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2	Thapatayo
133.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Pāṭaligāma Upāsakas	Gahapati-1 Upāsakas-2	Gahapatayo
134.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Sāla	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Gahapatayo
135.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Nagaravinda	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Gahapatayo
136.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Verāṅga	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Gahapatayo
137.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veḷudvāra	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Gahapatayo
138.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Group of men and women	Gahapati	Gahapatayo

-	-	To seek his lost son he comes to the Buddha. He does not salute the Buddha in the beginning.	Vin.I. p.16.	126.
-	-	Formerly a devotee of Jains; now the Buddha's follower.	Majj.I. p.376; Sam.IV. p.110.	127.
-	-	-	Sam.III. p.1 ff.	128.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.359.	129.
-	-	-	Sam.I. p.212; Vin.II. p.156.	130.
-	-	The direct mode of address is absent as he does not converse with the Buddha.	Majj.II. p.24.	131.
-	-	-	Sam.V. p.348 ff.	132.
-	-	-	Vin.I. p.227 f.	133.
-	-	-	-	134.
-	-	See items 52 53 54 55		135.
-	-	-		136.
-	-	-		137.
-	-	They were travelling between Verañja and Madura.	A. II. p.53.	138.

139.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Keveṭṭha Gahapatiputta	Gahapati	Keveṭṭha
140.	Bhagava	Buddha	Soṇa Gahapatiputta	Gahapati	Soṇa
141.	Bhagava	Buddha	Singalaka Gahapatiputta	Gahapati	Gahapati- putta -1 Singalaka-2

The Buddha and Kings:

142.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Mahārāja
143.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Ajatasattu of Magadha	King	Mahārāja
144.	Bhagava	Buddha	Seniya Bimbisara of Magadha	King	Mahārāja
145.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Abhaya Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Rājakumāra
146.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bodhi Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Rājakumāra

The Buddha and gamanis:

147.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Caṇḍa	Gamaṇi	Gamaṇi
148.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Talapuṭa Naṭagamaṇi	Gamaṇi	Gamaṇi
149.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Yodhājiva	Gamaṇi	Gamaṇi
150.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Assaroha	Gamaṇi	Gamaṇi

-	-	Kevaddha=Kevatṭha fisherman's son ?	Dig. I. p. 211.	139.
-	-	-	Sam. III. pp. 48-49.	140.
-	-	Siṅgāḷaka does not salute him in the beginning. Later on he becomes an upāsaka.	Dig. III. pp. 180-81.	141.

The Buddha and Kings:

-	-	-	Ang. V. pp. 65-66; Sam. I. p. 64 ff.	142.
-	-	-	Dig. pp. 50-51.	143.
-	-	-	Vin. I. p. 74.	144.
-	-	-	Sam. V. pp. 126-29.	145.
-	-	-	Majj. II. p. 93.	146.

The Buddha and gāmanis:

-	-	-	Sam. IV. p. 305 f.	147.
-	-	-	Sam. IV. p. 306 f.	148.
-	-	-	Sam. IV. pp. 308-309.	149.
-	-	-	Sam. IV. pp. 310-311.	150.

151.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Hattiroha	Gāmaṇi	Gāmaṇi
152.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Asibandhaka- putta	Gāmaṇi	Gāmaṇi
153.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhadragaka	Gāmaṇi	Gāmaṇi
154.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Pāṭali	Gāmaṇi	Gāmaṇi
155.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Maṇicuḷaka	Gāmaṇi	Gāmaṇi

The Buddha and the ruling extended kin groups

156.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahānāma Licchavi	Ex. kin group	Mahānāma
157.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nandaka Licchavi	Ex. kin group	Nandaka
158.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sāḷha Licchavi	Ex. kin group	Sāḷha
159.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahāli Licchavi	Ex. kin group	Mahāli
160.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sunakkhatta Licchavi-putta	Ex. kin group	Sunakkhatta
161.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Licchavi (in group)	Ex. kin group	Licchavi
162.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Mahānāma Sakka	Ex. kin group	Mahānāma
163.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Nandiya Sakka	Ex. kin group	Nandiya

--	--	--	Sam. IV. p. 310 f.	151.
--	--	--	Sam. IV. p. 312 f.	152.
--	--	--	Sam. IV. p. 327.	153.
--	--	Explained in the text.	Sam. IV. pp. 340-41.	154.
--	--	--	Sam. IV. p. 325.	155.

The Buddha and the ruling extended kin-groups:

--	--	--	Ang. III. p. 76.	156.
--	--	--	Sam. V. p. 389.	157.
--	--	--	Ang. II. p. 200 ff.	158.
--	--	Explained in the text.	Sam. III. p. 69 f.	159.
--	--	--	Dig. III. p. 2 f.	160.
--	--	--	Ang. III. p. 168.	161.
--	--	--	Ang. I. p. 276 ff.	162.
--	--	--	Ang. V. p. 335; Sam. V. p. 397.	163.

164. Bhagavā	Buddha	sambahula Sakka upāsakas (many sakyā upāsakas)	Ekākin group	Sakkā
165. Bhagavā	Buddha	Sakkas of Kapilavatthu	Ekākin group	Gotama
166. Bhagavā	Buddha	Suddodhana Sakkā	Ekākin group	Gotama
167. Bhagavā	Buddha	Mallās of Pāvā	Ekākin group	Vāsetṭhā
168. Bhagavā	Buddha	Pukkusa Mallaputta	Ekākin group	Pukkusa
169. Bhagavā	Buddha	Kālamas of Kesaputta	Ekākin group	Kālāmā
170. Bhagavā	Buddha	Dīghajānu Koḷiyaputta	Ekākin group	Vyaggha- pajja
171. Bhagavā	Buddha	Puṇṇa Koḷiyaputta	Ekākin group	Puṇṇa

The Buddha and Upāsakas:

172. Bhagavā	Buddha	Hatthaka of Alavi	Ekākin group-1 Upāsaka-2	Hatthaka-1 Kumāra -2
173. Bhagavā	Buddha	Pahārada Asurinda	Upāsaka	Pahārada
174. Bhagavā	Buddha	Vāsetṭhā upāsaka	Upāsaka	Vāsetṭhā



- - Buddha addresses Sākya upāsakas.      Aṅg.V. p.83.      164.
- - In this, as against above, he is invited to open a Sākya Santhāgāra, their assembly hall. Thus the occasion is formal. That is why, presumably he uses their gotta affiliation to address them.      Saṃ.IV. pp.182-83.      165.
- - Buddha uses his gotta. Is he respecting his father ?      Vin.I. p.82.      166.
- - The Buddha has talks with them in a Santhāgāra, assembly hall of the Mallas. Here again the use of gotta name to address them. Compare item 165.      pp.208-9.      167.
- - - - -      Dig.II. pp.130-31.      168.
- - - - -      Aṅg.I. pp.188-89.      169.
- - Buddha's use of Totemic name ?      Aṅg.IV. p.281 f.      170.
- - Here the Buddha does not use Koliya's totemic name but uses Punna but we may note here that Punna is an ascetic following "cow" practices Govatiko and is thus outside the bonds of the society.      Majj.I. p.387.      171.

The Buddha and Upāsakas.

- - - - -      Aṅg.I. p.136;      172.  
IV. p.216.
- - - - -      Aṅg.IV. pp.197-204.      173.
- - - - -      Aṅg.IV. pp.258-59.      174.

175.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dighavu Upasaka	Upasaka	Dighavu
176.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Jivaka Komārabhacca	Upāsaka	Jivaka
177.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Dhammadinna upāsaka	Upāsaka	Dhamma- dinna
178.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Cunda Kammāraputta	Upāsaka	Cunda
179.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhaggava Kumbhakara	Upāsaka	Bhaggava
180.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Kesi Assadamasarathi	Upāsaka	Kesi
181.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Pessa Hatthisāraputta	Upāsaka	Pessa
182.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Sudinna Kalanadakaputta	Upāsaka	Sudinna
183.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Belatṭha Kaccāna	Upāsaka	Kaccāna
184.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Siha Senapati	Upāsaka	Siha
185.	Bhagavā	Buddha	Uggā Rājamahāmatṭa	Upāsaka	Ugga

Monks and monks:

186.	Āyasmā Ananda Monk	Āyasmā Ajjuka	Monk	āvuso
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-	-	Buddha meets him on his death bed.	Sam.V. p.345.	175.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.368 ff.	176.
-	-	He comes with 500 <u>upāsakas</u> to see the Buddha.	Sam.V. p.407.	177.
-	-	Buddha ate his last meal at his place.	Diğ.II. p.126 f.	178.
-	-	Buddha goes to his place, hence no salutation on the part of Bhaggava. He is a potter.	Majj.III. p.237.	179.
-	-	-	Ang.II. pp.112-13.	180.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.339 ff.	181.
-	-	-	Vin.III. p.11 ff.	182.
-	-	A gotta name used for a merchant ?	Vin.I. pp.224-25.	183.
-	-	-	Ang.IV. p.79 f.	184.
-	-	-	Ang.IV. pp.6-7.	185.

Monks and monks:

-	-	He disputes with him on certain legal points.	Vin.III. p.67.	186.
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187.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Revata	Monk	āvuso Revata
188.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Udāyi	Monk	āvuso Udāyi
189.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Channa	Monk	āvuso Channa
190.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Bhaddaji	Monk	āvuso Bhaddaji
191.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Kāmbhū	Monk	āvuso Kāmbhū
192.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Bhadda	Monk	āvuso Bhadda
193.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
194.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Āyasmā Samiddhi	Monk	āvuso Samiddhi
195.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Sambahulā Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso āyasmanto
196.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Mahācunda	Monk	āvuso Cunda
197.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Mahakoṭṭhita	Monk	āvuso Koṭṭhita
198.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Mahakassapa	Monk	āvuso Kassapa

-	-	-	Majj.I. p.212 f.	187.
-	-	-	Ang.IV. p.449.	188.
-	-	-	Saṃ.III. p.133 f.	189.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.III. p.202.	190.
-	-	-	Saṃ.IV. p.165.	191.
-	-	-	Saṃ.V. p.15.	192.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.III. p.201; II. p.167.	193.
-	-	-	Majj.III. p.208.	194.
-	-	-	Majj.I. pp.160-61.	195.
-	-	-	Saṃ.IV. pp.55-56.	196.
-	-	-	Ang.IV. p.382 ff.	197.
-	-	-	Saṃ.II. p.195 f.	198.

199.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Anuruddha	Monk	āvuso Anuruddha
200.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Saviṭṭha	Monk	āvuso Saviṭṭha
201.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Upavana	Monk	āvuso Upavāna
202.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Vaṅḡisā	Monk	āvuso Vaṅḡisā
203.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso
204.	Āyasmā Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
205.	Āyasmā Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	Āyasmā Piṇḍol- bhāradvāja	Monk	āvuso Bhāradvāja
206.	Āyasmā Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	Āyasmā Lakkhaṇa	Monk	āvuso Lakkhaṇa
207.	Āyasmā Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso Bhikkhavo
208.	Āyasmā Nārada	Monk	Āyasmā Saviṭṭha	Monk	āvuso Saviṭṭha
209.	Āyasmā Saviṭṭha	Monk	Āyasmā Musila	Monk	āvuso Musila
210.	Āyasmā Yamaka	Monk	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso

-	S.S.	-	Sam.V. p.298.	199.
-	S.S.	-	Ang.I. pp.118-19.	200.
-	S.S.	-	Sam.V. p.76.	201.
-	-	-	Sam.I. p.190.	202.
-	-	-	Ang.II. p.160.	203.
-	S.S.	They are described as great friends.	Sam.II. pp.276-77.	204.
-	-	-	Vin.II. p.111.	205.
-	-	-	Vin.III. pp.104, 105.	206.
-	-	-	Ang.V. p.155.	207.
-	-	-	Sam.II. p.115 f.	208.
-	-	-	Sam.II. p.117 f.	209.
-	-	-	Sam.III. p.109 f.	210.

214.	Āyasma Mahācundo	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso Bhikkhavo
212.	Āyasma Maha- kassapa	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso Bhikkhavo
213.	Āyasma Candikaputta	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso
214.	Āyasma Nandiya	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso
215.	Āyasma Punna- Mantaṇiputta	Monk	Āyasma Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso
216.	Āyasma Ananda	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āyasmanto
217.	Āyasma Anuruddha	Monk	Āyasma Nandiya & Kimbila	Monk	Āyasmanto
218.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	Āyasma Mahākaccāna	Monk	āvuso Kaccāna
219.	Sattaravaggiya Bhikkhus	Monk	Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus	Monk	āvuso
220.	Sāti Kevaṭṭha- putta Bhikkhu	Monk	A Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso
221.	Ariṭṭha Bhikkhu	Monk	A Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso
222.	Āyasma Maha- kassapa	Monk	Āyasma Ananda	Monk	āvuso Ananda
223.	Āyasma Maha- kassapa	Monk	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	āvuso



-	-	-	Ang. III. p. 355.	211.
-	-	-	Ang. V. pp. 161-62.	212.
-	-	-	Ang. IV. p. 402.	213.
-	-	-	Ang. IV. p. 362.	214.
-	-	Note the use of <u>āyasmā</u> at the end of conversa- tion.	Majj. I. pp. 147-51.	215.
-	-	-	Majj. I. pp. 160-61.	216.
-	-	-	Ang. V. pp. 41-42.	217.
-	-	-	Majj. I. p. 210.	218.
-	-	-	Vin. IV. p. 44 f.	219.
-	-	See item, no. 112.	Majj. I. p. 258.	220.
-	-	See item, no. 110.	Vin. II. p. 25.	221.
-	-	He is the preceptor of Ānanda cf. Vin. I. pp. 92-93.	Sam. II. p. 215 ff.	222.
-	-	-	Majj. I. p. 205.	223.

224.	Āyasmā Anuruddha	Monk	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	āvuso Ananda
225.	Āyasmā Anuruddha	Monk	Āyasmā Abhiya kaccāna	Monk	āvuso Kaccāna
226.	Āyasmā Anuruddha	Monk	Bhikkhus	Monk	āvuso
227.	Āyasmā Thera	Monk	Āyasmā Isidatta	Monk	āvuso Isidatta
228.	Āyasmā Thera	Monk	Āyasmā Mahaka	Monk	āvuso Mahaka
229.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Āyasmā Samiddhi	Monk	Samiddhi
230.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Vesālika Vajji- puttaka bhikkhus	Monk	āvuso
231.	Āyasmā Upāli	Monk	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	āvuso Ananda
232.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Āyasmā Channa	Monk	āvuso Channa
233.	Āyasmā Revata	Monk	Yasa Kākaṇḍaka- putta	Monk	āvuso
234.	Āyasmā Dalhika	Monk	A Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso
235.	Āyasmā Mahākaccāna	Monk	Āyasmā Soṇa	Monk	Soṇa

-	-	Anuruddha takes charge of the Sangha immediately after the death of the Buddha and consoles the weeping monks.	Dig. II. p.158.	224.
-	-	-	Majj. III. p.148 ff.	225.
-	-	-	Dig. II. p.158.	226.
-	-	-	Sam. IV. p.284.	227.
-	-	-	Sam. IV. p.289.	228.
-	-	-	Ang. IV. p.385.	229.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p.23.	230.
-	-	Ananda consults him on a dispute.	Vin. III. p.67.	231.
-	-	The reference occurs in the <u>Cullavagga</u> which is late.	Vin. II. p.292.	232.
-	-	He is a very senior monk when Yasa consults on the disputed points. Account in the <u>Cullavagga</u> .	Vin. II. p.300.	233.
-	-	He absolves this monk of his guilt of stealing a turban.	Vin. III. p.67.	234.
-	-	He was his upāsaka, he ordained him as a monk.	Vin. I. p.197 f.	235.

236.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Cunḍa Samaṇuddesa	Monk (novice)	āvuso Cunḍa
237.	Āyasmā Nāgita	Monk	Siha Samaṇuddesa	Monk (novice)	Siha

Monks and paribbājakas:

238.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Channa	Paribbājaka	āvuso
239.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Sāmaṇḍakāni	Paribbājaka	āvuso
240.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Susīma	Paribbājaka	-
241.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Uttiya	Paribbājaka	āvuso Uttiya
242.	Āyasmā Samiddhi	Monk	Poṭaliputta	Paribbājaka	āvuso Poṭali- putta
243.	Āyasmā Upananda Sakyaputta	Monk	Aññatara Paribbājaka	Paribbājaka	āvuso
244.	Āyasmā Anurādha	Monk	Sabakula aññatitthiyā paribbājaka	Paribbājaka	āvuso
245.	Āyasmā Mahākassapa	Monk	Aññatara Ājīvaka	Paribbājaka (Ājīvaka)	āvuso
246.	Āyasmā Bakkula	Monk	Acela Kassapa	Paribbājaka	āvuso. Kassapa

Majj. II. p. 244 ff. 236.

Dig. I. p. 151. 237.

Monks and Paribbajakas:

-	-	-	Ang. I. p. 215	(238)
-	-	-	Ang. V. pp. 121-122	(239)
-	-	-	Sam. II. p. 120 ff.	(240)
-	-	-	Ang. V. p. 194	(241)
-	-	-	Majj. III. p. 207	(242)
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 240	(243)
-	-	-	Sam. III. p. 116	(244)
-	-	-	Dig. II. p. 162	(245)
-	S. S.	-	Majj. III. p. 124	(246)

247.	Āyasmā Assaji	Monk	Saccaka Nigaṇṭhaputta	Paribbājaka (jain)	Aggivesana
248.	Āyasmā Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	Vacchagotta	Paribbājaka	Vaccha
249.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Sandaka	Paribbājaka	Sandaka
250.	Āyasmā Sabhiya- kaccāna	Monk	Vacchagotta	Paribbājaka	Vaccha

Monks and the Brāhmaṇas:

251.	Āyasmā Udena	Monk	Ghoṭamukha	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
252.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Dhānañjāni	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
253.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Gopaka- Moggallāna	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
254.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Vassakāra	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
255.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Uṇṇābha	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
256.	Āyasmā Mahā- kaccāna	Monk	Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
257.	Āyasmā Mahākaccāna	Monk	Kaṇḍarāyana	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa
258.	Āyasmā Mahākaccāna	Monk	Ārāmadāṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa

- - - Majj.I.pp.227-228 (247)

- - - Majj.I.p.513 (249)

- - - Sam.IV.p. 401 ff. (250)

Monks and the Brahmanas:

- - - Majj.II.p.158 (251)

- - - Majj.II.p.186 (252)

- - - Majj.III.p.78 (253)

- - - Majj.III.p.13 (254)

- - - Sam.V. pp.272-273 (255)

- - - Sam. IV.pp.118-119 (256)

- - - Ang.I. pp.67-68 (257)

- - - Ang.I.p.66 (258)



259.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta	Brahmaṇa	Brahmaṇa-1 maṇava -2
260.	Bhikkhus	Monk	Amabaṭṭha maṇava	Brahmaṇa	Ambaṭṭha
261.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Aññatara Brahmaṇa	Brahmaṇa	Brahmaṇa
262.	Āyasmā Udayin	Monk	The brahmaṇa with his wife	Brahmaṇa	Brahmaṇa

Monks and the ruling extended kin-groups:

263.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Roja Malla	Extended kin-group	Roja
264.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Abhaya Licchavi	Extended kin-group	Abhaya
265.	Āyasmā Nagita	Monk	Oṭṭhaddha Licchavi	Extended kin-group	Mahāli
266.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Mahanāma Sakka	Extended kin-group	Mahanāma
267.	Āyasmā Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	Vappa Sakka	Extended kin-group	Vappa
268.	Āyasmā Loma- savaṅgisa	Monk	Mahanāma Sakka	Extended kin-group	avuso Mahanāma
269.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Vaddhā Licchavi	Extended kin-group	avuso Vaddhā
270.	Āyasmā Anuruddha	Monk	Mallas (in group)	Extended kin-group	Vāsetṭhā

-	-	-	Dig. I. p. 89 ff.	(259)
-	S. s.	-	Dig. I. p. 205-206	(260)
-	-	-	Vin. I. p. 247	(261)
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 119	(262)

Monks and the ruling extended kin-groups:

-	-	-	Vin. I. p. 247	(263)
-	-	-	Ang. I. p. 220 ff.	(264)
-	-	-	Dig. I. p. 151	(265)
-	-	-	Ang. II. p. 196 ff.	(267)
-	-	-	Sam. V. p. 327	(268)
-	-	-	Vin. II. pp. 125-126	(269)
-	-	-	The occasion is, Dig. II. p. 160 Buddha's funeral, a very formal ceremony. Hence the use of gotta, vasettha.	(270)

271.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Mallas (in group)	Extended kin-group	Vāsetṭhā
272.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Koḷiyaputta of Sāpuga	Extended kin-group	Vyaggha- pajja

Monks and the king:

273.	Āyasmā Angulimāla	Monk	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Mahārāja
274.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Mahārāja
275.	Āyasmā Pilindavaccha	Monk	Seniya Bimbisāra	King	Mahārāja
276.	Āyasmā Piṇḍo- labhāradvāja	Monk	Udena	King	Mahārāja
277.	Āyasmā Mahā- kaccāna	Monk	Madhura of Avanti	King	Mahārāja
278.	Āyasmā Raṭṭhapāla	Monk	Koravya	King	Mahārāja
279.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Udena	King	Mahārāja
280.	Āyasmā Bhūmija	Monk	Jayasena Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Rājakumāra
281.	Aciravata Samaṇuddesa	Monk (novice)	Jayasena Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Rājakumāra

- - Ananda is sent to convey the news of the death of the Buddha. Dig.II.p.159 ff. (271)

- - - Ang.II. pp.194-195 (272)

Monks and the Kings:

- - A robber, turned monk. Majj.II.pp.101-102 (273)

- - - Majj.II.p.113 (274)

- - - Vin.III. p.248 ff. (275)

- - - Sam. IV. p.110 (276)

- - - Majj.II. p.84 ff. (277)

- - - Majj.II. p. 66 ff. (278)

- - - Vin. II. p. 291 (279)

- - - Majj. III. p. 138 ff. (280)

- - - Majj. III. p. 138 ff. (281)

Monks and the gahapatis:

282.	Āyasmā Mahakaccāna	Monk	Gahapati of Haliddika	Gahapati	Gahapati
283.	Āyasmā Mahaka	Monk	Citta	Gahapati	Gahapati
284.	Āyasmā Kāmbhu	Monk	Citta	Gahapati	Gahapati
285.	Āyasmā Godatta	Monk	Citta	Gahapati	Gahapati
286.	Āyasmā Isidatta	Monk	Citta	Gahapati	Gahapati
287.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Dasama of Aṭṭhakanagara	Gahapati	Gahapati
288.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Anāthpiṇḍika	Gahapati	Gahapati
289.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Anāthpiṇḍika	Gahapati	Gahapati
290.	Āyasmā Ānanda	Monk	Sirivaddha	Gahapati	Gahapati
291.	Āyasmā Dabba Mallaputta	Monk	Kalyāṇabhaddika	Gahapati	Gahapati
292.	Bhikkhus	Monk	Dasama of Aṭṭhakanagara	Gahapati	Gahapati
293.	Bhikkhus ānātara	Monk	Ugga of Hatthigama	Gahapati	Gahapati

Monks and the gahapatis:

-	-	-	Saṃ. IV. p. 115.	282.
-	-	-	Saṃ. IV. p. 290.	283.
-	-	-	Saṃ. IV. p. 291.	284.
-	-	-	Saṃ. IV. p. 296 f.	285.
-	-	-	Saṃ. IV. pp. 283-88.	286.
-	-	-	Ang. V. p. 343.	287.
-	-	-	Saṃ. V. p. 385 f.	288.
-	-	He goes to the <u>gahapati</u> while the latter was sick.	Saṃ. I. p. 381 f.	289.
-	-	He calls for Ānanda when afflicted with a sore disease. He conveys his salute ( <u>abhi.</u> ) through an attendant.	Saṃ. V. pp. 176-77.	290.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 161.	291.
-	-	-	Ang. V. pp. 342-43.	292.
-	-	-	Ang. IV. p. 213.	293.

294.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Ājivakasāvaka (follower of Ājivikas)	Gahapati	Gahapati
295.	Āyasmā Raṭṭhapāla	Monk	To his father	Gahapati	Gahapati
296.	Āyasmā Sudinna	Monk	To his father	Gahapati	Gahapati
297.	Āyasmā Udayi	Monk	Pañcakaṅga	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2	Gahapati
298.	Āyasmā Anuruddha	Monk	Pañcakaṅga	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2	Gahapati
299.	Āyasmā Ananda	Monk	Gahapati's son	Gahapati	āvuso

Monks and Upāsakas:

300.	Āyasmā Sāriputta	Monk	Upāsakas of Campa	Upāsaka	āvuso
301.	Āyasmā Upananda Sakyaputta	Monk	Aññatara Purisa	Upāsaka	āvuso
302.	Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus	Monk	Pūga (a guild)	Upāsaka	āvuso
303.	Āyasmā Nandaka	Monk	Sāḷha Migāranatta	Upāsaka	āvuso
304.	Āyasmā Mahākaccāna	Monk	Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa	Upāsaka	āvuso
305.	Āyasmā Upananda Sakyaputta	Monk	Setṭhiputta	Upāsaka	āvuso

-	-	Gahapati becomes a lay follower of the Buddha through Ananda.	Ang. I. p. 217-19.	294.
-	-	Ratthapala goes to his father's house.	Majj. II. pp. 62, 63.	295.
-	-	Sudinna goes to his father's house.	Vin. III. p. 16.	296.
-	-	-	Majj. I. pp. 396-97.	297.
-	-	Monk sits on a higher seat and he, on a lower seat.	Majj. III. p. 145 ff.	298.
-	-	-	Vin. III. pp. 66-67.	299.
<u>Monks and Upāsakas</u>				
-	-	-	Ang. IV. p. 59.	300.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 215 f.	301.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 265.	302.
-	-	-	Ang. I. p. 193 f.	303.
-	-	-	Vin. I. pp. 194, 195.	304.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 211.	305.



306.	Ayasmā Dhaniya Kumbhakāra- putta	Monk	Dārugaha Gaṇaka	Upāsaka	āvuso
307.	Āyasmā Sāgata	Monk	80 thousand Gāmikās	Upāsaka	āvuso
308.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	Aññatara Purisa (a thief)	Others	āvuso
309.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	His Nātakā	Others	āvuso
310.	Bhikkhus	Monk	Cora	Others	āvuso
311.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	Manussā (men on the high road)	Others	āvuso

Gahapatis and Paribbājakas:

312.	Citta	Gahapati	Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta	Jain	bhante
313.	Citta	Gahapati	Acela Kassapa	Paribbājaka	bhante
314.	Anath- piṇḍika	Gahapati	Paribbājakas	Paribbājaka	bhante
315.	Vijya- mahita	Gahapati	Paribbājakas	Paribbājaka	bhante
316.	Meṇḍaka	Gahapati	Sambahulā Titthiyā	Paribbājaka	bhante
317.	Meṇḍaka	Gahapati	Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta	Paribbājaka	bhante

-	-	This monk asks for King's reserve wood and puts the other man into trouble.	Vin. III. pp. 42-43.	306.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 62.	307.
-	-	-	Vin. II. p. 217.	308.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 104.	309.
-	-	These <u>gamikas</u> , village overseers are sent to the Buddha to receive religious instructions.	Vin. I. pp. 179-80.	310.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p. 181.	311.

Gāhapatī and Paribhāṣakā:

S. B.	-	Sam. IV. pp. 198 ff.	(312)
S. S.	-	Sam. IV. p. 300 ff.	(313)
S. S.	-	Ang. V. p. 185-186	(314)
S. S.	-	Ang. V. p. 189	(315)
	-	Mn. I. p. 242	(316)

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319.	Upāli	Gahapati	Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta	Jain	bhante
			Puraṇakassapa-1 Makkhali - Gosāla -2 Ajita - Kesakambali-3 Pakudha Kaṅṅāyana -4 Saṅjaya Belaṭṭhi- putta -5 Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta -6		Paribbājakas (of different bhante school)
319.	Seṭṭhi of Rājagaha	Gahapati			

Gahapatis and others:

320.	Anāth- piṇḍika	Gahapati	Negama of Rājagaha	Others	ayyo
321.	Anānāra Gahapati	Gahapati	Akkhadutā (gamblers)	others	bhonto
322.	Upāli	Gahapati	Dovārika (doorkeeper)	Others	samma dovārika
323.	Anāth- piṇḍika	Gahapati	Anānāra Purisa (a messenger)	Others	Ambho purisa

Brāhmanas and brāhmanas:

324	Vāseṭṭha mānava	Brāhmaṇa	Bhāradvāja mānava	Brāhmaṇa	bho Bhāra- dvāja
325.	Mahāgovinda	Brāhmaṇa	700 Brāhmaṇa mahāsālas and 700 graduates	Brāhmaṇa	bho

Majj. I. pp 374-375 (318)

Vin. II. pp. 110-111 (319)

Gahapatis and others:

Vin. II. p. 157 (320)

Majj. II. p. 107 (321)

Majj. II. p. 380 (322)

Sam. V. p. 380 (323)

Brahmanas and brahmanas:

Dig. I. p. 236 (324)

Dig. II. p. 248 ff. (325)

326.	Soṇaḍaṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	500 Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country	Brāhmaṇa	bho
327.	500 Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country	Brāhmaṇa	Assalāyana	Brāhmaṇa	bho Assalāyana
328.	Caṅki of Opasāda	Brāhmaṇa	500 Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country	Brāhmaṇa	bho
329.	The students of the brāhmaṇa Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	Bhavaṇ
330.	Uttara maṇava	Brāhmaṇa	Brahmāyu	Brāhmaṇa	bho
331.	Ambaṭṭha maṇava	Brāhmaṇa	Pokkharasādi	Brāhmaṇa	bho
332.	Sela	Brāhmaṇa	Keṇiya Jaṭila	Brāhmaṇa-1 Paribbājaka	Bho Keṇiya
333.	Subha Todeyya- putta	Brāhmaṇa	Jānusoṇi	Brāhmaṇa	bho
<u>The brāhmaṇas and Kings:</u>					
334.	Saṅjaya of Ārāsagotta	Brāhmaṇa	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Mahārāja
335.	Mahā- govinda	Brāhmaṇa	Rājā Reṇu	King	bho

Dig. I. p. 113 (326)

Majj. II. 147 ff. (327)

Majj. I. p. 165 (328)

Sam. IV. p. 118 (329)

Dig. I. p. 89 (330)

Majj. II. p. 134 (331)

Majj. II. p. 398 (332)  
(Nalanda edn.)

Majj. I. pp. 208-209 (333)

The brahmanas and kings:

Majj. II. pp. 127, 132 (334)

Dig. II. pp. 234-235 (335)

336.	Jotipāla mānava	Brāhmaṇa	Rājā Disampati	King	bho
337.	Sudassana mānava	Brāhmaṇa	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Deva
338.	Vassakāra	Brāhmaṇa	Ajātasattu	King	Deva-1 bho -2
339.	Sanjika- putta	Brāhmaṇa	Bodhi Rājakumāra	King (prince)	bho



Dig. II. p. 232

(336)

Sam. I. p. 82

(337)

Vin. III. p. 43 and  
Dig. II. pp. 72-73

(338)

Majj. II. pp. 91-92

(339)

<u>ITEM NOS.</u>	<u>WHO ADDRESSES</u>		<u>WHO IS ADDRESSED</u>		<u>TERM OF ADDRESS</u>
	<u>IDENTIFICATION</u>	<u>GROUP AFFILIATION</u>	<u>IDENTIF- ICATION</u>	<u>GROUP AFFILIATION</u>	
1.	Soṇadaṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
2.	Pokkharasādi	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
3.	Kuṭadānta	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
4.	Caṅki	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
5.	Uggatasarira	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
6.	Uṇṇābha	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
7.	Jāṇussoṇi	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
8.	Ujjaya	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
9.	Pingalakoccha	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
10.	Ekusāri	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
11.	Tikaṇṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
12.	Saṅgārava	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
13.	Vassakara	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
14.	Doṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama

<u>TERMS OF REFERENCE</u>	<u>TERMS OF SALUTATION</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>	<u>REFERENCES</u>	
Samana Gotama	Saddhim sammodi	After the initial exchange of greetings, he proposes an alternative form of behaviour.	Dig.I. pp.118-26.	1.
Samana Gotama	Saddhim sammodi	He sends his student to confirm the greatness of the Buddha.	Dig.I. p.108 ff.	2.
Samana Gotama	Saddhim sammodi	He asks the Buddha about the correct procedure of sacrifice.	Dig.I. p.134 ff.	3.
Samana Gotama	Saddhim sammodi	He goes to see the Buddha but has no direct conversation with him on the religious subjects.	Majj.II. pp.165-68.	4.
-	Saddhim sammodi	-	Ang.IV. pp.41-46.	5.
-	S.s.	He is delighted with the words of the Buddha, rises from his seat, salutes the Buddha by the right and goes away.	Sam.V. pp.217-19.	6.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.II. pp.173-76; IV. pp.54-56; Majj.I. p.16 ff.	7.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.IV. pp.285-89.	8.
-	S.s.	-	Majj.I. pp.198-208.	9.
-	S.s.	-	Majj.II. pp.177 ff.	10.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.I. pp.163-66.	11.
bhavana Gotamo	S.s.	-	Ang.I. pp.168-73.	12.
-	S.s.	Vassakāra welcomes what is said by the Buddha and returning thanks, he goes away.	Ang.II. pp.172-73.	13.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.III. pp.223-30.	14.

15.	Udāyi	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bhavaṃ Gotamo
16.	Nālijāṅgha	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
17.	Verañja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
18.	Devahita	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
19.	Sikha Moggallāna	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
20.	Gaṇaka Moggallāna	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
21.	Kasi Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Samāna -1 Bho Gotama-2
22.	Jaṭṭhā Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
23.	Suddhika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
24.	Navakammika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Gotamā ti -1 Bho Gotama-2
25.	Asurindaka Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Samāna -1 Bho Gotama-2
26.	Akkosaka Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
27.	Bilāṅgika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama

-	S.s.	-	Ang.II. pp.43-44.	15.
-	S.s.	Nāḷijaṅgha welcomes what is said by the Buddha and returning thanks he goes away.	Majj.II. pp.108-10.	16.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.IV. pp.173-79.	17.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.I. p.175.	18.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.II. pp.232-3.	19.
-	S.s.	-	Majj.III. pp.1-7.	20.
-	-	The Buddha goes to his place to beg. But before giving the food to the Buddha, the brāhmaṇa wants to know what work the Buddha does for his living.	Sam.I. pp.172-3.	21.
-	S.s.	In the verse the brāhmaṇa addresses the Buddha as <u>Gotama</u> without any prefix.	Sam.I. p.165.	22.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.I. p.166.	23.
Samana Gotama	-	In the verse the brāhmaṇa addresses the Buddha as <u>Gotamā ti</u> (belonging to the Gotama gotta), of the Gotamas.	Sam.I. pp.179-80.	24.
-	-	He meets the Buddha, vexed and displeased, and abuses and reviles the Buddha.	Sam.I. pp.163-4.	25.
-	-	-do-	Sam.I. pp.162-3.	26.
-	-	He keeps silent and stands aside in anger.	Sam.I. p.164.	27.

28.	Ahimsaka Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
29.	Mānatthadda Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
30.	Paccānika	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Samana -1 Bho Gotama-2
31.	Bhāradvāja- gotta	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
32.	Sundarika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
33.	Aggika Bhāradvāja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
34.	Mātuposaka	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
35.	Paribbājaka	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
36.	Lokāyata	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
37.	Bhikkhaka	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
38.	Huhūṅkajātika	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
39.	Brahmāyu	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
40.	Mahāsāla	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama

-	Saddhim sammodi	-	Sam.I. pp.164-5.	28.
Samana Gotama	-	He keeps silent and stands aside in order to show disrespectfulness towards the Buddha.	Sam.I. pp.178-9.	29.
Samana Gotama	-	He visits the Buddha with the intention of maintaining the opposite of what Buddha would have said. He draws near and follows the Buddha as he walks to and fro and converses with him.	Sam.I. p.179.	30.
-	S.s.	In anger he refers to the Buddha as <u>samana mundaka</u> (shaven headed recluse) to his wife.	Sam.I. pp.160-1.	31.
-	-	Not knowing the identity of the Buddha he refers to the latter as <u>munḍo</u> (shaven headed).	Sam.I. pp.167-71.	32.
-	-	Buddha goes to his house to beg for food.	Sam.I. pp.166-7.	33.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.I. pp.181-82.	34.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.I. pp.157-58.	35.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.II. p.77.	36.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.I. p.182.	37.
-	S.s.	-	Vin.I. pp.2-3.	38.
Samana Gotama	S.s.	-	Majj.II. pp.142-45.	39.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.I. pp.176-7.	40.

41.	'Anñatara'	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
42.	Assalāyana	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
43.	Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
44.	Two Brāhmaṇas 120 years old	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
45.	Saṅgārava (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
46.	Kāpaṭhika (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
47.	Vāseṭṭha (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
48.	Subha Todeyyaputta (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
49.	Uttara (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
50.	Māgha (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
51.	Ambaṭṭha (māṇava)	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
52.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Sāla	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
53.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veranja	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama



-	Saddhim sammodi	-	Ang. I. pp. 167-7.	41.
Samana Gotama	S. s.	-	Ang. I. p. 155.	42.
Samana Gotama	-	Lohicca asks the Buddha and his Saṅgha for a meal. The Buddha sits on the high seat and the brāhmaṇa occupies a low seat. No exchange of greetings take place.	Diḅ. I. pp. 224-7, 234.	43.
-	S. s.	-	Majj. II. pp. 147-48, 157.	44.
Samana Gotama	S. s.	-	Majj. II. pp. 210-11, 213.	45.
Samana Gotama	-	The brāhmaṇa interrupts the conversation that the Buddha was holding with old and respectable brāhmaṇas. The Buddha reprimands him for this. He addresses him as <u>āyasmā Bhāradvāja</u> . The brāhmaṇa considers himself as a <u>samana</u> . In the end he says that the Buddha "has roused in him a recluse's regard for recluses..satisfaction.. and..respect for recluses."	Majj. II. pp. 168-69, 177.	46.
Samana Gotama	S. s.	-	Majj. II. pp. 462-3, 468 (Nālanda ed.) Diḅ. I. pp. 236-7, 252.	47.
-	S. s.	-	Majj. II. pp. 197-208.	48.
Samana Gotama	S. s.	-	Majj. II. pp. 141-42.	49.
-	S. s.	-	Su. N. pp. 87-91.	50.
Samana Gotama	-	Ambaṭṭha does not exchange greetings for he considers this act as not suitable in the presence of the Buddha. See text p.	Diḅ. I. pp. 89-90, 106.	51.
Samana Gotama	-	The following is the group behaviour of the <u>brāhmaṇagahapatikā</u> : Some salute and sit ( <u>abhivādetvā</u> )	Majj. I. pp. 285-290.	52.
Samana Gotama	-	Some exchange greetings and sit ( <u>saddhim sammodi</u> ) (Nālanda ed.) Some fold their hands towards the Buddha ( <u>añjali paṇāmetvā</u> ) and sit	Majj. I. pp. 356-59	53.

54.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veḷudvāra	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama
55.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Nagarāvinda	Brāhmaṇa	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama

The Jains and the Buddha:

56.	Dīghatapassi	Jain	Bhagavā	Buddha	āvuso Gotama
57.	Nigaṇṭhā	Jain (group)	Bhagavā	Buddha	āvuso
58.	Saccaka Nigaṇṭhaputta	Jain	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama

The paribbājaka and the Buddha:

59.	Mandissa & Jāliya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	āvuso Gotama
60.	Ājāra Kālāma	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	āyasmā, āvuso
61.	Uddaka Rāmaputta	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	āyasmā, āvuso
62.	Acela Kassapa	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama, bhante
63.	Vacchagotta-1 Vacchagotta-2 Vacchagotta-3	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama-1 bhante, bho Gotama-3 bho Gotama, bhante-2

Samana Gotama	-	Some pronounce their names and gotta and sit ( <u>nāmagottam sāvetvā</u> )	Sam.V. pp.352-56.	54.
Samana Gotama	-		Majj.III. pp.291-93.	55.
-	S.s.		Majj.I. p.371 ff.	56.
-	S.s.		Majj.II. p.243 ff.	57.
-	S.s.	He comes along with the group of Licchavis for a debate with the Buddha. The Buddha uses his gotta name.	Majj.II. pp.228-30, 236.	58.
-	S.s.	They regale on what Buddha had said ( <u>Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditi</u> ).	Dig.I. pp.157-58.	59.
-	-	The Buddha goes to this paribbājaka to become his disciple. The term <u>āyasmaṃ</u> is used in third person. The Buddha refers to him as his teacher <u>ācariyo</u> .	Majj.I. pp.163-65.	60.
-	-	-do-	Majj.I. pp.165-66.	61.
-	S.s.	Acelakassapa joins the Saṅgha. See the text p.	Sam.II. pp.19-22; Dig.I. pp.161-177.	62.
-	S.s.	1-Vacchagotta from Sāvattḥi subtitled in the text as <u>Aggivacchagotta</u> .	Majj.I. pp.484-88.	63.
-	S.s.	2-This one is from Rājagaha subtitled in the text as <u>Mahāvaccagotta</u> .	Majj.I. pp.489-97.	64.
-	-	3-The Buddha visits this Vacchagotta subtitled in the text as <u>Tevijjavaccagotta</u> . He is from Vesali.	Majj.I. pp.481-83.	65.

64.	Dighanakha	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
65.	Vekhanassa	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
66.	Māgaṇḍiya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama, bhante
67.	Kuṇḍaliya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
68.	Moliya Sivaka	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
69.	Timbaruka	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
70.	Paṭaliya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
71.	Nandiya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
72.	Uttiya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
73.	Ajita	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
74.	Kandaraka	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
75.	Annabhara-1 Varadhara-2 Sakulaudāyi-3	Paribbājaka (group)	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
76.	Subhadda	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama, bhante
77.	Bhaggavagotta	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante, Bhagavā

-	S.s.	Buddha uses his gotta name, <u>Aggivessana</u> .	Majj.I. pp.497-501.	64.
-	S.s.	Buddha uses his gotta name, <u>Kaccana</u> .	Majj.II. pp.40-44.	65.
Samana Gotama	S.s.	-	Majj.I. pp.503-13.	66.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.V. pp.73-75.	67.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.IV. pp.230-31.	68.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.II. pp.22-23.	69.
-	S.s.	-	Ang.II. pp.100-101.	70.
-	S.s.	-	Sam.V. pp.11-12.	71.
Samana Gotama	S.s.	The Buddha does not reply to the question raised by this paribbājaka but keeps quiet.	Ang.V. pp.193-94.	72.
-	S.s.	The Buddha does not reply but instead he is shown to address the monks.	Ang.V. pp.229-30.	73.
-	S.s.	-	Majj.I. pp.339-40.	74.
-	-	The Buddha visits the <u>ārāma</u> of these paribbājakas.	Ang.II. pp.176-77.	75.
Samana Gotama	S.s.	At first he exchanges greetings with the Buddha. The Buddha says to him that he will teach him <u>dhamma</u> . From then onwards, Subhadda addresses the Buddha as <u>bhante</u> .	Dig.II. pp.148-153.	76.
-	-	Buddha visits his place. Bhaggavagotta welcomes him. Buddha sits on a high seat; paribbājaka on a low seat.	Dig.III. pp.1-2, 35.	77.

78. Sakulaudayi	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante, Bhagavā
79. Sutavā	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante, Bhagavā
80. Nigrodha	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante, Bhagavā
81. Poṭṭhapāda	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante, Bhagavā
82. Sajjha	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
83. Sabhiya	Paribbājaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	Bho Gotama, bhante Bhagavā

The monks and the Buddha:

84. Ānanda	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
85. Rāhula	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
86. Tissa	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
87. Nanda	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
88. Bāhuna	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
89. Puṇṇiya	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
90. Upāli	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

Samana Gotama	-	Buddha visits his place. Majj.II. pp.1-2,22; He welcomes the Buddha. Majj.II. p.39 ff. See the text p.	78.
-	S.s.	He had apparently met the Buddha before and had come to the Buddha to clarify certain doctrinal points.	Ang.IV. pp.369-371. 79.
Samana Gotama	-	He welcomes the Buddha and occupies a low seat.	Dig.III. pp.38-39. 80.
Samana Gotama	-	He welcomes the Buddha. See above.	Dig.I. pp.179 ff, 202. 81.
-	-	-	- 82.
Samana Gotama	S.s.	-	Su.N. pp.101-102. 83.
-	abhi.	-	Majj.III. pp.253-58; Sam.II. pp.92-98; Ang.V. p.108 etc. 84.
-	abhi.	Rahula sees the Buddha, prepares a seat and water for washing the feet. In the next Sutta, Rahula follows close after the Buddha when the latter was commencing his alms tour.	Majj.I. p.414 and p.421 ff. 85.
-	abhi.	-	Sam.II. p.282. 86.
-	abhi.	-	Sam.II. p.281. 87.
-	abhi.	-	Ang.V. p.151. 88.
-	abhi.	-	Ang.V. p.154. 89.
-	abhi.	-	Ang.V. p.70. 90.

91.	Upavāna	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
92.	Udāyi	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
93.	Bhaddāli	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
94.	Susimā	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
95.	Subhūti	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
96.	Uttiya	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
97.	Anuruddha Kimbila Nandīya	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
98.	Visākha Pāncālaputta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
99.	Upsena Vaṅgataputta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
100.	Dabbhā Mallaputta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
101.	Kaccānagotta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
102.	Upananda Sākyaputta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
103.	Piṅḍola- Bhāradvāja	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
104.	Mahākassapa	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante



-	abhi.	-	Sam. II. p. 41.	91.
-	abhi.	-	Sam. V. pp. 89-90.	92.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. I. pp. 437-38.	93.
-	abhi.	-	Sam. II. pp. 127-28.	94.
-	abhi.	-	Ang. V. p. 337.	95.
-	abhi.	-	Sam. V. p. 22.	96.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. I. p. 205 and Majj. I. pp. 462-63.	97.
-	-	-	Sam. II. p. 280; Ang. II. p. 280.	98.
-	abhi.	-	Vin. III. p. 230.	99.
-	abhi.	-	Vin. I. p. 74 ff.	100.
-	abhi.	-	Sam. II. p. 17.	101.
-	-	-	He commits an offence and is called before the Buddha. He uses the term of reference <u>Bhagavā</u> while addressing the Buddha.	102.
-	-	-do-	Vin. II. p. 112.	103.
-	-	-	Sam. V. p. 78.	104.

105.	Mahāmoggallāna	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
106.	Sāriputta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
107.	Mālukiya-putta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
108.	Moliya-phagga	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
109.	Gulissāni	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
110.	Ariṭṭha	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
111.	Kokālika	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
112.	Sāti Kevaṭṭhaputta	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
113.	Thera	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
114.	Mahācunḍa	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
115.	Bhagu	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
116.	Kumārakassapa	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
117.	Bhikkhus	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante -1 bhadante-2
118.	Dhammika	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
119.	Aciravata Samanuddesa	Monk (junior)	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

-	abhi.	-	Vin. III. p. 7	105.
-	abhi.	-	Vin. III. p. 7	106.
-	abhi.	-	Saṃ. IV. p. 72.	107.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. I. p. 122 ff.	108.
-				109.
-	abhi.	Ariṭṭha was formerly a vulture trainer <u>gaddhā-bādhi</u> and has doubts about the Buddha's doctrine. The text refers to him as <u>bhikkhu Ariṭṭha</u> and not <u>āyasma Ariṭṭha</u> .	Majj. I. p. 130-31.	110.
-	abhi.	He accuses Sāriputta and Moggallāna "that they are ruled by evil desires." Referred to as <u>bhikkhu Kokālika</u> .	Aṅg. V. p. 170; Saṃ. I. p. 150.	111.
-	abhi.	He is a fisherman's son, the text refers to him as <u>bhikkhu</u> .	Majj. I. p. 256 ff.	112.
-	abhi.	-	Saṃ. II. p. 283.	113.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. I. p. 40.	114.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. III. p. 155; Vin. I. p. 350.	115.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. I. p. 142.	116.
-	abhi.	-	Saṃ. III. p. 5 ff; Saṃ. II. p. 1 ff; Majj. I. p. 12.	117.
-	abhi.	-	Aṅg. III. p. 366 f.	118.
-	abhi.	-	Majj. III. pp. 129-30.	119.

120.	Mahākappina	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
121.	Āṅgulimāla	Monk	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

Gahapatis and the Buddha:

122.	Ugga of Vesāli	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
123.	Ugga of Hatthigāma	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
124.	Citta of Macchikasaṇḍa	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
125.	Dārukammika (woodworker)	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
126.	Seṭṭhi	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
127.	Upāli	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
128.	Nakulapitā	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
129.	Poṭaliya	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
130.	Anāthpiṇḍika	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante, Bhagavā
131.	Pañcakāya Thāpati	Gahapati-1 Thapāti-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
132.	Isidatta-purāṇa	Gahapati-1 Thapāti-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

-	-	-	Vin. I. p.105.	120.
-	-	-	Majj. II. p.104.	121.
Bhagavā	Abhi.	Ugga is noted for his gift to the Buddha	Ang. III. p.49; IV. p.208, f; Sam. IV. p.109.	122.
-	Abhi.	This and the one mentioned above <u>gahapatis</u> are identified by place name and not by professions.	Ang. IV. p.212 f; Sam. IV. p.109.	123.
Bhagavā	-	-	Sam. IV. p.281 ff, Vin. II. pp.18 f.	124.
-	Abhi.	He is a dealer in wood.	Ang. III. p.391.	125.
-	-	He salutes in the end and goes away.	Vin. I. p.16.	126.
Bhagavā	Abhi.	-	Majj. I. p.376; Sam. IV. p.110.	127.
-	-	Salutes in the end.	Sam. III. p.1 ff.	128.
-	S. s. and Abhi.	Explained in the text	Majj. I. p.359.	129.
-	Abhi.	Explained in the text	Sam. I. p.212 and Vin. II. p.156.	130.
-	Abhi.	-	Majj. II. p.24.	131.
-	Abhi.	Royal Chamberlaine	Sam. V. p.348 ff.	132.

133.	Fāḷaligāṃaka Upāsakas	Gahapati-1 Upāsakas-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
134.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Sāla	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
135.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Nagaravinda	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
136.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veranja	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
137.	Brāhmaṇa- gahapati of Veḷudvāra	Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bho Gotama
138.	Group of men and women	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
139.	Kevaṭṭha Gahapatiputta	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
140.	Soṇa Gahapatiputta	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
141.	Singalaka Gahapatiputta	Gahapati	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

Kings and the Buddha:

142.	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
143.	Ajātasattu of Magadha	King	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

- Abhi. They invite the Buddha to open their āvāsathagāra. Vin.I. p.227 f. 133.
- See items 52-55. 134.
- - - - - 135.
- - - - - 136.
- - - - - 137.
- Abhi. Their mode of address is not mentioned. Ang.II. p.53. 138.
- Abhi. - Dig.I. p.211. 139.
- Abhi. - Sam.III. pp.48-49. 140.
- - Proclaims himself an an upāsaka. Dig.III. pp.180-81. 141.

Kings and the Buddha:

- Abhi. He salutes and kisses his feet and pronounces his name. Ang.V. pp.65-66; Sam.I. p.64 ff. 142.
- Abhi. He salutes him but only greets the assembly of monks by raising joined palms. Dig.I. pp.50-51. 143.

144.	Seniya- Bimbisāra of Magadha	King	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
145.	Abhaya Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
146.	Bodhi Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

Gāmanis and the Buddha:

147.	Caṇḍa	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
148.	Talaputa Naṭagāmaṇi	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
149.	Yodhājīva	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
150.	Assāroha	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
151.	Hattiroha	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
152.	Asibadhaka- putta	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
153.	Bhadragaka	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
154.	Pāṭali	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
155.	Maṇicuḷaka	Gāmaṇi	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante



	-	Abhi.	-	Vin. I. p. 74.	144.
	-	Abhi.	-	Sam. V. pp. 126-129.	145.
Bhagavā	-	Abhi.	He sends a messenger to invite the Buddha to inaugurate his palace.	Majj. II. p. 93	146.
<u>Gāmanis and the Buddha:</u>					
	-	Abhi.	Becomes an <u>upāsaka</u> .	Sam. IV. p. 305 f.	147.
	-	Abhi.	He joins the order and becomes an Arahat. Referred to in the text after joining the order as āyasmā Tālapuṭa.	Sam. IV. p. 306.	148.
	-	Abhi.	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam. IV. pp. 308-309.	149.
	-	Abhi.	,,	Sam. IV. pp. 310-11 f.	150.
	-	Abhi.	,,	Sam. IV. p. 310	151.
Bhagavā	-	Abhi.	,,	Sam. IV. pp. 312 f., 323.	152.
	-	Abhi.	Does not become an upāsaka in the end.	Sam. IV. p. 327 f.	153.
	-	Abhi.	Becomes an upāsaka.	Sam. IV. pp. 340-341 ff.	154.
Bhagavā	-	Abhi.	He defends Buddha in the King's Court.	Sam. IV. p. 325 ff.	155.

The ruling extended kin-groups and the Buddha:

156.	Mahānāma Licchavi	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
157.	Nandaka Licchavi	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
158.	Sāḷha Licchavi	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
159.	Mahāli Licchavi	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
160.	Sunakkhatta Licchaviputta	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
161.	Licchavi (in group)	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
162.	Mahānāma Sakka	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
163.	Nandiya Sakka	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
164.	Sambhula Sakkā Upāsakas (many sakyā upāsakas)	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
165.	Sakkas of Kapilavatthu	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
166.	Suddodhana Sakka	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

The ruling extended kin-groups and the Buddha:

-	Abhi.	-	Ang. III. p. 76.	156.
-	Abhi.	-	Sam. V. p. 389.	157.
-	Abhi.	-	Ang. II. p. 200 ff.	158.
-	Abhi.	-	Sam. III. p. 69 f.	159.
-	Abhi.	-	Dig. III. p. 2 f.	160.
-	Abhi.	Compare the behaviour of the <u>brāhmaṇa-gahapatis</u> items 52-55.	Ang. III. p. 168.	161.
-	Abhi.	-	Ang. I. p. 276 ff.	162.
-	Abhi.	-	Ang. V. p. 335; Sam. V. p. 397.	163.
-	Abhi.	-	Ang. V. p. 83.	164.
-	Abhi.	Compare items 52-55.	Sam. IV. pp. 182-83.	165.
-	Abhi.	He is Buddha's father.	Vin. I. p. 82.	166.

167.	Mallas of Pāvā	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
168.	Pukkusa Mallaputta	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
169.	Kālāmas of Kesaputta	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
170.	Dāghajānu Koliyaputta	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
171.	Puṇṇa Koliyaputta	Extended Kin-group	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

Upāsakas and the Buddha:

172.	Hatthaka of Āḷavi	Extended Kin-group-1 Upāsaka -2	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
173.	Pahārāda Asurinda	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
174.	Vāseṭṭha upāsaka	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
175.	Dīghāvu upāsaka	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
176.	Jīvaka Komārabhacca	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
177.	Dhammadinna upāsaka	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
178.	Cunda Kammāraputta	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

- Abhi. Compare items 52-55. Dig. III. pp. 208-9. 167.
- Abhi. - Dig. II. pp. 130-31. 168.
- - Differential treatment in their manners of receiving him (cf. items 52-55) but the mode of address is bhante, as opposed to brahmanagahapatis' bho gotama. Aṅg. I. pp. 188-89. 169.
- Abhi. - Aṅg. IV. p. 281 f. 170.
- Abhi. - Majj. I. p. 387. 171.
- Upasakas and the Buddha:
- Abhi. In the Aṅg. (I. 26) he is described as chief among disciples who gather a following. Aṅg. I. p. 136; IV. p. 216. 172.
- Abhi. - Aṅg. IV. pp. 197-204. 173.
- Abhi. - Aṅg. IV. pp. 258-9. 174.
- - He sends his father, who is a gahapati to call the Buddha to attend to him on his death bed. Saṃ. V. p. 345. 175.
- Abhi. - Majj. I. p. 368 ff. 176.
- Abhi. - Saṃ. V. p. 407. 177.
- Abhi. He is a metal worker. Dig. II. p. 126. 178.

179.	Bhaggava Kumbhakāra	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
180.	Kesi Assadamasārathi	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
181.	Pessa Hatthisāraka- putta	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
182.	Sudinna Kālandakaputta	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
183.	Belattha Kaccāna	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
184.	Siha Senāpati	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante
185.	Uggā Rājamahāmatta	Upāsaka	Bhagavā	Buddha	bhante

Monks and monks:

186.	Āy. Ajjuka	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
187.	Āy. Revata	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
188.	Āy. Udāyi	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
189.	Āy. Channa	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
190.	Āy. Bhaddaji	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso
191.	Āy. Kāmabhū	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda

- Abhi. Buddha asks for a shelter at his place. He uses his gotta, Bhaggava, to address him. Majj.III. p.237. 179.
- Abhi. He is a horse trainer. Ang.II. pp.112-113. 180.
- Abhi. He is elephant trainer's son. Majj.I. p.339 ff. 181.
- Abhi. He is a son of a Setthi and becomes a monk. Vin.III. p.11 ff. 182.
- Abhi. A sugar dealer. He has 500 waggons of sugar which he distributes to monks. Vin.I. pp.224-25. 183.
- Abhi. Army Chief Ang.IV. p.79 f. 184.
- Abhi. A King's minister. Ang.IV. pp.6-7. 185.
- Monks and monks:
- - - Vin.III. p.67. 186.
- - In his conversation he uses both āyasmā & āvuso Majj.I. p.212. 187.
- S.s. - Ang.IV. p.449 f. 188.
- - - Saṃ.III. p.133 f. 189.
- - Both use āyasmā in their conversation. Ang.III. p.202. 190.
- S.s. - Saṃ.IV. p.165. 191.

192.	Āy. Bhadda	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
193.	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
194.	Āy. Samiddhi	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso
195.	Sambahulā bhikkhu	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
196.	Āy. Mahācunda	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
197.	Āy. Mahākoṭṭhita	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
198.	Āy. Mahākassapa	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
199.	Āy. Anuruddha	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
200.	Āy. Saviṭṭha	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
201.	Āy. Upavāna	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
202.	Āy. Vaṅgisa	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso Sāriputta
203.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso
204.	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	Āy. Mahāmo- ggallāna	Monk	āvuso Moggallāna



-	S. s.	-	Sam. V. p. 15.	192.
-	S. s.	During the conversation Sāriputta resorts to <u>ayasmā Ānanda.</u>	Ang. III. p. 201.	193.
-	S. s.	-	Majj. III. p. 208.	194.
-	-	-	Majj. I. pp. 160-61.	195.
-	-	-	Sam. IV. pp. 55-56.	196.
-	S. s.	-	Ang. III. p. 382 ff.	197.
-	S. s.	-	Sam. II. p. 195 f.	198.
-	-	-	Sam. V. p. 298.	199.
-	-	-	Ang. I. pp. 118-19.	200.
-	-	-	Sam. V. p. 76.	201.
-	-	-	Sam. I. p. 190.	202.
-	-	-	Ang. II. p. 160.	203.
-	-	-	Sam. II. pp. 267-77.	204.

205.	Āy. Pindola- bhāradvāja	Monk	Āy. Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	āvuso Moggallāna
206.	Āy. Lakkhaṇa	Monk	Āy. Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	āvuso Moggallāna
207.	Bhikkhus (monks in groups)	Monk	Āy. Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	āvuso
208.	Āy. Savitṭha	Monk	Āy. Nārada	Monk	āvuso Nārada
209.	Āy. Musīla	Monk	Āy. Savitṭha	Monk	āvuso Savitṭha
210.	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	Āy. Yamaka	Monk	āvuso
211.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Mahācundo	Monk	āvuso
212.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Mahākassapa	Monk	āvuso
213.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Candikāputta	Monk	
214.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Nandiya	Monk	-
215.	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	Āy. Puṇṇa- mantāniputta	Monk	āvuso
216.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso

-	-	-	Vin. II. p. 111.	205.
-	-	-	In the same conversation the term reference <u>āyasmā</u> and the mode of address <u>āvuso</u> is used.	Vin. III. pp. 104, 105. 206.
-	-	-		Ang. V. p. 155. 207.
-	-	-		Sam. II. p. 115 f. 208.
-	-	-		Sam. II. p. 117 f. 209.
-	S. s.	-		Sam. III. p. 109 ff. 210.
-	-	-		Ang. III. p. 355. 211.
-	-	-	But see Vin. (II. pp. 284- 5), where they use <u>bhante</u> ( <u>cullavagga xi</u> )	Ang. V. pp. 161-62. 212.
-	-	-		Ang. IV. p. 402 ff. 213.
-	-	-		Ang. IV. p. 362. 214.
-	S. s.	-	At the end of the dis- course the monk Sāriputto asks. What is the <u>āyasmā</u> 's e. g. name. A similar question is asked by Sāriputta.	Majj. I. pp. 147-151. 215.
-	-	-		Majj. I. pp. 160-61. 216.

217.	Āy. Nandiya & Kimbila	Monk	Āy. Anuruddha	Monk	.
218.	Āy. Mahā-kaccāna	Monk	Āy. Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso
219.	Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus	Monk	Sattara-viggiya Bhikkhus	Monk	āvuso
220.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	Sāti Kevaṭṭha-putta Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso Sāti
221.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	Ariṭṭha Bhikkhu	Monk	āvuso Ariṭṭha
222.	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	Āy. Mahā-kassapa	Monk	bhante
223.	Bhikkhus (monks in group)	Monk	Āy. Mahā-kassapa	Monk	bhante
224.	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	Āy. Anuruddha	Monk	bhante
225.	Āy. Abhiya-kaccāna	Monk	Āy. Anuruddha	Monk	bhante
226.	Bhikkhus	Monk	Āy. Anuruddha	Monk	bhante
227.	Āy. Isidatta	Monk	Āy. Thera	Monk	bhante
228.	Āy. Mahaka	Monk	Āy. Thera	Monk	bhante

-	-	-	Ang.V. pp.41-42.	217.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.210.	218.
-	-	The group 17 monks repair a large building to reside in the rainy season. The group of six monks bully them and throw them out. The mode of address remains the same.	Vin.IV. p.44 f.	219.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.258.	220.
-	-	-	Vin.II. p.25.	221.
-	-	-	Sam.II. p.215 ff.	222.
-	-	-	Majj.I. p.205.	223.
-	-	-	Dig.II. p.158.	224.
-	-	-	Majj.III. p.148 ff.	225.
-	-	-	Dig.II. p.158.	226.
-	-	He is described in the text as novice of all <u>Sabbanavako hoti.</u>	Sam.IV. p.284.	227.
-	-	The same as above	Sam.IV. p.289.	228.

229.	Āy. Samiddhi	Monk	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	bhante
230.	Vesālika Vajjiputtakā Bhikkhus	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante
231.	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	Āy. Upāli	Monk	bhante
232.	Āy. Channa	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante
233.	Yasa Kākaṇḍaka- putta	Monk	Āy. Revata	Monk	bhante
234.	A Bhikkhu	Monk	Āy. Dalhika	Monk	bhante
235.	Soṇa	Monk	Āy. Mahā- kaccāna	Monk	bhante
236.	Guṇḍa samaṇuddesa	Monk	Āy. Ānanda	Monk (novice)	bhante
237.	Sīha samaṇuddesa	Monk	Āy. Nāgita	Monk (novice)	bhante

Monks and the paribbājakas:

238.	Channa	Paribbājaka	Āy. Ananda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda
239.	Sāmaṇḍakāni	Paribbājaka	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	āvuso
240.	Susīma	Paribbājaka	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	āvuso Ānanda

-	-	Sāriputta calls him a youth. He entered the order young (Sam.I. p.14). In the Majj.(III.p.208) he is chaffed by the wanderer Poṭaliputta for pretending to expand dhamma after 3 years in order.	Ang.IV. p.385.	229.
-	-	They were bad monks who were engaged in all sorts of activities which violated the rules of chastity.	Vin.III. p.23.	230.
-	-		Vin.III. p.67.	231.
-	-		Vin.II. p.292.	232.
-	-		Vin.III. p.300.	233.
-	-	This monk confesses to him.	Vin.III. p.67.	234.
-	-		Vin.I. p.197 f.	235.
-	-		Majj.II. p.244 ff.	236.
-	-		Diḅ.I. p.151.	237.

Paribbajakas & Monks

- S.s. - Ang.I.p.215
- S.s. - Ang.V.pp.121-122
- S.s. He expresses his wish to become a monk Sam.II.p.120 ff.



241.	Uttiya	Paribbājaka	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	
242.	Poṭaliputta	Paribbājaka	Āy. Samiddhi	Monk	āvuso Samiddhi
243.	Āññatara paribbājaka	Paribbājaka	Āy. Upananda Sakyaputta	Monk	āvuso
244.	Sambahulā āññatitthiyā paribbājaka	Paribbājaka	Āy. Anurādha	Monk	āvuso Anurādha
245.	Āññatara Ājivika	Paribbājaka	Āy. Mahākassapa	Monk	āvuso
246.	Acela kassapa	Paribbājaka	Āy. Bakkula	Monk	āvuso Bakkula
247.	Saccaka Nigaṇṭhanāta-putta	Paribbājaka	Āy. Assaji	Monk	Aggivesana
248.	Vacchagotta	Paribbājaka	Āy. Mahā-moggallāna	Monk	bho Moggallāna
249.	Sandaka	Paribbājaka	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Sandaka
250.	Vacchagotta	Paribbājaka	Āy. Sabhiya-kaccāna	Monk	bho Kaccāna

The brāhmanas and monks:

251.	Ghoṭamukha	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Udena	Monk	bho Udena
252.	Dhānañjani	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Sāriputta	Monk	bho Sāriputta

"	"	Ang.V.p.194	(241)
"	S.S.	Majj.III.p.207	(242)
"	"	Vin.III.p.240	(243)
"	S.S.	Sam.III.p.116	(244)
"	"	Dig.II.p.162	(245)
"	"	Majj.III.p.125	(246)
"	S.S.	Use his gotta name	Majj.I.pp.227-228 (247)
"	"	"	"
"	"	Majj.I.p.513	(249)
"	S.S.	Sam.IV.p.401. ff.	(250)

The Brahmanas and Monks:

"	"	Majj.II.p.158	(251)
"	"	Majj.II.p.186	(252)

253.	Gopaka-Moggallāna	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Ānanda
254.	Vassakāra	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Ānanda
255.	Unṇabh	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Ānanda
256.	Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Mahā-kaccāna	Monk	bho Kaccāna
257.	Kaṇḍarāyana	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Mahā-kaccāna	Monk	bho Kaccāna
258.	Āramadaṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Mahā-kaccāna	Monk	bho Kaccāna
259.	Subha maṇava Todeyyaputta	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Ānanda
260.	Amabatṭṭha maṇava	Brāhmaṇa	Bhikkhus	Monk	bho
261.	Aññatara Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Ānanda
262.	The brahmaṇa with his wife	Brahmaṇa	Āy. Udayin	Monk	bho Udayi

The ruling extended kin-groups and monks:

263.	Roja Malla	Extended kin-group	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante Ānanda
264.	Abhaya Licchavi	Extended kin-group	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante

"	"	"	Majj. III, p. 78	(253)
"	"	"	Majj. III, p. 13	(254)
"	S. S.	"	Sam. V, pp. 272-273	(255)
"	S. S.	He becomes an upasaka	Sam. IV, pp. 118-119	(256)
"	S. S.	"	Ang. I, pp. 67-68	(257)
"	S. S.	"	Ang. I, p. 66	(258)
"	"	"	Dig. I, p. 890-891	(259)
"	"	"	Dig. I, pp. 205-206	(260)
"	"	"	Vin. I, p. 247	(261)
"	"	"	Vin. III, p. 119	(262)

The ruling extended kin-groups and monks:

"	Abhd.	"	Vin. I, p. 247	(263)
"	Abhd.	"	Ang. I, p. 220 ff.	(264)

265.	Oṭṭhaddha Licchavi	Extended kin-group	Āy. Nāgita	Monk	bhante Nāgita
266.	Mahānāma Licchavi	Extended kin-group	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante
267.	Vappa Sakka	Extended kin-group	Āy. Mahā- moggallāna	Monk	bhante
268.	Mahānāma Sakka	Extended kin-group	Āy. Lomasa- vaṅṅisa	Monk	bhante
269.	Vaddhā Licchavi	Extended kin-group	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	<del>bhante</del>
270.	Mallas (in group)	Extended kin-group	Āy. Anu- ruddha	Monk	bhante Anuruddha
271.	Mallas (in group)	Extended kin-group	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante Ānanda
272.	Koliyaputta of Sāpūga	Extended kin-group	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	

The kings and monks:

273.	Pasenādi of Kosala	King	Āy. Anu- limāla	Monk	bhante
274.	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante Ānanda
275.	Seniya Bimbisāra	King	Āy. Pilinda- vaccha	Monk	bhante
276.	Udena	King	Āy. Piṇḍol- bhāradvāja	Monk	bho Bhāra- dvāja
277.	Madhura of Avanti	King	Āy. Mahā- kaccāna	Monk	bho Kaccāna

"	Abhi.	"	Diḡ. I. p. 151	(265)
"	Abhi.	"	Ang. III. p. 196	(267)
"	Abhi.	"	Sam. V. p. 327	(268)
"	"	"	Vin. II. pp. 125-126	(269)
"	"	"	Diḡ. II. p. 160	(270)
"	"	"	Diḡ. II. p. 159	(271)
"	Abhi.	Ananda uses the Totemic name	Ang. II. pp. 194-195	(272)
 <u>The Kings and Monks:</u>				
"	"	King uses an epithet ayyo in his conversation	Majj. II. pp. 101-102	(273)
"	Abhi.	"	Majj. II. p. 113	(274)
"	Abhi.	Bimbisara gives him park attendants.	Vin. III. 248 ff.	(275)
"	S. S.	Becomes an upasaka	Sam. IV. p. 110	(276)
"	S. S.	-do-	Majj. II. p. 84 ff.	(277)

278.	Koravya	King	Āy. Ratṭha- pāla	Monk	bho Ratṭha- pāla
279.	Udena	King	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bho Ānanda
280.	Jayasena Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Āy. Bhūmija	Monk	bho Bhūmija
281.	Jayasena Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Aciravata	Monk samṇuddesa (novice)	Aggivessana

The gahapatis and monks:

282.	Gahapati of Haliddika	Gahapati	Āy. Mahā- kaccāna	Monk	bhante
283.	Citta	Gahapati	Āy. Mahaka	Monk	bhante
284.	Citta	Gahapati	Āy. Kāmabhu	Monk	bhante
285.	Citta	Gahapati	Āy. Godatta	Monk	bhante
286.	Citta	Gahapati	Āy. Isi- datta	Monk	bhante
287.	Dasama of Atṭhakanagara	Gahapati	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante Ānanda
288.	Anāthpiṇḍika	Gahapati	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante Ānanda
289.	Anāthpiṇḍika	Gahapati	Āy. Sāri- putta	Monk	bhante Sāriputta
290.	Sirivaḍḍha	Gahapati	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante

The gahapatis and monks:

- Abhi. - Sam. IV. p. 113. 282.
- Abhi. He demonstrates his Iddhi to him. And refers to him in his talks with him in third person as ayyo Sam. IV. p. 290. 283.
- Abhi. - Sam. IV. p. 291 ff. 284.
- Abhi. - Sam. IV. p. 296 f. 285.
- Abhi. A term of reference ayyo is used in the conversation. Sam. IV. pp. 283-88. 286.
- Abhi. He goes to Vesāli and to Sāvattthi only to see Ānanda. Ang. V. p. 343. 287.
- - - Sam. V. p. 385 f. 288.
- - - Sam. V. p. 381 f. 289.
- - - Sam. V. pp. 176-77. 290.



S.S. Becomes an upasaka Majj.II.p.66 ff. (278)

At the start of the conversation the King is hostile towards him. Vin.II.p.291 (279)

S.S. Majj.III.p.138 ff. (280)

Majj.III.p.138 ff. (281)

291.	Kalyāna- bhaddika	Gahapati	Āy. Dabba- Mallaputta	Monk	bhante
292.	Dasama of Aṭṭhakanagara	Gahapati	Bhikkhus	Monk	bhante
293.	Ugga of Hatthigāma	Gahapati	Bhikkhus ānātara	Monk	bhante
294.	Ājivakasāvaka (follower of Ājivikas)	Gahapati	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante Ānanda
295.	Raṭṭhapāla's father	Gahapati	Āy. Raṭṭha- pāla	Monk	tāta Raṭṭhapāla
296.	Suddinna's father	Gahapati	Āy. Suddinna	Monk	tāta Suddinna
297.	Pañcakaṅga	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2	Āy. Udāyi	Monk	bhante Udāyi
298.	Pañcakaṅga	Gahapati-1 Thāpati -2	Āy. Anuruddha	Monk	bhante
299.	Gahapati's son	Gahapati	Āy. Ānanda	Monk	bhante

Upāsakas and monks:

300.	Upāsakas of Campa	Upāsakas	Āy. Sāri- putta	Monk	bhante
301.	Ānātara Purisa	Upāsaka	Āy. Upananda Sakyaputta	Monk	ayyo
302.	Pūga (a guild)	Upāsaka	Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus	Monk	bhante

-	-	-	Vin.III. p.161.	291.
-	-	-	Ang.V. pp.342-43.	292.
-	-	No salutation is indicated. It was the monk who goes to the <u>gahapati</u> .	Ang.IV. p.213.	293.
-	Abhi.	Gahapati becomes a lay follower of the Buddha through Ananda.	Ang.I. pp.217-19.	294.
-	-	Before he becomes a monk he addresses his parents as <u>ammataḷā</u> . The father retains his mode of address before and after the latter becomes a monk.	Majj.II. pp.62-63.	295.
-	-	The same as above.	Vin.III. p.16.	296.
-	Abhi.	-	Majj.I. pp.396-97.	297.
-	-	Thāpati sends the invitation for a meal through a messenger. In it he requests Anuruddha to arrive punctually as he is very busy and has much to do that is to be done for the King.	Majj.III. p.145 ff.	298.
-	-	There is no proper beginning to the discussions between both. This incident has to deal with <u>Vinaya</u> laws.	Vin.III. pp.66-67.	299.
-	Abhi.	-	Ang.IV. p.59.	300.
-	-	-	Vin.III. p.215 f.	301.
-	-	-	Vin.III. p.265.	302.

303.	Sāḷha Migāranatta	Upāsaka	Āy. Nandaka	Monk	bhante
304.	Sona Kuṭikaṇṇa	Upāsaka	Āy. Mahā- kaccāna	Monk	bhante
305.	Ṣeṭṭhiputta	Upāsaka	Āy. Upananda Sākyaputta	Monk	bhante
306.	Dārugaha gaṇaka	Upāsaka	Āy. Dhaniya kumbhakāra- putta	Monk	bhante
307.	80 thousand gāmakas	Upāsaka	Āy. Sāgata	Monk	bhante
308.	Aññatara purisa (a thief)	Upāsaka	A Bhikkhu	Monk	bhante
309.	Nāakā of a Bhikkhu	Upāsaka	A Bhikkhu	Monk	bhante
310.	Corā (robbers)	Upāsaka	Bhikkhus	Monk	bhante
311.	Manussā (men of the high road)	Upāsaka	A Bhikkhu	Monk	bhante

Paribbājakas and gahapatis:

312.	Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta	Jain	Citta	Gahapati	gahapati
313.	Acela Kassapa	Paribbājaka	Citta	Gahapati	gahapati
314.	Paribbājakas	Paribbājaka	Anāth- pindika	Gahapati	gahapati

-	-	-	Ang. I. p.193 f.	303.
-	Abhi.	He becomes a monk, an <u>āyasmā</u> sona.	Vin. I. pp.194,195.	304.
-	Abhi.	Aiso uses <u>ayyo</u> to address him.	Vin. III. p.211	305.
-	-	-	Vin. III. pp.42,43.	306.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p.62.	307.
-	-	-	Vin. II. p.217.	308.
-	-	-	Vin. III. p.104.	309.
-	Abhi.	They honour him more than the Buddha in the initial stages of the conversation.	Vin. I. pp.179-80.	310.
-	-	They also address him as <u>ayyo</u> .	Vin. III. p.181.	311.

Paribbajakas and gahapatis:

Paribbajakas and gahapatis:

-	-	-	Sam. IV. p. 198 ff.	(312)
-	-	-	Sam. IV. p. 300 ff.	(313)
-	-	-	Ang. V. pp. 185-186	(314)

315.	Paribbājakas	Paribbājaka	Vijaya- māhitā	Gahapati	gahapati
316.	Sambahulā Titthiyā	Paribbājaka	Mendaka	Gahapati	gahapati
317.	Sañjaya Belatthiputta	Paribbājaka	Mendaka	Gahapati	gahapati
318.	Nigantha Nātaputta	Jain	Upāli	Gahapati	gahapati
319.	Puraṇakassapa-1 Makkhali- Gosāla-2 Ajita- kesakambali-3 Pakudha Kaccā- yana-4	Paribbājakas	Seṭṭhi of of different Rājagaha school	Gahapati	gahapati
320.	Sañjaya Belatthi- putta-5 Nigantha Nāta- putta-6				

Others and gahapatis:

320.	Negama of Rājagaha	Others	Anāth- piṇḍika	Gahapati	gahapati
321.	Akkhadutā (gamblers)	Others	Aññātara Gahapati	Gahapati	gahapati
322.	Dovārika (doorkeeper)	Others	Upāli	Gahapati	bhante
323.	Aññātara purisa (a messenger)	Others	Anāth- piṇḍika	Gahapati	bhante

- - - Ang.V.p.189 (315)

- - - Ang.V.p.242 (316)

- - - Majj.I.pp.374-375 (318)

- - - Vin.II.pp.110-111 (319)

Others and gahapatis:

- - - Vin.II.p.157 (320)

- - - Majj.II.p.107 (321)

- - - Majj.I.p.380 (322)

- - - Sam.V.p.380 (323)



324.	Bhārdvāja mānava	Brāhmaṇa	Vāseṭṭha Mānava	Brāhmaṇa	bho vāseṭṭha
325.	700 Brāhmaṇa mahāsālas and 700 graduates	Brāhmaṇa	Magāgovinda	Brāhmaṇa	bhavaṇ Govinda
326.	500 Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country	Brāhmaṇ	Soṇadaṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	bhavaṇ Soṇadaṇḍa
327.	Aṣṣalāyana	Brāhmaṇa	500 Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country.	Brāhmaṇa	bho
328.	500 Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country.	Brāhmaṇa	Caṅki of Opasāda	Brāhmaṇa	bhavaṇ Caṅki
329.	Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	The students of the Brāh- maṇa Lohicca	Brāhmaṇa	bhavaṇ Lohicca
330.	Brahmāyu	Brāhmaṇa	Uttara mānava	Brāhmaṇa	tāta
331.	Pokkharasādi	Brāhmaṇa	Ambaṭṭha mānava	Brāhmaṇa	tāta
332.	Keṇiya jaṭṭila	Brāhmaṇa-1 paribbājaka-2	Sela	Brāhmaṇa	bho Sela
333.	Jānudoṇi	Brāhmaṇa	Subha Todeyya- putta	Brāhmaṇa	bhavaṇ Bhāradvāja

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-	-	-	Dig. I. p. 236	(324)
-	-	-	Dig. II. p. 248 ff.	(325)
-	-	-	Dig. I. p. 113	(326)
-	-	-	Majj. II. p. 147	(327)
-	-	-	Majj. II. p. 165	(328)
-	-	-	Sam. IV. p. 118	(329)
-	-	-	Dig. I. p. 89	(330)
-	-	-	Majj. II. p. 134	(331)
-	-	-	Majj. II. p. 398 (Nalanda edn.)	(332)
-	-	-	Majj. II. pp. 208-209	(333)

The kings and the brāhmaṇas:

334.	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Sanjaya of Akasagotta	Brāhmaṇa	brāhmaṇa
335.	Rājā Reṇu	King	Mahāgovinda	Brāhmaṇa	bho bhavaṃ Govinda, bho
336.	Rājā Disampati	King	Jotipāla māṇava	Brāhmaṇa	bho bhavaṃ Jotipāla
<del>337.</del>	<del>Kāraṇapāli</del>	<del>Brāhmaṇa</del>	<del>Piṅgiyāni</del>	<del>Brāhmaṇa</del>	<del>bhavaṃ piṅgiyāni-bho</del> Ang. 203 If III
337.	Pasenadi of Kosala	King	Sudassana māṇava	Brāhmaṇa	tāta
338.	Ajātasattu	King	Vassakāra	Brāhmaṇa	brāhmaṇa
339.	Bodhi Rājakumāra	King (prince)	Sanjika-putta māṇava	Brāhmaṇa	samma Sanjika-putta

The kings and the brahmanas:

-	-	-	Majj.II.pp.127, 132	(334)
-	-	-	Dig.II.pp.234-235	(335)
-	-	-	Dig.II.p.232	(336)
-	-	-	Sam.I.p.82	(337)
-	-	-	Vin.III.p.43; Dig.II.pp.72-73	(338)
-	-	-	Majj.II.pp.91-92	(339)