SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN SOCIETY

AS DEPICTED

IN THE PALLI CANON

by

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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 Pali 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 gama, 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.  Archivă Orientală
A.A.  Anguttara Āṭṭhakathā
Abhi.  Abhivādeti
Āṅg.  Āṅguttara 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 Āṭṭhakathā
Dig.  Dīgha Nikāya
D.P.P.N.  Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names
Ex.Kiñ.  Extended Kiñ 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 Āṭṭhakathā
Majj.  Majjhima Nikāya
Manu
M.I.S.
P.E.D.
P.T.S.
R.E.
S.S.
Saŋ.
S.B.B.
S.B.E.
Su. Ni.
T.A.I.
Vin.

Mānavā Dharma Sāstra
Middle Length Sayings
Pāli English Dictionary
Pāli Text Society
Rock Edicts of Asoka
Saddhim Saṃmodi
Sāgyutta Nikāya
Sacred Books of the Buddhists
Sacred Books of the East
Sutta Nipāta
Tribes in Ancient India
Vinaya Piṭaka
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. The canon
was committed to writing in Ceylon under King Vaṭṭagāmanī
(Cir. 100 B.C.).

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. 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.

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.
   History of Indian literature, pp.16, 606-609; B.M. Barua,
   Asoka and his Inscriptions; ; see also Bhattacharya,
   Buddhist text as recommended by Asoka, Calcutta, 1948.
Speaking of the antiquity of the Pali 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 Pali 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 Moriyan 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."¹

Our account of the social structure of this period is based mainly on the first four Nikayas, the Vinaya and the Sutta Nipata of the Canonical texts. Rhys Davids feels that the four Nikayas 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.² The fifth Nikaya, which contains

² Rhys Davids, C.H.I. I. pp.192-197; see also B. C. Law, History of Pali literature, II. p.42, where he differs from the stratification suggested by Rhys Davids but accepts the pre-Moriyan dating of the Nikayas 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. 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."

The Vinaya Piṭaka consists of (1) Sutta Vibhāṅga (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 Vibhāṅga and even Khandakas. Parivāra is more or less an index to the Vinaya and is, therefore, later in time than the other sections of the Vinaya. Also in Cullavagga of Khandakas the chapters dealing with the convening of the two Buddhist councils are generally considered

2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Ibid., p. 2.
as later additions to the original book.¹

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. Jayawickramе 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."²

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.³

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

2nd or 3rd century A.D.¹

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 Nikayas 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 Gandhāra, Taxila and Avanti, which are considered as distant lands. cf. Jennings (Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha p.xxi), 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. 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 gathā will have to be tested independently as regards its age." The gathās (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.

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.

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

4. See above p.40
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) **Anguttara 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 brahmāna, 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 brahmānic 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.1

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 objects2 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

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;¹ many places and buildings have been identified since, on the basis of topographical material found in our texts. The recent excavations at Rajagaha have unearthed the foundations of the Jivakamravana² (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 Udayaṇa.³ These and many other remains of the cities, 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,⁴ 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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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. 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

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. His successors have discussed technical questions as to the level at which such studies should be conducted - lineage, extended family, nuclear family, interpersonal relationships. Some have stated that only the larger groups

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-Brown's statement of aims. Relationships between groups, however, Nadel explained, were achieved through individuals "playing roles". 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". ¹

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

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.¹ It also does not enable us to establish possible

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.

1. Nadel, 'Foundations of Social Anthropology' p.78 ff; ed. 'Social 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.\(^1\) 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.

\(^1\) 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!' 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.

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 ....". 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.lxxxii
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.¹ The term kuti is normally translated as a hut, usually made of sticks, grass and clay (daub and thatch).² However, kuti, when mentioned as a gāma, cannot be a single cabin or little hut. A gāma of one kuti (ekakuti ko gāma) 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.³ Most likely,

¹ Vin. III. p.46; cf. Dhammapada I.313 where a gāma of eight kutis is mentioned (āṭṭhakuti ko gāma).
³ The size of the kuti cannot be determined from the available references. In the forest hermitage of the āṭṭilas 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 (āraṇāṅako bhikkhu)¹ and some of them are specifically referred to as staying in the forest kuṭis.² 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.³ The ancient brāhmaṇas go into the forest, build kuṭis of leaves and depend for their livelihood on the outlying gāma-nigama-rājadhāni and meditate.⁴ The Bhikkhus construct kuṭis in the mountains of Isigili, (near Rājagaha), spend

1. Ang. III. pp.100-2; IV. pp.21-2; V. p.60; Vin. I. p.92
4. Ibid., III. p.94 te āraṇāyaṭane panna-kuṭiyo karitvā panna-kuṭiṣu jhāyanti... gama-nigama-rājadhāniyo osaranti ghasam esāna.
four months of the rainy season in there, and when leaving, demolish the ḫutiṣa.¹

There are gāmas which are inhabited by the people and those which are devoid of them.² Miss. I.B. Horner interpretes this type of gāma as 'a village with human beings and a village with beings who are not human'.³ She supports her statement by taking the word amanussa to mean a yakkha, spirit or ghost.⁴ 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.⁵ 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, ḫutiṣa of tiṇa (grass)
2. Ibid., p. 46 saamanusso 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.¹

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.² 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.³ Because of the fear of robbers, a gāma comes to be removed and is split into two.⁴ Angulimala, the robber, makes gāmas into agāmas (no gāma).⁵

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

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1. Ibid., I. p. 116
2. Vin. I. p. 149
3. Saṃ. 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 *gonisādinivīttho gāmo* seems interesting. This term has been wrongly rendered by Miss I.B. Horner as 'a village arranged fortuitously'. According to the Pāli dictionary the term *gonisādika* is an ox-stall and the word *gonisādi* has a similar sense. *Gonisādinivīttho gāmo*, therefore, would indicate an organised cattle establishment or farm which formed a gāma. 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, the monks go to another *vaja*.

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

1. Ibid., p.46
3. Rhys Davids and Stede, *P.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. *gonalā*, cow-stable Áṅg-I. p.188; also *gogana*, herd of cattle, Majj. I. p.220; Áṅg-I. p.229.
4. *Gonisādinivīttho=g+nisād+nvittho*. Go which is used in a plural sense means cattle. *Nisādin*, ni+sad=lying down, encamped, well arrayed. *Nivīttho*, 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.  

1 Gopaka Moggallāna brāhmaṇa also indulges himself with the similar occupation.  

In the Sutta Nipāta we find a cattleman Dhaniya who says that "he lives by his own earnings and is nobody's servant".  

2 He is to be distinguished from the ordinary herdsman known as gopāla  

3 or govinda  

4 who was a hand hired to look after the cattle.  

A caravan camping more than four months is called a gāma.  

5 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.  

6 In the Dīgha Nikāya we find a caravan called "sakaṭa - sattho" (caravan of waggons).

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. 333.


5. Vin. III. p. 46 sattho atirekacatumāsanivīthto gāmo

managed by a thousand men. 1 A regular caravan road is referred to in the Vinaya. 2 The bhikkhus were allowed to pass the rainy season with a caravan. 3 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. 4 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

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. 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 wagons (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 Kārapāṭika ascetics. When the Vinaya writers mentioned caravan

1. Dīg. II. p. 344
2. Bṛhatkalpa 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: 1 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. 2 They even call the

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1. Vin. I. p. 207; III. pp. 147-249
2. Vin. III. p. 249, pātiyekkho gāmo nivisi
settlement the ārama of park attendants and also Pilindagama, after the monk, 1

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, 2 presumably attending to all the parks in the city of Rajagaha. A ārama of reedmakers (nalakāra) is situated near the city of Savatthi, 3 and a ārama of saltmakers (lonakāra) is to be found near Kosambi. 4

Although we do not have any direct reference to a ārama of actors (nāka), 5 we can deduce from the fact that as the actors had āmaṇīs (headmen of the āramas) they must have had āramas. In the same way as we have āramas of elephantry and cavalry, 6 they must have grouped themselves into a ārama. Āramas in the above cases indicate a group of professional people settling in bands.

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1. Vin. III. p. 249; Āramikagamako ti pi naṃ ahaṃsu Pilindagamako ti pi naṃ ahaṃsu.
2. Ibid., III. p. 250; a park attendant's wife and a daughter is mentioned.
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:¹

Not far from Vesāli there is a gāma called Kalandaka.² In that gāma Sudinna, the Kaladakaputta, is the son of a setṭhi (setṭhiputta).³ 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 nātis 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

¹ Vin. III. p.11 ff.
² Ibid., Vesāliya avidūre Kalandakagāmo nāma hoti
³ Ibid., Sudinno nāma Kaladakaputto 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 sēṭṭhiputta, 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 Sudinna'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 (nivesa), 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. Apparently the room provided for the almsgiving, called kuddamūlam, 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 Sāvatthi, the Buddha addresses him as Subha and brāhmaṇa. After the discussions, while on his way, Subha Todeyyaputta meets the brāhmaṇa Jāpussoṇi of Sāvatthi. Jāpussoṇi, 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.  

1. Cf. Vin. III. p. 200 where a gāma belonging to one kula is mentioned.
3. Dh. A. III. 250 mentions Todeyyagāma—a gāma between Sāvatthi 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 Ekaśāla, Kānumata, and Pañcasālā were in Magadha. In Kosala we find Iccaṇaṅkala, Veḷuvāra, Opasāda, Nagaravinda, Venāgapura, Sāla, and Manasākaṭa. 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
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. Brāhmadeyya 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, which are given respectively by kings Pasenadi and Bimbisāra to the brāhmaṇa Kuṭadanta and Cāṇki, are thus described. On the other hand, Campa, Ukkaṭṭha and Sālavatika, although these places belong to the brāhmaṇa Sopadaṇḍa, Pocchraṣādi and Lohicca respectively, are known only as brahmadeyya lands. The ownership rights of the brāhmaṇas coupled with their residence seem clear in the first instance. In

1. op. cit., p.
2. op. cit.
3. Dīg. 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 brahmapas in the brāhmaṇa gāmas is obvious. The following instances will elucidate our point. We have brāhmaṇa-gahapati mentioned in all the brāhmaṇa gāmas and although the latter are referred to elsewhere in the texts, it is only in the brāhmaṇa gāmas that we find them addressed as gahapati, 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 gahapati - 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 bhū 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 gahapatis and brāhmaṇas. Besides the brāhmaṇa-gahapati, we find many hundreds of brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country residing temporarily in Opasāda and Khānumata. Well known brāhmaṇas such as Cañki, Tārukkhā, Fokkharasāti, Jāṇussopī and Todeyya sojourn at Manasākaṭa and Iccānākāla. In Pañcasāla, brāhmaṇa householders do not offer food to the Buddha even at festival time. 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 Iccānākāla the Buddha criticizes the claims of superiority of the brāhmaṇas over other classes on the basis of birth alone. In Ekanālā, the farmer Bhāradvāja-brāhmaṇa has so much land that he needs 500 ploughshares to plough it.

1. See p. 471
2. Majj. II. pp. 164-5 and Dig. I. pp. 128-9
4. Saṃ. I. pp. 113-4
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 Ambatṭha 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.¹ The names of the brāhmaṇa gāmas such as Nagaravinda (fort, 'Vinda') and Venāgapura (fort, 'Venāga')³ assume significance in the light of the Buddhās’s criticism.⁴

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

¹. Dīg. I. pp. 104-5
². Majj. III. p. 290
³. Ang. I. p. 180
⁴. See below, p. 56
close to sāla woods. ¹ Men, oxen and cows might come and drink from the great lake near a gāma and nigama.² 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.³ 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 pingoes, 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".⁴ A monk comes to be dependant on a gāma or nigama for alms.⁵ The brāhmaṇas build their fire-houses (aggyāgāra) near the boundaries of a gāma or nigama and worship the fire.⁶

2. Ang. III. p.395
4. Ang. IV. p.163 gāmassa vā nigamassa vā avidure mahābāṇarāsa
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. 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. Both gāmas and nigamas have gāmanis as their headmen.

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. Vegalinga is thus described as gāmanigama.

But the size of the nigama seems to be somewhere

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4. Majj. II. pp.253-4 tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā khemattam ca subbhikkhatam ca appābhādhatam ca sāmseyya

3. Ibid.


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."'\(^1\)

The term nigama has been variously rendered as a market town,\(^2\) a town,\(^3\) a township\(^4\) and a district.\(^5\)

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

That the \textit{gāma} could form an integral part of the \textit{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 \textit{nigama} of the army (\textit{senā-nigama}). There I saw a fair grove, and a clear flowing river, delightful and easy of approach, and finally a \textit{gāma} in which to beg food..... Here

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1. Rhys Davids and Stede, \textit{P.B.D.}, p.190
I settled, for here was everything needed for effort. ¹

The γάμα in army most probably refers to a settlement of a division of the army, references to which occur in the Sāmyutta Nikāya. ² References to the traditional four-fold army are fairly frequent ³ and it is probable that different sections of the army settled in groups within a nīgama.

The existence of the army nīgama thus sets for us a pattern to further clarify the nature of the nīgama, in which we should expect to find the 'living together' of more than one social group. In a nīgama of the Kurus, Thullakottihika, we find both brāhmaṇas and gahapatis, 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 gahapatis who had gathered to hear the Buddha preach, is mentioned as 'the son of the leading family of Thullakottihika'. ⁴ His father

¹ Majj. I. pp.166-7
² Sāth. 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 Thullakottihke aggakulikassas putto
was a gahapati, not a brāhmaṇa. In Vēgaliṅga gāmanīgama, the brāhmaṇa Jotipāla is a friend of Ghaṭikāra, the potter, who stays with his blind and aged parents. In Kammāsaddhām, the Buddha puts up in the firehouse of a Bhāradvāja brāhmaṇa. 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. In Āpāṇa, Keniya Jāṭila has many brāhmaṇa sponsors. The Buddha is, therefore, doubtful of Keniya’s ability to provide a meal for him and his 1200 monks. 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 Sākyas who are most likely to be the dominant group politically. And yet the brāhmaṇa-gahapatis seem to maintain their separate existence.

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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
dominance of extended-kin groups in certain parts of our region elsewhere in this chapter. In a nigama of the Mallas, the monk Ananda has talks with the gahapati Tapussa, the subject of the conversation being the welfare of the householders.\footnote{1}

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 Sāvatthi, and in that context nigama would indicate a ward in a city. Nigama, as we have pointed out earlier, is a gama 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

\footnote{1}{See below p.}

\footnote{17}{Ang. 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.1 In the second instance, at their behest, Bimbisāra installs the courtesan Sālāvatī, so that the city of Rājagaha may prosper through her fame.2 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 Anāthapindika they make offers of money to help him out of his difficulties when he invites the Buddha to a meal.3 They help the setthi gahapati mentioned above because they think 'he is very helpful to the negama'.4

Pura and Nagara

The occurrence of the word pura is rare. In the

1. Vin. I. p.273
2. Ibid., p.269
3. Vin. II. p.157
4. Ibid., I. p.273 bahupakāra. negamassa ca
Sutta Nipāta, a yakkha of Ālavi declares that he will wander from gāma to gāma from pura to pura. Immediately after his enlightenment, the Buddha plans to go to the 'pura of the Kāsis' (Kāsinām purāṃ) to beat the drum of deathlessness; it is further added that in due course he approaches Benares. 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. "This term in early Vedic literature is found only in the derivative adjective, used as proper name nagarīn. It appears in the sense of 'town' in the Taṅtiriya Āranyaka and is frequently used in the later language." 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

1. Su. Ni. verses 976, 991
2. Vin. I. p.8; Majj. I. p.171
3. F.E.D. S.V.
4. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I. p.432
The one responsible for the theft, among other punishments, will be either imprisoned or banished. The imprisonment (bāndheyyum) 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. 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. The reasons for not mentioning nagaras, which imply fortifications, seem to be obvious. Angulimāla would find it difficult

1. Vin. III. p.47
2. Ibid., bāndheyyum purisguttim kāreyyum
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 Dīgha Nikāya.¹ The king, it says, might have a frontieragara, strong in its foundations, rampart² (pākāra) and towers, and with only one gate and a gate-keeper (dovārika).³

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 Aṅguttara 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. Dīg. II. p.83; Aṅg. V. pp.194-5, nagara here is translated as a town both by Rhys Davids and Harc; see, D.C.B. II. p. and G.S. V. p. respectively.
2. Ibid., pākāra, an encircling wall, rampart, a fence; cf. Majj. III. p.11; Sāp. IV. p.194; Aṅg. IV. p.107; Vin.II. p.121; IV. p.266.
3. Ibid., rañño paccantimam nagaram daluddāpaṃ dalha-pākāratobham eka-dvaram tatra assa dovārike.
corresponding qualities in a monk who is unaffected by the evil insinuations of Mara, are mentioned.

In the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta, the monk Ānanda considers Kusināra as (1) a kuddanagaraka (2) an ujjangala nagaraka or (3) a sākha nagaraka. He suggests that the Buddha should not die in Kusināra but in a mahānagara, such as Campa, Pājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambī and Benares. 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 kaud, 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.C.B. II., p. 161
3. The explanation of kudda at Visuddhimagga 344, which is gehabhittiya etam adhivacabam; this is an epithet of a house wall, seems to support our contention; cf. Rhys Davids, D.C.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 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 those 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.

The third in the list of nagarakas mentioned above is sākhā nagaraka. The commonest meaning of sākhā is a branch of a tree. 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

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 (dārugahe ganaka) 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. The city of Pātaliputtra had wooden walls, the remains of which have been excavated.2

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, Sunītha and Vassakāra, building a nagara (fortress) at Pātaligāma to hold the Vajjic in check.3 However, we cannot say that the whole of Pātaligāma was fortified. The meaning which

1. Vin. III. p.43 devagahadaruni nagarapaṭisamkhārikāni āpadatthāya nikkhittāni

2. Dig. II. pp.86-7 Sunidhayassakāra Magadho mahāmatte Pātaligāme nagaram mapeti Vajjinaṃ paṭibāhayaḥ; cf. Majj. III. p.9 Rājagahaṃ paṭisamkhārapeti ranne Pajjotassa asaṃkhāmanc, distrusting king Pajjota, the king (Ajaṭhasattu) was having Rājagaha strengthened.

3. See above p.15 fn.4
seems to be more probable is, that a fortress was built near Pātaligāma and in course of time, as mentioned in the text, 1 that gaña became an agga-nagara. Pataligama originally seems to have been a settlement of traders and a small market. 2

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 gaña, a nagara comes to be built near it and, because of economic and other factors, the nagara is extended and grows into a city.

1. Dig. II. pp. 86-86
2. The text explains this by the phrase pātaliputta putabhedanan. For the detailed account see, D.P.P.N. sv.
We may recall that Ānanda identifies Kusināra as a nagaraka. 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 maha-nagara indicates that the former was used only to bring about a sharp contrast between Kusināra and other cities such as Sāvatthi, Rājagaha, Kosambi etc. Kusināra seems to have been a town with a fort, and it is likely that surrounding gāmas and nīgamas 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: 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

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 (pubbāna-samayam) and arrives in Kusināra just before midday (atta-dutiyā).

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

1. Dig. II. pp. 147 ff.
However, they cannot lift the body as a devatā intended differently. According to the wishes of the 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 Mukuta-bandhana, the ancestral shrine of the Mallas.

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 Buddhā'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 bāhirena bāhiram dakkhinato nagarassa Bhagavato sariram jhāpessamiti
2. Ibid., uttarena uttaram nagarassa haritvā, uttarena dvārena nagaram paveṣetvā, majjhena nikkhamitva puratthinato nagarassa Mukuta-bandhanam nama Mallanām cetiyam, ettha Bhagavato sariram 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 - Sāvatthi, Rājagaha, 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. ¹ We find other cities such as

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.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

The ideal city of Kusāvati, as presented to 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) Vinā, and mutinga and singing. In addition to these noises, we find there frivolity and merrymaking, with much eating and drinking.\(^3\)

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. Diṅ. II. p. 747
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. Vesāli is also known for its delightful shrines (cetiya) which were apparently popular pilgrimage centres for the people of Vajjis.

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 Jivaka. Jivaka gets in all 16,000 kahāpanas and a few other gifts from the setthi gahapati of Sāketa for curing his wife. The setthi gahapati of Benares gives 16,000 kahāpanas to Jivaka for curing his son. Sōpa Kolivisa of Campā renounces 80 cartloads of gold (asītasakātavāha hirāññam) and a herd of seven elephants and joins a monastery. In Sāvatthi we

1. Vin.
2. Vin. III. p. 15
3. Dīg. II. pp. 102-3; cf. Ibid., p. 75, where the Buddha urges the Vajjīs 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 mahāsālaś, 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 worldly desires. In Sāvatthi the sethī gahapati dies intestate, leaving behind him gold, worth 100,000 (kahāpanas), to nothing silver. 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. Sam. 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 Sangha 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 Sāvatthi, Anāthapiṇḍika gives the entire Jeta-vana.\(^1\) The setthi gahapati of Rājagaha presents sixty buildings for the monastery to the Buddhist Sangha.\(^2\) Even a poor worker in Vesālī has the ability to give a meal to the Buddha and his Sangha, however frugal it might have been.\(^3\) In the city of Sāvatthi we find guilds (pūga) instituting a regular supply of food to the monks and nuns.\(^4\) 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 nātis
in case of difficulty. The nātis fulfil their obligations
by giving him food. A nun who is in Sāvatthi sees a nātaka
from her gāma. Another nun from Sāvatthi quarrels with
other nuns and goes to her nātikulāni in a gāma.

It is significant that seṭṭhi 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 seṭṭhi gahapatis would mean the leading
"middle class" gahapatis as distinct from the brāhmaṇas by
birth and the members of ruling aristocracy. Nowhere in the

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 seṭṭhi gahapatis, although they are generally taken as merchants. They are certainly wealthy enough to be able to afford costly gifts and fees.¹

**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*).² 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 āngha; 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 kalyāṇī 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, nīgama and nagara. In the Sāmyutta Nikāya 1 it is said that people (bahujana) flock together, crying 'janapada kalyāṇī, janapada kalyāṇī.' 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 kalyāṇī 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: 2

The king's janapada is harassed and oppressed.

1. Saṁ. V. pp. 169-70
The gāmas, nigamas and nagaras are being destroyed.¹

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, niṣama 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

1. Dig. II. pp.342-3
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 (parasamuddato). The king would like to conquer and subjugate that janapada (abhivijaya ajjhavaseyyama).

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

1. Majj. II. p.72
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. 1 The Buddha concedes 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 seem to be the rough sign posts which demarcated the boundary lines of the majjhima janapada. The boundaries of the majjhima janapada are

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 Sāvatthi when he defined these boundaries. In the Jain Canonical literature, (Brhatkalpasūtra 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 Thūṇa and towards the north as far as Kuṇāla (uttara Kosala)." It is interesting to note that Kahāgala was situated towards the east of Campā, the capital of Aṅga; see Rhys Davids J.R.A.S. 1904. Usiradhwyā mountain slopes are north of Kaṅkhal, see B.C. Law Early Geography of India, p.34. Kaṅkhal was in the Himalayan region, so, too, uttara Kosala. Thūṇa seems to be identical with brāhmaṇagama, Thūṇa.
described as follows:

"Kajāṅgala nipama 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..... Setakāppika nipama is in the southern direction further..... Thūṇa, 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 a 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.1 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. 60) 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 unconducive to the attainment of nibbāna. 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. By way of illustration the ignorance of the people of outlying regions (paccantimā janapadā) is brought forward: thus:

A conch blower (sāṅkha-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

1. Ang. V. p.216
2. Dig. 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 vāṇṇas, 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.¹

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.²

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

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 (pacchābhūmagāmi) approach the Buddha and express their intention to go west (pacchābhūmam janapadam) and make their residence there. 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 (nāvāverajjagataṃ). 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. Pacchābhūmakajapada seems to have been used in a very general way to mean any place lying west of Sakyān territory. Similarly we find pacchābhūmakabrahmaḥas in Nālanda. Whatever may be the origin of these pacchābhūmakabrahmaḥas,

1. Sam. III. pp.5-6
2. Sam. 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.
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. 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.

1. See below pp. 294ff. — 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, Kāśi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vamsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Suāsena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja.1 This list has been interpreted by most scholars as indicating the political subdivisions of Buddhist India.2 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".\(^1\) If this was so, it is difficult to explain the absence of the several important groups, such as Sakyas, Licchavis, Kâlāmas 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,\(^2\) the Buddha spoke of

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,¹ mentioning the regions of Kāsi-Kosala, Vajji-Mallas, Ceti-Vaṁsa, Kurupāñcāla and Maccha-Surasena. But he did not mention those followers living in Ānaga-Magadha. Ānanda realized that there were also Magadhan followers (Māgdhaka paricāraka) who had died with profound faith in the Buddha's doctrine, and he thought, "One might think Ānaga-Magadha devoid of Māgdhan followers".² Two things appear from this passage: firstly the regions are mentioned in pairs, and, secondly, Ānaga-Magadha denotes one territory and the Magadhans are here mentioned as belonging to the Ānaga-Magadha territory. In another case, at the time of the great sacrifice of Uruvela Kassapa the jātila, a vast concourse of Āṅgas and Magadhans 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 Āṅgas and Magadhans 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".³ The two territories are

¹ Dig. I. p. 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.¹

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.² 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 Ṭha 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.

seems clear in the text. Thus in the *Vinaya Mahavagga*,
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.¹ 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).²

It is the stock phrase at many places that so and
so was journeying among the Magadhās (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),³ 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 *Dīg.* 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. The same was the case with Anga. But in some passages Magadha and Anga taken together seem to comprise a single mahājanapada.

Anga

We find the Buddha traversing the territory of Anga which was politically affiliated with Magadha. Two nīgamas of Anga are mentioned, Assapura and Āpāṇa. Āpāṇa 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 Kampā and the residents of this city were known as Campeyyakas. A Bhaddiya nāgara is mentioned, which seems to lie in between.

1. Saṣ. I. p.172
2. B.C. law, Geography of early Buddhism, pp.6-7
3. D.P.R.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)".\(^1\)

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 Angesa and Magadhesa. 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.\(^2\)

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

\(^1\)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 Sakya territory, see CHI. I. pp.178, 190
the references of Savatthi in the four Nikayas, and he states that 871 suttas are said to have been preached in Savatthi, of which 844 were delivered in the Jetavana, 23 in the Pubbarama, and four in the suburbs. These suttas are made of six in the Digha, 75 in the Majjhima, 736 in the Sāmyutta and 54 in the Aṅguttara. This clearly shows the familiarity with which the authors of the texts viewed Savatthi and its surrounding regions. The king Pasenadi of Kosala was more widely known than his contemporary kings; Bimbisāra, Ajātashatru, Pajjota and Udāna. The whole of the third Sāmyutta, 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. In contrast there are in the first four Nikayas only six suttas which mention the Magadhan king Bimbisāra, and Vidūdabha of the commentaries is barely mentioned in the

Nikāyas. 1 The king of the Vacchas, Rājā Udena is mentioned twice, 2 and so also is king Pajjota of Avanti. 3 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 brahmana gāmas alongside which were few nigamas. We have mentioned earlier the Kosalan brahmana gāmas. 4 Among the nigamas mentioned are: Daṇḍakappa, Candaṅkappa, Pañadhā and Nalakapāna. 5 Sāketā, which was regarded as one of the six great cities of India, the others being Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Kosambi, and Benares, was in the Kosala. King Pasenadi used to visit this city, which was a day's journey from Sāvatthi, and which seems to have been his second capital. 6 Ayojjha, another Kosalan city, is mentioned only once. 7

4. See above p. 43.
5. D. P. P. N., 3v.
7. Sāma III. p. 190.
Kosala and Sākyas:

It is noteworthy that we find in the Kosala janapada the nigamas and the nagara of the Sākyas. In the Anguttara Nikāya the Buddha while journeying in the Kosala region came to Kapilavatthu the capital of the Sākyas. The other instance tells us about the Buddha’s stay in Kapilavatthu. In the first instance the Buddha is journeying (cārikām caramāno), not staying (viharati), 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 Sākyas 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.¹ 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 Sākyans. The Buddha says

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 (Kosalasu), 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,¹ the Buddha stayed in the territory of the Sakkas in a nighuma of the Sākyans called Medalumpa. 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 loosing identity. Presumably, in the same broad sense the Kosalan region was understood and used, and it does

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 Nangaraka, Medalumpā, Devadaha Khomadussa⁠¹ etc. All these nigamas are specified as belonging to the Sākyans (akkanam) 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 southeast of the territory of the Sakkas.² An extensive belt of the Himalayan forest, Mahāvana, covered some portions of Vajji and Malla territory. The Mallas are at some places addressed as Vāsetthas, their gotra name.³ Malalasekera wrongly thought

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1. D.P.P N. 2v.
3. Dig. II. pp.47, 159; III. p.207.
that the Licchavis were also referred to by this gotta.\(^1\) Later on, however, both the Mallas and the Licchavis are classified as \textit{Vrātya kaśatriyas}.\(^2\) Kosambi maintains that they were described as mixed castes by Manu because they did not follow brāhmaṇic rituals and this is proved by their not performing Vedic sacrifices.\(^3\) Nevertheless, we have indications that the brāhmaṇas were active in this region in the Buddha's time. The funeral rites of the Buddha performed by the Mallan chiefs suggest the brāhmaṇic ritual described in the Kalpa Sūtra literature.\(^4\) The fact that the Mallas were called \textit{Vāsetṭhas} may prove the increasing influence of the brāhmaṇas 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 \textit{Manusmṛti} were the followers of non-brāhmaṇic sects and had perhaps forsaken the brāhmaṇic rituals.

\begin{references}
\item Malalasekera, DDBN. II. p.454; He does not substantiate his statement with proofs.
\item Manu X.22
\item D.D. Kosambi. Introduction to Indian History, p.147
\item cf. Kane, History of Dharmaśastra IM, p.235.
\end{references}
Hence, though they were already under the influence of the brāhmaṇas at the time of the Buddha, they had become Vercātyas some centuries later, when Manu was composed. The evidence of the latter period is not necessarily true of the former. ¹

We find the Mallas in two centres, at Pāvā and Kusināra. Pāvā, is specified as a nagara of the Mallas (Pāvā nāma Mallānam nagaram),² whereas Kusināra is mentioned without such specification.³ 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).⁴ 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.

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
It has been maintained that the Vajjis included eight confederate clans of which the Licchavis and the Videhans were the most powerful. The relation of the Videhans to the Liccchavis 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' (Videheau) 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 Vesali. 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, B1, pp.25, 26; BC.Law, IETaj, pp.121-22; Malalasekera, DPN, 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.R. Jayaswal, Hindu Politics, see also Dig. II, p.160, where eight Ksatria chiefs (family heads) officiate at the funeral of the Buddha.

2. Majj. II. pp.73, 133. The territory of Videha border 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 Brāhmaṇas 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 brahmana 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 Vassali at the Saranāndata shrine; there I taught the Vajjians the seven conditions securing welfare..."

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'.\(^1\) 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',\(^2\) 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." (bhavissanti Vajji).\(^3\) Hare\(^4\) interprets 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

\(^{1}\) B.C. Law I.E.T., p.123
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p.124
\(^{3}\) Ang. 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. This is supported by the fact that
these Licchavi youths were deprecated by Mahārāma for
being greedy, ill-tempered and rough hooligans. He was
naturally pleased to see them acting so meekly before the
Buddha.

We do not find reference to a separate territory
of the Licchavi's. Among their gāmas were, Hatthigāma,
Ambugāma, Bhaṇḍagāma, and Kotigāma and all these are
mentioned as belonging to the territory of the Vajjīs
(vajjīsu). Two place-names, Natika 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 Mahāraṅga we
read that the Buddha, after staying for some time at
Kotigāma went to Natikas. There he lodged in the Natika's
brick hall. The term Natika in all probability refers to an
extended kin-group to which Mahāvira the Jain belonged.

1. D.P.P.N. II. p.814
2. Ang. III. 75 f.
3. Dig. II. p.123
4. Sāṃ. V. p.431
5. Vin. I. pp.231-232
6. This may be the reason why Mahāvira was called Nataputta
   (the son of the nātas) by the Buddhist writers; cf. Jacobi
The Mahaparinibbana Sutta, a Bhoganagara is mentioned last in the list of place names, after Bhandagama, Hatthigama, and Ambujagama. This order describes the Buddha's route between Vesali 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 Nikaya the following extended kin groups, among others are mentioned. (1) The Bulis of Allakappa (2) The Koliyas of Ramanagama (3) The Moriyas of Pipphalivana (4) The Bhaggas of Samsimara (5) The Kalamae of Kesaputta. Of these, besides the occasional reference to the Koliyas and Kalamae, we have little or no knowledge of these kin groups. B.C. 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." We may not agree with Law's use of the term "tribe" to designate these kin groups, but his observations seem to be accurate.

1. Dig. II. p. 123.
2. Ibid., pp. 164 ff.
3. TA 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 brāhmaṇas:

It will be noted from the table in appendix, that while addressing equals the commonest mode of address used by the brāhmaṇas is bho.¹ 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 brāhmaṇa. 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 brahmanas 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 brahmaṇa addresses the Buddha in anger. A case in point is that of Asurindakabharadvāja brahmaṇa, who when angry addresses the Buddha as samana. Another such case is that of Paccanika brahmaṇa who deliberately insults the Buddha by calling him samana. Another exception is in the case of the brahmaṇa Udaya. Buddha goes to the brahmaṇa Udaya's house and begs for alms. The brahmaṇa fills the Buddha's bowl with rice. The Buddha repeats it

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 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. 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 Pingiyāṇi comes forward before the assembly of the Licchavis and addresses the Buddha as Bhagavā and Sugata. He utters an impromptu couplet in which he praises and compares the Buddha with the Āṅgirasa, the sun. The Licchavis, however, reward him for this act by presenting him with 500 robes, which the brāhmaṇa gives the Buddha.

1. Sāṃy. p.173
2. Vin.I. pp.212-213, also exchange of greetings take place (cf.)
3. Ang.III. pp.239-40
The Buddha is referred to by the brāhmaṇas as samañca Gotamo.

The usual description of the salutation the brāhmaṇas use for the Buddha is sādhibhāma 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 Ambāṭṭha was sent on an errand by his teacher Pokkharasādi to confirm the 32 marks which were on the Buddha's body. Ambāṭṭha, along with other young brāhmaṇas, enters the Buddha's chamber. They exchange greetings (s.s.), but while others sit down, Ambāṭṭha, walking about, says something polite in an offhand way. He stands and fidgets all the while, even though the Buddha is seated.¹ When the Buddha points out his lack of respect for his elders, he replies that he reserved his good manners only for brāhmaṇas.²

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

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1. Dig.I. pp.89–90 kañci kañci katham sārāṇīyam vitisāreti, thito pi nisinnena bhagavata kañci kañci katham sārāṇīyam vitisāreti
2. Ibid., p.90
The brāhmaṇa's behaviour changes, however, when a brahmaṇa becomes an upāsaka. The case of the brahmaṇa Sopadaṇḍa illustrates this. Sopadaṇḍa 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. Usually upāsakas, whether householders, monks, or kings salute (abhi.) the Buddha and keeping their right side to him circumambulate and take leave of him. Sopadaṇḍa the brahmaṇa acts less respectfully for fear of loss of status.

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

1. Sap. I. pp. 177-78
2. Dig. I. pp. 125-126
3. Majj. II. pp. 143-44
brāhmaṇas he falls at the feet of the Buddha, strokes and kisses his feet and pronounces his name. This is a most unusual spectacle to the unlocking brāhmaṇas. 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 Brāhmaṇyu, well known and renowned, pays such deep respect". 2

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 Sangha is very different, even when the converts are brāhmaṇas. Thus Sela brāhmaṇa who joins the order and becomes an arahat thenceforth addresses the Buddha as bhante Bhagava. 3 We also notice a change in terms of reference in the text. The prefix:


2. Ibid.

3. Majj. II. pp. 401-2 (Nālandā Ed.)
śānyasa is added to these brāhmaṇas who become monks.¹

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 esamāya. Those favourably inclined address him as bho 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 gottas.² 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 (e.g.). He does not refer to them by personal names, but only by their gottas.

¹. See appendix pp. 356–59. Itam. 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 avūsa and āyasma 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 Āgāvivessana. Saccaka's mode of address is coupled with the usual exchange of greetings (s.s.).

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. 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. The name Dighanakha is obviously a sobriquet, but the Buddha addresses him by his gotta Aggivesana. He does not resort to the term āvuso, which is used, as shown above, in addressing the Jains. 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

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-paribbajaka relationship.

In angry mood the paribbajakas change their mode of address from bho Gotama to samano Gotama. Thus the paribbajaka 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 paribbajaka does not like this remark. He becomes angry and displeased, "scorning even the Buddha, despising even him, saying 'the samaga Gotama shall be disgraced'."

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

1. Majj. II. pp. 40, 41-44
2. Ibid., p. 43; samano Gotama 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, Bhagava. 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 āyasma Vacchagotta.¹

In the Kassapa Sīhanāda Sutta, Acela Kassapa puts out a reported allegation against the Buddha, ¹¹ that

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.

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

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1. Dīg.I.p.163ff. Acela Kassapa is not mentioned as a paribbajaka but may be included in the group because of similar attitude of the Buddha towards the paribbajakas and this Acela Kassapa cf. Vin.IV.p.91, where the Acelaka is defined as paribbajakasamavanna "has reached the stage of wanderer ″.
them their acknowledgment of the Buddha's superiority. The manner in which paribbajakas 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". 1

Then the paribbajakas 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 paribbajakas 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 paribbajakas 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 paribbajaka call upon the Buddha. Pessa salutes

1. IDig.1.179, etukho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṁ bhante Bhagavato, cirassam kho bhante Bhagava imaṁ pariyyam akāsi yadi'dam idh' agamanaya, nisidatu bhante Bhagava, idam asanam paññattan ti.
the Buddha and sits on one side (abhiyādetvā ekamantam nisīdi), and afterwards addresses the Buddha as bhante, while, on the other hand, Kandaraka the parībājaka exchanges greetings (s.s.) and stands on one side (ekamantaṃ atthaśi) 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. ¹

The Buddha and the monks:

Being the head of the Buddhist hierarchical system, the Buddha is always addressed as bhante by the monks. ² 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. 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".

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

2. Ibid., pp.246-47, accayo/bhante, accagamā yathābālam yathāmūlham yathāakusalam yohām Bhagavantaṃ āvuso vādena samudacaritabham amnissam, tassa me, bhante, Bhagavā accayam accayato patiṣṭhanatā syātim samvaraya ti.

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*Note: The original text is in Pāli, and the English translation is provided for better understanding.*
relation to the Buddha. Just after his enlightenment the Buddha goes in search of the group of five monks who are residing at Benares.¹ 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'.² 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 araham 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 Pañcalaputta, Upasena Vangataputta, Sakyaputta Upananda and Dabba Mallaputta,\(^1\) Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, Mahāmoggallāna, Kaccāyanagotta, who are mentioned by their gotta affiliations.\(^2\) 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\(^3\) the Buddha while Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja is addressed by him as Bhāradvāja.\(^4\)

The latter practice is strikingly shown in the following case. The Buddha addresses a novice referred to in the text as saṃsāraudessa Acīwandita as Aggivessana.\(^5\) 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. On meeting the Buddha they salute him (ebhi.).

There is, however, one noteworthy case of a certain Potaliya, who resents being called merely gahapati. 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. Poṭaliya also claims that he lives on a minimum of food and covering. He addresses the Buddha as bho Gotama, thus

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.


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. Gaṇapati
Anāthapiṇḍika, who is elsewhere addressed as gahapati by
the Buddha, was only once addressed by his personal name
Sudatta. 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,

1. Ang. IV. p. 91
2. Vin. II. p. 156
by their personal names. ¹

**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 rāja 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.² After this instance Pasenadi of Kosala uses bhante and salutes (abhi.) the Buddha, in most of his encounters with him.³

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

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

1. Saṃ. IV. p.340
from bhante Bhāgava to bhō Gotama.¹

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.² Rhys Davids believes this to be the name of the gottā.³ It will, however, be seen from the table that other Licchavis, such as Bhaddiya, Vaddha

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

² Dig. I. p. 151

³ Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, I. p. 199, n. 2.
Nandaka and Śālaja, are addressed by their personal names. The Licchavis in groups, however, are addressed simply as Licchavis by the Buddha. 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. Our supposition is strengthened by the occurrence of another Mahāli Licchavi in the text. 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 Vāsottas; the Sakyas, too, on one occasion are addressed as Gotama (belonging to Gotama gotta). Buddha addresses his father

1. See p. 368 in the (Appendix)
2. See p. 368
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 it nickname is never used in speaking to the person referred to by it."
4. Saṃ. III. p. 69 f.; Ang. V. p. 86
5. Dig. III. p. 20
6. Saṃ. IV. pp. 182-183
as Gotama\(^1\) and he is himself addressed as Gotama by others, as seen in the many cases above.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) We cannot definitely say whether the use of the gotta term, takes into account the extended kin-group's following their brahmana teacher such as, Vāsetṭa and Gotama. Presumably it was common among the non-brahmanas to take their gotta from that of their Purōhita 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 Koliyan.\(^4\)

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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 (Bhāvadvāja) partridge group with a cowpa (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.273ff.

Buddha is always addressed as bhante, followed by Bhagavā, by the members of ārambha groups, and as a mark of respect they salute him (abhi.).

Another exception is to be found in the case of Āṇḍapāṇi Sakya. ¹ He greets (s.s.) the Buddha but stands at one side leaning on his stick. ² Addressing the Buddha as samāna, Āṇḍapāṇi asks the Buddha to declare his views and teachings. When the Buddha proclaims his teachings, Āṇḍapāṇi, '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 Āṇḍapāṇi by addressing him as āvuso and not by his personal name.

1. Majj. I. p. 108
2. Ibid., dāṇḍam olubbha ekamantam etṭhāsi
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 Ṛpāsaka, addresses his father Jotipāla with the epithet gahapati, though he is not referred to as gahapati-putta. 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.

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. The text describes this poor man without mentioning

1. Sam.V.p.344
2. See p.370 (appendix) 184 lom w.
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 Aṅgulimāla, cow-herds, goatherds, farmers, and travellers try to stop him and request him not to go further. They address him as samana. The Buddha faces Aṅgulimāla without any fear and steadily walks towards him. Aṅgulimāla, calling him a samana, asks him to stop where he is. 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

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.

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 Ananda before his final release (parinibbāna). The Buddha said, "Ananda, 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 āyasma. However, the use of the gotta name to address the elder (thera) was later on permitted.

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1. JĀD, 9, 45 (P13 edn)  
2. Dig. II. p. 154
by the Buddha.¹

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.² It is also worth noting that such monks as Anuruddha, Mahākassapa, Upāli, Mahākaccāna and Sariputta, 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 Mahakassapa, 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 Bay society, in the Buddhist Saṅgha.

sent Ananda to convey the news of the Buddha's death to the Mallas of Kusināra on whose land the Buddha had died.¹ 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.²

In the *Vinaya Cullavagga*, chapters xi and xii, the consistency in the observation of the rules of seniority (through bhante) made Otto Franke feel³ 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.
we referred above.¹

Below the monks in the Buddhist hierarchical ladder were the novices, known as samanūdāsa. They address the monks (referred to as āyasma) 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.), proper respect and appointment of the best seat, serving of water and food, says the Buddha, "shall be done according to seniority"². 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. s.). 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

¹. See above p. 132 n.².
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.¹

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 Ānanda "Āvuso may the āyasmā Ānanda teach me, so that I may see the Dhamma."² 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.³

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

¹. Saṁ. III. p.120
². Saṁ. III. p.133 f.
³. Saṁ. II. pp.276-277
⁴. Vin. II. p.25
held pernicious views (papakaditṭhi). Chabbattiya monks, who committed all sorts of crimes, and the monks Mettiya and Bhumija, also fall into the category of those who are disapprovingly referred to simply as bhikkhu and not as āyasma. Devadatta, 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 paribbajakas:

The monks and the paribbajakas address each other with the epithet āvuso and also exchange greetings (s.s.). The actual relationship between the monks and paribbajakas, however, is not always friendly. Thus a

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 sāmaṇḍ Gotamo.
number of paribbājakas belonging to different schools (aññatitthiya paribbājakā) come to the monk Ānurādha, 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 Ānurādha, "this bhikkhu must be a novice (navo) not long ordained, or if he is an elder (thero), he is an ignorant fool".¹ Poṭaliputta the paribbājaka exchanges greetings (s.s.) with the monk Samiddhi and uses the mutual term of respect āvuso. But soon after the conversation, Poṭaliputta takes leave of Samiddhi, "neither rejoicing nor protesting against what Samiddhi had said".²

It is different, however, in the case of Ānanda and the paribbājaka Kokanuda.³ 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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3. Aṅg. V. pp. 196-98
āyasma. Kokanuda thus uses the term of reference instead of āvusoso, 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.¹

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 Vācchagotta the paribbājaka and addresses him as bho Vācchā, and in reply Vācchā addresses him as bho Moggallāna.²

The monks and the brāhmaṇas:

Brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇas as brāhmaṇa, without, however, using their personal or gotta names. Like the

¹. Ang. V. pp. 196-98
². Sam. IV. p. 391
Buddha, the monks either address brāhmaṇa youths as maṇava 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.¹

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 (bhobrahmaṇa). 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.² 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

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 samāṇa, 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.¹

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 Muniḍa,² 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.³

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1. Sāṣ. IV. pp. 122-124
3. Majj. III. p. 138
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 avuso is added as a prefix to the names. While addressing the Mallas, the monks Anuruddha and Ānanda use the Mallas' gotta affiliation, Vāsetṭhā;¹ in the case of the Koliyans Ānanda uses their totemic name, Warghapajjā.²

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 (ānātara bhikkhu) as well as Ānanda, who is widely known in the

¹. Dig. II. pp. 159-60
². Aṅg. II. p. 194
Buddhist Sangha because of his nearness to the Buddha himself.\footnote{Ang. V. pp. 342-343} \textit{Gahapatis} sometimes refer to the monks as \textit{ārya} along with the name of the monk, usually preceded by the term \textit{bhante}.

In the event of estrangement between monks and \textit{gahapatis}, it is the monk, although ritually superior to the \textit{gahapati}, who is made to change his behaviour and come to terms with the \textit{gahapati}. The following case illustrates this:\footnote{Vin. II. pp. 15-18}

A monk Suddhamma is described as a regular diner (\textit{dhuvabhattika}) at the \textit{gahapati} Citta's house. Suddhamma is also a constant advisor of the \textit{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.
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 sesame 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 sesame 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 Saṅgha".

1. Vin.II.p.18: gahapatim pasannagdayakam karakam samghupatthahakam hinena khipṣessasi hinena vambhessasi.
The Buddha then asks the community to carry out a formal act of reconciliation (paṭisārāṇiyakammā) 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,¹ 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 Sōṇa Kuṭikappa as Sōṇa² and the upāsaka Sālha is addressed by the monk Nanadaka as Sālha.³ 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 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 Udayi (referred to as āyasma in the text) and addresses him as bhante. The monk asks her to co-habit with him and she consents. But afterwards Udayi changes his mind and, calling her an evil smelling wench, departs. Udayi's conduct enrages the woman. She shouts, "These Sākyaputta samānas are lecherous liars". In her anger, she refers to Udayi as samāna Udayi.¹

Monks and others:

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

¹. Vin. III. 131-32, Vin. III. p. 119
criticised because they were reported as receiving gifts of gold and silver from others. This allegation, however, was refuted by the gāmanī Maniculaka. Here, too, the monks are referred to as Sākyaputta samaṇa.

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 samaṇa. Kokanuda the paribbajaka 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 samaṇas" says Ānanda.  

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.

1. Saṃ. IV. p.325
2. Aṅg. V. p.196
The gahapatis and the Jains:

The Majjhima Nikāya describes Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as being in a large company of householders (gāhi-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.¹

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.).²

The Jains address the gahapatis as gahapati.

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2. Sam. IV. p. 298 f.
The gahapati and the paribba\^jakas:

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

We mention here a group of religious mendicants (sambahula titthiya\textsuperscript{\textcircled{c}}) and a certain parib\^jaka, whom the gahapati Mend\^aka and Vijayam\^hita\textsuperscript{\textcircled{1}} address as \textit{bhante} and to whom they show their respect by saluting them. In return these parib\^jakas address them as gahapatis.

The exception is in the case of the gahapati Sandh\^\textcircled{\textsuperscript{n}}\^\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{a}}}\^ana who addresses the parib\^jaka 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.\textsuperscript{\textcircled{2}}

The gahapatis and the br\^\textcircled{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{a}}}\^hmanas:

When the br\^\textcircled{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{a}}}\^hmana Subha Todeyyaputta\textsuperscript{\textcircled{3}} comes to

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Sagi. IV. p. 300 ff.
\item[2.] Vin. I. p. 241; Ang. V. p. 189.
\item[3.] Majj. II. pp. 196-197.
\end{itemize}
Sāvatthi 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 Sāvatthi is frequented by them. The gahapati urges Subha to go and visit the Buddha in Sāvatthi at Jetavana. 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.1

1. Vin. II. p.157
Prince Jeta, a well known and distinguished man, owns Jetavana, a pleasure resort near Savatthi. Anāthapiṇḍika approaches him to buy the Jetavana, in order to give it to the Buddhist Samgha. Anāthapiṇḍika addresses prince Jeta as ayyaputta and in turn is addressed as gahapati.¹

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.²

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 Ratṭhapāla and Sudinna, after they have become monks,

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1. Viṅ. II p. 158
2. Saṅ. IV. p. 315
address their fathers as gahapati while the latter still retain the mode of address tāta for their sons.¹ Dīghāvu, however, though still only an upāsaka, addresses his father Jotipāla gahapati as gahapati.²

The wives of the gahapatis also address their husbands as gahapati. Thus Nakula’s mother addresses Nakula’s father as gahapati.³

Gahapati Citta is sick, struck with a sore disease. His friends, acquaintances and agnates (mittāmaccā nātisālochita) 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.⁴

The gahapati’s employees address him as bhante.

Thus gahapati Sirivaddha instructs a certain man (aññatara purisa) to deliver a message to Ānanda. He addresses the

2. Saṅ. V. p.344.
messenger as ambho purisa, and in turn is addressed as bhante. 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.

Brāhmaṇas and brāhmaṇa:

The brāhmaṇa group falls into a number of sub-groups. As indicated in the table, brāhmaṇas such as Pokkharasādi, Kuṭadanta and Sonadāṇḍa, 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 brāhmaṇas

1. Saṅ. V. pp. 176-77
2. Vin. II. p. 155
use bho to address each other. The brahmana Brahmayu addresses his pupil Uttara as tāta, a kinship term used between father and son. In return Uttara addresses him as bho. This term of address is often coupled with either the personal name or the gotta name.

The brahmanas and the king:

The brahmanas 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 brahmāṇa. One exception is that of a young brahmana Sudassana, whom king Pasenadi of Kosala addresses as tāta. Another exception is when the king Pasenadi of Kosala, in his formal invitation to the brahmana Sañjaya of Ākasagotta, addresses the latter as bhante. Later on, however, the king addresses the same brahmana with the epithet brahmāṇa. The brahmana in turn addresses the king as mahārāja and not deva. We may note here that he is a well known brahmana whom the king and his army chief

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1. Majj. II. p.134
2. Sap. 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 Ākāsagotra 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, Sañjākāputta 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 Sangha, 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, Bhagava. 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.¹

In the second case, the brāhmaṇa Lohicca² instructs the barber Bhesika to deliver a message inviting the Buddha to a meal. The brāhmaṇa uses the term bho Gotama (bhavantam Gotama, 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, Bhagava, and acting as a non-brāhmaṇa should. The brāhmaṇa Lohicca addresses the barber as samma Bhesika while the barber addresses the brāhmaṇa as bhante.

¹ Majj. II. p.91
² Dīg. I. p.225
These two cases show how the brahmana 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 brahmana Bhāradvājagotta address each other as bho. As mentioned earlier, equality of status is denoted by the modes of address used in the conversation between the paribbājaka and the brahmana.

In the encounter between the brahmana Jānussopī and the paribbājaka Pilotika, the former uses the latter's gotta name Vaccāyana to address him. The paribbājaka, of course, uses bho.

*Ruling extended kin-groups*

The brahmana and the **cīna-group:**

The brahmana Doṇa in the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta addresses, among others, the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā,

1. Majj. I. p. 502
2. see p. 106
3. Ibid., I. p. 175
as bho also (in the text plural bhonte). The brāhmaṇa Dopa is addressed as brāhmaṇa.1

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) Gāhapatis (4) Kings and Princes (5) Gāmanis (6) Monks (7) The upāsakas (8) Persons belonging to the ḫin groups (9) Paribbājikas and

1. Dīg. 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 brāhmaṇas (3) the gahapatis (4) the persons belonging to the Ex-Kin groups (5) the others. In the second category come the Buddha (2) the brāhmaṇas (3) the upāsakas (4) the persons belonging to Ex-Kin groups (5) the paribbajakas (6) the Jains and (7) the others. In the last category are (1) the Buddha (2) the kings and Princes (3) the gāmaṇis 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 (bhō) 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 Pāva and Kusināra¹ are addressed as Vāsetṭhas 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

¹ Dig.II.p.160
The brahmanic element, they also address the Buddha with his gotta name.

There is, however, an active conflict involved in the Buddha-brahmana relationship. Often, the brahmans 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 brahmans'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 connotation of *samana* as a mode of address becomes apparent only when we realize that the robber Angulimala, the social outcast, is the person who addresses the Buddha as such and omits to exchange greetings (*saddhim sammodi*) with him.¹ 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 manava, 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, samaṇa 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 samaṇa.¹ 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 groups is definitely closer. The members of such groups address the Buddha as bhante, the term used by all the followers of the Buddha, monks and others. They invariably salute him (abhivādehi).² The Buddha on his part recognises the identity which they feel with him and addresses them

¹. see p. 147
². see p. 124-127
by their personal names in most instances. Only when in groups, does he use their 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. There is the usual exchange of greetings (saddham 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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1 see above p. 158
becomes quite clear that as a group they do not exclusively belong to either the Buddhist or the brāhmaṇic order. It can be seen from the data that they include brāhmaṇas among others. We shall examine the full import of the role of the gahapatis in the 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 brāhmaṇas, 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 brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇas. It is also significant that the brāhmaṇas 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) 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

1. see above pp. 106 ff.
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 gahapati also pay respect to the brāhmaṇas, 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.¹ Both the Buddha and the brāhmaṇa, and for that matter even paribbajaka, command his respect, but none his exclusive attention.

We now turn to an examination of the religious relationships.

Religious Relationships:

The Brāhmaṇic, 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 paribbajaka group). Within each of these traditions are those members who have in varying measure renounced mundane

¹ see above p.150
considerations and thereby gained a specific position in society. The Brahmanic 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 bhū. Even a gahapati who had turned a paribbājaka maintained his independence by addressing him thus.\textsuperscript{1} 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

\textsuperscript{1} see above p. 122
of bhante for all men of religion irrespective of their allegiance to any order.\(^1\) Nigrodha paribba\d\ajaka, however, is an exception. He is addressed by Sandh\anna gahapati as bho instead of the usual bhante.\(^2\) 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 up\d\asaka of the Buddha as well.

The position of the up\d\asaka was different from that of the gahapati. Being actively concerned with religious affairs the up\d\asakas 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 br\d\ahmapas as well as others. Br\d\ahmana converts generally chose not to completely relinquish their membership of the br\d\ahmapa order and become monks. But while the non-br\d\ahmapa up\d\asakas found it easier to retain their membership of the orthodox social order, the br\d\ahma\d\upa\d\asakas had to resort to various subterfuges in openly acknowledging

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1. See p. 148, 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 brahmapas and the ēkākṣina groups. Although both these groups acknowledge the Buddha's superiority, the brahmapa monks, even the distinguished ones, retain their gotta affiliations. Those belonging to the ēkākṣina 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.¹

We have already dealt with the different terms

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 Brāhmaṇic 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-Nāṭaputta address the Buddhist monks in the same manner as the Brāhmaṇas do.\footnote{See above p.}

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 Nāṭaputta and the Acela Kassapa, but salutes (abhi.) the Buddha. This and his other behaviour do not fail to infuriate the Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta.\footnote{Sam. IV. pp. 298-99} In general, however, the Jains derive their form of
behaviour from the brāhmaṇas, 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 ekkāna 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 Niganṭhas 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 as 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.  

Politic al 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 (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
Both by the Buddha as indeed by monks and paribbajakas (including the leaders of the well known schools of thought such as, Nigantha Nataputta, Sanjaya Belatthaputta, Makkhali Gosala, Purana Kassapa and so on), the king is addressed as maharaja. The employees and the subjects of the king address him as deva.\(^1\) Brāhmaṇas address him, among other modes of address, as deva. Akasagotta, who addresses him as maharaja, as we have seen,\(^2\) 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 paribbajaka group. While on the one hand, the Buddha, the monks, paribbajakas and their "fellow travellers" seem to deny any ritual status to the king by addressing him as maharaja, 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.

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. ¹

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.² Nevertheless, the same gāmaṇi refers to the Buddha as samāṇa bho Gotama, suggesting that he may not go as far as the brāhmaṇas and the paribbājakas in disapproving of the Buddha and his order.³

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
Brâhmaṇa minister Vassakāra, on a mission to the Buddha to find out ways and means of destroying the might of the Vajjīs, he addresses Vassakāra as brâhmaṇa. Vassakāra addresses the king as bho. The message the king commands the brâhmaṇa 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 brâhmaṇa 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.²

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

Sometimes, however, there is a deviation in the behaviour of the brâhmaṇas. The brâhmaṇa Vassakāra

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1. Dig. II. pp.72-73
2. Ibid., II. p.237
addresses king Bimbisāra as deva. 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. 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.

1. Vin. III. p. 43;
2. Majj. II. pp. 148
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 interactional, 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 brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇas within its fold. Politically, too, the Buddha is less encumbered than the brāhmaṇas. Unlike them, he is not servile to the king. Despite their actual humility in the king's presence, in their mode of address the brāhmaṇas recognise no superior in any system of ranking, but at the most only equals. They and the Buddhist have an equal hold on the mahapatis, who represent the more or less secular population, the prizes in the religious struggle.
Chapter IV

Introduction:

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 gossa, 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:

"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

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 do 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 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

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

"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 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

2. Ibid., 10-11.
must necessarily be synchronous 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". Of
the six quarters, the parents are represented by the east.

lokassa daggataroti
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. 1

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 gahapati playing them off against each other in order to support his parents and family. 2 Ghaṭikāra, the potter, supports his blind parents. 3 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. 4 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. 5 The doctor Jīvaka presents his substantial first earnings to his foster-father, prince Abhaya, in gratitude for having him brought up. 6 On the other hand we find Ajātasattu who admits before the Buddha

1. Dig. III. p.189
2. Majj. II. pp.185-186
3. Majj. II. pp.50 ff
4. Saṅg. 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. The brāhmaṇa Nāṇatthadda respects neither his parents nor his elder brother. The action of upāsaka who presented a store room to a group of nuns is challenged by his faithless son in a court after his death. 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. Rāhula instigated by his mother addresses the Buddha (his father) as samanap, a term of indifference rather than affection, and asks for his inheritance.

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. 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.

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

1. Dīg. I, pp.85-86
2. Saṭ. I, p.177
3. Vin. IV, pp.223-224
5. Vin. I, p.82
6. Dīg. III, p.189
7. Ibid.
of affection addresses the foundling he brought up as 'tāta'; while the child addresses him as pitā (father).¹ 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.² Sona Kolivisa, another son of a setthi is so delicately nurtured 'that hair grew on the soles of his feet'. When the king sends for Sona, his parents send him in a palanquin.³ Upāli's parents want to choose a suitable profession for him; so that he may live at ease after their death. They reject scribbling (lekha) lest it may pain his fingers, counting (gana) because it may hurt his chest, and money changing (rupa) 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.⁴ 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.⁵ When Rāṭṭhapālā wishes

¹. Dīg. 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." 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.

When Sudinna Kālandaka wants to become a monk, his parents also seek to stop him in a similar way. 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." 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).

When the Buddha leaves home, his parents have faces "with tears caused by crying". Sudhodana 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
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." ¹

In contrast to this melodramatic expression of affection towards the son we find the Buddha advising the brāhmaṇa Mahāśāla 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. ²

Among the family responsibilities of a son, that

¹. Vin. 1. pp.82-83
². Sañc. 1. pp.176-177
of maintaining the family lineage is very important. In the instance of Suddinā Kālandaka, we see concern with the continuation of the lineage.\(^1\) In addition, the Buddha is accused of making families sonless and thereby destroying them (aputtakatāya .. kulupacchedāya).\(^2\)

The succession to office is from father to the son. Ajātasattu kills his father Bimbisāra in order to succeed him on his throne.\(^3\) 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 Sudinna 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 to the Licchavis.\(^4\) Ratthapāla as well as Sudinna are tempted by the offers of the wealth of their father, mothers and their paternal grandfathers.\(^5\) Suddhodana Sakka is extremely pained at the ordination of Rāhula, his son's son, presumably because he has no heir left after him.\(^6\) The property of a setṭṭhi pahapati

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\(^1\) 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 naccant has this. mattikam dhanam; annam pettikam annam pitamaham; whereas in the Vinaya we have an addition of the words. matru-mattikam and additional. itthikaya itthidhanam. Thus mother's wealth is specified as woman's wealth.  
\(^6\) Vin. I. pp.82-83
who dies intestate is confiscated by King Pasenadi. 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. 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 (mātusappatti) 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." 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.

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

1. Saṃ. I. pp.89-90
2. Ibid., I, p.92
3. Diṭṭ. II. p.331
to his sons, as befitting one who is concerned with spiritual affairs. He is no longer concerned with advising his sons.\(^1\)

A gahapati of Vesali 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.\(^2\) The latter appeals to the monk Ānanda and asks rhetorically, "Who is the father's heir (pituno dāvyū), 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.\(^3\)

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.\(^4\) The son (Kulaputta) has also to give a share (bali) of his hard-earned wealth to ancestors (pubbapeta).\(^5\)

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1. Majj. I. p.360
2. Vin. III. p.66
3. Vin. III. pp.66-67
4. Dīg. III. p.89; Petānaṃ kālakatānaṃ dakkhiṇam anupādassati
5. Āṅg. 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. Daughters are protected by their parents (Mātu rakkhitā, pīṭurakkhitā and mātāpitara rakkhitā). At proper age they are married to suitable husbands and sent to their new homes. 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.

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 (mātuyāhara) and not her father's. In the Vinaya another woman who quarrels with her husband also goes to her mother's house (mātughāra). A former courtesan is unwilling to give

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1. Vin. IV. pp. 334-335
2. Aṅg. V. p. 264
3. Ibid.; IV. p. 265
4. Saṭṭī. 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.1 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.2 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 (pasaññadevā) and be faithful
to her husband (patibbatā). The boy that she may bear may do
great deeds."3 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

2. Dīk. II. p.331.
your father be reconciled? 1

Brother and brother:

The elder brother commands respect from his younger brother. In this respect he is next to the parents. Thus, the brāhmaṇa Kāṇatthadda neglects to respect not only his parents but also his elder brother (jettha bhātara). 2 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. 3 We may also note that Yaśa and Raṭṭhapāla, who are described as living in luxury, are mentioned thus by their parents. 4

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.

1. Vin. III. p.129
2. Saṭṭhi. 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
Parana and Isidatta are both architects (thāpati). Yemelu and Tekula, the two brāhmaṇa brothers, approach the Buddha with the suggestion that the latter should introduce a metre (chanda) to preach the dhamma. Two farmer brothers lie dead with their oxen, while the Buddha is meditating near by. The two Jakila brothers, who are fireworshippers, follow the example of their elder brother in giving up the fireworship and joining the Buddhist Sangha.

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". The 'half share' indicates an equal share. An upāsaka who presented a store-room to a group of nuns in his father's lifetime, his unfaithful son says to his faithful brother after the upāsaka's death, "let us divide (bhājana) the property, the store-room is ours." 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

1. Majj. II. p.123; Ang. III. p.548
2. Vin. II. p.139; Chandas has been taken to mean Sanskrit by Ds.P.P.N.,S.,V.
3. Dīg. II. p.131 'dvā kaseaka bhātarā'
5. Dīg. II. p.331
6. Vin. IV. P.223
heirs.  

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. A setthi dies without an heir, because he had in previous birth killed his brother's only son for the sake of property.

Sister and sister:

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

Solidarity between sisters is shown by the fact that Mahapajapati and her sister Maya, the Buddha's mother, were both married to Suddhodana Sakka. Moreover, it is

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1. Viñ., I. p.82
2. Ibid., II. p.182 'yāvāham putte ca bhātare ca rajjam niyādemīti'
3. Sap. I. p.92 'bhātucā pana ekāputtakam sapateyyessā karanā jīvitā voropesi
4. Aṅg. IV. p.93
5. D.P.P.N. sv
Mahapajapati who serves the Buddha as his mother's sister, nurse and foster mother.  

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 Rathnapala, Sudinna Kalandaka and others, when they become monks, address their former wives as sisters, to the despair of the wives. The monk Udayin whose wife has also become a nun, addresses her as sister. Similarly Ugga gahapati who is an upasaka of the Buddha, addresses his wives as sisters at the time of his renunciation of worldly ties.

The brother-sister relationship is characterised by 'avoidance'. 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
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.\(^1\) The lay followers also address the nuns as *ayye*.\(^2\) On the other hand we find that the monks address all women as sisters.\(^3\) 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."\(^4\)

We may, therefore, presume that the minimal relationship is denoted in the use of the term "sister" by the monk. We find further proof of this when the Buddha describes the seven types of wives to Sujata.\(^5\) 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

\(^1\) Vin. IV. pp.332-333, where a senior nun addresses a probationer as *ayye*. They also refer to other nuns as *ayya*; Vin. IV. 326

\(^2\) Ibid., IV. p.318, 211

\(^3\) The exception is, however, made in the case of Pajapati Gotami 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 *sallapasihihatthena*

\(^5\) 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 **āyya, ayyaputta,** gahapati, sāmi and the terms of reference are **pāti, sāmi and gahapati.** Marriage is polygamous and the term for a co-wife is **sapatni.**

That the marriage is polygamous, we can see from a number of instances. The brahmana Mahāgovinda has forty wives,¹ Rāṣṭhapala has many² (the number is not specified) and Ugga gahapati has four.³ In some cases marriage is monogamous, as in the case of Nakulapita,⁴ Maṅgaka gahapati,⁵ Suppiya upāsaka,⁶ Sudinna Kāladaka,⁷ Rājā Maṅgā⁸ and a seṭṭhi of

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1. Diś. II. pp.239, 245
2. Majj. II. p.64
3. Āṅg. IV. p.210
4. Ibid., III. pp.295-298
5. Vin. I. pp.230-241
6. Ibid., I. pp.216-217
7. Ibid., III. p.17
Rājagaha.¹ At least in the cases of Rāja Muṇḍa and Nakulapītā, 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 brāhmaṇa who has many widowed daughters has "one wife, a tawny and speckled one."² 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.³

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

If the husband is polygamous, the wife too, can obtain a customary divorce and even remarry. When Uggā 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 Uggā.⁵ The brāhmaṇa Purohita, Mahāgovinda also offers the

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1. Vin. I. p.272
2. Saṃ. I. p.170
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.  

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." In one case, however, divorce and consequent remarriage are forced upon the husband and wife by the wife's nātaka. The husband unable to find any way out, kills the wife and commits suicide.

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.

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." We also find

1. Dīg. 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, Sudinna, Rayhapatā and so on remain in their marital households. The only exception are the wives of Uggā gahapati. We do not know the social status of Uggā, 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.

On an inter-personal level, there exists conjugal love and affection. Rāja Munḍā 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. King Pavoṇadi, 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." The

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1. Vin. I. p.82
2. Ibid., III. p.17
3. Majj. II. p.64
5. Dīg. 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. 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. The woman whose natakas propose to give her in marriage to another man says to her husband, "My natakas 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. Monk Raṭṭhapāla's former wives desire him to go back to them.

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. The brahmaṇa Mahagovinda's forty wives desire to follow him into renunciation.

A woman is valued by her husband more than by her

1. Ang. 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 Rajagaha 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. 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.

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. The wife of a poor brāhmaṇa with many daughters, wakes him up with her feet in the morning. 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.

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. Saṅ. I. p.170
pregnant by her lover when her husband is away, gets medicine from a monk in order to secure an abortion. ¹ A Licchavi man consults the Licchavi gana in order to get their consent to kill his wife for committing adultery. ²

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. ³ 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

¹. Vin. III. p. 63
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. ¹

In another instance the Buddha advises Sujatā, the unruly daughter-in-law of Anāthapiṇḍika 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" (aggasamā), 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

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. Sūjātā after the discourse prefers to become a "slave-like wife".¹

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. Sopadaṇḍa the brahmaṇa 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."² On another occasion he says, "He is born well on both the

¹. Ang. IV. pp. 92-93
². Dīk. I. p. 123
mother's and the father's side. I know his parents.....

I gave him learning." In another case 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 to the annoyance of his own son. The son appeals to Ananda who decides that a monk should not interfere in such matters and that inheritance should go to a son. The monk Upali 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 Ajatasattu 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 Ajatasattu 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."
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.  

1. Vin. IV. p.105

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 bhariya), and preceptor's wife (guru dārā).  

2. Dig. III. p.72

The Husband's parents and son's wife:

The terms of reference for the husband's father and mother are sasaura and sasu respectively; that for a daughter-in-law is susta.

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
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.' The family also sees her as an alien coming to seek membership. Hence we find that in the Vinaya the female members of the family are classified in descending order as, (1) woman of the family (kula itthi), (2) the daughters of the family (kula dhītāyo), (3) the young girls of the family (kulakumāriyo), (4) daughters-in-law of the family (kula suṇhayo) and (5) the women slaves (kula dāsiyo). 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

1. Āṅg. 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, complaints that for a month she was treated as a daughter-in-law should be, but afterwards as a female slave.¹ 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.²

That the daughter-in-law is a member of the family is not in doubt. Thus, gahapati Mendaka's household includes, his wife, his son, son's wife, slaves and domestic servants. However, among those who possess psychic power (iddhi) are Mendaka, his wife, his daughter-in-law and his slave.³ 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 settī gahapati's wife is her daughter-in-law. Like

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.\(^1\)

In terms of ideal behaviour, the daughter-in-law should rise up and offer seats and water to her husband's parents.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\)

But a daughter-in-law is not always obedient and respectful. Once the monk Udāyi goes to a house,\(^5\) where the

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1. *Vin.* I. p. 273
2. *Aṅga.* III. p. 37
3. *Sam.* I. p. 86
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. 1 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?" 2 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

1. Vin. IV, pp. 20-21; it is significant/note that mother-in-law addresses in a suspicious mood the daughter-in-law as Jē, 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 (adāha, adakula-ānītā). 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. 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), mother's sister's son (mātucchaputta), father's sister's son (pituccha putta).

1. Aṅg. 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), 1 and father's mother (*aayakā). 2

As we have seen, the Buddha is brought up by his
mother's sister, who is also his mother's co-wife. 3 A sexual
relationship with the mother's sister is sinful as that with
a mother, and is, therefore, incestuous. 4 Sudinna's parents
attempt to dissuade him by pointing to his father's wealth
which he will inherit. 5 Rājā Pasenadi on the death of his
father's mother says, that he would have given an elephant
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 *Avāha and *Vivāha, invariably mentioned together.
It is not very certain whether these are two ceremonies of
one single form or two different forms. *Avāha-*vivāha is
arranged by the parents. The parties to the marriage are
young and chaste (*kumāra-*Kumārika). Upon marriage the wife
goes to live with her husband's family. The following case

1. *Aṅg.* III. p.347
2. *Saṃ.* I. p.97
3. *Aṅg.* IV. p.276
4. *Dīg.* III. p.72
5. *Vin.* III. p.16
will make some of the points of this marriage clear:

The monk Udāyi sees an unmarried youth (kumārakam vā apajāpatim) and an unmarried girl (kumārikā vā apatikam). 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 (abhirūpa); charming (dassaniyā); lovely (pasādikā); learned (paṇḍitā); accomplished (vyittā), wise (medhāvinī), clever (dakkhā), and industrious (anālaṣa). 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.

1. Vin. III. p.135
2. Ibid., amhe na jānanti ke vā ime kassavāti, Mīsim viya kumarikaya vatthum.
by the bride's family and "leading away" (vivāha) of the bride and the marriage takes place (vāryyāni. pl. vattāpeti). 1

A number of points are noteworthy. Firstly, the individual opinions of the girl and youth are conspicuously absent, although compatibility 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 (vattah). 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 loading her away (by the

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.\(^1\) 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:\(^2\)

"There is no reference to the question either of birth (jāti-vāda), gōta (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."

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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 seṭṭi of Rajagaha, invites the Buddha for a meal. Anathapindika, 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). 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. These are (1) When a woman is bought with money (dhanakkhitā), (2) When a woman stays of her own accord with a man (chandavāsinī), (3) When a man gives her money (bhogavāsinī), (4) When a man gives her clothes (patavāsinī), (5) When an ablution of water is performed (odapattakānī), (6) When she removes her headwear (obtacumbarā), (7) When she is also a female slave (dāsī-nāma), (8) When she is also a servant (kammārī), (9) When she is temporarily with a man (muhuttikā) and (10) When she is captured in a raid (dhaṭājāhaṭā). It is

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 odapattakanī and obatacumbatā, 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 kammakārī, 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 dāsim and kammakārīs 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.1 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

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 ganakī, gave her daughter to the disciples of the ājivikas."

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 (āvāsathaśāra) 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

1. Ibid., p.136; atha kho sā ganakī teṣam ājīvakaśāvakānaṁ dhitaram adāsi.
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 (sabateyyam)."¹

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 *apākām*).²

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 *itthi* 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.³

Yet another form of marriage is described in the case of Uggā of Vesāli:⁴

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

¹. Vin. IV. p.18
². See above p.116
⁴. Ang.IV. p.210
went and spoke to them thus, "sisters (bhaginīyo) 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 (daram pariccante)."¹

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.² The aspect of gift is also emphasized by pariccante, which denotes severance. The wives are described at first as pajapatiyo and komariyo thus emphasizing their sexual desirability. In the gift, however, the eldest wife is described as dara, obviously a more socially correct term for a wife. The second


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 brahmana practice of marriage:

There are five types of Brahmānas mentioned in relation to marriage:¹ (1) The celibate 'Brahma-like' (brahmana Brahmāsama), (2) 'God-like' (brahmana devā sama), (3) those who follow tradition (brahmana mariyādā), (4) those who break tradition (brahmana sabbhinnamariyādā) and (5) the brahmana outcaste (brahmana candāla). The first type of brahmana is obviously celibate like the god Brahmā. The second and third type must marry only brahmana women, and with a ritual in which water is poured on the woman (udakūpasattham). The fourth and fifth type of brahmānas marry both brahmana and other women, khattiya, vessa, sudda, candāla, nesāda, yena, rathkāra, and pukkusaka. The ceremony in the last two types is through pouring of water (udakūpasattham) as well as through buying and selling (kāyena va vikkayena).

All types of brahmānas, irrespective of their

¹, Āṅg. 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 (kamatthā, davatthā and ratatthā), 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-Kāmbaja and other outlying regions there are two vānas, the master (āyya) and the slave and it is possible for the master to become a slave or for a slave to become a master."

The story assumes a meaning when related to the explanation offered in Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā. 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

1. Majj. II. p.149
2. M.A. III. p.409
intercourse with a slave or servant (dāso va 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 vāṇa is used to denote a two class
hierarchy, supposedly existing in Yona-Kamboja 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 Sañjīkaṅutta1 and Sāriputta2

1. Vin. II. p.139
2. Majjhī, 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 Anālayana, the Buddha gives an example of brāhmaṇa union outside the brāhmaṇa group.¹

The Buddha says, "a khattiya youth consorts (saddhīṁ saṁvāsam kappiya) 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 Amatṭha². "A khattiya youth consorts (saddhīṁ saṁvāsam kappiya) 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 sādha, thālipāka, yāna, and pāhuṇaka.³ They also instruct him in sacred verses and do not prohibit his mingling with their women (ittī)."

¹ Majj. II. p.153
² Diṅ. I. p.97
³ Festive occasions of the brāhmaṇas.
The Khattiyaś 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 Khattiyaś, 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 samvāsamkappayya).

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

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

¹. Diq. I. p.92
of a slave girl of king Okkāka.
Kapphāyana, 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 Sakkās. Brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇa-khattiya unions.

The last type of marriage is among the Vajjīs.¹ One among the seven dhammas recounted by the Buddha to the Vajjīs prohibits the overpowering of young girls and women of the family.² 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; "Vajji, yā tā kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo, tā na okkassā pasāyha vassessanti..."
muhuttikā, a momentary sexual union; at the other end, we find āvāha-vivāha 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 Śakkas, however, seem to recognize the special situation created by the union between the brāhmana and Khattiya through the use of the special term describing such unions. The Vajjians and Śakkas do not disapprove of marriage between brother and sister. Although the myth of Śakkan 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 kuṃāris and kula itthiśas. 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 Gaṇa for counsel before doing so.' The extended kin-group would be more

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/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 (kuṭumbam saṁthāpesi) 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 (dāyāja). 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.

2. It is interesting to note that a number of Himalayan tribes in Asam 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:

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 (līnā-chāvi) 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. 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.

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. In another case a rich gaha pati and a gaha pati putta 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. The soldiers (ajjyodhika), potters and silk-weavers carry on with their livelihood in order to maintain their sons and wives (putta dāra).

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 (posetabba) mother and father, son and wife, slaves (dāsa), household servants (kammakaraporiso). 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.

The Buddha advises that a man should work for the

1. Dīg. 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 (khettakammamita/samantasamvohare). 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 (matā-pitā) and agnates (nāti-salohita) who are grieved because they will not be able to see him (the dead man). In the second instance in the Vinaya, a monk is permitted to visit only his mother and father (matā-pitā), brother (bhata), sister (bhagini) and natakas, when they are ill. 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

1. Aṅg., III. p.77
2. Dig. 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-pitumā), son and wife (putta-dārāśc), slaves (dāsa), household servants (kammakaraprisāsa) friends and acquaintances (mittāmaccānam).
ancestors (pubbapetānām), the King (raññanaṃ), the gods (devatānām), the recluses (samaṇa-brāhmaṇānām). In the case of Dhānāñjāni 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 (kammakaraporīsa). Apart from these, he should fulfil his obligations to (karaniyam-katabbām), friends and acquaintances (mittāmaccānam), agnates (nātisālohitānam), guests (atithinām), ancestors (pubbapetānām) and the gods (devatānām). He should also do his duty to the king (raññāyaṃ rājakaraniyam-katabbām). There is thus a significant difference between the responsibility to support (posetabbā) and to fulfil obligations (karaniyam katabbām). 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. Other subordinate members of

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1. Ang. IV. p.244; see Ibid., 245 where in the verse it is said raññho hito, devahito - nātānaṃ sakhinām 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 (dāsa dāsi). Mendaka, the gahapati's house (ghara) consists of wife (bhariya), son (putta), son's wife (supha), slaves and household servants; of these all except the household servants are described as possessing psychic power (iddhi). The Buddha tells Anathapiṇḍika that alms are given as thank-offering for the enjoyment of good food (ularaya bhattacharaya), clothing (ularaya vattabhogaya), vehicles (ularaya yanabhogaya), for the five fold sensual pleasures (ularasu pañcesukamunyesu) and for having sons (putta), wives (dāra), slaves (dāsi), messengers (pessa) and servants (kammakara). Son (putta), wife (dāra), brothers and cousins (bandhava), acquaintances (ammacca) and the caste group (nati sanghā) are said to be dependent (anujīvino) on a virtuous and believing head of the kula (kulapati). We find that the two kings Seniya Bimbisara and Pasenadi and the respected brahmaṇa 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 (sāmacca). 1 Ānanda 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 (saputta), wives (sabhāriya), servants (sapurise) and acquaintances (sāmacca). 2

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 (sātisālohitā). 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. Dīg. I. pp. 116, 133
2. Dīg. II. p. 148
and agnates (nātisālohitā) to help in the preparations.¹

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 (nātisālohitā) they should not act as if they trusted him.²

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 (nātisālohitā) who console him and promise to reconcile him with the Buddha.³

It is the friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca) and agnates (nātisālohitā) who gather round the gahapati Citta who is sick.⁴ The friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca) and agnates (nātisālohitā) of a leper (kuṭṭhila/puriso) procure the services of a surgeon to cure him.⁵

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1. Majj. II. p.397 (Nālandā Edition)
2. Dig. II. pp.345-346
3. Vin. II. p.126
4. Saṁ. IV. pp.302-303
5. Majj. I. p.506
Buddha advises, "Listen to those with whom you have sympathy (anukameyyātha) and to those who think you should listen to them (ye ca sotabbam maññeyyamp), whether they be friends (mittā vā), acquaintances (amaccā vā), "caste fellows"(nātivā) or agnates (sālohitā vā). In the last instance, the king (rājā), and the king's ministers (rājamaḥamattā), friends, acquaintances (amaccā) and agnates (nātisālohitā) are mentioned as tempting the monks to return to lower life by offering them wealth (bhoga)."  

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. The use of the term mitta in conjunction with the term kula leaves no doubt that

1. Aṅg. I. p.222
2. Saṃ. IV. p.190; V. pp.300-301
3. Saṃ. IV. p.59
the friends did not belong to the household group.

We suggest that the term mittamacca 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 to the annoyance of his own son, who describes the gifts (dana) as his inheritance (gayijjja).

Obviously the term Kutumba is related in some manner to the concept of gayijja, which is the right of a son, but not of sister's son. In another instance, a man has two wives (duve pajapattra) one barren and another fertile. It is said in this connection that if a wife becomes fertile she becomes the mistress of the whole Kutumba. The term kutumba refers,

1. Vin. III. pp.66-67; kutumbanca santhā pesi dānaṁ ca pathapesi
2. Ibid., sabbassa kutumbassa issara 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\(^1\) who is ill is worried lest his wife should not be able to keep the household together (gharavasam 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 anānam gharam gamissati).\(^2\)

A third term for the household group is 'kula'. The monks begging alms are usually described as 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.\(^4\) 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 (sakunika) 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."\(^5\)

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1. Ang. III. p.295
2. Ibid., ghapa—III. p.296
3. Sām. II. p.200; Vin. III. p.83; 248-249
4. Vin. IV. p.20; 'kulūpako hoti bahukani 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 (kammakārapurīsa). 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 kammakārapurīsa, 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 "kammakārapurīsa." 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 kammakārapurīsa. 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 that the servant-master relationship was for the servant. In the important instance cited above, the slave receives the family's īḍdhi, but not the servants.¹

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

¹ Vin. I. p. 240-241
wife (putta-dārā), son's wife (sunha), brother (bhātā) and sisters (bhaginī) 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.¹

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 Makkaraṅkata village, let him visit the family of Lohicca (Lohicca kulām).² On another occasion the king puts the family of a keeper of a garden (ārāmikakulam) into prison. A little earlier, the keeper of the garden is described as having a wife and a daughter.³ On a fourth occasion the Buddha inquires of Anāthapiṇḍika whether alms are given in his family (kula) or not.⁴ In a

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. Āṅg. IV. p.393
fifth instance a woman (māturāna) is described as going to the family of her husband (patikulam) in tender age and 'becoming without the ṛatakag.' In a sixth instance, the Buddha is accused of bringing about barrenness (aputtkatāya), widowhood (vedavyāya) and distinction of the family (kulupacchedāya).

The connotation 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 brāhmaṇa, Vijaya, to mix with the gahapatis, gahapatiputtas and elders (daharā Vuddha).

In another instance, a son of a setthi when asked by the monk Upananda for the robe which the former is wearing, refuses saying

1. Sam. IV. p. 239
2. Vin. I. p. 43
that, being a **Kulaputta**, people will enquire about his
wearing only one robe (instead of the usual two).\(^1\) In
another instance, **Kulaputtas** are described as going from
the household to a state of houselessness (**agārasma anāgāriyam**).\(^2\)
Since the Bhikkhus think about Brāhmaṇa Ambāṭṭha that he is
of distinguished family and a pupil of the brāhmaṇa Pokkharasāṭi,
the Buddha will not find it difficult to hold conversation
with sēna kulaputta.\(^3\)

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**.\(^4\) On another
occasion the Buddha refers to his monks as **kulaputtas**.\(^5\) In
yet another instance the Buddha's attendant, the monk Meghiya,
refers to himself as **kulaputta**, thus acknowledging the head-
ship of the Buddha.\(^6\)

The term **Kulapati** definitely refers to the head of

\(^{1}\) *Vin. III.* p.211  
\(^{2}\) *Aṅg. II.* p.123  
\(^{3}\) *Dīg. 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.  

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 natisamgha).  

The relationship between the junior members of a family and the head are described in the following instances. 

In the first a good man (sapuriso), is described as among other things, one who defers to the elder of the family (kula jetthe).  

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 pacchekādhīpaccī,am), coming as he does in the sequence after the consecrated king (khattiya sāvāvasatha), the head of a country (ratthikassa patunikassa), the chief of an army (senāya senāpatikassa), the chief of a guild (puga gāmanikassa) and the head of a village (gāma gāmanikassa).  

Here, however, the kula refers perhaps not so much to an individual extended

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 Vînaya Suttavibhaṅga that a village (gāma), a residence (nivesaṇa), a stable (uddhosiṭa), a verandah (atto), a watch tower (mālo), a cottage (hamāiya), a boat (nāva), an agricultural land (khetta), and a threshing floor (dhāṇṇakaraniya), may all belong to one family (eka kulassa), or to many separate families (nāṇa kulassa). In another instance, the Buddha says that families which have acquired great wealth do not retain it permanently due to four actions.

A term denoting a group larger than the family and perhaps including the family is kulaparivattana. 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 (itam nāmo Mallo) and as accompanied by sons (saputto), wives (sabhāriyo), with servants and slaves (saporiso), which indicates household staff including dāsas

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1. Vin. III. p.200
2. Ang. II. p.249; kulāni bhogasu mahantāni pattāni na ciraṭṭha kāni bhavanti.
and kammakaras), and acquaintances (samacco). 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. Kulaparivatta, 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 ātikulāni denotes families other than one's own but belonging to the same 'caste' or extended kin-group (natal). 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" (ātikulāni), 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 manuesa (for the people) is highly general and significantly fails to

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 (natikulani). In a third instance, the brahmaṇa Mahāgovinda, who actually accepts the life of a Samaṇa, makes a similar suggestion to his forty wives before leaving the household. In a fourth instance, a nun, a pupil of Bhaddakāpilini, having quarrelled with other nuns, comes to the village of her caste families (gamakam natikulam agamasi). In a fifth instance a brahmaṇa invites monks for a meal. The monks eat at the brahmaṇa's house to their satisfaction and yet go to their "caste-families" (natikulani) with alms bowls, where some of them eat and some receive alms. Only when the annoyed brahmaṇa talks to his neighbours (pativissaka) does the matter reach the Buddha, who makes such conduct an offence involving expiation. 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

1. Ang. 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.

Nāti-sālohitā:

The only kinship term to be found in the texts which refers etymologically to the blood tie is Nāti-sālohitā. Obviously it denotes the agnates. It occurs on most occasions in conjunction with and immediately after the term for friends and acquaintances (mittāmacca) 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 brahmaṇa Dhanaṇjāni, we find that one should oblige the agnates.¹ 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.² 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 Sāṃ. V. p.365
the Buddha and his monks to a meal.\(^1\) Vāseṭṭha, a lay disciple wishes that his agnates may also keep a fast along with him so that they, too, may obtain merit.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\)

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 Bhallika asks them to carry food to the Buddha and thus acquire merit.\(^4\) 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.\(^5\) In the case of a leper it is his agnates who procure the service of a surgeon, to cure him of the disease.\(^6\) Similarly when the gahapati Citta

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1. Majj. II. p.397 (Nālandā Edition)
2. Ang. IV. p.259
3. Dīg. II. p.345
4. Vin. I. p.4; ātītisālochitā devatā.
5. Dīg. II. pp.26-27
6. Maj. I.p.510
is ill, his agnates, among others, gather round him. In his quarrel with the monk Dabbha Mallaputta, Vaddha Licchavi is assured by his agnates that they will intervene to reconcile him. 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.

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 Brahmadatta 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 of those who were on the funeral pyre. In yet another instance we find that a brahmāna, explaining to the Buddha, maintains

1. Sāṃ. IV. pp. 302-303
2. Vin. II. p. 126
3. Sāṃ. IV. p. 190
4. Vin. I. p. 345
that the purpose of the sādha (śraddha, skt.) is that the gifts (dana) made therein should reach the agnatic ancestors (nātisālohita nātanām petānaṃ). ¹

The Nātakas:

If nātisālohita refers to the patrilineal side, the term nātaka recognises the bilineality of the kinship group. On several occasions in the text, a nātaka is defined as one who is related "on the mother's side or on the father's side, back through seven generations". ² That the affines are not included under nātaka is apparent from two separate instances. In the first one, a woman who goes to the family of her husband (patikulam) is described as "becoming without the nātakas" (nātakhehi vina hoti). ³ In the second one the monk Udayi on being questioned by the Buddha whether a particular woman is his nātaka or not, denies that she is one although she is his wife. ⁴ From these two instances as well as the definition, it becomes clear that even a wife remains outside the bilineal kinship group (of

¹. Áṅg. V. p.269
³. Saṃ. IV. p.239
⁴. Vin. III. p.207
her husband).

The ṇātaka 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 ṇātakas and that a man whose limbs were severed lives surrounded by his ṇātakas. Similarly when a monk falls ill, his ṇātakas send a message offering to nurse him during his illness; more significantly, the Vinaya rule permits a monk to go to his ṇātaka’s home in such a case. That the saṅgha should recognise the ṇātaka 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 ṇātakas if he is sent for. A monk can accept as much curry from a ṇātaka as he wants, but from others he must take half in solid food and only half in curry. Similarly, from the incident between the monk Upananda and the setṭhi’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

1. Ang. 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 nätaka would mean an offence involving forfeiture (nissargiya). On the positive side, when the monk Sudinna goes to Vesāli, his nätakas give him sixty offerings of food, a costly but willing recognition of the relationship. In the instance involving Udayin and his wife (who is a nun), the Buddha observes:

"One (a woman) who is not a nätaka 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 nätaka, there is an offence involving forfeiture." Ordinarily, a monk may not get a robe washed or dyed by a nun, ask for a specific cloth from householders, or a robe for which he makes specifications, or ask for dyeing, combing and washing of wool by a nun or accept robes.

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
fro a nun,\(^1\) or give robe material to her\(^2\) or sew or cause to be sewn a robe for a nun.\(^3\) But in all such instances these acts are permitted if they occur between the ātaka. On the other hand the Buddha disapproves of a nun who met in private her ātaka puriso who came from a distant village. The Buddha rules that a third person must be present at such meetings.\(^4\)

The above references to the ātaka group are concerned solely with extending or limiting recognition to it in so far as the Samgha was concerned. The group as such is recognised by the monks as well as the samgha, 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 samgha were not directly involved, putta-dāra were included under the term ātaka or not.

That ātisālohitā is a group covered under the bilineal ātaka is clear from the following instance. It is said that the man who loses his 'caste' (sati) feels,

\[^{1}\text{Vin. III. 209}\]
\[^{2}\text{Ibid., IV. p.60;}\]
\[^{3}\text{Ibid., IV. p.61}\]
\[^{4}\text{Vin. IV. p.268 f.}\]
Formerly I had many friends and acquaintances and agnates (nāṭisālchita) .... now these nātaka have diminished (nātaka parikkhayam pacchati). So it is not easy for me to acquire more wealth or to use what is already with me.¹

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

¹ Majj. II pp.67-68.
Kulupakō hoti referring to the dependence of monks on certain families for alms and other purposes.¹

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 nātaka 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 Savatthi, and his sister's husband, when the former goes to Rājagaha.² The second one

1. See above p. 243
2. Vin. II. p.154 ff.
is when an ex-courtisan goes to plead on behalf of her daughter, married at a long distance, with the latter's husband's parents. Another set of relatives are the mother's brother (matula) and his wife (matulāni). 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.

Inter-group organisation:

We have already shown in some detail the membership of the kula and how it represents an extended family unit. 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

1. Vin. III. p.138
2. See above p. 269
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 Makkarakaṭa village. Another instance is that of a horse-trainer who destroys an untrainable horse lest his teacher's family (śācariyakula) should lose status (avaṇṇo ahositi, literally means become without vaṇṇa). A third instance is when the junior member of an ancient family (porānakulaputto) is described as having lost status (khīna koliñṇam: 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 (kulavamāro ciraṁ 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 mahantaṁ pattaṁ na ciraṭṭhakāṁ bhavanti). We need hardly point out that in all these

1. Saṁ. IV. p.121
2. Ang. II. p.112
3. Vin.I.p.86
4. Ang. 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' (kulānāma, cattāri kulāni). 1 In another instance those who are born in high kula (uccakala paccājāto), 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 cājāto) are the caṇḍāla, nesāda, Vēpa, rathakāra, and pukkusaka, who are in darkness (tamo hoti) but likely to go into darkness or brightness. 2 In the third instance the Buddha refers to the khattiyakula, brāhmaṇakula, and rājaññakula and contrasts them with caṇḍālakula, nesādakula, veṇakula, rathakārakula, and pukkusaka kula. 3 Ekusāri, the

1. Vin. III. pp.184; IV. 80, 177, 272.
2. Ang. II. p.85
3. Majj. II. p.183
brahmana 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.¹

The brahmanakula seems to be of special importance. Thus, the Buddha in his conversation with the brahmana Vāsetṭha refers to the latter as being born of a brahmana (brahmana jaccā) belonging to a brahmana (brahmana kulina) going from a brahmana kula house to houselessness² (brahmaṇa-kulam agaram anagāriyam pabbajito).

On another occasion a group of nuns passing through a village in Kosala Janapada is described as approaching a brahmanakula, i.e. the house of a brahmana.³ In another instance the Buddha refers to brahmanakula whilst enquiring about the 'paccārohāṇa' ceremony of the brahmana.⁴ When others come to know of the low ancestry of the brahmana Ambaṭṭha they call him ill-born (dujato), not a junior member of the kula (akulaputto) but the son of a slave mother (dāsiputto).⁵ The brahmana Pokkharasādi addresses the

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¹ Majj.II.pp.177-78
² Dig.III.p.87
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 (Sakkakula pabbajito). Elsewhere the Buddha is referred to similarly.

All these instances go to show that Kula affiliation was more important to the brahmana 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, brahmana, vessa, sudda, gahapati, rājañña, candāla, 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

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 māhā bhogā). 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 (ulārabhoga kula). On another occasion the kulas of high status (uccākulāni) are resolved into prosperous (mahāsāla) khattiya kula, brāhmaṇa kula, and gahapati kula. 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 caranañca ca

The famous saying, "not by birth one becomes a brāhmana 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 (nicākulīno 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. 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 Sonadanda describes his sister's son, Āngaka as well born (sujāto). We have already seen how the brāhmaṇa Ambattha is found to be of low status (dujāto). That the origin is recognised from both the

1. Sam. 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 brahma or the Buddha is described as born well from both the sides, mother's as well as father's (ubhato sujato mätito ca pitito). This leads us to the general issue of status ascribed on account of the birth in a particular social group.

\textbf{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, brähmaṇa, vessa and sudda groups. The Vinaya elsewhere states that there are two jātis: the low jāti (hina jāti) and the excellent jāti (khatta jāti). The low jāti are, caṇḍāla jāti, basketmaker jāti (vana jāti), hunter jāti (nesāda jāti), charioteer jāti (rathkara jāti) and sweeper jāti (pukkusa jāti). The excellent jāti are the khattiya and the brähmaṇa. On another occasion also there are said to be two jāti, the high (ucca) and low (nica), and they are resolved into the khattiya-brähmaṇa and vessa, sudda, caṇḍāla and pukkusa jāti respectively. The third grouping based on jāti is attributed

1. Dīg. I. pp.113,131
2. Vin. III. p.169
3. Ibid., IV. p.6
by the Buddha to his contemporary Pūraṇa Kassapa. According to Pūraṇa Kassapa there are six jātis. The first one is the black jāti (kanhābhījātī) and consists of mutton butchers (orabhīka), pork butchers (sūkarikā), fowlers (sākunikā), hunters (māgavikā), violent men (luddhā), fishermen (macchghātakā), robbers (corā), robber-killers (coraghātakā), jailers (bandhanāgārīkā) and all who follow a bloody trade (kurūrakammantā). The blue Jāti (nīlābhijātī) consists of bhikkhus who live as though with a thorn in the sie (kandakavuttikā) and all other who profess the deed and doing theory (kammavādākiriyāvāda). The red jāti (lohitābhijātī) include the jains with one cloth (niganṭṭhākēkasātakā). The yellow jāti (haliddābhijātī) consists of white robbed householders (gīhī odatavanā) and followers of naked ascetics (acelakasāvaka). Ājīvakas and their followers are the white jāti (sukkābhijātī). The purest white jāti consists of the Ājīvaka leaders, Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sāṅkicca and Makkhali Gosāla.1 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.

1. Ang. 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, gottā, 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." 1

On another occasion the text states that a king would enlist as bowmen the khattiya-kumāra, brāhmaṇakumāra, vṛṣakumāra, and suddakumāra, irrespective of their birth (jāti). 2

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 interaction. Pūrṇa 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. Dig. 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 rājaṇa are the lowest). We may also point out that jāti was sometimes used as an identification in conjunction with other criteria such as name, gottta and manta (vedic learning) in the case of a brāhmaṇa. The Buddha on one occasion has been identified with the Sakka jāti by the brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha. Suṇḍarika brāhmaṇa asks the jāti of the Buddha not recognising him at first. The Buddha answers that he is of Sakka jāti. That both sides the mother's and father's are important, is illustrated from Sopadaṇḍa brāhmaṇa's claim that his sister's son is born well on both sides, and Ambaṭṭha's stigmatisation as dāsi putta. The Buddha as well as the well known brāhmaṇas such as

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
Sopadaṇḍa,Pokkharasādi,Kuṭṭadanta, Canki are described among other things as 'born well on both sides' and recognised according to the theory of jāti (anupakāthe jātivādena) literally meaning not ignored by the theory of jāti.¹

Gotta:

Gotta has been used mainly as a diacritical mark (i.e. for the purpose of identification). Thus a brāhmaṇa woman is described as belonging to Veracchāṇi.² Angulimāla, the robber who turned a monk, claims that he is of Gaggeya gotta by his father and of Mantāpī gotta by his mother.³ A man who sees a beautiful country woman (janapada kalyāṇī) should enquire of her gotta among other matters.⁴ A man shot by a poisoned arrow insists on knowing the identity of the bowman and enquires of his gotta among other things.⁵ As we have already seen, a man remembering his previous births comes to know of his earlier gotta.⁶ Ambatṭha who

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¹. Diq. I. pp. 113, 130; Majj. II. p. 165 respectively.
². Sāṃ. IV. p. 122
³. Majj. II. p. 102
⁴. Diq. I. p. 193
⁵. Majj. I. p. 429
⁶. Diq. III. p. 111; Ang. I. p. 164
is thought to be of Kānḍāyana gotta is found to be dāsiputta of the Sakkas, when he follows the name and gotta of his ancestors (mātāpetikaṃ nāmagottam anusarato).\(^1\) Other gottas mentioned specifically are Bhāradvāja,\(^2\) Kassapa,\(^3\) Akasa.\(^4\) The Buddha acknowledges himself to be of Gotama gotta.\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) Buddha addresses his father Suddhodana as Gotama.\(^7\) 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."\(^8\) On another occasion it is said,

"As rivers lose their name and gotta when reaching the ocean, so the four vāṇapas, lose their name and gotta when they

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1. Dig.I.p.92.
2. Saṃ. I. p.170
3. Āṅg. 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 samanā sakyaṇuṭṭyās. 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.

However, gotta is also used to indicate status. Thus, the Vinaya states, "There are two gottas, the low (hīna) and the excellent one (ukkattā). Kosiy gotta and Bhāradvāja gotta, are low in this janapadā. Gotama, Moggallāna, Kaccāna, Vāṣeṭṭha are high." The implications of the gotta and its brāhmaṇic influence has been discussed elsewhere.

The Vinaya definition follows immediately after the definition of jāti 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 janapadā" (presumably meaning maṇdhima janapadā).

We may safely conclude that though gotta, through indication of lineage affiliation does carry status and prestige with it,

1. Ang. IV. pp.198 f.
2. Ang. 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 Angulimāla. But he is not only a robber but also a brāhmaṇa. Moreover, there is something of the prodigal son returning home in him. 1

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. 2 The monk who remembers his previous births also remembers his vanna. 3 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 (mānguro) complexion(vanna). 4 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. 5 In a guest house (āgantu-kagāre) the people, namely Khattiya, brāhmaṇa, Vessa and

1. Majj. II. pp.97, 100; cf. D.P.P.N., sv.
2. Majj. II. p.65
3. Dīg. I. p.82
5. Majj. II. p.429
Sudda, come from four directions and take up their residence there.¹

The term vanṣa has also been used to indicate the four-fold division of the society. It is often stated that there are four vanṣas and they are khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda.² In conversation with the Buddha, Śaṅka Pasenadi asks, "I am asking about a future state. There are four vanṣas, 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 vanṣas." 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?"³ The Buddha explains to the King Pasenadi that there are four vanṣas, khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa and sudda. Among these the khattiya and the

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. 1
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 vāṇṇa 
(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 Sāvatthi hear of the Buddha that 'Gotama teaches 
the purity of four-fold vāṇṇa (gotama cātuṇvāṇṇīm suddhinā 
pañāpeti)' and these brāhmaṇas come to verify this statement. 2
On another occasion the Buddha in describing his dreams says 
that four birds of different vāṇṇa come from four directions 
and sit at his feet; likewise the monks from four vāṇṇas, 
khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa, sudda, come within his fold. 3
When a man joins the Buddhist order, he becomes without a 
vāṇṇa (vevappiyamhi). 4 A khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa and sudda, 
if he exerts himself may attain the supreme purity. 5

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1. Majj. II. p.128
2. Ibid., 147
3. Ang. III. p.242
4. Ibid., IV. 210
5. Saññ. I. p.166
There are instances where the term vaṃpa 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).\(^1\)

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).\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) Queen Mallika says to the Buddha that in the rājas family (rājakula) there are khattiya, brāhmaṇa and gahapati maidens (kañña) and over them she holds supremacy (issarādhipaccam karem).\(^4\) 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. Aṅg. IV.239
2. Saṃ. III. p.8
3. Saṃ. I. p.74
4. Aṅg. 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 (kammantopayaṇa, enterprise). 1 Whereas there are four vāṇṇas there are eight assemblies (parisa). They are khattiya parisa, brahmaṇa, gahapati, samaṇa, cātumahārāja (four divine kings); tāvatimā gods (thirty three gods), mārā, and the assembly of the Brahmā gods. 2

From the above instances and those throughout the chapter, it is apparent that the four-fold division of society into khattiya, brahmaṇa, vassa, sudda group is sometimes replaced by a three-fold one consisting of khattiya, brahmaṇa and gahapati.

Nāti:

We argue that nāti 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
by birth (jātiyasaṅkīya), because they are the same nāti as
Buddha.¹ 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 Rāmagama, the Mallas of Pāvā, the Bullis of Allakappa
and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, 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 Veṭṭhadīpā 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 nāti (amhakām nātiseṭṭho).² The
monk Sudinna during the famine goes from Vajjian territory
to Vesāli so that he may get alms-food from his nāti, and by
giving food his nāti may achieve merit. Raja Malla says to
Ānanda, "I am not impressed by the Buddha, Dhamma or saṅgha,
but a rule was made among the nāti (nātiṁ saṅgaro kato)
that whoever does not go to meet the Buddha will be fined
five hundred (coins). It is due to fear of punishment from

¹ Vin. I. p.71; bhikkheva imāham, nātinaṁ āvepyaṁ
parihāraṁ dammi'ti.
² Dig. II. p.165
natis (natinam dandanbhayaya) that I go. Among the four kinds of losses which cause renunciation, loss of nati (nati parijunnam) is one. The loss of nati is further explained as reduction in the natakas (natakā anupubbena parikkhayanam gacchanti). A man of low character lies when he is asked to go as a witness before a meeting (sabhagato), an assembly (parisagato), nati (nati majjagato), a royal family (rajakulamajjagato). The brāhmaṇa Soṇadanda refers to the Buddha as 'The samaṇa Gotama who has left his home after giving up a great nati group (mahantam natisamgham ohāya pabbajito). The gahapati, gahapatiputta or others leave home after giving up a small or great circle of natis (appam va nati parivattam pahāya, mahantam va nati parivattam pahāya pabbajito hoti). A woman (ittī) is protected by nati, among others. Here the text explains that it is the natakas who protect her. The Buddha, if he becomes a householder he will be a king who will have abundant wealth.

1. Vin. I. p. 247
2. Majj. II. p. 68
3. Majj. II. pp. 47-48; Ang. V. p. 264
4. Dīg. I. p. 115
5. Dīg. I. p. 62
6. Majj. III. p. 46; Vin. III. p. 139
and corn, land and property fourfotted animals, strong and able nātīs. The there are five losses (vyasañāni) among which the loss of nāti and of wealth are given precedence over the others.

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). A man with faith (ariyasāvaka) who obtains riches through work and diligence must give five shares (balis). These are shares to nāti (nātibaliṣ), to a guest (atithi balim), to ancestors (pubbapetabaliṣ) to the king (rājabaliṣ) and to the gods (deva balim). Among the various topics prohibited to a monk is the gossip about nāti (nāti-kathā). The man whose limbs have been cut off is surrounded by his nātaka in the house belonging to the nāti (nātighare... nātakehi samparikinnho hoti). When the monk Sudinna goes to his own village, his nātidāsi sees him and reports the matter to his mother.

1. Dig. III. p.165
2. Ang. III. p.147
3. Saṅ. 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 nāṭi is sometimes used in conjunction with kula (family) as can be seen from the following instances.

The gahapati Urga of Vesāli permits his wives to go to their nāṭi-kula if they so desire.¹ Likewise, the brāhmaṇa Mahāgovinda permits his forty wives to go to nāṭikula and seek another husband (nāṭikulāṇi gacchanta, añām bhāttāram pariyesat).² When a monk of Rajagaha arrives after a long time to his nāṭikula, people say, "At last the reverend has come, keep the meal ready."³ The monks re-invited by the brāhmaṇa go to their nāṭikula even after they are satisfied by him, some of them with alms bowl to beg food.⁴ A nun, a pupil of Bhadda Kāpilāṇi who quarrels with nuns, goes to her nāṭi kula in a village (gāmakaṃ nāṭikulaṃ āgamasī).⁵

At this stage, it would be useful to point out the significance of various usages of the term nāṭi mentioned above and at the same time compare nāṭi with the modern concept of caste. Thus we can see from the above usages that when the term nāṭi has been used by itself, it denotes like the modern caste a social group. At other times it is coupled

¹. Aṅg. IV, p.210
². Dīg. II, p.249
³. Vin. IV, p.227
⁴. Vin. IV, p.81
⁵. Vin. IV, pp.227-228
with the terms such as samgha or parivatta (circle) which themselves indicate grouping. It is significant that Sakkajāti (those born of Sakka) are the same nāti 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 suddha or high and low, low and excellent, jāti, vanna or gottā) specifically recognises it in rules of recruitment in the samgha. The Buddha is acknowledged by the Sakkas of Kapilavatthu as their nātisethto, whereas the other extended kin-groups (ruling) claimed identification with Buddha on the grounds of their common khattiya origin. This shows that nāti is a smaller group than the jāti or vanna groups which are normally mentioned as khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vassa, suddha, or as khattiya brāhmaṇa and gahapati. It is also significant to note that the term nāti is not used to indicate status. There is no arrangement of nāti 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 nāti may take evidence, make rules and impose punishment in the form of a fine. A man must offer a share to the nāti when he obtains wealth. The
loss of nāti is serious and may lead to renunciation. A woman may rely on her nāti and consider it a power. A nun may go to nāti 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 nāti families. And the people welcome a monk of their nāti with food. The monks have to be prohibited from gossip about nāti. (nātikathā).

There is no direct reference as to the composition of the nāti 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 nāti-kula, nāti 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, nāti is resolved into nātaka, to bilineage. Buddhaghosa defines nāti 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 nāti is a kinship group, equated with nātaka.

1. Âṅg. V. pp. 128-129
2. Sārathā-panasini. 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 ānāti group was larger than ānātaka 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 ānātaka 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 ānātaka are the ānāti. Thus Buddhaghosa's explanation is correct in so far as he sought to indicate a larger group than the ānātaka, wrong in so far as he limited ānāti to specific affines.

The equation of the Buddha's ānāti to Sakka in fact suggests, that although ānāti was a kinship group, it was larger than the sum total of actual kinship generally recognised under terms such as ānātaka, ānātisālohatta, 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, ātisāloha, ātaka, yāppa, 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, ātisāloha, ātaka and nāti are the larger kinship groups we have been able to
discover. All these groups are real. In contrast vāna 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 vāna. The most we can claim about the reality of jāti and vāna 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 kulajettha. 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 Ṛṣṭaka 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 household in non-kinship and economic affairs.

2. Caste:

We have mentioned that नाति 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 नाताक or नातिसालिस, both of which have been defined in the text directly or otherwise. Much as we may try we cannot arrive at any specific definition
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 dāśi there is a definite stigma attached to it.
3. Social stratification:

A number of systems of stratification have been used, of which the 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 the 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, ritually each one aspiring for a 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 vessa and sudda form the lower category which do not participate in the khattiya-brāhmaṇa struggle for superior social status.
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, Ambapálaka (keeper of a mango orchard) and Jambupálaka
(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 (vāpijjja) 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. 1 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. 2 In another place sippas are divided into high and low. The high sippas are specified as counting coins (muḍḍā), accounting (ganaṇa) 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). 3 Also Jīvaka in desiring to learn a sippa chooses medicine. 4 In yet another context a low caste acrobat, while talking to his assistant (antevāsi), calls their activity a sippa. 5 With reference to this, farming and cattle rearing (kasi-gorakkha) and trading (vaniţja) are referred to as vocations (kammam). 6

In yet another place sippa is differentiated from farming (kasi), trading (vaniţja), cattle-rearing (gorakkha), bowmanship (issitthena), the king's service (rajaţaporisena).

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). 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 kasāvāto), 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. He also dyes cloth, and

1. Aṅg. III. p. 225
2. Sam. III. p. 131
perhaps paints on it as well. The cittakāra also paints but does so on well polished panels, walls and cloth.

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.

He acts as a messenger for a brāhmaṇa. 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. His occupation is listed as a low sippa and he is abused by angry nuns as lowborn (nihīna-jaccco) and the remover of dirt (malamajjhano). 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.

1. Sam. II. pp. 101-102
2. Ibid.
3. Vin. I. p. 249
4. Dīg. 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.\textsuperscript{1} 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 Dighiti, who was at one time his master, to the king of Kasi, where he stays.\textsuperscript{2} On another occasion, he receives the gift of a village (gāma varam) from the legendary king Makkhādeva for being his personal attendant.\textsuperscript{3}

The occupation of a pesakāra is also described as low sippa.\textsuperscript{4} He is described as tantavāya and from the description of his activities he is a weaver.\textsuperscript{5} In another place a tunnavāya 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.\textsuperscript{6} The cook (sūda) is seen in the king's service and receives payment (vetana), clothing (acchādana) and gratuity (abhihāra) for good service.\textsuperscript{7}

The last service occupation in our list is that of the nahāpaka or the bath attendant. We do not know much about

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Dig. I. p. 225
\item[2.] Vin. I. p. 344
\item[3.] Majj. II. pp. 75-76
\item[4.] Vin. IV. p. 7
\item[5.] Vin. III. p. 259
\item[6.] Vin. II. p. 159
\item[7.] Sam. V. p. 149
\end{itemize}
him except the detailed description of his craft. 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 (sucīkāra), 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 albeit a low one. Unlike the other artisans in the group, the nalakāras have the distinction of living in their own settlement (nalakāra gāma). The story

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 Gījakūṭa peak near Rajagaha, accidentally falls on a nalakāra and kills him. 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. The King Ajatasattu identifies the potter's activities as a sippa. His occupation is a low sippa. 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 reduce him to a position where his family and occupation

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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 Ghaṭikāra, the Kumbhakāra's meagre alms. The same Kumbhakāra addresses a brahmana 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 covert Jotipāla in Buddha's faith. We believe, however, that such familiarity and flouting of brahmanā 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

1. Vin. III. pp. 41-42
2. Majj. II. pp. 48, 53
bearer of the gota Bhaggava which is derived from the name of one of the ten risis mentioned in the text serially.\(^1\) In the text Bhagu from which the Bhaggava gota is derived is at the lower end of the series. But in the Vedic period he is associated with the Aṅgirases.\(^2\) In one place the Buddha is compared to an Aṅgirasa.\(^3\) On another occasion the Buddha goes to stay in the kumbhakara’s home. On this occasion the potter is referred to as Bhaggava kumbhakara and is so addressed.\(^4\) King Dighiti of Kāsi, when in hiding, seeks refuge in a Kumbhakara’s house only to be betrayed by a barber.\(^5\) The monk Dhaniya, who was formerly a kumbhakara,\(^6\) 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

1. Diśg. I. p. 104
2. See MacDonell and Keith, Vedic Index, S. V.
3. Aṅg. III. pp. 239-240
5. Vin. I. p. 344
6. Vin. III. pp. 414-42
is found misinterpreting the king's proclamation and
goes unpunished only because he is a monk.

Of the vechile-maker (yanakara) we know very
little except that he is shown as repairing a felloe of
the wheel. Instead of an antevasi, which we find in
other crafts, in this context, it is a yanakara putta,
who does the work.

The fourth artisan is the needle-maker (sucikara) who
is differentiated from the needle-vendor (sucivanijja).
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.

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. 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. Cunda's opulence was not unnatural since his craft involved dealing in gold, the most prized metal at that time. In another place a bronze vessel (kamsapāti) is sold in a smith's shop. 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). 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.

The ivory-worker (dantakāra) is another craftsman who suffers because the monks take away too many needle cases from him. Like the carpenter, he, too, has an assistant.

The garland-maker's (malākāra) craft is described by the king as a sippa. Whether he is an artisan in our

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
sense is doubtful since the work of the flower-cutter (pupphachandaka) is described as low (hina kamma). Of the last artisan manufacturer, the silk-worker (kosiyakāra), only the technique of worm rearing and silk making is indicated. 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, bhīsakka) 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 Silāvatī and his paternity is unknown. The monk Upāli, formerly a barber, who later became an expert in Vinaya, and the doctor Jīvaka are two important persons in the

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, Dabbha Mallaputta, after seven years of training in the Buddha's doctrine (as a monk)

1. Vin.IV.p.308
2. Ang.I.p.26
4. Ang.III.p.451
5. Vin.I.p.72
6. Vin.I.p.273
7. Vin.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. In contrast to this the pupil of mun Uppalananda, spends seven years in mastering the Dharma, but she could not remember it.

The only other doctor mentioned by name in the text apart from Jivaka is Akaśgotta Vajra, 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 bhī. The actual task of an ordinary bhīsakka or sallakā ṇa or doctor of medicine or surgery, is described as that of removing poisoned arrows from the body.

Money changing and counting, accounting in general, and writing are identified positively as the only high sīkkas in the text. 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
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 (lekhanā), accounting (gacana) 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 proyldes all the essential physical comforts, or at least a guaranteed livelihood without manual work. 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 (nāta), dancer (nātaka), acrobat (laughika), 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 (samāja) but

1. Vin. I. p. 77
2. Cf. Vin. II. p. 107, 150 j IV. p. 267; see also Dig. I. p. 6
also at other times and places as well. 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 nata's 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. A low caste entertainer and his assistant (antevasti), apparently acrobats of a different type, seem to be poorer and socially more inferior. The term literally means born of the candala 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 tules which differentiate social status in inter-personal behaviour seldom apply. It is perhaps for this reason that we find that the candala-vamsika and his assistant address each other as Samma, a term

1. E.g. The big cities are known for their varied interests in dancing, singing and instrumental musical performances, see Dig. II p. 147
2. Samk. V. p. 369
3. Samk. V. p. 168
denoting familiarity which is used by two people of the equality of status. 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. 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. Ambapāli, the famous courtesan of Vesāli, is the pride of the city, so much so that the local council (nagama) Rājagaha find Silāvati in order not to fall behind in the reputation which the courtesan brings to a city. 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. Yet she does not have an untarnished social status, for Licchavis in their verbal conflict with her over the

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1. Suddhima, a son of a Sethī and Ratthapāla, a son of a gahapati, are addressed by their friends as samma, see Vin. III. 13-14, Maj. I. 59
2. Addhakāsi, a courtesan wishes to become a nun and could not be so because others prevented her and held the Sangha, D.P.P. N. S.V.
3. Vin. III. p. 136
4. Vin. I. p. 268-269
5. Dīg. 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. Moreover, however high it may be, she also has a price for her body; fifty coins for a night. Silavati, 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. Hence she abandons her child.

In a society where Visakhā 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.

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."

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 obdious and

1. For instance see Vin. III p.15
2. Vin. 1: pp. 268-269
3. See Vin. III p.138
4. Vin. III p.237
despicable practices. 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. Elsewhere they are referred in greater detail by the king Ajātasattu, who described their occupation as Sippa. They are the elephant riders (hatṭhāroha), the cavalier (āssāroha), the charioteer (rathika as distinct from rathakara), archers (dhanugaha), standard bearers (celakā), billeting officers (calakā), supply corps (pīṇḍādayaka), fierce warriors (ugga), princes (rājaputta), veteran warriors (pakkhandino), warriors brave as nagas (mahanāgā), the heroes (surā), warriors in buckskin (cammayodhino), and body disposers (kāranika). It also consisted of the chief of the army (senāpati) and the fourfold army (caturang sena). That this extensive specialisation
in warcraft 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 rājaporisā. This consisted among others the king or the consecrated khattiya (khattiya muddhāvasath), the different ministers (mahāmacca), the territorial governors (ratthikas), the estate holder managers (pēttanikas), the royal chamberlain (thāpati), elephant trainer-rider (hattireha), cavaliers (assāroha), the horse trainers (assadakākka, assadakākka sārathi), the policemen (rāja bhaṭa), the gaoler (bandhanāgārika), the village head man (gāma gāmani, gāmani), the village overseer (gāmika), spies (cara), and the messengers (dutā), 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 (pessa) and workers (kammakāra). 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 (mahāmaccas) 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 (vohāramahāmaccā); the treasurer (ganaka mahāmatta) and the minister of all affairs (sabba-karmika mahāmaccā) are mentioned. They possess delegated authority and power, which are as strong as those of the king.

Kammikas, gānikas and rājabhāṭa 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

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1. Vin. IV. pp. 223-24
2. Vin. Ithe p. 223 p. 240
the way, seize the caravan and confiscate it. 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. 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. Amongst those who receive instructions is Sona, a son of a sāthi.

The roads between cities were not infrequent by highwaymen (cora). Even the monks who by their professions, follow a monastic creed, are deprived of their goods and sometimes their lives. The road between Sāketa and Sāvatthi is mentioned as being infested with highwaymen. Rājabhaṭas from Sāvatthi catch them, return the stolen goods to the owners and even lead the robbers to execution. The importance of Rājabhaṭas is recognized by the Buddhist Sangha and it makes

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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. Although rājabhātas safeguard the property of the people, they are rough in dealing with them and are described as evil men (dussile pāpadhamme). The profession of a rājabhāta does not seem to be low. We find a brāhmaṇa making his living as a rājabhāta (nibbitharājabhāta). 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 nun. This brāhmaṇa receives wages in cash from the king.

Trading and Commercial Activities:

Vanijja is a broader term for commercial or trading activities and is mentioned together with agriculture and cattle-keeping. 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

2. Sañj. IV. pp. 341–342; The bhūtas 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 (Koliyānaṁ lambacūlaka bhaṭe).
the next world. "It is as though a trader who has gone out trading (vāniṣjaṇa vāniṣjāya) should think, 'I will have this from there, I will get this from there'".¹ In another instance, the monk Sariputta sets before the Buddha the four probable outcomes for persons engaged in trade (vāniṣjaṇa payutta). For some persons either it turns out to be a failure (chedagācānī hoti), or does not turn out as intended (na yathādhippayā), or turns out as he intended (yathādhippayā) or there is prosperity beyond his expectation (parādhippayā 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.² 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.³

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 (ukkatthakamman). However, the Buddhist ethics do not permit an upasaka to undertake certain trades; namely, trade in weapons (satthavanijjā), trade in human beings (sattavanijjā), trade in flesh (mamsavanijjā), trade in intoxicants (majlavanijjā) and trade in poisons (visavanijjā). 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 brahmāṇa, a gahapati or even a member of an extended kingroup could follow this occupation. Thus in his advice to the brahmāṇa Vujjaya the Buddha expects kulāputtas to follow anyone of these vocations - that of trading, cattle-keeping and agriculture. Similar advice is given to Dīghajānu Kolijaputta, a member of the ruling extended kin-group.

A gahapati or a gahapatiputta also, as we shall see elsewhere, engages himself with trading or commercial activities.

3. Aṅg. IV. p.285; see also Aṅg. III. p.225 f., where brahmāṇas 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 sakūnam gahetyā). When the ship is out of sight of land they free the bird which flies all round the ship. And if the bird sighted 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 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. Although the term samudda generally refers to sea it may also mean a large river for instance the Ganges. In this connection we may note the geographical limits of mājjhimaṇṇapada do not include any sea ports of western or eastern India. We have virtually no reference to sea ports in our texts.

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 seṭṭhi. To cure King Pajjota of Avanti he goes to Ujjaini via Kosambi. 1

The gahapati Anāthapiṇḍaka goes to Rājagaha where he stays in his brother-in-law’s howst 2. He also has a kammanta gaṇa (business estate) in Kāśi. 3 The merchants from Ukkala, Tappussa and Bhallika, while they were on their way to Benares see the Buddha and give him food. 4 But the most travelled man of all, as it appears from the texts, was the Buddha himself. Sāvatthi and Rājagaha were his more or less head-quarters from where he used to go to a number of places which

2. Ibid., II. p.154 ff.
3. Ibid., IV p.161
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 - Bhanda-gāma - Hatthigāma - Ambagāma - Jambugāma - Bhoganagara - Pāvā - Kusināra.1

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.2 A caravan halting more than four months has been designated as a gāma.3 Also a caravan road is referred to in the Vinaya.4 A monk can spend his full rainy season with a caravan.5 Caravans had to pay taxes to King’s men and thus were a source of income to the King.6

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.
stream, where the Buddha was meditating. The Buddha was once journeying from Andhakovinda to Rājagaha. On the way he met Belatthā Kaccāna, who was going towards Andhakovinda with 500 waggons, all filled with jars of sugar. The point to note here is that Belatthā was going from Rājagaha (a city) to Andhakovinda (a town). He is presumably a sugar dealer, selling sugar to the countryside. Merchants from distant land came to sell their goods to Majjhima-janapada. Thus horse dealers from Uttarapathaka (Uttara Kuru) come to Varnāja with 500 horses. Within the broader region of Majjhima-janapada, certain economic products were known by the region in which they were manufactured. The product of Kāśi such as Kāśi cloth and Kāśi sandalwood. The bronze dishes of Kosala have been noted. The term (Kosālikā kaṇsapāti) also seems to be popular as it was used in a metaphor where it was compared with the shining eyes of a serpent king.

Small traders:

Under this heading we include shopkeepers who sell all sorts of merchandise including meat and wine. In the

1. Dīg. II. p.128.
4. Majj. II. p.87.
5. Sam. I. p.106.
Vinaya a group of nuns who practised the following trades are prohibited from so in future. They set up a tavern (pānāgrām ṭhapenti), a slaughter house (sūnām ṭhapenti), offered things for sale in a shop (āpanām pasārenti), engaged in usuary (vaddhim payojenti), engaged in trade (vanijjam payojenti) and dealt in greens and leaves (haritakapāṇyakam pakipanti).¹ 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 vanīja 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 vanijjam karessssanti) or will they set up an earthenware shop (āmattikepanam pasāressssanti)?² In this and previous passage vanīja is separated from setting up of a shop. However, the considerable accumulation of goods is the prerequisite for both. The probable explanation to this is that vanīja or trading refers to wholesale transactions in 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

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 (amhākaṇ ca kālena kālaṁ anuppadātum ti)." They make him offers of wealth (bhogeṣṭa nimeṇantati). 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 Vīnaya. An upāsaka, having for a kahāpama 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

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 transitional movement from barter economy to an established monetary economy in big cities like Savatthi 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 not seem to be high. The killing of animals is considered as a cruel occupation (kururakamanta). The Buddha says that a fisherman who sells his fish will remain poor here and hereafter. A butcher suffers in hell.

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

3. Ang. III. pp.301-303
wife. A clever and energetic man starts earning 1/2 kahāpanas a day in some business or other (yen kenaci kammatthāreṇa). Energetically such a man gradually makes 50 kahāpanas a day. And thereby daily earning 100 or 1,000 kahāpanas and hoarding what he had got he would soon be a rich man.2

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

2. Aṅg. V. p.83. The Buddha gives this example to Sākyana of Kapilavatthu.
Mun-ending. Even when our fathers and grandfathers passed away the operations were not stopped." Mahānāma was the member of the ruling extended kin-group (komati), and it is most likely that he would be 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 must therefore indicate a big land holding. We find Mallas of Kusināra referring to their ṛīma khettā (agricultural lands). Dīghaṇāu Kolliyaputta is told amongst others about this occupation of Ḫasi which a young man could follow. 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. A kassaka gahapati tends his bāli-rice farm with great care in order to reap a rich harvest. Mendaka/gahapati's slave when he ploughs with miraculously one ploughshare seven furrows come from it. 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" khettāmaṁ patiti kho khattiyo
2. Dīg. II. p.166.
lightning and consequently dies along with their four oxen.\(^1\)

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 sesame farm has gone bad, leaving only one or two stalk of sesameum. His barn is empty and he is deeply in debts.\(^2\) Kaśi (agriculture) is considered a high vocation.\(^3\) Whenever these three occupations - agriculture, trading and cattle-keeping - are mentioned, agriculture is always given precedence over the others.\(^4\) We have mentioned earlier that according to the Buddha agriculture requires elaborate preparations.\(^5\)

In the Vāsettha Sutta\(^6\) one who lives by cattle-keeping (gorakkham upajīvati) 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. Gopaka-moggalīna brāhmaṇa and Dhaniya are the two examples in point. Both of them make their living by keeping cattle.\(^7\) We have dealt with the existence of cattle camps and of cattle farming in the Chapter XI.\(^8\)

1. Dīg. II. p.131; dve kassāka bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā.
5. See above p. 319.
7. See above p.34.
8. See above pp. 33, 34.
Gahanati

Miss. I.B. Horner renders the Vinaya definition of gahanati as "he who lives in a house" (yo koci āgaram ajjāvasati). The term ajjāvasati however, has the distinct sense of ownership. Thus king Bimbisara rules over Kāsi-kosala (Kāsi-kosalam ajjāvasati). The brāhmaṇa Lohicca has ownership rights over Sālavatika (Sālavatikam ajjāvasati) and also he has many persons dependent on him for their livelihood. The brāhmaṇas Sonandanda and Cāñki are also owners of lands donated to them by the kings. A king is informed of a rich country which he could attack, conquer and rule over (aijīhāvaseyyāmāti).

In the light of the above meanings of the term ajjāvasati, which denotes ownership rights, it is most likely that the definition of gahanati 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 gahanati is thus applied to a household head. In this it corresponds to its meaning as found in Vedic texts. Also he

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
has to bear the full responsibility of the household. A gahapati according to the Anguttara has to preserve a sacred fire (gahapatiaggi). Also a gahapati has to hand over the responsibilityes 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 voharasamucchedam. 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. 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 brāhmaṇa, he who remains is called a gahapati." But this definition is also contradicted by the actual use of the term in the text. Thus we find the existence of brāhmaṇa

1. Ang. V. p. 45
3. Dig. I. p. 61
4. Vin. III. p. 222; B. O. D. II. p. 67
With respect to the kings, servants, and the khattiya (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 Nikayas, under the subsection of the gahapati (gahapati) vagga following are mentioned.


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 khattiya and king's servants. The general application of the 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 gahapatis. We have seen earlier in our chapter III, that the term gahapati is much used as a mode of addressing such people.

1. See above page 44, 111
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 álaka (measure) and one helping of curry and condiments, his wife served food to his household employees (dāsa-kamākara prisam). Not until she gets up is it exhausted. His son, using only one purse containing a thousand (coins), gives six months wages (chammāsikam vētanam) 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 dona (measure). Lastly when the slave of Mendaka gahapati ploughs with one ploughshare seven furrows come from it. Mendaka feeds the king's 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 Sangha.

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 Bhuddha and the samgha. 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. Anathapindika, 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. His brother-in-law, a setthi gahapati of Rajagaha, prepares a huge meal for the Buddha. Anathapindika on seeing this mistakes it for a meal prepared for a marriage ceremony, or a big sacrifice.

1. Vin.II.p.158
or for the king and his army. When Anathapindika intends to
give a meal to the Buddha, the king, as well as the urban
council of Rajagaha, show their willingness to help him in
doing so. To the physician Jivaka, a gahapati of Saketa
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.

In another instance a gahapati of Banaras has to give 16000
coins for curing his son, while another gahapati of
Rajagaha, for his brain operation, gives 100000 coins to the
king and 100000 to Jivaka. When a gahapati dies without
any heir to the property, king Pasenadi gets a very substantial
amount in gold and silver. 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.

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

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
The gahapati Dāsama of Atṭhaka-nagara gives Ananda many robes and a building for the monastry which was worth 500 coins. As a financier the gahapati lends money to promising shop-keeper. The brahmana Dhananjāni exploits gahapati and king by setting each against the other and thus makes his living. Other men are covetous of his wealth and with him harm, and he has to keep a strong bodyguard to defend himself. Also slaves and labourers are envious of his position.

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

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 (पापकम नाम जीवितम)". 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. 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

1. Vin.III.p.73
gold ornaments, his wealth and property. Because for him that is a weak bond that rots away.

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." 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 a rich man, a man of great means such as rāja or rāja's 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." "

However, people do not seem to like men who spend beyond their means and those who talk foolishly about

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3. Ibid.
riches. Thus a man borrows money, a smart carriage, rare jewels and earings and parade in the market. People may see him and say of him that he must be wealthy men for wealthy men employ their wealth like that. However, the owners of those borrowed things if they see him thus, they will expose him of his borrowed splendour. In another instance it is said, a man quite poor should prate of wealth (daliddānā nanāno addhavañca vadeyya) and one without possession should prate of possession (adhano ... dhanavañca vadeyya) and one without property should prate of property (abhogava ... bhogavañca vadeyya) and when an occasion to acquire wealth, possession and property arises he fails to do so.  

As it appears to us the society was aiming at an equipoise in the developing economy. That at least seems to be the idea the Buddha had in mind while giving advice to Dighaṅga-Kajjaputta, 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 outgoings will not exceed my income.' If a Kulaputta have but small earnings and if he should live on a grand scale, the people

2. Ang.V, p.43
will say of him. This kulaputta eats his wealth like a fig tree glutton (udumbarakhādiṃ). If his earnings be great and he lives meanly, people will say of him "This kulaputta will die like a starveling (ajadhumāriṃ)."

Just as one holding up the balance or his assistant, knows on holding up the balance that either by so much 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).

1. Ang. IV. pp. 281 f
Conclusions

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 brahmans and the khattiyas more specifically the Licchavis, Mallas, Sakyans etc. The brahmans 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 brahmans, 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 brahmans.

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 Ḗāṭī (Pali-Ṭāṭi)\(^1\) 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. Ṭāṭī in Pali is used sometimes as nominative singular and at other times as plural. We may compare the modern terms for sub-caste, such as āṭīya (Bengali), bhaibanda (Hindi), and ṭāṭi (Marathi), which are used in singular.
aspect to the functional one. This perhaps explains the puzzling terminology of our texts involving the use of nāti and gahapati with conditions very different from those of their Sanskrit equivalents in orthodox Hindu sources. We find alternative use of the word nāti 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 nāti and nātaka 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.
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Becomes an upāsaka

Becomes an arahat. See above item no. 22.

Becomes an upāsaka.

Becomes an upāsaka.

Becomes an upāsaka.

Does not become an upāsaka.

Brahmāyu Brāhmaṇa

Becomes an upāsaka.

Becomes an upāsaka.

Becomes an upāsaka.
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Kāpāṭika māṇava -

Becomes an upāsaka of Majj. II. pp. 197-208. 48.

Uttara māṇava - Uttara māṇava sees the Majj. II. pp. 141-42. 49.

32 marks of greatness on the body of the Buddha and reports it to the Brahmāyu brahmaṇa. But does not become an upāsaka.

Ambattha māṇava - He does not become an upāsaka of the Buddha. 106.

While taking leave of the Buddha, he says that 'he is busy and has much work to do'.


Dig.I. pp. 224-7. 43. 234.

Majj.II. pp. 147-48. 44. 157.

Majj.II. pp. 210-11. 45. 213.

Majj.II. pp. 168-69. 46. 177.

Majj.II. pp. 462-3. 47. 468. (Nālanda ed.)

Dig.I. pp. 236-237. 252.

S.U.N. pp. 87-91. 50.

Dig.I. pp. 89-90. 51.

Majj.I. pp. 356-59. 53. (Nālanda Ed.)

Saṅg.V. pp. 352-356. 54.

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<td>He does not become an upasaka, but invites the Buddha for a meal.</td>
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<td>They do not become upasakas.</td>
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<td>Acela Kassapa becomes a monk and an arahat by stages.</td>
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- -do- Saṃ. II. pp. 22-23. 69.
- -do- Aṅg. II. pp. 100-101. 70.
- -do- Saṃ. V. pp. 11-12. 71.
- -do- Aṅg. V. pp. 239-230. 73.
- -do- Aṅg. II. pp. 176-77. 75.
- He becomes an arahat. Dig. II. pp. 148-153. 76.
 Referred to as āyasama Subhadra.
- Does not become an upāsaka. Dig. III. pp. 1-2, 35. 77.
- -do- Majj. II. pp. 1-2, 22. 78.
 However, in the Majj. 39 ff. II. 39 ff. expresses his desire to join the Buddhist Saṅgha, only to be dissuaded by his fellow paribbajakas.
- He does not become an upāsaka. Aṅg. 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.
<table>
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<th>Bhagava</th>
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<td>83.</td>
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**The Buddha and monks:**

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<td>89.</td>
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<td>90.</td>
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<td>Upavāna</td>
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<td>92.</td>
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<td>Udayi</td>
<td>Udayi</td>
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<tr>
<td>93.</td>
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<td>Bhaddāli</td>
<td>Bhaddāli</td>
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<td>94.</td>
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<td>Susima</td>
<td>Susima</td>
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<td>95.</td>
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<td>Subhūti</td>
<td>Subhūti</td>
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<tr>
<td>96.</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>Uttiya</td>
<td>Uttiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But unlike the other parībbaṅgakas (see, items nos. 65(1), 66-7, 68(a)-72), who address the Buddha as bhagā Gotama while becoming the upāsakas, Polhaṁpadha addresses the Buddha as bhante Bhagavā.

**THE BUDDHA AND MONKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Buddha's son</td>
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<td>Majj. III. pp. 253-58; 84.</td>
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<tr>
<td>sister's son</td>
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<td>Saṅh. II. p. 282. 86.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(pitucchāputto)</td>
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<td>Saṅh. II. p. 281. 87.</td>
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<td>Buddha's mother's</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ang. V. p. 151. 88.</td>
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<tr>
<td>sister's son</td>
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<td>Ang. V. p. 154. 90.</td>
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<td>(matucchāputto)</td>
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<td>Ang. V. p. 70. 90.</td>
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<td>Saṅh. II. p. 41. 91.</td>
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<td>Saṅh. V. pp. 89-90. 92.</td>
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<td>Saṅh. II. pp. 127-28. 94.</td>
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<td>Ang. V. p. 337. 95.</td>
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<td>Saṅh. V. p. 22. 96.</td>
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<td>Upṣena</td>
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<td>Dabhā</td>
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<td>Pīṇḍola-</td>
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<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
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<td>108. Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>Mālukyaputta</td>
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<td>111. Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>Ariṭṭha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Anuruddha is addressed Majj.I, p.205 in plural. At another place, Bhagav Kundaydhān, Majj.I, pp.462-63, 67. Revata & Anandāre added to the list but the mode of address is the same. This shows the seniority of Anuruddha.

Buddha uses gotta name.

The Buddha refers to him by this term, while the monks refer to him as sīyāma Phagguna.

Avuso Ariśṭha - The text refers to him Majj.I, pp.130-1. 110, as bhikkhu Ariśṭha
| 11/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Kokālika | Monk | Kokālika |
| 112/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Sāti | Kevapṭhapputta | Monk | Sāti |
| 113/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Thera | Monk | Thera |
| 114/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Mahācūṇḍa | Monk | Cūṇḍa |
| 115/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Bhagu | Monk | Bhikkhu |
| 116/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Kumāra-kassapa | Monk | Bhikkhu |
| 117/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Bhikkhus | Monk | Bhikkhava |
| 118/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Dhammika | Monk | Brāhmaṇa |
| 119/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Aciravata Samapuddesa | Monk | (junior) | Aggiyavana |
| 120/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Mahākappina | Monk | Brāhmaṇa |
| 121/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Āṅgulimālā | Monk | Brāhmaṇa |

**The Buddha and Gahapatis:**

| 122/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Uggā of Vesālī | Gahapati | Gahapati |
| 123/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Uggā of Hatthigama | Gahapati | Gahapati |
| 124/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Cittā of Maccchikassanda | Gahapati | Gahapati |
| 125/ | Bhagavā | Buddha | Dārukkammika (woodworker) | Gahapati | Gahapati |
The text refers to him as bhikkhu.

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.

The answers which the Buddha gave to the riddles of the monk were very general, and meant for all bhikkhus.

Monk Angulimāla was about to become an arahat that was when the Buddha,
The Buddha and Gahapatis

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 p

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 | Poṭaliya | Gahapati | Gahapati |
| 130. Bhagavā | Buddha | Anāthapiṇḍika | Gahapati | Gahapati-1 | Sudatta-2 |
| 131. Bhagavā | Buddha | Pañcakāya | Gahapati-1 | Gahapati-1 | Thāpati -2 | Thāpati -2 |
| 132. Bhagavā | Buddha | Isidatta-purāṇa | Gahapati-1 | Thāpati -2 | Thapatayo |
| 133. Bhagavā | Buddha | Paṭaligāmaka | Gahapati-1 | Gahapatayo |
| 134. Bhagavā | Buddha | Upāsakas | Gahapati-1 | Gahapatayo |
| 135. Bhagavā | Buddha | Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Śāla | Gahapati-1 | Brāhmaṇa-2 | Gahapatayo |
| 136. Bhagavā | Buddha | Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Nagaravinda | Gahapati-1 | Brāhmaṇa-2 | Gahapatayo |
| 137. Bhagavā | Buddha | Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Veranga | Gahapati-1 | Brāhmaṇa-2 | Gahapatayo |
| 138. Bhagavā | Buddha | Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Vejūdvāra | Gahapati-1 | Brāhmaṇa-2 | Gahapatayo |
| 139. Bhagavā | Buddha | Group of men and women | Gahapati | Gahapatayo |
| 140. Bhagavā | Buddha | Gahapati | Gahapati-1 | Gahapati-2 | Gahapatayo |
To seek his lost son he comes to the Buddha. He does not salute the Buddha in the beginning.

Formerly a devotee of Jains; now the Buddha’s follower.

The direct mode of address is absent as he does not converse with the Buddha.

See items 92 93 94 95

They were travelling between Veranja and Madura.
The Buddha and Kings:

142. Bhagava Buddha Pasenadi of Kosala King Maharaja

143. Bhagava Buddha Ajatasattu of Magadha King Maharaja

144. Bhagava Buddha Seniya Bimbisara of Magadha King Maharaja

145. Bhagava Buddha Abhaya Rajakumara King (prince) Rajakumara

146. Bhagava Buddha Bodhi Rājakumara King (prince) Rājakumara

The Buddha and āmanis:

147. Bhagava Buddha Canda Gamaṇī Gamaṇī

148. Bhagava Buddha Talapuṭa Naṭagamaṇī Gamaṇī Gamaṇī

149. Bhagava Buddha Yodhājīva Gamaṇī Gamaṇī

150. Bhagava Buddha Assaroha Gamaṇī Gamaṇī
Kevadda=Kevaṭṭha
Fisherman's son?

Sīṅgalaka does not salute him in the beginning. Later on he becomes an upāsaka.

The Buddha and Kings:

The Buddha and gāmansie:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Bhagavā</th>
<th>Buddha</th>
<th>Main Group</th>
<th>Mahānāma</th>
<th>Ex. Kiu</th>
<th>Group</th>
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<td>Haradhamya</td>
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The Buddha and the ruling extended Kiu groups

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<td>Sakka</td>
<td>Nandiya</td>
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</table>
The Buddha and the ruling extended kin-groups:

- - -

Ang. IV. p. 310 f. 15f.

- - -

Ang. IV. p. 312 f. 15g.

- - -

Ang. IV. p. 327. 15h.

- - -

Explained in the text. Ang. IV. pp. 340-41. 15i.

- - -

Ang. IV. p. 325. 15j.

- - -

Ang. III. p. 76. 13k.

- - -

Ang. V. p. 389. 15l.

- - -

Ang. II. p. 200 ff. 15m.

- - -

Explained in the text. Ang. III. p. 69 f. 15n.

- - -

Dig. III. p. 2 f. 160.

- - -


- - -

Ang. I. p. 276 ff. 162.

- - -

Ang. V. p. 335;

Ang. V. p. 397.
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### The Buddha and Upāsakas:

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<td>173.</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
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<td>Paharāda Asurinda</td>
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<td>174.</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
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<td>Vāsetṭha upasaka</td>
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<td>Upasaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Buddha addresses Sākyan upāsakas.

In this, as against above, he is invited to open a Sākyan Santhāgara, their assembly hall. Thus the occasion is formal. That is why, presumably he uses their gotta affiliation to address them.

Buddha uses his gotta. Is he respecting his father?

The Buddha has talks with them in a Santhāgara, assembly hall of the Mallas. Here again the use of gotta name to address them. Compare item 165.

Buddha's use of Totemic name?

Here the Buddha does not use Koliya's totemic name but uses Puṇṇa but we may note here that Puṇṇa is an ascetic following "cow" practices Govatiko and is thus outside the bonds of the society.

The Buddha and Upāsakas.
175. Bhagava Buddha Dighavu Upasaka Upasaka Dighavu

176. Bhagava Buddha Jivaka Komarabhacca Upasaka Jivaka

177. Bhagava Buddha Dhammadinna Upasaka Dhammadinna

178. Bhagava Buddha Cunda Kammaraputta Upasaka Cunda

179. Bhagava Buddha Bhaggava Kumbhakara Upasaka Bhaggava

180. Bhagava Buddha Kesi Assadamasarathi Upasaka Kesi

181. Bhagava Buddha Pessa Hatthisarakaputta Upasaka Pessa

182. Bhagava Buddha Sudinna Kalanadakaputta Upasaka Sudinna

183. Bhagava Buddha Belattha Kaccana Upasaka Kaccana

184. Bhagava Buddha Sīha Senapati Upasaka Sīha

185. Bhagava Buddha Uggā Rajamahamatta Upasaka Uggā

Monks and monks:

186. Ayasama Ananda Monk Ayasama Ajjuka Monk avuso
Buddha meets him on his death bed.

He comes with 500 upāsakas to see the Buddha.

Buddha ate his last meal at his place.

Buddha goes to his place, hence no salutation on the part of Bhagava. He is a potter.

A gotta name used for a merchant?

Monks and monks:

He disputes with him on certain legal points.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ayasma Ananda</th>
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<th>Ayasma Revata</th>
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<th>āvuso Revata</th>
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<td>188.</td>
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<td>Ayasma Udayi</td>
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<td>āvuso Udayi</td>
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<td>Sam. III. p. 135 ff.</td>
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<td>Sam. IV. p. 165</td>
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<td>Sam. V. p. 15</td>
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<td>Majj. I. pp. 160-61</td>
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</table>
Note the use of ayasmā at the end of conversation.

See item, no. 112.

See item, no. 110.

He is the preceptor of Ānanda cf. Vin. I. pp. 92-93.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ayāsma</th>
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<td>228</td>
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<td>Vesālika Vajji-puttaka bhikkhus</td>
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<td>Channa</td>
<td>Monk</td>
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<td>Soṇa</td>
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<td>Soṇa</td>
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</table>
Anuruddha takes charge of the Samgha immediately after the death of the Buddha and consoles the weeping monks.


Dig. II. p. 158. 224.

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 Cullavagga which is late.

Vin. II. p. 292. 232.

He is a very senior monk when Yaśa consults on the disputed points. Account in the Cullavagga.

Vin. II. p. 300. 233.

He absolves this monk of his guilt of stealing a turbon.

Vin. III. p. 67. 234.

He was his upāsaka, he ordained him as a monk.

Vin. I. p. 197 f. 235.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Monastic Title</th>
<th>Companion</th>
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<tr>
<td>230.</td>
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<td>Cunda Samaduddesa</td>
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<tr>
<td>231.</td>
<td>Ayasmā Nāgita</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Sīha Samaduddesa</td>
<td>Monk (novice)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Monks and paribbajakas:</strong></td>
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<td>232.</td>
<td>Ayasmā Ananda</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Channa</td>
<td>Paribbajaka Āvuso</td>
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<td>Ayasmā Sariputta</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Sāmaṇḍakāṇī</td>
<td>Paribbajaka Āvuso</td>
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<td>(Ājivaka) Āvuso</td>
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<td>Ang.I.p.215</td>
<td>(258)</td>
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<td>Ang.V.pp.121-122</td>
<td>(239)</td>
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<td>Sam.II., p120 ff.</td>
<td>(240)</td>
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<td>Ang.V. p.194</td>
<td>(241)</td>
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<td>Majj.III.p.207</td>
<td>(242)</td>
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<td>Vin.III.p.240</td>
<td>(243)</td>
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<td>Sam.III.p.116</td>
<td>(244)</td>
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<td>Dig.II.p.162</td>
<td>(245)</td>
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<td>Majj.III.p.124</td>
<td>(246)</td>
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<td>250</td>
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**Monks and the Brāhmaṇas:**

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<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Ayyāma Udena</td>
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Monks and the Brahmanas:

- - - - Majj.I.pp.227-228 (247)
- - - - Majj.I.p.513 (249)
- - - - Sam.IV.p. 401 ff. (250)
- - - - 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)
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<td>The brahmaṇa</td>
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<td>Udāyin</td>
<td></td>
<td>with his wife</td>
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**Monks and the ruling extended kin-groups:**

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Roja Malla</th>
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<td>263</td>
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<td>Abhaya</td>
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<td>Licchavi</td>
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<td>267</td>
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<td>268</td>
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<td>Mahānāma</td>
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<td>270</td>
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<td>Monk</td>
<td>Mallas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anuruddha</td>
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<td>(in group)</td>
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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. III. pp. 125-126 (269)

The occasion is, Dig. II. p. 160
Buddha's funeral,
a very formal ceremony. Hence
the use of gotta,
vasetta.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Kinship Group</th>
<th>Position</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Ayasmā Ananda Monk</td>
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<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Vaseṭṭha</td>
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<td>272</td>
<td>Ayasmā Ananda Monk</td>
<td>Koliyaputta of Sāpuṇa</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Vyagghapajja</td>
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**Monks and the king:**

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Kinship Group</th>
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<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Ayasmā Angulimāla Monk</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahāraja</td>
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<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Ayasmā Ananda Monk</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahāraja</td>
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<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Ayasmā Pilindavaccha Monk</td>
<td>Seniya Bimbisara</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahāraja</td>
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<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Ayasmā Piṇḍolabharadvāja Monk</td>
<td>Udena</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahāraja</td>
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<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Ayasmā Mahākaccāna Monk</td>
<td>Madhura of Avanti</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahāraja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Ayasmā Raṭṭhapāla Monk</td>
<td>Koravya</td>
<td>King</td>
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<td>279</td>
<td>Ayasmā Ananda Monk</td>
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<td>King</td>
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<td>280</td>
<td>Ayasmā Bhūmija Monk</td>
<td>Jayasena Rājakumāra (prince)</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Rājakumāra</td>
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<td>281</td>
<td>Aciravata Monk</td>
<td>Jayasena Rājakumāra (prince)</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Rājakumāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>Samaṇuddesa (novice) Monk</td>
<td>Jayasena Rājakumāra (prince)</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Rājakumāra</td>
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<td>Monks and the Kings:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ananda is sent to convey the news of the death of the Buddha.</td>
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<td>Dig. II. p. 159 ff.</td>
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<td>Ang. II. pp. 194-195</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A robber, turned monk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. II. pp. 101-102</td>
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<td>Majj. II. p. 113</td>
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<td>Vin. III. p. 248 ff.</td>
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<td>Sam. IV. p. 110</td>
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<td>Majj. II. p. 84 ff.</td>
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<td>Majj. II. p. 66 ff.</td>
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<td>Vin. II. p. 291</td>
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<td>Majj. III. p. 138 ff.</td>
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<td>Monks and the gahapatis:</td>
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<td><strong>282.</strong> Ayasā Mahākaccana Monk</td>
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<td><strong>283.</strong> Ayasā Mahaka Monk</td>
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<td><strong>284.</strong> Ayasā Kāmabhu Monk</td>
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<td><strong>285.</strong> Ayasā Godatta Monk</td>
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<td><strong>291.</strong> Ayasā Dabba Mallaputta Monk</td>
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<td><strong>292.</strong> Bhikkhus Monk</td>
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<td><strong>293.</strong> Bhikkhus annatara Monk</td>
<td>Uga of Hatthigama</td>
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</table>
Monks and the gahapati:

He goes to the gahapati while the latter was sick.
He calls for Ananda when afflicted with a sore disease. He conveys his salute (abhi) through an attendant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ayasma</th>
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<th>Ajivakasavaka (follower of Ajivikas)</th>
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<tr>
<td>294</td>
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<td>Ananda</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>To his father</td>
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<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Ayasma</td>
<td>Raṭṭhapāla</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>To his father</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
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<td>296</td>
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<td>Sudinna</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>To his father</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
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<td>297</td>
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<td>Udayi</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Pañcakaṅga</td>
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<td>Anuruddha</td>
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<td>Pañcakaṅga</td>
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<td>Ananda</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Gahapati’s son</td>
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**Monks and Upāsakas:**

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<td>Sāriputta</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Upāsakas of Campa Upāsaka</td>
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<td>Upānanda</td>
<td>Monk</td>
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<td>Sakyaputta</td>
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<td>Mahākaccana</td>
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<td>Monk</td>
<td>Seṭṭhiputta</td>
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<td>307</td>
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<td>Sakyaputta</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Migāranatta</td>
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</table>
Gahapati becomes a lay follower of the Buddha through Ananda.

Ratthapala goes to his father's house.

Sudinna goes to his father's house.

Monk sits on a higher seat and he, on a lower seat.

Monks and upasakas

Ang. I. pp. 217-19. 294

Majj. III. pp. 62, 63. 295

Vin. III. p. 16. 296

Majj. I. pp. 396-97. 297

Majj. III. p. 145 ff. 298

Vin. III. pp. 66-67. 299

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
<table>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td>Ayasmā, Dhaniya, Kumbhakara-putta</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Dārugaha, Gaṇaka</td>
<td>Upāsaka, āvuso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Ayasmā, Sāgata</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>80 thousand, Gamikas</td>
<td>Upāsaka, āvuso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>A Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Anūnatara, Purisa (a thief)</td>
<td>Others, āvuso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>A Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>His Nātakā</td>
<td>Others, āvuso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Bhikkhus</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Corā</td>
<td>Others, āvuso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>A Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Manussa (men on the high road)</td>
<td>Others, āvuso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gahapatis and Paribbājakas:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Citta</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Nigaṇṭha, Nāṭaputta</td>
<td>Jain bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Citta</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Acela, Kassapa</td>
<td>Paribbājaka bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>Anathapiṇḍika</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Paribbājakas</td>
<td>Paribbājaka bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Vijyamahita</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Paribbājakas</td>
<td>Paribbājaka bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Mendaka</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Sambahulā, Titthiyā</td>
<td>Paribbājaka bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Mendaka</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Sanjaya, Belatṭhāputta</td>
<td>Paribbājaka bhante</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This monk asks for King's reserve wood and puts the other man into trouble.

These panikas, village overseers are sent to the Buddha to receive religious instructions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gahapatic and Paribhadakag:</th>
<th>Sam. IV, pp. 198 ff.</th>
<th>(312)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.v.</td>
<td>Sam. IV, p. 300 ff.</td>
<td>(313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.s.</td>
<td>Ang. V, p. 185-186</td>
<td>(314)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.s.</td>
<td>Ang. V, p. 189</td>
<td>(315)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.s.</td>
<td>Vin. I, p. 242</td>
<td>(316)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
319. Upāli Gahapati Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta Jain bhante

Puraṇakassapa-1
Makkhali -
Gosāla -2
Ajita -
Kesakambali-3
Pakudha
Kaccāyana -4 (of different bhante
Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi- school)
putta -5
Nigaṇṭha
Nātaputta -6

Gahapatis and others:

320. Anāth-piṇḍika Gahapati Negama of Rajagaha Others ayyo

321. Anāṭṭara Gahapati Akkhadutā (gamblers) others bhonto

322. Upāli Gahapati Dovārika (doorkeeper) Others sama dovārika

323. Anāth-piṇḍika Gahapati Anāṭṭara Purisa (a messenger) Others Ambho purisa

Brāhmaṇas and brāhmaṇas:

324. Vāsetṭha māṇava Brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja māṇava Brāhmaṇa bho Bhārad-
vāja

325. Mahāgovinda Brāhmaṇa 700 Brāhmaṇa maḥāsālas and Brāhmaṇa bho
Mahaj. I., pp. 374-375

Vin. II. pp. 110-111

Gahapatis and others:

Vin. II. p. 157

Mahaj. II. p. 107

Mahaj. II. p. 380

Sam. V. p. 380

Brahmanas and brahmanas:

Dig. I. p. 236

Dig. II. p. 248 ff.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Brāhmaṇa</th>
<th>From various parts of the country</th>
<th>Brāhmaṇa</th>
<th>Bho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Sopadaṇḍa</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>500 Brāhmaṇas</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
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<tr>
<td>327</td>
<td>Assalāyana</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>from various parts of the country</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The students of the brahmaṇa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Brāhmaṇa</th>
<th>From various parts of the country</th>
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<th>Bho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>Cāndki of Opasāda</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>500 Brāhmaṇas</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
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<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>Bhavaṇa</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>from various parts of the country</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Brāhmaṇa</th>
<th>From various parts of the country</th>
<th>Brāhmaṇa</th>
<th>Bho</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>Lohicca</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Uttara māṇava</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331</td>
<td>Mahāpaśupata</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Ambattha māṇava</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>Hitiya</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Sela</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>Keśiya</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Shubha</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Jātīlā</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Todēyya-putta</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Paribbajaka</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Pekkharasādī</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bho</td>
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The brāhmaṇas and Kings:

<table>
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<th>From various parts of the country</th>
<th>Brāhmaṇa</th>
<th>Bho</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Saṁjaya of Akāsagotta</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Sanjaya of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahārāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Mahāgovinda</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Rājā Reṇu</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Bho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dig. I.</td>
<td>p. 113</td>
<td>(326)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. II.</td>
<td>147 ff.</td>
<td>(327)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. I.</td>
<td>p. 165</td>
<td>(328)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Sam. IV.</td>
<td>p. 118</td>
<td>(329)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Dig. I.</td>
<td>p. 89</td>
<td>(330)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. II.</td>
<td>p. 134</td>
<td>(331)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. II.</td>
<td>p. 398</td>
<td>(332)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. II.</td>
<td>p. 398</td>
<td>(333) (Nalanda edn.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. I.</td>
<td>pp. 208-209</td>
<td>(333)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The brahmans and kings:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Majj. II.</td>
<td>pp. 127, 132</td>
<td>(334)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Dig. II.</td>
<td>pp. 234-235</td>
<td>(335)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Rāja</td>
<td>Disampati</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>bho</td>
</tr>
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<td>----</td>
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<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Jotipāla māṇava</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Rāja</td>
<td>Disampati</td>
<td>King</td>
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<td>337</td>
<td>Sudassana māṇava</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Deva</td>
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<td>338</td>
<td>Vassakāra</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Ajātasattu</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Deva-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>Sañjikā-putta</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bodhi</td>
<td>Rājakumāra</td>
<td>King</td>
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Dig. II. p. 232

Sam. I. p. 82

Vin. III. p. 43 and
Dig. II. pp. 72-73

Majj. II. pp. 91-92
<table>
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<tr>
<th>ITEM NOS.</th>
<th>WHO ADDRESSES</th>
<th>ITEM NOS.</th>
<th>WHO ADDRESSES</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Sonođāṇḍa</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<td>2. Pokkharasādi</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Kuṭadantā</td>
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<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Čanki</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
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<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Uggatasarīra</td>
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<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Uṇābha</td>
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<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Janussoni</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Ujjayā</td>
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<td>Buddha</td>
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<td>9. Pingalakočcha</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
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<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Ekusāri</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
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<td>11. Tikāṇṇa</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Saṅgārava</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Vassakara</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Doṇa</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<td>TERMS OF REFERENCE</td>
<td>TERMS OF SALUTATION</td>
<td>REMARKS</td>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samāna Gotama</td>
<td>Saddhm</td>
<td>After the initial exchange of greetings, he proposes an alternative form of behaviour.</td>
<td>Dig.I. pp.118-26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samāna Gotama</td>
<td>Saddhm</td>
<td>He sends his student to confirm the greatness of the Buddha.</td>
<td>Dig.I. p.108 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samāna Gotama</td>
<td>Saddhm</td>
<td>He asks the Buddha about the correct procedure of sacrifice.</td>
<td>Dig.I. p.134 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samāna Gotama</td>
<td>Saddhm</td>
<td>He goes to see the Buddha but has no direct conversation with him on the religious subjects.</td>
<td>Majj.II. pp.165-68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Saddhm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ang.IV. pp.41-46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- S.s.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>He is delighted with the words of the Buddha, rises from his seat, salutes the Buddha by the right and goes away.</td>
<td>Sam.V. pp.217-19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- S.s.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ang.II. pp.173-76; IV. pp.54-56; Majj.I. p.16 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- S.s.</td>
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<td>Majj.I. pp.198-208.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- S.s.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Majj.II. pp.177 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhavam Gotamo</td>
<td>S.s.</td>
<td>Vassakāra welcomes what is said by the Buddha and returning thanks, he goes away.</td>
<td>Ang.I. pp.163-66.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- S.s.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ang.II. pp.172-73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>Bhagava</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Udāyi</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nālījāṅgha</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Vereaṅga</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Devahita</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Siṅkha</td>
<td>Moggallāna</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gaṇaka</td>
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<td>Bhagava</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Kasi</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Jaṭā</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Suddhika</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Navakammika</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Asurindaka</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Akkosaka</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bilangika</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nālījangha welcomes what is said by the Buddha and returning thanks he goes away.

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.

In the verse the brāhmaṇa addresses the Buddha as Gotama without any prefix.

Samāja Gotama - In the verse the brāhmaṇa addresses the Buddha as Gotama (belonging to the Gotama gotta), of the Gotamas.

He meets the Buddha, vexed and displeased, and abuses and reviles the Buddha.

He keeps silent and stands aside in anger.

Ang. II. pp. 43-44. 15.

Ang. IV. pp. 175-79. 17.


Ang. II. pp. 232-3. 23.

Saṃ. I. pp. 175. 18.

Saṃ. I. pp. 175. 18.


Saṃ. I. p. 165. 22.

Saṃ. I. p. 166. 23.


Saṃ. I. pp. 165-4. 25.


Saṃ. I. p. 164. 27.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<th>Buddha</th>
<th>Gotama</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. Ahimsaka</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Manatthadda</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Paccānika</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Bhāradvāja-gotta</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Sundarika</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Aggika</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
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<td>34. Mātuposaka</td>
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<td>40. Mahāsāla</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
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</table>
Samana Gotama - He keeps silent and stands aside in order to show disrespect towards the Buddha.

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.

In anger he refers to the Buddha as Samana mundaka (shaven headed recluse) to his wife.

Not knowing the identity of the Buddha he refers to the latter as mundo (shaven headed).

Buddha goes to his house to beg for food.

Saddhim sammodi - Saṃ. I. pp. 164-5. 28.
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<tr>
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<th>'Anātara'</th>
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<td>Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Veranji</td>
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</table>
Sāmaṇa Gotama - Lohicca asks the Buddha and his Sangha for a meal. The Buddha sits on the high seat and the brāhmaṇa occupies a low seat. No exchange of greetings take place.

Sāmaṇa 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 āyāmā Bhāradvāja. The brāhmaṇa considers himself as a sāmaṇa. In the end he says that the Buddha "has roused in him a recluse's regard for recluses...satisfaction...and respect for recluses."

Sāmaṇa Gotama - Ambattha does not exchange greetings for he considers this act as not suitable in the presence of the Buddha. See text p.

Sāmaṇa Gotama - The following is the group behaviour of the brāhmaṇaґahapatiṅkā:
Some salute and sit (abhivādetvā)

Sāmaṇa Gotama - Some exchange greetings and sit (saddhiṃ sammodi) (Nālanda ed.) Some fold their hands towards the Buddha (añjali pañāmetvā) and sit
<table>
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<th>S.No.</th>
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<td>Brāhmaṇagahapati of Nagaravinda</td>
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<td>Dīghatapassi</td>
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<td>Nigamṭha</td>
<td>Jain (group)</td>
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<td>Saccaka Nigamṭhaputta</td>
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<td><strong>The paribbājaka and the Buddha:</strong></td>
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<td>Mandissa &amp; Jāliya</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
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<td>Āḷāra Kālāma</td>
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<td>Acela Kassapa</td>
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<td>Vacchagotta-1</td>
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<td>Vacchagotta-2</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vacchagotta-3</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Gotama

- Some pronounce their names and gatta and sit (nām-gottam sāvetvā)


Samaṇa Gotama

- 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 gatta name.

Majj.II. pp. 228–30. 58.

- S.s. They regale on what Buddha had said (Bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinandita).

Dig.I. pp. 157–58. 59.

- -

The Buddha goes to this paribbhājaka to become his disciple. The term aryame is used in third person. The Buddha refers to him as his teacher acariya.

Majj.I. pp. 163–65. 60.

- -

do-


S.s. Acelakassapa joins the Saṅgha. See the text Saṅg.II. pp. 19–22; Dig.I. pp. 161–177.

S.s. 1-Vacchagotta from Sāvatthi subtitled in the text as Aggivacchagotta.


S.s. 2—This one is from Rājasāha subtitled in the text as MahāVacchagotta.


S.s. 3—The Buddha VISITS THIS Vacchagotta subtitled in the text as Tevijjavacchagotta. He is from Vesali.

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<td>Dīghanākha</td>
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<td>66.</td>
<td>Māgaṇḍiya</td>
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<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha bho Gotama, bhante</td>
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<td>Buddha bho Gotama</td>
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<td>68.</td>
<td>Moliya Sivaka</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha bho Gotama</td>
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<td>69.</td>
<td>Timbaruka</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha bho Gotama</td>
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<td>Poṭaliya</td>
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<td>73.</td>
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<td>77. Sakulaudāyi-3</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
<td>Buddha uses his gotta name; Angivesana.</td>
<td>Majj.I. pp.497-501. 64.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>Buddha uses his gotta name; Kaccana.</td>
<td>Majj.II. pp.40-44. 65.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
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<td>Sān.V. pp.73-75. 67.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
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<td>Sān.II. pp.22-23. 69.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
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<td>Ang.II. pp.100-101. 70.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sān.V. pp.11-12. 71.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
<td>The Buddha does not reply to the question raised by this paribbājaka but keeps quiet.</td>
<td>Ang.V. pp.193-96. 72.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>The Buddha does not reply but instead he is shown to address the monks.</td>
<td>Ang.V. pp.229-30. 73.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>The Buddha visits the ārama of these paribbājakas.</td>
<td>Ang.II. pp.176-77. 75.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>At first he exchanges greetings with the Buddha.</td>
<td>Dig.II. pp.148-153. 76.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
<td>The Buddha says to him that he will teach him dhamma. From then onwards, Subhadda addresses the Buddha as bhante.</td>
<td>Dig.II. pp.148-153. 76.</td>
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<td>S.S.</td>
<td>Buddha visits his place. Dig.III. pp.1-2; Bhaggavagotta welcomes him. Buddha sits on a high seat; paribbājaka on a low seat.</td>
<td>35. 77.</td>
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The monks and the Buddha:

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<td>90</td>
<td>Uṇāli</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Bhagava</td>
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</table>
Samana Gotama - Buddha visits his place. Majj.II. pp.1-2,22; 78.
He welcomes the Buddha. Majj.II. p.39 ff.
See the text p.
- S.s. He had apparently met the Buddha before and had come to the Buddha to clarify certain doctrinal points.
Samana Gotama - He welcomes the Buddha. Dig.II. pp.38-39, 80.
and occupies a low seat.
Samana Gotama - He welcomes the Buddha. Dig.I. pp.179 ff.
See above.
- - - Su.N. pp.101-102.
- abhi. Majj.II. pp.253-58; 84.
Sam II, pp.92-98; Ang.V. p.108 etc.
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.
- abhi. Sam II. p.281.
- abhi. Ang.V. p.70.
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<td>100</td>
<td>Upseesas Vaṅgaputta</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>Dabbhā Mallaputta</td>
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<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Kaccānagotta</td>
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<td>103</td>
<td>Upananda Sākyaputta</td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Pindola- Bharaadvāja</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Mahākassapa</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
- abhi. — Sañj. II. p. 41. 91.
- abhi. — Sañj. V. pp. 89-90. 92.
- abhi. — Añg. V. p. 337. 95.
- abhi. — Sañj. V. p. 22. 96.
- — — Sañj. II. p. 280; Añg. II. p. 280. 98.
- abhi. — Vin. I. p. 74 ff. 100.
- — He commits an offence and is called before the Buddha. He uses the term of reference Bhagavā while addressing the Buddha. 102.
- — — — — — do — Vin. II. p. 112. 103.
- — — — — — — — — — Sañj. V. p. 78. 104.
<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<td>106</td>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
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<td>107</td>
<td>Mālukyaputta</td>
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<td>Gulissāni</td>
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<td>Ariṭṭha</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>Kokālikā</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>Sāti Kevaṭṭhaputta</td>
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<td>113</td>
<td>Thera</td>
<td>Monk</td>
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<td>114</td>
<td>Mahācuṇḍa</td>
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<td>115</td>
<td>Bhagu</td>
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<td>116</td>
<td>Kumārakassapa</td>
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<td>117</td>
<td>Bhikkhus</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
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<td>118</td>
<td>Dhammika</td>
<td>Monk</td>
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<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Aciravata Samanuddesa</td>
<td>Monk (junior)</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi. Abhi. Ariṣṭha was formerly a vulture trainer gaddhabadhi and has doubts about the Buddha's doctrine. The text refers to him as bhikkhu Ariṣṭha and not āyasama Ariṣṭha.

- abhi. He accuses Sāriputta and Aṅg.V. p.170; Moggallāna "that they are ruled by evil desires" referred to as bhikkhu Kokālika.

- abhi. He is a fisherman's son; Majj.I. p.256 ff. the text refers to him as bhikkhu.

- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.

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- abhi.

- abhi.

- abhi.
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Mahākappīna</td>
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<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Anūlimāla</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Gahapatis and the</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Buddhas</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Uggā of Vesāli</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Uggā of Matthigāma</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Cittā of Macchīkasaṃḍa</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Dārukammika (woodworker)</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha bhante</td>
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<td>126</td>
<td>Seṭṭhi</td>
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<td>Bhante</td>
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<td>127</td>
<td>Upāli</td>
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<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Nakulapitā</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Poṭaliya</td>
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<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
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<td>130</td>
<td>Anāthapindika</td>
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<td>Bhante</td>
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<td>131</td>
<td>Pañcakāya Thāpatī</td>
<td>Gahapati-1</td>
<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thāpatī-2</td>
<td>Gahapati-2</td>
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<td>132</td>
<td>Isidatta-purāṇa</td>
<td>Gahapati-1</td>
<td>Bhagavā Buddha</td>
<td>Bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thāpati-2</td>
<td>Gahapati-2</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Abhi. Ugga is noted for his gift to the Buddha.

This and the one mentioned above gahapatis are identified by place name and not by professions.

Abhi. He is a dealer in wood.

He salutes in the end and goes away.

Salutes in the end.

Explained in the text.

Abhi. Royal Chamberlain.

Abhi. Explained in the text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Gahapati</th>
<th>Bhagavā</th>
<th>Buddha</th>
<th>Bhante</th>
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<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Pātaligāmaka Upāsakas</td>
<td>Gahapati-1 Upāsakas-2</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Sāla</td>
<td>Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bho Gotama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Nagaravinda</td>
<td>Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bho Gotama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Veranja</td>
<td>Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2</td>
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<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bho Gotama</td>
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<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa-gahapati of Veḷudvāra</td>
<td>Gahapati-1 Brāhmaṇa-2</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bho Gotama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Group of men and women</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Kevaṭṭha Gahapatiputta</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Soṇa Gahapatiputta</td>
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<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Singalaka Gahapatiputta</td>
<td>Gahapati</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Kings and the Buddha:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Bhagavā</th>
<th>Buddha</th>
<th>Bhante</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Ajātasattu of Magadha</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
- 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. Āṅg. II. p. 53. 138.

- Abhi. Dīg. I. p. 211. 139.

- Abhi. Samp. III. pp. 48-49. 140.


Kings and the Buddha:

- Abhi. He salutes and kisses his feet and pronounces his name. Āṅg. V. pp. 65-66; Samp. I. p. 64 ff. 142.

- Abhi. He salutes him but only greets the assembly of monks by raising joined palms. Dīg. I. pp. 50-51. 143.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Word</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>144</td>
<td>Seniya</td>
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<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Abhaya</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Bodhi</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
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**Gāmanis and the Buddha:**

<table>
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<td>147</td>
<td>Canda</td>
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<tr>
<td>148</td>
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<td>149</td>
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<td>151</td>
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<td>152</td>
<td>Asībadhaka-putta</td>
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<td>153</td>
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<td>154</td>
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<td>155</td>
<td>Maniculaka</td>
<td>Gāmanī</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abhi. He sends a messenger to invite the Buddha to inaugurate his palace.

Gāmanis and the Buddha:

- Abhi. He joins the order and becomes an Arahat. Referred to in the text after joining the order as ayaśma Tālapuṭṭa. Saṃ. IV. p. 306. 148.


Bhagavā Abhi. He defends Buddha in the King's Court. Saṃ. IV. p. 325 ff. 155.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Kin-Group</th>
<th>Extended Kin-Group</th>
<th>Bhagavā</th>
<th>Buddha</th>
<th>bhante</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>156.</td>
<td>Mahānāma Licchāvi</td>
<td>Extended Kin-group</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
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<tr>
<td>157.</td>
<td>Nandaka Licchāvi</td>
<td>Extended Kin-group</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>158.</td>
<td>Sālha Licchāvi</td>
<td>Extended Kin-group</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
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<td>159.</td>
<td>Mahāli Licchāvi</td>
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<td>160.</td>
<td>Sunakkhattha Licchaviputta</td>
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<td>161.</td>
<td>Licchāvi (in group)</td>
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<td>162.</td>
<td>Mahānāma Sakka</td>
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<td>163.</td>
<td>Nandiya Sakka</td>
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<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>164.</td>
<td>Sambhula Sakkā Upāsakas (many sakyan upāsakas)</td>
<td>Extended Kin-group</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165.</td>
<td>Sakkas of Kapilavatthu</td>
<td>Extended Kin-group</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166.</td>
<td>Suddodhana Sakka</td>
<td>Extended Kin-group</td>
<td>Bhagavā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>bhante</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ruling extended kin-groups and the Buddha:

- Abhi. - Ang. III. p. 76. 156.
- Abhi. - Ang. II. p. 200 ff. 158.
- Abhi. - Saq. III. p. 69 f. 159.
- Abhi. - Dig. III. p. 2 f. 160.
- Abhi. - Ang. V. p. 335; Saq. V. p. 397. 163.
- Abhi. - Ang. V. p. 83. 164.
- Abhi. He is Buddha's father. Vin. I. p. 82. 166.
167. Mallas of Pava
   Extended Kin-group Bhagava Buddha bhante

168. Pukkusa Mallaputta
   Extended Kin-group Bhagava Buddha bhante

169. Kalāmas of Kesaputta
   Extended Kin-group Bhagava Buddha bhante

170. Dāghajānū Koliyaputta
   Extended Kin-group Bhagava Buddha bhante

171. Punna Koliyaputta
   Extended Kin-group Bhagava Buddha bhante

Upāsakas and the Buddha:

172. Hattthaka of Alavi
   Extended Kin-group-1 Bhagava Buddha bhante
   Upāsaka -2

173. Pahārāḍa Aśurinda
   Upāsaka Bhagava Buddha bhante

174. Vāsetṭha upāsaka
   Upāsaka Bhagava Buddha bhante

175. Dīghāvu upāsaka
   Upāsaka Bhagava Buddha bhante

176. Jīvaka Komārabhacca
   Upāsaka Bhagava Buddha bhante

177. Dhammadinna upāsaka
   Upāsaka Bhagava Buddha bhante

178. Cunda Kammāraputta
   Upāsaka Bhagava Buddha bhante

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 brahma-n gahapati's bho gotama. Aṅg. I. pp.188-89. 169.


Upasakas and the Buddha:

Abhi. In the Aṅg. (I.26) he is Aṅg. I. p.136; 172.
described as chief among IV. p.216.
disciples who gather a following.

Abhi. Aṅg. IV. pp.197-204. 173.


He sends his father, who Saṅg. V. p.345. 175.
is a gahapati to call the Buddha to attend to him on his death bed.


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. Belatthha Kaccana | 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. Ananda | Monk | āvuso Ananda

187. Āy. Revata | Monk | Āy. Ananda | Monk | āvuso Ananda

188. Āy. Udāyi | Monk | Āy. Ananda | Monk | āvuso Ananda

189. Āy. Channa | Monk | Āy. Ananda | Monk | āvuso Ananda

190. Āy. Bhaddaji | Monk | Āy. Ananda | Monk | āvuso

191. Āy. Kāmabhū | Monk | Āy. Ananda | Monk | āvuso Ananda
- Abhi. Buddha asks for a shelter Majj.III. p.237. 179. at his place. He uses his
gotta, Bhaggava, to
address him.
- Abhi. He is a horse trainer. Ang.II. pp.112-113. 180.
- Abhi. He is a son of a Setthi Vin.III. p.11 ff. 182.
and becomes a monk.
500 waggons of sugar
which he distributes to
monks.
- Abhi. Army Chief Ang.IV. p.79 f. 184.

Monks and monks:
- - - Vin.III. p.67. 186.
- - In his conversation he uses both āyasmā & āvuso
- Srs. Ang.IV. p.449 f. 188.
- - Sañ.III. p.133 f. 189.
- - Both use āyasmā in
- S.s. Sañ.IV. p.165. 191.
<table>
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<tr>
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<td>avuso</td>
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<td>Ay. Yamaka Monk</td>
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<td>Ay. Puṇṇamantāṅiputta Monk</td>
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In the same conversation Vin. III. pp. 104, 105, 206, the term reference ṣayaṃ and the mode of address ṣuṣṭe is used.

Ang. V. p. 155. 207.

Sam. II. p. 115 f. 208.

Sam. II. p. 117 f. 209.


Ang. III. p. 355. 211.


Ang. IV. p. 402 ff. 213.

Ang. IV. p. 362. 214.

S.s. At the end of the dis-course Majj.I. pp. 147-151, 215 monk Sāriputta asks, What is the ṣayaṃ's name? A similar question is asked by Sāriputta.

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<td>Ay. Nandiya &amp; Kimbila</td>
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<td>Ay. Anuruddha</td>
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<td>Ay. Bhikkhu</td>
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<td>Sattara-viggiya Bhikkhus</td>
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<td>227</td>
<td>Ay. Isidatta</td>
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<td>Ay. Thera</td>
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<td>228</td>
<td>Ay. Mahaka</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Ay. Thera</td>
<td>Monk</td>
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</table>
The group of 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.

He is described in the text as novice of all Sabbanavako hoti.

The same as above
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<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<td>Monk</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Āy. Upāli Monk</td>
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<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<td>234</td>
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<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<td>Āy. Daḷhika Monk</td>
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<td>Āy. Mahākaccāna</td>
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<td>236</td>
<td>Cunda sāmaṇḍuddesa</td>
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<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Āy. Ānanda Monk (novice)</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>Sīha sāmaṇḍuddesa</td>
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<td>Āy. Nakārita Monk (novice)</td>
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Monks and the paribbajakas:

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<td>Āy. Ananda Monk</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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</table>
- Sāriputta calls him a youth. He entered the order (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.

- They were bad monks who were engaged in all sorts of activities which violated the rules of chastity.

- This monk confesses to him.

- Vin. III. p. 67.

- Vin. II. p. 292.

- Vin. III. p. 300.

- Dig. I. p. 151.
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.
<table>
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<th>Avuso Name</th>
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<td>Ay. Upananda</td>
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**The Brahmans and Monks:**

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<td>262</td>
<td>The brāhmaṇa with his wife</td>
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The ruling extended kin-groups and monks:

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<td>Roja Malla</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Ay. Ananda Monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kin-group</td>
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<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>Abhaya Licchavi</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Ay. Ananda Monk</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>kin-group</td>
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</table>
Sam. IV. pp. 118-119

Ang. I. pp. 67-68

Ang. I. p. 66

Dig. I. pp. 205-206

Vin. I. p. 247

Vin. III. p. 119

The ruling extended kin-groups and monks:

Abhd. — Vin. I. p. 247

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Kin-Group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Oṭṭhaddha Licchavi</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Nāgita Monk</td>
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<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Mahānāma Licchavi</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Ānanda Monk</td>
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<td>267</td>
<td>Vappa Sakka</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Mahāmoggallāna</td>
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<td>268</td>
<td>Mahānāma Sakka</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Lomasa-vangisa</td>
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<td>269</td>
<td>Vaddbhā Licchavi</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Ānanda Monk</td>
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<td>270</td>
<td>Mallas</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Anuruddha Monk</td>
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<td>271</td>
<td>Mallas</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Ānanda Monk</td>
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<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Koliyaputta of Sāpūga</td>
<td>Extended kin-group</td>
<td>Āy. Ānanda Monk</td>
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The kings and monks:

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Kin-Group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Āṅgu-limāla</td>
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<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Ānanda Monk</td>
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<td>275</td>
<td>Seniya Bimbisāra</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Pilinda-vaccha</td>
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<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Udena</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Pīṇḍol-bhāradvāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Madhura of Avanti</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Mahā-kaccāna</td>
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</table>

bho Bhāradvāja


The Kings and Monks:

- King uses an epithet ayyo in his conversation

Majj. II. pp. 101-102  Majj. II. p. 113  Vin. III. 248 ff.  Sam. IV. p. 110  Majj. II. p. 84 ff.

- S. s.          S. s.          S. s.          S. s.          S. s.          S. s.          S. s.          S. s.

Becomes an upasaka  "do"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name (if any)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Rāṭṭhapāla</th>
<th>Monk</th>
<th>Bhante</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Koravya</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Rāṭṭhapāla</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>bho Rāṭṭhapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>Udena</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Āy. Ananda</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>bho Ānanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Jayasena Rājakumāra</td>
<td>King (prince)</td>
<td>Āy. Bhūmija</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>bho Bhūmija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Jayasena Rājakumāra</td>
<td>King (prince)</td>
<td>Aciravata</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>samuddesa (novice) Aggivessana</td>
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<tr>
<th>The gahapatis and monks:</th>
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<tr>
<td>282.</td>
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<td>283.</td>
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<td>284.</td>
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<td>285.</td>
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<td>288.</td>
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<tr>
<td>289.</td>
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<tr>
<td>290.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sahapatīs and monks:

- Abhi. — 
  Sam. IV. p. 113. 282.

- Abhi. He demonstrates his Iddhi Sam. IV. p. 290. 283. to him. And refers to him in his talks with him in third person as ayyo.

- Abhi. — 
  Sam. IV. p. 291 ff. 284.

- Abhi. — 
  Sam. IV. p. 296 ff. 285.

- Abhi. A term of reference ayyo Sam. IV. pp. 283-88. 286. is used in the conversation.

- Abhi. He goes to Vesāli and Ang. V. p. 343. 287.
  to Sāvatthī only to see Ānanda.

- — — 
  Sam. V. p. 385 ff. 288.

- — — 
  Sam. V. p. 381 ff. 289.

- — — 
  Sam. V. pp. 176-77. 290.
S.s. Becomes an upasaka, Majj.II.p.66 ff. (278)

At the start of the conversation, Vin.II.p.291. (279)
The King is hostile towards him.

S.s. Majj.III.p.138 ff. (280)

Majj.III.p.138 ff. (281)
291. Kalyāṇabhātṭika  Gahapati  Āy. Dabba-Nalaputta  Monk  bhante

292. Dasama of Aṭṭhakaṇakagāra  Gahapati  Bhikkhus  Monk  bhante

293. Uggā of Ratṭhigāma  Gahapati  Bhikkhus annatara  Monk  bhante

294. Ajīvakasāvaka (follower of Ajīvikas)  Gahapati  Āy. Ānanda  Monk  bhante Ānanda

295. Raṭṭhapāl's father  Gahapati  Āy. Raṭṭhapāla  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 Cāmpa  Upāsakas  Āy. Sāriputta  Monk  bhante

301. Ānātara Purīsa  Upāsaka  Āy. Upananda Sākyaputta  Monk  ayyo

302. Pūga (a guild)  Upāsaka  Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus  Monk  bhante
Abhi. Gahapati becomes a lay follower of the Buddha through Ānanda.

- No salutation is indicated. It was the monk who goes to the gahapati.

- Abhi. Gahapati becomes a lay follower of the Buddha through Ānanda.

- Abhi. Gahapati 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.

- There is no proper beginning to the discussions between both. This incident has to deal with Vinaya laws.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Monastic Title</th>
<th>Note</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Sālha Migāranatā</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>Āy. Nandaka</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>Soṇa Kūtiṇakāṇṇa</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>Āy. Mahā-kaṭṭāna</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>Setṭhiputta</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>Āy. Upananda</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td>Dārugahe gaṇaka</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>Āy. Dhanīya kumbhakārāputta</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>80 thousand gamakas</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>Āy. Sāgata</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Anātara purisā (a thief)</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>A Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Naakā of a Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>A Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Corā (robbers)</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Manussā (men of the high road)</td>
<td>Upāsaka</td>
<td>A Bhikkhu</td>
<td>Monk bhante</td>
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</table>

**Paribbājaka and gahapati:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Monastic Title</th>
<th>Monastic Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Nīganṭha Nātaputta</td>
<td>Jain</td>
<td>Citta</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Acēla Kassapa</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
<td>Citta</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
<td>Paribbājaka</td>
<td>Ānāthapiṇḍika</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abhi. He becomes a monk, an ṛṣabha sona.

Abhi. Also uses ayyo to address him.

They honour him more than the Buddha in the initial stages of the conversation.

They also address him as ayyo.
Paribbajakas and gahapatis:

- - - Sam.IV.p.198 ff.  (312)
- - - Sam.IV.p.300 ff.  (313)
- - - Ang.V.pp.185-186 (314)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name (Sanskrit)</th>
<th>Name (Pali)</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>School</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Paribbajaka</td>
<td>Paribbajaka</td>
<td>Vijaya-māhita</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Sambahula</td>
<td>Paribbajaka</td>
<td>Mendaka</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
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<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Sañjaya Belṭṭhiputta</td>
<td>Paribbajaka</td>
<td>Mendaka</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>Nigantha Nātapattra</td>
<td>Jain</td>
<td>Upāli</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
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<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Puranakassapa-1</td>
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<td>Makkhali-</td>
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<td>Gosāla-2</td>
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<td>Ajita- kesakambali-3</td>
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<td>Pakudha Kaccāyana-4</td>
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<td>Sañjaya Belṭṭhiputta-5</td>
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<td>Nigantha Nātapattra-6</td>
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Others and gahapatis:

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<th>Name (Pali)</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>School</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>Negama of Rajagaha</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Anāth- piṇḍika</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
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<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>Akkhadutā (gamblers)</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Anānātara</td>
<td>Gahapati gahapati</td>
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<td>322</td>
<td>Dovārika (doorkeeper)</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Upāli</td>
<td>Gahapati bhante</td>
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<td>323</td>
<td>Anānātara purissa (a messenger)</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Anāth- piṇḍika</td>
<td>Gahapati bhante</td>
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<td>Others and gahapatis:</td>
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<td>Vin.II.p.157</td>
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<td>Majj.I.pp.374-375</td>
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<td>Vin.II.pp.110-111</td>
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<td>324</td>
<td>Bhr-dvajya</td>
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<td>Kapiya jañila</td>
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<td>Dig. I. p. 236</td>
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<td>Dig. II. p. 248 ff.</td>
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<td>(329)</td>
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<td>(330)</td>
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<td>Majj. II. p. 134</td>
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<td>Majj. II. pp. 208-209</td>
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The kings and the brahmanas:

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King Name</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Father Name</th>
<th>Brahma Family</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Pasenadi of Kosala</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Sanjaya</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>bho bhavam</td>
</tr>
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<td>of Akasagotta</td>
<td>brahma</td>
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<td>335</td>
<td>Raja Repu</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Mahagovinda</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
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