form was also suffering in turn. One hears of mendicant artists. Most probably some had adopted painting as a peripatetic profession. The other artists too could not have been distinguished men. There were also retainers attached to each temple. Some of them are mentioned as receiving annual benefactions for their services as painters.

When we come to the twelfth century many references to painting occur and actual examples of drawing belonging to this period are also found. The art tradition which had subsided is revived along with the national revival. As was customary with the people, the court, temples, palaces and halls demanded beautified sanctification. The literary art is created once again. Along with it appears also the popular tradition. It is a great period of artistic activity. A new spirit of religion dominates the frescoes of the time. The Sigiriya traces are also there, and one is reminded of the ancient glory in a new form. South Indian specially Pallava and Chola elements that were not there before have come in. Colour as a plastic quality loses its effect. Emotion is the key note and worship is the theme. Once again perhaps for the last time, Sinhalese art bursts out into flower reminiscent of the aroma of Sigiriya finally to whither away and survive with the common people as a mere tradition.

A natural exuberance similar to an earlier mentioned phase of Anuradhapura develops at Polonnaruwa and Dimbulagala, but lacks that chaste profusion. This stage of the evolution stands prominently in view. In its final phase Sinhalese painting comes to rest at Polonnaruwa. Here one sees both stylisation and degeneration, once again the popular and the literary forms appear together. Then comes the impending end—the product of an over-ripe civilisation.

NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA.

The Second Great Commentator,
Acariya-Dhammapala.

AFTER the Great Commentator, Buddhaghosa, had composed the commentaries of the Vinaya and the four Nikāyas, and the Abhidhamma-commentaries had been translated by someone else at his instigation, there remained the commentaries on Khuddakanikāya to be compiled. One of these, viz. Buddhavamsaṭṭhakathā, was composed by Buddhaghosa’s contemporary, Buddhadaṭta. Most of the other coms. on the Khuddaka-nikāya were composed by the Elder Dhammapala of Badaratittha-vihāra.

His works are:
1. Theragāthagāthā-kathā, consisting of 92 bhāavāras.
2. Udana-kathā, consisting of 34 bhāavāras.
3. Itivuttaka-kathā, consisting of 34 bhāavāras.
4. Petavattthagāthā-kathā, consisting of 15 bhāavāras.
5. Vinānavatthu-atthakathā, consisting of 17 bhāavāras.
6. Cariya-Patha-kathā, consisting of 28, bhāavāras.

Except the last one these coms. are designated as Paramatthadi pani.
8. Paramatthamaṇḍanaṃ, a sub-commentary or tīkā on the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa, is the monumental work of Dhammapala. It contains 88 bhāavāras.

Sāsanavāṃsa states that the same author is the composer of the sub-commentaries on Dīgha, Majjhima, and Samyutta-nikāyas. I am not in a position to verify this statement as these tīkās are still in MS. form.

He composed all the volumes known to us while residing at Badaratittha-vihāra as he himself has stated in the colophons of these works. Where this Badaratittha was is not stated by him except in the colophon of Nettipakaraṇa-kathā. The following lines are there:

"Saddhammavatarat thane paṭṭane Nāgasavhaye
Dharmāsaka-mahārāja-vihare vasata maya
ciraṭṭhitthathā yā tassa āraddhā aṭṭhavāpanā.""

What is stated here is that he lived in a vihāra built by the great king Dharmāsaka at Nāga-paṭṭana. The name Badaratittha is not found in these lines; but at the end of the closing verses he gives the following in prose: "Badaratittha-vihāravatā acariya-Dhammapālaṃ kathā Nettipakaranaṃ..."

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1. A bhāavāra contains 8,000 letters.
attthavamanna samatā." (=Here ends the com. on Nettippakaraṇa, composed by ṛcariya Dhammapālā, who resided in Badaratittha vihāra).

By this statement it is clear that Badaratittha was at Nāgapāṭṭana. This Nāgapāṭṭana is situated on the coast line of Tanjore District. Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, in his Pāli Literature of Ceylon, states that "Badaratittha is on the south-east coast of India, just a little to the south of Madras." (p. 113). He does not explain how he came to this conclusion. It is true that Kāñcipurā (=Conjeevaram) is in the neighbourhood of Madras; but Nāgapāṭṭana lies more than a hundred miles away from Madras. According to John Murray’s Handbook for Travellers in India, (p. 427), "Nāgapāṭṭana, 34 miles east from Tanjore, on branch line, is a flourishing port on the Coromandel Coast, doing a brisk trade with the Straits Settlements and Coast Ports, and contains the large workshops of the South Indian Railway . . . From Nāgapāṭṭana steamers belonging to B.I.S.N. Company run once a week to Colombo via Palk Strait and Pamban, opposite Ramesvaram, but this is now more conveniently reached by railway from Madura."

Sānarāna, too, states that Nāgapāṭṭana is not very far from Ceylon, and therefore Dhammapālā who resided there is to be reckoned as a Ceylonese Elder. The statement there is (p. 33): So ca ṛcariya-Dhammapālāthero Sthānādhaṃsa sanātippa Dami araṭṭhe Pataratthihanhi nivāsitaṭṭa Sthānādheyya sangaheṭtā vattabbā."

Perhaps Dr. Malalasekara has surmised ‘Badaratittha’ to be in the locality of Kāñcī. Our author nowhere mentions the name of Kāñcī in his Colophons. But it is clear from the Northern records that he was born in Kāñci. Our author nowhere mentions the name of Kāñcī in his Colophons. From the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsian we learn that in the days of Buddha (B.C. he frequented the region around Kāñcī and made conversions. From the same source we learn also that Asokarāja built several stupas none of which has survived to the present day. It would be remembered that Dhammapālā, the celebrated Buddhīst savant and scholar at Nālandā, hailed from Kāñcipurā. Whether Asokarāja ordered stupas to be built at the city of Kāñcī or not, it is not possible to say. The presumption that he might have done so gains strength in view of the discovery of Asoka’s inscriptions as far south as Siddāpūra in the region of Mysore, and from the fact that his inscriptions mention the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralaputras. At any rate Hiuen Tsian says that he noticed a stupa about 100 feet high built by Asokarāja."

About his date.

Mrs. Rhys Davids, in her Introduction to the Psalms of the Sisters (XVI), states: "In the fifth or sixth century, A.D., either before or just after Buddhaghosa had flourished, and written his great commentaries on the prose works of Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas, Dhammapālā of Kāñcipurā (now Conjeevaram), Madras Presidency, 45 miles west-south-west of Madras (on the Chingleput-Arkonam line S.I. Railway). The following description is given in India’s Sacred Shrines and Cities, (p. 35) about Conjeevaram:

"Conjeevaram is one of the most ancient and celebrated towns of South India. It is also one of the seven sacred places of India, the others being Ayodhya, Muttara, Haridwar, Benares, Avantika, and Dwarka . . . It was originally the capital of Pallavas who ruled over South India between 4th and 8th centuries, A.D. Even earlier it had come to be a fertile cultivated district, situated at the northern fringes of the Chola kingdom, known as Tondamandalam. The Pallavas were great patrons of learning and art, and upholders of Hindu religion. Under their rule, the city became a literary and religious centre. Sanskrit scholars like Dinnaga the Buddhist logician and others lived in the city. It is to this period that those glowing descriptions of the city in the ancient classical works like Tamil ‘Manimekalai’ refer. We read that the city was strongly fortified, was resplendent with towering palaces, was surrounded by a moat and had big streets fit for cars to run in . . ."


5. As to the statement of Dhammapālā himself, in the Colophon of Nettittakathā that he lived in a monastery built by Dharmakosā at Nāgapāṭṭana, it is most probable that the king would have ordered some stupas to be built in this famous city of Kāñcī.

Dhammapāla. Dharmakīrti, the famous Buddhist logician, who flourished during the last half of the 7th century, was also a pupil of Dhammapāla.7 According to these facts, Dhammapāla’s date must be about the beginning of the 7th century and the last half of the sixth.

(Hiuen Tsiang has not given the name of the king who was reigning when he visited Kāñcipurā or the name of the king who was the patron of young Dhammapāla. According to the History of the Pallava of Kāñcipurā (p. 68), Simhavaranman III, would have been the patron of Dhammapāla. Simhavishnu, the successor of the above has ruled A.D. 575-600, this was the period when Dhammapāla acted as the Superior at Nālandā. Therefore Simhavishnu’s father would have been the patron of young Dhammapāla).

Thus we have established the date of one Dhammapāla. All records, which make mention about this Superior of Nālandā, agree in stating that he hailed from South India. The fact that our Commentator Dhammapāla was a South Indian and that he lived in the south for a considerable time is evident from his own colophons in his Pali works. He must have lived in a period little later than that of Buddhaghosa in order to comment on the Visuddhimagga. As this Superior Dhammapāla’s date suitably falls within this period I suppose these two eminent persons to be one and the same.

Now the problem is how to reconcile their divergences, one being a Theravādin and the other a Mahāyānīst of the Yogācāra school. In those days changing of one’s philosophy and embracing that of another school was not later than that of Buddhaghosa in order to comment on the Visuddhimagga. In the earlier part of his life and has become a Mahayanist in his later life. Sarvastivadin ideals. Likewise our author has composed Pali commentaries from South India. The fact that our Commentator Dhammapala was a South Indian and that he lived in the south for a considerable time is evident from his own colophons in his Pali works. He must have lived in a period little later than that of Buddhaghosa in order to comment on the Visuddhimagga. As this Superior Dhammapāla’s date suitably falls within this period I suppose these two eminent persons to be one and the same.

Here I would quote some passages from the Introduction of Professor P. V. Bapat, Ferguson College, Poona, to his valuable work, A Comparative Study of Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga, (p. L.).

“At the end of the commentaries on works like Thera-Teiṭīgātha Petavattu, Vimānavatthu, and Netippakarana, we find the same information about Dhammapāla that he lived in Badaratitthavīhara. So it appears to be evident that the author of Paramatthamanjūra and the author of the commentaries on Theragāthā… and Netippakarana, are one and the same person. Sāsanaṃsāsā, (p. 33) tells us the same fact about Aciṟiyav-Dhammapālena” omitting the word therā (= Elder). Only in two works I found the word therā. This fact shows that he was not much advanced in years when he composed these works.

Here I would quote some passages from the Introduction of Professor P. V. Bapat, Ferguson College, Poona, to his valuable work, A Comparative Study of Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga, (p. L.).

“...”

8. This is another way of spelling ‘Hiuen Tsiang.’


10. He is speaking about Kusapura in Kausambi.
country, being partial to the teaching of heresy, wished to overthrow the law of Buddha, whilst he showed the greatest respect to the unbelievers. One day he summoned from among heretics a master of śāstras, extremely learned of Buddha, whilst he showed the greatest respect to the unbelievers. One and of superior talents, who clearly understood the abstruse doctrines (of religion). He had composed a work of heresy in a thousand ślokas, consisting of thirty-two thousand words. In this work he contradicted and slandered the law of Buddha, and represented his own school as orthodox. Whereupon the question under dispute, adding that if the heretics were victorious he would destroy the law of Buddha, but that if the priests did not suffer debate he would cut out his tongue as proof of the acknowledgement of his fault. At this time the company of the priests being afraid they would be defeated, assembled for consultation, and said, ‘The sun of wisdom having set, the bridge of the law is about to fall. The king is partial to the heretics, how can we hope to prevail against them? . . . The assembly remained silent, and no one stood up to suggest any plan.”

“Dharmapala Bodhisattva, although young in years, had acquired a wide renown for penetration and wisdom, and the reputation of his noble character was far spread. He was now in the assembly, and standing up, with encouraging words addressed them thus: ‘Ignorant though I am, yet I request permission to say a few words. Verily I am ready to answer immediately to the king’s summons. If by my lofty argument I obtain the victory, this will prove spiritual protection; but if I fail in the subtle part of the argument, this will be attributable to my youth. In either case there will be an escape, so that the law and the priesthood will suffer no loss.’ They said, ‘We agree to your proposition, and they voted that he should respond to the king’s summons. Forthwith he ascended the pulpit.”

“The heretical teacher began to lay down his captious principles, and to maintain or oppose the sense of the words and arguments used. At last, having fully explained his own position, he waited for the opposite side to speak. Dharmapala Bodhisattva, accepting his words, said with a smile, ‘I am conqueror! I will show how he uses false arguments in advocating his heretical doctrines, how his sentences are confused in urging his false teaching.’ The opponent, with some emotion, said, ‘Sir, be not high-minded. If you can expose my words you will be the conqueror, but first take my text fairly and explain its meaning.’ Then Dharmapala, with modulated voice, followed the principles of his text, the words and the argument, without a mistake or change of expression.”

“When the heretic had heard the whole, he was ready to cut out his tongue; but Dharmapala said, ‘It is not by cutting your tongue you show repentance. Change your principles—that is repentance.’ Immediately he explained the law for his sake; his heart believed it and his mind embraced the truth. The king gave up his heresy and profoundly respected to law of Buddha.”

In the Life of Huen Tsiang by his pupil Hwui Li 10 some more details are given about Dharmapala. There, in Book IV, (p. 139), after relating the life story of Dharmapala the following account is given: “In consequence he was able to penetrate the meaning of all the schools, and exercise himself in the art of religious composition. He drew up the following works: the Sabdavidya-samyuktad-śāstra, in 25,000 ślokas; a commentary on the Śala-śāstra-vaiśāsya-śāstra; on the Vidyāmātrakaśāstra; and on Nyāyadeva-śāstra—altogether several tens of books: very extended and highly significant of his eminent virtue and great talent.”

Now some information is necessary about the university of which our author once was the Superior. It is better to quote again the words of Shaman Hwui Li and the Master of the Law (= Huen Tsiang) themselves. In Book III of the Life, (p. 112) is the following statement: “The Saṅghārāmaṇas of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (residing therein) always reached to the number of 10,000, who all study the Great Vehicle, and also the works belonging to the eighteen sects, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the Hctuvidya, Sabda-vidya, the Chikitsavidya, the works on magic (Atharvaaveda), the Saṅkhya, besides these they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works. There are 1,000 men who can explain twenty collections of Śāstras and Śāstras; 500 who can explain thirty collections, and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Śālabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number . . . Within the temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching, 11 and students attend these discourses without any fail, even for a minute. The priests dwelling here, are, as a body, naturally dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules.”

From p. 111, of the same book: “Moreover the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, . . . on which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle of the Saṅghārāmaṇa. The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hilltops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours of the morning), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.”

11. Now-a-days we call them "Chairs for Lecturing."
All the outside courts, in which are the priests' Chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned bahu-trades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene.

Hiuen Tsiang himself speaks of this university in the following terms:—

"The priests, to the number of several thousands, are men of highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the Tripitaka are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then streams of their wisdom spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name of Nalanda students, and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new books before getting admission..."

But with respect to those of conspicuous talent of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtue, distinguished men, these connect their high names with the succession of celebrities belonging to the college, such as Dharmapala and Chandrapala, who excited by their bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and worldly; Gomarat and Sthiramat, the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now; Prabhāmitra, with his clear discourses; Jinaimitra, with his exalted eloquence; the pattern and fame of Jñānachandra reflect his brilliant activity, Sīkha-Buddhi and Śīlabhadra and other eminent men whose names are lost. These illustrious personages, known to all, excelled in their attainments all their distinguished predecessors, and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed some tens of treatises and commentaries which were widely diffused, and which for their perspicuity are passed down to the present time."

It was stated above that Ācārya Dharmapala belonged to the Yogācāra School. About these Yogācārinis Professor Kimura gives the following description in his Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism, (p. 176):—"Among the Mahāyāna teachers, those of the Yogācāra school mentioned above, tried not only to establish the relation and comparison between the Primitive and Developed Buddhism by the application of terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hinayāna,' but also emphatically asserted to prove that the Mahāyāna Buddhism is Buddha's true doctrine. For example; Dharmapala, in his Viṣṇupatimātra-siddhi-sāstra, quoted Maitreyanātha's explanation on the said point."

He has given more details about this fact and students of the subject are referred to Prof. Kimura's work for further data.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that some other facts recorded by Hiuen Tsiang regarding a contemporary teacher by the name of Bhāvaviveka throw some further light on the life of Dharmapala. While describing Dhana-kaṭaka (in Kalinga) he records (Vol. II, p. 223): "To the south of the city a little way is a great mountain cavern. It is here the master of sāstras, Bhāvaviveka remains in the palace of Asuras, awaiting the arrival of Maitreya Bodhisattva as perfect Buddha. This master of sāstras was widely renowned for his elegant scholarship and for the depth of his vast attainments. Externally he was a disciple of Kapila, but inwardly he was fully possessed of the learning of Nāgarjuna. Having heard that Dharmapala of Magadha was spreading abroad the teaching of the Law, and was making many thousand disciples, he desired to discuss with him. He took his religious staff and went. Coming to Pātaliputra he ascertained that Dharmapala Bodhisattva was dwelling at Bodhi-tree. Then the master of sāstras ordered his disciples thus: 'Go you to the place where Dharmapala resides near Bodhi-tree, and say to him in my name, 'Bodhisattva (i.e., Dharmapala) publishes abroad the doctrine of the Buddha... Swear to accomplish your object, and then you will be in the end guide of gods and men.'

"Dharmapala Bodhisattva answered the messenger thus: 'The lives of men are like a phantom, the body is as a bubble. The whole day I exert myself; I have no time for controversy; you may therefore depart—there can be no meeting.'"

Dr. Kimura, in his "Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism," has mentioned (p. 168) that Bhāvaviveka flourished about the end of the 5th century A.D. And in another place (p. 184) of the same book he has defined Bhāvaviveka's date as about 525-550, A.D.

Dharmapala, however, would have flourished during the last half of the 6th century in order to become the tutor of Śīlabhadra who was the Superior of Nālandā when Hiuen Tsiang visited that institution about 635, A.D. Śīlabhadra was then 70 years old.

A. P. BUDDHADATTA.