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Maagandiyasuttam

Point by point Classification

I heard thus:

At one time the Blessed One was living in the monastery offered by Anathapindika in Jeta's grove in Savatthi. The Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus from there. 'Bhikkhus I will give the point by point classification, listen attentively.' Those Bhikkhus agreed and the Blessed One said thus. 'Bhikkhus, in whatever manner the Bhikkhu examines, he finds his external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried. Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried, there would not be to him future arisings of birth, decay, death and unpleasantness.' The Blessed One said thus, got up from his seat and went to his dwelling.

Soon after the Blessed One had left, it occurred to those Bhikkhus, The Blessed One has given this short exposition and without giving the detailed explanation has got up from his seat and gone to his dwelling 'Bhikkhus, in whatever manner the Bhikkhu examines, he finds his external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried. Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried, there would not be to him future arisings of birth, decay, death and unpleasantness.' Who could give us the detailed explanation to this short exposition given by the Blessed One?

It occurred to those Bhikkhus, venerable Maha Kaccana is praised by the Teacher as well as by the wise co-associates in the holy life. It is possible for venerable Maha Kaccana to give the detailed exposition for this short exposition given by the Blessed One. What if we approached venerable Maha

Kaccana and asked this. Then those Bhikkhus approached venerable Maha Kaccana, exchanged friendly greetings, sat on a side and said. 'Friend, Kaccana, the Blessed One gave this short exposition and without giving the detailed exposition got up from the seat and went to his dwelling-'Bhikkhus, in whatever manner the Bhikkhu examines, he finds his external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried. Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried, there would not be to him future arisings of birth, decay, death and unpleasantness.' Now who could give us the detailed exposition of this short exposition?'

It occurred to us venerable Maha Kaccana is praised by the Teacher as well as the wise co-associates of the holy life. It is possible for venerable Maha Kaccana to give the detailed exposition for this short exposition given by the Blessed One. What if we approached venerable Maha Kaccana and asked this. So those Bhikkhus approached venerable Maha Kaccana and said 'Friend Kaccana, explain this to us.'

'Friends, it is like a man in need of heartwood, going in search of it, come to a standing huge tree full of heartwood, ignoring the heartwood, roots and trunk was to think that the branches and leaves was the heartwood. In the same manner, the venerable ones come face to face with the Teacher have ignored him and should ask it from me. That Blessed One knows, sees, has become wise, has become the Teaching and has become Brahma. He preaches and practices, is the bringer of meanings, the giver of deathlessness, the lord of the Teaching and thus gone. Now is the right time to ask this from him and as he explains it, we will bear it in our minds'.

'Friend Kaccana, indeed, that Blessed One knows, sees, has become wise, has become the Teaching and has become Brahma. He preaches and practices it, is the bringer of meanings, the giver of deathlessness, the lord of the Teaching

and thus gone. Now is the right time to ask this from him and as he explains it, we will bear it in our minds. Yet, venerable Maha Kaccana is praised by the Teacher as well as the wise co-associates of the holy life. It is possible for venerable Maha Kaccana to give the detailed exposition for this short exposition given by the Blessed One. Friend Kaccana, explain this to us, if it is not troublesome to you’.

‘Then friends, listen and attend carefully.’ Those Bhikkhus agreed and venerable Maha Kaccana said thus ‘The Blessed One has given this short exposition and without giving the detailed explanation has got up from his seat and gone to his dwelling ‘Bhikkhus, in whatever manner the Bhikkhu examines, he finds his external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding he is not worried. Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus external consciousness is not scattered, internally is not settled and without a holding is not worried, there would not be to him future arisings of birth, decay, death and unpleasantness’ Of this short exposition, I understand the detailed explanation thus.

Friends, how is external consciousness scattered and spread out? Friends, the Bhikkhu seeing a form has eye consciousness which follows that form enslaved, bound fettered and in search of pleasure. To this is called external consciousness is scattered and spread out. Hearing a sound...re...Smelling a scent...re...Tasting...re...Experiencing a touch...re...Cognizing an idea has mind consciousness, which follows that idea enslaved, bound and fettered in search of pleasure. To this is called external consciousness is scattered and spread out.

Friends, how is external consciousness not scattered and not spread out? Friends, the Bhikkhu seeing a form has eye consciousness, which does not follow that form enslaved, bound and fettered in search of pleasure. To this is called external consciousness is not scattered and not spread out. Hearing a sound...re.... Smelling a

scent...re...Tasting...re...Experiencing a touch...re...Cognizing an idea has mind consciousness, which does not follow that idea enslaved, bound and fettered in search of pleasure. To this is called external consciousness is not scattered and not spread out.

Friends, how is the mind internally settled? Friends, the Bhikkhu secluded from sensual desires and demerit, with thoughts and thought processes and with joy and pleasantness born of seclusion attains to the first jhana. To him there is consciousness, which is enslaved, bound, fettered and in search of pleasure following after joy and pleasantness born of seclusion. To this is called the mind is internally settled. Again the Bhikkhu overcoming thoughts and thought processes, internally the mind settled and in one point, with joy and pleasantness born of concentration attains to the second jhana. To him there is consciousness, which is enslaved, bound, fettered and in search of pleasure following after joy and pleasantness born of concentration. To this is called the mind is internally settled. Again the Bhikkhu with equanimity to joy and detachment abides mindful and aware and with the body experiencing pleasantness too, attains to the third jhana. To this the noble ones say abiding in pleasantness with equanimity. To him there is consciousness which is enslaved, bound, fettered and in search of pleasure following after equanimity. To this is called the mind is internally settled. Again, friends the Bhikkhu dispelling pleasantness and unpleasantness and earlier having overcome pleasure and displeasure, with equanimity mindfulness purified attains to the fourth jhana. To him there is consciousness which is enslaved, bound, fettered and in search of pleasure following after neither unpleasantness nor pleasantness. To this is called the mind is internally settled.

Friends, how is the mind internally not settled? Friends, the Bhikkhu secluded from sensual desires and demerit, with thoughts and thought processes and with joy and pleasantness born of seclusion attains to the first jhana. His consciousness is

not enslaved, bound, fettered and is not in search of pleasure following after joy and pleasantness born of seclusion. To this is called the mind is internally not settled. Again the Bhikkhu overcoming thoughts and thought processes, internally the mind settled and in one point, with joy and pleasantness born of concentration attains to the second jhana. His consciousness is not enslaved, bound, fettered and is not in search of pleasure following after joy and pleasantness born of concentration. To this is called the mind is not internally settled. Again the Bhikkhu with equanimity to joy and detachment abides mindful and aware and with the body experiencing pleasantness too, attains to the third jhana. To this the noble ones say abiding in pleasantness with equanimity. His consciousness is not enslaved, bound, fettered and is not in search of pleasure following after equanimity. To this is called the mind is internally not settled. Again, friends the Bhikkhu dispelling pleasantness and unpleasantness and earlier having overcome pleasure and displeasure, with equanimity mindfulness purified attains to the fourth jhana. His consciousness is not enslaved, bound, fettered and is not in search of pleasure following after neither unpleasantness nor pleasantness. To this is called the mind is not internally settled. Friends, to this is said the mind is internally not settled.

Friends, how is there worry for non holding? Friends, the not learned ordinary man who has not seen noble ones or Great Beings, not clever in their Teachings and not trained in their Teachings sees matter in self, or a material self, or in self matter, or in matter self. That matter changes, takes some other form. Consciousness arises to him about the changed nature of matter and he worries about the changed nature of matter. The worry takes hold of the mind in which the Teaching had arisen, terrifying and annoying it and he worries without a hold...Sees feelings in self, or a feeling self, or in self feelings, or in feelings self...re...Sees perceptions in self, or a perceiving self, or in self perceptions, or in perceptions self...re...Sees determinations in self, or a determining self, or in self determinations, or in determinations self Sees consciousness

in self, or a conscious self, or in self consciousness, or in consciousness self This consciousness changes, take some other form. Consciousness arises to him about the changed nature of consciousness and he worries about the changed nature of consciousness. The worry takes hold of the mind in which the Teaching had arisen, terrifying and annoying it and he worries without a hold. Friends, this is worrying for non-holding.

Friends, how is there no worry for non-holding? Friends, the learned noble disciple who has seen noble ones and Great Beings, is clever in their Teachings and trained in their Teachings does not see matter in self, or a material self, or in self matter, or in matter self. That matter changes, takes some other form. Consciousness arises to him about the changed nature of matter and he does not worry about the changed nature of matter. The worry does not take hold of the mind in which the Teaching had arisen, terrifying and annoying it and he does not worry without a hold. Does not see feelings in self, or a feeling self, or in self feelings, or in feelings self...re...Does not see perceptions in self, or a perceiving self, or in self perceptions, or in perceptions self...re...Does not see determinations in self, or a determining self, or in self determinations, or in determinations self...re...Does not see consciousness in self, or a conscious self, or in self consciousness, or in consciousness self This consciousness changes, take some other form. Consciousness arises to him about the changed nature of consciousness and he does not worry about the changed nature of consciousness The worry does not take hold of the mind in which the Teaching had arisen, terrifying and annoying it and he does not worry without a hold. Friends, this is not worrying for non-holding.

Friends, of this short exposition given by the Blessed One thus:

‘Bhikkhus, in whatever manner the Bhikkhu examines...re...there would not be to him future arisings of birth, decay, death and unpleasantness’

I know the detailed explanation thus. If you wish approach the Blessed One and ask him about it. As he explains it, we will bear it in our minds.

Those Bhikkhus delighted with the words of venerable Maha Kaccana and appreciating them got up from their seats, approached the Blessed One worshipped, sat on a side and said. 'Venerable sir, that exposition, which the Blessed One stated in short and without giving the detailed explanation got up from the seat and went to the dwelling, such as 'Bhikkhus, in whatever manner the Bhikkhu examines...re...there would not be to him future arisings of birth, decay, death and unpleasantness'

Soon after the Blessed One had gone to his dwelling it occurred to us who could give us the detailed exposition of this short exposition?'

It occurred to us venerable Maha Kaccana is praised by the Teacher as well as the wise co-associates of the holy life. It is possible for venerable Maha Kaccana to give the detailed exposition for this short exposition given by the Blessed One. We approached venerable Maha Kaccana and asked him to explain this to us. He explained it in this manner with these words and phrases

Bhikkhus, Maha Kaccana is wise, if you had asked it from me, I would have explained it in this same manner. This is its meaning, bear it as that.

The Blessed One said thus and those Bhikkhus delighted in the words of the Blessed One.

Madhupindika Sutta

The Ball of Honey

I have heard that on one occasion the Blessed One was living among the Sakyans near Kapilavatthu in the Banyan Park. Then in the early morning, having put on his robes and carrying his bowl & outer robe, he went into Kapilavatthu for alms. Having gone for alms in Kapilavatthu, after the meal, returning from his alms round, he went to the Great Wood for the day's abiding. Plunging into the Great Wood, he sat down at the root of a bilva sapling for the day's abiding.

Dandapani ("Stick-in-hand") the Sakyan, out roaming & rambling for exercise, also went to the Great Wood. Plunging into the Great Wood, he went to where the Blessed One was under the bilva sapling. On arrival, he exchanged courteous greetings with him. After an exchange of friendly greetings & courtesies, he stood to one side. As he was standing there, he said to the Blessed One, "What is the contemplative's doctrine? What does he proclaim?"

"The sort of doctrine, friend, where one does not keep quarreling with anyone in the cosmos with its deities, Maras, & Brahmas, with its contemplatives & priests, its royalty & common folk; the sort [of doctrine] where perceptions no longer lie latent in the Brahmin who remains dissociated from sensual pleasures, free from perplexity, his uncertainty cut away, devoid of craving for becoming & non-. Such is my doctrine, such is what I proclaim."

When this was said, Dandapani the Sakyan -- shaking his head, wagging his tongue, raising his eyebrows so that his forehead was wrinkled in three furrows -- left, leaning on his stick.

Then, when it was evening, the Blessed One rose from his seclusion and went to the Banyan Park. On arrival, he sat

down on a seat made ready. As he was sitting there, he [told the monks what had happened]. When this was said, a certain monk said to the Blessed One, "Lord, what sort of doctrine is it where one does not keep quarreling with anyone in the cosmos with its deities, Maras, & Brahmas, with its contemplatives & priests, its royalty & common folk; where perceptions no longer lie latent in the Brahmin who remains dissociated from sensual pleasures, free from perplexity, his uncertainty cut away, devoid of craving for becoming & non-?"

"If, monk, with regard to the cause whereby the perceptions & categories of complication assail a person, there is nothing there to relish, welcome, or remain fastened to, then that is the end of the underlying tendencies to passion, to irritation, to views, to uncertainty, to conceit, to passion for becoming, & to ignorance. That is the end of taking up rods & bladed weapons, of arguments, quarrels, disputes, accusations, divisive tale-bearing, & false speech. That is where these evil, unskillful things cease without remainder." That is what the Blessed One said. Having said it, the One Well-gone got up from his seat and went into his dwelling.

Then, not long after the Blessed One had left, this thought occurred to the monks: "This brief statement the Blessed One made, after which he went into his dwelling without analyzing the detailed meaning -- i.e., 'If, with regard to the cause whereby the perceptions & categories of complication assail a person, there is nothing to relish ... that is where these evil, unskillful things cease without remainder': now who might analyze the unanalyzed detailed meaning of this brief statement?" Then the thought occurred to them, "Ven. Maha Kaccayana is praised by the Teacher and esteemed by his knowledgeable companions in the holy life. He is capable of analyzing the unanalyzed detailed meaning of this brief statement. Suppose we were to go to him and, on arrival, question him about this matter."

So the monks went to Ven. Maha Kaccayana and, on arrival exchanged courteous greetings with him. After an exchange of friendly greetings & courtesies, they sat to one side. As they were sitting there, they [told him what had happened, and added,] "Analyze the meaning, Ven. Maha Kaccayana!"

[He replied:] "Friends, it's as if a man needing heartwood, looking for heartwood, wandering in search of heartwood -- passing over the root & trunk of a standing tree possessing heartwood -- were to imagine that heartwood should be sought among its branches & leaves. So it is with you, who -- having bypassed the Blessed One when you were face to face with him, the Teacher -- imagine that I should be asked about this matter. For knowing, the Blessed One knows; seeing, he sees. He is the Eye, he is Knowledge, he is Dhamma, he is Brahma. He is the speaker, the proclaimer, the elucidator of meaning, the giver of the Deathless, the lord of the Dhamma, the Tathágata. That was the time when you should have questioned him about this matter. However he answered, that was how you should have remembered it."

"Yes, friend Kaccayana: knowing, the Blessed One knows; seeing, he sees. He is the Eye, he is Knowledge, he is Dhamma, he is Brahma. He is the speaker, the proclaimer, the elucidator of meaning, the giver of the Deathless, the lord of the Dhamma, the Tathágata. That was the time when we should have questioned him about this matter. However he answered, that was how we should have remembered it. But you are praised by the Teacher and esteemed by your knowledgeable companions in the holy life. You are capable of analyzing the unanalyzed detailed meaning of this brief statement. Analyze the meaning, Ven. Maha Kaccayana!"

"In that case, my friends, listen & pay close attention. I will speak."

"As you say, friend," the monks responded.

Ven. Maha Kaccayana said this: "Concerning the brief statement the Blessed One made, after which he went into his dwelling without analyzing the detailed meaning -- i.e., 'If, with regard to the cause whereby the perceptions & categories of complication assail a person, there is nothing there to relish, welcome, or remain fastened to, then that is the end of the underlying tendencies to passion, to irritation, to views, to uncertainty, to conceit, to passion for becoming, & to ignorance. That is the end of taking up rods & bladed weapons, of arguments, quarrels, disputes, accusations, divisive tale-bearing, & false speech. That is where these evil, unskillful things cease without remainder' -- I understand the detailed meaning to be this:

"Dependent on eye & forms, eye-consciousness arises. The meeting of the three is contact. With contact as a requisite condition, there is feeling. What one feels, one perceives (labels in the mind). What one perceives, one thinks about. What one thinks about, one complicates. Based on what a person complicates, the perceptions & categories of complication assail him/her with regard to past, present, & future forms cognizable via the eye.

"Dependent on ear & sounds, ear-consciousness arises

"Dependent on nose & aromas, nose-consciousness arises

"Dependent on tongue & flavors, tongue-consciousness arises

"Dependent on body & tactile sensations, body-consciousness arises

"Dependent on intellect & ideas, intellect-consciousness arises. The meeting of the three is contact. With contact as a requisite condition, there is feeling. What one feels, one perceives (labels in the mind). What one perceives, one thinks about. What one thinks about, one complicates. Based on what a person complicates, the perceptions & categories of

complication assail him/her with regard to past, present, & future ideas cognizable via the intellect.

"Now, when there is the eye, when there are forms, when there is eye-consciousness, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of contact.[1] When there is a delineation of contact, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of feeling. When there is a delineation of feeling, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of perception. When there is a delineation of perception, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of thinking. When there is a delineation of thinking, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of being assailed by the perceptions & categories of complication.

"When there is the ear

"When there is the nose

"When there is the tongue

"When there is the body

"When there is the intellect, when there are ideas, when there is intellect-consciousness, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of contact. When there is a delineation of contact, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of feeling. When there is a delineation of feeling, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of perception. When there is a delineation of perception, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of thinking. When there is a delineation of thinking, it is possible that one will delineate a delineation of being assailed by the perceptions & categories of complication.

"Now, when there is no eye, when there are no forms, when there is no eye-consciousness, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of contact. When there is no delineation of contact, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of feeling. When there is no delineation of feeling, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of perception.

When there is no delineation of perception, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of thinking. When there is no delineation of thinking, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of being assailed by the perceptions & categories of complication.

"When there is no ear

"When there is no nose

"When there is no tongue

"When there is no body

"When there is no intellect, when there are no ideas, when there is no intellect-consciousness, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of contact. When there is no delineation of contact, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of feeling. When there is no delineation of feeling, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of perception. When there is no delineation of perception, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of thinking. When there is no delineation of thinking, it is impossible that one will delineate a delineation of being assailed by the perceptions & categories of complication.

"So, concerning the brief statement the Blessed One made, after which he entered his dwelling without analyzing the detailed meaning -- i.e., 'If, with regard to the cause whereby the perceptions & categories of complication assail a person, there is nothing there to relish, welcome, or remain fastened to, then that is the end of the underlying tendencies to passion, to irritation, to views, to uncertainty, to conceit, to passion for becoming, & to ignorance. That is the end of taking up rods & bladed weapons, of arguments, quarrels, disputes, accusations, divisive tale-bearing, & false speech. That is where these evil, unskillful things cease without remainder' -- this is how I understand the detailed meaning. Now, if you wish, having

gone to the Blessed One, question him about this matter. However he answers is how you should remember it."

Then the monks, delighting & approving of Ven. Maha Kaccayana's words, rose from their seats and went to the Blessed One. On arrival, having bowed down to him, they sat to one side. As they were sitting there, they [told him what had happened after he had gone into his dwelling, and ended by saying,] "Then Ven. Maha Kaccayana analyzed the meaning using these words, statements, & phrases."

"Maha Kaccayana is wise, monks. He is a person of great discernment. If you had asked me about this matter, I too would have answered in the same way he did. That is the meaning of this statement. That is how you should remember it."

When this was said, Ven. Ánanda said to the Blessed One, "Lord, it's as if a man -- overcome with hunger, weakness, & thirst -- were to come across a ball of honey. Wherever he were to taste it, he would experience a sweet, delectable flavor. In the same way, wherever a monk of capable awareness might investigate the meaning of this Dhamma discourse with his discernment, he would experience gratification, he would experience confidence. What is the name of this Dhamma discourse?"

"Then, Ánanda, you can remember this Dhamma discourse as the 'Ball of Honey Discourse.'"

That is what the Blessed One said. Gratified, Ven. Ánanda delighted in the Blessed One's words.

Note

1. The artificiality of this phrase -- "delineate a delineation" -- seems intentional. It underlines the artifice implicit in the process by which the mind, in singling out events, turns them into discrete things.

The Madhura Sutta

(MAJJHIMA NIKÂYA, SUTTA 84)

THE Sutta of which the Pâli text and commentary, together with a translation, are here given, is No. 84 of the Majjhima Nikâya. In addition to the interest which attends every addition to our knowledge of the great canonical books of primitive Buddhism, this Sutta may claim a twofold interest of its own, derived (i.) from the form in which the dialogue is cast, and (ii.) from its subject.

As regards the form, whilst the Madhura Sutta is unlike the generality of Suttas in presenting as the chief interlocutor not the Buddha himself but one of his disciples, yet it is not without parallels in this respect. For example, in Sutta No. 44 of the Majjhima Nikâya,^[1] the learned Sister Dhammadinnâ expounds the Truth to her whilom husband; whilst in Suttas Nos. 15 and 43 Moggallâna and Sâriputta respectively play the chief part, and there are not even the final words of approval with which in No. 44 the Buddha endorses what Dhammadinnâ has taught. There is, however, one essential point in which the Madhura Sutta is marked off from even such Suttas as the three mentioned. For, whereas in all those three, even in Nos. 15 and 43, we are carefully, if irrelevantly, informed of the precise spot at which the Buddha was dwelling at the time of the dialogue--in the Madhura Sutta it is expressly stated that the Buddha was no longer living but dead. The only parallel which occurs to me is found in the (unedited) Ghotamukha Sutta (No. 94 of the Majjhima Nikâya), where the circumstances leading up to the statement are precisely similar to those of the Madhura Sutta. The important

[1. Analysed in Miss Foley's article in this year's J.R.A.S.]

fact which these two Suttas formally prove is that, like Christianity in the hands of St. Paul, Buddhism, after the death

of its founder, continued to develop in the hands of his disciples.

In the Madhura Sutta Kaccâna discusses, as the Buddha had discussed in other Suttas, the great Indian institution of caste--or '*colour*' according to the literal translation of the term used for caste alike in Pâli and in Sanskrit. It is not within the province of this paper to investigate the evolution of the caste-system from the primary distinction of colour between the white Aryan invaders and the 'black men' whom they first encountered in India . By the time that Buddhism arose, some five centuries before the Christian era, caste was an accomplished fact; within the Aryan pale, society was more or less rigidly divided into the four 'classic' castes. Thus in the Ka.n.nakathâla Sutta (No. 90 of the Majjhima Nikâya) the Buddha is represented as saying--

"There are these four castes--kshatriyas, brahmins, vai.syas, and .sûdras. Of these four castes, two--the kshatriyas and the brahmins--are given precedence, to wit, in salutation, homage, obeisance, and due ministry."

It is important at this point to note that the Pâli Pi.takas, in specifying the four castes as above, invariably give precedence to the kshatriyas--the râjanya of the Vedic hymns. As it may be taken for certain that, when this 'kingly class' first arose, it was supreme in Indian society, the Pi.takas preserve the ancient tradition in their championship of the established precedence of the kshatriyas against the presumptuous usurpation of the brahmins, and mark the transitional epoch when the brahmin's claim to pre-eminence, p. 343 though urged with growing arrogance, had not yet extorted universal recognition--more particularly from the kshatriyas. There is an excellent illustration of this in the Amba.t.tha Sutta (No. 3 of the Dîgha Nikâya), where the young brahmin Amba.t.tha denounces the Sakyan kshatriyas as follows:--"The Sakyan race is fierce, violent, hasty, and long-tongued. Though they are naught but men of substance, yet they pay no respect,

honour, or reverence to brahmins." And the young brahmin goes on to complain that he himself had not been treated by them in Kapilavastu with the respect which he expected. Without attempting to deny the allegation, the Buddha urges that the Sakyans were at home in their own city, and that Amba.t.tha had no right to be so angry because no notice was taken of him. Far more important for our present purpose are sections 24-28 of the same Amba.t.tha Sutta, which deal with the treatment accorded by kshatriyas and brahmins respectively to the son (i.) of a kshatriya youth by a brahmin girl, and (ii.) of brahmin youth by a kshatriya girl. In reply to the Buddha's series of questions, the young brahmin is forced to admit that in both cases alike the brahmins will recognize the hybrid offspring as a full brahmin, whereas the kshatriyas will not admit to kshatriya rank anyone who is not the child of kshatriya parents on both sides. "So it is clear," triumphantly argues the Buddha, "whether you regard it from the male or from the female side, that it is the kshatriyas who are the best people, and the brahmins their inferiors." Similarly, the young brahmin is forced to admit that, if a kshatriya is expelled by his fellows, the brahmins will welcome him as one of themselves, and he will rank as a full brahmin,^[1] whereas an expelled brahmin is never received by the kshatriyas. Hence, even when a kshatriya is in the depths of degradation, still it is true that the kshatriyas are the best people, and the brahmins their inferiors! Having got the young brahmin

[1. This conflicts with Prof. Rhys Davids' statement (Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 24) that at the rise of Buddhism "no kshatriya could any longer become a brâhman."]

so far in recognizing the lesson taught by the facts of life, the Buddha clinches the matter with a favourite quotation^[1]:--

"Moreover, it was the Brahmâ^[2] Sana "m-kumâra^[3] who uttered this stanza--

The kshatriya is best among folk who heed lineage. He who knows and acts aright is best among gods and men.

Now this stanza, Amba.t.tha, was well sung and not ill sung by the Brahmâ Sana"m-kumâra, well said and not ill said, sensible and not senseless. I, too, Amba.t.tha, join in saying that the kshatriya is best among folk who heed lineage," etc.

[1. It occurs in the Majjhima and Sa"myutta Nikâyas, as well as in the above passage in the Dîgha.

2. At page 239 of his *Buddhism*, Bishop Copleston strangely mistakes Brahmuno for brâhma.nena, and translates "It was a *brahman*"!

3. In note 14 to page 38 of his *Vish/nu Purâ/na* (London, 1840), H. H. Wilson says:--"The Kaumâra creation is the creation of Rudra or Nîllohita, a form of Śiva, by Brahmâ, which is subsequently described in our text, and of certain other mind-born sons of Brahmâ, of whose birth the Vish/nu Purâ/na gives no further account: they are elsewhere termed Sanat-kumâra, Sananda, Sanaka, and Sanâtana, with sometimes a fifth, Ribhu, added. These declining to create progeny, remained, as the name of the first implies *ever boys*, Kumâras: that is, ever pure and innocent; whence their creation is called the Kaumâra. . . . And the Linga has . . . 'Being ever as he was born, he is here called a youth; and hence his name is well known as Sanat-kumâra.' This authority makes Sanat-kumâra and Ribhu the two first born of all; whilst the text of the Hari Vansa limits the primogeniture to Sanat-kumâra. . . . Sanat-kumâra and his brethren are always described in the Saiva Purâ/nas as Yogis: as the Kúrma, after enumerating them, adds: 'These five, oh Brahmans, were Yogis, who acquired entire exemption from passion'; and the Hari Vansa, although rather Vaishnava than Saiva, observes that the Yogis celebrate these six, along with Kapila, in Yoga works."

In Pâli, Sanat-kumâra becomes Sana "m-kumâra, still retaining the meaning of {Greek: *o áei párdēnos*}. Buddhaghosa, in his

commentary on the above Pâli text as it occurs in the 63rd Sutta of the Majjhima Nikâya, says:--" Sana "m-kumâra means 'The maid of yore.' From very ancient days he has been known as 'the Maid.' Tradition says that, when among men in the epoch of the Five Little Maids (? = the five mind-born sons of Brahmâ above), he grew to Insight, and, dying with Insight full and undimmed, was re-born in the Brahmâ Realm. His old existence was so sweet and dear to him that it was always in such semblance that he went about. Therefore, he was known as Sana "m-kumâra."]

p. 345

On enquiry of Sanskrit scholars, I have been unable to discover any trace of this remarkable *gâthâ* in existing Brahminical literature. Now, it is hardly conceivable that Buddhism could have concocted the verse, and have had the impudence to foist its authorship upon the venerable personality of Sanat-kumâra; the forgery would have been too monstrous, and the exposure too certain. On the other hand, with the growing claims of the brahmins to precedence, so inconvenient an utterance by so eminent a brahminical authority would naturally tend to be relegated to oblivion, and so, in course of time, to be dropped altogether out of the official recension of brahmin texts. But it is to be hoped that the discovery of the *gâthâ* in Sanskrit may at once corroborate the Buddha in his favourite quotation, and dispel all *prima facie* suspicion of brahminical *suppressio veri*.

The general feeling of Buddhism in favour of kshatriya precedence is briefly indicated in the statement of Chapter iii. of the *Lalita Vistara*, which is thus translated by Foucaux:--"Les Bôdhisattvas naissent certainement dans deux familles, celle des Brahmanes et celle des Kchattryas. Quand c'est la famille des Brahmanes qui est respectée, ils naissent dans une famille de Brahmanes; quand c'est la famille des Kchattryas qui est respectée [yadâ kshatriya-guruko loko bhavati], ils naissent dans une famille de Kchattryas. *Aujourd'hui, religieux, la*

famille des Kchattriyas est respectée, c'est pour cela que les Bôdhisattvas naissent dans une famille de Kchattriyas."

If we pass from social to intellectual rank, it is interesting to note that--at least, in the Upanishad period, in which Buddhism probably arose--there was anything but a tendency among the brahmins who composed the Upanishads to despise the philosophic attainments of the kshatriyas. In the Upanishads it is the great kshatriya kings who are always represented as teaching the brahmins Vedânta. And in the Chândogya Upanishad (of which there is a translation by Professor Max Müller in vol. i. of the Sacred Books of the East), frequent references are made to the superior learning of kshatriyas. It is a kshattiya sage p. 346 who appears in Book i: 8, 1, silencing the brahmins, and again in Book v. 3. At the end of Book v. 3, occurs a very remarkable passage in which Gautama, the father of the Gautama gotra, who had gone to the court of the King of Pañcâla for instruction in the knowledge of a future life, is thus addressed by the king:--

"Since, o Gautama, thou hast thus spoken to me and since this wisdom never came to the brahmins before thee, therefore among all people (or in all worlds) to the kshatriya caste alone has this instruction belonged."^[1]

In the Vâse.t.tha Sutta (No. 35 of the Sutta Nipata and No. 98 of the Majjhima Nikâya) the Buddha appeals to comparative morphology to show that caste distinctions are unscientific. There are numerous generic and specific marks distinguishing the several grasses and trees, worms, moths, beasts, birds, and fishes; but these numerous marks are not found on men as on all other living creatures; the distinctions between man and man are individual, not specific or generic. Herein, Gotama was in accord with the conclusion of modern biologists that "the *Anthropidæ* are represented by the single genus and species, Man,"--a conclusion which was the more remarkable inasmuch as the accident of colour did not mislead Gotama, as it did

within living memory the citizens of a free and enlightened republic.

II.

So far, this sketch of caste from the Buddhist point of view has been confined to what the Ka.n.nakathâla Sutta calls *di.t.thadhammika*, i.e. facts of the visible world. It remains to consider the Pi.taka view of caste with reference to *samparâyika*, i.e. matters concerning the life hereafter. On this head the Pi.takas are emphatic in asserting the irrelevancy of all caste distinctions; the saving

[1. See also the same legend in the .Satapatha Brâhma.na.]

Truth was open to attainment by all castes alike in equal degree. Of the many illustrations which might be adduced to show the worthlessness of caste in the higher life, one of the most picturesque occurs in the Ka.n.nakathâla Sutta, and is here given in an English version.

Says the King to the Buddha: "There are these four castes, sir--kshatriyas, brahmins, vai.syas, and .sûdras; let us suppose them to be imbued with the five forms of strenuous exertion to win Release. In this case would there be any distinction, sir, any difference between these four castes?"

"Here too, sire (replies the Buddha), I do not admit any difference whatsoever between them, that is to say as regards Release compared with Release. Just as if, sire, a man were to kindle a fire with dry herbs, and another man were to kindle a fire with dry sal-wood, and a third were to kindle a fire with dry mango-wood, and a fourth with dry fig-wood--what think you, sire? Would these divers fires kindled with divers wood show any difference whatsoever in flame as compared with flame, in hue as compared with hue, in brightness as compared with brightness?"

"No difference at all, sir."

"Even so, sire, is the inward illumination which is kindled by effort and nursed by strenuous exertion. I say that there is no difference whatsoever herein, that is to say in Release as compared with Release."

III.

The Madhura Sutta, as will be seen *infra*, deals with the caste system under five heads. It teaches that caste (i.) cannot ensure material success in life; (ii.) cannot save the wicked from punishment hereafter; (iii.) cannot debar the good from bliss hereafter; (iv.) cannot shield evildoers from the criminal law; and (v.) cannot affect the uniform veneration extended to the *religieux*, whether he be sprung from p. 348 the highest or the lowest of the four castes. In all these important respects the four castes are exactly equal.^[1] The Madhura Sutta does not go on to state, nor does any Sutta with which I am acquainted venture to state, that in every possible respect the four castes were on one identical footing of equality. Such a statement would have evinced a certain blindness to facts. For, though in all essentials caste was an empty name to the Buddha, nevertheless, the distinctions of caste had a residual sphere of petty activity, and ranked among the 'accidents' of life. Whilst caste had no part in the higher life (which was alone worthy or an earnest man's attention), and was irrelevant in the less trivial of mundane relations, yet there undoubtedly remained a region where, in the absence of higher qualifications, the hereditary distinctions of caste were accepted as an appropriate *differentia* between little men. But into this trivial region Gotama disdained to enter. He was content to explode the caste theory, without denouncing it as a formal institution.

The MSS. which I have used in settling the Pâli text of the Madhura Sutta are four in number--two Burmese (B) and two Si"nhalese (S). The Burmese MSS. are (i.) the Mandalay manuscript (B^m) taken from King Theebaw's library, and (ii.) the Phayre manuscript (B^p), forming part of the collection of Buddhist texts obtained by Sir A. Phayre. These two MSS.,

which are both in the India Office Library, are from the same original, but B^m is incomparably superior to B^p, not only in calligraphy, but in accuracy and scholarship. The India Office Library also contains one of the Si"nhalese MSS. which I have collated, namely, that quoted as S^t, which is the Turnour manuscript.

[1. Bishop Copleston (p. 234) states that "in Madhura Sutta (Maj. Nik. v. *sic.*) Gotama explains that all castes are ultimately equal, as the good, of whatever caste, will enjoy the like reward of their deeds in heaven, and the bad suffer alike in hell.']

In collating this with the Copenhagen manuscript in the Si"nhalese character (S^c), I was struck with the constant uniformity of readings of the two MSS., particularly in copyist's blunders and lacunæ. There can be no doubt that both are copies of a common original, as also are B^m and B^p.

For the text of Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Madhura Sutta I have relied on a single manuscript, in the Si"nhalese character, in my own possession, which Mrs. Bode has been so good as to transcribe for me. In the notes to the Sutta the readings of Buddhaghosa in his Commentary are cited as 'Bu.' In this connection it seems well to repeat the words of Vilhelm Trenckner, in his preface to vol. i. of the Majjhima Nikâya (P.T.S. 1888):--"Whenever Buddhaghosa's readings, from his comments upon them, are unmistakable, they must in my opinion be adopted in spite of other authorities. His MSS. were at least fifteen centuries older than ours, and in a first edition we certainly cannot aim at anything higher than reproducing his text as far as possible."

The Madhura Sutta

(*Majjhima-Nikâya*, No. 84.)

Thus have I heard. Once the reverend Mahâ-Kaccâna was dwelling in the Gundâ-grove at Madhurâ. Now tidings came to King Madhura Avanti-putta that the Sage Kaccâna was dwelling at Madhurâ, in the Gundâ-grove, and that regarding that worshipful Kaccâna such was the high repute noised abroad that it was said of him that he was scholarly, enlightened, sage, full of learning, eloquent, ready in exposition, and aged as well as an Arahât, and that it was good to go and see such Arahats as he was. So King Madhura Avanti-putta ordered his chariots so fair, so fair, to be made ready; got into his chariot so fair; and passed forth from Madhurâ with his chariots so fair, so fair, in royal pomp, to visit the reverend Mahâ-Kaccâna. When he had ridden along in his chariot as far as a chariot might go, he alighted from his chariot and made his way on foot to the reverend Mahâ-Kaccâna. When he had come there, he exchanged with the reverend Mahâ-Kaccâna the greetings and compliments of friendliness and civility, and sat down beside him. Seated thus, King Madhura Avanti-putta spoke as follows to the reverend Mahâ-Kaccâna:--"The brahmins, Kaccâna, say thus,--'the brahmins are the best caste; every other caste is inferior. The brahmins are the white caste; every other caste is black. Only the brahmins are pure, not the non-brahmins. The brahmins are the legitimate sons of Brahmâ, born from his mouth, Brahmâ-born, Brahmâ-made, heirs of Brahmâ.' What do you say to this, sire?"

"It is mere empty words, sire, to give it out among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste; every other caste is inferior. The brahmins are the white caste; every other caste is black. Only the brahmins are pure, not the non-brahmins. The brahmins are the legitimate sons of Brahmâ, born from his mouth, Brahmâ-born, Brahmâ-made, heirs of Brahmâ.'

|

"For the following reason it may be known to be mere empty words to make that statement.--What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a kshatriya in the form of property or

herds or silver or gold, could he have another kshatriya who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?-- Could he have a "brahmin, a vai.sya, and a .sûdra who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccâna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a brahmin in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another brahmin who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?--Could he have a vai.sya, a .sûdra, and a kshatriya who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccâna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a vai.sya in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another vai.sya who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?--Could he have a .sûdra, a kshatriya, and a brahmin who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccâna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a .sûdra in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another .sûdra who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?--Could he have a kshatriya, a brahmin, and a vai.sya who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccâna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are those four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly, Kaccâna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein."

II

"For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste (etc. down to) . . . heirs of Brahmâ.'--What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya addicted to taking life, given to rapine, licentious, lying, slanderous, bitter of speech, frivolous of conversation, covetous, malevolent, holding wrong views,--would such a man, at the dissolution of his body, pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to purgatory? Or would he not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Given a kshatriya, Kaccâna, addicted to taking life, given to rapine, licentious, lying, slanderous, bitter-tongued, frivolous of talk, covetous, malevolent, holding wrong views,--he, at the dissolution of his body, would pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to purgatory. This is how it strikes me, sir, and this is what I have been taught by holy men."

"Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.--What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, a vai.sya, or a .sûdra [like the foregoing kshatriya], would such a man, at the dissolution of his body, pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to hell? Or would he not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Given such a brahmin, vai.sya, or .sûdra, Kaccâna, he, at the dissolution of his body, would pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to purgatory. This is how it strikes me, sir, and this is what I have been taught by holy men."

"Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.--What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are those four castes exactly equal or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly, Kaccâna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein."

III

"For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste . . . (*etc. down to*) . . . heirs of Brahmâ.'-- What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya who abstains from slaughter, abstains from rapine, abstains from licentiousness, abstains from lying, abstains from slander, abstains from bitterness of speech, abstains from frivolity of conversation, is uncovetous, is benevolent, holds true views,--would such a man, at the dissolution of his body, pass after death to a state of happiness and to a celestial realm, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Such a kshatriya, Kaccâna, would, after dissolution of his body, pass to a state of happiness and to a celestial realm. This is how it strikes me, and this is what I have been taught by holy men."

"Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, sire, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.--What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, or a vai.sya, or a .sûdra [like the foregoing kshatriya], would such a man [fare after death like the kshatriya]?"

"Such a .sûdra too, Kaccâna; would [fare after death like the kshatriya]. This is how it strikes me, and this is what I have been taught by holy men."

"Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, sire, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.--What do you think of this? If the case be so, are those four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly, Kaccâna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein."

IV.

"For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste (*etc. down to*) heirs of Brahmâ.'--What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya who should break into houses, or loot, or commit burglary, or become a highwayman, or commit adultery;--if your people brought such a kshatriya prisoner before you, saying, 'Here is your robber and malefactor, sire, inflict on him such punishment as you will,'--what would you do to him?"

"I would have him executed, or burnt, or exiled, or dealt with according to his deserts. And why, Kaccâna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of 'kshatriya,' and is reckoned naught but a 'robber.'"

"What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, or a vai.sya, or a .sûdra who committed like crimes and was similarly brought before you, what would you do to such?"

"I would have him executed, or burnt, or exiled, or dealt with according to his deserts. And why, Kaccâna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of '.sûdra,' and is reckoned naught but a 'robber.'"

"What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are these four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly, Kaccâna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein."

V

For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people p. 365 that 'the brahmîns are the best caste (etc. down to) . . . heirs of Brahmâ.'--What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya who cuts off his hair and beard, dons the orange robes, and goes forth from home to homelessness; if he abstains from taking life, abstains from taking what is not given to him, abstains from lying, eats no rice after noon, leads the higher life, is a good man, of noble disposition--what would you do to him?"

"I would greet him with respect, Kaccâna; or rise up to receive him; or pray him to be seated; or beg him to accept robes, food-alms, bedding, sick-necessaries, medicines, and other requisites; or would provide him with the protection, defence, and keeping proper to a holy man. And why, Kaccâna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of 'kshatriya,' and is accounted naught but 'a holy man.'"

"What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, or a vai.sya, or a .sûdra who acted and behaved like the foregoing kshatriya, what would you do to him?"

"I would extend to the .sûdra, too, the same treatment as I would accord to the kshatriya. And why, Kaccâna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of '.sûdra,' and is accounted naught but 'a holy man.'"

"What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are these four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly , Kaccâna, if the case be so, I perceive no difference, sire, between them herein."

When Mahâ-Kaccâna had finished giving his reasons whereby it might be known that it was mere empty words to give it out among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste, every other caste is inferior; the brahmins are the white caste, every other caste is black; only the brahmins are pure, not the non-brahmins; the brahmins are legitimate sons of Brahmâ, born from his mouth, Brahmâ-born, Brahmâ-made, heirs of Brahmâ,'--King Madhura Avanti-putta spoke thus to Mahâ-Kaccâna:--

"Most excellent, Kaccâna, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness so that those who have eyes can see external forms;--just so, sir, has the truth been made known to us, in many a figure, by Kaccâna. I, for my part, betake myself to the blessed Kaccâna as my refuge, to the Doctrine, and to the Brotherhood. Let the lord Kaccâna accept me as a lay-disciple, as one who has found his refuge, from this day forth whilst life shall last."

"Do not, sire, betake yourself to me as a refuge! Betake yourself to that Blessed One alone as your refuge, to whom as my refuge I have betaken myself."

"But where, Kaccâna, is the Blessed One now dwelling, the worshipful Very Buddha?"

"Deceased now, sire, is that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha."

"If I could but hear that Blessed One within ten leagues, ten long leagues would I go to visit that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha. If I could but hear that Blessed One within twenty leagues, within thirty leagues, or within forty leagues, or within fifty leagues--fifty long leagues would I go to visit that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha. If within a hundred leagues, Kaccâna, I could but hear that Blessed One,

a hundred long leagues would I go to visit that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha. But now that Blessed One is deceased, to him, even though deceased, Kaccâna, I betake myself for refuge, to him and to the Doctrine and to the Brotherhood. Let the lord Kaccâna accept me as a lay-brother, as one who has found his refuge, from this day forth whilst life shall last."

The Magandiya Spell

Translated by Michael Olds

Foreword:

Please, my friends, do not read this spell with haste. This is a thrilling Sutta, enough to raise the hair on the back of your neck. Read this slowly. Savor it. Here you can see The Bhagava at work. There is nothing here of technical talk, only just an ever so gentle but ever so relentless bringing Magandiya up to such terrifying heights that there is no choice for him as to his next direction. The Master Potter in his Kiln room, forming and Firing his Pot.

The Magandiya Spell

I hear tell, Once Upon a Time, The Lucky Man, Kuruland, come a revisitin.

Now a market town of the Kurus was named The-Word-is-My-Work/Pleasure's-the-Word and there, in the kiln shed of a Brahman of the Bharadvaja clan, The Lucky Man had spread out a grass matting.

Then The Lucky Man, rising up in the early pre-dawn, attending to bowl and robes, entered Kammassadhamma Town, and after his beggar's rounds, after the meal, having gone deep into the forest, he sat down at the root (mula) of a tree to spend the afternoon.

At the same time, the bum, No-nose, who was always pacing back and forth and wandering around came upon the kiln shed of the Brahman of the Bharadvaja clan where he saw that grass matting.

For whom is this grass matting spread, good Bharadvaja? It is the bedding of some beggar, methinks, says he to the Brahman of the Bharadvaja clan.

There is this shaman Gotama, Magandiya, Son of the Sakkyans, having broken off from the Sakkyan Clan to become a homeless beggar. They say this Gotama is the Lucky Man, The Potter, The Lightning Bearer, an Arahant, The number one-Highest-Self-Awakened-One, Master of Conduct, Seer of the Worlds, The Well-Gone, None-Better as a Dhamma-Trainer, Teacher of Gods and Man, The Buddha, The Bhaggava. This is that good Gotama's bedding.

A low sight indeed, is this we see, good Bharadvaja; this bedding of that bhunahuno wet blanket, the good Gotama.

Watch out for your words, Magandiya! Watch out for your words! Many are the Wise Nobles, wise Brahman, wise Householders, wise Shaman who have found peace of mind having been skillfully trained by Gotama in the methods of this aristocratic Dhamma.

I'd tell that broke-tooth Gotama straight to his face, good Bharadvaja, if I were to see him: 'The Shaman Gotama is a kill-joy.' How come? Because this is what an investigation of our Suttas would say.

If you have no objection, good Magandiya, I would repeat this to the Shaman Gotama.

Feel free, honorable Bharadvaja, to repeat what I said.

Then, as the afternoon turned into evening, The Lucky Man, rising up from his seat at the root of that tree, emerged from the forest, returned to the kiln shed of the Brahman of the Bharadvaja clan, and sat down on the grass matting he had spread out there, and a short time later the Brahman of the Bharadvaja clan approached, gave salutation, and sat down on a low seat to the side at a respectful distance.

There, after the exchange of greetings and polite talk, The Lucky Man said: There was some conversation between you and the wanderer Magandiya, was there not, Bharadvaja, concerning this spreading of grass?

Well, Bharadvaja was flabbergasted! Why, that was the very thing I had come to discuss with you, Good Gotama! says he.; You must have read my mind!

But before they could get into that, this conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the wanderer Magandiya who, always pacing back and forth and wandering around had returned once again to the kiln shed of the Brahman of the Bharadvaja clan. There he too gave salutations and exchanged greetings and polite talk and sat down on a low seat to the side at a respectful distance. And this is the exchange that followed:

The Eye, Magandiya, enjoys formed material, loves formed material, delights in formed material; so the Tathágata gets it by the teeth, puts a guard over it, watches over it and teaches Dhamma for it's restraint. Is this what you intended, Magandiya, when you said: The Shaman Gotama is a bhunahu, life-stiffler?

This is it! Good Gotama, it was just because of this that I said: 'The Shaman Gotama is a life-stiffler.' How come? Because this is what an investigation of our suttas would say.

The Ear, Nose, Tongue, Body and Mind, Magandiya, enjoy their respective objects of sense, love their respective objects of sense, delight in their respective objects of sense, so the Tathágata gets them by the teeth, puts a guard over them, watches over them and teaches Dhamma for their restraint. Is this what you intended, Magandiya, when you said: The Shaman Gotama is a life-stiffler?

This is it! Good Gotama, it was just because of this that I said: 'The Shaman Gotama is a life-stiffler.' How come? Because this is what an investigation of our Suttas would say.

What do you think, Magandiya? Here someone thoroughly indulges eye-consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure. Then, after a time, having discovered, as it really is, the origins of, subsidence of, taste of, wretchedness of and escape from formed materials, he lets go of hunger for formed materials, consuming passion for formed materials, and, with thirst gone, he lives subjectively at peace in heart. What do you think about such a one as such-as this, Magandiya?

Not a thing, Good Gotama.

What do you think, Magandiya? Here someone thoroughly indulges ear, nose, tongue, taste and mental consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure. Then, after a time, having discovered, as it really is, the origins of, subsidence of, taste of, wretchedness of and escape from sounds, scents, tastes, touches and mental objects, and, with thirst gone, he lives subjectively at peace in heart. What do you think about such a one as such-as this, Magandiya?

Not a thing, Good Gotama.

Even so, Magandiya, in a similar way, I once lived in a house provided with the five pleasure-cords; hemmed in by, thoroughly indulging in eye-consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure; thoroughly indulging ear, nose, tongue, and body consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure.

I had three palaces, Magandiya; one for the summer, one for the winter and one for the rains. During the four months of the rains, I lived in that palace surrounded by female entertainers, and not once during the four months would I descend from that palace.

Then, after a time, having discovered, as it really is, the origins of, subsidence of, taste of, wretchedness of and escape from sense pleasures, with thirst gone, I lived subjectively at peace in heart.

Then, seeing other beings not free from lust for pleasures, hungry for pleasures, being eaten away by pleasures, being burnt up by pleasures, thoroughly indulging in sense pleasures, I neither partook of those delights nor experienced envy of those who did.

How come?

Because there is, Magandiya, happiness other than sensual pleasure, other than unskillful ways, the sweet, godlike pleasure to be had by getting high. Finding happiness in this happiness I have no thirst for and do not partake in what has been left behind.

In the same way, Magandiya, as it might be that a rich householder or householder's son, a man of wealth and possessions provided with the five pleasure-cords who, thoroughly indulging in eye-consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure; thoroughly indulging ear, nose, tongue, and body consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure; but a man well behaved in body, well behaved in speech, well behaved in thought, at the break-up of the elements at the death of the body might find consciousness again in a good birth, a heavenly location, the company of the Gods of the Three and Thirty. And there in Nandana Grove, accompanied by nymphs, he might partake of and enjoy the five pleasure-cords of the gods.

Then, he might see a householder or householder's son provided with and indulging in the five pleasure-cords of humans.

What do you think about this, Magandiya? Would that young god there in Nandana Grove accompanied by nymphs, partaking of and enjoying the five pleasure-cords of the gods envy that householder's or householder's son's enjoyment of the five pleasure-cords of humans? Would he return to human enjoyments?

No, Good Gotama, he would not. How come? Because god-like pleasures are way beyond, much higher than human pleasures.

In the same way, Magandiya, I once lived in a house provided with the five pleasure-cords; hemmed in by, thoroughly indulging in eye-consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure; thoroughly indulging ear, nose, tongue, and body consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure.

Then, after a time, having discovered, as it really is, the origins of, subsidence of, taste of, wretchedness of and escape from sense pleasures, with thirst gone, I lived subjectively at peace in heart.

Then, seeing other beings not free from lust for pleasures, hungry for pleasures, being eaten away by pleasures, being burnt up by pleasures, thoroughly indulging in sense pleasures, I neither partook of those delights nor experienced envy of those who did.

How come?

Because there is, Magandiya, happiness other than sensual pleasure, other than unskillful ways, the sweet, godlike pleasure to be had by getting high; finding happiness in this happiness I have no thirst for and do not partake in what has been left behind.

In the same way, Magandiya, as there might be some leper here, his limbs covered in sores, covered in rot, worm-eaten,

tearing at the face of his wounds, scratching them open with his nails, burning his body over a charcoal pit.

Bye and bye this man's friends and acquaintances and blood-relatives set him up with a medicine man and this medicine man makes up an herbal potion and by Way of that potion he is completely released from his leprosy, well, and happy, self-reliant, able to come and go as he likes.

Then he might see another leper, his limbs covered in sores, covered in rot, worm-eaten, tearing at the face of his wounds, scratching them open with his nails, burning his body over a charcoal pit.

What do you think about this, Magandiya, would that man envy that leper's use of a charcoal pit as his medicinal treatment?

No, Good Gotama. How come? There being sickness, a medicine is needed; there not being sickness, no medicine is needed.

In the same way, Magandiya, I once lived in a house provided with the five pleasure-cords; hemmed in by, thoroughly indulging in eye-consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure; thoroughly indulging ear, nose, tongue, and body consciousness, enrapt in lust for the wished, pleasing, liked, that which carries pleasure.

Then, after a time, having discovered, as it really is, the origins of, subsidence of, taste of, wretchedness of and escape from sense pleasures, with thirst gone, I lived subjectively at peace in heart.

Then, seeing other beings not free from lust for pleasures, hungry for pleasures, being eaten away by pleasures, being burnt up by pleasures, thoroughly indulging in sense pleasures, I neither partook of those delights nor experienced envy of those who did.

How come?

Because there is, Magandiya, happiness other than sensual pleasure, other than unskillful ways, the sweet, godlike pleasure to be had by getting high; finding happiness in this happiness I have no thirst for and do not partake in what has been left behind.

In the same way, Magandiya, as there might be some leper here, his limbs covered in sores, covered in rot, worm-eaten, tearing at the face of his wounds, scratching them open with his nails, burning his body over a charcoal pit.

Bye and bye this man's friends and acquaintances and blood-relatives set him up with a medicine man and this medicine man makes up an herbal potion and by Way of that potion he is completely released from his leprosy, well, and happy, self-reliant, able to come and go as he likes.

Then come along two strong men who grab him by the limbs and drag him towards that pit of charcoal.

What do you think about this, Magandiya, would that man not twist his body This Way and that?

Yes, Good Gotama. How come? Contact with Fire is painful, it burns and is very injurious.

What do you think about this, Magandiya, in this case is it only just now that contact with fire is painful, burns and is very injurious, or was it the case before this that contact with fire was painful, burned and caused injury?

Both now and before, Good Gotama, contact with fire is painful, burns and is very injurious. It is because this leper, his limbs covered in sores, covered in rot, worm-eaten, tearing at the face of his wounds, scratching them open with his nails, is out of control, that he perceives contact with the painful as contact with the pleasurable.

In the same way, Magandiya, in the long distant past contact with sense pleasures was painful, burned and caused injury; in the distant future, too, contact with sense pleasures will be painful, burn, and cause injury; and so too in the present contact with sense pleasures is painful, burns, and causes injury; and those, Magandiya, not free from hunger and thirst for sense pleasures, being eaten away, being burned up by sense pleasures, are out of control and perceive contact with the painful as contact with the pleasurable.

In the same way, Magandiya, as there might be some leper here, his limbs covered in sores, covered in rot, worm-eaten, tearing at the face of his wounds, scratching them open with his nails, burning his body over a charcoal pit; but the more, Magandiya, this leper here, his limbs covered in sores, covered in rot, worm-eaten, tears at the face of his wounds, scratching them open with his nails, and burns his body over a charcoal pit, the more infected, foul-smelling and rotten his wounds become and sorry is the satisfaction he gets from scratching and burning his body in that pit of charcoal.

In the same way, Magandiya, those beings not free from hunger and thirst for sense pleasures, even while being eaten away, being burned up by sense pleasures, pursue sense pleasures, and the more those beings, not free from hunger and thirst for sense pleasures, while being eaten away, being burned up by sense pleasures, pursue sense pleasures, the more their hunger and thirst for sense pleasures grows and the more they are eaten away and burned up by sense pleasures and sorry is the satisfaction they get from the five pleasure-cords.

What do you think about this, Magandiya, have you ever heard of or seen a King or the Chief Minister of a King provided with the five pleasure-cords; hemmed in by, thoroughly indulging in the five pleasure-cords, who, not having let go of hunger and thirst for sense pleasures, not having put out the burning of

sense pleasures, that lived or lives with thirst gone, subjectively at peace in heart?

No, Good Gotama.

That is good, Magandiya, that is good. Neither have I heard of or seen a King or the Chief Minister of a King provided with the five pleasure-cords; hemmed in by, thoroughly indulging in the five pleasure-cords, who, not having let go of hunger and thirst for sense pleasures, not having put out the burning of sense pleasures, that lived or lives with thirst gone, subjectively at peace in heart.

But, Magandia, those Shaman and Brahmans who lived, or who are living having let go of hunger and thirst for sense pleasures, having put out the burning of sense pleasures, having discovered, as it really is, the origins of, subsidence of, taste of, wretchedness of and escape from sense pleasures, with thirst gone, live subjectively at peace in heart.

Non-disease the highest gain
The highest pleasure, Nibbána
And of Ways, the Eight Dimensioned
A peaceful deathless journey is

This is wonderful, Good Gotama, this is marvelous! This is really well spoken, Good Gotama!

'Non-disease's the highest gain, the highest pleasure, Nibbána.'

We too have this in our tradition as a saying of the teachers of our teachers.

But, Magandiya, this saying of the teachers of your teachers that you have heard: 'Non-disease's the highest gain, the highest pleasure, Nibbána,' what is your understanding of this 'non-disease', what is your understanding of this 'Nibbána?'

Well, at this Magandiya strokes his limbs (stroke arms, stroke legs like some woman in a skin-cream commercial) and says:

This is that 'non-disease', Good Gotama, this is that 'Nibbána,' for I now enjoy the pleasure of perfect health.

In the same way, Magandiya, as some man here, born blind, unable to distinguish the light from the dark, unable to see deep dark blue shapes or golden shapes, or blood red shapes or bright orange shapes, unable to see what was on the level or what was not on the level, unable to see the stars or the moon and sun, hearing some sighted man say: 'Indeed a well made clean white robe is a pleasurable thing!' goes around searching for such a white thing. But then another person might come along with an "holy oil and charcoal dust anointed" piece of sturdy-cloth, a Deceiver who says: 'Here you are, my good man, this is a well made clean white robe!' And he might accept it and taking it and dressing himself in it and dressed and proud of himself he might, unable to contain his pride in himself burst out saying: 'Indeed a well made clean white robe is a pleasurable thing!'

What do you think about that, Magandiya, did that man, born blind, knowing and seeing accept that oily and sooty piece of rough-wear, take it and dressing himself in it and dressed and proud of himself, unable to contain his pride in himself burst out saying: 'Indeed a well made clean white robe is a pleasurable thing!'? Or was this done out of faith in that sighted man?

It was not out of knowing and seeing, that that man, blind from birth accepted that oily and sooty piece of rough wear and dressing himself in it and dressed and proud of himself, unable to contain his pride in himself, burst out saying: 'Indeed a well made clean white robe is a pleasurable thing!' It was out of faith in that sighted man.

In the same way, Magandiya, wanderers of other views are blind, without sight, without knowing non-disease, without seeing Nibbána, they say:

'Non-disease's the highest gain, the highest pleasure,
Nibbána.'

But, Magandiya, it was this that was said by the Arahants and
Buddhas of Old:

'Non-disease the highest gain
The highest pleasure, Nibbána
And of Ways, the Eight Dimensioned
A peaceful deathless journey is'

And here this is come down to the ordinary common man, and
you, Magandiya. And of this body, which is a living disease, a
living boil, a living sting, a living Abyss of Hell, a living sickness,
of this living disease, living boil, living sting, living Abyss, living
sickness, you say: 'This is that 'non-disease', Good Gotama,
this is that 'Nibbána,'

That Aristocratic Eye does not exist in you, Magandiya, by
which you might see with the eyes of an Aristocrat, Non-
Disease and Nibbána.

I am so inspired, Good Gotama that I believe the Good Gotama
could so teach me Dhamma that I might know non-disease,
see Nibbána.

In the same way, Magandiya, as there might be some man
here, born blind, unable to distinguish the light from the dark,
unable to see deep dark blue shapes or golden shapes, or
blood red shapes or bright orange shapes, unable to see what
was on the level or what was not on the level, unable to see the
stars or the moon and sun, and bye and bye this man's friends
and acquaintances and blood-relatives set him up with a
medicine man and this medicine man makes up an herbal
potion, but is unable to clear up his sight, is unable to make
him see.

What do you think about that, Magandiya, would that medicine
man, because of this experience fatigue and annoyance?

Even so, Good Gotama.

In the same way, Magandiya, were I to teach you Dhamma, saying: 'Thus is non-disease; thus is Nibbána,' and you did not understand 'Thus is non-disease; thus is Nibbána,' this would fatigue and annoy me.

I am so inspired, Good Gotama that I believe the Good Gotama could so teach me Dhamma that I might know non-disease, see Nibbána.

In the same way, Magandiya, as some man here, born blind, unable to distinguish the light from the dark, unable to see deep dark blue shapes or golden shapes, or blood red shapes or bright orange shapes, unable to see what was on the level or what was not on the level, unable to see the stars or the moon and sun, hearing some sighted man say: 'Indeed a well made clean white robe is a pleasurable thing!' goes around searching for such a white thing. But then another person might come along with oily and sooty piece of rough-wear, a Deceiver who says: 'Here you are, my good man, this is a well made clean white robe!' And he might accept it and taking it he might dress himself in it. Then bye and bye this man's friends and acquaintances and blood-relatives set him up with a medicine man and this medicine man makes up an herbal potion, administers emetics and purgatives, satisfy his eyes by dropping medicinal oils into them, administers drugs through the nose applies collyrium to the eyes, and because of this he might be able to make him see, clear up his sight. With the clearing up of his sight, that man might let go his longing and love for that oily and sooty piece of rough-wear, but react with anger to that man that deceived him with the oily and sooty piece of rough cloth saying 'Here you are, my good man, this is a well made clean white robe!' considering him as no friend, considering him an enemy, he might even take his life.

In the same way, Magandiya, were I to teach you Dhamma, saying: 'Thus is non-disease; thus is Nibbána,' you might

understand 'Thus is non-disease; thus is Nibbána.' With the clearing up of your sight you might let go of your longing and love for the five stockpiled piles of Dukkha, but you might think: 'For a long time I have been done in, deceived, cheated by my mind, for, of a mind to get forms, I grasped, of a mind to get sense experience, I grasped, of a mind to get perception, I grasped, of a mind to get a personalized world, I grasped, of a mind to get consciousness, I grasped; grasping rebounded in living; living rebounded in birth; birth rebounded in old age and death, grief and lamentation, pain and misery and despair. Such was the origin of this whole mess of pain.

I am so inspired, Good Gotama that I believe the Good Gotama could so teach me Dhamma that I could hope to rise above such murk.

In this case then, Magandiya, make friends with good men; from making friends with good men, Magandiya comes hearing True Dhamma; from hearing True Dhamma, Magandiya, comes taking up the Dhamma within the Dhamma; from taking up the Dhamma within the Dhamma will come knowing for yourself, will come seeing for yourself that these are a disease, a boil, a sting but that here this disease, this boil, this sting can be uprooted absolutely. From the eradication of grasping, the eradication of living; from the eradication of living, the eradication of birth; from the eradication of birth, the eradication of aging and death, grief and lamentation, pain and misery and despair. Such is the eradication of this whole mess of pain.

Most Excellent, Good Gotama, Most Excellent!

In the same way as if someone had turned the upside down upright; or had opened the closed; or explained The Way to someone who was lost; or brought an oil lamp into the dark so that those with eyes in their heads that could see could see material shapes; in the same way the Good Gotama has set up, opened up, explained, and illuminated Dhamma in a multiplicity of ways.

I take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, in the Order of Beggars.

May I gain the going forth under the good Gotama, may I gain ordination.

He who, of other views wishes for the going forth in this Dhamma/Vinaya, Magandiya, is given probation for four months. At the end of four months the Bhikkhus, approving of him, may allow the going forth, may grant him ordination. Nevertheless here I see room to allow for differences in individuals.

If, Good Gotama, those of other views who wish for the going forth in this Dhamma/Vinaya are given probation for four months, and at the end of four months the Bhikkhus, approving of him, may allow the going forth, may grant him ordination, I will undergo probation for four years, and at the end of four years the Bhikkhus, approving of me, may allow the going forth, may grant me ordination.

But as I hear tell, The Beggar Magandiya received orders at that time at the hands of the Buddha himself, and living by himself, above it all, APPAMATTA, carefully, energetically, resolutely, shortly realized and attained for himself by his own higher powers that goal which justifies even young men of good families giving up the household life for homelessness, and so living he knew for himself: "Left Behind is birth. Lived is the Best of Lives. Done is Duty's doing. No more this side or that, no more being any kind of an It in any place of At-ness for me!"

And that is how Magandiya became one who was numbered among the Arahants.

Magga-vibhanga Sutta

An Analysis of the Path

Translated from the Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu

I have heard that at one time the Blessed One was staying in Savatthi at Jeta's Grove, Anathapindika's park.

There he addressed the monks, saying, "Monks."

"Yes, lord," the monks responded to him.

The Blessed One said, "I will teach and analyze for you the Noble Eightfold Path. Listen and pay close attention. I will speak."

"As you say, lord," the monks responded to him.

The Blessed One said, "Now what, monks, is the Noble Eightfold Path? Right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.

"And what, monks, is right view? Knowledge with regard to stress, knowledge with regard to the origination of stress, knowledge with regard to the stopping of stress, knowledge with regard to the way of practice leading to the stopping of stress: This, monks, is called right view.

"And what is right resolve? Being resolved on renunciation, on freedom from ill will, on harmlessness: This is called right resolve.

"And what is right speech? Abstaining from lying, abstaining from divisive speech, abstaining from abusive speech, abstaining from idle chatter: This, monks, is called right speech.

"And what, monks, is right action? Abstaining from taking life, abstaining from stealing, abstaining from sexual intercourse: This, monks, is called right action.

"And what, monks, is right livelihood? There is the case where a disciple of the noble ones, having abandoned dishonest livelihood, keeps his life going with right livelihood: This, monks, is called right livelihood.

"And what, monks, is right effort? (1) There is the case where a monk generates desire, endeavors, activates persistence, upholds and exerts his intent for the sake of the non-arising of evil, unskillful qualities that have not yet arisen. (2) He generates desire, endeavors, activates persistence, upholds and exerts his intent for the sake of the abandonment of evil, unskillful qualities that have arisen. (3) He generates desire, endeavors, activates persistence, upholds and exerts his intent for the sake of the arising of skillful qualities that have not yet arisen. (4) He generates desire, endeavors, activates persistence, upholds and exerts his intent for the maintenance, non-confusion, increase, plenitude, development, and culmination of skillful qualities that have arisen: This, monks, is called right effort.

"And what, monks, is right mindfulness? (1) There is the case where a monk remains focused on the body in and of itself -- ardent, aware, and mindful -- putting away greed and distress with reference to the world. (2) He remains focused on feelings in and of themselves -- ardent, aware, and mindful -- putting away greed and distress with reference to the world. (3) He remains focused on the mind in and of itself -- ardent, aware, and mindful -- putting away greed and distress with reference to the world. (4) He remains focused on mental qualities in and of themselves -- ardent, aware, and mindful -- putting away greed and distress with reference to the world. This, monks, is called right mindfulness.

"And what, monks, is right concentration? (1) There is the case where a monk -- quite withdrawn from sensual pleasures, withdrawn from unskillful (mental) qualities -- enters and remains in the first jhana: rapture and pleasure born from withdrawal, accompanied by directed thought and evaluation. (2) With the stilling of directed thought and evaluation, he enters and remains in the second jhana: rapture and pleasure born of concentration, one-pointed-ness of awareness free from directed thought and evaluation -- internal assurance. (3) With the fading of rapture, he remains in equanimity, mindful and fully aware, and physically sensitive of pleasure. He enters and remains in the third jhana, of which the Noble Ones declare, 'Equanimous and mindful, he has a pleasurable abiding.' (4) With the abandoning of pleasure and pain -- as with the earlier disappearance of elation and distress -- he enters and remains in the fourth jhana: purity of equanimity and mindfulness, neither pleasure nor pain. This, monks, is called right concentration."

That is what the Blessed One said. Gratified, the monks delighted at his words.

Mahâ-Samaya-Sutta

Discourse Addressed to the Great Assembly

Thus I heard. When Buddha was once residing in the forest called Mahâ-vana, situated in the city of Kapilavatthu in the country of Sakya, attended by a numerous retinue of bhikkhus, all of them arahats, amounting to about five hundred in number, the devas from the ten thousand Sakvalas congregated in great numbers for the purpose of seeing Buddha and the bhikkhus. At that time the following thought occurred to four of the devas residing in the world called Suddhâ-vâsa-kâya: Bhagavâ is residing at the forest called Mahâ-vana in the city of Kapilavatthu in the country of Sakya, attended by a numerous retinue of bhikkhus, all of them arahats, amounting to about five hundred in number, and the devas from the ten thousand Sakvalas have congregated in great numbers for the purpose of seeing Buddha and the bhikkhus. It is well if we should also repair to the place where Buddha is, and speak, each of us, respectively a different stanza in the presence of Buddha. Instantly the said four devas vanished from their residence, the world called Suddhâ-vâsa-kâya, and descending as quickly as a strong made man would stretch out his hand which had been bent, or bend his hand which has been stretched out, presented themselves before Buddha. Having worshipped him they stood on one side. One of them then spoke in his presence the following stanza:

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There is a great assembly! a concourse of devas has assembled in the forest; we also came to the righteous assembly for the purpose of seeing the invincible bhikkhus.

Then the other deva spoke in the presence of Buddha the following stanza:

The bhikkhus are engaged in samâdhi (meditation); they have wrought up their minds to uprightness; those wise bhikkhus control their senses as a charioteer who holds the reins steadily.

Then the other deva said in the presence of Buddha the following stanza:

Those bhikkhus are moving, having cut off the stake (of lust, anger, and ignorance), having cut off the shield (of lust, anger, and ignorance), and demolished the threshold (of lust, anger, and ignorance), they are moving like unto young elephants, being destitute of desire, free from passions, pure, endued with eyes (the five eyes 1), and orderly in their conduct.

Then the other deva said in the presence of Buddha the following stanza:

If any body place himself under the protection of Buddha, he would not go to the four hells; he would quit the human body and acquire a divine body (i.e. he would be born in heaven).

Buddha then called the priests and addressed them thus: Bhikkhus, the devas from the ten thousand Sakvalas have in great numbers congregated for the purpose of seeing Tathâgata and the bhikkhus. Bhikkhus! in respect of the sanctified and omniscient Buddhas who had, in the past ages, appeared and on account of those Bhagavas also there were assemblies of devas equal to that which has now congregated because of me. In respect of those sanctified and omniscient Buddhas who would p. 291 appear in future, on account of those Bhagavas also, Bhikkhus! there would be assemblies of devas equal to the one which has now congregated on account of me. Bhikkhus! I shall tell the names of the devas, Bhikkhus! I shall proclaim the names of the devas, Bhikkhus! I shall declare the names of the devas. Do ye listen to the same, bear it well in mind, and I shall tell the same.

The priests, in reply to Bhagavâ, saying: "Be it so, our Lord!" Bhagavâ declared the following:

I shall repeat stanzas: Are these terrestrial devas anywhere, they reside there. Is there any priest who lives in rocky clefts, in his mind prepared (for the attainment of Nibbâna), is he of tranquil mind; are many of them like unto lions, possessed of calmness of mind; are they intrepid; are they immaculate in mind; are they pure; are they of undisturbed mind: such priest knew that there were more than five hundred bhikkhus in the forest in the neighbourhood of Kapilavatthu. At that time Satthâ (the divine teacher, i.e. Buddha) called his disciples, devotedly attached to his religion, and addressed them thus: Bhikkhus! the multitude of devas is present: do ye know them? and the priests hearing the directions of Buddha, instantly obeyed the same. They became endowed with the faculty of perceiving the Amanussas 1 (invisible or spiritual beings). Some of them saw hundreds of invisible beings, some saw thousands, and others seventy thousand. Some perceived hundred thousand invisible beings; some, beyond number, every quarter being filled with them. Cakkhumâ 2 Buddha knowing the whole distinctly and well, subsequently called his disciples devotedly attached to his religion and said thus: Bhikkhus, shall I announce to you in due order any devas? Know ye them, they being present: seven thousands of Yakkhas 3 born in Kapilavatthu city, who are possessed of the faculty of iddhi, of power, of personal attractions, and of a retinue of attendants, have come rejoicing to the assembly of priests in the forest; six thousands of Yakkhas born in Himalaya mountains, who are of various colours, endowed with the faculty of iddhi, full of power, possessed of personal attractions, and with a retinue of attendants, have come rejoicing to the assembly of priests in the forest; three thousands of Yakkhas born in Sâta-giri mountain, who are of various colours, etc.

Thus these sixteen thousand Yakkhas, who are of various colours, etc,

Five hundred Yakkhas Wessâmittas, who are of various colours, etc.

There is a Yakkha named Kumbhîra of Râjagaha city; his residence is in the mountain Vepulla; he is attended by hundred thousand Yakkhas; and that Kumbhîra of the city of Râjagaha has also come to the assembly of priests in the forest.

The king Dhatarattha regent of the East; he rules the inhabitants of the East; he is the chief of the Gandhabbas 1; he is attended by a retinue of attendants. His many sons also of vast power and of the name of Inda, endowed with the faculty of iddhi, etc.

The king Virûlha regent of the South; he rules the inhabitants of the South; he is the chief of the Kumbhândas 2, and he is attended by a retinue of attendants. His many sons also of vast power and of the name of Inda, endowed with the faculty of iddhi, etc.

The king Virupakkha the regent of the West; he rules the inhabitants of the West; he is the chief of the Nâgas 3, and he is attended by a retinue of attendants. His many sons also of vast power and of the name of Inda, endowed with the faculty of iddhi, etc.

The king Kuvera the regent of the North; he rules the inhabitants of the North; he is the chief of the Yakkhas 1, and he is attended by a retinue of attendants. His many sons also of vast power and of the name of Inda, endowed with the faculty of iddhi, etc.

The four devas (regents of the four quarters) stood in the forest in the vicinity of the city Kapilavatthu illuminating all the four quarters with their splendour, each illuminating his own quarter: Dhatarattha, the East; Virûlha, the South; Virupakkha, the West; and Kuvera, the North. Their slaves who are versed in devices, tricks, and dissimulation, have also come, and their

names are: Mâyâ, Kute.n.du, Ve.te.n.du, Vitucca, and Vitucco; and also: Candana, Kâmase.t.tha, Kinnugha.n.du and Niga.n.du; (the Gandhabba devas named) Panâda, and Opamañña, Matali the charioteer, Citta and Sena, the king of Nala, Janesabha, have also come, as well as Pañcasikha, Timbaru, and Suriya-vacasâ (the daughter of Timbaru). Along with these devas other Gandhabbas also came rejoicing to the assembly of priests in the forest; and Nâgas of the (lake) Nâbhasa, those of the city Visala, accompanied by their retinue called Taccakas; Kambala and Assatara, and Nâgas of Pâyâga also have come, accompanied by their relatives. The Nâgas of Yamuna, and those of the race of Dhatara.t.tha, who are attended by a retinue of attendants, have also come to the assembly of priests in the forest. Erâvana, the great Nâga, has also come to the assembly of priests in the forest. Are there any that carry away by force the Nâgas endowed with divine power, that are twice born, that are furnished with wings, possessed of clear eyes, those (Garulas) have also come down from the sky to the middle of the forest and their names are Citrâ Supannâ. At that time the Nâgas were fearless (of their enemies the Garulas). Buddha vouchsafed his protection to the Nâgas (from the Garulas), and inviting each, in soft words, the Nâgas and Garulas took refuge in Buddha. The Asuras (literally "not gods"), who had been vanquished by Sakka covered the sea: they are cousins (in relationship derived from the virgin Sujâta) to Sakka; they are also possessed of the power of iddhi, and attended by a retinue of attendants. Kâlakañjâ assumed a hideous form, Dânaveghasâ, Vepacitti, Sucitti, Pahârada, Namuci (also came). Hundred of the sons of Bali, and all who have the name of Râhu (those who have Râhu for their head) having accoutred an army in full armour, repaired to Bhadda Râhu, and he (giving his benediction) said: "May prosperity attend on you! it is time for you to go to the assembly of priests in the forest." The devas Apa (those who have received birth in heaven by indulging Apakasina), Pathavi (those who have obtained a celestial birth by means of Pathavi kasina), Teja (those who had been born in

heaven by means of Teja kasina), and Vâya (those who had obtained a like birth in heaven by the practice of Vâya kasina), also came at that time; and also the devas Varu.na, Vâru.na, and Soma accompanied by Yasasa. The devas who had obtained their birth by the practice of benevolence, kindness and meditations, and possessed of great retinue of attendants also came: all of these ten bodies of devas composed of as many sorts who were of different colours, endowed with the faculty of iddhi, etc.

The devas Ve.nhu, Sahali, Asamâ, two of the name of Yama; the devas dwelling in the moon, preceded by the moon, and the devas residing in the sun, preceded by the sun, came. The devas of wind, cloud, and heat came, preceded by devas of planets; and Sakka, the chief of terrestrial devas and who is also called Vâsava and Purindada, also came; all of these ten bodies of devas, composed of as many sorts, who were of different colours, etc.

Subsequently the devas Sahabhû, shining like unto a flame of fire, Ari.t.thakâ, and Rojâ, shining like the flowers of the Ummâ (Pontederia hastata), came; Varu.na, Dhamma, Accuta, p. 295 Anejaka, Suleya, Rucira came, also came Vasavanesi: all of these ten bodies of devas, composed of as many sorts who are of various colours, etc.

Sama.nas, Mahâ-Sama.nas, Mânussas, and Uttama-Mânussas, Khi.d.dâpadusikas came, also came Manopâdusikas. And the devas Hari, those of Lohita came, also came Pâragas, Mahâ-pâragas: the whole of the ten bodies of devas, etc.

Sukka, Karumha, Aru.na, and Veghanasa came; Pamokkha called Odâtagayha (from the whiteness of his body), and Vicakkhana are also come. Sadamatta, Hâragaja, and Missaka, possessed of prosperity, Pajjuna, who causes rain to pour in every direction, came thundering: the whole of the ten bodies of devas, etc.

Khemiyas (the devas of the) Tusita (heaven), the Yamas, and Katthaka possessed of prosperity, Lambitaka, Lâma-se.t.tha, Joti (called so from personal attractions), Asava, those of Nimmânarati (heaven) are come, and also those of Parinimmita (heaven): all the ten bodies of devas, etc.

All these sixty kinds of devas who are of different colours and each distinguished by a particular name have come, and if there be any other (known by other colours and names), they have also come with those enumerated above. They have come saying: "Let us see the arahat priests who will never be born again, who are destitute of the stake (of lust, anger and ignorance), who have crossed the (four) streams, and who are free from passions, and also (Buddha) who has crossed the (four) streams, who is called Nâga (from the circumstance of his never committing an offence) and who shines like the moon free from darkness." Subrahma and Paramatto, with their sons possessed of the faculty of iddhi, and Tissa sanam-kumâra, came to the assembly of priests in the forest. Are there any who are superior to the Mahâ-Brahmas in the Brahma-worlds, possessed of great powers, of a vast body, prosperous, thousands of such Brahmas are come. Among these ten chief Brahmas, each of whom have control over a different body, have come; and in the midst of them the Brahma called Harita has also come attended (by ten thousand attendants). When all of the devas headed by Inda, and all the Brahmas headed by Harita came, the retinue of Mâra also came: look at the power of wicked Mâra! Mâra called Mahâ-sena saying: "Come here, capture (them), tie (them), let them be bound by lust, surround (them), suffer not any body to escape," and striking the earth with his hands, and thereby producing a dreadful shock, sent his black army to the midst of the devas. In the same manner as rain does not fall after lightning and thunder, so Mâra finding his own followers disobedient to him, and being greatly irritated, remained silent. Buddha who is endowed with (five) eyes, knowing perfectly well all that was transpiring, called his disciples who are devotedly attached to his religion and addressed them thus: "Priests, the retinue of Mâra is present,

do you know {sic} them?" and they hearing the words of Buddha prepared to enter into meditation. The army of Mâra receded from among those free from lust, even so much as a hair in them was not affected. Then Mâra saying: "All these (priests) having proved victorious in the war of passions become intrepid, endowed with prosperity, became famous among the people, and these disciples live rejoicing with the arahats of the religion of Buddha," departed.

Footnotes

1 The five eyes of Buddha are, his divine eye, his human eye, his mental eye, his omniscient eye, the eye of a Buddha i.e. knowledge of Nibbâna.

1 Literally inhuman beings.

2 An epithet applied to Buddha in allusion to his five faculties of perception explained above. Literally one endowed with eyes.\

3Yakkha means deva or god throughout this Sutta.

1 The heavenly musicians.

2 A class of demi-gods.

3 Cobra capello with superhuman powers who can assume the human form and intermarry with the human race.

1 Commonly called in English devils, but answering to the demonia of the Greeks.

Mahâ Parinibbâna Suttanta

Translated by T. W. Rhys Davis

Introduction To The Book Of The Great Decease

IN translating this Sutta I have followed the text published by my friend the late Mr. Childers, first in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and afterwards separately. In the former the text appeared in two instalments, the first two sheets, with many various readings in the footnotes, in the volume for 1874; and the remainder, with much fewer various readings, in the volume for 1876. The reprinted text omits most of the various readings in the first two sheets, and differs therefore slightly in the paging. The letters D, S, Y, and Z, mentioned in the notes, refer to MSS. sent to Mr. Childers from Ceylon by myself, Subhûti Unnânse, Yâtramulle Unnânse, and Mudliar de Zoysa respectively. The MS. mentioned as P (in the first two sheets quoted only in the separate edition) is, no doubt, the Dîgha Nikâya MS. of the Phayre collection in the India Office Library. The other four are now I believe in the British Museum.

The Hon. George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service published an analysis of this work in the journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1839; but as he unfortunately skips, or only summarises, most of the difficult passages, his work, though a most valuable contribution for the time, now more than half a century ago, has not been of much service for the present purpose. Of much greater value was Buddhaghosa's commentary contained in the Sumangala Vilâsini[1]; but the great fifth-century commentator

[1. I have used the copy made for Turnour, and now in the India Office Collection.] wrote of course for Buddhists, and not for foreign scholars; and his edifying notes and long exegetical expansions of the text (quite in the style of Matthew Henry) often fail to throw light on the very points which are most interesting, and most doubtful, to European readers.

The *Mâlâlan̄kâra-vatthu*, a late Pâli work by a Burmese author of the eighteenth century[1], is based, in that part of it relating to the last days of the Buddha, almost exclusively on the Book of the Great Decease, and on Buddhaghosa's commentary upon it. Bishop Bigandet's translation into English of a Burmese translation of this work, well known under the title of 'The Life or Legend of Gaudama the Budha of the Burmese,' affords evidence therefore of the traditional explanations of the text. In the course either of the original author's recasting, or of the double translation, so many changes have taken place, that its evidence is frequently ambiguous and not always quite trustworthy: but with due caution, it may be used as a second commentary.

The exact meaning which was originally intended by the title of the book is open to doubt. 'Great-Decease-Book' may as well mean 'the Great Book of the Decease,' as 'the Book of the Great Decease.' This book is in fact longer than any other in the collection, and the epithet 'Great' is often opposed in titles to a 'Short' Sutta of (otherwise) the same name[2]. But the epithet is also frequently intended, without doubt, to qualify the immediately succeeding word in the title[3]; and, though the phrase 'Great Decease,' as applied to the death of the Buddha, has not been found elsewhere, it is, I think, meant to do so here '.

[1. See 'The Life or Legend,' &c., third edition, vol. ii. . The date there given (1134 of the Burmese era = 1773 A.D.) is evidently the date of the original work, and not of the translation. Nothing is said in the book itself or in Bishop Bigandet's notes of the name of the author, or of the name or date of the Burmese translator.

2. There are several such pairs in the *Magghimâ Nikâya*; and the *Mahâ-Satippaitthâna-Sutta* in the *Dîgha* is the same as the *Satipatthâna-Sutta* in the *Magghima*.

3. E.g. in the *Mahâ-padhâna-Sutta* and *Mahâ-sudassana-Sutta*.

4. Childers seems to have been of the same opinion, vide Dict. I, 268.]

The division of the Book into chapters, or rather Portions for Recitation, is found in the MSS.; the division of these chapters into sections has been made by myself. It will be noticed that a very large number of the sections have already been traced, chiefly by Dr. Morris and myself, in various other parts of the Pâli Pitakas: whole paragraphs or episodes, quite independent of the repetitions and stock phrases above referred to, recurring in two or more places. The question then arises whether (1) the Book of the Great Decease is the borrower, whether (2) it is the original source, or whether (3) these passages were taken over, both into it, and into the other places where they recur, from earlier sources. It will readily be understood that, in the present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Pâli Pitakas, this question cannot as yet be answered with any certainty. But a few observations may even now be made.

Generally speaking the third of the above possible explanations is not only more probable in itself, but is confirmed by parallel instances in literatures developed under similar conditions, both in the valley of the Ganges and in the basin of the Mediterranean.

It is quite possible that while some books--such as the Mahâ-vagga, the *Kulla-vagga*, and the *Dîgha Nikâya*--usually owe their resemblances to older sources now lost or absorbed; others--such as the *Samyutta* and the *Anguttara*--are always in such cases simply borrowers from sources still existing.

At the time when our Book of the Great Decease was put into its present shape, and still more so when a Book of the Great Decease was first drawn up, there may well have been some reliable tradition as to the events that took place, and as to the subjects of his various discourses, on the Buddha's last journey. He had then been a public Teacher for forty-five years; and his

system of doctrine, which is really, on the whole, a very simple one, had already been long ago elaborated, and applied in numerous discourses to almost every conceivable variety of circumstances. What he then said would most naturally be, as it is represented to have been, a final recapitulation of the most important and characteristic tenets of his religion. But these are, of course, precisely those subjects which are most fully and most frequently dealt with in other parts of the Pâli Pitakas. No record of his actual words could have been preserved. It is quite evident that the speeches placed in the Teacher's mouth, though formulated in the first person, in direct narrative, are only intended to be summaries, and very short summaries, of what was said on these occasions. Now if corresponding summaries of his previous teaching had been handed down in the Order, and were in constant use among them, at the time when the Book of the Great Decease was put together, it would be a safe and easy method to insert such previously existing summaries in the historical account as having been spoken at the places where the Teacher was traditionally believed to have spoken on the corresponding doctrines. In the historical book the simple summaries would sufficiently answer every purpose; but when each particular matter became the subject of a separate book or division of a book, the same summaries would be included, but would be amplified and elucidated. And this is in fact the relation in which several of the recurring passages, as found in the Book of the Great Decease, stand to the same passages when found elsewhere.

On the other hand, some of the recurring passages do not consist of such summaries, but are actual episodes in the history. As an instance of these we may take the long extract at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second chapter (I, 20-II, 3, and again II, 16-II, 24), which is found also in the Mahâ-vagga. The words are (nearly[1]) identical in both places, but in the Book of the Great Decease the account occurs in its proper place in the middle of a connected narrative, whereas in the Mahâ-vagga, a treatise on the Rules and Regulations of the

Order, it seems strangely out of place. So the passage, also a long one, with which the Book of the Great

[1. On the difference see the note at II, 16. It affects only a few localising phrases in a narrative occupying (in the translation) thirteen pages.]

p. xxxv Decease commences (on the Seven Conditions of Welfare), seems to have been actually borrowed by the Aṅguttara Nikâya from our work.

The question of these summaries and parallel passages cannot be adequately treated by a discussion of the instances found in any one particular book. It must be considered as a whole, and quite apart from the allied question of the 'stock phrases' above alluded to, in a discussion of all the instances that can be found in the Pâli Pitakas. For this purpose tabulated statements are essential, and as a mere beginning such a statement is here annexed (including the passages, marked with an asterisk, which have every appearance of belonging to the same category).

No Sanskrit work has yet been discovered giving an account of the last days of Gotama; but there are several Chinese works which seem to be related to ours. Of one especially, named the Fo Pan-ni-pan King (apparently Buddha-Parinibbâna-Sutta, but such an expression is unknown in Pâli), Mr. Beal says[2]:

'This appears to be the same as the Sûtra known in the South.... It was translated into Chinese by a Shaman called Fa-tsu, of the Western Tsin dynasty, circa 200 A.D.'

I do not understand this date. The Western Tsin dynasty is placed by Mr. Beal himself on the fly-leaf of the Catalogue at 265-313 A.D. And whether the book referred to is really the same work as the Book of the Great Decease seems to me to be very doubtful. At of his 'Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese' Mr. Beal says, that another Chinese work 'known as the Mahâ Parinirvâna Sûtra' 'is evidently the same as the

Mahâ Parinibbâna Sutta of Ceylon,' but it is quite evident from the extracts which he gives that it is an entirely different and much later work.

On this book there would seem further to be a translated commentary, Ta Pan-ni-pan King Lo, mentioned

[1. Omitted by Po-fa-tsu. See below, p. xxxviii.

2. Catalogue of Buddhist Chinese Books in the India Office Library, .] at of the same Catalogue, and there assigned to Chang-an of the Tsin dynasty (589-619 A.D.).

At p-13 of the same Catalogue we find no less than seven other works, and an eighth on , not indeed identified with the Book of the Great Decease, but bearing titles which Mr. Beal represents in Sanskrit as Mahâparinirvâna Sûtra. They purport to be translated respectively--

1. By Dharmaraksha of the Northern Liang dynasty 502-555

2. By Dharmaraksha " " "

3. By Fa Hian and Buddhahadra of the Eastern Tsin dynasty 317- 419

4. By Gñânabhadra and others of the Eastern Tang dynasty 620-904

5. By Dharmagupta and others of the Western Tsin dynasty 265-313

6. By Fa Hian of the Eastern Tsin dynasty 317-419

7. Unknown.

8. By Dharmabodhi of the Former Wei dynasty Indian author, Vasubandhu. circa 200

Whether Nos. 1 and 2, and again 3 and 6 are the same is not stated; and in the Indian Antiquary for 1875 Mr. Beal gives an

account of another undated work, as existing in the India Office Collection, bearing a different title from any of the above, but which he also translates as Mahâparinibbâna Sutta. It purports to be the very oldest of the Vaipulya Sûtras, whereas the book quoted in the Catena is there said to be 'one of the latest of the expanded Sûtras.'

'The general outline,' says Mr. Beal[1], 'is this. Buddha, on a certain occasion, proceeded to Kinsinagara (sic), and entering a grove of Sâla trees, there reposed. He received a gift of food from Chanda, an artisan of the neighbouring town. After partaking of the food he was seized with illness. He discoursed through the night with his disciples, and disputed with certain heretical teachers. At early dawn he turned on his right side with his head to the north, and died. The Sâla trees bent down to form a canopy over his head. The account then proceeds to relate

[1. Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. .] the circumstances of his cremation, and the subsequent disputes, between the Mallas and others, for his ashes.'

There is a curious echo here of some of the sections translated below; though each particular item of the summary is really in contradiction with the corresponding part of the Pâli book. There is perhaps another Chinese work on the death of Buddha, of the existence of which I have been informed, through the kind intervention of Professor Max Müller, by Mr. Kasawara. It was translated by Po-fa-tsu between 290 and 306 A. D. It seems to be the same as the first mentioned above, but it contains a good deal of matter not found in the Mahâparinibbâna-Sutta (notably an account of the Râgagaha Council, the mention of which is so conspicuously absent from the Pâli work); and it omits many of the sections found in the Pâli. Mr. Kasawara has been kind enough to send me the following details regarding those omissions, and they are of peculiar interest as compared with the table given above[1]:

There is no evidence to show that any of the above works are translations of our Sutta, or in any sense the same work. No reliance, in fact, can be placed upon the mere similarity of title in order to show that a Chinese work and an Indian one are really the same: and I regret that attempts should have been made to fix the date of Indian works by the fact that Chinese translations bearing similar titles are said to have been made in a certain period. But the above-mentioned works on the Great Decease will, when published, throw valuable light on the traditions of different, though no doubt later, schools of Buddhist thought; and a detailed comparison would probably throw a very interesting light on the way in which

[1. On p. xxxvi.]

religious legends of this kind vary and grow; and the existence of these Chinese translations affords ground for the hope that we may some day discover an earlier Sanskrit work on the same subject[1].

The cremation ceremonies described in the sixth chapter are not without interest. It would be natural enough that Gotama should have been buried without any of those ritualistic forms the usefulness of which he denied, and without any appeal to gods whose power over men he ignored. But the tone of the narrative makes it at least possible that there was not really anything unusual in the method of his cremation; and that the elaborate rites prescribed in the Brâhmanical books for use at a funeral[2] were not, in practice, observed in the case of the death of any person other than a wealthy Brâhman, or some layman of rank who was a devoted adherent of the Brâhmins.

In the same way we find that in those countries where the more ancient form of Buddhism still prevails, there are a few simple forms to be used in the case of the cremation of a distinguished Bhikkhu or Upâsaka; but in ordinary cases bodies are buried without any ceremony.

So in Ceylon, Robert Knox--whose rare and curious work, one of the most trustworthy books of travels extant, deserves more notice than it has received, and who was a captive there for many years before the natives were influenced by any contact with Europeans--says[3],

'It may not be unacceptable to relate how they burn their dead. As for persons of inferior quality, they are interred in some convenient places in the woods (there being no set places for burial), carried thither by two or three of their friends, and buried without any more ado. They lay them on their backs, with their heads to the West, and their feet to the East, as we do. Then these people go and wash: for they are unclean by handling the dead.

[1. I have not been able to trace any reference to either of these Chinese works in Mr. Edkins's 'Chinese Buddhism.'

2. See Max Müller in Z. D. M. G., vol. ix.

3. 'Knox's 'Historical Relation of Ceylon,' Part III, Chap. xi.]

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'But persons of greater quality are burned, and that with ceremony. When they are dead they lay them out, and put a cloth over their privy parts; and then wash the body, by taking half a dozen pitchers of water and pouring upon it. Then they cover him with a linen cloth, and so carry him forth to burning. This is when they burn the body speedily. But otherwise they cut down a tree that may be proper for their purpose, and hollow it like a hog-trough, and put the body, being disembowelled and embalmed, into it, filling up all about with pepper, and so let it lie in the house until it be the king's command to carry it out to the burning. For that they dare not do without the king's order if the person deceased be a courtier. Sometimes the king gives no order in a great while; it may be not at all: therefore, in such cases, that the body may not take up house-room or annoy them, they dig a hole in the floor of

their house, and put hollowed tree and all in, and cover it. If afterwards the king commands to burn the body, they take it up again, in obedience to the king-otherwise there it lies.

'Their order for burning is this: if the body be not thus put into a trough or hollow tree, it is laid upon one of his bedsteads, which is a great honour among them. This bedstead with the body on it, or hollowed tree with the body in it, is fastened with poles, and carried upon men's shoulders unto the place of burning, which is some eminent place in the fields, or highways, or where else they please. There they lay it upon a pile of wood some two or three feet high;--then they pile up more wood upon the corpse, lying thus on the bedstead or in the trough. Over all they have a kind of canopy built (if he be a person of very high quality), covered at top, hung about with painted cloth, and bunches of cocoa-nuts, and green boughs; and so fire is put to it. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep together the ashes into the manner of a sugar-loaf, and hedge the place round from wild beasts breaking in, and they will sow herbs there. Thus I saw the king's uncle, the chief tirinax[1] (who was, as it were, the chief primate of all the

[1. Knox's way of spelling Terunnânsê, that is, Thera.]

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nation), burned upon a high place, that the blaze might be seen a great way[1].'

I myself saw an Unnânsê burned very much in this way near the Weyangoda Court-house; and there is a long account in the native newspaper, the Lak-riwi-kirana (Ceylon Sunbeam), of the 12th March, 1870, Of the cremation of a Weda-râla, or native doctor. Bishop Bigandet relates in a note in his 'Life or Legend of Gautama' the corresponding ceremonies still in use in Burma, of which he has been a witness[2]; but cremation is apparently as seldom resorted to in Burma as it is in Ceylon.

The unceremonious mode of burying the dead referred to by Knox is not adopted in the more settled districts on the sea coast. When at Galle I enquired into the funeral customs there prevalent, with the following result[3]:

A few hours after a man has died, the relations wash the corpse, shave it; and, having clothed it with a strip of clean white cloth, place it on a bedstead covered with white cloth, and under a canopy (wiyana) also of white cloth. They then place two lamps, one to burn at the head, and the other at the foot of the corpse, and use perfumes.

A coffin is then prepared, covered with black cloth; and the body is placed on the coffin, and is then sprinkled over with lavender or rose-water. The women meanwhile bow backwards and forwards with their hands behind their heads, uttering loud wailings over the deceased.

Then the male relatives carry the coffin to the grave, which is dug in one of their own cocoa-nut topes near by, and over which is raised a more or less elaborate canopy or arch of cloths and evergreens (*gedi-ge*), adorned with the tender leaves and flowers of the cocoa-nut. Along the path also from the house to the grave young cocoa-nut leaves and flowers are sometimes hung, and the pathway itself is often spread with clean white cloths.

The tom-tom beaters go first; and the dull monotonous

[1. In the older editions of Knox there is a curious engraving of a body being thus burnt.

2. Third edition, vol. ii. p, 79.

3. See the Ceylon Friend for 1870, p and following.]

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sound of their instruments of music is appropriate enough. Then follow some Buddhist mendicants, in number according

to the wealth or influence of the deceased, and walking under a portable canopy of white cloth. Then the coffin is carried by the nearest male relatives, and followed by other male relatives and relations--no females, even the widowed mother of an only son, taking part in this last sad procession.

Three times the coffin is carried round the grave: then it is placed on two sticks placed across the mouth of the pit; and one end of a roll of white cloth is placed on the coffin, the other end being held by all the Unnânsês (Bhikkhus) whilst the people repeat three times in Pâli the well-known formula of the Refuges (the simple Nicene Creed of the Buddhists):

'I take my refuge in the Buddha,
I take my refuge in the Dhamma,
I take my refuge in the Order[1].'

Then the priests respond, thrice repeating in Pâli the well-known verse discussed below[2]:

'How transient are all component things!
Their nature's to be born and die;
Coming, they go; and then is best,
When each has ceased, and all is rest!'

Then the Unnânsês let go the roll of white cloth, and whilst water is poured from a goblet into a cup placed on a plate until the cup is full to the brim[3], they again chaunt three times in Pâli the following verses:--

[1.

Buddham saranam gakkhâmi
Dhammam saranam gakkhâmi
Samgham saranam gakkhâmi.

2.

Anikkâ vata samkhârâ uppâdavaya-dhammino
Uppaggitvâ nirugghanti tesam vûpasamo sukho.

See 'Book of the Great Decease,' VI, 16, and the 'Legend of the Great King of Glory,' II, 42.

3. This ceremony is called *Pæm wadanawâ*.]

'As rivers, when they fill, must flow,
And reach, and fill the distant main; p. xliii

So surely what is given here
Will reach and bless the spirits there!

If you on earth will gladly give
Departed ghosts will gladly live!

As water poured on mountain tops
Must soon descend, and reach the plain;
So surely what is given here
Will reach and bless the sprits there[1]!

The relations then place the coffin in the grave, and each throws in a handful of earth. The *Unnânsês* then go away, taking the roll or rolls of cloth, one end of which was placed upon the coffin. The grave is filled in. Two lights, one at the head of it, and one at the foot, are left burning. And then the friends and relations return to the house.

The funeral now being over, is followed by a feast; for though nothing may be cooked in a house or hut in which there is a corpse, yet plenty of food has been brought in from neighbouring tenements by the relations of the deceased.

There is, however, yet another very curious ceremony to be gone through. Three or seven days--whichever, according to the rules of astrology, is a lucky day--after the deceased person died, an *Unnânsê* is duly invited to the house in which the deceased died. He arrives in the evening; reads *bana* (that is, the Word, passages from the sacred books) throughout the night; and in the morning is presented with a roll of white cloth, and is asked to partake of food, chiefly of course curries, of

those different kinds of which the deceased had been most particularly fond.

[1.

Yathâ vârivahâ pûrâ paripûrenti sâgaram
Evam eva ito dinnam petânam upakappati.

Ito dinnena yâpentî petâ kâlakatâ tahim.

Unname udakam vattam yathâ ninnam pavattati
Evam, eva ito dinnam petânam upakappati.

These verses occur in the Tirokudda-Sutta of the Khuddaka-Pâtha, but in a different order.]

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This ceremony is called Mataka Dânya, (Gift for the Dead), and the previous feast is called Mataka Bhatta (Feast in honour of the Dead): the two combined taking the place of an ancient rite observed in pagan, pre-Buddhistic, times, and then also called Mataka Bhatta, in which offerings were made to the Petas; that is, to the manes, or departed ghosts, of ancestors and near relations. Such offerings are of course forbidden to Buddhists[1], and it is a very instructive instance of a survival in belief, of the effect of the natural reluctance to make much change in the mode of paying the customary funeral respect to deceased friends, that the kind of food supposed to be most appreciated by the dead should still be used in the Buddhist funeral rites.

Another part of the ceremony, that part where one end of a roll of cloth is placed on the coffin while the other end is held by all the assembled Unnânsês[2], is a fragment of ritualistic symbolism which deserves attention. The members of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants were enjoined to avoid all personal decoration of any kind; and to attire themselves in cloths of no value, such as might be gathered from a dust heap

(Pamsu-kûla), or even from a cemetery. This was a principle to be followed, not a literal rule to be observed; and therefore from the first presents of strips of plain white cotton cloth, first torn in pieces to deprive them of any commercial value, then pieced together again and dyed a dull orange colour to call to mind the colour of old worn out linen, were the material from which the mendicants' clothing was actually made. But the duty of contempt for dress (called Pamsu-kûlikāṅga, from the dust heap) was never lost sight of, and advantage was taken of the gifts given by the faithful at funerals to impress this duty upon the minds of the assembled Bhikkhus.

Nothing is known of any religious ceremony having been performed by the early Buddhists in India, whether the person deceased was a layman, or even a member of the

[1. Compare the Mataka-Bhatta-Gâtaka (No. 18), translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i. p and following.

2. Seep. xlii.]

p. xlv Order. The Vinaya Pitaka, which enters at so great length into all the details of the daily life of the recluses, has no rules regarding the mode of treating the body of a deceased Bhikkhu. It was probably burnt, and very much in the manner described in the last chapter of our Sutta--that is to say, it was reverently carried out to some convenient spot, and there simply cremated on a funeral pyre without any religious ritual, a small tope being more often than not erected over the ashes. Though funerals are, naturally, not unfrequently mentioned in the historical books, and in the Birth Stories, there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious ceremony[1].

The date of the Great Decease is not quite certain. The dwellers in the valley of the Ganges, for many generations after Gotama's death, were a happy people, who had no need of

dates; and it was only long afterwards, and in Ceylon, that the great event became used as the starting-point for chronological calculations, as the Buddhist era.

The earliest use of the Buddha's Parinibbâna as such an era is in an Inscription of King Nissanka Malla's, of the twelfth century A.D., published by me in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1875. Both in the historical records of Ceylon, and in those passages of the *Purânas* which are the nearest approach to historical records in India, the chronology is usually based on the lists of kings, just as it is in the Old Testament. Only by adding together the lengths of the reigns of the intermediate kings is it possible to calculate the length of the time that is said to have elapsed between any two given events.

If these lists of kings had been accurately kept from

[1. Compare *Mahâvamsa*, p, 125; 129,199, 223-225, and *Cha*, verse 28; *Gâtaka* I, 166, 181, 402; II, 6; *Dasaratha Gâtaka*, p, 21, 22, 26, &c.; *Dhammapada Commentary*, p, 205, 206, 222, 359; *Hatthavana-galla-vihâra-vamsa*, Chap. IX; Hardy, 'Eastern Monachism,' p-324.

2. The words *Saddham*, *Uddhadehikam*, and *Nivâpo*, given in Childers, refer to pagan rites.

3. On funerals among Buddhists in Japan, see Miss Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks,' vol. i.]

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Gotama's time to the time when the existing chronicles were compiled, we should be able, if we could fix the date of any one of the kings, to calculate the date of the Buddha's death. This last we can do; for the date of Kandragupta, and the date of his grandson Asoka, can be independently fixed within a few years by the aid of the Greek historians. But unfortunately the earlier parts of the otherwise reliable Ceylon chronicles are, like the

earlier parts of Livy's otherwise reliable history of Rome, full of inconsistencies, and impossibilities.

According to the *Râga-paramparâ*, or line of kings, in the Ceylon chronicles, the date of the Great Decease would be 543 B.C., which is arrived at by adding to the date 161 B.C. (from which the reliable portion of the history begins) two periods of 146 and 236 years. The first purports to give the time which elapsed between 161 B.C. and the great Buddhist church Council held under Asoka, and in the eighteenth year of his reign, at Patna; and the second to give the interval between that Council and the Buddha's death.

It would result from the first calculation that the date of Asoka's coronation would be 325 B.C. ($146 + 161 + 18$). But we know that this must contain a blunder or blunders, as the date of Asoka's coronation can be fixed, as above stated, with absolute certainty within a year or two either way of 267 B.C.

Would it then be sound criticism to accept the other, earlier, period of 236 years found in those chronicles--a period which we cannot test by Greek chronology--and by simply adding the Ceylon calculation of 236 years to the European date for the eighteenth year of Asoka (that in circa 249 B.C.) to conclude that the Buddha died in or about 485 B.C.?

I cannot think so. The further we go back the greater does the probability of error become, not less. The most superficial examination of the details of this earlier period shows too, that they are unreliable; and what reliance would it be wise to place upon the total, apart from the details, when we find it mentioned for the first time in

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a work, the *Dîpavamsa*, written eight centuries after the date it is proposed to fix?

If further proof were needed, we have it in the fact that the *Dîpavamsa* actually contains the details of another calculation--based not on the lists of kings (*Râga-paramparâ*), but on a list of Theras (*Thera-paramparâ*) stretching back from Asoka's time to the time of the great Teacher--which contradicts this calculation of 236 years.

The *Thera-paramparâ* gives the name of the member of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants, that is, the Thera, who ordained Mahinda (the son of Asoka), then the name of the Thera who ordained that Thera, and so on. There are only five of them from Upâli, who was ordained sixteen years after Buddha's death, down to Mahinda inclusive. This would account not for 236, but only for about 150 years.

For let the reader take the case of any clergyman in the present day. The Bishop who ordains him would have been ordained thirty or forty years before; and four such intervals would fill out, not 236 years, but about a century and a half; and a similar argument applies with reasonable certainty to the case in point.

An examination of the details of the List of Theras confirms this conclusion strongly on every essential point. An examination also of the List of Kings shows that the period of 236 years is wrong by being too long. The shorter period of 150 years between Asoka and the Great Decease agrees much better with what we know of the literary history of Buddhism during that interval. And it also agrees with the tradition of the northern Buddhists as preserved by Hiouen Thsang, and in Kashmir and Tibet[1]. In the 'Questions of Milinda' also--a work of unknown date, preserved only in its Pâli form, but

[1. Julien's translation of Hiouen Thsang, 'Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales,' vol. i. ; Kahlana's *Râga-taranginî*, Book I; and Csoma Körösi in 'Asiatic Researches; vol. xx. p, 297. They place the Great Decease 400 years before Kanishka,

whose Council was held shortly after the commencement of our era.]

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possibly derived from a northern Buddhist Sanskrit work--the date of the Buddha's death is fixed at five hundred years before the time of Milinda[1], who certainly reigned about a century after Christ. I am, therefore, of opinion that the hitherto accepted date of the Buddha's death should be modified accordingly.

This would make the date of the Great Decease about 420-400 B.C. (very possibly a year or two later), and the date of Gotama's birth therefore eighty years earlier, or in round numbers about 500 B.C.

I have discussed the whole question at full length in my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' written in amplification of a paper read in 1874 before the Royal Asiatic Society; and to that work I must refer any reader, who may take interest in these chronological discussions, for ampler details. I have been able here to present only a summary of an argument which is in so far of little importance, inasmuch as the rectification which I have ventured to propose only differs by a little more than half a century from the earliest date which can in any case be suggested as approximately correct (that is about 485 B.C.). The date 543 B.C., still unfortunately accepted outside the circle of students of Buddhism[2], is now acknowledged to be too early by all scholars who have seriously considered the subject.

[1. Trenckner, . Mr. Trenckner says in his preface that Buddhaghosa quotes this work, but unfortunately he does not give any reference. See the note below on our Sutta, Chap. VI, § 3.

2. See, for instance, Max Duncker, 'History of Antiquity,' vol. iv. .
On the dated Edict, ascribed by some to Asoka, see my note
loc. cit., and Oldenberg, 'Introd. to the Mahâ-vagga,' p. xxxviii.]

Maha-Parinibbána Sutta

Last Days of the Buddha

Part One In Magadha

Thus have I heard:

1. Once the Blessed One [1] dwelt at Rajagaha, on the hill called Vultures' Peak. At that time the king of Magadha, Ajatashatru, son of the Videhi queen, [2] desired to wage war against the Vajjis. He spoke in this fashion: "These Vajjis, powerful and glorious as they are, I shall annihilate them, I shall make them perish, I shall utterly destroy them."

2. And Ajatashatru, the king of Magadha, addressed his chief minister, the Brahmin Vassakara, saying: "Come, Brahmin, go to the Blessed One, pay homage in my name at his feet, wish him good health, strength, ease, vigor, and comfort, and speak thus: 'O Lord, Ajatashatru, the king of Magadha, desires to wage war against the Vajjis. He has spoken in this fashion: "These Vajjis, powerful and glorious as they are, I shall annihilate them, I shall make them perish, I shall utterly destroy them."' And whatever the Blessed One should answer you, keep it well in mind and inform me; for Tathágatas [3] do not speak falsely."

3. "Very well, sire," said the Brahmin Vassakara in assent to Ajatashatru, king of Magadha. And he ordered a large number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, mounted one himself, and accompanied by the rest, drove out to Rajagaha towards Vultures' Peak. He went by carriage as far as the carriage could go, then dismounting; he approached the Blessed One on foot. After exchanging courteous greetings with the Blessed One, together with many pleasant words, he sat down at one side and addressed the Blessed One thus: "Venerable Gotama, Ajatashatru, the king of Magadha, pays

homage at the feet of the Venerable Gotama and wishes him good health, strength, ease, vigor, and comfort. He desires to wage war against the Vajjis, and he has spoken in this fashion: 'These Vajjis, powerful and glorious as they are, I shall annihilate them, I shall make them perish, I shall utterly destroy them.'

Conditions of a Nation's Welfare

4. At that time the Venerable Ánanda [4] was standing behind the Blessed One, fanning him, and the Blessed One addressed the Venerable Ánanda thus: "What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis have frequent gatherings, and are their meetings well attended?"

"I have heard, Lord, that this is so."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline.

"What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis assemble and disperse peacefully and attend to their affairs in concord?"

"I have heard, Lord, that they do."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline.

"What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis neither enact new decrees nor abolish existing ones, but proceed in accordance with their ancient constitutions?"

"I have heard, Lord, that they do."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline.

"What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis show respect, honor, esteem, and veneration towards their elders and think it worthwhile to listen to them?"

"I have heard, Lord, that they do."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline.

"What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis refrain from abducting women and maidens of good families and from detaining them?"

"I have heard, Lord, that they refrain from doing so."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline.

"What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis show respect, honor, esteem, and veneration towards their shrines, both those within the city and those outside it, and do not deprive them of the due offerings as given and made to them formerly?"

"I have heard, Lord, that they do venerate their shrines, and that they do not deprive them of their offerings."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline.

"What have you heard, Ánanda: do the Vajjis duly protect and guard the Arhats, so that those who have not come to the realm yet might do so, and those who have already come might live there in peace?"

"I have heard, Lord, that they do."

"So long, Ánanda, as this is the case, the growth of the Vajjis is to be expected, not their decline."

5. And the Blessed One addressed the Brahmin Vassakara in these words: "Once, Brahmin, I dwelt at Vesali, at the Sarandada shrine, and there it was that I taught the Vajjis these seven conditions leading to (a nation's) welfare. [5] So

long, Brahmin, as these endure among the Vajjis, and the Vajjis are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline."

Thereupon the Brahmin Vassakara spoke thus to the Blessed One: "If the Vajjis, Venerable Gotama, were endowed with only one or another of these conditions leading to welfare, their growth would have to be expected, not their decline. What then of all the seven? No harm, indeed, can be done to the Vajjis in battle by Magadha's king, Ajatashatru, except through treachery or discord. Well, then, Venerable Gotama, we will take our leave, for we have much to perform, much work to do."

"Do as now seems fit to you, Brahmin." And the Brahmin Vassakara, the chief minister of Magadha, approving of the Blessed One's words and delighted by them, rose from his seat and departed.

Welfare of the Bhikkhus

6. Then, soon after Vassakara's departure, the Blessed One addressed the Venerable Ánanda thus: "Go now, Ánanda, and assemble in the hall of audience as many Bhikkhus as live around Rajagaha."

"Very well, Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda did as he was requested and informed the Blessed One: "The community of Bhikkhus is assembled, Lord. Now let the Blessed One do as he wishes."

Thereupon the Blessed One rose from his seat, went up to the hall of audience, took his appointed seat there, and addressed the Bhikkhus thus: "Seven conditions leading to welfare I shall set forth, Bhikkhus. Listen and pay heed to what I shall say."

"So be it, Lord."

"The growth of the Bhikkhus is to be expected, not their decline, Bhikkhus, so long as they assemble frequently and in large

numbers; meet and disperse peacefully and attend to the affairs of the Sangha in concord; so long as they appoint no new rules, and do not abolish the existing ones, but proceed in accordance with the code of training (Vinaya) laid down; so long as they show respect, honor, esteem, and veneration towards the elder Bhikkhus, those of long standing, long gone forth, the fathers and leaders of the Sangha, and think it worthwhile to listen to them; so long as they do not come under the power of the craving that leads to fresh becoming; so long as they cherish the forest depths for their dwellings; so long as they establish themselves in mindfulness, so that virtuous brethren of the Order who have not come yet might do so, and those already come might live in peace; so long, Bhikkhus, as these seven conditions leading to welfare endure among the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhus are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline.

7. "Seven further conditions leading to welfare I shall set forth, Bhikkhus. Listen and pay heed to what I shall say."

"So be it, Lord."

"The growth of the Bhikkhus is to be expected, not their decline, Bhikkhus, so long as they do not delight in, are not pleased with, and are not fond of activities, talk, sleep, and company; so long as they do not harbor, do not come under the spell of evil desires; have no bad friends, associates, or companions; and so long as they do not stop halfway on account of some trifling achievement. So long, Bhikkhus, as these seven conditions leading to welfare endure among the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhus are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline.

Seven Good Qualities [6]

8. "Seven further conditions leading to welfare I shall set forth, Bhikkhus. Listen and pay heed to what I shall say."

"So be it, Lord."

"The growth of the Bhikkhus is to be expected, not their decline, Bhikkhus, so long as they shall have faith, so long as they have moral shame and fear of misconduct, are proficient in learning, resolute, mindful, and wise. So long, Bhikkhus, as these seven conditions leading to welfare endure among the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline.

Seven Factors of Enlightenment [7]

9. "Seven further conditions leading to welfare I shall set forth, Bhikkhus. Listen and pay heed to what I shall say."

"So be it, Lord."

"The growth of the Bhikkhus is to be expected, not their decline, Bhikkhus, so long as they cultivate the seven factors of enlightenment, that is: mindfulness, investigation into phenomena, energy, bliss, tranquility, concentration, and equanimity. So long, Bhikkhus, as these seven conditions leading to welfare endure among the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline.

Seven Perceptions

10. "Seven further conditions leading to welfare I shall set forth, Bhikkhus. Listen and pay heed to what I shall say."

"So be it, Lord."

"The growth of the Bhikkhus is to be expected, not their decline, Bhikkhus, so long as they cultivate the perception of impermanence, of ego-less-ness, of (the body's) impurity, of (the body's) wretchedness, of relinquishment, of dispassion, and of cessation. So long, Bhikkhus, as these seven conditions leading to welfare endure among the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline.

Six Conditions to be Remembered [8]

11. "Six further conditions leading to welfare I shall set forth, Bhikkhus. Listen and pay heed to what I shall say."

"So be it, Lord."

"The growth of the Bhikkhus is to be expected, not their decline, Bhikkhus, so long as they attend on each other with loving-kindness in deed, word, and thought, both openly and in private; so long as in respect of what they receive as due offerings, even the contents of their alms bowls, they do not make use of them without sharing them with virtuous members of the community; so long as, in company with their brethren, they train themselves, openly and in private, in the rules of conduct, which are complete and perfect, spotless and pure, liberating, praised by the wise, uninfluenced (by mundane concerns), and favorable to concentration of mind; and in company with their brethren, preserve, openly and in private, the insight that is noble and liberating, and leads one who acts upon it to the utter destruction of suffering. So long, Bhikkhus, as these six conditions leading to welfare endure among the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus are known for it, their growth is to be expected, not their decline.

Counsel to the Bhikkhus

12. And the Blessed One, living at Rajagaha, at the hill called Vultures' Peak, often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus:

"Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. [9] Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints [10] of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

13. When the Blessed One had stayed at Rajagaha as long as he pleased, he addressed the Venerable Ánanda thus: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Ambalatthika."

"So be it, Lord."

And the Blessed One took up his abode at Ambalatthika, together with a large community of Bhikkhus.

14. At Ambalatthika the Blessed One came to stay in the king's rest house; and there, too, the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus:

"Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

15. When the Blessed One had stayed at Ambalatthika as long as he pleased, he addressed the Venerable Ánanda thus: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Nalanda."

"So be it, Lord."

And the Blessed One took up his abode at Nalanda together with a large community of Bhikkhus, and came to stay in the mango grove of Pavarika.

Shariputra's Lion's Roar [11]

16. Then the Venerable Shariputra went to the Blessed One, respectfully greeted him, sat down at one side, and spoke thus to him:

"This faith, Lord, I have in the Blessed One, that there has not been, there will not be, nor is there now, another recluse or Brahmin more exalted in Enlightenment than the Blessed One."

"Lofty indeed is this speech of yours, Shariputra, and lordly! A bold utterance, a veritable sounding of the lion's roar! But how is this, Shariputra? Those Arhats, Fully Enlightened Ones of the past -- do you have direct personal knowledge of all those Blessed Ones, as to their virtue, their meditation, [12] their wisdom, their abiding, and their emancipation?" [13]

"Not so, Lord."

"Then how is this, Shariputra? Those Arhats, Fully Enlightened Ones of the future -- do you have direct personal knowledge of all those Blessed Ones, as to their virtue, their meditation, their wisdom, their abiding, and their emancipation?"

"Not so, Lord."

"Then how is this, Shariputra? Of me, who am at present the Arhat, the Fully Enlightened One, do you have direct personal knowledge as to my virtue, my meditation, my wisdom, my abiding, and my emancipation?"

"Not so, Lord."

"Then it is clear, Shariputra, that you have no such direct personal knowledge of the Arhats, the Fully Enlightened Ones of the past, the future, and the present. How then dare you set forth a speech so lofty and lordly, an utterance so bold, a veritable sounding of the lion's roar, saying: 'This faith, Lord, I have in the Blessed One, that there has not been, there will not be, nor is there now another recluse or Brahmin more exalted in Enlightenment than the Blessed One'?"

17. "No such direct personal knowledge, indeed, is mine, Lord, of the Arhats, the Fully Enlightened Ones of the past, the future, and the present; and yet I have come to know the lawfulness of the Dhamma. Suppose, Lord, a king's frontier fortress was strongly fortified, with strong ramparts and turrets, and it had a single gate, and there was a gatekeeper, intelligent, experienced, and prudent, who would keep out the stranger but

allow the friend to enter. As he patrols the path that leads all around the fortress, he does not perceive a hole or fissure in the ramparts even big enough to allow a cat to slip through. So he comes to the conclusion: 'Whatever grosser living things are to enter or leave this city, they will all have to do so just by this gate.' In the same way, Lord, I have come to know the lawfulness of the Dhamma.

"For, Lord, all the Blessed Ones, Arhats, Fully Enlightened Ones of the past had abandoned the five hindrances, [14] the mental defilements that weaken wisdom; had well established their minds in the four foundations of mindfulness; [15] had duly cultivated the seven factors of enlightenment, and were fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment.

"And, Lord, all the Blessed Ones, Arhats, Fully Enlightened Ones of the future will abandon the five hindrances, the mental defilements that weaken wisdom; will well establish their minds in the four foundations of mindfulness; will duly cultivate the seven factors of enlightenment, and will be fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment.

"And the Blessed One too, Lord, being at present the Arhat, the Fully Enlightened One, has abandoned the five hindrances, the mental defilements that weaken wisdom; has well established his mind in the four foundations of mindfulness; has duly cultivated the seven factors of enlightenment, and is fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment."

18. And also in Nalanda, in the mango grove of Pavarika, the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus:

"Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

19. When the Blessed One had stayed at Nalanda as long as he pleased, he addressed the Venerable Ánanda thus:

"Come, Ánanda, let us go to Pataligama."

"So be it, Lord."

And the Blessed One took up his abode at Pataligama together with a large community of Bhikkhus.

20. Then the devotees of Pataligama came to know: "The Blessed One, they say, has arrived at Pataligama." And they approached the Blessed One, respectfully greeted him, sat down at one side, and addressed him thus: "May the Blessed One, Lord, kindly visit our council hall." And the Blessed One consented by his silence.

21. Knowing the Blessed One's consent, the devotees of Pataligama rose from their seats, respectfully saluted him, and keeping their right sides towards him, departed for the council hall. Then they prepared the council hall by covering the floor all over, arranging seats and water, and setting out an oil lamp. Having done this, they returned to the Blessed One, respectfully greeted him, and standing at one side, announced: "Lord, the council hall is ready, with the floor covered all over, seats and water prepared, and an oil lamp has been set out. Let the Blessed One come, Lord, at his convenience.

22. And the Blessed One got ready, and taking his bowl and robe, went to the council hall together with the company of Bhikkhus. After rinsing his feet, the Blessed One entered the council hall and took his seat close to the middle pillar, facing east. The community of Bhikkhus, after rinsing their feet, also entered the council hall and took seats near the western wall, facing east, so that the Blessed One was before them. And the devotees of Pataligama, after rinsing their feet and entering the council hall, sat down near the eastern wall, facing west, so that the Blessed One was in front of them.

The Fruits of an Immoral and a Moral Life

23. Thereupon the Blessed One addressed the devotees of Pataligama thus: "The immoral man, householders, by falling away from virtue, encounters five perils: great loss of wealth through heedlessness; an evil reputation; a timid and troubled demeanor in every society, be it that of nobles, Brahmins, householders, or ascetics; death in bewilderment; and, at the breaking up of the body after death, rebirth in a realm of misery, in an unhappy state, in the nether world, in hell.

24. "Five blessings, householders, accrue to the righteous man through his practice of virtue: great increase of wealth through his diligence; a favorable reputation; a confident deportment, without timidity, in every society, be it that of nobles, Brahmins, householders, or ascetics; a serene death; and, at the breaking up of the body after death, rebirth in a happy state, in a heavenly world."

25. And the Blessed One spent much of the night instructing the devotees of Pataligama in the Dhamma, rousing, edifying, and gladdening them, after which he dismissed them, saying: "The night is far advanced, householders. You may go at your convenience.

"So be it, Lord." And the devotees of Pataligama rose from their seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and keeping their right sides towards him, departed. And the Blessed One, soon after their departure, retired into privacy.

26. At that time Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pataligama in defense against the Vajjis. And deities in large numbers, counted in thousands, had taken possession of sites at Pataligama. In the region where deities of great power prevailed, officials of great power were bent on constructing edifices; and where deities of medium power and lesser power prevailed, officials of medium and lesser power were bent on constructing edifices.

27. And the Blessed One saw with the heavenly eye, pure and transcending the faculty of men, the deities, counted in thousands, where they had taken possession of sites in Pataligama. And rising before the night was spent, towards dawn, the Blessed One addressed the Venerable Ánanda thus: "Who is it, Ánanda, that is erecting a city at Pataligama?"

"Sunidha and Vassakara, Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress at Pataligama, in defense against the Vajjis."

28. "It is, Ánanda, as if Sunidha and Vassakara had taken counsel with the gods of the Thirty-three. For I beheld, Ánanda, with the heavenly eye, pure and transcending the faculty of men, a large number of deities, counted in thousands that have taken possession of sites at Pataligama. In the region where deities of great power prevail, officials of great power are bent on constructing edifices; and where deities of medium and lesser power prevail, officials of medium and lesser power are bent on constructing edifices. Truly, Ánanda, as far as the Aryan race extends and trade routes spread, this will be the foremost city Pataliputta, a trade-center. [16] But Pataliputta, Ánanda, will be assailed by three perils -- fire, water, and dissension."

29. Then Sunidha and Vassakara went to the Blessed One, and after courteous greeting to the Blessed One, and exchanging many pleasant words, they stood at one side and addressed him thus: "May the Venerable Gotama please accept our invitation for tomorrow's meal, together with the community of Bhikkhus." And the Blessed One consented by his silence.

30. Knowing the Blessed One's consent, Sunidha and Vassakara departed for their own abodes, where they had choice food, hard and soft, prepared. And when it was time, they announced to the Blessed One: "It is time, Venerable Gotama; the meal is ready."

Thereupon the Blessed One got ready in the forenoon, and taking bowl and robe, he went together with the community of Bhikkhus to the abode of Sunidha and Vassakara, where he took the seat prepared for him. And Sunidha and Vassakara themselves attended on the community of Bhikkhus headed by the Buddha, and served them with choice food, hard and soft. When the Blessed One had finished his meal and had removed his hand from the bowl, they took low seats and sat down at one side.

31. And the Blessed One thanked them with these stanzas:

"Wherever he may dwell, the prudent man
Ministers to the chaste and virtuous;
and having to these worthy ones made gifts,
He shares his merits with the local devas.

And so revered, they honor him in turn,
Are gracious to him even as a mother
Is towards her own, her only son;
And he who thus enjoys the devas' grace,
And is by them beloved, good fortune sees."

After this, the Blessed One rose from his seat and departed.

Crossing the Ganges

32. Then Sunidha and Vassakara followed behind the Blessed One, step by step, saying: "Through whichever gate the recluse Gotama will depart today, that we will name the Gotama-gate; and the ford by which he will cross the river Ganges shall be named the Gotama-ford." And so it came to pass, where the gate was concerned.

33. But when the Blessed One came to the river Ganges, it was full to the brim, so that crows could drink from it. And some people went in search of a boat or float, while others tied up a raft, because they desired to get across. But the Blessed One, as quickly as a strong man might stretch out his bent arm or

draw in his outstretched arm, vanished from this side of the river Ganges, and came to stand on the yonder side.

34. And the Blessed One saw the people who desired to cross searching for a boat or float, while others were binding rafts. And then the Blessed One, seeing them thus, gave forth the solemn utterance:

"They who have bridged the ocean vast,
Leaving the lowlands far behind,
While others still their frail rafts bind,
Are saved by wisdom unsurpassed."

Part Two

The Journey to Vesali

The Four Noble Truths

1. Now the Blessed One spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Kotigama."

"So be it, Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode at Kotigama together with a large community of Bhikkhus.

2. And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Bhikkhus, it is through not realizing, through not penetrating the Four Noble Truths that this long course of birth and death has been passed through and undergone by me as well as by you. What are these four? They are the noble truth of suffering; the noble truth of the origin of suffering; the noble truth of the cessation of suffering; and the noble truth of the way to the cessation of suffering. But now, Bhikkhus, that these have been realized and penetrated, cut off is the craving for existence, destroyed is that which leads to renewed becoming, and there is no fresh becoming."

3. Thus it was said by the Blessed One. And the Happy One, the Master, further said:

"Through not seeing the Four Noble Truths,
Long was the weary path from birth to birth.
When these are known, removed is rebirth's cause,
the root of sorrow plucked; and then ends rebirth."

4. And also at Kotigama the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus: "Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

5. When the Blessed One had stayed at Kotigama as long as he pleased, he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Nadika."

"So be it, Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode in Nadika together with a large community of Bhikkhus, staying in the Brick House.

The Four Specific Attainments

6. Then the Venerable Ánanda approached the Blessed One and, after greeting him respectfully, sat down at one side. And he said to the Blessed One: "Here in Nadika, Lord, there have passed away the Bhikkhu Salha and the Bhikkhuní Nanda. Likewise there have passed away the layman Sudatta and the laywoman Sujata; likewise the layman Kakudha, Kalinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda. What is their destiny, Lord? What is their future state?"

7. "The Bhikkhu Salha, Ánanda, through the destruction of the taints in this very lifetime has attained to the taint-free

deliverance of mind and deliverance through wisdom, having directly known and realized it by himself. [17]

"The Bhikkhuní Nanda, Ánanda, through the destruction of the five lower fetters (that bind beings to the world of the senses), has arisen spontaneously (among the Suddhavasa deities) and will come to final cessation in that very place, not liable to return from that world.

"The layman Sudatta, Ánanda, through the destruction of the three fetters (self-belief, doubt, and faith in the efficacy of rituals and observances), and the lessening of lust, hatred, and delusion, has become a once-returner and is bound to make an end of suffering after having returned but once more to this world.

"The laywoman Sujata, Ánanda, through the destruction of the three fetters has become a stream-enterer, and is safe from falling into the states of misery, assured, and bound for Enlightenment.

"The layman Kakudha, Ánanda, through the destruction of the five lower fetters (that bind beings to the world of the senses), has arisen spontaneously (among the Suddhavasa deities), and will come to final cessation in that very place, not liable to return from that world.

"So it is with Kalinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty laymen in Nadika. More than ninety laymen who have passed away in Nadika, Ánanda, through the destruction of the three fetters, and the lessening of lust, hatred, and delusion, have become once-Returners and are bound to make an end of suffering after having returned but once more to this world.

"More than five hundred laymen who have passed away in Nadika, Ánanda, through the complete destruction of the three fetters have become stream-enterers, and are safe from falling into the states of misery, assured, and bound for Enlightenment.

The Mirror of the Dhamma

8. "But truly, Ánanda, it is nothing strange that human beings should die. But if each time it happens you should come to the Tathágata and ask about them in this manner, indeed it would be troublesome to him. Therefore, Ánanda, I will give you the teaching called the Mirror of the Dhamma, possessing which the noble disciple, should he so desire, can declare of himself: 'There is no more rebirth for me in hell, nor as an animal or ghost, nor in any realm of woe. A stream-enterer am I, safe from falling into the states of misery, assured am I and bound for Enlightenment.'"

9. "And what, Ánanda, is that teaching called the Mirror of Dhamma, possessing which the noble disciple may thus declare of himself?"

"In this case, Ánanda, the noble disciple possesses unwavering faith in the Buddha thus: 'The Blessed One is an Arhat, the Fully Enlightened One, perfect in knowledge and conduct, the Happy One, the knower of the world, the paramount trainer of beings, the teacher of gods and men, the Enlightened One, the Blessed One.'

"He possesses unwavering faith in the Dhamma thus: 'Well propounded by the Blessed One is the Dhamma, evident, timeless, [18] inviting investigation, leading to emancipation, to be comprehended by the wise, each for himself.'

"He possesses unwavering faith in the Blessed One's Order of Disciples thus: 'Well faring is the Blessed One's Order of Disciples, righteously, wisely, and dutifully: that is to say, the four pairs of men, the eight classes of persons. The Blessed One's Order of Disciples is worthy of honor, of hospitality, of offerings, of veneration -- the supreme field for meritorious deeds in the world.'

"And he possesses virtues that are dear to the Noble Ones, complete and perfect, spotless and pure, which are liberating,

praised by the wise, uninfluenced (by worldly concerns), and favorable to concentration of mind.

10. "This, Ānanda, is the teaching called the Mirror of the Dhamma, whereby the noble disciple may thus know of himself: 'there is no more rebirth for me in hell, nor as an animal or ghost, nor in any realm of woe. A stream-enterer am I, safe from falling into the states of misery, assured am I and bound for Enlightenment.'"

11. And also in Nadika, in the Brick House, the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus: "Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

12. When the Blessed One had stayed in Nadika as long as he pleased, he spoke to the Venerable Ānanda, saying: "Come, Ānanda, let us go to Vesali."

"So be it, O Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode in Vesali together with a large community of Bhikkhus, and stayed in Ambapali's grove.

Mindfulness and Clear Comprehension

13. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Mindful should you dwell, Bhikkhus, clearly comprehending; thus I exhort you.

14. "And how, Bhikkhus, is a Bhikkhu mindful? When he dwells contemplating the body in the body, earnestly, clearly comprehending, and mindfully, after having overcome desire and sorrow in regard to the world; and when he dwells contemplating feelings in feelings, the mind in the mind, and

mental objects in mental objects, earnestly, clearly comprehending, and mindfully, after having overcome desire and sorrow in regard to the world, then is he said to be mindful.

15. "And how, Bhikkhus, does a Bhikkhu have clear comprehension? When he remains fully aware of his coming and going, his looking forward and his looking away, his bending and stretching, his wearing of his robe and carrying of his bowl, his eating and drinking, masticating and savoring, his defecating and urinating, his walking, standing, sitting, lying down, going to sleep or keeping awake, his speaking or being silent, then is he said to have clear comprehension.

"Mindful should you dwell, Bhikkhus, clearly comprehending; thus I exhort you."

Ambapali and the Licchavis

16. Then Ambapali the courtesan came to know: "The Blessed One, they say, has arrived at Vesali and is now staying in my Mango Grove." And she ordered a large number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, mounted one of them herself, and accompanied by the rest, drove out from Vesali towards her park. She went by carriage as far as the carriage could go, then alighted; and approaching the Blessed One on foot, she respectfully greeted him and sat down at one side. And the Blessed One instructed Ambapali the courtesan in the Dhamma and roused, edified, and gladdened her.

17. Thereafter Ambapali the courtesan spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "May the Blessed One, O Lord, please accept my invitation for tomorrow's meal, together with the community of Bhikkhus." And by his silence the Blessed One consented.

Sure, then, of the Blessed One's consent, Ambapali the courtesan rose from her seat, respectfully saluted him, and keeping her right side towards him, took her departure.

18. Then the Licchavi of Vesali came to know: "The Blessed One, they say, has arrived at Vesali and is now staying in Ambapali's grove." And they ordered a large number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, each mounted one, and accompanied by the rest, drove out from Vesali. Now, of these Licchavis, some were in blue, with clothing and ornaments all of blue, while others were in yellow, red, and white.

19. And it so happened that Ambapali the courtesan drove up against the young Licchavis, axle-by-axle, wheel-by-wheel, and yoke by yoke. Thereupon the Licchavis exclaimed: "Why do you drive up against us in this fashion, Ambapali?"

"Thus it is, indeed, my princes, and not otherwise! For the Blessed One is invited by me for tomorrow's meal, together with the community of Bhikkhus!"

"Give up the meal, Ambapali, for a hundred thousand!"

But she replied: "Even if you were to give me Vesali, sirs, together with its tributary lands, I would not give up a meal of such importance."

Then the Licchavis snapped their fingers in annoyance: "See, friends! We are defeated by this mango lass! We are utterly outdone by this mango lass!" But they continued on their way to Ambapali's grove.

20. And the Blessed One beheld the Licchavis from afar, as they drove up. Then he spoke to the Bhikkhus, saying: "Those of you, Bhikkhus, who have not yet seen the Thirty-three gods, may behold the assembly of the Licchavis, and may gaze on them, for they are comparable to the assembly of the Thirty-three gods."

21. Then the Licchavis drove their carriages as far as the carriages could go, then alighted; and approaching the Blessed One on foot, they respectfully greeted him and sat down at one

side. The Blessed One instructed the Licchavis in the Dhamma, and roused, edified, and gladdened them.

22. Thereafter the Licchavis spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "May the Blessed One, O Lord, please accept our invitation for tomorrow's meal, together with the community of Bhikkhus."

"The invitation for tomorrow's meal, Licchavis, has been accepted by me from Ambapali the courtesan."

Then the Licchavis snapped their fingers in annoyance: "See, friends! We are defeated by this mango lass! We are utterly outdone by this mango lass!" And then the Licchavis, approving of the Blessed One's words and delighted with them, rose from their seats, respectfully saluted him, and keeping their right sides towards him, took their departure.

23. Then, after the night had passed, Ambapali the courtesan had choice food, hard and soft, prepared in her park, and announced it to the Blessed One: "It is time, O Lord; the meal is ready." Thereupon the Blessed One got ready in the forenoon, and taking bowl and robe, he went together with the community of Bhikkhus to Ambapali's dwelling, and there he took the seat prepared for him. And Ambapali herself attended on the community of Bhikkhus headed by the Buddha, and served them with choice food, hard and soft.

24. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal and had removed his hand from his bowl, Ambapali the courtesan took a low seat, and placing herself at one side, spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "This park, O Lord, I offer to the community of Bhikkhus headed by the Buddha." And the Blessed One accepted the park. He then instructed Ambapali in the Dhamma, and having roused, edified, and gladdened her; he rose from his seat and departed.

25. And also at Vesali, in Ambapali's grove, the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus: "Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is

wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

26. When the Blessed One had stayed in Ambapali's grove as long as he pleased, he spoke to the Venerable Ānanda, saying: "Come, Ānanda, let us go to the village of Beluva."

"So be it, Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode in the village of Beluva together with a large community of Bhikkhus.

The Blessed One's Deadly Sickness

27. At that time the Blessed One spoke to the Bhikkhus, saying: "Go now, Bhikkhus, and seek shelter anywhere in the neighborhood of Vesali where you are welcome, among acquaintances and friends, and there spend the rainy season. As for me, I shall spend the rainy season in this very place, in the village of Beluva."

"So be it, O Lord," the Bhikkhus said.

28. But when the Blessed One had entered upon the rainy season, there arose in him a severe illness, and sharp and deadly pains came upon him. And the Blessed One endured them mindfully, clearly comprehending and unperturbed.

29. Then it occurred to the Blessed One: "It would not be fitting if I came to my final passing away without addressing those who attended on me, without taking leave of the community of Bhikkhus. Then let me suppress this illness by strength of will, resolve to maintain the life process, and live on."

30. And the Blessed One suppressed the illness by strength of will, resolved to maintain the life process, and lived on. So it came about that the Blessed One's illness was allayed.

31. And the Blessed One recovered from that illness; and soon after his recovery he came out from his dwelling place and sat down in the shade of the building, on a seat prepared for him. Then the Venerable Ánanda approached the Blessed One, respectfully greeted him, and sitting down at one side, he spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Fortunate it is for me, O Lord, to see the Blessed One at ease again! Fortunate it is for me, O Lord, to see the Blessed One recovered! For truly, Lord, when I saw the Blessed One's sickness it was as though my own body became weak as a creeper, every thing around became dim to me, and my senses failed me. Yet, Lord, I still had some little comfort in the thought that the Blessed One would not come to his final passing away until he had given some last instructions respecting the community of Bhikkhus."

32. Thus spoke the Venerable Ánanda, but the Blessed One answered him, saying: "What more does the community of Bhikkhus expect from me, Ánanda? I have set forth the Dhamma without making any distinction of esoteric and exoteric doctrine; there is nothing, Ánanda, with regard to the teachings that the Tathágata holds to the last with the closed fist of a teacher who keeps some things back. Whosoever may think that it is he who should lead the community of Bhikkhus, or that the community depends upon him, it is such a one that would have to give last instructions respecting them. But, Ánanda, the Tathágata has no such idea, as that it is he who should lead the community of Bhikkhus, or that the community depends upon him. So what instructions should he have to give respecting the community of Bhikkhus?"

"Now I am frail, Ánanda, old, aged, far gone in years. This is my eightieth year, and my life is spent. Even as an old cart, Ánanda, is held together with much difficulty, so the body of the Tathágata is kept going only with supports. It is, Ánanda, only

when the Tathágata, disregarding external objects, with the cessation of certain feelings, attains to and abides in the signless concentration of mind, [19] that his body is more comfortable.

33. "Therefore, Ánanda, be islands unto yourselves, refuges unto yourselves, seeking no external refuge; with the Dhamma as your island, the Dhamma as your refuge, seeking no other refuge.

"And how, Ánanda, is a Bhikkhu an island unto himself, a refuge unto himself, seeking no external refuge; with the Dhamma as his island, the Dhamma as his refuge, seeking no other refuge?

34. "When he dwells contemplating the body in the body, earnestly, clearly comprehending, and mindfully, after having overcome desire and sorrow in regard to the world; when he dwells contemplating feelings in feelings, the mind in the mind, and mental objects in mental objects, earnestly, clearly comprehending, and mindfully, after having overcome desire and sorrow in regard to the world, then, truly, he is an island unto himself, a refuge unto himself, seeking no external refuge; having the Dhamma as his island, the Dhamma as his refuge, seeking no other refuge.

35. "Those Bhikkhus of mine, Ánanda, who now or after I am gone, abide as an island unto themselves, as a refuge unto themselves, seeking no other refuge; having the Dhamma as their island and refuge, seeking no other refuge: it is they who will become the highest, [20] if they have the desire to learn."

Part Three

Relinquishing the Will to Live

The Blessed One's Prompting

1. Then the Blessed One, getting ready in the forenoon, took bowl and robe and went into Vesali for alms. After the alms round and meal, on his return, he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Take up a mat, Ánanda, and let us spend the day at the Capala shrine."

"So be it, Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda took up a mat and followed behind the Blessed One, step by step.

2. And the Blessed One went to the Capala shrine and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And when the Venerable Ánanda had seated himself at one side after he had respectfully saluted the Blessed One, the Lord said to him: "Pleasant, Ánanda, is Vesali; pleasant are the shrines of Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Sarandada, and Capala."

3. And the Blessed One said: "Whosoever, Ánanda, has developed, practiced, employed, strengthened, maintained, scrutinized, and brought to perfection the four constituents of psychic power could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it. [21] The Tathágata, Ánanda, has done so. Therefore the Tathágata could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it."

4. But the Venerable Ánanda was unable to grasp the plain suggestion, the significant prompting, given by the Blessed One. As though his mind was influenced by Mara, [22] he did not beseech the Blessed One: "May the Blessed One remain, O Lord!. May the Happy One remain, O Lord, throughout the world-period, for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, well being, and happiness of gods and men!"

5. And when for a second and a third time the Blessed One repeated his words, the Venerable Ánanda remained silent.

6. Then the Blessed One said to the Venerable Ánanda: "Go now, Ánanda, and do as seems fit to you."

"Even so, O Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda, rising from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and keeping his right side towards him, took his seat under a tree some distance away.

Mara's Appeal

7. And when the Venerable Ánanda had gone away, Mara, the Evil One, approached the Blessed One. And standing at one side he spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Now, O Lord, let the Blessed One come to his final passing away; let the Happy One utterly pass away! The time has come for the Parinibbána of the Lord.

"For the Blessed One, O Lord, spoke these words to me: 'I shall not come to my final passing away, Evil One, until my Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, laymen and laywomen, have come to be true disciples -- wise, well disciplined, apt and learned, preservers of the Dhamma, living according to the Dhamma, abiding by the appropriate conduct, and having learned the Master's word, are able to expound it, preach it, proclaim it, establish it, reveal it, explain it in detail, and make it clear; until, when adverse opinions arise, they shall be able to refute them thoroughly and well, and to preach this convincing and liberating Dhamma.' [23]

8. "And now, O Lord, Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, laymen and laywomen, have become the Blessed One's disciples in just this way. So, O Lord, let the Blessed One come to his final passing away! The time has come for the Parinibbána of the Lord.

"For the Blessed One, O Lord, spoke these words to me: 'I shall not come to my final passing away, Evil One, until this holy life taught by me has become successful, prosperous, far-renowned, popular, and widespread, until it is well proclaimed

among gods and men.' And this too has come to pass in just this way. So, O Lord, let the Blessed One come to his final passing away, let the Happy One utterly pass away! The time has come for the Parinibbána of the Lord."

The Blessed One Relinquishes His Will to Live

9. When this was said, the Blessed One spoke to Mara, the Evil One, saying: "Do not trouble yourself, Evil One. Before long the Parinibbána of the Tathágata will come about. Three months hence the Tathágata will utterly pass away."

10. And at the Capala shrine the Blessed One thus mindfully and clearly comprehending renounced his will to live on. And upon the Lord's renouncing his will to live on, there came a tremendous earthquake, dreadful and astonishing, and thunder rolled across the heavens. And the Blessed One beheld it with understanding, and made this solemn utterance:

"What causes life, unbounded or confined [24] --
His process of becoming [25] -- this the Sage
Renounces. With inward calm and joy he breaks,
As though a coat of mail, his own life's cause." [26]

11. Then it came to the mind of the Venerable Ánanda:
"Marvelous it is indeed, and most wonderful! The earth shakes mightily, tremendously! Dreadful and astonishing it is, how the thunders roll across the heavens! What could be the reason, what the cause, that so mighty an earthquake should arise?"

Eight Causes of Earthquakes

12. And the Venerable Ánanda approached the Blessed One, and respectfully greeting him, sat down at one side. Then he spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Marvelous it is indeed, and

most wonderful! The earth shakes mightily, tremendously! Dreadful and astonishing it is how the thunders roll across the heavens! What could be the reason, what the cause, that so mighty an earthquake should arise?"

13. Then the Blessed One said: "There are eight reasons, Ánanda, eight causes for a mighty earthquake to arise. What are those eight?"

14. "This great earth, Ánanda, is established upon liquid, the liquid upon the atmosphere, and the atmosphere upon space. And when, Ánanda, mighty atmospheric disturbances take place, the liquid is agitated. And with the agitation of the liquid, tremors of the earth arise. This is the first reason, the first cause for the arising of mighty earthquakes.

15. "Again, Ánanda, when an ascetic or holy man of great power, one who has gained mastery of his mind, or a deity who is mighty and potent, develops intense concentration on the delimited aspect of the earth element, and to a boundless degree on the liquid element, he, too, causes the earth to tremble, quiver, and shake. This is the second reason, the second cause for the arising of mighty earthquakes.

16-21. "Again, Ánanda, when the Bodhisattva departs from the Tushita realm and descends into his mother's womb, mindfully and clearly comprehending; and when the Bodhisattva comes out from his mother's womb, mindfully and clearly comprehending; and when the Tathágata becomes fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment; when the Tathágata sets rolling the excellent Wheel of the Dhamma; when the Tathágata renounces his will to live on; and when the Tathágata comes to pass away into the state of Nibbána in which no element of clinging remains -- then, too, Ánanda, this great earth trembles, quivers, and shakes.

"These, Ánanda, are the eight reasons, the eight causes for a great earthquake to arise. [27]

Eight Assemblies

22. "Now there are eight kinds of assemblies, Ánanda, that is to say, assemblies of nobles, Brahmins, householders, ascetics, of the Four Great Kings, of the Thirty-three gods, of Mara's, and of Brahmas.

23. "And I recall, Ánanda, how I have attended each of these eight kinds of assemblies, amounting to hundreds. [28] And before seating myself and starting the conversation or the discussion, I made my appearance resemble theirs, my voice resemble theirs. And so I taught them the Dhamma, and roused, edified, and gladdened them. Yet while I was speaking to them thus, they did not know me, and they would enquire of one another, asking: 'who is he that speaks to us? Is it a man or a god?'

"Then having taught them the Dhamma, and roused, edified, and gladdened them, I would straightaway vanish. And when I had vanished, too, they did not know me, and they would enquire of one another, asking: 'who is he that has vanished? Is it a man or a god?'

"And such, Ánanda, are the eight kinds of assemblies.

Eight Fields of Mastery

24. "Now there are eight fields of mastery, [29] Ánanda. What are those eight?

25. "When one, perceiving forms subjectively, [30] sees small forms, beautiful or ugly, external to himself, [31] and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are - - this is the first field of mastery.

26. "When one, perceiving forms subjectively, sees large forms, beautiful or ugly, external to himself, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are -- this is the second field of mastery.

27. "When one, not perceiving forms subjectively, [32] sees small forms, beautiful or ugly, external to himself, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are -- this is the third field of mastery.

28. "When one, not perceiving forms subjectively, sees large forms, beautiful or ugly, external to himself, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are - - this is the fourth field of mastery.

29. "When one, not perceiving forms subjectively, sees forms external to himself that are blue, blue in color, of a blue luster like the blossoms of flax, or like fine Benares muslin which, burnished on both sides, is blue, blue in color, of a blue luster -- when such a one sees forms external to himself that are blue, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are -- this is the fifth field of mastery.

30. "When one, not perceiving forms subjectively, sees forms external to himself that are yellow, yellow in color, of a yellow luster like the Kanikara blossom, or like fine Benares muslin which, burnished on both sides, is yellow, yellow in color, of a yellow luster -- when such a one sees forms external to himself that are yellow, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are -- this is the sixth field of mastery.

31. "When one, not perceiving forms subjectively, sees forms external to himself that are red, red in color, of a red luster like the Bandhujivaka blossom, or like fine Benares muslin which, burnished on both sides, is red, red in color, of a red luster -- when such a one sees forms external to himself that are red, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are -- this is the seventh field of mastery.

32. "When one, not perceiving forms subjectively, sees forms external to himself that are white, white in color, of a white luster like the morning star, or like fine Benares muslin which, burnished on both sides, is white, white in color, of a white luster -- when such a one sees forms external to himself that

are white, and mastering them, is aware that he perceives and knows them as they are -- this is the eighth field of mastery.

"These, Ánanda, are the eight fields of mastery.

Eight Liberations

33. "Now there are eight liberations, Ánanda. What are those eight? [33]

34. "Oneself having form, [34] one perceives forms; this is the first liberation.

35. "Being unaware of one's own form, one perceives forms external to oneself; this is the second liberation.

36. "Experiencing loveliness, one is intent upon it; [35] this is the third liberation.

37. "By utterly transcending the perceptions of matter, by the disappearance of the perceptions of sense-reaction, and by giving no attention to diversity-perceptions, one becomes aware of, attains to, and abides in the sphere of infinite space; this is the fourth liberation.

38. "By utterly transcending the sphere of infinite space, one becomes aware of, attains to, and abides in the sphere of infinite consciousness; this is the fifth liberation.

39. "By utterly transcending the sphere of infinite consciousness, one becomes aware of, attains to, and abides in the sphere of nothingness; this is the sixth liberation.

40. "By utterly transcending the sphere of nothingness, one attains to and abides in the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception; this is the seventh liberation.

41. "By utterly transcending the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, one attains to and abides in the cessation of perception and sensation; this is the eighth liberation.

"These, Ánanda, are the eight liberations.

Mara's Former Temptation

42. "There was a time, Ánanda, when I dwelt at Uruvela, on the bank of the Nerañjara River, at the foot of the goatherds' banyan-tree, soon after my supreme Enlightenment. And Mara, the Evil One, approached me, saying: 'Now, O Lord, let the Blessed One come to his final passing away! Let the Happy One utterly pass away! The time has come for the Parinibbána of the Lord.'

43. "Then, Ánanda, I answered Mara, the Evil One, saying: 'I shall not come to my final passing away, Evil One, until my Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, laymen and laywomen, have come to be true disciples -- wise, well disciplined, apt and learned, preservers of the Dhamma, living according to the Dhamma, abiding by appropriate conduct and, having learned the Master's word, are able to expound it, preach it, proclaim it, establish it, reveal it, explain it in detail, and make it clear; until, when adverse opinions arise, they shall be able to refute them thoroughly and well, and to preach this convincing and liberating Dhamma.

44. "'I shall not come to my final passing away, Evil One, until this holy life taught by me has become successful, prosperous, far-renowned, popular, and widespread, until it is well proclaimed among gods and men.'

45. "And again today, Ánanda, at the Capala shrine, Mara, the Evil One, approached me, saying: 'Now, O Lord, Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, laymen and laywomen, have come to be true disciples of the Blessed One -- wise, well disciplined, apt and learned, preservers of the Dhamma, living according to the Dhamma, abiding in the appropriate conduct, and having learned the Master's word, are able to expound it, preach it, proclaim it, establish it, reveal it, explain it in detail, and make it clear; and when adverse opinions arise, they are now able to

refute them thoroughly and well, and to preach this convincing and liberating Dhamma.

"And now, O Lord, this holy life taught by the Blessed One has become successful, prosperous, far-renowned, popular and widespread, and it is well proclaimed among gods and men. Therefore, O Lord, let the Blessed One come to his final passing away! Let the Happy One utterly pass away! The time has come for the Parinibbána of the Lord.'

46. "And then, Ánanda, I answered Mara, the Evil One, saying: 'do not trouble yourself, Evil One. Before long the Parinibbána of the Tathágata will come about. Three months hence the Tathágata will utterly pass away.'

47. "And in this way, Ánanda, today at the Capala shrine the Tathágata has renounced his will to live on."

Ánanda's Appeal

48. At these words the Venerable Ánanda spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "May the Blessed One remain, O Lord! May the Happy One remain, O Lord, throughout the world-period, for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, well being, and happiness of gods and men!"

49. And the Blessed One answered, saying: "Enough, Ánanda. Do not entreat the Tathágata, for the time is past, Ánanda, for such an entreaty."

50-51. But for a second and a third time, the Venerable Ánanda said to the Blessed One: "May the Blessed One remain, O Lord! May the Happy One remain, O Lord, throughout the world-period, for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, well being, and happiness of gods and men!"

52. Then the Blessed One said: "Do you have faith, Ánanda, in the Enlightenment of the Tathágata?" And the Venerable Ánanda replied: "Yes, O Lord, I do."

"Then how, Ánanda, can you persist against the Tathágata even up to the third time?"

53. Then the Venerable Ánanda said: "This, O Lord, I have heard and learned from the Blessed One himself when the Blessed One said to me: 'Whosoever, Ánanda, has developed, practiced, employed, strengthened, maintained, scrutinized, and brought to perfection the four constituents of psychic power could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it. The Tathágata, Ánanda, has done so. Therefore the Tathágata could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it.'"

54. "And did you believe it, Ánanda?"

"Yes, O Lord, I did."

"Then, Ánanda, the fault is yours. Herein have you failed, inasmuch as you were unable to grasp the plain suggestion, the significant prompting given by the Tathágata, and you did not then entreat the Tathágata to remain. For if you had done so, Ánanda, twice the Tathágata might have declined, but the third time he would have consented. Therefore, Ánanda, the fault is yours; herein have you failed.

55. "At Rajagaha, Ánanda, when dwelling at Vultures' Peak, I spoke to you, saying: 'Pleasant, Ánanda, is Rajagaha; pleasant is Vultures' Peak. Whosoever, Ánanda, has developed ... Therefore the Tathágata could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it.'

56. "So also at the Banyan Grove, at Robbers' Cliff, at the Sattapanni Cave on the Vebhara Mountain, at the Black Rock of Isigili, at the Serpents' Pool in the Cool Forest, at the Tapoda Grove, at the Bamboo Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding-ground,

at Jivaka's Mango Grove, and at Small Nook in the Deer Park I spoke to you in the same words, saying: 'Pleasant, Ánanda, is Rajagaha, pleasant are these places. Whosoever, Ánanda, has developed...Therefore the Tathágata could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it.'

"But you, Ánanda, were unable to grasp the plain suggestion, the significant prompting given you by the Tathágata, and you did not entreat the Tathágata to remain. For if you had done so, Ánanda, twice the Tathágata might have declined, but the third time he would have consented. Therefore, Ánanda, the fault is yours; herein you have failed.

57. "So also at Vesali, Ánanda, at different times the Tathágata has spoken to you, saying: 'Pleasant, Ánanda, is Vesali; pleasant are the shrines of Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Sarandada, and Capala. Whosoever, Ánanda, has developed ... Therefore the Tathágata could, if he so desired, remain throughout a world-period or until the end of it.'

"But you, Ánanda, were unable to grasp the plain suggestion, the significant prompting, given you by the Tathágata, and you did not entreat the Tathágata to remain. For if you had done so, Ánanda, twice the Tathágata might have declined, but the third time he would have consented. Therefore, Ánanda, the fault is yours; herein you have failed.

58. "Yet, Ánanda, have I not taught from the very beginning that with all that is dear and beloved there must be change, separation, and severance? Of that which is born, come into being, is compounded and subject to decay, how can one say: 'May it not come to dissolution!' There can be no such state of things. And of that, Ánanda, which the Tathágata has finished with, that which he has relinquished, given up, abandoned, and rejected -- his will to live on -- the Tathágata's word has been spoken once for all: 'Before long the Parinibbána of the Tathágata will come about. Three months hence the Tathágata

will utterly pass away.' And that the Tathágata should withdraw his words for the sake of living on -- this is an impossibility.

The Last Admonition

59. "So, then, Ánanda, let us go to the hall of the Gabled House, in the Great Forest." And the Venerable Ánanda replied: "So be it, Lord."

60. Then the Blessed One, with the Venerable Ánanda, went to the hall of the Gabled House, in the Great Forest. And there he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Go now, Ánanda, and assemble in the hall of audience all the Bhikkhus who dwell in the neighborhood of Vesali."

"So be it, Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda gathered all the Bhikkhus who dwelt in the neighborhood of Vesali, and assembled them in the hall of audience. And then, respectfully saluting the Blessed One, and standing at one side, he said: "The community of Bhikkhus is assembled, Lord. Now let the Blessed One do as he wishes."

61. Thereupon the Blessed One entered the hall of audience, and taking the seat prepared for him, he exhorted the Bhikkhus, saying: "Now, O Bhikkhus, I say to you that these teachings of which I have direct knowledge and which I have made known to you -- these you should thoroughly learn, cultivate, develop, and frequently practice, that the life of purity may be established and may long endure, for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, well being, and happiness of gods and men.

62. "And what, Bhikkhus, are these teachings? They are the four foundations of mindfulness, the four right efforts, the four constituents of psychic power, the five faculties, the five powers, the seven factors of enlightenment, and the Noble Eightfold Path. These, Bhikkhus, are the teachings of which I have direct knowledge, which I have made known to you, and which you should thoroughly learn, cultivate, develop, and frequently

practice, that the life of purity may be established and may long endure, for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, well being, and happiness of gods and men."

63. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: "So, Bhikkhus, I exhort you: All compounded things are subject to vanish. Strive with earnestness. The time of the Tathágata's Parinibbána is near. Three months hence the Tathágata will utterly pass away."

64. And having spoken these words, the Happy One, the Master, spoke again, saying:

"My years are now full ripe, the life span left is short. Departing, I go hence from you, relying on myself alone. Be earnest, then, O Bhikkhus, be mindful and of virtue pure!

With firm resolve, guard your own mind!
Whoso untiringly pursues the Dhamma and the Discipline
Shall go beyond the round of births and make an end of suffering."

Part Four

The Last Meal

The Elephant's Look

1. Then the Blessed One, getting ready in the forenoon, took bowl and robe and went into Vesali for alms. After the alms round and meal, on his return, he looked upon Vesali with the elephant's look, [36] and said to the Venerable Ánanda: "This, Ánanda, is the last time that the Tathágata will look upon Vesali. Come, Ánanda, let us go to Bhandagama."

"So be it, O Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode at Bhandagama together with a large community of Bhikkhus.

2. And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Bhikkhus, it is through not realizing, through not penetrating four principles that this long course of birth and death has been passed through and undergone by me as well as by you. What are those four? They are: noble virtue, noble concentration, noble wisdom, and noble emancipation. But now, Bhikkhus, that these have been realized and penetrated, cut off is the craving for existence, destroyed is that which leads to renewed becoming, and there is no fresh becoming."

3. And having spoken these words, the Happy One, the Master, spoke again, saying:

"Virtue, concentration, wisdom, and emancipation unsurpassed --

These are the principles realized by Gotama the renowned;

And, knowing them, he, the Buddha, to his monks has taught the Dhamma.

He, the destroyer of suffering, the Master, the Seer, is at peace."

4. And also at Bhandagama the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus: "Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

5. When the Blessed One had stayed at Bhandagama as long as he pleased, he spoke to the Venerable Ānanda: "Come, Ānanda, let us go to Hatthigama."

"So be it, Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode at Hatthigama together with a large community of Bhikkhus.

And when the Blessed One had stayed at Hatthigama as long as he pleased, he took up his abode at Ambagama, then at Jambugama. And at each of these places the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus: "Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

6. And when the Blessed One had stayed at Jambugama as long as he pleased, he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Bhoganagara."

"So be it, Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode at Bhoganagara together with a large community of Bhikkhus, and stayed in the Ánanda shrine.

The Four Great References

7. And there the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Now, Bhikkhus, I shall make known to you the four great references. [37] Listen and pay heed to my words." And those Bhikkhus answered, saying:

"So be it, Lord."

8-11. Then the Blessed One said: "In this fashion, Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu might speak: 'Face to face with the Blessed One, brethren, I have heard and learned thus: This is the Dhamma and the Discipline, the Master's Dispensation'; or: 'in an abode of such and such a name lives a community with elders and a chief. Face to face with that community, I have heard and learned thus: This is the Dhamma and the Discipline, the

Master's Dispensation'; or: 'In an abode of such and such a name live several Bhikkhus who are elders, who are learned, who have accomplished their course, who are preservers of the Dhamma, the Discipline, and the Summaries. Face to face with those elders, I have heard and learned thus: This is the Dhamma and the Discipline, the Master's Dispensation'; or: 'In an abode of such and such a name lives a single Bhikkhu who is an elder, who is learned, who has accomplished his course, who is a preserver of the Dhamma, the Discipline, and the Summaries. Face to face with that elder, I have heard and learned thus: This is the Dhamma and the Discipline, the Master's Dispensation.'

"In such a case, Bhikkhus, the declaration of such a Bhikkhu is neither to be received with approval nor with scorn. Without approval and without scorn, but carefully studying the sentences word by word, one should trace them in the Discourses and verify them by the Discipline. If they are neither traceable in the Discourses nor verifiable by the Discipline, one must conclude thus: 'Certainly, this is not the Blessed One's utterance; this has been misunderstood by that Bhikkhu -- or by that community, or by those elders, or by that elder.' In that way, Bhikkhus, you should reject it. But if the sentences concerned are traceable in the Discourses and verifiable by the Discipline, then one must conclude thus: 'Certainly, this is the Blessed One's utterance; this has been well understood by that Bhikkhu -- or by that community, or by those elders, or by that elder.' And in that way, Bhikkhus, you may accept it on the first, second, third, or fourth reference. These, Bhikkhus, are the four great references for you to preserve."

12. And also at Bhoganagara, at the Ánanda shrine, the Blessed One often gave counsel to the Bhikkhus thus: "Such and such is virtue; such and such is concentration; and such and such is wisdom. Great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of concentration when it is fully developed by virtuous conduct; great becomes the fruit, great is the gain of wisdom when it is fully developed by concentration; utterly freed from the taints of

lust, becoming, and ignorance is the mind that is fully developed in wisdom."

13. When the Blessed One had stayed at Bhoganagara as long as he pleased, he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Pava."

"So be it, Lord." And the Blessed One took up his abode at Pava together with a great community of Bhikkhus, and stayed in the Mango Grove of Chunda, who was by family a metalworker.

The Buddha's Last Meal

14. And Chunda the metalworker came to know: "The Blessed One, they say, has arrived at Pava, and is staying in my Mango Grove." And he went to the Blessed One, and having respectfully greeted him, sat down at one side. And the Blessed One instructed Chunda the metalworker in the Dhamma, and roused, edified, and gladdened him.

15. Then Chunda spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "May the Blessed One, O Lord, please accept my invitation for tomorrow's meal, together with the community of Bhikkhus." And by his silence the Blessed One consented.

16. Sure, then, of the Blessed One's consent, Chunda the metalworker rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and keeping his right side towards him, took his departure.

17. And Chunda the metalworker, after the night had passed, had choice food, hard and soft, prepared in his abode, together with a quantity of *sukara-maddava*, [38] and announced it to the Blessed One, saying: "It is time, O Lord, the meal is ready."

18. Thereupon the Blessed One, in the forenoon, having got ready, took bowl and robe and went with the community of Bhikkhus to the house of Chunda, and there sat down on the

seat prepared for him. And he spoke to Chunda, saying: "With the *sukara-maddava* you have prepared, Chunda, you may serve me; with the other food, hard and soft, you may serve the community of Bhikkhus."

"So be it, Lord." And with the *sukara-maddava* prepared by him, he served the Blessed One; and with the other food, hard and soft, he served the community of Bhikkhus.

19. Thereafter the Blessed One spoke to Chunda, saying: "Whatever, Chunda, is left over of the *sukara-maddava*, bury that in a pit. For I do not see in all this world, with its gods, Mara's, and Brahmas, among the host of ascetics and Brahmins, gods and men, anyone who could eat it and entirely digest it except the Tathágata alone."

And Chunda the metalworker answered the Blessed One saying: "So be it, O Lord. "And what remained over of the *sukara-maddava* he buried in a pit.

20. Then he returned to the Blessed One, respectfully greeted him, and sat down at one side. And the Blessed One instructed Chunda the metalworker in the Dhamma, and roused, edified, and gladdened him. After this he rose from his seat and departed.

21. And soon after the Blessed One had eaten the meal provided by Chunda the metalworker, a dire sickness fell upon him, even dysentery, and he suffered sharp and deadly pains. But the Blessed One endured them mindfully, clearly comprehending and unperturbed.

22. Then the Blessed One spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Come, Ánanda, let us go to Kusinara." And the Venerable Ánanda answered: "So be it, Lord."

23. When he had eaten Chunda's food, I heard,
With fortitude the deadly pains he bore.
From the *sukara-maddava* a sore

And dreadful sickness came upon the Lord.
But nature's pangs he endured. "Come, let us go
To Kusinara," was his dauntless word. [39]

The Clearing of the Waters

24. Now on the way the Blessed One went aside from the highway and stopped at the foot of a tree. And he said to the Venerable Ánanda: "Please fold my upper robe in four, Ánanda, and lay it down. I am weary and want to rest awhile."

"So be it, Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda folded the robe in four and laid it down.

25. And the Blessed One sat down on the seat prepared for him and said to the Venerable Ánanda: "Please bring me some water, Ánanda. I am thirsty and want to drink."

26. And the Venerable Ánanda answered the Blessed One: "But just now, Lord, a great number of carts, five hundred carts, have passed over, and the shallow water has been cut through by the wheels, so that it flows turbid and muddy. But the Kakuttha River, Lord, is quite close by, and its waters are clear, pleasant, cool, and translucent. It is easily approachable and delightfully placed. There the Blessed One can quench his thirst and refresh his limbs."

27-29. But a second time the Blessed One made his request, and the Venerable Ánanda answered him as before. And then for a third time the Blessed One said: "Please bring me some water, Ánanda. I am thirsty and want to drink."

30. Then the Venerable Ánanda answered, saying: "So be it, Lord." And he took the bowl and went to the stream. And the shallow water, which had been cut through by the wheels so that it flowed turbid and muddy, became clear and settled down, pure and pleasant as the Venerable Ánanda drew near.

31. Then the Venerable Ānanda thought: "Marvelous and most wonderful indeed is the power and glory of the Tathágata!"

32. And he took up water in the bowl and carried it to the Blessed One, and said: "Marvelous and most wonderful indeed is the power and glory of the Tathágata! For this shallow water, which had been cut through by the wheels so that it flowed turbid and muddy, became clear and settled down, pure and pleasant as I drew near. Now let the Blessed One drink the water. Let the Happy One drink." And the Blessed One drank the water.

Pukkusa the Malla

33. Now it so happened that one Pukkusa of the Malla clan, who was a disciple of Alara Kalama, was passing by on his way from Kusinara to Pava. [40]

34. And when he saw the Blessed One seated at the foot of a tree, he approached him, respectfully greeted him, and sat down at one side. And he spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Marvelous it is, Lord, most wonderful it is, O Lord, the state of calmness wherein abide those who have gone forth from the world.

35. "For at one time, Lord, Alara Kalama was on a journey, and he went aside from the highway and sat down by the wayside at the foot of a tree to pass the heat of the day. And it came about, Lord that a great number of carts, even five hundred carts, passed by him, one by one. And then, Lord, a certain man who was following behind that train of carts, approached and spoke to him, saying: 'Did you, sir, see a great number of carts that passed you by?' And Alara Kalama answered him: 'I did not see them, brother.' 'But the noise, sir, surely you heard?' 'I did not hear it, brother.' Then that man asked him: 'Then, sir, perhaps you slept?' 'No, brother, I was not sleeping.' 'Then, sir, were you conscious?' 'I was, brother.' Then that man said: 'Then, sir, while conscious and awake you still did not see the great number of carts, even five hundred carts, that passed

you by one after another, nor heard the noise? Why, sir, your very robe is covered with their dust!' And Alara Kalama replied, saying: 'So it is, brother.'

36. "And to that man, O Lord, came the thought: 'Marvelous it is, most wonderful indeed it is, the state of calmness wherein abide those who have gone forth from the world!' And there arose in him great faith in Alara Kalama, and he went his way."

37. "Now what do you think, Pukkusa? What is more difficult to do, more difficult to meet with -- that a man, while conscious and awake, should not see a great number of carts, even five hundred carts, that passed him by one after another, nor hear the noise, or that one conscious and awake, in the midst of a heavy rain, with thunder rolling, lightning flashing, and thunderbolts crashing, should neither see it nor hear the noise?"

38. "What, O Lord, are five hundred carts -- nay, six, seven, eight, nine hundred, or a thousand or even hundreds of thousands of carts -- compared with this?"

39. "Now one time, Pukkusa, I was staying at Atuma, and had my abode in a barn there. And at that time there was a heavy rain, with thunder rolling, lightning flashing, and thunderbolts crashing. And two farmers who were brothers were killed close to the barn, together with four oxen, and a great crowd came forth from Atuma to the spot where they were killed.

40. "Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had come out of the barn and was walking up and down in thought before the door. And a certain man from the great crowd approached me, respectfully greeted me, and stood at one side.

41. "And I asked him: 'Why, brother, has this great crowd gathered together?' And he answered me: 'Just now, Lord, there was a heavy rain, with thunder rolling, lightning flashing, and thunderbolts crashing. And two farmers who were brothers were killed close by, together with four oxen. It is because of

this that the great crowd has gathered. But where, Lord, were you?'

"'I was here, brother.' 'Yet, Lord, did you not see it?' 'I did not see it, brother.' 'But the noise, Lord, you surely heard?' 'I did not hear it, brother.' Then that man asked me: 'Then, Lord, perhaps you slept?' 'No, brother, I was not sleeping.' 'Then, Lord, you were conscious?' 'I was, brother.' Then that man said: 'Then, Lord, while conscious and awake, in the midst of a heavy rain, with thunder rolling, lightning flashing, and thunderbolts crashing, you neither saw it nor heard the noise?' And I answered him, saying: 'I did not, brother.'

42. "And to that man, Pukkusa, came the thought: 'Marvelous it is, most wonderful indeed it is, the state of calmness wherein abide those who have gone forth from the world!' And there arose in him great faith in me, and he respectfully saluted me, and keeping his right side towards me, he went his way."

43. When this had been said, Pukkusa of the Malla clan said to the Blessed One: "The faith, Lord, that I had in Alara Kalama I now scatter to the mighty wind, I let it be carried away as by a flowing stream! Excellent, O Lord, most excellent, O Lord! It is as if, Lord, one were to set upright what had been overthrown, or to reveal what had been hidden, or to show the path to one who had gone astray, or to light a lamp in the darkness so that those having eyes might see -- even so has the Blessed One set forth the Dhamma in many ways. And so, O Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, the Dhamma, and the Community of Bhikkhus. May the Blessed One accept me as his disciple, one who has taken refuge until the end of life."

44. Then Pukkusa of the Malla clan spoke to a certain man, saying: "Bring me at once, friend, two sets of golden-hued robes, burnished and ready for wear." And the man answered him: "So be it, sir."

45. And when the robes were brought, Pukkusa of the Malla clan offered them to the Blessed One, saying: "May the

Blessed One, O Lord, out of compassion, accept this from me." And the Blessed One said: "Robe me, then in one, Pukkusa, and in the other robe Ánanda."

"So be it, Lord." And he thereupon robed the Blessed One in one, and in the other he robed the Venerable Ánanda.

46. And then the Blessed One instructed Pukkusa of the Malla clan in the Dhamma, and roused, edified, and gladdened him. And after that, Pukkusa rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and keeping his right side towards him, went his way.

47. And soon after Pukkusa of the Malla clan had departed, the Venerable Ánanda arranged the set of golden-hued robes, burnished and ready for wear, about the body of the Blessed One. But when the set of robes was arranged upon the body of the Blessed One, it became as though faded, and its splendor dimmed.

48. And the Venerable Ánanda said to the Blessed One: "Marvelous it is, O Lord, most wonderful indeed it is, how clear and radiant the skin of the Tathágata appears! This set of golden-hued robes, burnished and ready for wear, Lord, now that it is arranged upon the body of the Blessed One seems to have become faded, its splendor dimmed."

49. "It is so, Ánanda. There are two occasions, Ánanda, when the skin of the Tathágata appears exceedingly clear and radiant. Which are these two? The night, Ánanda, when the Tathágata becomes fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment, and the night when the Tathágata comes to his final passing away into the state of Nibbána in which no element of clinging remains. These, Ánanda, are the two occasions on which the skin of the Tathágata appears exceedingly clear and radiant.

50. "And now today, in the last watch of this very night, Ánanda, in the Mallas' Sala Grove, in the vicinity of Kusinara, between

two Sala trees, the Tathágata will come to his Parinibbána. So now, Ánanda let us go to the Kakuttha River."

51. Clad in Pukkusa's gift, the robes of gold,
The Master's form was radiant to behold.

At the Kakuttha River

52. Then the Blessed One went to the Kakuttha River together with a great community of Bhikkhus.

53. And he went down into the water, bathed, and drank. And coming forth from the water again, he went to the Mango Grove, and there spoke to the Venerable Cundaka, saying: "Please fold my upper robe in four, Cundaka, and lay it down. I am weary and would rest awhile."

"So be it, Lord." And Cundaka folded the robe in four and laid it down.

54. And the Blessed One lay down on his right side, in the lion's posture, resting one foot upon the other, and so disposed himself, mindfully and clearly comprehending, with the time for rising held in mind. And the Venerable Cundaka sat down right in front of the Blessed One.

55. The Buddha to Kakuttha's river came,
Where cool and limpid flows the pleasant stream;
There washed in water clear his weary frame
The Buddha -- he in all the world supreme!
And having bathed and drank, the Teacher straight
Crossed over, the Bhikkhus thronging in his wake.

Discoursing holy truths, the Master great
Towards the Mango Grove his path did take.
There to the elder Cundaka he spoke:
"Lay down my robe, please, folded into four."
Then the elder, swift as lightning stroke,
Hastened the Teacher's bidding to obey.

Weary, the Lord then lay down on the mat,
And Chunda on the ground before him sat.

Relieving Chunda's Remorse

56. Then the Blessed One spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "It may come to pass, Ánanda, that someone will cause remorse to Chunda the metalworker, saying: 'It is no gain to you, friend Chunda, but a loss, that it was from you the Tathágata took his last alms meal, and then came to his end.' then, Ánanda, the remorse of Chunda should be dispelled after this manner: 'It is a gain to you, friend Chunda, a blessing that the Tathágata took his last alms meal from you, and then came to his end. For, friend, face to face with the Blessed One I have heard and learned: "There are two offerings of food which are of equal fruition, of equal outcome, exceeding in grandeur the fruition and result of any other offerings of food. Which two? The one partaken of by the Tathágata before becoming fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment; and the one partaken of by the Tathágata before passing into the state of Nibbána in which no element of clinging remains. By his deed the worthy Chunda has accumulated merit which makes for long life, beauty, well being, glory, heavenly rebirth, and sovereignty.'" Thus, Ánanda, the remorse of Chunda the metalworker should be dispelled."

57. Then the Blessed One, understanding that matter, breathed forth the solemn utterance:

"Who gives, his virtues shall increase;
Who is self-curbed, no hatred bears;
Whoso is skilled in virtue, evil shuns,
And by the rooting out of lust and hate
And all delusion, comes to be at peace."

Part Five At Kusinara

Last Place of Rest

1. Then the Blessed One addressed the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Come, Ánanda, let us cross to the farther bank of the Hiraññavati, and go to the Mallas' Sala Grove, in the vicinity of Kusinara."

"So be it, Lord."

2. And the Blessed One, together with a large company of Bhikkhus, went to the further bank of the river Hiraññavati, to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, in the vicinity of Kusinara. And there he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying:

3. "Please, Ánanda, prepare for me a couch between the twin Sala trees, with the head to the north. I am weary, Ánanda, and want to lie down." [41]

"So be it, Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda did as the Blessed One asked him to do.

Then the Blessed One lay down on his right side, in the lion's posture, resting one foot upon the other, and so disposed himself, mindfully and clearly comprehending.

4. At that time the twin Sala trees broke out in full bloom, though it was not the season of flowering. And the blossoms rained upon the body of the Tathágata and dropped and scattered and were strewn upon it in worship of the Tathágata. And celestial *mandarava* flowers and heavenly sandalwood powder from the sky rained down upon the body of the Tathágata, and dropped and scattered and were strewn upon it in worship of the Tathágata. And the sound of heavenly voices and heavenly instruments made music in the air out of reverence for the Tathágata.

5. And the Blessed One spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Ánanda, the twin Sala trees are in full bloom, though it is not the season of flowering. And the blossoms rain upon the body of the Tathágata, drop, scatter, and are strewn upon it in worship of the Tathágata. And celestial coral flowers and heavenly sandalwood powder from the sky rain down upon the body of the Tathágata, and drop and scatter and are strewn upon it in worship of the Tathágata. And the sound of heavenly voices and heavenly instruments makes music in the air out of reverence for the Tathágata.

6. "Yet it is not thus, Ánanda, that the Tathágata is respected, venerated, esteemed, worshipped, and honored in the highest degree. But, Ánanda, whatever Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuní, layman or laywoman, abides by the Dhamma, lives uprightly in the Dhamma, walks in the way of the Dhamma, it is by such a one that the Tathágata is respected, venerated, esteemed, worshipped, and honored in the highest degree. Therefore, Ánanda, thus should you train yourselves: 'We shall abide by the Dhamma, live uprightly in the Dhamma, walk in the way of the Dhamma.'"

The Grief of the Gods

7. At that time the Venerable Upavana was standing before the Blessed One, fanning him. And the Blessed One rebuked him, saying: "Move aside, Bhikkhu, do not stand in front of me."

8. And to the Venerable Ánanda came the thought: "This Venerable Upavana has been in attendance on the Blessed One for a long time, closely associating with him and serving him. Yet now, right at the end, the Blessed One rebukes him. What now could be the reason, what the cause for the Blessed One to rebuke the Venerable Upavana, saying: 'Move aside, Bhikkhu, do not stand in front of me'?"

9-10. And the Venerable Ánanda told his thought to the Blessed One. The Blessed One said: "Throughout the tenfold world-system, Ánanda, there are hardly any of the deities that have not gathered together to look upon the Tathágata. For a distance of twelve yojanas around the Sala Grove of the Mallas in the vicinity of Kusinara there is not a spot that could be pricked with the tip of a hair that is not filled with powerful deities. And these deities, Ánanda, are complaining: 'From afar have we come to look upon the Tathágata. For rare in the world is the arising of Tathágatas, Arhats, and Fully Enlightened Ones. And this day, in the last watch of the night, the Tathágata's Parinibbána will come about. But this Bhikkhu of great powers has placed himself right in front of the Blessed One, concealing him, so that now, at the very end, we are prevented from looking upon him.' Thus, Ánanda, the deities complain."

11. "Of what kind of deities, Lord, is the Blessed One aware?"

12-13. "There are deities, Ánanda, in space and on earth, who are earthly-minded; with disheveled hair they weep, with uplifted arms they weep; flinging themselves on the ground, they roll from side to side, lamenting: 'Too soon has the Blessed One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Happy One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon will the Eye of the World vanish from sight!'

14. "But those deities who are freed from passion, mindful and comprehending, reflect in this way: 'Impermanent are all compounded things. How could this be otherwise?'"

Ánanda's Concern

15. "Formerly, Lord, on leaving their quarters after the rains, the Bhikkhus would set forth to see the Tathágata, and to us there was the gain and benefit of receiving and associating with those very revered Bhikkhus who came to have audience with the Blessed One and to wait upon him. But, Lord, after the

Blessed One has gone, we shall no longer have that gain and benefit."

Four Places of Pilgrimage

16. "There are four places, Ánanda, that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence. [42] What are the four?"

17. "'Here the Tathágata was born!' [43] This, Ánanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence.

18. "'Here the Tathágata became fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment!' [44] This, Ánanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence.

19. "'Here the Tathágata set rolling the unexcelled Wheel of the Dhamma!' [45] This, Ánanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence.

20. "'Here the Tathágata passed away into the state of Nibbána in which no element of clinging remains!' This, Ánanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence.

21. "These, Ánanda, are the four places that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence. And truly there will come to these places, Ánanda, pious Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, laymen and laywomen, reflecting: 'Here the Tathágata was born! Here the Tathágata became fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment! Here the Tathágata set rolling the unexcelled Wheel of the Dhamma! Here the Tathágata passed away into the state of Nibbána in which no element of clinging remains!'

22. "And whoever, Ánanda, should die on such a pilgrimage with his heart established in faith, at the breaking up of the

body, after death, will be reborn in a realm of heavenly happiness."

23. Then the Venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: "How, Lord, should we conduct ourselves towards women?"

"Do not see them, Ānanda."

"But, Lord, if we do see them?"

"Do not speak, Ānanda."

"But, Lord, if they should speak to us?"

"Then, Ānanda, you should establish mindfulness."

24. Then the Venerable Ānanda said: "How should we act, Lord, respecting the body of the Tathágata?"

"Do not hinder yourselves, Ānanda, to honor the body of the Tathágata. Rather you should strive, Ānanda, and be zealous on your own behalf, [46] for your own good. Unflinchingly, ardently, and resolutely you should apply yourselves to your own good. For there are, Ānanda, wise nobles, wise Brahmins, and wise householders who are devoted to the Tathágata, and it is they who will render the honor to the body of the Tathágata."

25. Then the Venerable Ānanda said: "But how, Lord, should they act respecting the body of the Tathágata?"

"After the same manner, Ānanda, as towards the body of a universal monarch." [47]

"But how, Lord, do they act respecting the body of a universal monarch?"

26. "The body of a universal monarch, Ānanda, is first wrapped round with new linen, and then with teased cotton wool, and so it is done up to five hundred layers of linen and five hundred of

cotton wool. When that is done, the body of the universal monarch is placed in an iron [48] oil vessel, which is enclosed in another iron vessel, a funeral pyre is built of all kinds of perfumed woods, and so the body of the universal monarch is burned; and at a crossroads a stupa is raised for the universal monarch. So it is done, Ánanda, with the body of a universal monarch. And even, Ánanda, as with the body of a universal monarch, so should it be done with the body of the Tathágata; and at a crossroads also a stupa should be raised for the Tathágata. And whosoever shall bring to that place garlands or incense or sandal paste, or pay reverence, and whose mind becomes calm there -- it will be to his well being and happiness for a long time.

27. "There are four persons, Ánanda, who are worthy of a stupa. Who are those four? A Tathágata, an Arhat, a Fully Enlightened One is worthy of a stupa; so also is a Pratyekabuddha, [49] and a disciple of a Tathágata, and a universal monarch.

28-31. "And why, Ánanda, is a Tathágata, an Arhat, a Fully Enlightened One worthy of a stupa? Because, Ánanda, at the thought: 'This is the stupa of that Blessed One, Arhat, Fully Enlightened One!' the hearts of many people will be calmed and made happy; and so calmed and with their minds established in faith therein, at the breaking up of the body, after death, they will be reborn in a realm of heavenly happiness. And so also at the thought: 'This is the stupa of that Pratyekabuddha!' or 'This is the stupa of a disciple of that Tathágata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened One!' or 'This is the stupa of that righteous monarch who ruled according to Dhamma!' -- the hearts of many people are calmed and made happy; and so calmed and with their minds established in faith therein, at the breaking up of the body, after death, they will be reborn in a realm of heavenly happiness. And it is because of this, Ánanda, that these four persons are worthy of a stupa."

Ánanda's Grief

32. Then the Venerable Ánanda went into the vihara [50] and leaned against the doorpost and wept: "I am still but a learner, [51] and still have to strive for my own perfection. But, alas, my Master, who was so compassionate towards me, is about to pass away!"

33. And the Blessed One spoke to the Bhikkhus, saying: "Where, Bhikkhus, is Ánanda?"

"The Venerable Ánanda, Lord, has gone into the vihara and there stands leaning against the door post and weeping: 'I am still but a learner, and still have to strive for my own perfection. But, alas, my Master, who was so compassionate towards me, is about to pass away!'"

34. Then the Blessed One asked a certain Bhikkhu to bring the Venerable Ánanda to him, saying: "Go, Bhikkhu, and say to Ánanda, 'Friend Ánanda, the Master calls you.'"

"So be it, Lord." And that Bhikkhu went and spoke to the Venerable Ánanda as the Blessed One had asked him to. And the Venerable Ánanda went to the Blessed One, bowed down to him, and sat down on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Enough, Ánanda! Do not grieve do not lament! For have I not taught from the very beginning that with all that is dear and beloved there must be change, separation, and severance? Of that which is born, come into being, compounded, and subject to decay, how can one say: 'May it not come to dissolution!?' There can be no such state of things. Now for a long time, Ánanda, you have served the Tathágata with loving-kindness in deed, word, and thought, graciously, pleasantly, with a whole heart and beyond measure. Great good have you gathered, Ánanda! Now you should put forth energy, and soon you too will be free from the taints." [52]

Praise of Ánanda

36. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Bhikkhus, the Blessed Ones, Arhats, Fully Enlightened Ones of times past also had excellent and devoted attendant Bhikkhus, such as I have in Ánanda. And so also, Bhikkhus will the Blessed Ones, Arhats, and Fully Enlightened Ones of times to come.

37. "Capable and judicious is Ánanda, Bhikkhus, for he knows the proper time for Bhikkhus to have audience with the Tathágata, and the time for Bhikkhunis, the time for laymen and for laywomen; the time for kings and for ministers of state; the time for teachers of other sects and for their followers.

38. "In Ánanda, Bhikkhus, are to be found four rare and superlative qualities. What are the four? If, Bhikkhus, a company of Bhikkhus should go to see Ánanda, they become joyful on seeing him; and if he then speaks to them of the Dhamma, they are made joyful by his discourse; and when he becomes silent, they are disappointed. So it is also when Bhikkhunis, laymen, or laywomen go to see Ánanda: they become joyful on seeing him; and if he then speaks to them of the Dhamma, they are made joyful by his discourse; and when he becomes silent, they are disappointed.

39. "In a universal monarch, Bhikkhus, are to be found four rare and superlative qualities. What are those four? If, Bhikkhus, a company of nobles should go to see the universal monarch, they become joyful on seeing him; and if he then speaks, they are made joyful by his talk; and when he becomes silent, they are disappointed. So it is also when a company of Brahmins, of householders, or of ascetics goes to see a universal monarch.

40. "And in just the same way, Bhikkhus, in Ánanda are to be found these four rare and superlative qualities."

The Past Glory of Kusinara

41. When this had been said, the Venerable Ánanda spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Let it not be, Lord, that the Blessed One should pass away in this mean place, this uncivilized township in the midst of the jungle, a mere outpost of the province. There are great cities, Lord, such as Campa, Rajagaha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi, and Benares -- let the Blessed One have his final passing away in one of those. For in those cities dwell many wealthy nobles and Brahmins and householders who are devotees of the Tathágata, and they will render due honor to the remains of the Tathágata."

42. "Do not say that, Ánanda! Do not say: 'This mean place, this uncivilized township in the midst of the jungle, a mere outpost of the province.' In times long past, Ánanda, there was a king by the name of Maha Sudassana, who was a universal monarch, a king of righteousness, a conqueror of the four quarters of the earth, whose realm was established in security, and who was endowed with the seven jewels.[53] And that King Maha Sudassana, Ánanda, had his royal residence here at Kusinara, which was then called Kusavati, and it extended twelve yojanas from east to west, and seven from north to south.

43. "And mighty, Ánanda, was Kusavati, the capital, prosperous and well populated, much frequented by people, and abundantly provided with food. Just as the royal residence of the deities, Alakamanda, is mighty, prosperous, and well populated, much frequented by deities and abundantly provided with food, so was the royal capital of Kusavati.

44. "Kusavati, Ánanda, resounded unceasingly day and night with ten sounds -- the trumpeting of elephants, the neighing of horses, the rattling of chariots, the beating of drums and tabors, music and song, cheers, the clapping of hands, and cries of 'Eat, drink, and be merry!'

Lamentation of the Mallas

45. "Go now, Ánanda, to Kusinara and announce to the Mallas: 'Today, Vasetthas, in the last watch of the night, the Tathágata's Parinibbána will take place. Approach, O Vasetthas, draw near! Do not be remorseful later at the thought: "In our township it was that the Tathágata's Parinibbána took place, but we failed to see him at the end!"'"

"So be it, Lord." And the Venerable Ánanda prepared himself, and taking bowl and robe, went with a companion to Kusinara.

46. Now at that time the Mallas had gathered in the council hall for some public business. And the Venerable Ánanda approached them and announced: "Today, Vasetthas, in the last watch of the night, the Tathágata's Parinibbána will take place. Approach, Vasetthas, draw near! Do not be remorseful later at the thought: 'In our township it was that the Tathágata's Parinibbána took place, but we failed to see him at the end.'"

47. When they heard the Venerable Ánanda speak these words, the Mallas with their sons, their wives, and the wives of their sons, were sorely grieved, grieved at heart and afflicted; and some, with their hair all disheveled, with arms uplifted in despair, wept; flinging themselves on the ground, they rolled from side to side, lamenting: "Too soon has the Blessed One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Happy One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon will the Eye of the World vanish from sight!"

48. And thus afflicted and filled with grief, the Mallas, with their sons, their wives, and the wives of their sons, went to the Sala Grove, the recreation park of the Mallas, to the place where the Venerable Ánanda was.

49. And the thought arose in the Venerable Ánanda: "If I were to allow the Mallas of Kusinara to pay reverence to the Buddha one by one, the night will have given place to dawn before they are all presented to him. Therefore let me divide them up

according to clan, each family in a group, and so present them to the Blessed One thus: 'The Malla of such and such a name, Lord, with his wives and children, his attendants and his friends, pays homage at the feet of the Blessed One.'

50. And the Venerable Ánanda divided the Mallas up according to clan, each family in a group, and presented them to the Blessed One. So it was that the Venerable Ánanda caused the Mallas of Kusinara to be presented to the Blessed One by clans, each family in a group, even in the first watch of the night.

The Last Convert

51. Now at that time a wandering ascetic named Subhadda was dwelling at Kusinara. And Subhadda the wandering ascetic heard it said: "Today in the third watch of the night, the Parinibbána of the ascetic Gotama will take place."

52. And the thought arose in him: "I have heard it said by old and venerable wandering ascetics, teachers of teachers, that the arising of Tathágatas, Arhats, Fully Enlightened Ones, is rare in the world. Yet this very day, in the last watch of the night, the Parinibbána of the ascetic Gotama will take place. Now there is in me a doubt; but to this extent I have faith in the ascetic Gotama, that he could so teach me the Dhamma as to remove that doubt."

53. Then the wandering ascetic Subhadda went to the Sala Grove, the recreation park of the Mallas, and drew near to the Venerable Ánanda, and told the Venerable Ánanda his thought. And he spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Friend Ánanda, it would be good if I could be allowed into the presence of the ascetic Gotama."

54. But the Venerable Ánanda answered him, saying: "Enough, friend Subhadda! Do not trouble the Tathágata. The Blessed One is weary."

55-56. Yet a second and a third time the wandering ascetic Subhadda made his request, and a second and a third time the Venerable Ánanda refused him.

57. And the Blessed One heard the talk between them, and he called the Venerable Ánanda and said: "Stop, Ánanda! Do not refuse Subhadda. Subhadda, Ánanda, may be allowed into the presence of the Tathágata. For whatever he will ask me, he will ask for the sake of knowledge, and not as an offence. And the answer I give him, that he will readily understand."

58. Thereupon the Venerable Ánanda said to the wandering ascetic Subhadda: "Go then, friend Subhadda, the Blessed One gives you leave."

59. Then the wandering ascetic Subhadda approached the Blessed One and saluted him courteously. And having exchanged with him pleasant and civil greetings, the wandering ascetic Subhadda seated himself at one side and addressed the Blessed One, saying: "There are, Venerable Gotama, ascetics and Brahmins who are heads of great companies of disciples, who have large retinues, who are leaders of schools, well known and renowned, and held in high esteem by the multitude, such teachers as Purna Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kaccayana, Sañjaya Belatthiputta, Nigantha Nataputta. Have all of these attained realization, as each of them would have it believed, or has none of them, or is it that some have attained realization and others not?"

60. "Enough, Subhadda! Let it be as it may, whether all of them have attained realization, as each of them would have it believed, or whether none of them has, or whether some have attained realization and others not. I will teach you the Dhamma, Subhadda; listen and heed it well, and I will speak."

"So be it, Lord."

The Lion's Roar

61. And the Blessed One spoke, saying: "In whatsoever Dhamma and Discipline, Subhadda, there is not found the Noble Eightfold Path, neither is there found a true ascetic of the first, second, third, or fourth degree of saintliness. But in whatsoever Dhamma and Discipline there is found the Noble Eightfold Path, there is found a true ascetic of the first, second, third, and fourth degrees of saintliness. [54] Now in this Dhamma and Discipline, Subhadda, is found the Noble Eightfold Path; and in it alone are also found true ascetics of the first, second, third, and fourth degrees of saintliness. Devoid of true ascetics are the systems of other teachers. But if, Subhadda, the Bhikkhus live righteously, the world will not be destitute of arhats.

62. "In age but twenty-nine was I, Subhadda,
When I renounced the world to seek the Good;
Fifty-one years have passed since then, Subhadda,
And in all that time a wanderer have I been
In the domain of virtue and of truth,
And except therein, there is no saint
(of the first degree).

"And there is none of the second degree, nor of the third degree, nor of the fourth degree of saintliness. Devoid of true ascetics are the systems of other teachers. But if, Subhadda, the Bhikkhus live righteously, the world will not be destitute of Arhats."

63. When this was said, the wandering ascetic Subhadda spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Excellent, O Lord, most excellent, O Lord! It is as if, Lord, one were to set upright what had been overthrown, or to reveal what had been hidden, or to show the path to one who had gone astray, or to light a lamp in the darkness so that those with eyes might see -- even so has the Blessed One set forth the Dhamma in many ways. And so, O Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, the Dhamma, and the Community of Bhikkhus. May I receive from the Blessed One admission to the Order and also the higher ordination."

64. "Whoever, Subhadda, having been formerly a follower of another creed, wishes to receive admission and higher ordination in this Dhamma and Discipline, remains on probation for a period of four months. At the end of those four months, if the Bhikkhus are satisfied with him, they grant him admission and higher ordination as a Bhikkhu. Yet in this matter I recognize differences of personalities."

65. "If, O Lord, whoever, having been formerly a follower of another creed, wishes to receive admission and higher ordination in this Dhamma and Discipline, remains on probation for a period of four months, and at the end of those four months, if the Bhikkhus are satisfied with him, they grant him admission and higher ordination as a Bhikkhu -- then I will remain on probation for a period of four years. And at the end of those four years, if the Bhikkhus are satisfied with me, let them grant me admission and higher ordination as a Bhikkhu."

66. But the Blessed One called the Venerable Ánanda and said to him: "Ánanda, let Subhadda be given admission into the Order." And the Venerable Ánanda replied: "So be it, Lord."

67. Then the wandering ascetic Subhadda said to the Venerable Ánanda: "It is a gain to you, friend Ánanda, a blessing, that in the presence of the Master himself you have received the sprinkling of ordination as a disciple."

68. So it came about that the wandering ascetic Subhadda, in the presence of the Blessed One, received admission and higher ordination. And from the time of his ordination the Venerable Subhadda remained alone, secluded, heedful, ardent, and resolute. And before long he attained to the goal for which a worthy man goes forth rightly from home to homelessness, the supreme goal of the holy life; and having by himself realized it with higher knowledge, he dwelt therein. He knew: "Destroyed is birth; the higher life is fulfilled; nothing more is to be done, and beyond this life nothing more remains." And the Venerable Subhadda became yet another among the

Arhats, and he was the last disciple converted by the Blessed One himself.

Part Six The Passing Away

The Blessed One's Final Exhortation

1. Now the Blessed One spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "It may be, Ánanda, that to some among you the thought will come: 'Ended is the word of the Master; we have a Master no longer.' But it should not, Ánanda, be so considered. For that which I have proclaimed and made known as the Dhamma and the Discipline, that shall be your Master when I am gone.

2. "And, Ánanda, whereas now the Bhikkhus address one another as 'friend,' let it not be so when I am gone. The senior Bhikkhus, Ánanda, may address the junior ones by their name, their family name, or as 'friend'; but the junior Bhikkhus should address the senior ones as 'venerable sir' or 'your reverence.' [55]

3. "If it is desired, Ánanda, the Sangha may, when I am gone, abolish the lesser and minor rules. [56]

4. "Ánanda, when I am gone, let the higher penalty be imposed upon the Bhikkhu Channa." [57]

"But what, Lord, is the higher penalty?"

"The Bhikkhu Channa, Ánanda, may say what he will, but the Bhikkhus should neither converse with him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him."

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "It may be, Bhikkhus, that one of you is in doubt or perplexity as to the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha, the path or the

practice. Then question, Bhikkhus! Do not be given to remorse later on with the thought: 'The Master was with us face to face, yet face to face we failed to ask him.'

6. But when this was said, the Bhikkhus were silent. And yet a second and a third time the Blessed One said to them: "It may be, Bhikkhus, that one of you is in doubt or perplexity as to the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha, the path or the practice. Then question, Bhikkhus! Do not be given to remorse later on with the thought: 'The Master was with us face to face, yet face to face we failed to ask him.'"

And for a second and a third time the Bhikkhus were silent. Then the Blessed One said to them: "It may be, Bhikkhus, out of respect for the Master that you ask no questions. Then, Bhikkhus, let friend communicate it to friend." Yet still the Bhikkhus were silent.

7. And the Venerable Ánanda spoke to the Blessed One, saying: "Marvelous it is, O Lord, most wonderful it is! This faith I have in the community of Bhikkhus, that not even one Bhikkhu is in doubt or perplexity as to the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha, the path or the practice."

"Out of faith, Ánanda, you speak thus. But here, Ánanda, the Tathágata knows for certain that among this community of Bhikkhus there is not even one Bhikkhu who is in doubt or perplexity as to the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha, the path or the practice. For, Ánanda, among these five hundred Bhikkhus even the lowest is a stream-enterer, secure from downfall, assured, and bound for enlightenment."

8. And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Behold now, Bhikkhus, I exhort you: All compounded things are subject to vanish. Strive with earnestness!" [58]

This was the last word of the Tathágata.

How the Blessed One Passed into Nibbána

9. And the Blessed One entered the first jhana. Rising from the first jhana, he entered the second jhana. Rising from the second jhana, he entered the third jhana. Rising from the third jhana, he entered the fourth jhana. And rising out of the fourth jhana, he entered the sphere of infinite space. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of infinite space, he entered the sphere of infinite consciousness. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of infinite consciousness, he entered the sphere of nothingness. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of nothingness, he entered the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. And rising out of the attainment of the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, he attained to the cessation of perception and feeling.

10. And the Venerable Ánanda spoke to the Venerable Aniruddha, saying: "Venerable Aniruddha, the Blessed One has passed away."

"No, friend Ánanda, the Blessed One has not passed away. He has entered the state of the cessation of perception and feeling." [59]

11. Then the Blessed One, rising from the cessation of perception and feeling, entered the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, he entered the sphere of nothingness. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of nothingness, he entered the sphere of infinite consciousness. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of infinite consciousness, he entered the sphere of infinite space. Rising from the attainment of the sphere of infinite space, he entered the fourth jhana. Rising from the fourth jhana, he entered the third jhana. Rising from the third jhana, he entered the second jhana. Rising from the second jhana, he entered the first jhana.

Rising from the first jhana, he entered the second jhana. Rising from the second jhana, he entered the third jhana. Rising from

the third jhana, he entered the fourth jhana. And, rising from the fourth jhana, the Blessed One immediately passed away.

The World's Echo

12. And when the Blessed One had passed away, simultaneously with his Parinibbána there came a tremendous earthquake, dreadful and astounding, and the thunders rolled across the heavens.

13. And when the Blessed One had passed away, simultaneously with his Parinibbána, Brahma Sahampati [60] spoke this stanza:

"All must depart -- all beings that have life
Must shed their compound forms. Yea, even one,
A Master such as he, a peerless being,
Powerful in wisdom, the Enlightened One, has passed away."

14. And when the Blessed One had passed away, simultaneously with his Parinibbána, Sakka, king of the gods, [61] spoke this stanza:

"Transient are all compounded things,
Subject to arise and vanish;
Having come into existence they pass away;
Good is the peace when they forever cease."

15. And when the Blessed One had passed away, simultaneously with his Parinibbána, the Venerable Aniruddha spoke this stanza:

"No movement of the breath, but with steadfast heart,
Free from desires and tranquil -- so the sage
Comes to his end. By mortal pangs unshaken,
His mind, like a flame extinguished, finds release."

16. And when the Blessed One had passed away, simultaneously with his Parinibbána, the Venerable Ánanda spoke this stanza:

"Then there was terror, and the hair stood up, when he,
The All-accomplished One, the Buddha, passed away."

17. Then, when the Blessed One had passed away, some Bhikkhus, not yet freed from passion, lifted up their arms and wept; and some, flinging themselves on the ground, rolled from side to side and wept, lamenting: "Too soon has the Blessed One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Happy One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Eye of the World vanished from sight!"

But the Bhikkhus who were freed from passion, mindful and clearly comprehending, reflected in this way: "Impermanent are all compounded things. How could this be otherwise?"

18. And the Venerable Aniruddha addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Enough, friends! Do not grieve do not lament! For has not the Blessed One declared that with all that is dear and beloved there must be change, separation, and severance? Of that which is born, come into being, compounded and subject to decay, how can one say: 'May it not come to dissolution!' The deities, friends, are aggrieved."

"But, venerable sir, of what deities is the Venerable Aniruddha aware?"

"There are deities, friend Ánanda, in space and on the earth who are earthly-minded; with disheveled hair they weep, with uplifted arms they weep; flinging themselves on the ground, they roll from side to side, lamenting: 'Too soon has the Blessed One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Happy One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Eye of the World vanished from sight!' But those deities who are freed from passion, mindful and clearly comprehending, reflect in this

way: 'Impermanent are all compounded things. How could this be otherwise?'"

19. Now the Venerable Aniruddha and the Venerable Ánanda spent the rest of the night in talking on the Dhamma. Then the Venerable Aniruddha spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "Go now, friend Ánanda, to Kusinara, and announce to the Mallas: 'The Blessed One, Vasetthas, has passed away. Do now as seems fitting to you.'"

"So be it, venerable sir." And the Venerable Ánanda prepared himself in the forenoon, and taking bowl and robe, went with a companion into Kusinara.

20. At that time the Mallas of Kusinara had gathered in the council hall to consider that very matter. And the Venerable Ánanda approached them and announced: "The Blessed One, Vasetthas, has passed away. Do now as seems fitting to you."

And when they heard the Venerable Ánanda speak these words, the Mallas with their sons, their wives, and the wives of their sons, were sorely grieved, grieved at heart and afflicted; and some, with their hair all disheveled, with arms upraised in despair, wept; flinging themselves on the ground, they rolled from side to side, lamenting: "Too soon has the Blessed One come to his Parinibbána! "Too soon has the Happy One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Eye of the World vanished from sight!"

Homage to the Remains

21. Then the Mallas of Kusinara gave orders to their men, saying: "Gather now all the perfumes, flower-garlands, and musicians, even all that are in Kusinara." And the Mallas, with the perfumes, the flower-garlands, and the musicians, and with five hundred sets of clothing, went to the Sala Grove, the recreation park of the Mallas, and approached the body of the Blessed One. And having approached, they paid homage to the body of the Blessed One with dance, song, music, flower-

garlands, and perfume, and erecting canopies and pavilions, they spent the day showing respect, honor, and veneration to the body of the Blessed One. And then the thought came to them: "Now the day is too far spent for us to cremate the body of the Blessed One. Tomorrow we will do it."

And for the second day, and a third, fourth, fifth, and sixth day, they paid homage to the body of the Blessed One with dance, song, music, flower-garlands, and perfume, and erecting canopies and pavilions, they spent the day showing respect, honor, and veneration to the body of the Blessed One.

But on the seventh day the thought came to them: "We have paid homage to the body of the Blessed One with dance, song, music, flower-garlands, and perfume, and have shown respect, honor, and veneration; let us now carry the body of the Blessed One southward to the southern part of the town and beyond, and let us there cremate the body of the Blessed One south of the town."

And eight Mallas of the foremost families, bathed from the crown of their heads and wearing new clothes, with the thought: "We will lift up the body of the Blessed One," tried to do so but they could not.

22. Then the Mallas spoke to the Venerable Aniruddha, saying: "What is the cause, Venerable Aniruddha, what is the reason that these eight Mallas of the foremost families, bathed from the crown of their heads and wearing new clothes, with the thought: 'We will lift up the body of the Blessed One,' try to do so but cannot?"

"You, Vasetthas, have one purpose, the deities have another."

"Then what, venerable sir, is the purpose of the deities?"

"Your purpose, Vasetthas, is this: 'We have paid homage to the body of the Blessed One with dance, song, music, flower-garlands, and perfume, and have shown respect, honor, and

veneration; let us now carry the body of the Blessed One southward to the southern part of the town and beyond, and let us there cremate the body of the Blessed One south of the town.' But the purpose of the deities, Vasetthas, is this: 'We have paid homage to the body of the Blessed One with heavenly dance, song, music, flower-garlands, and perfume, and have shown respect, honor, and veneration; let us now carry the body of the Blessed One northward to the northern part of the town; and having carried it through the northern gate, let us go through the center of the town, and then eastward to the east of the town; and having passed through the east gate, let us carry it to the cetiya of the Mallas, Makuta-bandhana, and there let us cremate the body of the Blessed One.'"

"As the deities wish, venerable sir, so let it be."

23. Thereupon the whole of Kusinara, even to the dust heaps and rubbish heaps became covered knee-deep in *mandarava* flowers. [62] And homage was paid to the body of the Blessed One by the deities as well as the Mallas of Kusinara. With dance, song, music, flower-garlands, and perfume, both divine and human, respect, honor, and veneration were shown. And they carried the body of the Blessed One northward to the northern part of the town; and having carried it through the northern gate, they went through the center of the town, and then eastward to the east of the town; and having passed through the east gate, they carried the body of the Blessed One to the cetiya of the Mallas, Makuta-bandhana, and there laid it down.

24. Then the Mallas of Kusinara spoke to the Venerable Ánanda, saying: "How should we act, Venerable Ánanda, respecting the body of the Tathágata?"

"After the same manner, Vasetthas, as towards the body of a universal monarch."

"But how, venerable Ánanda, do they act respecting the body of a universal monarch?"

"The body of a universal monarch, Vasetthas, is first wrapped round with new linen, and then with teased cotton wool. And again it is wrapped round with new linen, and again with teased cotton wool, and so it is done up to five hundred layers of linen and five hundred of cotton wool. When that is done, the body of the universal monarch is placed in an iron oil-vessel, which is enclosed in another iron vessel and a funeral pyre is built of all kinds of perfumed woods, and so the body of the universal monarch is burned. And at a crossroads a stupa is raised for the universal monarch. So it is done, Vasetthas, with the body of a universal monarch.

"And even, Vasetthas, as with the body of a universal monarch, so should it be done with the body of the Tathágata; and at a crossroads also a stupa should be raised for the Tathágata. And whoever shall bring to that place garlands or incense or sandalwood paste, or pay reverence, and whose mind becomes calm there -- it will be to his well being and happiness for a long time."

25. Then the Mallas gave orders to their men, saying: "Gather now all the teased cotton wool of the Mallas!" And the Mallas of Kusinara wrapped the body of the Blessed One round with new linen, and then with teased cotton wool. And again they wrapped it round with new linen, and again with teased cotton wool, and so it was done up to five hundred layers of linen and five hundred of cotton wool. When that was done, they placed the body of the Blessed One in an iron oil-vessel, which was enclosed in another iron vessel, and they built a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumed woods, and upon it they laid the body of the Blessed One.

26. Now at that time the Venerable Maha Kassapa [63] was journeying from Pava to Kusinara together with a large company of five hundred Bhikkhus. And on the way, the Venerable Maha Kassapa went aside from the highway and sat down at the foot of a tree.

And a certain Ajivaka came by, on his way to Pava, and he had taken a *mandarava* flower from Kusinara. And the Venerable Maha Kassapa saw the Ajivaka coming from a distance, and as he drew close he spoke to him, saying: "Do you know, friend, anything of our Master?"

"Yes, friend, I know. It is now seven days since the ascetic Gotama passed away. From there I have brought this *mandarava* flower."

27. Thereupon some Bhikkhus, not yet freed from passion, lifted up their arms and wept; and some, flinging themselves on the ground, rolled from side to side and wept, lamenting: "Too soon has the Blessed One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Happy One come to his Parinibbána! Too soon has the Eye of the World vanished from sight!"

28. Now at that time, one Subhadda, who had renounced only in his old age, was seated in the assembly.[64] And he addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Enough, friends! Do not grieve, do not lament! We are well rid of that great ascetic. Too long, friends, have we been oppressed by his saying: 'This is fitting for you; that is not fitting for you.' Now we shall be able to do as we wish, and what we do not wish, that we shall not do."

But the Venerable Maha Kassapa addressed the Bhikkhus, saying: "Enough friends! Do not grieve, do not lament! For has not the Blessed One declared that with all that is dear and beloved there must be change, separation, and severance? Of that which is born, come into being, compounded, and subject to decay, how can one say: 'May it not come to dissolution!'"

29. Now at that time four Mallas of the foremost families, bathed from the crown of their heads and wearing new clothes, with the thought: "We will set alight the Blessed One's pyre," tried to do so but they could not. And the Mallas spoke to the Venerable Aniruddha, saying: "What is the cause, Venerable Aniruddha, what is the reason that these four Mallas of the foremost families, bathed from the crown of their heads and

wearing new clothes, with the thought: "We will set alight the Blessed One's pyre, try to do so but cannot?"

"You, Vasetthas, have one purpose, the deities have another."

"Then what, venerable sir, is the purpose of the deities?"

"The purpose of the deities, Vasetthas, is this: 'The Venerable Maha Kassapa is on his way from Pava to Kusinara together with a large company of five hundred Bhikkhus. Let not the Blessed One's pyre be set alight until the Venerable Maha Kassapa has paid homage at the feet of the Blessed One.'"

"As the deities wish, venerable sir, so let it be."

30. And the Venerable Maha Kassapa approached the pyre of the Blessed One, at the cetiya of the Mallas, Makuta-bandhana, in Kusinara. And he arranged his upper robe on one shoulder, and with his clasped hands raised in salutation, he walked three times round the pyre, keeping his right side towards the Blessed One's body, and he paid homage at the feet of the Blessed One. And even so did the five hundred Bhikkhus.

And when homage had been paid by the Venerable Maha Kassapa and the five hundred Bhikkhus, the pyre of the Blessed One burst into flame by itself.

31. And it came about that when the body of the Blessed One had been burned, no ashes or particles were to be seen of what had been skin, tissue, flesh, sinews, and fluid; only bones remained. Just as when ghee or oil is burned, it leaves no particles or ashes behind, even so when the body of the Blessed One had been burned, no ashes or particles were to be seen of what had been skin, tissue, flesh, sinews, and fluid; only bones remained. And of the five hundred linen wrappings, only two were not consumed, the innermost and the outermost.

32. And when the body of the Blessed One had been burned, water rained down from heaven and extinguished the pyre of

the Blessed One, and from the Sala trees water came forth, and the Mallas of Kusinara brought water scented with many kinds of perfumes, and they too extinguished the pyre of the Blessed One.

And the Mallas of Kusinara laid the relics of the Blessed One in their council hall, and surrounded them with a lattice-work of spears and encircled them with a fence of bows; and there for seven days they paid homage to the relics of the Blessed One with dance, song, music, flower-garlands, and perfume, and showed respect, honor, and veneration to the relics of the Blessed One.

Partition of the Relics

33. Then the king of Magadha, Ajatashatru, son of the Videhi queen, came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And he sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and I am too. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. I will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

34. And the Licchavis of Vesali came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And they sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and we are too. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. We will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

35. And the Sakyas of Kapilavastu came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And they sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was the greatest of our clan. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. We will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

36. And the Bulis of Allakappa came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And they sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and we are too. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. We will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

37. And the Kolis of Ramagama came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And they sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and we are too. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. We will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

38. And the Vethadipa Brahmin came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And he sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and I am a Brahmin. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. I will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

39. And the Mallas of Pava came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And they sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and we are too. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. We will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

40. But when they heard these words, the Mallas of Kusinara addressed the assembly, saying: "The Blessed One has passed away in our township. We shall not part with any portion of the relics of the Blessed One." Then the Brahmin Dona spoke to the assembly, saying:

"One word from me, I beg you, sirs, to hear!
Our Buddha taught us ever to forbear;

Unseemly would it be should strife arise
And war and bloodshed, over the custody
Of his remains, who was the best of men!
Let us all, sirs, in friendliness agree
To share eight portions -- so that far and wide
Stupas may rise, and seeing them, mankind
Faith in the All-Enlightened One will find!"

"So be it, Brahmin! Divide the relics into eight equal portions yourself."

And the Brahmin Dona said to the assembly: "So be it, sirs." And he divided justly into eight equal portions the relics of the Blessed One, and having done so, he addressed the assembly, saying: "Let this urn, sirs, be given to me. Over this urn I will erect a stupa, and in its honor I will hold a festival." And the urn was given to the Brahmin Dona.

41. Then the Moriyas of Pippalivana came to know that at Kusinara the Blessed One had passed away. And they sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinara, saying: "The Blessed One was of the warrior caste, and we are too. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. We will erect a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One and hold a festival in their honor."

"There is no portion of the relics of the Blessed One remaining; the relics of the Blessed One have been divided. But take from here the ashes." And they took from there the ashes.

42. And the king of Magadha, Ajatashatru, son of the Videhi queen, erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Rajagaha, and in their honor held a festival. The Licchavis of Vesali erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Vesali, and in their honor held a festival. The Sakyas of Kapilavastu erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Kapilavastu, and in their honor held a festival. The Bulis of Allakappa erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Allakappa, and in their honor held a festival. The Kolis of

Ramagama erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Ramagama, and in their honor held a festival. The Vethadipa Brahmin erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Vethadipa, and in their honor held a festival. The Mallas of Pava erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Pava, and in their honor held a festival. The Mallas of Kusinara erected a stupa over the relics of the Blessed One at Kusinara, and in their honor held a festival. The Brahmin Dona erected a stupa over the urn, and in its honor held a festival. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana erected a stupa over the ashes at Pippalivana, and in their honor held a festival.

So it came about that there were eight stupas for the relics, a ninth for the urn, and a tenth for the ashes.

And thus it was in the days of old.

43. Eight portions there were of the relics of him,
The All-Seeing One, the greatest of men.
Seven in Jambudvīpa are honored, and one
In Ramagama, by kings of the Naga race.
One tooth is honored in the Tavatimsa heaven,
One in the realm of Kalinga, and one by the Naga kings.
Through their brightness this bountiful earth
With its most excellent gifts is endowed;
For thus the relics of the All-Seeing One are best honored
By those who are worthy of honor -- by gods and Nagas
And lords of men, yea, by the highest of mankind.
Pay homage with clasped hands! For hard indeed it is
Through hundreds of ages to meet with an All-Enlightened One!
[65]

Footnotes:

[References to Anguttara Nikāya (= AN) are to collection followed by Sutta number; those to Dīgha Nikāya (= DN) and to Majjhima Nikāya (= MN) are to Sutta number.]

1. *Bhagava*: also rendered "the Auspicious One" or "the Exalted One"; the most frequent appellation of the Buddha, though not restricted to Buddhist usage.
2. *Ajatashatru Vedehiputta*. Comy says that Ajatashatru's mother was a Kosala princess and not the daughter of the Vedehi king. Hence Comy explains *vedehiputta* as "son of a wise mother." Ajatashatru became king of the powerful state of Magadha after murdering his father, King Bimbisara (see DN 2).
3. *Tathágata*: lit. "Thus-gone" or "Thus-come"; likewise an appellation of the Buddha, which he generally used when speaking of himself.
4. *Ánanda* was a cousin of the Buddha and his personal attendant for twenty-four years. He attained Arahatsip after the passing away of the Buddha, just before the commencement of the First Council, at which he was the reciter of the Digha Nikáya and the authority for the Sutta Pitaka.
5. The discourse referred to here is AN VII.19.
6. The group-names, which are not in the original, are supplied from other references to the qualities concerned; here *satta saddhamma*, about which see AN VII.63; MN 53. In the Comy. to MN 8 they are called "the complete equipment required for insight" (BPS Wheel No. 61/62, p.48).
7. *Satta bojjhanga*. See Piyadassi Thera, *The Seven Factors of Enlightenment* (BPS Wheel No. 1).
8. *Saraniya dhamma*: also at MN 48, AN VI.11, 12.
9. Virtue (*síla*), concentration (*samádhi*), and wisdom (*paññá*) are the three divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path. Our text stresses again and again the importance of a full development of all three for final liberation.

10. *Asava*: those defiling factors -- sensual desire, craving for existence, and ignorance -- primarily responsible for maintaining bondage to the cycle of rebirths. Also translated as "cankers" or "corruptions." Later texts add a fourth, the taint of wrong views.

11. Shariputra was the chief disciple of the Buddha and the one who excelled in wisdom. For a full account of the life and works of this illustrious individual, see Nyanaponika Thera, *The Life of Shariputra* (BPS Wheel No. 90/92).

12. *Evam-dhamma*. Comy & Sub. Comy: This refers to concentration and to the mental qualities belonging to concentration (*samadhīpakkhiya dhamma*) such as energy, mindfulness, etc. Comy explains "abiding" (*vihāra*) as abiding in the attainment of cessation (*nirodha-samāpatti*).

13. *Evam-vimutta*: their deliverance from defilements and from future rebirths.

14. On the five hindrances, see Nyanaponika Thera, *The Five Mental Hindrances* (BPS Wheel No. 26).

15. On the four foundations of mindfulness, see below, II:14. The seven factors of enlightenment are enumerated in I:9.

16. *Putā-bhedanam*. Comy explains as the breaking open, the unpacking, of boxes (*putā*) of merchandise for the purpose of distribution. But probably it refers to the bursting open of the seed-box of the *patali* flower.

17. The stage of Arahantship, the last of the four stages of deliverance. The next three paragraphs refer to disciples on the three lower stages, respectively, the non-returner, once-returner, and stream-enterer (*anagamin, Sakadagamin, srotaapanna*).

18. Or: "not delayed (in its results)."

19. *Animitta cetosamadhi*. Comy explains this term here as referring to the fruition-attainment of Arahatsip (*phalasamapatti*), in which the Buddha becomes absorbed in the direct experience of Nibbána and no longer attends to external objects or feels mundane feelings. In another context it can mean the concentration developed by intensive insight.

20. *Tamatagge*: a difficult word. Comy takes it to stand for the superlative form, *aggatama*, "highest," but alludes also to the Pali word *tama*, "darkness." It is rather difficult to accept that a superlative suffix should be made to precede the word it qualifies. Tibetan and Chinese parallels (Waldschmidt, *Das Mahaparinirvana-sutra* Berlin, 1950-51) pp. 200 ff.) Point to a meaning as "the highest." In the fragments of the Turfan Sanskrit version, these words are not preserved. Comy says: "*Tamatagge* equals *tama-agge*; the 't' in the middle is inserted for euphonic reasons. The meaning is: these are the very highest, the most eminent (*ime aggatama tamatagga*). Having cut every bondage of darkness (*tama-yoga*), those Bhikkhus of mine will be on the very top, in the highest rank (*ativiya agge uttamabhava*). Among them those will be on the very summit (*ati-agge*) who are desirous of training; and those whose resort is the four foundations of mindfulness will be at the very top of them."

21. *Kappam va tittheyya kappavasesam va*. Comy takes *kappa* not as "world-period" or "eon," but as *ayu-kappa*, "life span," and explains *avasesa* (usually "remainder") by "in excess."

Comy.: "He may stay alive completing the life span pertaining to men at the given time. (Sub. Comy.: the maximum life span.) *Kappavasesa*: 'in excess' (*atireka*), i.e. more or less above the hundred years said to be the normally highest life expectation."

Among the numerous meanings of the word *kappa*, there is, in fact, that of time in general (*kala*) and not only the duration of an eon; but the meaning "life span" seems to have been

ascribed to it only in this passage. Also, the meaning "in excess" for *avasesa* (usually "remainder") is unusual.

The four constituents of psychic power (*iddhipada*) are concentration due to zeal, energy, purity of mind, and investigation.

22. According to Comy., Ánanda's mind had been influenced (*pariyutthitacitto*) by Mara's exhibiting a frightful sight which distracted his attention, preventing him from grasping the Buddha's suggestion.

23. "Convincing and liberating." This stands for the one Pali word *sappatihariya*, an attempt to render the two connotations, which the word has according to the commentaries and in the context of other occurrences in the Canon. The commentaries derive it from the verb *patiharati*, "to remove," and explain it as (1) the removal of what is adverse, e.g. opposition and objections (covered by "convincing"), and (2) the removal of inner obstructions, i.e. defilements such as greed, etc., effected by arhatship. It is probably to point to that latter meaning that the commentary to our present text paraphrases our passage as follows: "until they are able to preach the Teaching in its liberating (*niyyanika*) capacity."

24. *Tulam atulañca sambhavam*: lit. "The measurable and immeasurable productive cause (of life)," i.e. the volitional action causing rebirth in the confined, or limited sense-sphere, or in the unbounded fine material and immaterial spheres.

25. *Bhavasankhara*: the formative force of becoming, in the sense of what forms existence.

26. *Kavacam iv'attasambhavam*. Comy.: "He breaks through the entire net of defilements that envelops individual existence like a coat of mail; he breaks the defilements as a great warrior breaks his armor after a battle." The Sanskrit version has "like an egg shell" (*kosam iv' anda-sambhavam*).

27. Comy.: "Even by this much the Venerable Ánanda was aware of the fact: 'Surely, today the Blessed One has renounced his will to live on.' Though the Blessed One knew that the Venerable Ánanda was aware of it, he did not give him another opportunity to ask him to stay on for the remainder of his life span, but he spoke to him about other eight-term groups beginning with the eight assemblies." Sub. Comy.: "Some say that the Buddha did so in order to divert the Venerable Ánanda and to prevent grief from arising in him."

28. See also the Maha-Sihanada Sutta (MN 12).

29. *Abhibhayatana*.

30. That is: "perceiving forms on his own body." This refers to preliminary concentration.

31. This refers to the *kasina-nimitta*, the after-image arising with full concentration.

32. He derives the "sign" from objects external to his body.

33. *Attha vimokkha*.

34. *Rupi*. This refers to form-sphere absorption (*rupajjhana*) obtained with form objects of one's own body.

35. *Subhan tveva adhimutto hoti*. Comy.: "Hereby, meditative absorption (*jhana*), obtained through *blue-kasinas*, etc., of very pure color is indicated."

36. The Comy. says that the Buddhas, when looking back, turn the whole body round as an elephant does.

37. In the earlier edition of this work, *mahapadesa* was rendered as "great authorities." It is now known that the proper meaning of *apadesa* is not "authority," but "reference" or "source." Besides, from the passage it is clear that there are only two real "authorities" -- the Discourses (Suttas) and the Discipline (Vinaya).

38. *Sukara-maddava*: a controversial term, which has therefore been left un-translated. *Sukara* equals pig; *maddava* equals soft, tender, delicate. Hence two alternative renderings of the compound are possible: (1) the tender parts of a pig or boar; (2) what is enjoyed by pigs and boars. In the latter meaning, the term has been thought to refer to a mushroom or truffle, or a yam or tuber. K.E. Neumann, in the preface to his German translation of the Majjhima Nikáya, quotes from an Indian compendium of medicinal plants, the *Rajanigantu*, several plants beginning with *sukara*.

The commentary to our text gives three alternative explanations: (1) the flesh from a single first-born (wild) pig, neither too young nor too old, which had come to hand naturally, i.e. without intentional killing; (2) a preparation of soft boiled rice cooked with the five cow-products; (3) a kind of alchemistic elixir (*rasayanavidhi*). Dhammapala, in his commentary to Udana VIII.5, gives, in addition, young bamboo shoots trampled by pigs (*sukarehi maddita-vamsakaliro*).

39. Comy.: "These verses, and several to follow, were inserted by the elders who collected the Dhamma (texts at the First Council)."

40. Alara Kalama was one of the Buddha's teachers before his Enlightenment. He taught the Bodhisattva how to attain the sphere of nothingness, but could not show him the path to Nibbána.

41. Comy.: "From the town of Pava it is three *gavutas* (approx. five miles) to Kusinara. Walking that distance with great effort and sitting down at twenty-five places on the way, the Blessed One reached the Sala Grove at dusk when the sun had already set. Thus comes illness to man, crushing all his health. As if he wanted to point to this fact, the Blessed One spoke those words which deeply moved the whole world: 'I am weary, Ánanda, and want to lie down.'"

42. See *The Four Sacred Shrines*, by Piyadassi Thera (BPS Bodhi Leaves No. 8).

43. At Lumbini near Kapilavastu, the ancestral seat of the Sakyans in the foothills of the Himalayas. An Asokan pillar marks the spot.

44. At Buddha-Gaya, in Bihar.

45. At Isipatana near Benares (modern Sarnath).

46. *Sadatthe*. Comy.: "for the highest purpose, the goal of arhatship." There is a different reading, *saratthe*, "for an essential purpose."

47. *Cakravartin-rajā*: the ideal king of righteousness according to Buddhist tradition.

48. *Ayasa*: generally "made of iron," has here according to Comy the meaning "made of gold," for which there is also support in the Sanskrit usage of the word.

49. *Pratyekabuddha* is one awakened or enlightened for him self-alone. Such *Pratyekabuddhas* arise at times when there is no Fully Enlightened One (*samma-sambuddha*). Like the latter, they attain to Enlightenment by their own effort, but unlike them are not able to lead others to deliverance. See Ria Kloppenberg, *The Pratyekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic* (BPS Wheel No. 305/307).

50. The word *vihāra*, given in the text, cannot refer here to a monastery or monks' living quarters. Comy explains it as a pavilion (*mandala-māla*). If the locality was used as a meeting place for the clan, as Comy states, there may well have been a kind of shelter there. The couch in the open, which Ānanda was asked to prepare for the Master, was probably a seat for the chiefs of the Malla clan put up at that place.

51. *Sekha*. This signifies those at the three lower stages of emancipation, before reaching Arahatsip. Ánanda, at that time, had reached the first of these stages, stream-entry.

52. *Anasavo*: that is, an Arhat.

53. The "seven jewels" of a universal monarch are: the magical wheel, emblem of his sovereignty, by which he conquers the earth without the use of force; his wonderful elephant; his horse; his beautiful wife; his precious gem; his treasurer; and his advisor. All are endowed with wondrous properties. For more on Maha Sudassana, see the Sutta, which bears his name, DN 17.

54. The four degrees of saintliness are the stream-enterer, the once-returner, the non-returner, and the arhat.

55. "Friend," in Pali is *avuso*, "venerable sir" equals *bhante*, "your reverence" equals *ayasma*.

56. Since Ánanda, at this point, did not ask what the minor rules were, the Sangha decided not to abolish any of the rules of the Vinaya.

57. Channa had been the Buddha's charioteer while the latter was still a prince living in the palace. Because of his prior connection with the Buddha, he was obdurate and refused to submit to discipline. This imposition of the "higher penalty" (*brahmadanda*) changed him into an obedient monk.

58. *Handa dani bhikkhave amantayami vo: Vayadhamma sankhara appamadena sampadetha*. Earnestness (*appamada*) is explained as "presence of mindfulness." Comy.: "You should accomplish all your duties without allowing mindfulness to lapse!" Thus did the Blessed One, while on the bed of his Parinibbana, summarize in that one word on earnestness the advice he had given through forty-five years."

59. Aniruddha, the elder brother of Ānanda, would have known this through the super-normal power of reading the minds of others, which he possessed.

60. Brahma Sahampati was a high divinity of the Brahma-world. It was he who originally requested the newly enlightened Buddha to teach the Dhamma to the world. See MN 26.

61. Sakka is the king of the gods in the Tavatimsa heaven, and thus a lower figure in the cosmological hierarchy than Brahma Sahampati.

62. A celestial flower which appears on earth only on special occasions, particularly in connection with the chief events in the life of the Buddha. Its appearance in the hands of the Ajivaka ascetic signaled to the Venerable Maha Kassapa that the Buddha's Parinibbána had already taken place. (See below, Section 26.)

63. He was one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha and became the president of the First Great Council held shortly after the Buddha's Parinibbána. See Helmuth Hecker, *Maha Kassapa: Father of the Sangha* (BPS Wheel No. 345).

64. This Subhadda is a different person from the wanderer Subhadda who became the Buddha's last personal disciple.

65. Comy ascribes these verses to the "Elders of Tambapanni Island (Sri Lanka)."

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA-SUTTA.

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY^[1].

CHAPTER I.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Kusinârâ in the Upavattana, the Sâla grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sâla trees, at the time of his death.

2. Now the venerable Ânanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One:

2 'Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as *Kampâ*, *Râgagaha*, *Sâvatthi*, *Sâketa*, *Kosambi*, and *Benâres*. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and Brâhmans and heads of houses, believers in the Tathâgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata.'

3. 'Say not so, Ânanda! Say not so, Ânanda,

[1. Sudassana means 'beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,' and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.

2. From here down to the end of the next section is found also, nearly word for word, in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, above, pp. 99, 100. Compare also Mahâ-Sudassana Gâtaka, No. 95.]

that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ânanda, there was a king, by name Mahâ-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshatriya^[1], Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror,

the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinârâ, Ânanda, was the royal city of king Mahâ-Sudassana, under the name of Kusâvatî[2], and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. just, Ânanda, as the royal city of the gods, Âlakamandâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so. Ânanda, was the royal city Kusâvatî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ânanda, the royal city Kusâvatî resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry, "Eat, drink, and be merry[1]!"

[1. Khattiyo muddhâvasitto, which does not occur in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, the Mahâpadhâna Sutta, the Lakkhana Sutta, and other places where this stock description of a *Kakkavatti* is found. It is omitted also in the *Lalita Vistara*. The Burmese Phayre MS. of the India Office reads here muddâbhisitto, but this is an unnecessary correction. So the name of the Hindu caste mentioned in the *Sahyâdri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purâna* is spelt both ways. The epithet is probably inserted here from § 12 below.

2. Kusâvatî was the name of a famous city mentioned as the capital of Southern Kusala in post-Buddhistic Sanskrit plays and epic poems. In the *Mahâbhârata* it is called Kusavatî. It is said to have been so named after Kusa, son of Râma, by whom it was built; and it is also called Kusasthalî.]

4. 'The royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver,

and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems[2]'

[1. This enumeration is found also at *Gâtaka*, p. 3, only that the chunk is added there--wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven.

2. Beryl, agate, and coral are doubtful renderings of Pâli names of precious substances, the exact meaning of which has been discussed on the very slender evidence available (and hence, it seems to me, with very little certain result) by Burnouf in the '*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*,' pp. 319-321; and Professor Max Müller has a further note in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1890, p. 178. The Pâli words here are in the first column:

1. <i>Sovannamayo</i> ,	<i>Suvarnasya</i> ;
2. <i>Rûpimayo</i> ,	<i>Rûpasya</i> ;
3. <i>Veluriyamayo</i> ,	<i>Vaidûryasya</i> ;
4. <i>Phalikamayo</i> ,	<i>Sphaṭikasya</i> ;
5. <i>Lohitaṅkamayo</i> ,	<i>Lohitamuktasya</i> ;
6. <i>Masâragallamayo</i> ,	<i>Asmagarbhasya</i> ;
7. <i>Sabbaratanamayo</i> ,	<i>Musâragalvasya</i> :

those in the second being taken from the *Sukhavatîvyûha* in the corresponding to § 6 below. It is quite possible that passage the writers of these passages used the rarer words only as names of precious substances, without attaching any clearly distinct meaning to each (compare Rev. xxi. 19-21). The Pâli author seems to have been hard put to it to find enough names to fill up the sacred number seven; just as in the 'Seven jewels' of the Dhamma, the sacred number seven is reached by giving to one jewel two distinct names (*Pañk indriyâni = pañka balâni*). At *Kulla Vagga IX, 1, 4*. we find the following

enumeration of {footnote p. 250} *ratanas* as found in the ocean, though only Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 are really produced there:

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>Mutta</i> . | 6. <i>Pavâlam</i> . |
| 2. <i>Mani</i> . | 7. <i>Ragatam</i> . |
| 3. <i>Ve/uriyo</i> . | 8. <i>Gâtarûpam</i> . |
| 4. <i>San̄kho</i> . | 9. <i>Lohitan̄ko</i> . |
| 5. <i>Silâ</i> | 10. <i>Masâragallam</i> . |

]

5. 'To the royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, there were Four Gates. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. At each gate seven pillars were fixed; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

6. 'The royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

7. 'And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

8.^[1] 'And when those rows of palm trees, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

[1. This section and § 9 should be compared with one in the Sukhavatîvyûha, translated by Professor Max Müller as follows (journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 170):

'And again, O Sâriputra, when those rows of palm trees and {footnote p. 251} strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sâriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand koḥis of sounds, when played by Âryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds; a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm trees and strings of bells moved by the wind.

'And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly.'

Compare also below, § 81, and Gâtaka I, 32.]

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating-just even so, Ânanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

9. 'And whoever, Ânanda, in the royal city Kusâvatî were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

10. 'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvellous Powers.'

'What are those seven?'

11.^[1] 'In the first place, Ânanda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day[2], on the day of the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel[1], with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

[1. The following enumeration is found word for word in several other Pâli Suttas, and occurs also, in almost identical terms, in the Lalita Vistara (Calcutta edition, pp. 14-19).

2. 'Uposatha, a weekly sacred day; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Comp. § 21.]

12. 'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought:

"This saying have I heard, 'When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete-that king becomes a king of kings invincible.' May I, then, become a king of kings invincible[2]."

13. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said:

"Roll onward, O my Lord, the Wheel! O my Lord, go forth and overcome!"

14. 'Then the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory[3], and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and

elephants, and men. And in whatever place, Ânanda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

[1. *Kakka-ratanam*, where the *kakka* is the disk of the sun.

2. *Kakkavattirâgâ*.

3. Atha kho *kakka-ratanam puratthimam disam pavatti anvad eva râgâ Mahâsudassano, &c.* Here *anvad* must be the Sanskrit *anvañk*. The *Lalita Vistara* has *anveti* in the corresponding passage, and the (Phayre Burmese) MS. here reads *anud eva*. The verb in the second clause must be supplied, as {footnote p. 253} is the case in the one or two other passages where I have met with this phrase.]

15. 'Then, Ânanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said:

"Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!"

16. 'Thus spake the Great King of Glory:

"Ye shall slay no living thing.

"Ye shall not take that which has not been given.

"Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires.

"Ye shall speak no lie.

"Ye shall drink no maddening drink.

"Ye shall eat as ye have eaten[1]."

17. 'Then, Ânanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

18. 'But the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again, and rolled onward to the region of the South [and there all happened as had happened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East].

[1. Yathâbhuttambhuñgatha. Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, 'Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats.' If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of the Âmagandha Sutta, quoted in 'Buddhism,' p. 131.]

19. 'Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer o'er the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusâvatî and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

20. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.

21. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure[1], all white, sevenfold firm[2], wonderful in power, flying through the sky--the Elephant-King, whose name was "The Changes of the Moon[3]."

22. 'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought

[1. Hatthi-ratana.

2. Satta-ppatittho, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it

merely signifies 'exceeding firm,' the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

3. Uposatho. In the Lalita Vistara its name is 'Wisdom' (Bodhi). Uposatha is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes-first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was therefore a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered 'Sabbath.']

"Auspicious were it to ride upon that Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!"

23. 'Then, Ânanda, the wondrous Elephant--like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained--submitted to control.

24. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusâvatî[1].

25. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

26. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure[2], all white with a black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky--the Charger-King, whose name was "Thunder-cloud[3]."

27. 'When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:

"Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled!"

28. 'Then, Ânanda. the wondrous Horse--like a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained--submitted to control.

[1. Compare on this and § 29 my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 85, where a similar phrase is used of Kanthaka.

2 Assa-ratanam.

3 Valâhako. Compare the Valâhassa Gâtaka (Fausböll, No. 196, called in the Burmese MS. Valâhakassa Gâtaka), of which the Chinese story translated by Mr. Beal at pp. 332-340 of his 'Romantic History,' &c., is an expanded and altered version. In the Valâhaka Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikâya the spirits of the skies are divided into Unha-valâhakâ Devâ, Sîta-valâhakâ Devâ, Abbha-valâhakâ Devâ, Vâta-valâhakâ Devâ, and Vassa-valâhakâ Devâ, that is, the cloud-spirits of cold, heat, air, wind, and rain respectively.]

29. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusâvatî.

30. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

31. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure[1]. That Gem was the Ve/uriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

32. 'The splendour, Ânanda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

33. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

34. 'And then too, Ânanda, all the dwellers in the villages, round about, set about their daily work, thinking, "The daylight hath appeared."

35. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

36. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure[2], graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion; neither

[1. *Mani-ratanam*.

2 *Itthi-ratanam*.]

very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim; neither very dark, nor very fair; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods[1].

37. 'The touch too, Ânanda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool: in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

38. 'That Pearl among Women too, Ânanda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, and after him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order so to act as to give him pleasure.

39. 'That Pearl among Women too, Ânanda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory--how much less then could she be so with the body!

40. 'Such, Ânanda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

41. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared unto the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer[2], possessed, through good

deeds done in a former birth, of a marvellous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

[1. The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

2. *Gahapati-ratanam*. The word *gahapati* has been hitherto usually rendered 'householder,' but this may often, and would certainly here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The *gahapati* was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the pater familias. So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the Rig-veda the *grīhapati*, the pater familias, {footnote p. 258} of the human race. Thence it is often used in opposition to *brāhmaṇa* very much as we might use 'yeoman' in opposition to 'clerk' (*Gâtaka* I, 83, and below, § 53); and the two combined are used in opposition to people of other ranks and callings held to be less honourable than that of clerk or yeoman (*Gâtaka* I, 218). In this respect the term *gahapati* is nearly equivalent, though from a different point of view, to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas of the Hindu caste division; but the compound *brāhmaṇa-gahapatikâ* as a collective term comes to be about equivalent to 'priests and laymen' (see, for instance, below, § 53, and *Mahâ Vagga* I, 22; 3, 4, &c.). Then again the *gahapati* is distinct from the subordinate members of the family, who had not the control and management of the common property (*Sâmañña Phala Sutta*, 133, = *Tevigga Sutta* I, 47); and it is this implication of the term that is emphasised in the text. Buddhaghosa uses, as an explanatory phrase, the words *setthi-gahapati*. See further the passages quoted in the index to the *Kulla Vagga* (p. 354).]

42. 'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

"Do thou, O king, take thine case! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with."

43. 'Then, as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward:

"I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold!"

"Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks."

"It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold."

44. 'Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory--

"Is that enough, O Great King? Have I done enough, O Great King?"

'And the Great King of Glory replied:

"It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer!"

45. 'Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ânanda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

46. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser[1], learned, clever, and wise; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

47. 'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

"Do thou, O King, take thine ease! I will be thy guide."

48. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

'The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

49. 'Now further, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvellous Gifts[2].'

'What are the Four Marvellous Gifts?'

[1. *Parinâyaka-ratanam*. Buddhaghosa says that he was the eldest son of the king; but this is probably a mere putting back into the Sutta of a later idea derived from the summary in the *Gâtaka*. The *Lalita Vistara* makes him a general.

2. *Katûhi iddhîhi*. Here again, as elsewhere, it will be noticed that there is nothing supernatural about these four Iddhis. See {footnote p. 260} the notes above on the 'Book of the Great Decease,' I, 1; III, 2. They are merely attributes accompanying or forming part of the majesty (*iddhi*) of the *Kakkavatti*.]

50. 'In the first place, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this First Marvellous Gift.

51. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this Second Marvellous Gift.

52. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men[1].

[1. Samavepâkiniyâ gahaniyâ samannâgato nâtisâtâya nâkkunhâya. The same thing is said of *Ratthapâla* in the *Ratthapâla Sutta*, where Gogerly renders the whole passage, 'Ratthapâla is healthy, free from pain, having a good digestion and appetite, being troubled with no excess of either heat or cold' (journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1847-1848, p. 98). The *gahani* is a supposed particular organ or function situate at the junction of the stomach and intestines. Moggallâna explains it, *udare tu tathâ pâkanalasmim gahani* (*Abhidhâna-ppadîpikî*, 972), where Subhûti's Sinhalese version is 'kukshi, pakâgni,' and his English version, 'the belly, the internal fire which promotes digestion.' Buddhaghosa explains *samavipâkiyâ kammagâ-tego-dhâtuyâ*, and adds, 'If a man's food is dissolved the moment he has eaten it, or if it remains like a lump, he has not the *samavepâkini gahani*, but he who has appetite (*bhattakkhando*) when the time for food comes round again, he has the *samavepâkini gahani*,'--which is delightfully naïve.]

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this Third Marvellous Gift.

53. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with Brâhmans and with laymen alike[1]. Just, Ânanda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ânanda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with Brâhmans and with laymen alike. And just, Ânanda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ânanda, were Brâhmans and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

54. 'Once, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure ground. There, Ânanda, the Brâhmans and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

"O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time!"

'But the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, addressed his charioteer, and said:

"Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people (Brâhmans and laymen) for a longer time!"

55. 'This was the Fourth Marvellous Gift, Ânanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

56. 'These are the Four Marvellous Gifts, Ânanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

57. 'Now to the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, there occurred the thought:

"Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow lengths."

[1. Brâhmana-gahapatikânam. See the note on § 41.]

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

58. 'And those Lotus-ponds, Ânanda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

59. 'And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ânanda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

60. 'And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ânanda, a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold[1].

[1. Pokkharani, the word translated Lotus-pond, is an artificial pool or small lake for water plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anurâdhapuru in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings. The balustrades, cross bars, figure head, and railing are in Pâli thambhâ, sùkiyo, unhîsam, and vedikâ, of the exact meaning of which I am not quite confident. They do not occur in the description {footnote p. 263} of the Lotus-lakes in Sukhavatî. General Cunningham says that the cross bars of the Buddhist railings are called sùkiyo in the inscriptions at Bharhut (The Stupa of Bharhut, p. 127). Buddhaghosa, who is good enough to tell us the exact number of the ponds-to wit, 84,000, has no explanation of these words, merely saying that of the two vedikâs one was at the limit of the tiles and one at the limit of the parivena. The phrases in the text are repeated below, §§ 73-87, of the Palace of Righteousness.]

61. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, there occurred the thought:

"Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people-to wit, blue water lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water lilies."

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory had flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people-to wit, blue water lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water lilies.

62. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, occurred the thought:

"Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time."

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory placed bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time.

63. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, occurred the thought:

"Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds--to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want."

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds--to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who needed it, couches for the tired, wives for those who wanted wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.

64. 'Now, Ânanda, the people (Brâhmans and laymen) went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said:

"This abundant wealth, O King, have we brought here for the use of the King of Kings. Let the King accept it of us!"

"I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you!"

65. 'When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying:

"It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory."

66. 'Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said:

"A mansion would we build for thee, O King!"

"Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

67. 'Now, Ânanda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that

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were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god[1], and said:

"Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory--a palace which shall be called 'Righteousness[2].'"

68. "'Even so, Lord!" said Vissakamma, in assent, Ânanda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

69. 'Then, Ânanda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory:

"I would create for thee, O King, a mansion--a palace which shall be called 'Righteousness!'"

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

70. 'So Vissakamma the god, Ânanda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion--a palace to be called "Righteousness."

71. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

72. 'The ground-floor, Ânanda, of the Palace of Righteousness[3], in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

[1. Vissakammam devaputtam, where devaputtam means not 'son of a god,' but 'belonging to, born into the class of, the gods.'

2. Dhammam nâma Pâsâdam.

3. Dhammassa pâsâdassa vatthum.]

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73. 'To the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

74. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

75. 'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The staircase of

crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

76. 'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

'At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of gold.

'At the door of the silver chamber there stood a palm tree of gold; and its trunk was of gold, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

'At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm tree of crystal; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

'At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm tree of beryl; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.

77. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

"Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex[1], under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day."

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

78. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was surrounded by a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its figure head of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its figure head of gold[2].

79. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver.

[1. Mahâvyûhassa kutâgârassa dvâre. The 'Great Complex' contains a double allusion, in the same spirit in which the whole legend has been worked out: 1. To the Great Complex as a name of the Sun-God recorded as a unity of the four mythological deities, Vasudeva, Saṅkarshana, Pragumna, and Aniruddha; and 2. To the Great Complex as a name of a particular kind of deep religious meditation or speculation.

2. See above, § 60, and the note on § 54.]

p. 268 The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

80. 'And when those networks of bells, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating--just even so, Ânanda, when those networks of bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

81. 'And whoever, Ânanda, in the royal city Kusâvatî were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.

82. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. just, Ânanda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes,--just so, Ânanda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes.

83. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

"Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of 'Righteousness.'"

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of "Righteousness."

84. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

85. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

86. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

87. 'Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver.

The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold.

88. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

89. 'And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the silver palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl,

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and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

90. 'And when those rows of palm trees, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating,--just even so, Ânanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

91. 'And whoever, Ânanda[1], in the royal city Kusâvatî were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

92. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Samanas who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the Brâhmans who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness.'

End of the First Portion for Recitation

[1. This paragraph is perhaps repeated by mistake; but it is scarcely less in harmony with its context at § 8 than it is here. It is more probable that § 92 followed, originally, immediately after § 82, with the Lotus-lake clause omitted.]p. 271

Chapter II

1. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, this thought to the Great King of Glory:

"Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great?"

2. 'And then occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

"Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great,--that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control[1]."

3. 'Now the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex; and when he had come there he stood at the door, and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion:

"Stay here, O thoughts of lust!

"Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will!

"Stay here, O thoughts of hatred!

"Thus far only, O thoughts of lust!

"Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will

"Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred!"

4. 'And when, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory had entered the chamber of the Great Complex, and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First *Ghâna*,--a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

[1. I have here translated kamma by 'previous character' and by 'quality.' The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been, to preserve in the translation the technical term karma, which is explained at some length in 'Buddhism,' pp. 99-106.]

5. 'By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into, and remained in, the Second *Ghâna*,--a state of joy and ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

6. 'By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body that ease which the noble ones announce, saying, "The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease," and thus he entered into, and remained in, the Third *Ghâna*.

7. 'By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth *Ghâna*,--a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain[1].

8. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

[1. The above paragraphs are an endeavour to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spiritual experience.]

9. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

10. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

11. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Equanimity[1]; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great,

and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

[1. These are the four Appamaññas or infinite feelings, also called (e.g. below, § II, 36) the four Brahma-vihâras. They are here very appropriately represented to follow immediately after {footnote p. 274} the state of feeling described in the *Ghânas*; but they ought to be the constant companions of a good Buddhist (see Khaggavisâna Sutta 8; and compare also Teviggâ Sutta III, 7; *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 246; and the Araka *Gâtaka*, No. 169).]

12. 'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusâvatî:

'Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness:

'Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex:

'Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions:

'Four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief:

'Four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,--of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze:

'Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

'Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served[1].

13. 'Now at that time, Ânanda, the four and eighty thousand state elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

14. 'And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory:

"These eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

15. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

"O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

[1. Most of the trappings and cloths here mentioned are the same as those referred to in the *Magghima Sîla*, §§ 5, 6, 7 recurring in the *Tevigga Sutta*, and in the *Brahmagâla Sutta*. The whole paragraph is four times repeated below, §§ 29, 31, 33, 37.]

"Even so, Lord!" said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

16. 'From that time forth, Ânanda, the elephants came in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.

17. 'Now, Ânanda, after the lapse of many years, of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory[1] this thought:

"'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory."

18. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem:

"Arise now, dress your hair, and clad yourselves in fresh raiment. 'Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory. Let us go and visit the Great King of Glory!"

19. "'Even so, Lady!" said the women of the harem, Ânanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

20. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

"Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. 'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory."

[1. Subhaddâ Devî. Subhadda, 'glorious, magnificent,' is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhistic Hindu literature.]

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21. "Even so, O Queen!" said the Great Adviser, Ânanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words:

"The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit."

22. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and leant against the side of the door.

23. 'When, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought:

"What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean?"

24. And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory:

"Stop there, O Queen! Enter not!"

25. 'Then the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, said to one of his attendants:

"Arise, good man! take the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm trees which is all of gold."

26. "Even so, Lord!" said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm trees which was all of gold.

27. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.

28. 'Then, Ânanda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:

"How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory! How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the Great King of Glory is dead[1]!"

29. 'And she said to the Great King of Glory:

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusâvatî. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and

provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

[1. The rather curious connexion between these clauses is worthy of notice in comparison with the legend of the 'Transfiguration' just before the Buddha's death (above, pp. 80-82).]

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network, -of which the king of elephants, called 'the Changes of the Moon,' is chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network, of which 'Thunder-cloud,' the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers, -of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!"

30. 'When she had thus spoken, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Queen of Glory:

"Long hast thou addressed me, O Queen, in pleasant words, much to be desired, and sweet. Yet now in this last time you speak in words unpleasant, disagreeable, not to be desired."

31. "How then, O King, shall I address thee?"

"Thus, O Queen, shouldst thou address me:--The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them[1]. Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs[2]. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusâvatî. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

[1. The Pâli words are the same as those at the beginning of the constantly repeated longer phrase to the same effect in the Book of the Great Decease.

2. Compare Gâtaka, No. 34.]

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which the king of elephants, called 'the Changes of the Moon,' is chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which 'Thunder-cloud,' the king of horses, is the chief Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,--of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!"

32. 'When he thus spake, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory wept and poured forth tears.

33. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory wiped away her tears, and addressed the Great King of Glory, and said:

"The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusâvatî. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which the king of elephants, called 'the Changes of the Moon,' is chief Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which 'Thunder-cloud,' the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,--of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

"Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

34. 'Then immediately, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ânanda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy, just so were the feelings he experienced, Ânanda, as death came upon the Great King of Glory.

35. 'When the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, had died, he came to life again in the happy world of Brahmâ.

36. 'For eight and forty thousand years, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory lived the happy life of a prince; for eight and forty thousand years he was viceroy and heir-apparent; for eight and forty thousand years he ruled the kingdom; and for eight and forty thousand years he lived, as a layman, the noble life in the Palace of Righteousness. And then, when full of noble thoughts, he died; he entered, after the dissolution of the body, the noble world of Brahma[1].

37. 'Now it may be, Ânanda, that you may think "The Great King of Glory of that time was another person." But, Ânanda,

you should not view the matter thus. I at that time was the Great King of Glory.

'Mine at that time were the four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief was the royal city of Kusâvatî.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand palaces, of which the chief was the Palace of Righteousness.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand chambers, of which the chief was the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

[1. The 'noble thoughts' are the Brahma-vihâras, described above, Chap. II, §§ 8-11. The 'noble life' is the Brahmakariyam, which does not mean the same as it does in Sanskrit. The adjective Brahma may have reference here also to the subsequent (and consequent?) rebirth in the Brahma-loka.]

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings, of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,--of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,--of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief,

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.

38. 'Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ânanda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell--to wit, the royal city of Kusâvatî.

'Of those four and eighty thousand palaces too, Ânanda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell--to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

'Of those four and eighty thousand chambers too, Ânanda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell--to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

Of those four and eighty thousand divans too, Ânanda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy--to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandal wood.

'Of those four and eighty thousand state elephants too, Ânanda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride--to wit, the king of elephants, "the Changes of the Moon."

'Of those four and eighty thousand horses too, Ânanda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride--to wit, the king of horses, "the Thunder-cloud."

'Of those four and eighty thousand chariots too, Ânanda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride--to wit, the chariot called "the Flag of Victory."

'Of those four and eighty thousand wives too, Ânanda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me--to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velâmikânî.

'Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel too, Ânanda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore--to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

'Of those four and eighty thousand dishes too, Ânanda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.

39. 'See, Ânanda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ânanda, are component things; thus transitory, Ânanda, are component things; thus untrustworthy, Ânanda, are component things. Insomuch, Ânanda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things!

40. 'Now I call to mind, Ânanda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of his people, the possessor of the seven royal treasures--that was the seventh time.

41. 'But I behold not any spot, Ânanda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mâra, nor in the world of Brahma,--no, not among the race of Samanas or Brâhmans, of gods or men,-

-where the Tathâgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body[1].'

[1. The whole of this conversation between the Great King of Glory and the Queen is very much shorter in the *Gâtaka*, the enumeration of the possessions of the Great King being omitted (except the first clause referring to the four and eighty thousand cities), and clauses 34-38, 40, and 41 being also left out, § 39 and the concluding being placed in the mouth of the King immediately after § 33. This may be perhaps partly explained by the narrative style in which the *Gâtakas* are composed--a style incompatible {footnote p. 289} with the repetitions of the *Suttas*, and confined to the facts of the story.

But I think that no one can read this *Sutta* in comparison with the short passage found in the *Book of the Great Decease* (above, pp. 99-101) without feeling that the latter is the more original of the two, and that the legend had not, when the *Book of the Great Decease* was composed, attained to its present extended form.

We seem therefore really to have three stages of the legend before us, and though the *Gâtaka* story was actually put into its present shape at a known date (the fifth century of our era) long after the latest possible date for the *Book of the Great King of Glory*, it has probably preserved for us a reminiscence of what the legend was at the time when the *Book of the Great Decease* was composed.]

42. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:

How transient are all component things!
Growth is their nature and decay:
They are produced, they are dissolved again:
And then is best, when they have sunk to rest[1]!

[1. On this celebrated verse, see the note at Mahâparinibbâna Sutta VI, 16, where it is put into the mouth of Sakka, the king of the gods, and the discussion in the Introduction to this Sutta.]

Maha-cattarisaka Sutta

The Great Forty

Translated from the Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu

I have heard that on one occasion the Blessed One was staying at Savatthi, in Jeta's Grove, Anathapindika's monastery. There he addressed the monks: "Monks!"

"Yes, lord," the monks replied.

The Blessed One said, "Monks, I will teach you noble right concentration with its supports and requisite conditions. Listen, and pay close attention. I will speak."

"Yes, lord," the monks replied.

The Blessed One said: "Now what, monks, is noble right concentration with its supports and requisite conditions? Any singleness of mind equipped with these seven factors -- right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, and right mindfulness -- is called noble right concentration with its supports and requisite conditions.

"[1] Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? One discerns wrong view as wrong view, and right view as right view. This is one's right view. And what is wrong view? 'There is nothing given, nothing offered, nothing sacrificed. There is no fruit or result of good or bad actions. There is no this world, no next world, no mother, no father, no spontaneously reborn beings; no priests or contemplatives who, faring rightly and practicing rightly, proclaim this world and the next after having directly known and realized it for themselves.' This is wrong view.

"And what is right view? Right view, I tell you, is of two sorts: There is right view with fermentations [*asava*], siding with merit, resulting in the acquisitions [of becoming]; and there is noble

right view, without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"And what is the right view that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions? 'There is what is given, what is offered, what is sacrificed. There are fruits and results of good and bad actions. There is this world and the next world. There is mother and father. There are spontaneously reborn beings; there are priests and contemplatives who, faring rightly and practicing rightly, proclaim this world and the next after having directly known and realized it for themselves.' This is the right view that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions.

"And what is the right view that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path? The discernment, the faculty of discernment, the strength of discernment, analysis of qualities as a factor for Awakening, the path factor of right view in one developing the noble path whose mind is noble, whose mind is free from fermentations, who is fully possessed of the noble path. This is the right view that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"One tries to abandon wrong view and to enter into right view: This is one's right effort. One is mindful to abandon wrong view and to enter and remain in right view: This is one's right mindfulness. Thus these three qualities -- right view, right effort, and right mindfulness -- run and circle around right view.

"[2] Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? One discerns wrong resolve as wrong resolve, and right resolve as right resolve. And what is wrong resolve? Being resolved on sensuality, on ill will, on harmfulness. This is wrong resolve.

"And what is right resolve? Right resolve, I tell you, is of two sorts: There is right resolve with fermentations, siding with merit, resulting in the acquisitions [of becoming]; and there is

noble right resolve, without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"And what is the right resolve that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions? Being resolved on renunciation, on freedom from ill will, on harmlessness. This is the right resolve that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions.

"And what is the right resolve that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path? The thinking, directed thinking, resolve, mental absorption, mental fixity, focused awareness, and verbal fabrications in one developing the noble path whose mind is noble, whose mind is without fermentations, who is fully possessed of the noble path. This is the right resolve that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"One tries to abandon wrong resolve and to enter into right resolve: This is one's right effort. One is mindful to abandon wrong resolve and to enter and remain in right resolve: This is one's right mindfulness. Thus these three qualities -- right view, right effort, and right mindfulness -- run and circle around right resolve.

"[3] Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? One discerns wrong speech as wrong speech, and right speech as right speech. And what is wrong speech? Lying, divisive tale bearing, abusive speech, and idle chatter; this is wrong speech.

"And what is right speech? Right speech, I tell you, is of two sorts: There is right speech with fermentations, siding with merit, resulting in the acquisitions [of becoming]; and there is noble right speech, without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"And what is the right speech that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions? Abstaining from lying, from

divisive tale bearing, from abusive speech, and from idle chatter. This is the right speech that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions.

"And what is the right speech that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path? The abstaining, desisting, abstinence, avoidance of the four forms of verbal misconduct in one developing the noble path whose mind is noble, whose mind is without fermentations, who is fully possessed of the noble path. This is the right speech that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"One tries to abandon wrong speech and to enter into right speech: This is one's right effort. One is mindful to abandon wrong speech and to enter and remain in right speech: This is one's right mindfulness. Thus these three qualities -- right view, right effort, and right mindfulness -- run and circle around right speech.

"[4] Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? One discerns wrong action as wrong action, and right action as right action. And what is wrong action? Killing, taking what is not given, illicit sex. This is wrong action.

"And what is right action? Right action, I tell you, is of two sorts: There is right action with fermentations, siding with merit, resulting in the acquisitions [of becoming]; and there is noble right action, without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"And what is the right action that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions? Abstaining from killing, from taking what is not given, and from illicit sex. This is the right action that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions.

"And what is the right action that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path? The abstaining, desisting, abstinence, avoidance of the three forms of bodily misconduct

in one developing the noble path whose mind is noble, whose mind is without fermentations, who is fully possessed of the noble path. This is the right action that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"One tries to abandon wrong action and to enter into right action: This is one's right effort. One is mindful to abandon wrong action and to enter and remain in right action: This is one's right mindfulness. Thus these three qualities -- right view, right effort, and right mindfulness -- run and circle around right action.

"[5] Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? One discerns wrong livelihood as wrong livelihood, and right livelihood as right livelihood. And what is wrong livelihood? Scheming, persuading, hinting, belittling, and pursuing gain with gain; this is wrong livelihood.

"And what is right livelihood? Right livelihood, I tell you, is of two sorts: There is right livelihood with fermentations, siding with merit, resulting in the acquisitions [of becoming]; and there is noble right livelihood, without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"And what is the right livelihood that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions? There is the case where a disciple of the noble ones abandons wrong livelihood and maintains his life with right livelihood. This is the right livelihood that has fermentations, sides with merit, and results in acquisitions.

"And what is the right livelihood that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path? The abstaining, desisting, abstinence, avoidance of wrong livelihood in one developing the noble path whose mind is noble, whose mind is without fermentations, who is fully possessed of the noble path. This is the right livelihood that is without fermentations, transcendent, a factor of the path.

"One tries to abandon wrong livelihood and to enter into right livelihood: This is one's right effort. One is mindful to abandon wrong livelihood and to enter and remain in right livelihood: This is one's right mindfulness. Thus these three qualities -- right view, right effort, and right mindfulness -- run and circle around right livelihood.

"Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? In one of right view, right resolve comes into being. In one of right resolve, right speech comes into being. In one of right speech, right action... In one of right action, right livelihood... In one of right livelihood, right effort... In one of right effort, right mindfulness... In one of right mindfulness, right concentration... In one of right concentration, right knowledge... In one of right knowledge, right release comes into being. Thus the learner is endowed with eight factors, and the Arahant with ten.

"Of those, right view is the forerunner. And how is right view the forerunner? In one of right view, wrong view is abolished. The many evil, unskillful qualities that come into play with wrong view as their condition are also abolished, while the many skillful qualities that have right view as their condition go to the culmination of their development. In one of right resolve, wrong resolve is abolished... In one of right speech, wrong speech is abolished... In one of right action, wrong action is abolished... In one of right livelihood, wrong livelihood is abolished... In one of right effort, wrong effort is abolished... In one of right mindfulness, wrong mindfulness is abolished... In one of right concentration, wrong concentration is abolished... In one of right knowledge, wrong knowledge is abolished... In one of right release, wrong release is abolished. The many evil, unskillful qualities that come into play with wrong release as their condition are also abolished, while the many skillful qualities that have right release as their condition go to the culmination of their development.

"Thus, monks, there are twenty factors siding with skillfulness, and twenty with un-skillfulness.

"This Dhamma discourse on the Great Forty has been set rolling and cannot be stopped by any contemplative or priest or deva or Mara and Brahma or anyone at all in the world.

"If any priest or contemplative might think that this Great Forty Dhamma discourse should be censured and rejected, there are ten legitimate implications of his statement that would form grounds for censuring him here and now. If he censures right view, then he would honor any priests and contemplatives who are of wrong view; he would praise them. If he censures right resolve... right speech... right action... right livelihood... right effort... right mindfulness... right concentration... right knowledge... If he censures right release, then he would honor any priests and contemplatives who are of wrong release; he would praise them. If any priest or contemplative might think that this Great Forty Dhamma discourse should be censured and rejected, there are these ten legitimate implications of his statement that would form grounds for censuring him here and now.

"Even Vassa and Bhañña -- those teachers from Okkala who were proponents of no-causality, no-action, and no-existence -- would not think that this Dhamma discourse on the Great Forty should be censured and rejected. Why is that? For fear of criticism, opposition, and reproach."

That is what the Blessed One said. Gratified, the monks delighted in the Blessed One's words.

Maha Hatthipadopama Sutta

The Great Elephant Footprint Simile

Translated from the Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu

I have heard that on one occasion the Blessed One was staying near Savatthi in Jeta's Grove, Anathapindika's monastery. There Ven. Shariputra addressed the monks, saying, "Friend monks!"

"Yes, friend," the monks responded.

Ven. Shariputra said: "Friends, just as the footprints of all legged animals are encompassed by the footprint of the elephant, and the elephant's footprint is reckoned the foremost among them in terms of size; in the same way, all skillful qualities are gathered under the four noble truths. Under which four? Under the noble truth of stress, under the noble truth of the origination of stress, under the noble truth of the cessation of stress, and under the noble truth of the path of practice leading to the cessation of stress.

"And what is the noble truth of stress? Birth is stressful, aging is stressful, death is stressful; sorrow, lamentation, pain, distress, and despair are stressful; association with the unloved is stressful, separation from the loved is stressful, not getting what is wanted is stressful. In short, the five clinging-aggregates are stressful. And which are the five clinging-aggregates? The form clinging-aggregate, the feeling clinging-aggregate, the perception clinging-aggregate, the fabrication clinging-aggregate, and the consciousness clinging-aggregate.

"And what is the form clinging-aggregate? The four great existents and the form derived from them. And what are the four great existents? The earth property, the liquid property, the fire property, and the wind property.

The Earth Property

"And what is the earth property? The earth property can be either internal or external. Which is the internal earth property? Whatever internal, within oneself, is hard, solid, and sustained [by craving]: head hairs, body hairs, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, tendons, bones, bone marrow, kidneys, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lungs, large intestines, small intestines, contents of the stomach, feces, or whatever else internal, within oneself, is hard, solid, and sustained: This is called the internal earth property. Now both the internal earth property and the external earth property are simply earth property. And that should be seen as it actually is with right discernment: 'This is not mine, this is not me, this is not my self.' When one sees it thus as it actually is with right discernment, one becomes disenchanted with the earth property and makes the mind dispassionate toward the earth property.

"Now there comes a time, friends, when the external liquid property is provoked,[1] and at that time the external earth property vanishes. So when even in the external earth property -- so vast -- inconstancy will be discerned, destructibility will be discerned, a tendency to decay will be discerned, changeability will be discerned, then what in this short-lasting body, sustained by clinging, is 'I' or 'mine' or 'what I am'? It has here only a 'no.'

"Now if other people insult, malign, exasperate, and harass a monk [who has discerned this], he discerns that 'A painful feeling, born of ear-contact, has arisen within me. And that is dependent, not independent. Dependent on what? Dependent on contact.' And he sees that contact is inconstant, feeling is inconstant, perception is inconstant, consciousness is inconstant. His mind, with the [earth] property as its object/support, leaps up, grows confident, steadfast, and released.

"And if other people attack the monk in ways that are undesirable, displeasing, and disagreeable -- through contact with fists, contact with stones, contact with sticks, or contact with knives -- the monk discerns that 'This body is of such a nature contacts with fists come, contacts with stones come, contacts with sticks come, and contacts with knives come. Now the Blessed One has said, in his exhortation of the simile of the saw [MN 21], "Monks, even if bandits were to carve you up savagely, limb by limb, with a two-handled saw, he among you who let his heart get angered even at that would not be doing my bidding." So my persistence will be aroused and untiring, my mindfulness established and unconfused, my body calm and un-aroused, my mind centered and unified. And now let contact with fists come to this body, let contact with stones, with sticks, with knives come to this body, for this is how the Buddha's bidding is done.'

"And if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.' Just as when a daughter-in-law, on seeing her father-in-law, feels apprehensive and gives rise to a sense of urgency [to please him], in the same way, if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.'

"But if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is established, then he is gratified at that. And even to this extent, friends, the monk has accomplished a great deal.

The Liquid Property

"And what is the liquid property? The liquid property may be either internal or external. What is the internal liquid property? Whatever internal, belonging to oneself, is liquid, watery, and sustained: bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, skin-oil, saliva, mucus, fluid in the joints, urine, or whatever else internal, within oneself, is liquid, watery, and sustained: This is called the internal liquid property. Now both the internal liquid property and the external liquid property are simply liquid property. And that should be seen as it actually is present with right discernment: 'This is not mine, this is not me, this is not my self.' When one sees it thus as it actually is present with right discernment, one becomes disenchanted with the liquid property and makes the mind dispassionate toward the liquid property.

"Now there comes a time, friends, when the external liquid property is provoked and washes away village, town, city, district, and country. There comes a time when the water in the great ocean drops down one hundred leagues, two hundred... three hundred... four hundred... five hundred... six hundred... seven hundred leagues. There comes a time when the water in the great ocean stands seven palm-trees deep, six... five... four... three... two palm-trees deep, one palm-tree deep. There comes a time when the water in the great ocean stands seven fathoms deep, six... five... four... three... two fathoms deep, one fathom deep. There comes a time when the water in the great ocean stands half a fathom deep, hip-deep, knee-deep, ankle deep. There comes a time when the water in the great ocean is not even the depth of the first joint of a finger.

"So when even in the external liquid property -- so vast -- inconstancy will be discerned, destructibility will be discerned, a tendency to decay will be discerned, changeability will be discerned, then what in this short-lasting body, sustained by clinging, is 'I' or 'mine' or 'what I am'? It has here only a 'no.'

"Now if other people insult, malign, exasperate, and harass a monk [who has discerned this], he discerns that 'A painful feeling, born of ear-contact, has arisen within me. And that is dependent, not independent. Dependent on what? Dependent on contact.' And he sees that contact is inconstant, feeling is inconstant, perception is inconstant, consciousness is inconstant. His mind, with the [liquid] property as its object/support, leaps up, grows confident, steadfast, and released.

"And if other people attack the monk in ways that are undesirable, displeasing, and disagreeable -- through contact with fists, contact with stones, contact with sticks, or contact with knives -- the monk discerns that 'This body is of such a nature contacts with fists come, contacts with stones come, contacts with sticks come, and contacts with knives come. Now the Blessed One has said, in his exhortation of the simile of the saw, "Monks, even if bandits were to carve you up savagely, limb by limb, with a two-handled saw, he among you who let his heart get angered even at that would not be doing my bidding." So my persistence will be aroused and untiring, my mindfulness established and unconfused, my body calm and un-aroused, my mind centered and unified. And now let contact with fists come to this body, let contact with stones, with sticks, with knives come to this body, for this is how the Buddha's bidding is done.'

"And if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.' Just as when a daughter-in-law, on seeing her father-in-law, feels apprehensive and gives rise to a sense of urgency [to please him], in the same way, if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he

feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.'

"But if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is established, then he is gratified at that. And even to this extent, friends, the monk has accomplished a great deal.

The Fire Property

"And what is the fire property? The fire property may be either internal or external. What is the internal fire property? Whatever internal, belonging to oneself, is fire, fiery, and sustained: that by which [the body] is warmed, aged, and consumed with fever; and that by which what is eaten, drunk, chewed, and savored gets properly digested, or whatever else internal, within oneself, is fire, fiery, and sustained: This is called the internal fire property. Now both the internal fire property and the external fire property are simply fire property. And that should be seen as it actually is present with right discernment: 'This is not mine, this is not me, this is not my self.' When one sees it thus as it actually is present with right discernment, one becomes disenchanted with the fire property and makes the mind dispassionate toward the fire property.

Now there comes a time, friends, when the external fire property is provoked and consumes village, town, city, district, and country; and then, coming to the edge of a green district, the edge of a road, the edge of a rocky district, to the water's edge, or to a lush, well-watered area, goes out from lack of sustenance. There comes a time when people try to make fire using a wing-bone and tendon parings. [2]

"So when even in the external fire property -- so vast -- inconstancy will be discerned, destructibility will be discerned, a tendency to decay will be discerned, changeability will be

discerned, then what in this short-lasting body, sustained by clinging, is 'I' or 'mine' or 'what I am'? It has here only a 'no.'

"Now if other people insult, malign, exasperate, and harass a monk [who has discerned this], he discerns that 'A painful feeling, born of ear-contact, has arisen within me. And that is dependent, not independent. Dependent on what? Dependent on contact.' And he sees that contact is inconstant, feeling is inconstant, perception is inconstant, consciousness is inconstant. His mind, with the [fire] property as its object/support, leaps up, grows confident, steadfast, and released.

"And if other people attack the monk in ways that are undesirable, displeasing, and disagreeable -- through contact with fists, contact with stones, contact with sticks, or contact with knives -- the monk discerns that 'This body is of such a nature contacts with fists come, contacts with stones come, contacts with sticks come, and contacts with knives come. Now the Blessed One has said, in his exhortation of the simile of the saw, "Monks, even if bandits were to carve you up savagely, limb by limb, with a two-handled saw, he among you who let his heart get angered even at that would not be doing my bidding." So my persistence will be aroused and untiring, my mindfulness established and unconfused, my body calm and un-aroused, my mind centered and unified. And now let contact with fists come to this body, let contact with stones, with sticks, with knives come to this body, for this is how the Buddha's bidding is done.'

"And if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.' Just as when a daughter-in-law, on seeing her father-in-law, feels apprehensive and gives rise to a

sense of urgency [to please him], in the same way, if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.'

"But if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is established, then he is gratified at that. And even to this extent, friends, the monk has accomplished a great deal.

The Wind Property

"And what is the wind property? The wind property may be either internal or external. What is the internal wind property? Whatever internal, belonging to oneself, is wind, windy, and sustained: up-going winds, down-going winds, winds in the stomach, winds in the intestines, winds that course through the body, in-and-out breathing, or whatever else internal, within oneself, is wind, windy, and sustained: This is called the internal wind property. Now both the internal wind property and the external wind property are simply wind property. And that should be seen as it actually is present with right discernment: 'This is not mine, this is not me, this is not my self.' When one sees it thus as it actually is present with right discernment, one becomes disenchanted with the wind property and makes the mind dispassionate toward the wind property.

"Now there comes a time, friends, when the external wind property is provoked and blows away village, town, city, district, and country. There comes a time when, in the last month of the hot season, people try to start a breeze with a fan or bellows, and even the grass at the fringe of a thatch roof doesn't stir.

"So when even in the external fire property -- so vast -- inconstancy will be discerned, destructibility will be discerned, a

tendency to decay will be discerned, changeability will be discerned, then what in this short-lasting body, sustained by clinging, is 'I' or 'mine' or 'what I am'? It has here only a 'no.'

"Now if other people insult, malign, exasperate, and harass a monk [who has discerned this], he discerns that 'A painful feeling, born of ear-contact, has arisen within me. And that is dependent, not independent. Dependent on what? Dependent on contact.' And he sees that contact is inconstant, feeling is inconstant, perception is inconstant, consciousness is inconstant. His mind, with the [wind] property as its object/support, leaps up, grows confident, steadfast, and released.

"And if other people attack the monk in ways that are undesirable, displeasing, and disagreeable -- through contact with fists, contact with stones, contact with sticks, or contact with knives -- the monk discerns that 'This body is of such a nature contacts with fists come, contacts with stones come, contacts with sticks come, and contacts with knives come. Now the Blessed One has said, in his exhortation of the simile of the saw, "Monks, even if bandits were to carve you up savagely, limb by limb, with a two-handled saw, he among you who let his heart get angered even at that would not be doing my bidding." So my persistence will be aroused and untiring, my mindfulness established and unconfused, my body calm and un-aroused, my mind centered and unified. And now let contact with fists come to this body, let contact with stones, with sticks, with knives come to this body, for this is how the Buddha's bidding is done.'

"And if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.' Just as when a daughter-in-law, on

seeing her father-in-law, feels apprehensive and gives rise to a sense of urgency [to please him], in the same way, if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established, he feels apprehensive at that and gives rise to a sense of urgency: 'It is a loss for me, not a gain; ill-gotten for me, not well-gotten, that when I recollect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is not established within me.'

"But if, in the monk recollecting the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha in this way, equanimity based on what is skillful is established, then he is gratified at that. And even to this extent, friends, the monk has accomplished a great deal.

Dependent Co-arising

"Friends, just as when -- in dependence on timber, vines, grass, and clay -- space is enclosed and is gathered under the term 'house,' in the same way, when space is enclosed in dependence on bones, tendons, muscle, and skin, it is gathered under the term, 'form.'

"Now if internally the eye is intact but externally forms do not come into range, nor is there a corresponding engagement, then there is no appearing of the corresponding type of consciousness. If internally the eye is intact and externally forms come into range, but there is no corresponding engagement, then there is no appearing of the corresponding type of consciousness. But when internally the eye is intact and externally forms come into range, and there is a corresponding engagement, then there is the appearing of the corresponding type of consciousness.

"The form of what has thus come into being is gathered under the form clinging-aggregate. The feeling of what has thus come into being is gathered under the feeling clinging-aggregate. The perception of what has thus come into being is gathered under the perception clinging-aggregate. The fabrications of what has

thus come into being are gathered under the fabrication clinging-aggregate. The consciousness of what has thus come into being is gathered under the consciousness clinging-aggregate. One discerns, 'This, it seems, is how there is the gathering, meeting, and convergence of these five clinging-aggregates. Now, the Blessed One has said, "Whoever sees dependent co-arising sees the Dhamma; whoever sees the Dhamma sees dependent co-arising." [3] And these things -- the five clinging-aggregates -- are dependently co-arisen. [4] Any desire, embracing, grasping, and holding-on to these five clinging-aggregates is the origination of stress. Any subduing of desire and passion, any abandoning of desire and passion for these five clinging-aggregates is the cessation of stress.' [5] And even to this extent, friends, the monk has accomplished a great deal.

"Now if internally the ear is intact...

"Now if internally the nose is intact...

"Now if internally the tongue is intact...

"Now if internally the body is intact...

"Now if internally the intellect is intact but externally ideas do not come into range, nor is there a corresponding engagement, then there is no appearing of the corresponding type of consciousness. If internally the intellect is intact and externally ideas come into range, but there is no corresponding engagement, then there is no appearing of the corresponding type of consciousness. But when internally the intellect is intact and externally ideas come into range, and there is a corresponding engagement, then there is the appearing of the corresponding type of consciousness.

"The form of what has thus come into being is gathered under the form clinging-aggregate. The feeling of what has thus come into being is gathered under the feeling clinging-aggregate. The perception of what has thus come into being is gathered under

the perception clinging-aggregate. The fabrications of what has thus come into being are gathered under the fabrication clinging-aggregate. The consciousness of what has thus come into being is gathered under the consciousness clinging-aggregate. One discerns, 'This, it seems, is how there is the gathering, meeting, and convergence of these five clinging-aggregates. Now, the Blessed One has said, "Whoever sees dependent co-arising sees the Dhamma; whoever sees the Dhamma sees dependent co-arising." And these things -- the five clinging-aggregates -- are dependently co-arisen. Any desire, embracing, grasping, and holding-on to these five clinging-aggregates is the origination of stress. Any subduing of desire and passion, any abandoning of desire and passion for these five clinging-aggregates is the cessation of stress.' And even to this extent, friends, the monk has accomplished a great deal."

That is what Ven. Shariputra said. Gratified, the monks delighted in Ven. Shariputra's words.

Footnotes:

1. The compilers of the Pali Canon used a common theory to explain the physics of heat and motion, meteorology, and the etiology of diseases. That theory centered on the concept of '*dhatu*': property or potential. The physical properties presented in this theory were four: those of earth (solidity), liquid, fire, and wind (motion). Three of them -- liquid, fire, and wind -- were viewed as potentially active. When they were aggravated, agitated or provoked -- the Pali term here, '*pakuppati*', was used also on the psychological level, where it meant angered or upset -- they acted as the underlying cause for activity in nature. For more on this topic, see *The Mind Like Fire Unbound*, Chapter 2. [Go back]

2. AN VII.46 (quoted in *The Mind Like Fire Unbound*) cites a wing bone and tendon parings as examples of items that will not catch fire. Perhaps the passage was meant as a comical

parody of someone who, having seen another person start fire with a fire stick, tried to imitate that person without understanding the basic principle involved. If you used a fire stick and wood shavings, you would get fire. If you used a wing bone instead of a fire stick, and tendon parings instead of wood shavings, you wouldn't. [Go back]

3. This statement has not been traced in any other part of the extant Pali Canon. [Go back]

4. See SN XII.2. [Go back]

5. Although the fourth noble truth -- the path of practice leading to the cessation of stress -- is not explicitly mentioned in this discussion, it is implicit as the path of practice leading to the subduing of desire and passion, the abandoning of desire and passion for the five clinging-aggregates. [Go back]

Maha Kammavibhanga Sutta

The Great Exposition of Kamma

Translated from the Pali by Ñānamoli Thera

1. Thus have I heard. On one occasion the Blessed One was living at Rajagaha, in the Bamboo Grove, the Squirrels' Feeding Place. Now on that occasion the venerable Samiddhi was living in a forest hut.

Then the wanderer Potaliputta, walking and wandering for exercise, came to the venerable Samiddhi and exchanged greetings with him, and when the courteous and amiable talk was finished, he sat down at one side. When he had done so, he said to the venerable Samiddhi:

2. "I heard and learned this, friend Samiddhi, from the monk Gotama's lips: 'Bodily kammās are vain, verbal kammās are vain, only mental kammās are true.' But there is actually that attainment having entered upon which nothing (of result of kammās) is felt at all."

"Not so, friend Potaliputta, do not say thus, do not misrepresent the Blessed One; it is not good to misrepresent the Blessed One; the Blessed One would not say so: 'Bodily kammās are vain, verbal kammās are vain, only mental kammās are true.' And there is actually that attainment having entered upon which nothing (of result of kammās) is felt at all."

"How long is it since you went forth, friend Samiddhi?"

"Not long, friend, three years."

"There now, what shall we say to the elder Bhikkhus, when the young Bhikkhu fancies the Master is to be defended thus? After doing intentional kamma, friend Samiddhi, by way of body, speech or mind, what does one feel (of its result)?"

"After doing an intentional kamma, friend Potaliputta, by way of body, speech or mind, one feels suffering (as its result)."

Then neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the words of the venerable Samiddhi, the wanderer Potaliputta got up from his seat and went away.

3. Soon after the wanderer Potaliputta had gone, the venerable Samiddhi went to the venerable Ánanda and exchanged greetings with him, and when the courteous and amiable talk was finished, he sat down at one side. When he had done so, he told the venerable Ánanda all his conversation with the wanderer Potaliputta.

When this was said, the venerable Ánanda told him: "Friend Samiddhi, this conversation should be told to the Blessed One. Come, let us go to the Blessed One, and having done so, let us tell him about this. As he answers, so we shall bear it in mind."

"Even so, friend," the venerable Samiddhi replied.

Then they went together to the Blessed One, and after paying homage to him; they sat down at one side. When they had done so, the venerable Ánanda told the Blessed One all the venerable Samiddhi's conversation with the wanderer Potaliputta.

4. When this was said, the Blessed One told the venerable Ánanda:

"I do not even know the wanderer by sight, Ánanda. How could there have been such a conversation? The wanderer Potaliputta's question ought to have been answered after analyzing it, but this misguided man Samiddhi answered it without qualification. [1]

When this was said, the venerable Udayin said to the Blessed One: "But, venerable sir, supposing when the venerable

Samiddhi spoke, he was referring to this, namely, 'Whatever is felt is suffering.'" [2]

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ánanda: "See, Ánanda, how this misguided man Udayin interferes. I knew, Ánanda, that this misguided man Udayin would unreasonably interfere now. To begin with it was the three kinds of feeling that were asked about by the wanderer Potaliputta. If, when this misguided man Samiddhi was asked, he had answered the wanderer Potaliputta thus: 'After doing an intentional kamma by way of body, speech and mind (whose result is) to be felt as pleasure, he feels pleasure; after doing an intentional kamma by way of body, speech and mind (whose result is) to be felt as pain, he feels pain; after doing an intentional kamma by way of body, speech and mind (whose result is) to be felt as neither-pain-nor-pleasure, he feels neither-pain-nor-pleasure' -- by answering him thus, Ánanda, the misguided man Samiddhi would have given the wanderer Potaliputta the right answer. Besides, Ánanda, who are the foolish thoughtless wanderers of other sects that they will understand the Tathágata's Great Exposition of Kamma? (But) if you, Ánanda, would listen to the Tathágata expounding the Great Exposition of Kamma (you might understand it). [3]

"This is the time, Blessed One, this is the time, Sublime One, for the Blessed One to expound the Great Exposition of Kamma. Having heard it from the Blessed One, the Bhikkhus will bear it in mind."

"Then listen, Ánanda, and heed well what I shall say."

"Even so, venerable sir," the venerable Ánanda replied. The Blessed One said this:

6. "Ánanda, there are four kinds of persons existing in the world. What four?

(1) "Here some person kills living beings, takes what is not given, misconducts himself in sexual desires, speaks falsehood,

speaks maliciously, speaks harshly, gossips, is covetous, is ill-willed, and has wrong view. [4] On the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell.

(2) "But here some person kills living beings... and has wrong view. On the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in a happy destination, in the heavenly world.

(3) "Here some person abstains from killing living beings, from taking what is not given, from misconduct in sexual desires, from false speech, from malicious speech, from harsh speech, from gossip, he is not covetous, is not ill-willed, and has right view. [5] On the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in a happy destination, in the heavenly world.

(4) "But here some person abstains from killing living beings... and has right view. On the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell.

7. (1) "Here, Ánanda, in consequence of ardor, endeavor, devotion, diligence, and right attention, some monk or Brahman attains such concentration of mind that, when his mind is concentrated, he sees with the heavenly eyesight, which is purified and surpasses the human, that some person kills living beings here, takes what is not given, misconducts himself in sexual desires, speaks falsehood, speaks maliciously, speaks harshly, gossips, is covetous, is ill-willed, has wrong view. He sees that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he has reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. He says: 'it seems that there are evil karmas and that there is the result of misconduct; for I have seen that a person killed living beings here... had wrong view. I have seen that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he had reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell.' He says: 'It seems that one who kills living beings... has wrong view, will always,

on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge.' So he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true, anything else is wrong.'

8. (2) "But here in consequence of ardor, endeavor, devotion, diligence and right attention, some monk or Brahman attains such concentration of mind that, when his mind is concentrated, he sees with the heavenly eyesight, which is purified and surpasses the human, that some person kills living beings here... has wrong view. He sees that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he has reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. He says: 'It seems there are no evil kammās, there is no result of misconduct. For I have seen that a person killed living beings here... had wrong view. I have seen that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he has reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world.' He says: 'It seems that one who kills living beings... has wrong view will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge.' So he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true, anything else is wrong.'

9. (3) "Here in consequence of ardor, endeavor, devotion, diligence and right attention, some monk or Brahman attains such concentration of mind that, when his mind is concentrated, he sees with the heavenly eyesight, which is purified and surpasses the human, that some person abstains from killing living beings here... has right view. He sees that, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he has reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. He says: 'It seems that there are good kammās, there is result of good conduct. For I have seen that a person abstained from killing living

beings here... had right view. I saw that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he had reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world.' He says: 'It seems that one who abstains from killing living beings... has right view will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge.' So he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true; anything else is wrong.'

10. (4) "But here in consequence of ardor, endeavor, devotion, diligence and right attention, some monk or Brahman attains such concentration of mind that, when his mind is concentrated, he sees with the heavenly eyesight, which is purified and surpasses the human, that some person abstains from killing living beings here... has right view. He sees that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he has reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. He says: 'it seems that there are no good karmas; there is no result of good conduct. For I have seen that a person abstained from killing here... had right view. I saw that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he had reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell.' He says: 'It seems that one who abstains from killing living beings... has right view, will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge.' So he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true; anything else is wrong.'

11. (1) "Now, Ānanda, when a monk or Brahman says thus: 'It seems that there are evil karmas, there is the result of misconduct,' I concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'for I have seen that some person killed living beings... had wrong view. I saw that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he had reappeared in states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell,' I concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'It seems that one who kills living beings... has wrong view, will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; and insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true; anything else is wrong,' I do not concede that to him.

"Why is that? The Tathágata's knowledge of the Great Exposition of Kamma is different.

12. (2) "Now when a monk or Brahman says thus: 'It seems that there are no evil kammās, there is no result of misconduct,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'for I have seen that a person killed living beings... had wrong view. I saw that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he had reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world,' I concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'It seems that one who kills living beings... has wrong view, will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in a happy destination, in the heavenly world,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; and insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true; anything else is wrong,' I do not concede that to him.

"Why is that? The Tathágata's knowledge of the Great Exposition of Kamma is different.

13. (3) "Now when a monk or Brahman says thus: 'It seems that there are good kammās, there is a result of good conduct,' I concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'for I have seen that a person abstained from killing living beings here... had right view. I saw that on the dissolution of the body after death, he had reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world,' I concede that to him.

"When he says: 'It seems that one who abstains from killing living beings... has right view will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in a happy destination, in the heavenly world,'[6] I do not concede that to him.

"When he says: 'Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen, and felt; and insisting on that alone he says: 'Only this is true: anything else is wrong,' I do not concede that to him.

"Why is that? The Tathágata's knowledge of the Great Exposition of Kamma is different.

14. (4) "Now when a monk or Brahman says thus: 'It seems that there are no good kammās, there is no result of good conduct,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he says thus: "For I have seen that a person abstained from killing living beings here... had right view. I saw that on the dissolution of the body, after death, he had reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell," I concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'One who abstains from killing living beings... has right view will always, on the dissolution of the body, after death, reappear in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he says thus: 'Those who know thus know rightly; those who know otherwise are mistaken in their knowledge,' I do not concede that to him.

"When he obstinately misapprehends what he himself has known, seen and felt; and insisting on that alone, he says: 'Only this is true; anything else is wrong,' I do not concede that to him.

"Why is that? The Tathāgata's knowledge of the Great Exposition of Kamma is different.

The Great Exposition of Kamma

15. (1) "Now, Ānanda, there is the person who has killed living beings here... has had wrong view. And on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. [7] But (perhaps) the evil kamma producing his suffering was done by him earlier,

or the evil kamma producing his suffering was done by him later, or wrong view was undertaken and completed by him at the time of his death. [8] And that was why, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. But since he has killed living beings here... has had wrong view, he will feel the result of that here and now, or in his next rebirth, or in some subsequent existence.

16. (2) "Now there is the person who has killed living beings here... has had wrong view. And on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. [9] But (perhaps) the good kamma producing his happiness was done by him earlier, or the good kamma producing his happiness was done by him later, or right view was undertaken and completed by him at the time of his death. And that was why, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. But since he has killed living beings here... has had wrong view, he will feel the result of that here and now, or in his next rebirth, or in some subsequent existence. [10]

17. (3) "Now there is the person who has abstained from killing living beings here... has had right view. And on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. [11] But (perhaps) the good kamma producing his happiness was done by him earlier, or the good kamma producing his happiness was done by him later, or right view was undertaken and completed by him at the time of his death. And that was why, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappeared in a happy destination, in the heavenly world. But since he has abstained from killing living beings here... has had right view, he will feel the result of that here and now, or in his next rebirth, or in some subsequent existence.

18. (4) "Now there is the person who has abstained from killing living beings here... has had right view. And on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappears in the states of

deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. [12] But (perhaps) the evil kamma producing his suffering was done by him earlier, or the evil kamma producing his suffering was done by him later, or wrong view was undertaken and completed by him at the time of his death. And that was why, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he reappeared in the states of deprivation, in an unhappy destination, in perdition, in hell. But since he has abstained from killing living beings here... has had right view, he will feel the result of that here and now, or in his next rebirth, or in some subsequent existence. [13]

19. "So, Ánanda, there is kamma that is incapable of good result and appears incapable of good result; there is kamma that is incapable of good result and appears capable of good result; there is kamma that is capable of good result and appears capable of good result; there is kamma that is capable of good result and appears incapable of good result." [14]

This is what the Blessed One said. The venerable Ánanda was satisfied and he rejoiced in the Blessed One's words.

Footnotes:

1. These are two of the four ways of answering a question, the other two being: replying with a counter-question, and "setting aside" the question, i.e., replying with silence.
2. This is a quotation from the Buddha's words: see Samyutta Nikáya, Vedana Samyutta, Rahogata-vagga Sutta 1.
3. This is an addition necessary for understanding this sentence.
4. These are the ten unwholesome courses of kamma.
5. These are the ten wholesome courses of kamma.

6. This amounts to the belief in theistic religions where virtue and faith (=whatever is held to be right view) are supposed to guarantee salvation.

7. Devadatta, for instance, who persuaded prince Ajatashatru to murder his father (who was a stream-winner), three times attempted to murder the Buddha and once succeeded in wounding him, and caused a schism in the Sangha; the last two actions are certain to lead to birth in hell.

8. This series of three phrases appears to mean: *earlier*, either earlier in life before he undertook either the wholesome or unwholesome courses of kamma, or in some previous life; *later*, later in that very life, for even if a person does much evil kamma, usually he will also make some good kamma occasionally; *wrong view... time of his death*, this kind of wrong view will be of the type, "there is no kamma, no results of kamma, no evil, no results of evil," and so on. The next birth actually depends on the object of the last moments of a dying person's consciousness. At that time one should recollect all one's good kamma: generosity, loving-kindness, compassion, pure precepts and so on. Evil should not be thought of then though heavy evil kamma done previously may force itself into the mind and make recollection of one's generosity and virtue in keeping the precepts difficult or impossible.

9. A good example of this is the story of "Copper-tooth," the public executioner who, after a career of murder as a bandit, then as the killer of his own bandit comrades and subsequently executioner of all criminals for fifty years, was taught by venerable Shariputra Thera and his mind eased of the heavy weight of evil kamma so that he attained heavenly rebirth. See Dhammapada Commentary, ii, 203-209.

10. Though such a person attained a heavenly rebirth the evil kamma made will still mature sooner or later; he has not escaped its results.

11. King Pasenadi of Kosala, for instance.

12. This was what happened to Queen Mallika, wife of King Pasenadi, who had led a good life, generous, keeping the Five Precepts, and the Eight Precepts on Uposatha days and so on, but once she did evil, having sexual relations with a dog. This un-confessed evil weighed heavily on her mind and she remembered it when dying. As a result she spent seven days in hell. Her power of goodness from the doing of many good kmmas then gave her rebirth in a heavenly world. See Dhammapada Commentary, iii, 119-123.

13. Though this virtuous and good person has obtained a low rebirth through the power of previously done evil kamma, still the good kamma made by him will mature sooner or later, when it gets a chance.

14. This final terse paragraph may have been clear to the venerable Ānanda Thera, or he may have asked for an explanation, as we require and find in the Commentary, which says:

1. A strong unwholesome kamma (incapable of good result), the result of which will come before the results of weaker unwholesome kmmas.

2. Wholesome kamma (which appears capable of good result) is followed by unwholesome death-proximate kamma, which makes the former incapable of good result immediately.

3. A strong wholesome kamma will mature even before much accumulated unwholesome kamma.

4. Unwholesome kamma (which appears incapable of good result) is followed by wholesome death-proximate kamma, which will mature first and is capable of good results.

Maha Mangala Sutta

Blessings

Translated from the Pali by Narada Thera

Thus have I heard:

[1] On one occasion the Exalted One was dwelling at Anathapindika's monastery, in Jeta's Grove, [2] near Savatthi. [3] Now when the night was far spent, a certain deity whose surpassing splendor illuminated the entire Jeta Grove, came to the presence of the Exalted One and, drawing near, respectfully saluted him and stood at one side. Standing thus, he addressed the Exalted One in verse:

"Many deities and men, yearning after good, have pondered on blessings. [4] Pray, tell me the greatest blessing!"

[The Buddha:]

"Not to associate with the foolish, [5] but to associate with the wise; and to honor those who are worthy of honor -- this is the greatest blessing.

To reside in a suitable locality, [6] to have done meritorious actions in the past and to set oneself in the right course [7] -- this is the greatest blessing.

To have much learning, to be skillful in handicraft, [8] well-trained in discipline, [9] and to be of good speech [10] -- this is the greatest blessing.

To support mother and father, to cherish wife and children, and to be engaged in peaceful occupation -- this is the greatest blessing.

To be generous in giving, to be righteous in conduct, [11] to help one's relatives, and to be blameless in action -- this is the greatest blessing.

To loathe more evil and abstain from it, to refrain from intoxicants, [12] and to be steadfast in virtue -- this is the greatest blessing.

To be respectful, [13] humble, contented and grateful; and to listen to the Dhamma on due occasions [14] -- this is the greatest blessing.

To be patient and obedient, to associate with monks and to have religious discussions on due occasions -- this is the greatest blessing.

Self-restraint, [15] a holy and chaste life, the perception of the Noble Truths and the realization of Nibbána -- this is the greatest blessing.

A mind unruffled by the vagaries of fortune, [16] from sorrow freed, from defilements cleansed, from fear liberated [17] -- this is the greatest blessing.

Those who thus abide, ever remain invincible, in happiness established. These are the greatest blessings." [18]

Footnotes:

1. This Sutta appears in the Sutta-Nipata (v.258ff) and in the Khuddakapatha. See Maha-mangala Jataka (No. 453). For a detailed explanation see *Life's Highest Blessing* by Dr. R.L. Soni, WHEEL No. 254/256.

2. Anathapindika, lit., 'He who gives alms to the helpless'; his former name was Sudatta. After his conversion to Buddhism, he bought the grove belonging to the Prince Jeta, and established a monastery, which was subsequently named Jetavana. It was in this monastery that the Buddha observed

most of his *vassana* periods (rainy seasons -- the three months' retreat beginning with the full-moon of July). Many are the discourses delivered and many are the incidents connected with the Buddha's life that happened at Jetavana. It was here that the Buddha ministered to the sick monk neglected by his companions, advising them: "Whoever, monks, would wait upon me, let him wait upon the sick." It was here that the Buddha so poignantly taught the law of impermanence, by asking the bereaved young woman Kisagotami who brought her dead child, to fetch a grain of mustard seed from a home where there has been no bereavement.

3. Identified with modern Sahet-Mahet, near Balrampur.

4. According to the Commentary, *mangala* means that which is conducive to happiness and prosperity.

5. This refers not only to the stupid and uncultured, but also includes the wicked in thought, word and deed.

6. Any place where monks, nuns and lay devotees continually reside; where pious folk are bent on the performance of the ten meritorious deeds, and where the Dhamma exists as a living principle.

7. Making the right resolve for abandoning immorality for morality, faithlessness for faith and selfishness for generosity.

8. The harmless crafts of the householder by which no living being is injured and nothing unrighteous done; and the crafts of the homeless monk, such as stitching the robes, etc.

9. *Vinaya* means discipline in thought, word and deed. The commentary speaks of two kinds of discipline -- that of the householder, which is abstinence from the ten immoral actions (*akusala-kammapatha*), and that of the monk, which is the non-transgression of the offences, enumerated in the *Patimokkha* (the code of the monk's rules) or the 'fourfold moral purity' (*catu-parisuddhi-sila*).

10. Good speech that is opportune, truthful, friendly, profitable and spoken with thoughts of loving-kindness.

11. *Righteous conduct* is the observance of the ten good actions (*kusala-kammapatha*) in thought, word and deed: freeing the mind of greed, ill-will and wrong views; avoiding speech that is untruthful, slanderous, abusive and frivolous; and the non-committal acts of killing, stealing and sexual misconduct.

12. Total abstinence from alcohol and intoxicating drugs.

13. Towards monks (and of course also to the clergy of other religions), teachers, parents, elders, superiors, etc.

14. For instance, when one is harassed by evil thoughts.

15. Self-restraint (*tapo*): the suppression of lusts and hates by the control of the senses; and the suppression of indolence by the rousing of energy.

16. *Loka-dhamma*, i.e., conditions which are necessarily connected with life in this world; there are primarily eight of them: gain and loss, honor and dishonor, praise and blame, pain and joy.

17. Each of these three expressions refers to the mind of the arahant: *asoka*: sorrow-less; *viraja*: stainless, i.e., free from lust, hatred and ignorance; *khema*: security from the bonds of sense desires (*kama*), repeated existence (*bhava*), false views (*ditthi*) and ignorance (*avijja*).

18. The above-mentioned thirty-eight blessings.

Maha Mangala Sutta

Protection

Translated from the Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu
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I have heard that at one time the Blessed One was staying in Savatthi at Jeta's Grove, Anathapindika's monastery. Then a certain deva, in the far extreme of the night, her extreme radiance lighting up the entirety of Jeta's Grove, approached the Blessed One. On approaching, having bowed down to the Blessed One, she stood to one side. As she stood to one side, she addressed him with a verse.

Many devas and human beings
give thought to protection,
desiring well-being.
Tell, then, the highest protection.

The Buddha:

Not consorting with fools,
consorting with the wise,
paying homage to those worthy of homage:
This is the highest protection.

Living in a civilized land,
having made merit in the past,
directing oneself rightly:
This is the highest protection.

Broad knowledge, skill,
well-mastered discipline,
well-spoken words:
This is the highest protection.

Support for one's parents,
assistance to one's wife and children,

consistency in one's work:
This is the highest protection.

Generosity, living in rectitude,
assistance to one's relatives,
deeds that are blameless:
This is the highest protection.

Avoiding, abstaining from evil;
refraining from intoxicants,
being heedful of the qualities of the mind:
This is the highest protection.

Respect, humility,
contentment, gratitude,
hearing the Dhamma on timely occasions:
This is the highest protection.

Patience, composure,
seeing contemplatives,
discussing the Dhamma on timely occasions:
This is the highest protection.

Austerity, celibacy,
seeing the Noble Truths,
realizing Unbinding:
This is the highest protection.

A mind that, when touched
by the ways of the world,
is unshaken, sorrow-less, dustless, at rest:
This is the highest protection.

Everywhere undefeated
when acting in this way,
people go everywhere in well-being:
This is their highest protection.

Maha-Punnama Sutta

The Great Full-moon Night Discourse

Translated from the Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu

I have heard that on one occasion the Blessed One was staying near Savatthi in the Eastern Monastery, the palace of Migara's mother. And on that occasion -- the uposatha of the fifteenth, the night of a very full moon -- he was sitting out in the open with the community of monks.

Then a certain monk, rising from his seat, arranging his robe over one shoulder, and placing his hands palm-to-palm over the heart, said to the Blessed One: "Venerable sir, there is an area where, if the Blessed One would give me leave, I would like the answer to a question."

"Very well, then, monk. Sit back down in your seat and ask whatever you want."

Responding to the Blessed One, "Yes, lord," the monk sat back down in his seat and said to the Blessed One, "Aren't these the five clinging-aggregates, i.e., form as a clinging-aggregate, feeling...perception...fabrications...consciousness as a clinging-aggregate."

"Monk, these are the five clinging-aggregates, i.e., form as a clinging-aggregate, feeling...perception...fabrications...consciousness as a clinging-aggregate."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk delighted and approved of the Blessed One's words and then asked him a further question: "But in what, lord, are these five clinging-aggregates rooted?"

"Monk, these five clinging-aggregates are rooted in desire."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "Is clinging the same thing as the five clinging-aggregates, or is clinging separate from the five clinging-aggregates?"

"Monk, clinging is neither the same thing as the five clinging-aggregates, nor is it separate from the five clinging-aggregates. Just that whatever passion and delight is there, that's the clinging there."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "Might there be diversity in the desire and passion for the five clinging-aggregates?"

"There might, monk. There is the case where the thought occurs to someone, 'May I be one with such a form in the future. May I be one with such a feeling...perception... fabrications...such a consciousness in the future. This is how there would be diversity in the desire and passion for the five clinging-aggregates.'"

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "To what extent does the designation 'aggregate' apply to the aggregates?"

"Monk, whatever form is past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: that is called the aggregate of form. Whatever feeling is past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: that is called the aggregate of feeling. Whatever perception is past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: that is called the aggregate of perception. Whatever fabrications are past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: those are called the aggregate of fabrication. Whatever consciousness is past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: that is called the aggregate of

consciousness.[1] This is the extent to which the term 'aggregate' applies to the aggregates."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "Lord, what is the cause, what the condition, for the delineation [2] of the aggregate of form? What is the cause, what the condition, for the delineation of the aggregate of feeling...perception...fabrications...consciousness?"

"Monk, the four great existents (earth, water, fire, and wind) are the cause, the four great existents the condition, for the delineation of the aggregate of form. Contact is the cause, contact the condition, for the delineation of the aggregate of feeling. Contact is the cause, contact the condition, for the delineation of the aggregate of perception. Contact is the cause, contact the condition, for the delineation of the aggregate of fabrications. Name-and-form is the cause, name-and-form the condition, for the delineation of the aggregate of consciousness."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "Lord, how does self-identity view come about?"

"There is the case, monk, where an uninstructed, run-of-the-mill person -- who has no regard for noble ones, is not well-versed or disciplined in their Dhamma; who has no regard for men of integrity, is not well-versed or disciplined in their Dhamma -- assumes form to be the self, or the self as possessing form, or form as in the self, or the self as in form.

"He assumes feeling to be the self, or the self as possessing feeling, or feeling as in the self, or the self as in feeling. He assumes perception to be the self, or the self as possessing perception, or perception as in the self, or the self as in perception. He assumes fabrications to be the self, or the self as possessing fabrications, or fabrications as in the self, or the self as in fabrications. He assumes consciousness to be the self, or the self as possessing consciousness, or consciousness as in the self, or the self as in consciousness.

"This, monk, is how self-identity view comes about."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "Lord, how does self-identity view no longer come about?"

"There is the case, monk, where a well-instructed disciple of the noble ones -- who has regard for nobles ones, is well-versed and disciplined in their Dhamma; who has regard for men of integrity, is well-versed and disciplined in their Dhamma -- does not assume form to be the self, or the self as possessing form, or form as in the self, or the self as in form. He does not assume feeling to be the self...does not assume perception to be the self...does not assume fabrications to be the self... He does not assume consciousness to be the self, or the self as possessing consciousness, or consciousness as in the self, or the self as in consciousness.

"This, monk, is how self-identity view no longer comes about."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "What, lord, is the allure of form? What is its drawback? What is the escape from it? What is the allure of feeling...perception... fabrications...consciousness? What is its drawback? What is the escape from it?"

"Monk, whatever pleasure and joy arises dependent on form: that is the allure of form. The fact that form is inconstant, stressful, subject to change: that is the drawback of form. The subduing of desire and passion, the abandoning of desire and passion for form: that is the escape from form.

"Whatever pleasure and joy arises dependent on feeling: that is the allure of feeling...

"Whatever pleasure and joy arises dependent on perception: that is the allure of perception..."

"Whatever pleasure and joy arises dependent on fabrications: that is the allure of fabrications..."

"Whatever pleasure and joy arises dependent on consciousness: that is the allure of consciousness. The fact that consciousness is inconstant, stressful, subject to change: that is the drawback of consciousness. The subduing of desire and passion, the abandoning of desire and passion for consciousness: that is the escape from consciousness."

Saying, "Very good, lord," the monk...asked him a further question: "Knowing in what way, seeing in what way, is there -- with regard to this body endowed with consciousness, and with regard to all external signs -- no longer any I-making, or my-making, or obsession with conceit?"

"Monk, one sees any form whatsoever -- past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near -- every form, as it actually is with right discernment: 'This is not mine. This is not my self. This is not what I am.'

"One sees any feeling whatsoever...any perception whatsoever...any fabrications whatsoever..."

"One sees any consciousness whatsoever -- past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near -- every consciousness -- as it actually is with right discernment: 'This is not mine. This is not my self. This is not what I am.'"

"Monk, knowing in this way, seeing in this way is there -- with regard to this body endowed with consciousness, and with regard to all external signs -- no longer any I-making, or my-making, or obsession with conceit."

Now at that moment this line of thinking appeared in the awareness of a certain monk: "So -- form is not-self, feeling is not-self, perception is not-self, fabrications are not-self,

consciousness is not-self. Then what self will be touched by the actions done by what is not-self?"

Then the Blessed One, realizing with his awareness the line of thinking in that monk's awareness, addressed the monks: "It's possible that a senseless person -- immersed in ignorance, overcome with craving -- might think that he could outsmart the Teacher's message in this way: 'So -- form is not-self, feeling is not-self, perception is not-self, fabrications are not-self, consciousness is not-self. Then what self will be touched by the actions done by what is not-self?' Now, monks, haven't I trained you in counter-questioning with regard to this and that topic here and there? What do you think -- Is form constant or inconstant?" "Inconstant, lord." "And is that which is inconstant easeful or stressful?" "Stressful, lord." "And is it fitting to regard what is inconstant, stressful, subject to change as: 'This is mine. This is my self. This is what I am'?"

"No, lord."

"...Is feeling constant or inconstant?" "Inconstant, lord."...

"...Is perception constant or inconstant?" "Inconstant, lord."...

"...Are fabrications constant or inconstant?" "Inconstant, lord."...

"What do you think, monks -- Is consciousness constant or inconstant?" "Inconstant, lord." "And is that which is inconstant easeful or stressful?" "Stressful, lord." "And is it fitting to regard what is inconstant, stressful, subject to change as: 'This is mine. This is my self. This is what I am'?"

"No, lord."

"Thus, monks, any form whatsoever that is past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: every form is to be seen as it actually is with right discernment as: 'This is not mine. This is not my self. This is not what I am.'

"Any feeling whatsoever...

"Any perception whatsoever...

"Any fabrications whatsoever...

"Any consciousness whatsoever that is past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle; common or sublime; far or near: every consciousness is to be seen as it actually is with right discernment as: 'This is not mine. This is not my self. This is not what I am.'

"Seeing thus, the instructed disciple of the noble ones grows disenchanted with form, disenchanted with feeling, disenchanted with perception, disenchanted with fabrications, disenchanted with consciousness. Disenchanted, he becomes dispassionate. Through dispassion, he is fully released. With full release, there is the knowledge, 'Fully released.' He discerns that 'Birth is ended, the holy life fulfilled, the task done. There is nothing further for this world.'"

That is what the Blessed One said. Gratified, the monks delighted in the Blessed One's words. And while this explanation was being given, the minds of sixty monks, through no clinging (not being sustained), were fully released from fermentations.

Footnotes:

1. One form of consciousness apparently does not come under the aggregate of consciousness. This is termed *viññanam anidassanam* -- consciousness without a surface, or consciousness without feature. MN 49 says specifically that this consciousness does not partake of the "all-ness of the all," the "all" being conterminous with the five aggregates. The standard definition of the aggregate of consciousness states that this aggregate includes all consciousness, "past, present,

or future... near or far." However, because *viññanam anidassanam* stands outside of space and time it would not be covered by these terms. Similarly, where SN XXII.97 says that no consciousness is eternal, "eternal" is a concept that applies only within the dimension of time, and thus would not apply to this form of consciousness.

2. Delineation (*paññapana*) literally means, "making discernible." This apparently refers to the intentional aspect of perception, which takes the objective side of experience and fabricates it into discernible objects. In the case of the aggregates, the four great existents, contact, and name-&-form provide the objective basis for discerning them, while the process of fabrication takes the raw material provided by the objective basis and turns it into discernible instances of the aggregates. This process is described in slightly different terms in SN XXII.79

Maha Salayatana Sutta

The Great Six Sense-media Discourse

Translated from the Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu

I have heard that on one occasion the Blessed One was staying near Savatthi in Jeta's Grove, Anathapindika's Monastery. There he addressed the monks: "Monks!"

"Yes, lord," the monks responded to him.

"Monks, I will teach you the great six sense-media discourse. Listen and pay close attention. I will speak."

"As you say, lord," the monks responded.

The Blessed One said: "Not knowing, not seeing the eye as it actually is present; not knowing, not seeing forms... consciousness at the eye... contact at the eye as they actually are present; not knowing, not seeing whatever arises conditioned through contact at the eye -- experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain -- as it actually is present, one is infatuated with the eye... forms... consciousness at the eye... contact at the eye... whatever arises conditioned by contact at the eye and is experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain.

"For him -- infatuated, attached, confused, not remaining focused on their drawbacks -- the five clinging-aggregates head toward future accumulation. The craving that makes for further becoming -- accompanied by passion and delight, relishing now this and now that -- grows within him. His bodily disturbances and mental disturbances grow. His bodily torments and mental torments grow. His bodily distresses and mental distresses grow. He is sensitive both to bodily stress and mental stress.

"Not knowing, not seeing the ear... Not knowing, not seeing the nose... Not knowing, not seeing the tongue... Not knowing, not seeing the body...

"Not knowing, not seeing the intellect as it actually is present; not knowing, not seeing ideas... consciousness at the intellect... contact at the intellect as they actually are present; not knowing, not seeing whatever arises conditioned through intellect-contact -- experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain -- as it actually is present, one is infatuated with the intellect... ideas... consciousness at the intellect... contact at the intellect... whatever arises conditioned by contact at the intellect and is experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain.

"For him -- infatuated, attached, confused, not remaining focused on their drawbacks -- the five clinging-aggregates head toward future accumulation. The craving that makes for further becoming -- accompanied by passion and delight, relishing now this and now that -- grows within him. His bodily disturbances and mental disturbances grow. His bodily torments and mental torments grow. His bodily distresses and mental distresses grow. He is sensitive both to bodily stress and mental stress.

"However, knowing and seeing the eye as it actually is present, knowing and seeing forms... consciousness at the eye... contact at the eye as they actually are present, knowing and seeing whatever arises conditioned through contact at the eye - - experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain -- as it actually is present, one is not infatuated with the eye... forms... consciousness at the eye... contact at the eye... whatever arises conditioned by contact at the eye and is experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain.

"For him -- un-infatuated, unattached, unconfused, remaining focused on their drawbacks -- the five clinging-aggregates head toward future diminution. The craving that makes for

further becoming -- accompanied by passion and delight, relishing now this and now that -- is abandoned by him. His bodily disturbances and mental disturbances are abandoned. His bodily torments and mental torments are abandoned. His bodily distresses and mental distresses are abandoned. He is sensitive both to ease of body and ease of awareness.

"Any view belonging to one who has come to be like this is his right view. Any resolve, his right resolve. Any effort, his right effort: Any mindfulness, his right mindfulness: Any concentration, his right concentration: just as earlier his actions, speech, and livelihood were already well purified. Thus for him, having thus developed the noble eightfold path, the four frames of reference go to the culmination of their development. The four right exertions... the four bases of power... the five faculties... the five strengths... the seven factors for Awakening go to the culmination of their development. And for him these two qualities occur in tandem: tranquility and insight.

"He comprehends through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be comprehended through direct knowledge, abandons through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be abandoned through direct knowledge, develops through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be developed through direct knowledge, and realizes through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be realized through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be comprehended through direct knowledge? 'The five clinging-aggregates,' should be the reply. Which five? Form as a clinging-aggregate... feeling... perception... fabrications... consciousness as a clinging-aggregate. These are the qualities that are to be comprehended through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be abandoned through direct knowledge? Ignorance and craving for becoming: these are the qualities that are to be abandoned through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be developed through direct knowledge? Tranquility and insight: these are the qualities that are to be developed through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be realized through direct knowledge? Clear knowing and release: these are the qualities that are to be realized through direct knowledge.

"Knowing and seeing the ear... Knowing and seeing the nose... Knowing and seeing the tongue... Knowing and seeing the body...

"Knowing and seeing the intellect as it actually is present, knowing and seeing ideas... consciousness at the intellect... contact at the intellect as they actually are present, knowing and seeing whatever arises conditioned through intellect-contact -- experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain -- as it actually is present, one is not infatuated with the intellect... ideas... consciousness at the intellect... contact at the intellect... whatever arises conditioned by contact at the intellect and is experienced as pleasure, pain, or neither-pleasure-nor-pain.

"For him – un-infatuated, unattached, unconfused, remaining focused on their drawbacks -- the five clinging-aggregates head toward future diminution. The craving that makes for further becoming -- accompanied by passion and delight, relishing now this and now that -- is abandoned by him. His bodily disturbances and mental disturbances are abandoned. His bodily torments and mental torments are abandoned. His bodily distresses and mental distresses are abandoned. He is sensitive both to ease of body and ease of awareness.

"Any view belonging to one who has come to be like this is his right view. Any resolve, his right resolve. Any effort, his right effort: Any mindfulness, his right mindfulness: Any concentration, his right concentration: just as earlier his actions, speech, and livelihood were already well purified. Thus for him, having thus developed the noble eightfold path, the four frames

of reference go to the culmination of their development. The four right exertions... the four bases of power... the five faculties... the five strengths... the seven factors for Awakening go to the culmination of their development. And for him these two qualities occur in tandem: tranquility and insight.

"He comprehends through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be comprehended through direct knowledge, abandons through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be abandoned through direct knowledge, develops through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be developed through direct knowledge, and realizes through direct knowledge whatever qualities are to be realized through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be comprehended through direct knowledge? 'The five clinging-aggregates,' should be the reply. Which five? Form as a clinging-aggregate... feeling... perception... fabrications... consciousness as a clinging-aggregate. These are the qualities that are to be comprehended through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be abandoned through direct knowledge? Ignorance and craving for becoming: these are the qualities that are to be abandoned through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be developed through direct knowledge? Tranquility and insight: these are the qualities that are to be developed through direct knowledge.

"And what qualities are to be realized through direct knowledge? Clear knowing and release: these are the qualities that are to be realized through direct knowledge."

That is what the Blessed One said. Gratified, the monks delighted in the Blessed One's words.

Maha-Samaya Sutta

The Great Meeting

Translator's Introduction

This discourse is an interesting example of the folklore of the Pali Canon. It shows that the tendency of Asian popular Buddhism to regard the Buddha as a protective figure, and not just as a teacher, has its roots in the earliest part of the tradition. Metrical analysis indicates that the long "tribute" section of this discourse is very old, while the verses in the introductory section -- which is also found in the Samyutta Nikáya -- are later in form. This fits with a more subjective judgment: that the tribute was an earlier composition -- in the honorific style of the ancient court bards -- to which the introduction was added later. This judgment is based on the fact that the two sections do not quite fit each other. The introduction to the tribute indicates that the reciter of the tribute is the Buddha himself, whereas the narration in the tribute indicates otherwise.

At any rate, this discourse is the closest thing in the Pali Canon to a "who's who" of the deva worlds, and should provide useful material for anyone interested in the cosmology of early Buddhism.

The Commentary reports the belief that the devas enjoy hearing this discourse chanted in Pali. Until recently it was part of many monks' standard memorized repertoire, to be chanted at weddings and the dedication of new buildings. Even today, as many of the traditions of memorization in Asia seem to be falling by the wayside, there are a few monks and laypeople who chant this discourse regularly.

I have heard that on one occasion the Blessed One was dwelling among the Sakyans at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a large Sangha of approximately five hundred Bhikkhus, all of them arahants. And most of the devatas from ten world-systems had gathered in order to see the Blessed One and the Bhikkhu Sangha. Then the thought occurred to four devatas of the ranks from the Pure Abodes: "The Blessed One is dwelling among the Sakyans at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a large Sangha of about five hundred Bhikkhus, all of them arahants. And most of the devatas from ten world-systems have gathered in order to see the Blessed One and the Bhikkhu Sangha. Let us also approach the Blessed One and, on arrival, let us each speak a verse in his presence."

Then, just as a strong man might extend his flexed arm or flex his extended arm, those devatas disappeared from among the devas of the Pure Abodes and reappeared before the Blessed One. Having paid homage to the Blessed One, they stood to one side. As they were standing there, one devata recited this verse in the Blessed One's presence:

A great meeting in the woods:
The deva hosts have assembled.
We have come to this Dhamma meeting
To see the invincible Sangha.

Then another devata recited this verse in the Blessed One's presence:

The Bhikkhus there are concentrated,
Have straightened their own minds.
Like a charioteer holding the reins,
The wise ones guard their faculties.

Then another devata recited this verse in the Blessed One's presence:

Having cut through barrenness, cut the crossbar,
Having uprooted Indra's pillar, unstirred,
They wander about pure, unstained,
Young nagas well tamed by the One with Vision.

Then another devata recited this verse in the Blessed One's presence:

Those who have gone to the Buddha for refuge
Will not go to the plane of woe.
On discarding the human body,
They will fill the hosts of the devas.

Then the Blessed One addressed the monks: "Monks, most of the devatas from ten world-systems have gathered in order to see the Tathágata and the Bhikkhu Sangha. Those who, in the past, were Pure Ones, Rightly Self-awakened, at most had their devata-gathering like mine at the present. Those who, in the future, will be Pure Ones, Rightly Self-awakened, will at most have their devata-gathering like mine at the present. I will detail for you the names of the deva hosts. I will describe to you the names of the deva hosts. I will teach you the names of the deva hosts. Listen and pay close attention. I will speak."

"As you say, lord," the monks replied. The Blessed One said:

I recite a verse of tribute. Those who live where spirits dwell, who live in mountain caves, resolute, concentrated, many, like hidden lions, who have overcome horripilation, white-hearted, pure, serene, and undisturbed: Knowing that more than 500 of them had come to the forest of Kapilavatthu, the Teacher then said to them, disciples delighting in his instruction, "The deva hosts have approached.

Detect them, monks!" Listening to the Awakened One's instruction, they made a diligent effort. Knowledge appeared to them, vision of non-human beings. Some saw 100, some 1,000, some 70,000, some had vision of 100,000 non-human beings. Some gained

vision of innumerable devas filling every direction. Realizing all this, the One-with-Vision felt moved to speak. The Teacher then said to them, disciples delighting in his instruction, "The deva hosts have approached. Detect them, monks, as I describe their glories, one by one.

7,000 yakkhas inhabiting the land of Kapilavatthu, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

6,000 yakhas from the Himalayas, of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

From Mount Sata 3,000 yakkhas of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

These 16,000 yakkhas of varied hue powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

500 yakkhas from Vessamitta, of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

Kumbhira from Rajagaha, who dwells on Mount Vepulla, accompanied by more than 100,000 yakkhas -- Kumbhira from Rajagaha: He, too, has come to the forest meeting.

And Dhatarattha, who rules as king of the Eastern Direction, as lord of the gandhabbas: A glorious, great king is he, and many are his sons named Indra, of great strength. Powerful, effulgent, glamorous,

prestigious, rejoicing, they have approached the monks' forest meeting.

And Virulha, who rules as king of the Southern Direction, as lord of the kumbandas: A glorious, great king is he, and many are his sons named Indra, of great strength. Powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, they have approached the monks' forest meeting.

And Virupakkha, who rules as king of the Western Direction, as lord of the nagas: A glorious, great king is he, and many are his sons named Indra, of great strength. Powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, they have approached the monks' forest meeting.

And Kuvera, who rules as king of the Northern Direction, as lord of the yakkhas: A glorious, great king is he, and many are his sons named Indra, of great strength. Powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, they have approached the monks' forest meeting.

Dhatarattha from the Eastern Direction, Virulhaka from the South, Virupakkha from the West, Kuvera from the Northern Direction: These four Great Kings encompassing the four directions, resplendent, stand in the Kapilavatthu forest.

Their deceitful vassals have also come -- deceptive, treacherous -- Maya, Kutendu, vetendu, Vitu with Vituta, Candana, the Chief of Sensual Pleasure, Kinnughandu, Nighandu, Panada, the Mimic, Matali, the deva's charioteer, Cittasena the gandhabba, King Nala, the Bull of the People, Pañcasikha has come with Timbaru and his daughter, Suriyavacchasa. These and other kings, gandhabbas with their kings, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

Then there have also come nagas from Lake Nabhasa, Vesali, and Tacchaka. Kambalas, Assataras, Payagas, and their kin.

And from the River Yamuna comes the prestigious naga, Dhatarattha. The great naga Eravanna: He, too, has come to the forest meeting."

They who swoop down swiftly on naga kings, divine, twice born, winged, their eyesight pure: (Garudas) came from the sky to the midst of the forest. Citra and Supanna are their names. But the Buddha made the naga kings safe, made them secure from Supanna. Addressing one another with affectionate words, the nagas and Supannas made the Buddha their refuge.

"Defeated by Indra of the thunderbolt hand, Asuras dwelling in the ocean, Vasava's brothers -- powerful, prestigious -- Greatly terrifying Kalakañjas, the Danaveghasa asuras Vepacitti and Sucitti, Paharada, with Namuci, and Bali's hundred sons, all named Veroca, arrayed with powerful armies have approached their honored Rahu [and said]: 'Now is the occasion, sir, of the monk's forest meeting.'

Devas of water, earth, fire, and wind have come here. Varunas, Varunas, Soma together with Yasa, the prestigious devas of the hosts of goodwill and compassion have come. These ten ten-fold hosts, all of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

Vendu (Visnu) and Sahali, Asama and the Yama twins, the devas dependent on the moon surrounding the moon have come. The devas dependent on the sun surrounding the sun have come. Devs surrounding the zodiac stars and the sprites of the clouds have come. Sakka, chief of the Vasus, the ancient donor, has come. These ten ten-fold hosts, all of varied hue, powerful, effulgent,

glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

Then come the Sahabhu devas, blazing like crests of fire-flame. The Arittakas, Rojas, cornflower blue. Varunas and Sahadhammas, Accutas and Anejakas, Suleyyas and Ruciras, and Vasavanesis have come. These ten ten-fold hosts, all of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

Samanas and Great Samanas, Manusas and Super Manusas, the devas corrupted by fun have come, as well as devas corrupted by mind. Then come green-gold devas and those wearing red. Paragas and Great Paragas, prestigious devas have come. These ten ten-fold hosts, all of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

White devas, ruddy-green devas, dawn-devas have come with the Veghanas headed by devas totally in white. The Vicakkhanas have come. Sadamatta, Haragajas, and the prestigious multi-colored, Pajunna, the thunderer, who brings rain to all lands: These ten ten-fold hosts, all of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

The Khemiyas, Tusitas, and Yamas, the prestigious Katthakas, Lambitakas, and Lama chiefs, the Jotinamas and Asavas, the Nimmanaratis have come, as have the Paranimmitas. These ten ten-fold hosts, all of varied hue, powerful, effulgent, glamorous, prestigious, rejoicing, have approached the monks' forest meeting.

These 60 deva groups, all of varied hue, have come arranged in order, together with others in like manner [thinking:] 'We'll see him

who has transcended birth, who has no bounds, who has crossed over the flood, the Mighty One, beyond evil, like the moon released from a cloud.'

Subrahma and Paramatta Brahma, together with sons of the Powerful One, Sanankumara and Tissa: They too have come to the forest meeting. Great Brahma, who stands over 1,000 Brahma worlds, who arose there spontaneously, effulgent: Prestigious is he, with a terrifying body. And ten Brahma sovereigns, each the lord of his own realm -- and in their midst has come Harita Brahma surrounded by his retinue."

When all these devas with Indras and Brahmas had come, Mara came as well. Now look at the Dark One's foolishness! [He said:] "Come seize them! Bind them! Tie them down with passion! Surround them on every side! Don't let anyone at all escape!" Thus the great war-lord urged on his dark army, slapping the ground with his hand, making a horrendous din, as when a storm cloud bursts with thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain. But then he withdrew-enraged, with none under his sway. Realizing all this, the One-with-Vision felt moved to speak. The Teacher then said to them, disciples delighting in his instruction, "Mara's army has approached. Detect them, monks!" Listening to the Awakened One's instruction, they made a diligent effort. The army retreated from those without passion, without raising even a hair on their bodies. Having all won the battle -- prestigious, past fear -- they rejoice with all beings: Disciples outstanding among the human race.