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MAHĀ-PARINIBBĀNA-SUTTANTA.

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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, Subhūti Unnāṇse, Yātramulle Unnāṇse, 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 Dīgha Nikāya 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 *Sumāṅgala Vilāsinī*[1]; but the great fifth-century commentator

[1. I have used the copy made for Turnour, and now in the India Office Collection.]

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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 *Mālāṅkāra-vatthu*, a late Pāli 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. p. 149. 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 *Magghimā Nikāya*; and the *Mahā-Satippaīttihāna-Sutta* in the *Dīgha* is the same as the *Satipattihāna-Sutta* in the *Magghima*.

3. E.g. in the *Mahā-padhāna-Sutta* and *Mahā-sudassana-Sutta*.

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

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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 *Pāli Piṭakas*: 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 *Pāli Piṭakas*, 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 *Mahā-vagga*, the *Kulla-vagga*, and the *Dīgha Nikāya*--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

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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 *Pāli Piṭakas*. 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 *Mahā-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 *Mahā-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 *Anguttara Nikāya* 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 Pāli Piṭakas. 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).

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.		OTHER BOOKS.	
Chap. I	(34 sections)	§§ 1-10	Anguttara (Sutta-nipāta).
		§11	" (<i>Kha</i> -nipāta).
		§§ 16,17	Dīgha (Sampasādaniya) and Samyutta (Satippatthāna-vagga).
		§§20-34	Mahā-vagga VI, 28.
		§§ 1, 2, 3	Mahā-vagga VI, 29.
Chap. II	(35 sections)	§§ 13,14, 15	Dīgha (Satippatthāna). Magghima " Samyutta " Vibhanga "
		§§ 16-24	Mahā-vagga VI, 30.
		§§ 27-35	Samyutta (Satippatthāna-vagga).
Chap. III	(66 sections)	§§ 1-10	Samyutta (Iddhipāda-vagga). Anguttara (<i>Attha</i> -nipāta).
		§ 11-20	Anguttara (<i>Attha</i> -nipāta).
		§§ 21-23*	? Eight Assemblies.
		§§ 24-32	Anguttara (<i>Attha</i> -nipāta).
		§§ 33	Anguttara (<i>Attha</i> -nipāta).
Chap. IV	(58 sections)	§§ 2, 3	Anguttara (<i>Katuka</i> -nipāta).
		§§ 7-11*	" " p. xxxvi
Chap. V	(69 sections)	§ 10	Anguttara (<i>Duka</i> -nipāta).
		§§ 16-22	" (<i>Katuka</i> -nipāta).
		§§ 27-31	" "
		§36	Samyutta (Satippatthāna-vagga).
		§§ 41-44	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).
		§ 60	Kulla-vagga V, 8, 1.
		§ 63	Mahā-vagga I, 38, 1.

		§ 68	Kulla-vagga XI, I, 15.
Chap. VI	(62 sections)	§ 16	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).
		§§ 36-41	Kulla-vagga XI, I, 1.

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-Parinibbāna-Sutta, but such an expression is unknown in Pāli), Mr. Beal says[2]:

'This appears to be the same as the Sūtra 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 p. 160 of his 'Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese' Mr. Beal says, that another Chinese work 'known as the Mahā Parinirvāna Sūtra' 'is evidently the same as the Mahā Parinibbāna 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, p. 95.]

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at p. 100 of the same Catalogue, and there assigned to Chang-an of the Tsin dynasty (589-619 A.D.).

At pp. 12-13 of the same Catalogue we find no less than seven other works, and an eighth on p. 77, not indeed identified with the Book of the Great Decease, but bearing titles which Mr. Beal represents in Sanskrit as Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra. They purport to be translated respectively--

	A. D.
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 Gñānabhadra 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 Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. It purports to be the very oldest of the Vaipulya Sūtras, whereas the book quoted in the Catena is there said to be 'one of the latest of the expanded Sūtras.'

'The general outline,' says Mr. Beal[1], 'is this. Buddha, on a certain occasion, proceeded to Kinsinagara (sic), and entering a grove of Sāla 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 Sāla trees bent down to form a canopy over his head. The account then proceeds to relate

[1. Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. p. 90.]

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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 Pāli 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 Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta (notably an account of the Rāgagaha Council, the mention of which is so conspicuously absent from the Pāli work); and it omits many of the sections found in the Pāli. 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]:

Chapters in the Pāli	Sections wanting in Chinese.
1st Chapter	15-18.
3rd Chapter	21-42.
4th Chapter	53-56.
5th Chapter	4-6; 16-23; 27-31; 48-51.
6th Chapter	27; 48-50.

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.]

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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 Brāhmanical 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 Brâhman.

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. pp. 78, 79.

3. See the Ceylon Friend for 1870, pp. 109 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 tahi*m*.

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-kûlikanga*, 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. pp. 226 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 Parinibbana 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 *Puranas* 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 Mahāvamsa, pp. 4, 125; 129, 199, 223-225, and Chap. 39, verse 28; Gātaka I, 166, 181, 402; II, 6; Dasaratha Gātaka, pp. 1, 21, 22, 26, &c.; Dhammapada Commentary, pp. 94, 205, 206, 222, 359; Hatthavana-galla-vihāra-vamsa, Chap. IX; Hardy, 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 322-324.

2. The words *Saddham*, *Uddhadehikam*, and *Nivāpo*, 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 *Rāga-paramparā*, 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 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 *Dīpavamsa*, written eight centuries after the date it is proposed to fix?

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

The *Thera-paramparā* 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 Upāli, 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 Tshang, and in Kashmir and Tibet[1]. In the 'Questions of Milinda' also--a work of unknown date, preserved only in its Pāli form, but

[1. Julien's translation of Hiouen Tshang, 'Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales,' vol. i. p. 172; Kahlana's Rāga-taranginī, Book I; and Csoma Körösi in 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xx. pp. 92, 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, p. 3. 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. p. 364. On the dated Edict, ascribed by some to Asoka, see my note loc. cit., and Oldenberg, 'Introd. to the Mahā-vagga,' p. xxxviii.]

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THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.

MAHĀ-PARINIBBĀNA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1^[1]. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling in Rāgagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Agātasattu, the son of the queen-consort of Videha origin[2], the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vaggians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vaggians,

[1. Sections 1-10, inclusive, recur in the Vaggi Vagga of the Sutta Nipāta in the Anguttara Nikāya; and there is a curiously incorrect version of § 3 in the Fa Kheu Pi Hu, translated from the Chinese by Mr. Beal, under the title of 'The Dhammapada from the Buddhist Canon,' pp. 165, 166.

2. Agātasattu Vedehiputto. The first word is not a personal name, but an official epithet, 'he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe;' the second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not unfrequently to private persons. Thus Upatissa, the earnest and thoughtful disciple whom the Buddha himself declared to be 'the second founder of the kingdom of righteousness,' is referred to either as Dhamma-senāpati or as Sāriputta; epithets of corresponding origin to those in the text. By the Gains Agātasattu is called Kūnika or Konika, which again is probably not the

name given to him at the rice-eating (the ceremony corresponding to infant baptism), but a nickname acquired in after life.]

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mighty and powerful[1] though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!"

2. So he spake to the Brāhman Vassakāra, the prime-minister of Magadha, and said:

'Come now, O Brāhman, do you go to the Blessed One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and enquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, and vigorous health. Then tell him that Agātasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vaggians, has resolved, "I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!" And bear carefully in mind whatever the Blessed One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue!'

3. Then the Brāhman Vassakāra, hearkened to the words of the king, saying, 'Be it as you say.' And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, he mounted one of them, left Rāgagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture's Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for carriages,

[1. Evammahiddhike evammahānubhāve. There is nothing supernatural about the iddhi here referred to. Etena tesan samagga-bhāvan kathesi says the commentator simply: thus referring the former adjective to the power of union, as he does the second to the power derived from practice in military tactics (hatthisippādīhi). The epithets are, indeed, most commonly applied to the supernatural powers of Devatās, Nāgas, and other fairy-like beings; but they are also used, sometimes in the simple sense of this passage, and sometimes in the other sense, of Buddhas and of other Arahats. See M. P. S. 12, 43; M. Sud. S. 49-53; Gāt. I, 34, 35, 39, 41.]

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and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down respectfully by his side [and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded^[1]].

4. Now at that time the venerable Ānanda was standing behind the Blessed One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vaggians hold full and frequent public assemblies?'

'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he.

'So long, Ānanda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vaggians hold these full and frequent public assemblies; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

[And in like manner questioning Ānanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Blessed One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vaggian confederacy^[2].]

'So long, Ānanda, as the Vaggians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord--so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vaggians as established in former days--so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words--so long as no women or girls

[1. § 2 repeated.

2. In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause.]

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belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction--so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian shrines[1] in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude--so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that Arahats from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahats therein may live at ease--so long may the Vaggians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

5. Then the Blessed One addressed Vassakāra the Brāhman, and said:

'When I was once staying, O Brāhman, at Vesāli at the Sārandada Temple[1], I taught the Vaggians these conditions of welfare; and so long as those conditions shall continue to exist among the Vaggians, so long as the Vaggians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.'

'We may expect then,' answered the Brāhman, 'the welfare and not the decline of the Vaggians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven. So, Gotama, the Vaggians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance[3]. And now, Gotama, we must go; we are busy, and have much to do.'

[1. *Ketiyāni*, which Sum. VI. explains as *Yakkha-ketiyāni*.

2. The commentator adds that this was a *vihāra* erected on the site of a former temple of the *Yakkha Sārandada*.

3. 'Overcome' is literally 'done' (*akaraniyā*), but the word evidently has a similar sense to that which 'done' occasionally has {footnote p. 5} in colloquial English. The Sum. VI. (fol. *tī*) says *akaraniyā*, *akatabbā agahetabbā*: *yadidaṇ*, *nipāta-mattan*; *yuddhassāti*, *karanatthe sāmī-vakanaṇ*, *abhimukhena yuddhena gahetun na sakkā ti attho*. *Upalāpanā*, which I have only met with here, must mean 'humbug, cajolery, diplomacy'; see the use of the verb *upa-lāpeti*, at *Mahā Vagga V, 2, 21*; *Gāt. II, 266, 267*; *Pât. in the 70th Pâk. Sum. VI.* explains it, at some length, as making an alliance, by gifts, with hostile intent, which comes to much the same thing. The root I think is *lī*.]

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'Whatever you think most fitting, O Brāhman,' was the reply. And the Brāhman *Vassakāra*, delighted and pleased with the words of the Blessed One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: 'Go now, *Ānanda*, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the Brethren[1] as live in the neighbourhood of *Rāgagaha*.'

[1. The word translated 'brethren' throughout is in the original *bhikkhū*, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A *bhikkhu*, literally 'beggar,' was a disciple who had joined Gotama's order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word. Hardy has 'priests'; I have elsewhere used (monks' and sometimes 'beggars' and 'members of the order.' This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of *bhikkhu*. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. 'Brethren' connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering *bhikkhu*.]

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And he did so; and returned to the Blessed One, and informed him, saying:

'The company of the Brethren, Lord, is assembled, let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit.'

And the Blessed One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the Brethren, and said:

'I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he spake as follows:

'So long, O mendicants, as the brethren meet together in full and frequent assemblies--so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the order--so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down--so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words--so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence[1]--so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude--so long as the brethren so train their minds[2] that good and holy men shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease

[1. 'Ponobhavikā' *punabbhava-dāyikā*. (S. V. fol. *tū*.)

2. '*Pakkattam yeva satim upatthāpessanti*' ti attano *abbhantare satim upatthāpessanti*. (S. V. fol. *tū*.)]

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--so long may the brethren be expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not

to decline, but to prosper.'

7. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business--so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk--so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness--so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society--so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, sinful desires--so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of sinners--so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way [to Nirvāna^[1]] because they

[1. 'Oramattakenā' ti avaramattakena appamattakena. 'Antarā' ti arahattam appatvā 'va etth' antare. 'Vosānan' ti osakkanam idam vuttam hoti. Yāva sīla-pārisuddhi-mattena vā vipassanā-mattena vā sotāpanna-bhāva-mattena vā sakadāgami-bhāva-mattena vā anāgāmi-bhāva-mattena vā 'vosānam' na 'āpaggissanti' nāma 'vuddhi yeva bhikkhūnam pāṭikamkhā no parihāni.' S. V.(fol. *tr*i). This is an interesting analogue to Philippians iii. 13: 'I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark,' &c. See also below, Chap. V, § 68.]

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have attained to any lesser thing--so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

8. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of sin^[1], full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

9. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

[1. The exact distinction between hiri and ottappa is here explained by Buddhaghosa as follows:

'Hirimanā' ti pāpa-gigukkhana-lakkhanāya hiriyā yuttakittā. 'Ottāpī' ti pāpato, bhaya-lakkhanena ottappena samannāgatā: that is, loathing sin as contrasted with fear of sin. But this is rather a gloss than an exact and exclusive definition. Ahirikā is shamelessness, anottappam forwardness. At Gāt. I, 207 we find hiri described as subjective, and ottappa as objective, modesty of heart as contrasted with decency in outward behaviour.]

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'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

10. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold perception due to earnest thought, that is to say, the perception of impermanency, of non-individuality^[1], of corruption, of the danger of sin, of sanctification, of purity of heart, of Nirvāna, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

11. 'Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

[1. For a further explanation of the meaning of *anattam* see Gotama's second discourse in the Mahā Vagga I, 6: 38-47. Buddhaghosa makes no special comment here on either of the seven perceptions.]

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'So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of action, speech, and thought amongst the saints, both in public and in private--so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with the upright and the holy, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the order, down even to the mere contents of a begging bowl--so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues which (unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished) are productive of freedom[1], and praised by the wise; which are untarnished by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts[2]; and which are conducive to high and holy thoughts--so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving faith which leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it--so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these six conditions shall continue to

[1. Buddhaghosa takes this in a spiritual sense, 'tāni pan' etāni (sīlāni) *tanhā-dāsavyato moketvā bhugissa-bhāva-karanato bhugissāni:*' that is, 'These virtues are *bhugissāni* because they bring one to the state of a free man by delivering him from the slavery of craving.'

2. '*Tanhā-ditthīhi aparāmatthattā, idam nāma tvam āpannapubbo ti kenaki paramatthum asakkuneyyattā ka, 'aparāmatthāni'* (S. V. fol. 116), that is, 'These virtues are called *aparāmatthāni*' because they are untarnished by craving or delusion, and because no one can say of him who practises them, "you have been already guilty of such and such a sin." Craving is here the hope of a future life in heaven, and delusion the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (the two *nissayas*) which are condemned as unworthy inducements to virtue.]

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exist among the brethren so long as they are instructed in these six conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

12. And whilst the Blessed One stayed there at Râgagaha on the Vulture's Peak he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance[1].'

[1. This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have rendered 'earnest contemplation' is *samādhi*, which occupies in the Pāli Pizakas very much the same position as faith does in the New Testament; and this section shows that the relative importance of *samādhi*, *paññā*, and *sīla* played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterwards in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought, or equal succinctness of form.

2. The expression 'set round with' is in Pāli *paribhāvita*, which Dr. Morris holds to be etymologically exactly parallel to our phrase 'perfected by,' on the ground that *facio* is a causal of the Latin representative of the Sanskrit root *bhū*. In the *Ketokhila Sutta* of the *Magghima Nikāya* eggs are said to be *paribhāvītāni* by a brooding hen. Buddhaghosa says simply *sīla-paribhāvito ti ādesu yamhi sīle thatvā magga-samādhim nibbattenti so tena sīlena paribhāvito*. 'The *samādhi* belonging to the (Noble Eightfold) Path is said to be *paribhāvito* by that virtue, in which they (that is, the converted) are steadfast whilst they practise the *samādhi*.'

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13. Now when the Blessed One had sojourned at Râgagaha as long as he pleased, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to *Ambalattikā*.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ānanda in assent, and the Blessed One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to *Ambalattikā*.

14. There the Blessed One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

15. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at *Ambalattikā*, he addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: 'Come, *Ānanda*, let us go on to *Nālandā*.'

'So be it, Lord!' said *Ānanda*, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to *Nālandā*; and there, at *Nālandā*, the Blessed One stayed in the *Pāvārika* mango grove.

16. [1]Now the venerable *Sāriputta* came to the

[1. This conversation is given at length in the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and also in the *Satipatthāna Vagga* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*. I have compressed mere repetitions at the places marked with [] where the preceding clauses are, in the text, repeated in full.]

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place where the Blessed One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side, and said: 'Lord! such faith have I in the Blessed One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether *Samana* or *Brāhman*, who is greater and wiser than the Blessed One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.'

'Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, *Sāriputta*: verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the past have been *Arahat Buddhas*, comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their doctrine, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what salvation they attained to?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'Of course then thou hast perceived all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be *Arahat Buddhas* comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours]?'

Not so, O Lord!'

But at least then, O *Sāriputta*, thou knowest me as the *Arahat Buddha* now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned]!'

'Not even that, O Lord!'

'You see then, *Sāriputta*, that you know not the hearts of the *Arahat Buddhas* of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?'

17. 'O Lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the *Arahat Buddhas* that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage

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of the faith. just, Lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and *toranas*, and with one gate alone; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only friends. And he, on going over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. That might well be. Yet all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, Lord, that I know the lineage of the faith. I know that the *Arahat Buddhas* of the past, putting away all lust, ill-will, sloth, pride, and doubt; knowing all those mental faults which make men weak; training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the *Arahat Buddhas* of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Blessed One, the *Arahat Buddha* of to-day, has [done so] now[1].'

18. There in the Pavārika mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk

[1. The tertium quid of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sāriputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far--after the cross-examination by the Buddha--he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to Buddhahood. The Pāli of 'the full fruition of Enlightenment' is *anuttaram sammāsambodhim*, which might be rendered 'Supreme Buddhahood'.]

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with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

19. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Nālandā, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pātaliḡāma.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pātaliḡāma.

20. [1] Now the disciples at Pātaliḡāma heard of his arrival there, and they went to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest house. And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Then the Pātaliḡāma disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest house, bowing to the Blessed One and keeping him on their right as they past him[2]. On arriving there they made the rest

[1. From this sentence down to the end of the verses at Chap. II, § 3, is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahā Vagga VI, 28, 1, to VI, 29, 2.

2. It would be very rude to have left him otherwise. So in Europe a similar custom is carried still further, persons leaving the royal presence being expected to go out backwards.]

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house fit in every way for occupation[1], placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Blessed One, and bowing, stood beside him, and said: 'All things are ready, Lord! It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. And the Blessed One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Blessed One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pātaliḡāma disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Blessed One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. [2] Then the Blessed One addressed the Pātaliḡāma disciples, and said: 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters--whether of Brāhmins, nobles, heads of houses, or Samanas--

[1. With reference to Oldenberg's note at Mahā Vagga, p. 384, it may be mentioned that Buddhaghosa says here, 'sabba-santharin' ti yathā sabbam santhataṃ yeva. (S. V. fol. te.)

2. The following sentences contain a synopsis of what was merely the elementary righteousness, the Ādi-brahma-kariyam, quite distinct from, and not for a moment to be compared in glory with the Magga-brahma-kariyam, the system developed in the Noble Eightfold Path. It will have been seen above, § 11, that the latter, to be perfect, must be untarnished by the attraction of the hope of heaven or the fear of hell.]

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he enters shyly and confused; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe[1]. This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!

24. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters--whether of nobles, Brāhmins, heads of houses, or members of the order--he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer.'

25. When the Blessed One had thus taught the disciples, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, 'The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.' 'Even so, Lord!' answered the disciples of Pâtaligâma, and they rose from their seats, and bowing to the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Blessed One, not long after the disciples

[1. Four such states are mentioned, apâya, duggati, vinipâto, and nirayo, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgment, it cannot accurately be so rendered.]

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of Pâtaligâma had departed thence, entered into his private chamber.

26. At that time Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pâtaligâma to repel the Vaggians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers.

27. And the Blessed One, with his great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pâtaligâma. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ânanda: 'Who is it then, Ânanda, who is building a fortress at Pâtaligâma?

'Sunîdha and Vassakâra, Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vaggians.'

28. They act, Ânanda, as if they had consulted with the Tāvatisa, angels. [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]: 'And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares. But three dangers will hang over Pâtali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension[1].'

[1. This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist as proving the Buddha's power of prophecy and the authority of the {footnote p. 19} Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied, it is valuable evidence of the age both of the Mahā Vagga and of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta;--evidence, however, that cannot as yet be applied to its full extent, as the time at which Pâtali-gâma had grown into the great and important city of Pâtali-putta is not as yet known with sufficient certainty. The late Burmese tradition on this point given in Bigandet's Legend of the Burmese Buddha, vol. ii, p. 183, can scarcely be depended upon, though it doubtless rests on older documents, and is mentioned also by Hiouen Tshang.

The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called vatthu-vinggā, which Buddhaghosa explains here at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Pāli Pitakas. See, for instance, § 1 of the Mahā-sīlam, translated below in the Teviggā Sutta. The belief is turned to ridicule in the edifying legend, No. 40, in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 326-334.]

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29. Now Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Blessed One:

'May the venerable Gotama do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day.' And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Then when Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes; and informed the Blessed One, saying:

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'The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.'

And the Blessed One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Sunīdha and Vassakāra, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Blessed One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One gave thanks in these verses:--

'Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode
Let him support there good and upright men of self-control.
Let him give gifts to all such deities as may be there.
Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they honour him again;
Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her only son.
And the man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune he beholds[1].'

[1. This passage gives Buddhaghosa a good deal of difficulty, as it apparently inculcates offerings to the gods, which is contrary not only to both the letter and spirit of Buddhism, but also to the practice of Buddhists. He explains away the gifts to the deities by saying they are gifts of merit only (patti)--the giver giving the four necessities to Bhikkhus, and then expressing a wish that the Devatās should share in his *puñña*. I am inclined to think, on the authority of the Deva-dhamma *Gātaka* (No. 9 in 'Buddhist {footnote p. 21} Birth Stories'), that by the deities are here meant the good and upright men of self-control,' mentioned in the previous clause. The verses were perhaps originally non-Buddhistic.]

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32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed him as he went, saying, 'The gate the *Samana* Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate he went out at was called Gotama's gate.

33. But the Blessed One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing[1]; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work[2]. Then the Blessed One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. And the Blessed One beheld the people looking for boats and rafts, and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song:--

'They who cross the ocean drear
Making a solid path across the pools--

[1. *Samatittikā kākapeyyā*. See the note on *Tevigga Sutta* I, 19, translated below, where the same expression occurs.

2. *Ulumpān ti pāram gamanathāya āniyo kottetvā katam; kullān ti valli-ādīhi bandhitvā katābbam*, says Buddhaghosa. The spelling *uumpam* would correspond better to the Sanskrit form *uḍupa*, and has been chosen by Childers in his dictionary, and by Oldenberg in his transliteration of this passage (*Mahā Vagga* VI, 28: 11, 12).]

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Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts-
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed[1]!

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

[1. That is, those who cross the 'ocean drear' of *taṇhā*, or craving; avoiding, by means of the 'dyke' or causeway of the Noble Path, the 'pools' or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion (comp. Dh. v. 91), whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods,--'these are the wise, these are the saved indeed!'

How the metre of the verses in the text fell into the confusion in which it at present stands is not easy to see. One would expect--

Ye visagga pallalāni taranti *annavam saram*
Kullam hi gano bandhati *tinnā medhāvino ganā*.

That a gloss can creep into the text, even in verses, is clear from the indisputable instance at *Gātaka* II, 3 5; and the words *setum katvāna* would have been a very natural gloss had the passage once stood as above. Then supposing that a copyist or reciter had found the words *ye visagga pallalāni setum katvāna taranti annavam saram*, he might have corrected, as he thought, the order of the words so as to avoid any possibility of the words being taken to mean that the *setu*, the solid causeway, was made over the *annavam saram*, the vastly deep, which would be palpably absurd. Buddhaghosa found *setum katvāna* in the text, but it is not possible to tell in what order he found the words. The Turnour MS. of the *Sumangala Vilāsini* has *pabandhati*, but a Ceylon copy of the *Samanta Pāsādikā* confirms the Burmese reading *bandhati* at *Mahā Vagga* VI, 28, 13. I need scarcely say that the translation follows the printed text. We know too little about the history of the Pāli Suttas to be able to do more than make a passing note of such curiosities.

On vanishing away from a place, comp. below, III, 22.]

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CHAPTER II.

Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: 'Come, *Ānanda*, let us go on to *Koṭigāma*.'

'So be it, Lord!' said *Ānanda*, in assent, to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to *Koṭigāma*; and there he stayed in the village itself[1].

2. And at that place the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said 'It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I!'

'And what are these four?'

'The noble truth about sorrow; the noble truth about the cause of sorrow; the noble truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the noble truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these noble truths are grasped and known the craving for existence is rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:

[1. As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or house where the Blessed One stayed; but it is also (in this and one or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds nothing positive to the sense.]

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'BY not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are,
Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth;
When these are grasped, the cause of birth is then removed,
The root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth.'

4. There too, while staying at *Koṭigāma*, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils,--that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

5. Now When the Blessed One had remained as long as was convenient at *Koṭigāma*, he addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: 'Come, *Ānanda*, let us go on to the villages of *Nāḍika*.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed proceeded to the villages of Nāḍika with a great company of the brethren; and there, at Nāḍika, the Blessed One stayed at the Brick Hall[1].

[1. At first Nāḍika is (twice) spoken of in the plural number; but then, thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular. Buddhaghosa {footnote p. 25} explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water. On the public resting-place for travellers, which in this instance bore the proud title of Brick Hall, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 280-285.]

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6. And the venerable Ānanda went to the Blessed One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'The brother named Sāḷha has died at Nāḍika, Lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nandā has died, Lord, at Nāḍika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny?' And in the same terms he enquired concerning the devout Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugâtā, the devout Kakudha, and Kālinga, and Nikata, and Katissabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.

7. 'The brother named Sāḷha, Ānanda, by the destruction of the great evils has by himself, and in this world, known and realised and attained to Arahatsip, and to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nandā, Ānanda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion has become a Sakadâgâmin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout woman Sugâtā, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of final

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salvation[1]. The devout Kakudha, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. So also is the case with Kālinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty, devout men of Nāḍika. More than ninety devout men of Nāḍika, who have died, Ānanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, hatred, and delusion, become Sakadâgâmins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nāḍika who have died, Ānanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of final salvation.

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ānanda, that a human being should die, but that as each one does so you should come to the Buddha, and enquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to the Buddha. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself, "Hell is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."

9. 'What then, Ānanda, is this mirror of truth? It is the consciousness that the elect disciple is in this world possessed of faith in the Buddha--

[1. See 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-110, and below, VI, 9.]

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believing the Blessed One to be the Holy One, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Blessed Buddha. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Truth--believing the truth to have been proclaimed by the Blessed One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Order--believing the multitude of the disciples of the Blessed One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding--believing this church of the Buddha to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to high and holy thought[1].'

10. 'This, Ānanda, is the way, the mirror of truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself: "Hell is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."' "

11. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nāḍika the

[1. See above, §I, 11.]

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Blessed One addressed to the brethren that comprehensive religious discourse on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

12. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Nāḍika, he addressed Ānanda, and said: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Vesāli.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesāli; and there at Vesāli the Blessed One stayed at Ambapāli's grove.

13. Now there the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you.'

14. 'And how does a brother become mindful?'

'Herein, O mendicants, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving--while subject to sensations, let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief arising from the craving--which follows our sensation--and so also

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as he thinks or reasons or feels let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or reasoning, or feeling.'

15. 'And how does a brother become thoughtful?'

'He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in coming out and coming in, in looking and watching, in bending in his arm or stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or carrying his bowl, in eating and drinking, in consuming or tasting, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

'Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you[1].'

[1. This doctrine of being 'mindful and thoughtful'--sato sampagāno--is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pāli Pitakas, and is one of the 'Seven jewels of the Law.' It is fully treated of in each of the Nikāyas, forming the subject of the Mahā Satipatthāna Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and the Satipatthāna Sutta of the Magghima Nikāya, and the Satipatthāna Vaggo of the Samyutta Nikāya, as well as of various passages in the Anguttara Nikāya and of the work called Vibhanga in the Abhidhamma Pitaka. I am glad to learn that Dr. Morris intends to collect and compare all these passages in his forthcoming work on the 'Seven jewels of the Law.' These sections of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and the treatment in the Vibhanga have preserved, in Dr. Morris's opinion, the oldest form of the doctrine. Compare Chap. II, § 34.

Buddhaghosa has no comment here on the subject itself, reserving what he has to say for the comment on the Suttas devoted entirely to it; but he observes in passing that the reason why the Blessed One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being 'mindful and thoughtful,' was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtesan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the phrase sati upatthāpetabbā below, Chap. V, § 13 (text. p. 51), in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation. But see the next note.]

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16. [1] Now the courtesan Ambapāli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesāli, and was staying at her mango grove. And ordering a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and proceeded with her train towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

17. Then she--instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words--addressed the Blessed One, and said:

'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.'

And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapāli the courtesan saw that the Blessed One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she past him, she departed thence.

[1. From this point down to the words 'he rose from his seat,' in § II, 24, is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahā Vagga VI, 30, 1, to VI, 30, 6. But the passage there follows immediately after the verses translated above, § I, 34, so that the events here (in §§ 16-22) localised at Vesāli, are there localised at Kōṭigāma. Our section II, 5 is then inserted between our sections II, 22 and II, 23; and our section II, 12 does not occur at all, the Blessed One only reaching Ambapāli's grove when he goes there (as in our section II, 23) to partake of the meal to which he had been invited. Buddhaghosa passes over this discrepancy in silence.]

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18. Now the *Likkhavis* of Vesāli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesāli, and was staying at Ambapāli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesāli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments: some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

19. And Ambapāli drove up against the young *Likkhavis*, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the *Likkhavis* said to Ambapāli the courtesan, 'How is it, Ambapāli, that thou drivest up against us thus?'

'My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,' said she.

'Ambapāli! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,' said they.

'My Lords, were you to offer all Vesāli with its subject territory,' I would not give up so honourable a feast!'

Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands[2], exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl[3]!' and they went on to Ambapāli's grove.

20. When the Blessed One saw the *Likkhavis*

[1. Sahāran ti sa-ganapadan. (S. V. tau.)

2. *Angulī pothesum*. Childers translates this phrase 'to snap the fingers as a token of pleasure;' but Buddhaghosa says, *angulī pothesun ti angulī kâlesum*. (S. V. tau.)

3. Ambapāli means mango grower, one who looks after mangoes.]

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approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said:

'O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the *Tāvatisa* gods, gaze upon this company of the *Likkhavis*, behold this company of the *Likkhavis*, compare this company of the *Likkhavis*--even as a company of *Tāvatisa* gods[1].'

21. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the *Likkhavis* alighted there, and then went on on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse[2].

22. Then they instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words, addressed the Blessed One, and said, 'May the Blessed One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow?'

'O *Likkhavis*, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapāli the courtesan,' was the reply.

[1. The *Tāvātimsa-devā* are the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. Buddhaghosa says, '*Imam Likkhavi-parisam tumhākam kittaena Tāvātimsa-parisam upasamharatha upanetha alliyāpetha: Yath' eva hi Tāvātimsā abhirūpa pāsādikā nilādināna-vannā evañ k'* ime *Likkhavi-rāgāno pīti. Tāvātimsēhi samake katvā passathā ti attho.*'

2 The *Mâlâlankāra-vatthu* gives the substance of the discourse on this occasion. 'The princes had come in their finest and richest dress; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.'--Bigandet, 2nd ed. p. 260.]

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Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands, exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are outreached by this mango girl!' And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Blessed One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they past him, they departed thence.

23. And at the end of the night Ambapāli the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready!'

And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and took his bowl, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapāli's dwelling house was: and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapāli the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes before the order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

24. And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.' And the Blessed One accepted the gift; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence[1].

[1. Bishop Bigandet says: 'In recording the conversion of a courtesan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Budha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanely speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions--one is almost reminded of {footnote p. 34} the conversion of "a woman that was a sinner," mentioned in the Gospels' (Legend of the Burmese Budha, 2nd ed. p. 258).]

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25. While at Ambapāli's mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the disciples on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

26. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Ambapāli's grove, he addressed Ānanda, and said: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Beluva[1].'

'So be it, Lord,' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

27. Now the Blessed One there addressed the brethren, and said: 'O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesāli, each according to the place where his friends, intimates, and close companions may live, for the rainy season of vassa. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.'

[1. Beluva-gāmako ti Vesāli-samīpe pāda-gāmako, 'a village on a slope at the foot of a hill near Vesāli,' says Buddhaghosa. (S. V. *tau*.)]

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So be it, Lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesāli, each according to the place where his friends or intimates or close companions lived: whilst the Blessed One stayed even there at Beluva.

28. Now when the Blessed One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

29. Then this thought occurred to the Blessed One, 'It would not be right for me to pass away from existence without addressing the disciples, without taking leave of the order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come[1].'

30. And the Blessed One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

31. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover; when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he went out from the monastery, and sat down behind the monastery on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ānanda went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and addressed the

[1. The commentary on *gīvita-saṅkhāram* adhiṭṭhāya vihareyyan is not quite clear, but the general meaning of the words cannot be very different from the version given in the text.]

p. 36 Blessed One, and said: 'I have beheld, Lord, how the Blessed One was in health, and I have beheld how the Blessed One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Blessed One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties were no longer clear[1], yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Blessed One would not pass away from existence until at least he had left instructions as touching the order.'

32. 'What, then, Ānanda? Does the order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine: for in respect of the truths, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back[2]. Surely, Ānanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, "It is I who will lead the brotherhood," or, "The order is dependent upon me," it is he who

[1. Madhuraka-gāto viyā ti saṅgāta-garubhāvo saṅgātattabhāvo (sic) sūle uttāsita-sadiso: na pakkhāyantī ti na pakāsenti nānākāranā na upatthahanti: Dhammā pi mam na pparibhantī ti sati-ppatthānā dhammā mayham pākātā na honti. (S. V. fol. tām.) As the first clause is corrupt, I have translated madhuraka-gāto independently of it. Childers's reading *nam na pparibhanti* is clearly incorrect. My own MS. of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Turnour MS. of the Samyutta Nikāya agree with Buddhaghosa.

2. Na tath' Ānanda Tathāgatassa dhammesu ākariya-mutthi; on which Buddhaghosa says, Ākariya-mutthi (MS. *vutthi*) ti yathā bāhirakānam ākariya-mutthi nāma hoti: daharakāle kassaki akathetvā pakkhima-kāle marana-māñke nipannā piya-manāpassa antevāsikassa kathenti: evam Tathāgatassa idam mahallaka-kāle pakkhima-tthāne kathessāmī ti mutthim (MS. *vutthim*) katvā pariharitvā thapitam kiñki n'atthī ti. (S. V, tām.) Comp. *Gātaka* II, 221, 250.]

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should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the order? I too, O Ānanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can only with much additional care be made to move along, so, methinks, the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going with much additional care[1]. It is only, Ānanda, when

[1. Vegha-missakena, the meaning of which is not clear. The *Mālālanākāra-vatthu*, as rendered by Bigandet, has 'repairs.' The Sumangala Vilāsinī says, Veghamissakenā ti bāha-bandhanakakka-bandhanādīnā patisaṅkharanena veghamissakena; thus giving the same meaning, but in such a way as to throw no light on the derivation of the word. The whole episode from § II, 27 to the end of the chapter occurs also word for word in the Satipatthāna Vagga of the Samyutta Nikāya, and the Burmese Phayre MS. there reads vekhamissakena, as the Burmese MS. does here. My Dīgha Nikāya confirms Childers's reading, which no doubt correctly represents the uniform tradition of the Ceylon MSS. The Sumangala Vilāsinī goes on, māññe ti gara-sakatam viya veghamissakena māññe yāpeti arahatta-phalaveghanena katu-iriyāpatha-kappanam Tathāgatassa hoti nidasseti. Here the reading meggha of the Turnour MS. must be a copyist's slip of the pen for veggha, and vegghanena is no clearer than veghamissakena. On the use of the word missaka at the end of a compound see *Gātaka* II, 8, 420, 433. I have translated on what seems to me the only solution at present possible, namely, that

an initial *a* has been dropt, and that *veghā* or *vekhā* = *avekshā*, 'attention, foresight, care.' In the same way though *avalañgeti* does occur (*Gātaka* I, 111), the more usual form in Pāli, and the only one given by Childers, is *valañgeti*.]

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the Tathāgata, ceasing to attend to any outward thing, or to experience any sensation, becomes plunged in that devout meditation of heart which is concerned with no material object--it is only then that the body of the Tathāgata is at ease.

33. 'Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ānanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

34. 'Herein, O Ānanda, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving--while subject to sensations let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from the sensations--and so, also, as he thinks, or reasons, or feels, let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or to reasoning, or to feeling.

35. 'And whosoever, Ānanda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves--it is they, Ānanda, among my

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bhikkhus, who shall reach the very topmost Height!--but they must be anxious to learn[1].'

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

[1. Tamatagge me te Ānanda bhikkhūbhavissanti yekeki sikkhākāmā. The Burmese MSS. for me te read p'ete, which is a little easier. Buddhaghosa says, Tamatagge ti tamagge. *Magge* takāro padasandhivasena vutto. *Idam vuttam* hoti ime aggamā ime aggamā ti: *evam sabbam tamayogam khinditvā* ativiya agge uttama-bhāve te Ānanda mamam bhikkhū bhavissanti. *Kesam* ati-agge bhavissanti? *Ye keki sikkhākāmā sabbesam te katu-sati-ppatthāna-gokarā* ka bhikkhū agge bhavissanti ti. *Arahatta-tikūtena desanam ganhati*, 'Tamatagge is for tamagge. The t in the middle is used for euphony. This word means, "these are the most pre-eminent, the very chief." Having, as above stated, broken every bond of darkness (tama) those bhikkhus of mine, Ānanda, will be at the very top, in the highest condition. They will be at the very top of whom? Those bhikkhus who are willing to learn, and those who exercise themselves in the four ways of being mindful and thoughtful, they shall be at the top of all (the rest). Thus does he make Arahathship the three-peaked height of his discourse' (compare on this last phrase *Nibbānena desanākūtam ganhati*, *Gātaka* I, 275, 393, 401; and see also I, 114). *Uttama*, the highest (scil. bhāva, condition), is used absolutely of Arahathship or *Nirvāna* at *Gātaka* I, 96; *Aggaphala* occurs in the same sense at *Gātaka* I, 114; and even *Phalagga* at Mah. 102. The last words, 'but they must be anxious to learn,' seem to me to be an after thought. It is only those who are thoroughly determined to work out their own salvation, without looking for safety to any one else, even to the Buddha himself, who will, whilst in the world, enter into and experience *Nirvāna*. But, of course, let there be no mistake, merely to reject the vain baubles of the current superstitious beliefs is not enough. There is plenty to learn and to acquire, of which enough discourse is elsewhere. For *aggamā* in the comment we must read *aggatamā*. If one could read *amatagge* in the text, all difficulty would vanish; but this would be too bold, and neither do I see how the use of *anamatagge* can help us.]

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CHAPTER III.

1^[1]. Now the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesāli for alms, and when he returned he sat down on the seat prepared for him, and after he had finished eating the rice he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Take up the mat, Ānanda; I will go to spend the day at the Kāpāla Ketiya.'

'So be it, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Blessed One.

2. So the Blessed One proceeded to the Kāpāla Ketiya, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ānanda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesāli, and the Udena Ketiya, and the Gotamaka Ketiya, and the Sattambaka Ketiya, and the Bahuputta Ketiya, and the Sārandada Ketiya, and the Kāpāla Ketiya.'

3. 'Ananda! whosoever has thought out, developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi[2], and so

[1. The whole of this passage down to the end of § 10 recurs in the Iddhipada Vagga of the Samyutta Nikaya.

2. Iddhi. The four paths are, 1. Will, 2. effort, 3. thought, and 4. investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against sin. The Iddhi reached by them is supposed in works on Buddhism to be a bodily condition (power of flying, &c.), by which the body rose superior to all the ordinary limitations of {footnote p. 41} matter--a bodily condition corresponding to the mental condition of exaltation and power by which it was reached. On this curiously perverted exaggeration of the real influence of the mind over the body see, further, the translator's Buddhism,' pp. 174-177. Two of the string of participles--yānikatā, which may possibly mean 'made use of as a vehicle,' and susamāradhā, 'most thoroughly ascended up to'--might seem to allude to Iddhi as a power of flying bodily through the air. But the whole set of participles is used elsewhere of conditions of mind highly esteemed among the Buddhists, and incapable of giving support to any such allusion. So, for instance, of universal love (mettā) at Gātaka II, 61.]

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mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought them out, and thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which has yet to run.'

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Blessed One, the venerable Ananda was incapable of comprehending them; and he besought not the Blessed One, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! Live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!' So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One[1].

[1. Yathā tam Mārena pariyutthitakitto. Here tam is the indeclinable particle, yathā tam introducing an explanation. My MS. of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Turnour MS. of the Sumangala Vilasini read parivutthita, and either spelling is correct. The {footnote p. 42} fact is that the y or v in such cases is even less than euphonic; it is an assistance not to the speaker, but merely to the writer. Thus in the Sinhalese duwanawā, 'to run,' the spoken word is duanawā, and the w is written only to avoid the awkward use in the middle of a word of the initial sign for the sound a. That the speakers of Pāli found no difficulty in pronouncing two vowels together is abundantly proved by numerous instances. The writers of Pāli, in those cases in which the second vowel begins a word, use without hesitation the initial sign; but in the middle of the word this would be so ungainly that they naturally prefer to insert a consonantal sign to carry the vowel sign. The varying readings I have pointed out are a strong confirmation of the correctness of the pronunciation of modern native scholars; and we may the more readily adopt it as the question is not really one concerning the pronunciation of Pāli, but concerning the use which modern native copyists make of their own alphabet. I would pronounce therefore pari-utthita-kitto.]

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5. A second and a third time did the Blessed One [say the same thing, and a second and a third time was Ananda's heart thus hardened].

6. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda and said: 'You may leave me, Ananda, awhile, and do whatever seemeth to thee fit.'

'So be it, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed, and rising from his seat he saluted the Blessed One, and passing him on the right, sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ananda had been gone, Māra, the Evil One, approached the Blessed One, and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Blessed One in these words:

'Pass away now, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die. Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away--even according to the

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word which the Blessed One spoke: when he said[1]: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex[2] shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts--until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear--until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonderworking truth abroad!"

8. 'And now, Lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to

do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away-even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, widespread, and popular in all its full extent--until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed to men," And now, Lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from

[1. The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha, after he had been enjoying the first bliss of Nirvāna, under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 109-111). The Evil One then also tempted him to die (see below, paragraph III, 43), and this was his reply.

2. The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, for each of these classes of persons.]

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existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away!"

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One addressed Māra, the Evil One, and said: 'O Evil One! make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die!'

10. Thus the Blessed One while at the Kāpāla Ketiya deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life. And on his so rejecting, it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Blessed One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation:

'His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small;
With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause!'

11. Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ānanda: 'Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?'

12. Then the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Blessed One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said: 'Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of

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heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?'

13. 'Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ānanda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight? This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

14. 'Again, Ānanda, a Samāna or a Brāhman of great (intellectual) power, arid who has the feelings of his heart well under his control; or a god or fairy (devatā[1]) of great might and power,--when such a

[1. Devatā is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Buddhist ideas, of the spirit world. It includes gods of all sorts; tree and river nymphs; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' Tale No. 40); spirits in the ground (see above, § I, 26); the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries; and many other similar beings. 'Celestial being' would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above (§ I, 26). 'Superhuman being' would be an inaccurate rendering; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. 'Spirit' being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties--none of which are included under devatā--would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pāli word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class {footnote p. 46} more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of devatās being referred to, and there being, no word in English for them all, I have ventured to put the word devatā into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.]

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one by intense meditation of the finite idea of earth or the infinite idea of water (has succeeded in realising the comparative value of things[1]) he can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently. These are the second causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his temporary form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake[2].

[1. Yassa parittā *pathavi-sañña* bhāvitā hoti appamānā āposañña, on which Buddhaghosa says simply, Parittā ti dubbalā: appamānā ti balavā, and then goes on, as a note to *kampeti*, to tell a long story how Sangharakkhita Sāmaṇera, the nephew of Nāga Thera, attained Arahatship on the day of his admission to the order; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said in Matthew xxi. 21 to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings; and the train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated. There is much about it in the Mahā Padhāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, where Chap. III, §§ 11-20 recur.

2. The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have {footnote p. 47} gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamt that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' (pp. 62-64), and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. The sacred event is also one of those represented on the ancient bas-reliefs round the Bharhut Thūpa, a full description of which will be found in General Cunningham's most interesting work, 'The Stupa of Bharhut.' General Cunningham says of the description placed above this sculpture: 'Above it in large characters is inscribed Bhagavato rūkdanta, which may perhaps be translated, "Buddha as the sounding elephant," from ru, to sound, to make a particular sort of sound.' Now the first word of the inscription is in the genitive case, so that if the second word could mean an elephant, the whole would signify, 'The Buddha's, elephant.' But the characters which General Cunningham reads rūkdanta are, I venture to suggest, okkanti (? ūkkanti); and the inscription simply says, 'The descent of the blessed One.' As I have pointed out in 'Buddhism' (p. 184), the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Hindus have striven to embellish the life story of the Teacher whose followers they had become. In the Lalita Vistara. (Calc. ed. p. 63) the entrance of the elephant into Māyā precedes the dream; but though the ignorant may have therefore accepted it as a fact, it is of course only a figure of speech--and I venture to think from the Hindu standpoint, a beautiful figure of speech--to express the incarnation of divine mildness and majesty in a human form. The use of such a figure is not confined to India. In the earliest of the Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the incarnation of the divine gentleness and love is expressed by saying that a dove from heaven 'entered into' the human form.]

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16. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Again, Ānanda,' when a Tathāgata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. p. 48 This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata passes entirely away with that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ānanda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight[1]? Assemblies of nobles, Brāhmanas, householders, and Samanas, and the angel hosts of the Guardian Angels, the Great Thirty-Three, Māra, and Brahma.

22. 'Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse

[1. The connection, or rather want of connection, between this and the last paragraph seems to me to be very suggestive as to the way in which the Sutta

was composed. The narrative is resumed at paragraph III, 43. On vanishing away, comp. 1, 33.]

p. 49 I used to instruct, incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say, "Who may this be who thus speaks? a man or a god?" Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away; and would say, "Who may this be who has thus vanished away? a man or a god?"

23. [And in the same words the Blessed One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight assemblies.'

24. 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight positions of mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things^[1]]. What are the eight?'

[1. Abhibhāyatanī ti abhibhavanakāraṇāni. Kim abhibhavanti? Pakkanīka-dhamme pi ārammanāni pi: tāni hi patipakkha-bhāvena pakkanika-dhamme abhibhavanti puggalassa ñānuttaritāya ārammanāni, says Buddhaghosa. (Sum. Vil. thī.)

This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief as to the long-vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance, and the whole argument is also expressed in another form in the {footnote p. 50} passage on the nine successive 'Cessations,' of which an abstract will be found in Childers, sub voce nirodha.

The two lists have been translated and commented upon by Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 543, 824-832), who took the texts from the Mahānidāna Sutta and the Sangīti Sutta respectively. The former has been reprinted in Grimblot's Sept Suttas Pālis, where the passage will be found at pp. 261, 262. I regret that in my interpretation I have been compelled to differ so greatly from Burnouf. Though I have devoted much care and time to the subject, I do not suppose that I have understood it better than he did. We cannot hope to get to the bottom of what these old Buddhists thought about matter and mind from such curt lists as these.]

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25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees--this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them is conscious that he knows and sees--this is the second position of mastery.

27. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees--this is the third position of mastery.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees--this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms that are blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,--just, for

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instance, as the Ummā flower is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares which, on whichever side you look at it, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,--when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees--that is the fifth position of mastery.'

.32. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue; and the Kanikāra flower, the Bandhu-gīvaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the Ummā flower, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. 'Now these stages of deliverance, Ānanda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms^[1]], are eight in number. Which are the eight?
34. 'A man possessed with the idea of form sees forms--this is the first stage of deliverance.
35. 'Without the subjective idea of form, he sees forms externally--this is the second stage of deliverance.
- [1. These are the *Attha* Vimokkhā. Buddhaghosa has no comment upon them; merely saying, 'The passage on the Vimokkhas is easy to understand'--which is tantalizing. The last five Vimokkhas occur again below, in Chap. VI, §§ 11-13, where it is clear that they are used to express the progress through deep meditation, into absent-mindedness, abstraction, and being sunk in thought, until finally the thinker falls into actual trance.]
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36. 'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent (upon what he sees)--this is the third stage of deliverance.
37. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of resistance, by paying no attention to the idea of distinction, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present--this is the fourth stage of deliverance.
38. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present--this is the fifth stage of deliverance.
39. 'By passing quite beyond the mere consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking "nothing at all exists," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present--this is the sixth stage of deliverance.
40. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present--this is the seventh stage of deliverance.
41. 'By passing quite beyond the state of "neither ideas nor the absence of ideas" he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be--this is the eighth stage of deliverance.
42. 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight stages of deliverance.

43. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was resting under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the

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river Nerañgarā immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Māra, the Evil One, came, Ānanda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words: "Pass away now, Lord, from existence! Let the Blessed One now die! Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away!"

44. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I addressed Māra, the Evil One, and said: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until not only the brethren and sisters of the order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts--until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear--until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"
45. "'I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent--until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men!"
46. 'And now again to-day, Ānanda, at the Kāpāla Ketiya, Mara, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].
47. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I answered him and said: "Make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathāgata shall take place

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before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die!"

48. 'Thus, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has now to-day at the Kāpāla Ketiya consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.'

49. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!'

50. 'Enough now, Ānanda, beseech not the Tathāgata!' was the reply. 'The time for making such request is past.'

51. And again, the second time, the venerable Ānanda besought the Blessed One [in the same words. And he received from the Blessed One the same reply].

52. And again, the third time, the venerable Ānanda besought the Blessed One [in the same words].

53. 'Hast thou faith, Ānanda, in the wisdom of the Tathāgata?'

'Even so, Lord!'

'Now why, then, Ānanda, dost thou trouble the Tathāgata even until the third time?'

54. 'From his own mouth have I heard from the Blessed One, from his own mouth have I received this saying, "Whosoever has thought out, Ānanda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as

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a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification--he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

55. 'Hast thou faith, Ānanda?'

'Even so, Lord!'

'Then, O Ānanda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence--in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying, "Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!'

56. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling at Rāgagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now there, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant a spot, Ānanda, is Rāgagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture's Peak. Whosoever has thought out, Ānanda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification--he, should he

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desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying, "Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!'

57. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling at that same Rāgagaha in the Banyan Grove--on one occasion at that same

Râgagaha at the Robbers' Cliff--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Sîtavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasondika--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Tapoda Grove--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in Gîvaka's Mango Grove--on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakukki.'

58. 'Now there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Râgagaha; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak; how pleasant the

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Banyan tree of Gotama; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili; how pleasant the mountain cave Sappasondika in the Sîtavana Grove; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove; how pleasant Gîvaka's Mango Grove; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakukki!

59. "'Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification--he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

60. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was residing here at Vesâli at the Udena Ketiya. And there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Vesâli; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification--he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised

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them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

61. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling here at Vesâli at the Gotamaka Ketiya--on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sattamba Ketiya--on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Bahuputta Ketiya--on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sârândada Ketiya [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ânanda, in the same words].

62. 'And now to-day, Ânanda, at the Kâpâla Ketiya, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Vesâli; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya; how pleasant the Gotamaka Ketiya; how pleasant the Sattamba Ketiya; how pleasant the Bahuputta Ketiya; how pleasant the Sârândada Ketiya. Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification--he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thought and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run."

63. 'But now, Ânanda, have I not formerly[1] declared

[1. That *paṭigakk' eva* means 'formerly, already' is clear from Mahā Vagga I, 7, 1; X, 2, 3, though its derivation would seem to render the meaning 'frequently, recurringly' more natural. The {footnote p. 59} phrase occurs pretty often. Trenckner (*milinda-pañham*, p. 422) proposes a correction into *paṭikakk' eva*. Paluggṇī just below is noteworthy as an unusual contraction of *palugge iti*.]

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to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Ânanda, can this be possible--whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution--how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! And this mortal being, Ânanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathâgata. The remaining sum of life has been surrendered by him. Verily, the

word has gone forth from the Tathāgata, saying, "The final extinction of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die!" That the Tathāgata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying--this can no wise be[1]!

64. 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to the Kūtāgāra Hall, to the Mahāvana.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with Ānanda

[1. I do not understand the connection of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition and certainly the latter utterance of the two is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other sayings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pāli Piṭakas.]

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with him, to the Mahāvana to the Kūtāgāra Hall: and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:

'Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesāli.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesāli, he went to the Blessed One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Blessed One, and said:

'Lord! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Blessed One do even as seemeth to him fit.'

65. Then the Blessed One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said:

'Therefore, O brethren--ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me--having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!

'Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order

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that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?'

They are these:

- The four earnest meditations.
- The fourfold great struggle against sin.
- The four roads to saintship.
- The five moral powers.
- The five organs of spiritual sense.
- The seven kinds of wisdom, and
- The noble eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!

66. And the Blessed One exhorted the brethren, and said:

'Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying, "All component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathagata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!"

'My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close:
I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone!
Be earnest then, O brethren! holy, full of thought! ^{p. 62}
Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth and law[1],
Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief.'

End of the Third Portion for Recitation

[1. Dhamma and vinaya. The Buddhist religion, as just summarised, and the regulations of the order.

2 It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time when death was so near at hand, is reported to have lain such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms--such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on--afterwards were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Pali ones. To attempt more would demand a treatise rather than a note, and it has given me peculiar pleasure to learn, as these sheets are passing through the press, that my friend Dr. Morris intends to devote a book to the treatment of these seven 'Jewels of the Law,' as the *Kulla Vagga* calls them (IX, 1, 4), which form, when united, the bright diadem of *Nirvana*.

The four Earnest Meditations (*kattaro Satipatthana*) are--

1. Meditation on the body.
2. Meditation on the sensations.
3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

{footnote p. 63}

The fourfold Great Struggle against sin is divided into *kattaro Samappadhana*, which are--

1. The struggle to prevent sinfulness arising.
2. The struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which *Iddhi* (see above, § 3, note) is to be acquired. They are the *Kattaro Iddhipada*:

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

The five moral powers (*pañca Balani*) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (*Indriyani*). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference of name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven *Ratanas* of a *Kakkavatti*?

The details of both classes are--

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation. 5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom (*satta Bogghanga*) are--

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation (of scripture). 5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Noble Eightfold Path (ariyo *atthangiko* Maggo) forms the subject of the Dhamma-*kakka*-ppavattana-Sutta, translated in this volume, and consists of--

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct. 5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing. 7. Intellectual activity. 8. Earnest thought.]

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CHAPTER IV.

1. Now the Blessed One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesāli for alms: and when he had passed through Vesāli, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesāli with an elephant look[1] and addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'This will be the last time, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata will behold Vesāli. Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Bhandā-gāma.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Bhandā-gāma; and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

2. There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It is through not understanding and grasping four truths[2], O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration--both you and I.'

'And what are these four? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realised and known, when noble meditation is realised and known, when noble wisdom is realised and known, when noble

[1. *Nāgāpalokitam* Vesāliyam apaloketvā. The Buddhas were accustomed, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backwards to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men!

2. Or Conditions (Dhammā). They must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the better known Four Noble Truths (*Sakkāni*) above, Chap. II, § 2.]

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freedom is realised and known--then is the craving for existence rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth.'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the teacher said[1]:

'Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime--
These are the truths realised by Gotama, far-renowned.
Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.
The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, must die!'

4. There too, while staying at Bhandā-gāma, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation.

[1. This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, paragraph 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved. The last word means, completely gone out; and here refers to the extinction of kilesa and *tazhā*, which will bring about, inevitably, the extinction of being. Compare the passage quoted by Burnouf in *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 376. Probably the whole stanza formerly stood in some other connection, where the word *parinibbuto* had its more usual sense. See Buddhaghosa's note on IV, 23.]

p. 66 The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils--that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhandā-gāma as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Hatthi-gāma.'

Even so, Lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Hatthi-gāma.

6. [And in similar words it is then related how the Blessed One went on to Amba-gāma, to Gambu-gāma, and to Bhoga-nagara.]

7. Now there at Bhoga-nagara the Blessed One stayed at the Ānanda Ketiya.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great References[1]. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the brethren, in assent[2], to

[1. The meaning of mahāpadesa is not quite clear. Perhaps it should be rendered true authorities. I have followed Buddhaghosa in taking apadesa as the last part of the compound. He says, mahāpadesā ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahākaraṇāni ti atho, 'the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men.'

2. I ought perhaps to have explained why I have ventured to differ from Childers in the rendering of the common word *pari-suzāti*. The root *sru* seems to have meant 'to sound' before it meant 'to hear,' and, whether this be so or not, *pari-suzāti* means not simply 'to consent,' but 'to answer (assentingly).' It {footnote p. 67} has been pointed out to me that answer was formerly 'and-swerian,' where swerian is probably not unrelated to the root *svar*, 'to sound.'

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the Blessed One, and the Blessed One spoke as follows:

8. 'In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus: "From the mouth of the Blessed One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order[1]. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother?" Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Reference.

9. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard,

[1. Sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni, where one would expect to find the word *Piraka* if it had been in use when this passage was first written or composed.]

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face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren." This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Reference.

10. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and

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compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by those elders." This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Reference.

11. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say, "In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture

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and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Reference.'

'These, brethren, are the Four Great References.'

12. There, too, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils--that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gâma, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Pâvâ.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pâvâ.

And there at Pâvâ the Blessed One stayed at the Mango Grove of Kunda, who was by family a smith.

14. Now Kunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Blessed One had come to Pâvâ, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

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And Kunda, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.'

And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Then seeing that the Blessed One had consented, Kunda, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

17. Now at the end of the night, Kunda, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a

quantity of dried boar's flesh. And he announced the hour to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready.'

18. And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Kunda, the worker in metals. When he had come thither he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed Kunda, the worker in metals, and said: 'As to the dried boar's flesh you have made ready, serve me with it, Kunda; and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.'

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'Even so, Lord!' said Kunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the dried boar's flesh he had made ready he served to the Blessed One; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the order.

19. Now the Blessed One addressed Kunda, the worker in metals, and said: 'Whatever dried boar's flesh, Kunda, is left over to thee, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Kunda, on earth nor in Māra's heaven, nor in Brahma's heaven, no one among Samanas and Brāhmaṇas, among gods and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathāgata.'

'Even so, Lord!' said Kunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.

20. And he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Kunda, the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Blessed One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

21. Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Kunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

22. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Kusinârâ.'

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'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

23. When he had eaten Kunda's food,
The copper-smith's--thus have I heard--
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death!

And from the dried flesh of the boar, as soon as he had eaten it,
There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
Then after nature was relieved the Blessed One announced and said:
I now am going on to Kusinârâ[1].'

24. Now the Blessed One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Fold, I pray you, Ānanda, the robe; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ānanda, and must rest awhile!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

25. And the Blessed One seated himself on the seat prepared for him; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

26. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'But just now,

[1. 'It should be understood,' says Buddhaghosa, 'that these are verses by the Theras who held the council.' And he repeats this at §§ 52, 56.]

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Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakutthā, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs[1].'

27. Again the second time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

28. And again the second time the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakutthā, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

29. Again the third time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

30. 'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ānanda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

[1. *Akkhodikā* ti pasannodikā: sātodikā ti madhurodhikā sītītodika ti tanu-sītala-salilā: setakā ti nikkaddamā: supatitthā ti sundara-titthā. (S.V. *thri.*) Comp. IV, 56.]

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31. Then Ānanda thought: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathāgata! For this Streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

32. And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Blessed One; and when he had come where the Blessed One was he said to him: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathāgata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Blessed One drink the water! Let the Happy One drink the water!'

Then the Blessed One drank of the water.

33. Now at that time a man named Pukkusa[1] a young Mallian, a disciple of Ālāra Kālāma's, was passing along the high road from Kusināra to Pāvā.

34. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Blessed One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated

[1. The Pukkusa caste was one of the lower castes of Sūdras. Compare Assālayana Sutta (Pischel), pp. 13, 35; Burnouf's 'Introduction,' &c., pp. 144, 208; Lalita Vistara XXI, 17. But Buddhaghosa says Pukkusa must here be simply a name, as the Mallas were of the Khattiya caste. He adds that this Pukkusa was the owner of the five hundred carts that had just passed by; and that Ālāra Kālāma was called Ālāra because he was Dīgha-pīṅgalo, Kālāma being his family name.]

p. 76 Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!'

35. 'Formerly, Lord, Ālāra Kālāma a was once walking along the high road; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, Lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Ālāra Kālāma. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Ālāra Kālāma, was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Ālāra Kālāma:

""But, Lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by?""

""No, indeed, sir, I saw them not.""

"But, Lord, did you hear the sound of them?"

"No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound."

"But, Lord, were you then asleep?"

"No, sir, I was not asleep."

"But, Lord, were you then conscious?"

"Yes, I was conscious, sir."

"So that you, Lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, Lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them!"

"It is even so, sir."

36. 'Then thought that man: "How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake,

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neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him."

'And after giving utterance to his deep faith in *Â/âra Kâlâma*, he departed thence.'

37. 'Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with--that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,--or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing?'

38. 'What in comparison, Lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts. That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.'

39. 'Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at *Âtumâ*, and was at the Threshing-floor[1]. And at that time the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from *Âtumâ*, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.

[1. *Bhusâgâre ti kha/u-sâlâyam. (S. V. thri.)*]

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40. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side.

41. 'And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man:

"Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together?"

"But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, Lord, were you?"

"I, sir, have been here all the while."

"But, Lord, did you see it?"

"I, sir, saw nothing."

"But, Lord, did you hear it?"

"I, sir, heard nothing."

"Were you then, Lord, asleep?"

"I, sir, was not asleep."

"Were you then conscious, Lord?"

"Even so, sir."

"So that you, Lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing."

"That is so, sir."

42. Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man:

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"How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!--so that a man being conscious and awake neither sees nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing." And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me with the customary demonstrations of respect.'

43. And when he had thus spoken Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words: 'Now I, Lord, as to the faith that I had in Ârâ Kâlâma, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, Lord, 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 even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures[1]!'

[1. This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of those argumentative dialogues by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained. See below, V, 50.]

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44. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.'

'So be it, sir!' said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

45. And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Blessed One, saying, 'Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Blessed One show me favour and accept it at my hands!'

'In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ânanda in one.'

'Even so, Lord!' said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Blessed One; and in one he robed the Blessed One, and in one, Ânanda.

46. Then the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One; and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

47. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had Ānanda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Blessed One, and when it was so

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placed on the body of the Blessed One it appeared to have lost its splendour[1]!

48. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Blessed One should be so clear, so exceeding bright! For when I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Blessed One, lo! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour!'

49. 'It is even so, Ānanda. Ānanda, there: are two occasions on which the colour of the skin of a Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two?'

50. 'On the night, Ānanda, on which a Tathāgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain--on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

51. 'And now this day, Ānanda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinārā, in the Sāla Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sāla

[1. 'The commentator says, *Bhagavato kāyam upanāmitan ti nivāsana-pārūpana-vasena alliyāpitam: Bhagavā pi tato ekam nivāsesi ekam pārūpi. Vitakkikam* (MS. *kkh*) *viyā ti yathā* (MS. *tathā*) *vitakkiko angāro antanten' eva gofīti bahi pan' assa pabhā n' atthi, evam bahi pakkhinna-* (MS. *pakkhinna-*) *pabhā hutvā khāyatī ti.* My MS. of the text reads *vitāsikam* (as did Yātrāmulle's MS. here, and one MS. of Fausböll's at *Gātaka* I, 153, 154). There the word is used of embers in which food is cooked, without flame, ' = glowing, smoldering.' *Vitakkhikā*, 'an eruption on the skin,' belongs to the root *kark*.]

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trees, the utter passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Come, Ānanda! let us go on to the river Kakutthā.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

52. The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in colour like to gold[1]!

53. Now the Blessed One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakutthā; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

54. And when he was come there he addressed the venerable Kundaka, and said: 'Fold, I pray you, Kundaka, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, Kundaka, and would lie down.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Kundaka, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

[1. We have here the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ānanda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels. The *Mālānkāra-vatthu*, for instance, says, 'His body appeared shining like a flame. Ānanda was exceedingly surprised. Nothing of this kind had, as yet, happened. "Your exterior appearance," said he to Budha, "is all at once white, shining, and beautiful above all expression." "What you say, O Ānanda, is perfectly true. There are two occasions [&c., much as above]. The shining light emanating from my body is a certain forerunner of this great event [his Parinibbāna].']

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55. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other; and calm and self-possessed, he meditated on the idea of rising up again in due time. And the venerable Kundaka seated himself there in front of the Blessed One.

56. The Buddha to Kakutthā's river came,
 Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow,
 He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
 The Buddha without equal in the world!
 When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
 Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
 The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
 The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
 There spake he to the brother *Kundaka*:
 'Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.'
 Cheered by the Holy One, he quickly spread
 The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
 The Master laid him down, wearied and worn;
 And there, before him, *Kunda* took his seat.

57. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: 'Now it may happen, *Ānanda*, that some one should stir up remorse in *Kunda* the smith, by saying, "This is evil to thee, *Kunda*, and loss to thee in that when the Tathāgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died." Any such remorse, *Ānanda*, in *Kunda* the smith should be checked by saying, "This is good to thee, *Kunda*, and gain to thee, in that when

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the Tathāgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Blessed One, *Kunda*, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying, 'These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other--and which are the two? The offering of food which, when a Tathāgata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathāgata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind--these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by *Kunda* the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.'" In this way, *Ānanda*, should be checked any remorse in *Kunda* the smith.'

58. Then the Blessed One perceiving how the matter stood, uttered, even at that time, this hymn of exultation:

To him who gives shall virtue be increased;
 In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise;
 The righteous man casts off all sinfulness,
 And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
 And all delusion, doth to Nirvāna reach!

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing the Episode of *Ālāra*.

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CHAPTER V.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: 'Come, *Ānanda*, let us go on to the *Sāla* Grove of the *Mallas*, the *Upavattana* of *Kusinārā*, on the further side of the river *Hiranyavatī*.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable *Ānanda*, in assent, to the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the *Sāla* Grove of the *Mallas*, the *Upavattana* of *Kusinārā*, on the further side of the river *Hiranyavatī*: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said:

"Spread over for me, I pray you, *Ānanda*, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin *Sāla* trees[1]. I am weary,

Ānanda, and would lie down.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he spread a

[1. According to the commentator 'tradition says that there was a row of Sāla trees at the head (sīsa) of that couch (*mañka*), and another at its foot, one young Sāla tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sāla trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the (periodically elected) rāga of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Blessed One asked Ānanda to make ready.' There is no further explanation of the term *uttara-sīsakam*, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighbouring republic, but available at other times for passers by.]

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covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

4. Now at that time the twin Sāla trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season[1]; and all over the body of the Tathāgata these dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'The twin Sāla trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathāgata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence

[1. *Sabbaphālipullā ti sabbe samantato pupphitā mūlato patthāya yāva aggā ekakkhannā ahesum.* (S.V. *thlu.*) Compare *ekaphālipullam vanam* at *Gātaka I, 52.*]

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for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

6. 'Now it is not thus, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata is rightly honoured, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts--it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathāgata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts; and thus, Ānanda, should it be taught.'

7. Now at that time the venerable Upāvāna was standing in front of the Blessed One, fanning him. And the Blessed One was not pleased with Upāvāna, and he said to him: 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!'

8. Then this thought sprung up in the mind of the venerable Ānanda: 'The venerable Upāvāna has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upāvāna, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upāvāna, and speaks thus with him?'

9. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'The venerable Upāvāna has long

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been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upāvāna, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upāvāna, and speaks thus with him?'

10. 'In great numbers, Ānanda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathāgata. For

twelve leagues, Ânanda, around the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits[1]. And the spirits, Ânanda, are murmuring, and say, "From afar have we come to behold the Tathâgata. Few and far between are the Tathâgatas, the Arahata Buddhas who appear in the world: and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathâgata will take place; and this eminent brother stands in

[1. Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (devatâyo) could stand âragga-kori-nittûdana- (MS. nittaddana-) matte pi, 'on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet,' without inconveniencing one another (*aññam aññam avyâbâdhenti*). It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in Chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

There is no comment on nittûdana, but there can be little doubt that Childers's conjectural reading is correct.]

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front of the Tathâgata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathâgata;" thus, Ânanda, do the spirits murmur.'

11. 'But of what kind of spirits is the Blessed One thinking?'

12. 'There are spirits, Ânanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away[1]!"'

13. 'There are spirits, too, Ânanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight!"'

14. 'But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, "Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and

[1. *Kakkumloke antaradhâyissati*, on which there is no comment. It is literally, 'the Eye in the world will vanish away,' where Eye is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word Light. The Master is often called *Kakkhumâ*, 'He with the Eye,' 'He of the spiritual Eye' (see, for instance, the last verses in this Sutta), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.]

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organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution--how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!"^[1]

15. 'In times past, Lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathâgata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One. But, Lord, after the end of the Blessed One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One.'

16. 'There are these four places, Ânanda, which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe. Which are the four?'

17. 'The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathâgata was born!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

18. 'The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathâgata, attained to the supreme and perfect insight!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

19. 'The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathâgata!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

20. 'The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathāgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

[1. The words in brackets have been inserted from par. III, 63 above. See par. VI, 39 below.]

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21. 'And there will come, Ānanda, to such spots, believers, brethren and sisters of the order. or devout men and devout women, and will say, "Here was the Tathāgata born!" or, "Here did the Tathāgata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!" or, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata!" or, "Here the Tathāgata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!"

22. 'And they, Ānanda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

23. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind?'

'Don't see them, Ānanda.'

'But if we should see them, what are we to do?'

'Abstain from speech, Ānanda.'

'But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?'

'Keep wide awake, Ānanda.'

24. 'What are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata?'

'Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the Brāhmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.'

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25.^[1] 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda, should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings[2]?'

26. 'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ānanda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool[3]. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,--and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron[4], and cover that close up with another

[1. This conversation occurs also below (VI, 33), and the older tradition probably had it only in that connection.

2. King of kings is an inadequate rendering of *Kakkavatti Rāgā*. It is a king whose power no other king can dispute, who is the acknowledged overlord in India. The idea can scarcely have existed before *Kandragupta*, the first *Kakravarti*, had raised himself to power. This passage, therefore, is a guide to the date at which the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* assumed its present form.

3. 'Vihatena kappāsenā ti suphoṭitena kappāsenā: Kāsika-vattham hi sukhumattā telam na ganhati, tasmā vihatena kappāsenā ti āha. 'As Benāres cloth, by reason of its fineness of texture, does not take the oil, he therefore says, "with vihatā cotton wool," that is, with cotton wool that has been well forced asunder.' That *phoṭita* is here the participle of the causal verb, and not of the simple verb, follows of necessity from its being used as an explanation of *vihata*, 'torn to pieces.' The technical use of the word, as applied to cotton wool, has only been found in this passage. It usually means 'torn with grief.'

4. *Āyasāya tela-doniyā*, where one would expect *āyasāya*, but my MS. of the *Dīgha Nikāya* confirms twice over here, and twice again below, § VI, 33, 35, the reading given by Childers. *Buddhaghosa* says, *Āyasan ti suvannam, suvannamhi idha āyasan ti adhippeto*, but here again we should expect the

second time to find ayo or ayasam. The meaning of the word is also not {footnote p. 93} quite clear. It no doubt was originally used for bronze, and only later for iron also, and at last exclusively of iron. As kamsa is already a common word for bronze in very early Buddhist Pāli texts, I think āyasa or ayasa must here mean 'of iron.' When Buddhaghosa says it is here a name for gold, we can only conclude that iron had become, in his time, a metal which he might fairly consider too base for the purpose proposed.]

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oil vessel of iron[1]. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a dāgaba[2] to the king of kings. This, Ānanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda, should they treat the remains of the Tathāgata. At the four cross roads a dāgaba should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart--that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

27. 'These men, Ānanda, worthy of a dāgaba[2], are four in number. Which are the four?'

'A Tathāgata, or Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a dāgaba. A Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a dāgaba[3].

[1. Buddhaghosa has no note on patikuggetvā; but from its use at Gātaka I, 50, 29: 69, 23, it must, I think, have this meaning. I am not certain to what root it ought to be referred. I should mention that pakkhipati seems to me never to mean in Pāli, 'to hurl forth into, to throw forth,' but always 'to place (slowly and carefully) into.'

2. A solid mound or tumulus, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed. The dome of St. Paul's as seen from the Thames Embankment gives a very good idea of one of the later Buddhist dāgabās. The Pāli word here and below is Thūpa.

3. A Pakkeka-Buddha, who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.]

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A true hearer of the Tathāgata is worthy of a dāgaba. A king of kings is worthy of a dāgaba.

28. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a Tathāgata, an Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a dāgaba?'

'At the thought, Ānanda, "This is the dāgaba of that Blessed One, of that Arahāt-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a Tathāgata, an Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a dāgaba.

29. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a Pakkeka-Buddha worthy of a dāgaba?'

'At the thought, Ānanda, "This is the dāgaba of that Blessed One, of that Pakkeka-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a dāgaba.

30. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a dāgaba?'

'At the thought, Ānanda, "This is the dāgaba of that true hearer of the Blessed Arahāt-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a true

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hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a dāgaba.

31. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a king of kings worthy of a dāgaba?'

'At the thought, Ānanda, "This is the dāgaba of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a king of kings is

worthy of a dāgaba.

'These four, Ānanda, are the persons worthy of a dāgaba.'

32. 'Now the venerable Ānanda went into the Vihāra, and stood leaning against the lintel of the door[1], and weeping at the thought: "Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection[2]. And the Master is about to pass away from me--he who is so kind!"'

33. Now the Blessed One called the brethren, and said: 'Where, then, brethren, is Ānanda?'

The venerable Ānanda, Lord, has gone into the

[1. *Kapisīsam*. Buddhaghosa says, *Kapisīsakan ti dvāra-bāha-kotiyam thitam aggala-rukham*, 'a piece of wood fixed as a bolt at the top of the door posts.' The Sanskrit lexicographers give *kapi-sīrsha* in the sense of 'coping of a wall.' Compare *Pātimokkha*, *Pākittiya*, No. 19.

The expression that Ānanda went 'into the Vihāra' at the end of a conversation represented as having taken place in the Sāla Grove, would seem to point to the fact that this episode originally stood in some other connection. Buddhaghosa attempts to explain away the discrepancy by saying that Vihāra here means *Mandala*.

2 Ānanda had entered the Noble Path, but had not yet reached the end of it. He had not attained to *Nirvāna*.]

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Vihāra, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me--he who is so kind!'

34. And the Blessed One called a certain brother, and said: 'Go now, brother, and call Ānanda in my name, and say, "Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee."'

'Even so, Lord!' said that brother, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ānanda Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee.'

'Very well, brother,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda, as he sat there by his side: 'Enough, Ānanda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ānanda, can this be possible--whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution--how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all

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measure. For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies[1], and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ānanda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the great evils--from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance[2]!'

36.^[3] Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Whosoever, brethren, have been Arahāt-Buddhas through the long ages of the past, there were servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ānanda has been to me. And whosoever, brethren, shall be Arahāt-Buddhas in the long ages of the future, there shall be servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ānanda has been to me.'

37. 'He is a wise man, brethren,--is Ānanda.'

[1. *Advayena*, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or

the absence of the object loved. When the Buddha is called in the Amara Kosha I, 1, 1, 9, *advayavādin*, that must mean in a similar way, 'One whose teaching does not vary.'

2. Literally, thou shalt become an *Anāsava*, that is, one who is free from the four *Āsavas*, all which are explained above in § I, 12, from which I have taken the details suggested to a Buddhist by the word used. The state of mind to which an *Anāsava* has reached is precisely the same, though looked at from a different point of view, as the state of mind expressed by the better known word *Nirvāna*.

3. What follows is repeated in the *Satipathāna Vagga* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*; but in regard to *Sāriputta* (*Upatissa*) and *Moggallāna*, and reading *sāvaka-yugam* for *upāttihāko*.]

p. 98 He knows when it is the right time for him to come and visit the *Tathāgata*, and when it is the right time for the brethren and sisters of the order, for devout men and devout women, for a king, or for a king's ministers, for other teachers or their disciples, to come and visit the *Tathāgata*.

38. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in *Ānanda*. Which are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order should come to visit *Ānanda*, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if *Ānanda* should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when *Ānanda* is silent.

'If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit *Ānanda*, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if *Ānanda* should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when *Ānanda* is silent.

39. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of nobles, or *Brāhman*, or heads of houses, or *Samanas* should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

40. 'Just so, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in *Ānanda*.

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the

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order, or of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit *Ānanda*, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if *Ānanda* should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when *Ānanda* is silent.

'Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities that are in *Ānanda*.'

41. When he had thus spoken[1], the venerable *Ānanda* said to the Blessed One:

'Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattle and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township[2]. For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as *Kampā*, *Rāgagaha*, *Sāvatti*, *Sāketa*, *Kosambi*, and *Benāres*. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and *Brāhmanas* and heads of houses, believers in the *Tathāgata*, who will pay due honour to the remains of the *Tathāgata*[3].'

[1. From here down to the end of section 44 is found also, nearly word for word, in the beginning of the *Mahā-Sudassana Sutta*, translated below; compare also *Mahā-Sudassana Gāthaka*, No. 95.

2 *Kudda-nagarake ti parirūpake sambādhe khuddakanagare: Uggangala-nagarake ti visama-nagarake.* (S.V. fol. *thau*.) *Kudda*, if this explanation be right, seems to be merely an old and unusual form for *kshudra*, and the Burmese correction into *khudda* to be unnecessary: but I venture to think it is more likely to be = *kudya*, and to mean a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India, of wattle and daub. When *Buddhaghosa* explains *uggangala* as 'lawless,' he is expressing his view that a town in the jungle is likely to be a heathen, pagan sort of place.

3 With reference to Childers's note in his Dictionary on *mahāsālā*, with which every one must entirely agree, *Buddhaghosa's* {footnote p. 100} explanation of the word will be interesting as a proof (if proof be needed) that the Ceylon scholars are not always trustworthy. He says, *Khattiya-mahāsālā ti khattiya-mahāsārā sārappatā mahā-khattiyā. Eso nayo sabbattha.*]

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42. 'Say not so, Ānanda! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Mahā-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinârâ, Ānanda, was the royal city of king Mahā-Sudassana, under the name of Kusāvâtî, 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.

43. 'That royal city Kusāvâtî, Ānanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food[1]. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Ālakamandâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ānanda, was the royal city Kusāvâtî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

44. 'Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusāvâtî 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

[1. The first three of these adjectives are applied at *Gâtaka* I, 29 (v. 212) to the religion of the Buddhas; and I think the right reading there must be *phītam*, in accordance with the corrections in two MSS. as noted by Mr. Fausböll, and not *pītam* as he has preferred to read. The whole set of epithets is often used of cities.]

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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]!"

45. 'Go now, Ānanda, and enter into Kusinârâ, and inform the Mallas of Kusinârâ, saying, "This day, O *Vāsetthas*, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O *Vāsetthas*, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, 'In our own village did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours.'"

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he robed himself, and taking his bowl[2], entered into Kusinârâ attended by another member of the order.

[1. This enumeration is found also at *Gâtaka*, p. 3, only that the conch shell is added there-wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven. The Mahā-Sudassana Sutta has in the corresponding passage, like the Burmese MS. noted here by Childers, conch instead of cymbal. My MS. reads cymbal here.

2. *Nivāsetvā patta-kīvaram ādāya atta-dutiyo*. Buddhaghosa has, naturally enough, no comment on this oft-recurring phrase. It cannot be meant that he put on only his under-garments, and carried his upper robe with him; for then his shoulders would have been bare; and it is quite against the rules to go into a village without all the robes having been put carefully on (*Pātimokkha*, *Sekhiya* 1-3). I do not even understand how Ānanda, with due regard to the rules of the brotherhood (see *Pātimokkha*, *Nisaggiya* 21-29), could have had a spare robe then with him. And *patta-kīvaram* can scarcely mean simply 'bowl-robe,' referring to the length of cotton cloth in which the bowl was carried over the shoulder ('*Buddhist Birth Stories*,' p. 71). 'With both his under-garments on, he entered Kusinârâ duly bowled and robed' may be impossible English, but it probably correctly catches the {footnote p. 102} idea involved, though of course one (at least) of the under-cloths had been put on long before. See p. 122. A Thera never goes about in public alone, he is always accompanied by a *Sāmanera*.]

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46. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinârâ were assembled in the council hall on some public affair[1].

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinârâ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, 'This day, O *Vāsetthas*, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O *Vāsetthas*, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, "In our own village did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours.'"

47. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ānanda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'

48. Then the Mallas, with their young men and

[1. Ke *na*kid eva *kara*nīyena. Professor Pischel, in his edition of the Assalāyana Sutta (p. 1), prints this expression *kena*kī devakara)nīyena, and translates it (p. 28), 'for some religious purposes.' It seems to me that he has been misled by the commentary, which really presupposes the more correct division adopted by Childers.]

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maidens and their wives, being grieved and sad and afflicted at heart, went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

49. Then the venerable Ānanda thought: 'If I allow the Mallas of Kusinārā, one by one, to pay their respects to the Blessed One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinārā will not have been presented to the Blessed One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Blessed One, saying, "Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One."'

50. And the venerable Ānanda caused the Mallas of Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One.'

51. And after this manner the venerable Ānanda presented all the Mallas of Kusinārā to the Blessed One in the first watch of the night.

52. Now at that time a mendicant named Subhadda, who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinārā. And the mendicant Subhadda heard the news: 'This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.'

53. Then thought the mendicant Subhadda: 'This have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and

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disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Arahāt Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

54. Then the mendicant Subhadda went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana of Kusinārā, to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

55. And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Thus have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Arahāt Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ānanda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!'

56. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda said to the mendicant Subhadda: 'Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathāgata. The Blessed One is weary.'

57. And again the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]; and the third time the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]

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58. Now the Blessed One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ānanda with the mendicant Subhadda. And the Blessed One called the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'It is enough, Ānanda! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ānanda, may be allowed to see the Tathāgata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not

to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.'

59. Then the venerable Ānanda said to Subhadda, the mendicant: 'Enter in, friend Subhadda; for the Blessed One gives you leave.'

60. Then Subhadda, the mendicant, went in to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of civility, he took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: 'The Brāhmins by saintliness of life[1], Gotama, who

[1. *Samana-brāhmanā*, which compound may possibly mean Samanas and Brahmins as it has usually been rendered, but I think not necessarily. Not one of those here specified were Brāhmins by caste, as is apparent from the *Sumangala Vilāsinī* on the *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 114. Compare the use of *Kshatriya-brāhmano*, 'a soldier priest,' a Kshatriya who offered sacrifice; and of *Brāhmano*, absolutely, as an epithet of an Arahāt. In the use of the word *samana* there seems to me to be a hopeless confusion between, a complete mingling of the meanings of, the two roots *sram* and *sam* (which, in Pāli, would both become *sa*). It connotes both asceticism and inward peace, and might best be rendered 'devotee,' were it not for the intellectual inferiority implied by that word in our language. A *Samana Brāhman* should therefore mean a man of any caste, who by his saintliness of life, by his renunciation of the world, and by his reputation as a religious thinker, had acquired the position of a quasi Brāhman, and {footnote p. 106} was looked up to by the people in the same way as that in which they looked up to a Brāhman by caste. Compare further my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i. p. 260; and also Mr. Beal's remarks in the *Indian Antiquary* for May, 1880; and Professor Max Müller's note on *Dhammapada*, verse 265.]

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are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude--to wit, *Pûrana* Kassapa, *Makkhali* of the cattle-pen, *Agita* of the garment of hair, *Kakkâyana* of the Pakudha tree, *Saṅgaya* the son of the *Belatthi* slave-girl, and *Nigantha* of the *Nātha* clan--have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things? or have they not? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not[1]?'

61. 'Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Ānanda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the mendicant Subhadda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

62. And the Blessed One spake: 'In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first or of the second or of the third or of the fourth degree[2].

[1. *Buddhaghosa* has an exegetical note on *abbhaññamsu*, but passes over those celebrated Six Teachers in silence. The little that is thus far known of them will be discussed in another place.

2. This refers to the four divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path. See above, chap. II, § 8, where their characters are described. The {footnote p. 107} word translated 'man of true saintliness,' or 'true saint,' is in the text *Samano*, on which see the note on page 105. I am at a loss how to render the word adequately here.]

p. 107 And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is found, is found the man of true saintliness of the first and the second and the third and the fourth degree. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the noble eightfold path, and in it alone, Subhadda, is the man of true saintliness. Void are the systems of other teachers--void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahats[1].

[1. Arahats are those who have reached *Nirvāna*, the 'supreme goal,' the 'highest fruit' of the Noble Eightfold Path. To live 'the Life that's Right' (*sammā*) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be *sammā*, round, right and perfect, normal and complete. To live right (*sammā*) is therefore to have--1. Right views, free from superstition. 2. Right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest man. 3. Right speech, kindly, open, truthful. 4. Right conduct, in all concerns of life. 5. Right livelihood, bringing hurt or danger to no living thing. 6. Right perseverance, in all the other seven. 7. Right mindfulness, the watchful, active mind. 8. Right contemplation, earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life. In each of these the word right is *sammā*, and the whole paragraph being on the Noble Path, the allusion is certainly to this central doctrine of the Buddhist Dhamma.

Buddhaghosa says that that *bhikkhu sammā viharati*, who, having himself entered the Noble Path, leads his brother into it, and this is, no doubt, good Buddhism. But it is a practical application of the text, a theological exegesis, and not a philological explanation. Even so it seems to lay the stress too much on 'bereft,' and too little on 'Arahats.'

In the last words of the prose we seem to have a reminiscence of what were once verses, which may have run-

Suññā pavādā samanehi aññe; {footnote p. 108}
Ime ka sammā vihareyyu bhikkhū,
Asuñño loko 'rahatehi assa.

]

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'But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really "saint" can be[1]!"

Yea, not of the first, nor of the second, nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers--void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of those who have reached the highest fruit.'

63. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: 'Most excellent, Lord, 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 even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!'

[1. I have followed, though with some doubt, Childers's punctuation. Buddhaghosa refers *padesa-vatti* to *samano*; and ito, not to *padesa*, but to *magga*, understood; and it is quite possible that this is the correct explanation. On *samādhikāni* see the comment at *Gātaka II*, 383.]

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64. 'Whosoever, Subhadda, that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.'

65. 'If, Lord, whosoever that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,--if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order--I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the order!'

66. But the Blessed One called the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'As it is, Ānanda, receive Subhadda into the order!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

67. And Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Great is your gain, friend Ānanda, great is your good fortune, friend Ānanda, that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!'

68. So Subhadda, the mendicant, was received

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into the higher grade of the order under the Blessed One; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And e'er long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life[1] for the sake of which men go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers--yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

69. So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahats; and he was the last disciple whom the Blessed One himself converted[2].

End of the Hiraṇṇavatiya portion, being the Fifth Portion for Recitation.

[1. That is, Nirvāna. Compare Mangala Sutta V, 11, and the Dhammapada, verses 180, 354, and above Chap. I, § 7.

2 Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note: 'The Thero, (that is, Ānanda), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body (*Taka-pañkaka-kammathanam*; see my "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 161), shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the "Three Refuges," and led him back to the Blessed One. The Blessed One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to him a subject for meditation (*kammathanam*; see "Buddhist {footnote p. 111} Birth Stories," p. 147). He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahatsip, and with it the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (*Paṭisambhidā*). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Blessed One.'

According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (*Sangha-kammam*), as laid down in the Vinaya, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.]

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CHAPTER VI.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said: 'It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, "The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more!" But it is not thus, Ānanda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.'

2. 'Ānanda! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other--with the epithet, that is, of "Āvuso" (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title "Friend." But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as "Lord" or as "Venerable Sir."

3. 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts[1].'

4. 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother *Khanna*.'

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

[1. In Kulla Vagga XI, 1, 9, 10, is related how the brotherhood formally considered the permission thus accorded to them, and resolved to adhere to all the precepts as laid down in the Buddha's lifetime. In his comment on this passage Buddhaghosa incidentally refers to a conversation on the subject between Nāgasena and Milinda Rāga, but makes no mention of the work known as *Milinda Pañha*. Compare Trenckner's edition of that work, p. 142.]

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'Let *Khanna* say whatever he may like, Ānanda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him[1].'

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, "Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.'"

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. And again the second and the third time the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, "Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.'"

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

[1. Compare *Kulla Vagga* I, 25-31: IV, 14, 1: XI, 1, 12-14. *Khanna* is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper 'esprit de corps' that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed; he became humble: his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the 'supreme goal' of the Buddhist faith.]

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7. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

8. And the venerable *Ānanda* said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way!'

9. 'It is out of the fulness of faith that thou hast spoken, *Ānanda*! But, *Ānanda*, the Tathāgata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way! For even the most backward, *Ānanda*, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation[1].'

10. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said, 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"'

This was the last word of the Tathāgata!

11. Then the Blessed One entered into the first

[1. Compare above, Chap. II, § 7. By 'the most backward,' according to Buddhaghosa, the Blessed One referred to *Ānanda*, and he said this to encourage him.]

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stage of deep meditation[1]. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of deep meditation he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present[2]. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away.

12. Then the venerable *Ānanda* said to the venerable *Anuruddha*: 'O my Lord, O *Anuruddha*, the Blessed One is dead!'

'Nay! brother *Ānanda*, the Blessed One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be!'

13. Then the Blessed One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to

[1. *Ghāna*, the full text and an explanation of which will be found in the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-176.

2. Compare above, Chap. III, §§ 37-42.]

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which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of deep meditation he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the last stage of deep meditation he immediately expired.

14. When the Blessed One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring and the thunders of heaven burst forth.

15. When the Blessed One died, Brahmā Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:

'They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
 Aside their complex form--that aggregation
 Of mental and material qualities,
 That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
 Their fleeting individuality!
 E'en as the teacher--being such a one, p. 117
 Unequalled among all the men that are,
 Successor of the prophets of old time,
 Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear--
 Hath died[1]'

16. When the Blessed One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:

'They're transient all, each being's parts and powers,
 Growth is their nature, and decay.
 They are produced, they are dissolved again:
 And then is best, when they have sunk to rest[2]'

[1. Brahmā, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines. The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the 'aggregations' (khandhā) of mental and material qualities which give to each being (bhūto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality. Loka is here not the world in our sense, but the 'locality' in the Buddhist universe which such an individual occupies until it is dissolved. (Comp. Chap. II, §§ 14, 34.) Brahmā appears therefore as a veritable Vibhaggavādī.

2. On this celebrated verse see below the Introduction to Mahā-Sudassana Sutta. It must be the original of the first verse in the Chinese work, Fa Kheu Pi Hu (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 32), though it is there so changed that every clause has lost its point.

'Whatever exists is without endurance.
 And hence the terms "flourishing" and "decaying."
 A man is born, and then he dies.
 Oh, the happiness of escaping from this condition!'

The very meaning which is here the most essential connotation of saṅkhārā is lost in the phrase 'whatever exists.' By a misapprehension of the, no doubt, difficult word Dhamma, which, however, never means 'term,' the second clause has lost its point. And by a grammatical blunder the third clause in the Chinese confines the doctrine, erroneously, to man. In a Chinese tale, called {footnote p. 118} Ngan shih niu, translated by Mr. Beal, in the Indian Antiquary for May, 1880, the following verses occur; and they are possibly another reflection of this stanza:

'All things that exist are transitory.
 They must of necessity perish and disappear;
 Though joined together, there must be separation;
 Where there is life there must be death.'

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17. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these

stanzas:

'When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvāna's tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart!

All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
His last deliverance from the bonds of life[1]!

18. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Ānanda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:

'Then was there terror!
Then stood the hair on end!
When he endowed with every grace--
The supreme Buddha--died[2]!

[1. *Ketaso Vimokho. Kenaki dhammena anāvaraṇa-vimokho sabbaso apaññatti-bhāvūpagamo*, says Buddhaghosa; that is, 'the deliverance which is free from the restraint of each and every mental quality completely vanishing away' (dhammā being here = *saññā* and *vedanā* and *saṅkhārā*; see 'Buddhism,' pp. 91, 92). See also below, p. 153.

2. In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons--the exalted God of the theologians; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of {footnote p. 119} each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahāt; and the loving, childlike disciple.]

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19^[1]. When the Blessed One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?'

20. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible--that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution--how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us[2].'

[1. Nearly = V, 11-14; and below, VI, 39.

2. *Ugghāyanti*. I have followed the reading of my own MS., which is confirmed by the *Sumangala Vilāsinī* and the *Mālāṅkāra-vatthu*. *Vigghāyanti*, which Childers reads, would be questionable Buddhism. The spirits do not become extinct; that is, not as a general rule, as would be implied by the absolute statement, {footnote p. 120} 'Even the spirits, brethren, become extinct.' It is no doubt true that all spirits, from the lowest to the highest, from the most insignificant fairy to the God of theological speculation, are regarded as temporary. But when they cease to exist as gods or spirits (*devatā*), they do not go out, they are not extinguished (*vigghāyanti*); they continue to exist in some other form. And though that other form would, from the European point of view, be a different being, as there would be no continuity of consciousness, no passage of a 'soul' from the one to the other; it would, from the Buddhist point of view, be the same being, as it would be the resultant effect of the same Karma. There would follow on the death of a *devatā*, not extinction, but a transmutation of force, a transmigration of character, a passing on, an inheritance of Karma. Only in the exceedingly rare case of an *anāgāmin*, of which an instance will be found above, Chap. II, § 7, could it be said that a spirit becomes extinct.

The expression 'of worldly mind,' here and above in V, 11, is in Pāli *pathavi-saññīniyo*, an ambiguous phrase which has only been found in this connection. Buddhaghosa says merely, 'because they made (*māpetvā*) an earth in heaven.' This gloss again may be taken either in a figurative or in a literal sense; but, if not impossible, it is at least unlikely that the good commentator means calmly to state that the angels created a floor in the skies--for the greater convenience of tumbling! The word seems to me also to be opposed to *vitarāgā*, 'free from passion,' and I have therefore taken it in a spiritual sense. There is a third possibility, viz. that it is used in an intellectual sense, 'having the idea of the world present to their mind,' and this would be in accordance with the more usual use of *saññī*. But how easily, especially in Buddhism, the intellectual merges into the religious may be seen from such a phrase as *marana-saññīno*, used at *Mahāvamsa* 33. Of the bhikkhus. Compare also above, III, 14.]

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'But of what kind of spirits is the Lord, the venerable Anuruddha, thinking?'

21. 'There are spirits, brother *Ānanda*, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the

p. 121 Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world! "'

'There are spirits, too, *Ānanda*, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed one died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

'But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, "Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [that such a being should not be dissolved]?"'

22. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable *Ānanda* spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable *Ānanda*: 'Go now, brother *Ānanda*, into Kusinâra and inform the Mallas of Kusinâra, saying, 'The Blessed One, O *Vâsetthas*, is dead: do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable *Ānanda*, in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinâra with one of the brethren as an attendant.

23. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinâra were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable *Ānanda* went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinâra; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, 'The

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Blessed One, O *Vâsetthas*, is dead; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!'

24. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable *Ānanda*, the Mallas, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

25. Then the Mallas of Kusinâra gave orders to their attendants, saying, 'Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in Kusinâra!'

26. And the Mallas of Kusinâra took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the Upavattana, to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, where the body of the Blessed One lay. There they past the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon[1].

[1. The dress of the Mallas consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these-one to wrap round the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together; to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material; and the only decoration, as simple as it {footnote p. 123} is beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof, or stretched along the sides.]

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27. Then the Mallas of Kusinâra thought:

'It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.' And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and

with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they past the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

28. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinârâ thought:

'Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,--paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,--and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!'

29. And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

30. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'What, Lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention

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of bearing the body of the Blessed One, are unable to lift it up?'

'It is because you, O *Vâsetthas*, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

3 1. 'But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'Your purpose, O *Vâsetthas*, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,--paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,--and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, *Vâsetthas*, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,--paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,--let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called *Makura-bandhana*, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!'

32. Then immediately all Kusinârâ down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with *Mandârava* flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of Kusinârâ upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with dance and song and music, with garlands and with perfumes, they carried the

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body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called *Makura-bandhana*; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Blessed One[1].

33.^[2] Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable *Ânanda*: 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the *Tathâgata*?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of a *Tathâgata*.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

'They wrap the body of a king of kings, *Vâsetthas*, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,--and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a *dâgaba* to the king of kings. This, *Vâsetthas*, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of the

[1. The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village.

2. Compare Chap. V, §§ 25-30.]

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Tathāgata. At the four cross roads a dāgaba should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart-that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

34. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying, 'Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas!'

35. Then the Mallas of Kusināra wrapped the body of the Blessed One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth,--and so on till they had wrapped the body of the Blessed One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Blessed One.

36. Now at that time the venerable Mahā Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pāvā to Kusināra with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Mahā Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

37. Just at that time a certain naked ascetic who had picked up a Mandāra flower in Kusināra was coming along the high road to Pāvā.

38. And the venerable Mahā Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to the naked ascetic:

'O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?'

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'Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week That is how I obtained this Mandāra flower.'

39. And immediately of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that they should not be dissolved?'

40. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the order in his old age, was seated there in their company[1].

And Subhadda the old addressed the brethren, and said: 'Enough, brethren! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told, "This beseems you, this beseems you not." But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!'

[1. At p. xxvi of the Introduction to his edition of the Mahā Vagga, Dr. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above in Chap. V, §§ 52-68. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a young man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a Brāhman, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Añña Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Ātumā.]

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41. But the venerable Mahā Kassapa addressed the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible--that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised contains within itself the inherent necessity of

dissolution--how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!

42. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

43. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'What, Lord, can be the reason, and what the cause, that four chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments, with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One, are unable to set it on fire?'

'It is because you, O *Vâsetthas*, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

44. 'But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'The purpose of the spirits, O *Vâsetthas*, is this: That venerable brother Mahâ Kassapa is now journeying along the high road from Pāvâ to Kusinârâ with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred of the brethren. The funeral pile of

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the Blessed One shall not catch fire, until the venerable Mahâ Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the sacred feet of the Blessed One.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!'

45. Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa went on to *Makuta-bandhana* of Kusinârâ, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pile of the Blessed One was. And when he had come up to it, he arranged his robe on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands he thrice walked reverently round the pile; and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

46. And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pile, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

47. And when the homage of the venerable Mahâ Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pile of the Blessed One caught fire of itself[1].

[1. It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms: 'Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offence given to the deceased, and requests a favourable mention of them in the next world.' (Manual of Buddhism, p. 348).

The Buddhist bhikkhus in Siam and the great majority of those in Ceylon (the adherents of the *Siyam-samâgama*) always keep one shoulder uncovered. It is evident that the bhikkhus {footnote p. 130} in Burma, and those in Ceylon who belong to the *Amara-pura-samâgama*, are more in accordance with ancient custom in wearing the robe ordinarily over both shoulders.]

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48. Now as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen: and only the bones remained behind.

Just as one sees no soot or ash when glue or oil is burned; so, as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen: and only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

49. And when the body of the Blessed One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters (beneath the earth), and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One. The Mallas of Kusinârâ also brought water scented with all kinds of perfumes, and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One[1].

[1. There is something very quaint in the way in which the faithful Mallas are here represented as bringing coals to Newcastle. The 'storehouse of the

waters' is in Pāli udaka-sāla, on which Buddhaghosa has two theories: first, that the Sāla trees around shed down a miraculous rain from their trunks and branches and leaves; and next, that the waters burst up from the earth and became as it were a diadem of crystal round the pyre. On the belief that water thus burst up miraculously through the earth, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 64, 67. If the reading be correct it is scarcely possible that sāla can here have anything to do with Sāla trees; but the other interpretation is open to the objections {footnote p. 131} that sāla means an open hall rather than a storehouse, and that the belief in a 'storehouse of water' has not, as yet, been found elsewhere.]

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50. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ surrounded the bones of the Blessed One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

51. Now the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I too am of the soldier caste. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast[1]!'

52. And the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

53. And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the

[1. The commentator gives a long account of Agâtasattu's proceedings on this occasion.]

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news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

54. And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

55. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

56. And the Brâhman of *Vethadîpa* heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Brâhman of *Vethadîpa* sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I am a Brâhman. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!'

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57. And the Mallas of Pāvâ heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Mallas of Pāvâ sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

58. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinârâ spoke to the assembled brethren, saying, 'The Blessed One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One!'

59. When they had thus spoken, *Dona* the Brâhman addressed the assembled brethren, and said:

'Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.
 Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.
 Unseemly is it that over the division
 Of the remains of him who was the best of beings
 Strife should arise, and wounds, and war!
 Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite
 In friendly harmony to make eight portions.
 Wide spread let Thûpas rise in every land
 That in the Enlightened One mankind may trust!

60. 'Do thou then, O Brâhman, thyself divide the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division[1].'

Be it so, sir!' said *Dona*, in assent, to the assembled

[1. Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.]

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brethren. And he divided the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them: 'Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.'

And they gave the vessel to *Dona* the Brâhman.

61. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Moriyas of Pippalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying, 'There is no portion of the remains of the Blessed One left over. The remains of the Blessed One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

62. Then the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a mound in Râgagaha over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli made a mound in Vesâli over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Bulis* of Allakappa made a mound in Allakappa over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Koliyas* of Râmagâma made a mound in Râmagâma over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

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And *Vethadîpaka* the Brâhman made a mound in *Vethadîpa* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of Pâvâ made a mound in Pâvâ over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of Kusinârâ made a mound in Kusinârâ over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And *Dona* the Brâhman made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt, and held a feast.

And the Moriyas of Pippalivana made a mound over the embers, and held a feast.

Thus were there eight mounds [Thûpas] for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be[1].

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[63. Eight measures of relics there were of him of the far-seeing eye,
Of the best of the best of men. In India seven are worshipped,
And one measure in Râmagâma, by the kings of the serpent race.
One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in Gandhâra's city,
One in the Kâlinga realm, and one more by the Nâga race.

[1. Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by Theras in Ceylon. The additional verse found in the Phayre MS. was in the same way probably added in Burma.]

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Through their glory the bountiful earth is made bright with offerings painless--
For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best honoured by those who are honoured,
By gods and by Nâgas and kings, yea, thus by the noblest of Monarchs--
Bow down with clasped hands!
Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through hundreds of ages!]

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End of the Book of the Great Decease.

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[Next: Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana Sutta: Foundation of the Kingdon of Righteousness](#)