



**BUDDHIST LEGENDS**  
**DHAMMAPADA COMMENTARY VOL. I**

BY

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# **Buddhist Legends**

Translated from the original Pāli text of the  
Dhammapada Commentary

by

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## Editor's Note

In preparing this work for digital publication I have made a few minor changes which I will outline here. I have occasionally added notes to the translation, when I thought something needed explaining or a reference was occasional missed by the translator. To distinguish them from Burlingame's own notes they are prefaced as 'Ed. note:'.

The original publication quoted only the first few words of the verse(s) that the story is attached to; it is the same in the original Pāḷi text which is being translated. Here, though, as I think it helps to know the verse(s) in advance, I have in most cases included a full quotation of the verse(s) at the top of the story, except when the story is so short it hardly makes a difference.

The pagination of the translation is included in square brackets, so that for instance [28.145] means Vol. 28 of the Harvard Oriental Series, pg. 145. The pagination of the text of the Pāḷi Text Society is included in curly brackets. It was released in 4 volumes, so that {2.138} means Vol. 2, pg. 138. For aesthetic reasons I have normally placed the pagination *after* the title, and before the text, though the page of course begins with the title.

There are html, pdf, epub, mobi<sup>1</sup> and flipbook versions of this text, but unlike my normal practice I have not yet recorded all the audio. I am making some recordings of the stories at present, and will update when I can.

To make the work a manageable size I have divided the eBooks into three volumes, following the original publication scheme.

In September, 2015, I have added in the very useful Introduction by the learned Burlingame, which greatly helps, particularly for those interested in comparative studies.

Anandajoti Bhikkhu  
September, 2015.

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<sup>1</sup> The Introduction is missing from the epub and mobi files because of the difficulty in reproducing the tables well in those formats.

## Introduction

[28.1]

### § 1. Legendary life of the Buddha

**§ 1 a. Birth amid rejoicing of angels.** The legends and stories of this collection assume a knowledge on the part of the reader of at least the principal facts and legends of the life of the Buddha as set forth in the Sacred Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha was born in 563 B.C. and died in 483.<sup>3</sup> His father was Suddhodana, king of the Sākiya clan in Kapilavatthu, and his mother was Queen Māyā, daughter of the king of the neighboring Koliya clan. He was born in the Lumbini Garden near Kapilavatthu, his mother standing upright at his birth and supporting herself by a branch of a Sāl-tree.<sup>4</sup> In the Nālaka Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta,<sup>5</sup> one of the oldest of old Buddhist books, we read that at his birth the angels rejoiced and sang. The aged seer Asita asked them, “Why doth the company of angels rejoice?” They replied, “He that shall become Buddha is born in the village of the Sākiyas for the welfare and happiness of mankind; therefore are we joyful and exceeding glad.” [28.2]

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<sup>2</sup> For a brief account of the divisions, contents, and date of the Sacred Scriptures of the Buddhists, see T. W. Rhys Davids's article *Buddhism* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. Cf. also Introduction, § 4. For a more comprehensive account, see M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*: ii. 1, *Die Buddhistische Litteratur*, pp. 1-139. Winternitz gives a useful bibliography of the subject at p. 1, note 1. Rhys Davids holds that the Four Greater Nikāyas and the greater part of such books of the Lesser Nikāya as *Itivuttaka* and *Sutta Nipāta* are as old as 400 B.C., and that of the *Vinaya*, *Mahā Vagga* and *Culla Vagga*, i-x, are as old as 300 B.C. Most scholars consider these dates too early, but there are the best of reasons for believing the greater part of these books to be anterior to the Inscriptions of Asoka; that is to say, older than 250 B.C. The *Jātaka Book* represented by Fausböll's text is a recension made in Ceylon in the early part of the fifth century A.D., but contains a vast amount of material many centuries older. For translations of the Sacred Books, see Introduction, § 17, paragraph 3.

<sup>3</sup> On the date of the Buddha, see J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions (Indian)*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xiv. p. 624, col. 1, and bibliography in Winternitz, p. 2, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> On the birth of the Buddha, see *Dīgha*, 14: i. 16-30; *Majjhima*, 123; *Āṅguttara*, ii. 130<sup>17</sup>-131<sup>26</sup>; *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, i. 47<sup>21</sup>-53<sup>32</sup>: translated by Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 58-68; by Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, pp. 38-48. On the subject in general, see E. Windisch, *Buddhas Geburt*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sutta Nipāta*, iii. 11, part 1 (Stanzas 679-698).

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**§ 1 b. The Buddhist Simeon.**<sup>6</sup> Asita went to Suddhodana's residence and said, "Where is the child? I too wish to see him." The Sākiyas showed him the child. When Asita saw the child, he rejoiced and was exceeding glad. He took him in his arms and said, "Incomparable is he! preëminent among men!" But remembering his own departure, he became sorrowful and wept tears. Said the Sākiyas, "Is any adversity in store for the child?" "No," replied Asita, "this child shall attain Supreme Enlightenment; he shall behold Nibbāna; out of love and compassion for the multitude he shall set in motion the Wheel of the Law; far and wide shall his Religion be dispersed. But as for me, I have not long to live in this world; ere these things shall come to pass, death will be upon me. I shall not hear the Law from the Peerless Champion. Therefore am I stricken with woe, overwhelmed with sorrow, afflicted with grief."

**§ 1 c. Youth and marriage.**<sup>7</sup> When the child was five days old, he was named Siddhattha. Seven Brahmans prophesied that he would become either a Universal Monarch or a Buddha. But the eighth, Koṇḍañña, perceiving that the child possessed the Infallible Signs of a Future Buddha, prophesied that he would become a Buddha. On the same day each of eighty thousand kinsmen dedicated a son to his service. Seven days after his birth his mother died, and he was reared by his aunt and stepmother, Pajāpatī Gotamī. In his nineteenth year<sup>8</sup> he was married to his own cousin Yasodharā, daughter of Suddhodana, passed his youth amid luxury and splendor, in three mansions appropriate to the three seasons, surrounded by forty thousand nautch-girls, like a very god surrounded by troops of celestial nymphs. In his twenty-ninth year he beheld the Four Ominous Sights: an Old Man, a Sick Man, a Corpse, and a Monk. Thereupon he resolved to become a monk.

**§ 1 d. Resolve to seek after Nibbāna.**<sup>9</sup> At this time word was brought to him that his wife had given birth to a son. "Rāhula is born!" he exclaimed, "a Bond is born!" Therefore his son was named Rāhula. As he entered the city in state, Kisā Gotamī, a [28.3] maiden of the Warrior caste, cried out, "Happy the

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<sup>6</sup> *Sutta Nipāta*, iii. 11, part 1. Derived from the same source is *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, i. 54<sup>11</sup>-55<sup>29</sup>: translated by Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 68-71; by Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 48-51.

<sup>7</sup> *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, i. 55<sup>29</sup>-59<sup>32</sup>: translated, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 71-78; *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 51-57. See also *Dīgha*, 14: ii. 16-30; *Ānguttara*, i. 145-146; *Majjhima*, 26: i. 163.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. note: tradition holds it was in fact in his sixteenth year.

<sup>9</sup> *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, i. 60<sup>20</sup>-61<sup>14</sup>: translated, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 79-80; *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 58-60.

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mother, happy the father, happy the wife, of such as he!" Thought the Future Buddha, "She says that the heart is thus made happy (*nibbāyati*). Now what must be extinguished (*nibbuta*) that the heart may be happy (*nibbuta*)?" Then the answer came to him, "the Fire of Lust, Hatred, and Delusion is extinguished (*nibbuta*), then only is the heart truly happy (*nibbuta*). She has taught a good lesson. For I am in search of happiness (*nibbāna*). This very day I must renounce the house-life, retire from the world, become a monk, and seek after True Happiness (*Nibbāna*).

**§ 1 e. The Great Retirement.**<sup>10</sup> Returning to his palace, he lay down on his bed, and troops of nautch-girls came in and began to dance and sing. But the Future Buddha no more took pleasure in them and fell asleep. Waking in the night, he beheld those nautch-girls asleep, and disgusted by their loathsome appearance, resolved to make the Great Retirement immediately. So rising from his bed, he called his charioteer Channa and ordered him to saddle his horse Kanthaka. "I will just take a look at my son," thought the Future Buddha, and opened the door of his wife's apartment. But fearing that, if he woke his wife, he might be prevented from carrying out his resolution, he closed the door again and departed without seeing his son.

Mounted on his horse Kanthaka and accompanied by his charioteer Channa, he passed out of the city gate, an angel opening the gate. Māra the Evil One offered him Universal Sovereignty if he would abandon his purpose, but the Future Buddha rebuked the Tempter and passed on. But the Evil One ever followed him, watching his opportunity. The Future Buddha proceeded to the river Anomā, where he received the Eight Requisites of a monk from an angel and dismissed Channa and Kanthaka. Channa returned sorrowfully to the city, but Kanthaka died of a broken heart. The Future Buddha spent the next seven days in Anūpiya Mango Grove in the enjoyment of the bliss of monkhood.

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<sup>10</sup> *Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 61<sup>14</sup>-65, end: translated, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 80-87; *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 60-67. See also *Majjhima*, 26: 1. 163.

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**1 f. The Great Struggle.**<sup>11</sup> From Anūpiya Mango Grove the [28.4] Future Buddha went on foot to Rājagaha, the capital of King Bimbisāra, and his round for alms door to door. Bimbisāra, pleased with his deportment, offered his kingdom. But the Future Buddha refused his offer, declaring that he renounced all for the sake of attaining Supreme Enlightenment. Bimbisāra then requested him, so soon as he should become a Buddha, to visit his kingdom first, and the Future Buddha gave his promise so to do. The Future Buddha then attached himself to Āḷāra and teachers of the Yoga philosophy. But becoming convinced that the Yoga discipline was not the Way of Salvation, he abandoned the practice of it. The Future Buddha then proceeded to Uruvelā, and attended by Koṇḍañña and four other monks, entered upon the Great Struggle.

For six years he engaged in prolonged fasts and other austerities, hoping thus to win mastery over self and Supreme Enlightenment. While thus engaged, he was approached and tempted to abandon the Great Struggle by Māra the Evil One, accompanied by his Nine Hosts, namely, Lust, Discontent, Hunger and Thirst, Craving, Sloth and Laziness, Cowardice, Doubt, Hypocrisy and Stupidity, Gain, Fame, Honor, and Glory Falsely Obtained, Exaltation of Self, and Contempt of Others. But the Future Buddha rebuked the Evil One, and he departed. One day, while absorbed in trance induced by suspension of the breath, he became utterly exhausted and fell in a swoon. His five companions believed him to be dead, and certain deities went to his father, King Suddhodana, and so informed him. But the king refused to believe this, declaring that his son could not die before attaining Enlightenment. The Future Buddha, convinced that fasting and other forms of self-mortification were not the Way of Salvation, abandoned the Great Struggle. Thereupon his five companions, regarding him as a backslider, deserted him and went to the Deer-park near Benāres.

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<sup>11</sup> *Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 66<sup>1</sup>-68<sup>5</sup>: translated, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 87-91; *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 67-71. The story of the Buddha's visit to Rājagaha and interview with Bimbisāra is derived from *Sutta Nipāta*, iii. 1, *Pabbajjā Sutta*, and Commentary, as is expressly stated at *Jātaka*, i. 66<sup>31-33</sup>. For the story of the Buddha's student-days under Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka, see *Majjhima*, 26: i. 163-166. For the story of the Great Struggle, see *Majjhima*, 36, and *Majjhima*, 12 (last half) : i. 77<sup>23</sup>-81. For the story of the Temptation by Māra, see *Sutta Nipāta*, iii. 2, *Padhāna Sutta*.

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**§ 1 g. The Enlightenment.**<sup>12</sup> One night the Future Buddha beheld [28.5] five visions. After considering their purport, he came to the following conclusion, “This very day I shall attain Enlightenment.” So on the evening of the following day he seated himself under a banyan-tree and formed the following resolution, “Let my skin, my nerves, and my bones dry up, and likewise my flesh and blood; but until I attain Supreme Enlightenment, I will not leave this seat!” Māra the Evil One endeavored to drive him from his seat with the Nine Rains, namely, wind, rain, rocks, weapons, blazing coals, hot ashes, sand, mud, and darkness. But the Future Buddha sat unmoved. Māra then approached the Future Buddha and commanded him to leave his seat. But the Future Buddha refused and rebuked him. Thereupon the Evil One left him, and troops of angels came and honored him. In the first watch of the night the Future Buddha obtained Knowledge of Previous Existences; in the middle watch. Supernatural Vision; and in the last watch, Knowledge of the Causes of Craving, Rebirth, and Suffering. Thus did he attain Supreme Enlightenment and become a Buddha. Thereupon he breathed forth the Song of Triumph of all the Buddhas.

For seven days the Buddha sat motionless on the Throne of Enlightenment, experiencing the Bliss of Deliverance. After spending four weeks in earnest thought near the Tree of Wisdom (the Bo-tree), he spent the fifth week at the Goatherd’s Banyan-tree. Here he was tempted by the three daughters of Māra the Evil One, namely. Craving, Discontent, and Lust. But he repulsed their advances, saying to them, “Begone! The Exalted One has put away Lust, Ill-will, and Delusion.” The sixth and seventh weeks were spent at the Mucalinda-tree and the Rājāyatana-tree respectively. On the last day of the seventh week he received his first converts, two merchants named Tapussa and Bhallika. He then returned to the Goatherd’s Banyan-tree.

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<sup>12</sup> The first two paragraphs are derived from *Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 68<sup>5</sup>-81<sup>14</sup>: translated, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 91-111; the story of the Enlightenment is also translated in *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 71-83. For much simpler accounts of the Enlightenment, see *Dīgha*, 14: ii. 30-35, and *Majjhima*, 26: i. 167. The story of the Temptation of the Buddha by the Daughters of Māra is derived from *Samyutta*, iv. 3. 5. This story is alluded to in *Sutta Nipāta*, Stanza 835. A connected account of the Buddha’s life from the Enlightenment to the reception of Sāriputta and Moggallāna into the Order is given in the *Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 1-24. The *Nidānakathā* follows this account in the main.

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Here, according to the Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta,<sup>13</sup> Māra the Evil One tempted him to accomplish his decease, saying, “Let the Exalted One now pass into Supreme Nibbāna.” But the Buddha resisted the temptation, declaring that he should not accomplish his decease until his Religion had been preached far and wide.<sup>14</sup> But according to the [28.6] Vinaya,<sup>15</sup> the Mahāpadāna Sutta,<sup>16</sup> the Ariyapariyesana Sutta,<sup>17</sup> and the Nidānakathā,<sup>18</sup> the Buddha was assailed by doubt as to the wisdom of preaching a Religion so profound and difficult of comprehension to a race in the bondage of desire. The more he considered the matter, the more his heart inclined to a life of inaction and the less to the preaching of the Law. Thereupon Brahmā, fearing that the world would be lost, approached him and besought him to make known what he had himself received. Out of compassion for mankind the Buddha granted his request.

**§ 1 h. Ministry and death.**<sup>19</sup> Thought the Buddha, “To whom shall I first preach the Law.” Immediately he thought of his former teacher Āḷāra Kālāma. But a deity told him that Āḷāra Kālāma had been dead for seven days. Then he thought of Uddaka Rāmaputta. But a deity told him that Uddaka Rāmaputta had died that very evening. Then he thought of the five monks who had been his companions, and perceiving by the power of Supernatural Vision that they were residing in the Deer-park near Benāres, he resolved to go thither and set in motion the Wheel of the Law. On his way thither he met Upaka the Naked Ascetic. “Who are you?” inquired Upaka. “I am the Supreme Buddha.” Upaka expressed neither approval nor disapproval. “It may be,” he remarked, and walked away shaking his head and wagging his tongue.<sup>20</sup>

When the five monks saw him approaching, they exclaimed, “Here comes the backslider! Pay no attention to him!” But the Buddha so completely suffused the hearts of those monks with love that they arose from their seats and prostrated themselves before his feet. To these five monks the Buddha then preached his first sermon, the Discourse on the Four Noble Truths; to wit, the

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<sup>13</sup> *Dīgha*, 16: ii. 112-114.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Dīgha*, 16: ii. 104-106; *Saṃyutta*, li. 10: v. 260-262; *Udāna*, vi. 1: 63-64.

<sup>15</sup> *Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Dīgha*, 14: ii. 35-40.

<sup>17</sup> *Majjhima*, 26: i. 167-169.

<sup>18</sup> *Jātaka*, i. 81.

<sup>19</sup> *Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 81<sup>14</sup>-94, end: translated, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 111-133.

The *Nidānakathā* follows closely *Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 6-24, and *Culla Vagga*, vi. 4. For the death of the Buddha, see *Dīgha*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. story xxiv. 9.

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Nature of Suffering, the Origin of Suffering, the Cessation of Suffering, and the Noble Eight-fold Path as the Way thereto. The five monks perceived that whatsoever comes into existence, that must also cease to be, and requested the Buddha to receive them into his Order. Thereupon the Buddha founded his Order of Monks by saying in a formal manner to the five, [28.7] “Come, monks! lead the Holy Life, to the utter extinction of Suffering.” The Buddha then preached to the five monks the Discourse on Unreality. Through this sermon they were freed from the Contaminations, that is to say, lust, desire for existence, and ignorance of the Truths, and thus attained Arahatsip.

At that time there lived in Benāres a rich young man named Yasa: He possessed three mansions appropriate to the three seasons and lived amid luxury and splendor, with a large retinue of nautch-girls. One night he beheld those nautch-girls asleep, and disgusted by their loathsome appearance, resolved to abandon the house-life for the houseless life of a monk. So leaving his house, he came to the Buddha by night and said, “How distressing! how oppressing!” Said the Buddha, “Here is naught that distresses or oppresses. Come, Yasa, sit down; let me teach you the Law.” So saying, the Buddha preached the Law of Morality to the rich young man, discoursing on the duty of almsgiving, the Moral Precepts, the folly of gratifying the lusts of the flesh, and the benefits to be gained by renouncing the same. Then, perceiving that the rich young man possessed the dispositions of mind and heart requisite to the understanding of the Law of Deliverance, he preached to him the Sublime Discourse of all the Buddhas, namely. Suffering, the Origin and Cessation thereof, and the Way of Salvation. Yasa and his fifty-four companions were established in Arahatsip. There were thus, exclusive of the Buddha, Sixty Arahats in the world.

And the Buddha said to the Sixty, “I am freed from all fetters, both divine and human. Ye also are freed from all fetters, both divine and human. Go forth and journey from place to place, for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit and welfare and happiness of angels and men. Go no two of you together. Preach the Law, sound in the beginning, sound in the middle, sound in the end, in the spirit and in the letter. Proclaim the Holy Life in all its fullness and purity.” So saying, he sent the Sixty into all the world. He himself set out for Uruvelā. On the way thither he halted in a forest, and meeting thirty young nobles who were seeking a woman, he converted them and received them into the Order. In Uruvelā he converted the three brothers Kassapa, members of the Order of Jaṭilas, together with their thousand followers. Passing on to Gayāsīsa, where he established his

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new converts in Arahatsip by means of the Discourse on Fire, he proceeded to Rājagaha in order to redeem his promise to King Bimbisāra.

The king received the Buddha with every mark of courtesy and [28.8] reverence, hearkened to the Law, and together with his retinue obtained the Fruit of Conversion. The king formally presented to the Buddha his own pleasure garden, Bamboo Grove, and the Buddha and the Congregation of Monks there entered upon residence. While the Buddha was in residence at Bamboo Grove, there came to him two monks who had for some time been disciples of Sañjaya, but who had recently obtained the Fruit of Conversion through the preaching of Assaji. These two monks were elevated by the Buddha to the rank of his two Chief Disciples and were thereafter known as Sāriputta and Moggallāna.<sup>21</sup> From Bamboo Grove the Buddha went to his father's city, Kapilavatthu, and there received into the Order his own son Rāhula and his own half-brother Nanda.<sup>22</sup> From Kapilavatthu he returned to Rājagaha, tarrying by the way at Anūpiya Mango Grove and there receiving many converts, among others the Six Princes. At Rājagaha he converted the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, who thereupon purchased the Jetavana Grove, paying for it as many gold pieces as were required to cover the ground, and presented it to him. The Buddha accepted the gift and entered upon residence at the Jetavana. With this event closes the second year of his ministry.

For forty-five years the Buddha journeyed from place to place in this manner, preaching and teaching. The three months of the rains he always spent at the Jetavana or at Bamboo Grove or in some other one place. His missionary journeys took him up and down the valley of the Ganges, throughout the old kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala in the eastern part of North India. At no time did he go farther than 250 miles from Benāres. To this period of his life belong the great majority of the acts and discourses, both real and fictitious, attributed to him, not only in the Sacred Scriptures, but also in this and other later collections of legends and stories.

Among the more interesting legends and stories of this collection relating to this particular period of his life are the following: i. 5, Quarrel among the monks of Kosambi and residence in Protected Forest with a noble elephant; i. 12 b. Intrigues of Devadatta against the Buddha and King Bimbisāra; iv. 3, Annihilation of the Sākiyas by Viḍūḍabha; xiii. 6, Conversion of the robber

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<sup>21</sup> Story i. 8 contains a brief outline of the entire *Nidānakathā* to this point.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. story i. 9.

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Finger-garland (Aṅgulimāla); xiii. 9 and xxii. 1, Confutation of false charges brought against the Buddha by suborned nuns; xiv. 2, Twin Miracle, Ascent to Heaven, and Descent from Heaven; xv. 1, Abatement of [28.9] quarrel between the Sākiyas and the Koliyas; xxi. 1, Abatement of the Three Plagues at Vesāli; and xxiii. 8, which tells how, while the Buddha was residing in a forest-hut in the Himālaya, he was tempted by Māra the Evil One to exercise sovereignty and to transmute the Himālaya mountains into gold. The Buddha died in 483 B.C. near the city of Kusināra, his end being hastened by a meal consisting of truffles. His body was cremated with pomp and ceremony, and the relics were divided among princes and nobles.

**§1 i. Buddhist-Christian parallels.** The many striking parallels between passages in the Buddhist Scriptures and passages in the New Testament have for many years attracted the attention of Indologists and students of the History of Religions.<sup>23</sup> The theory of Buddhist loans in the New Testament has been advocated by several scholars, notably R. Seydel,<sup>24</sup> G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga,<sup>25</sup> and A. J. Edmunds.<sup>26</sup> In one form or another it has won the acceptance of many distinguished scholars, among others O. Pfeleiderer,<sup>27</sup> E. Kuhn,<sup>28</sup> R. Pischel,<sup>29</sup> and R. Garbe.<sup>30</sup> M. Winternitz admits the possibility of

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<sup>23</sup> For a bibliography of this interesting and important subject, see M. Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, p. 280, note 1. Since Winternitz's book was written Garbe has announced his adhesion to Edmunds's loan theory. See note 8.

<sup>24</sup> R. Seydel, *Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre*, Leipzig, 1882. *Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien*, erneute Prüfung ihres gegenseitigen Verhältnisses, Leipzig, 1884; 2 Auflage, mit ergänzenden Anmerkungen von Martin Seydel, Weimar, 1897. Cf. Winternitz, l. c, p. 278.

<sup>25</sup> G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen*, Göttingen, 1904; 2 Auflage, 1909. Cf. Winternitz, l. c, p. 279.

<sup>26</sup> A. J. Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, now first compared from the originals, 4th ed., edited by M. Anesaki, Philadelphia, 1908-09. Cf. Winternitz, l. c, pp. 279 ff. See also the following papers by Edmunds: *Buddhist Loans to Christianity*, in *Monist*, 22. 1912, pp. 129-138; *The Progress of Buddhist Research*, in *Monist*, 22. 1912, pp. 633-635; *The Accessibility of Buddhist Lore to the Christian Evangelists*, in *Monist*, 23. 1913, pp. 517-522; *The Buddhist Origin of Luke's Penitent Thief*, in *Open Court*, 28. 1914, pp. 287-291.

<sup>27</sup> O. Pfeleiderer, *Religion und Religionen*, München, 1906. *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, 2 Auflage, München, 1907.

<sup>28</sup> E. Kuhn, in *Nachwort* to Bergh van Eysinga's work, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>29</sup> R. Pischel, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1904, col. 2938 ff. Pischel here says: "Die Frage, ob sich überhaupt indische Einflüsse in der evangelischen Erzählungslitteratur

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such [28.10] loans,<sup>31</sup> and H. Oldenberg, who formerly rejected the theory, now holds that the theory can neither be proved nor disproved.<sup>32</sup> Of the opponents of the theory, E. Windisch presents the strongest arguments.<sup>33</sup>

The most striking of these parallels are the following:

### 1. Infancy legends

- a. Rejoicing of angels at nativity.
- b. Asita-Simeon.

*Sutta Nipāta*, iii. 11, part 1 (679-698); *St. Luke* ii. 8-14, 25-35.  
translated, Introduction, § 1 *a-b*.

See Edmunds, *BCG.*, i. 77-89, 181-191; *Monist*, 22. 1912, pp. 129-131. Edmunds translates *manussaloke hitasukhatāya jāto*, “is born for weal and welfare in the world of men.” The correct translation is, “is born for the weal and welfare of mankind.” Cf. *Dīgha*, ii. 104<sup>1-4</sup>; *Samyutta*, v. 259<sup>28-30</sup>; *Udāna*, p. 62, last two lines; *Itivuttaka*, p. 11, last

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finden, kann heute nicht mehr verneint werden.” See also Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, in the Series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, 2 Auflage, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 17-19. At p. 18, referring to the story of Simeon, Pischel says: “Eine Entlehnung ist hier sehr wahrscheinlich, und der Weg ist jetzt nicht mehr so schwer nachzuweisen wie früher.” He then discusses at some length the bearings of recent discoveries in Turkestan on the subject.

<sup>30</sup> R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, chap. i, pp. 47 ff. (translated, *Monist*, 24. 1914, pp. 481 ff.). Garbe expresses himself as follows: “Ich wende mich nunmehr zu den Fällen — es sind vier an der Zahl —, bei denen ich mich nach langer Ueberlegung davon überzeugt habe, dass buddhistischer Einfluss in den Erzählungen der Evangelien nicht zu leugnen ist. Diese Ueberzeugung fusst im ersten und zweiten Fall wesentlich auf deren neuester Darstellung aus Edmunds’ Feder.” The “four cases” are: 1. The Asita-Simeon legend; 2. Temptations by the Evil One; 3. Peter’s walking on the water; 4. Multiplication of the loaves. The paper by Edmunds referred to is his paper in the *Monist*, 22. 1912, pp. 129-138.

<sup>31</sup> M. Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 281 f.

<sup>32</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Indische Religion*, in *Die Religionen des Orients*, Teil i, Abteilung iii. 1, of *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. At p. 80 Oldenberg refers to the loan theory as follows: “... das Eindringen buddhistischer Elemente in die Evangelien — eine weder zu erweisende noch zu widerlegende Hypothese, die ich meinerseits eher unwahrscheinlich finden möchte.”

<sup>33</sup> E. Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, chap. ix; *Buddhas Geburt*, chap. xii.

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two lines. On the locative construction involved, see Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 303 a.

The loan theory is accepted by Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, pp. 17-19; Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, p. 281; Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, chap. i, pp. 47 ff. (translated, *Monist*, 24. 1914, pp. 481 ff.).

### 2. Mission of Sixty (Seventy)

*Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 11; translated, *St. Luke*, x. 1.  
Introduction, § 1 A, paragraph 4. Cf.  
*Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 82<sup>24-26</sup>.

See Edmunds, *BCG.*, i. 224-229. [28.11]

### 3. Conversion of robber

*Majjhima*, 86; translated. Story xiii. 6. *St. Luke*, xxiii. 39-43.

See Edmunds, *The Buddhist Origin of Luke's Penitent Thief*, in *Open Court*, 28. 1914, pp. 287-291.

### 4. Feeding of five hundred (five thousand)

Introduction to *Jātaka* 78: i. 345-349; *St. Matthew* xiv. 15-21.  
translated, Story iv. 5. *St. Mark* vi. 35-44.  
*St. Luke* ix. 13-17.  
*St. John* vi. 5-14.

The loan theory is accepted by Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, chap. i (translated, *Monist*, 24. 1914, pp. 491-492).

### 5. Walking on the sea

Introduction to *Jātaka* 190: i. 111; cf. *St. Matthew* xiv. 28-31;  
the Act of Truth in Story vi. 4. cf. *St. Matthew* xiv. 22-27,  
*St. Mark* vi. 45-54,  
*St. John* vi. 15-21.

The loan theory is accepted by Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, chap. i (translated, *Monist*, 24. 1914, pp. 488-491).

6. Temptations by the Evil One

a. As the Future Buddha is about to make the Great Retirement, the Evil One urges him to abandon his purpose, assuring him that in such case he will attain Universal Sovereignty.

*Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 63<sup>17-25</sup>; cf. Introduction, § 1 e, paragraph 2. This legend is from a late source and is probably derived from the first of the two legends marked g.

b. While the Future Buddha is engaged in the prolonged fasts and austerities of the Great Struggle, he is tempted to abandon the Struggle by the Evil One, accompanied by his Nine Hosts, namely, Lust, Discontent, Hunger and Thirst, Craving, Sloth and Laziness, Cowardice, Doubt, Hypocrisy and Stupidity, Gain, Fame, Honor, and Glory Falsely Obtained, Exaltation of Self, and Contempt of Others.

*Sutta Nipāta*, iii. 2; cf. Introduction, § 1 f, paragraph 2. Cf. also *Lalitavistara*, xviii. This legend is from an early source, as is also its sequel d. See Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, chap, i, pp. 1-32, also pp. 304-315.

c. Immediately before the Enlightenment, the Evil One attempts to drive the Future Buddha from his seat with the Nine Rains, namely, [28.12] wind, rain, rocks, weapons, blazing coals, hot ashes, sand, mud, and darkness.

*Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 71<sup>27</sup>-72<sup>7</sup>; cf. Introduction, § 1 g, paragraph 1. Cf. also *Lalitavistara*, xxi. This legend is from a late source and is probably derived from b.

d. In the fifth week after the Enlightenment, the Buddha is tempted by the three daughters of the Evil One, namely, Craving, Discontent, and Lust.

*Samyutta*, iv. 3. 5; cf. Introduction, § 1 g, paragraph 2. Cf. also *Sutta Nipāta*, Stanza 835. This legend is from an early source and forms a sequel to b. Craving, Discontent, and Lust are numbered among the Nine Hosts of Māra in b. See Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, pp. 119-124.

e. In the eighth week after the Enlightenment, the Buddha is assailed by doubt as to the wisdom of preaching a Religion so profound and difficult of comprehension to a race in the bondage of desire. The more he considers the matter, the more his heart inclines to a life of inaction.

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*Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 5; *Dīgha*, 14: ii. 35-40; *Majjhima*, 26: i. 167-169; *Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 81; cf. Introduction, § 1 g, paragraph 3. This legend is from an early source and is probably the original of *f*. Doubt and Sloth-and-Laziness are numbered among the Nine Hosts of Māra in *b*.

*f*. According to other accounts, the Buddha is at this time tempted by the Evil One to accomplish his decease.

*Dīgha*, 16: ii. 112-114; cf. Introduction, § 1 g, paragraph 3. Cf. also *Lalitavistara*, xxiv: p. 489; *Divyāvadāna*, xvii: p. 202. This legend is probably a later form of *e*. See Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, chap, ii, especially pp. 35, 46, 66, 67; also p. 213. Windisch proves that the order of development of this temptation is as follows: *Lalitavistara*, xxiv; *Udāna*, vi. 1; *Dīgha*, 16; *Divyāvadāna*, xvii.

*g*. While the Buddha is residing in a forest-hut in the Himālaya, he is tempted by the Evil One to exercise sovereignty and to transmute the Himālaya mountains into gold.

*Samyutta*, iv. 2. 10; translated. Story xxiii. 8. This legend is from an early source and is probably the original of *a*. See Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, pp. 107-109.

*h*. Three months before his death, the Buddha is tempted by the Evil One to accomplish his decease immediately.

*Dīgha*, 16: ii. 104-106. Cf. *Samyutta*, li. 10: v. 260-262, and *Udāna*, vi. 1: 63-64. Cf. also *Divyāvadāna*, xvii: p. 202. As Windisch remarks (*Māra und Buddha*, p. 67), this temptation at the end of the Buddha's life is meaningless. It is of course a duplicate of *f*. [28.13]

The following is a brief outline of Edmunds's theory:<sup>34</sup>

Both religions are independent in the main, but out of eighty-nine chapters in the Gospels, the equivalent of one, mostly in the Gospel according to *St. Luke*, is colored by a knowledge of Buddhism. The sections thus colored especially are:

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<sup>34</sup> See Buddhist and Christian Gospels, i. 111-164; also *Monist*, 22. 1912, pp. 633-635; *Monist*, 23. 1913, pp. 517-522; *Open Court*, 28. 1914, pp. 287-291. On trade-relations between India and the West at the Christian era, see W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912. See also Schoff's papers in *Monist*, 22. 1912, pp. 138-149, 638; *JAOS.*, 35. 1915, pp. 31-41. A good introduction to the recent explorations in Central Asia is Sir M. Aurel Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 2 vols., London, 1912.

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a. The rejoicing of angels at the nativity, and the Simeon episode. (See 1. *Infancy legends*.)

b. The three temptations in *St. Luke* iv. 1-13 and *St. Matthew* iv. 1-11. Edmunds calls these: a, temptation to assume empire; b, temptation to transmute matter; c, temptation to commit suicide. (See the last two of the eight legends outlined in 6. *Temptations by the Evil One*.)

c. The seventy missionaries. (See 2. *Mission of Sixty*.)

d. The penitent thief. (See 3. *Conversion of robber*.)

At the beginning of the Christian era there were four great powers: the Chinese, the Hindus, the Parthians, and the Romans. Between the Chinese and the Parthians, and extending into parts of India, was a fifth power: the Indo-Scythian empire. This was the seat of an aggressive missionary Buddhism, at that time the most powerful religion in the world. Coins of these Indo-Scythian Buddhist kings, especially those of Kanishka, have come down to our own time, some of them bearing the image of the Buddha, together with his name in Greek letters. The Gentile Evangelist *St. Luke* was a physician of Antioch, a great international metropolis and the terminus of the Chinese silk-trade. There is every reason to believe that he had seen these coins and that he was familiar with the principal legends of the Buddha's life. India, Bactria, and the eastern part of the Parthian empire were covered with his temples. On these temples were sculptured scenes of the Buddha's life, and one of the characters portrayed was a converted robber. Recent finds in Central Asia prove that at the beginning of the Christian era the Buddhist Scriptures were being translated into Sogdian and Tokharish, vernaculars of the Parthian empire, the buffer state between Palestine and India. Parthians were present at Pentecost.

While Edmunds's argument lacks the element of finality, the following conclusions, in the main favorable to his theory, seem to be warranted by the evidence:

The Christian Evangelists, more particularly the Gentile Evangelist *St. Luke*, probably had access to the principal legends of the Buddha's life. The legend of the rejoicing of angels at the nativity and the story of Simeon are probably colored by Buddhist influence. The assumption that *St. Luke* was acquainted with the Buddhist legend of the conversion of a robber is a not unlikely explanation of the discrepancy between *St. Mark* xv. 32 and *St. Luke* xxiii. 39-43. [28.14]

It seems probable that the accounts of the temptations are to some extent colored by Buddhist influence.<sup>35</sup>

## § 2. Teachings of the Buddha

**§ 2 a. The Beginningless Round of Existences.** The primary mission of the Buddha was to deliver mankind from the frightful jungle or ocean of the Round of Existences. In the *Anamatagga Samyutta*<sup>36</sup> he is represented as saying: Without conceivable beginning is this Round of Existences; unknown is a starting-point in the past of beings impeded by the Impediment of Ignorance, fettered by the Fetter of Craving, passing, coursing, from birth to birth. The ancestors of a man are more numerous than all the blades of grass and sticks and branches and leaves in India; more numerous than all the particles of dust that compose the earth. The tears shed, the mother's milk drunk by a man in his previous states of existence, are more abundant than all the water contained in the four great oceans.

How long is a cycle of time? Longer than it would take a range of mountains a league in length, a league in breadth, a league in height, of solid rock, without a cleft, without a crack, to waste and wear away, were it to be wiped once a century with a silken cloth; longer than it would take a heap of mustard-seed of the same dimensions to disappear were a single seed to be removed once a century. Of cycles of time as long as this there have elapsed many hundreds of cycles, many thousands of cycles, many hundreds of thousands of cycles. Indeed, it is impossible to count them in terms of cycles or hundreds of cycles or thousands of cycles or hundreds of thousands of cycles. For example, were

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<sup>35</sup> Edmunds deals only with the legends marked *g* and *h* in the table of parallels given above. Edmunds calls the third temptation a temptation "to commit suicide." Neither *h* nor its original *f*, however, is a temptation to commit suicide, in the strict sense of the word. Moreover, *f* is probably a later form of *e*, which is a temptation to sloth, pure and simple. On the Christian side the temptation to leap from a pinnacle of the temple is in no sense a temptation to suicide, but rather to pride and vanity. The Buddhist parallels are not *g* and *h*, but *b* and *g*. In *b* the Buddha, emaciated and hungry, is assailed by the Evil One, accompanied by his Nine Hosts, the Third being Hunger and Thirst and the Ninth being Gain, Fame, Honor, and Glory Falsely Obtained, Exaltation of Self, and Contempt of Others. The correspondence between this temptation and the temptations recorded by *St. Luke* and *St. Matthew* hardly needs to be pointed out. Yet Edmunds does not even mention it.

<sup>36</sup> *Samyutta*, xv.

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each of four centenarians to call to mind a hundred thousand [28.15] cycles of time every day of his life, all four would die or ever they could count them all.

The cycles of time that have elapsed are more numerous than all the sands that lie between the source and the mouth of the Ganges. The bones left by a single individual in his passage from birth to birth during a single cycle of time would form a pile so huge that were all the mountains of Vepulla-range to be gathered up and piled in a heap, that heap of mountains would appear as naught beside it. The head of every man has been cut off so many times in his previous states of existence, either as a human being or as an animal, as to cause him to shed blood more abundant than all the water contained in the four great oceans. For so long a time as this, concludes the Buddha, you have endured suffering, you have endured agony, you have endured calamity. In view of this, you have every reason to feel disgust and aversion for all existing things and to free yourselves from them.

**§ 2 b. The motive of the Religious Life.** The motive of the Religious Life is expressly declared to be the hope of obtaining deliverance from this frightful Round of Existences, the hope of attaining Nibbāna. In the Rathavināta Sutta,<sup>37</sup> Sāriputta is represented as asking Puṇṇa Mantāniputta, “What is the motive of the Religious Life? Do we live the Religious Life for the sake of purity of conduct?” “No.” “For the sake of purity of heart?” “No.” “Of purity of belief?” “No.” “Of purity of certitude?” “No.” “Of purity of insight through knowledge of what is the Way and what is not the Way?” “No.” “Of purity of insight through knowledge of the Path?” “No.” “For the sake of purity of insight through knowledge?” “No.” All these things are necessary, but they are only the means to an end. “For the sake of what, then, do we live the Religious Life?” “That we may, through detachment from the things of this world, attain Supreme Nibbāna.”

**§ 2 c. Impermanence, Suffering, Unreality.** For, according to the Buddha, the things of this world, and the things of heaven as well, possess the following Three Characteristics: Impermanence, Suffering, and Unreality. All things are transitory. In all things inheres suffering. There is no soul. Moreover, the Supreme Being is a fiction of the imagination. There are few finer bits of humor in all literature than the famous passage in the Kevaddha Sutta<sup>38</sup> in which is related the journey of a monk to the World of Brahmā to obtain an

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<sup>37</sup> *Majjhima*, 24.

<sup>38</sup> *Dīgha*, 11. Cf. also *Dīgha*, 1; *Majjhima*, 49; *Sāmyutta*, vi. 1. 4; *Jātaka* 405.

answer to [28.16] a question which troubled him. The monk first put his question to the gods of the retinue of the Four Great Kings. They replied, “Neither do we know. But there are Four Great Kings who are more powerful and mighty than we. They might know.” The monk next put his question to the Four Great Kings. They referred him to the Thirty-three Gods. They referred him to their king, Sakka. The monk, after visiting six heavens in vain, finally went to the seventh heaven, the highest of all, the World of Brahmā. And having put his question to the gods of the retinue of Brahmā, he received the following reply, “Neither do we know. But there is Brahmā, Great Brahmā, the Supreme Being, the Invincible, the All-Seeing, the Subduer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Ancient of Days, the Conqueror, the Ruler, the Father of all that are and are to be. He is more powerful and mighty than we. He might know.” So the monk waited for the glory of Brahmā to appear and then put his question. Brahmā replied, “ I am Brahmā, Great Brahmā, the Supreme Being, the Invincible, the All-Seeing, the Subduer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Ancient of Days, the Conqueror, the Ruler, the Father of all that are and are to be.” Said the monk, “I did not ask you this question. I asked you that other.” Then Brahmā took that monk by the arm, led him aside, and said this to him, “Monk, the gods of my retinue imagine that there is nothing I do not know, nothing I do not see. Therefore I did not give you a direct answer to your question in their presence. But, monk, neither do I know the answer to your question. Go to the Buddha, and whatever answer he gives you, that you may safely believe.”

**§ 2 d. The Four Noble Truths regarding Suffering.** There are two extremes, declares the Buddha in his first sermon,<sup>39</sup> which the monk should not pursue: devotion to the pleasures of sense, and the practice of self-mortification. A Middle Way, which avoids both of these extremes, has been discovered by the Tathāgata. It makes for insight, for knowledge; it conduces to tranquillity, to higher wisdom, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. It is the Noble Eightfold Path, to wit: Right Views (the Four Noble Truths), Right Resolution (to renounce the lusts of the flesh, to bear malice towards none, and to injure no living creature), Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Exertion, Right Mindfulness (Heedfulness), Right Concentration (the Practice of Meditation). [28.17]

The Noble Truth regarding Suffering is this: Birth is Suffering, the Decrepitude of Old Age is Suffering, Disease is Suffering, Death is Suffering, Association

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<sup>39</sup> *Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 6. 17-22.

with Enemies is Suffering, Separation from Friends is Suffering, Failure to Obtain What One Desires is Suffering; in brief, the Five Elements of Being Which Spring from Attachment are involved in Suffering. The Noble Truth regarding the Origin of Suffering is this: It is Craving that leads to Rebirth; Craving for Sensual Pleasure, Craving for Existence, Craving for Wealth.<sup>40</sup> The Noble Truth regarding the Cessation of Suffering is this: It ceases when Craving ceases. The Noble Truth regarding the Way to the Cessation of Suffering is this: It is the Noble Eightfold Path.

**§ 2 e. The Noble Eightfold Path to Nibbāna.** Ridiculing the idea of a Supreme Being, denying the existence of the soul, declaring that men ought not to be satisfied merely with a life of good works leading to rebirth in heaven, the Buddha urged his hearers to renounce the house-life, the life of the laity, and to adopt the houseless life, the life of the monk and nun. He taught that every living being had passed through states of existence as impossible to number as the sands of the sea; that in each of these states of existence he had endured the sufferings of birth, old age, disease, death, association with enemies, separation from friends, and failure to obtain what he desired; that the cause of rebirth and of the sufferings connected therewith was Craving; that rebirth and the sufferings of repeated existences would come to an end only when Craving had been plucked up by the root and utterly destroyed; that the Way of Escape from the Round of Existences and the sufferings thereof was the Noble Eightfold Path.

The Noble Eightfold Path may briefly be described as follows: Since a correct diagnosis of maladies and the application of proper remedies are essential to the cure of spiritual and physical ills, the seeker after Salvation, which is of course Escape from the Round of Existences, Nibbāna, must first accept the Four Noble Truths.<sup>41</sup> He must resolve to renounce the lusts of the flesh, to bear malice towards none, to refrain from injuring a single living creature, and to cherish love for all living creatures without respect of kind or person. He must observe the Moral Precepts in thought, word, and deed, walking in the Way of Righteousness with Energy and Heedfulness. He must finally, by the Practice of Meditation, so grasp, fix in mind, and [28.18] comprehend, the Three

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<sup>40</sup> Ed. note: this is a mistranslation by Burlingame, although *vibhava* does mean wealth in other contexts, here it means (*Craving for*) *Non-Existence*.

<sup>41</sup> The Buddha expressly says (*Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, vi. 29): "It is because both I and you did not understand and comprehend these Four Noble Truths that we have run this long and weary course of the Round of Existences."

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Characteristics of all existing things, Impermanence, Suffering, and Unreality, as to eradicate utterly the cause of rebirth and suffering, namely, Craving. By so doing he becomes what is called an Arahāt, obtains Supernatural Knowledge and the Supernatural Powers, and attains the Nibbāna of the Living. At death the Five Elements of Being of which he is composed are utterly destroyed. His Past Deeds, by the power of which, under other circumstances, a new individual would immediately come into existence, are likewise utterly destroyed. He has at last attained the Summum Bonum, Deliverance from the Round of Existences, Supreme Nibbāna.

Not the Practice of Meditation in and by itself, it will be observed, nor yet the Practice of Morality in and by itself, is the Buddha's Way of Salvation. The Way of Salvation is the Practice of Meditation based upon Morality. There is no other Way to Nibbāna. On neither of these two points, of course, is the Buddha's teaching wholly original. The Buddha, like all other religious teachers, built on the foundations of the past, selecting, rejecting, adding, and combining. The faith and practice of Buddhism have much in common with other Indian systems of philosophy and religion, not to speak of extra-Indian systems. Nevertheless the system of meditation and the code of morality which the Buddha gave his followers contain at least two original contributions to the development of the religious thought of India of the highest importance. They are the Doctrine of the Middle Way between extremes and the Doctrine of Love for all living creatures (Mettā).

For example, the Jains taught the Doctrine of Non-Injury; the doctrine, namely, that it is a wicked thing to injure man, animal, or plant. But this doctrine, noble as it is, they carried to what was perhaps a logical, but for all that, quite absurd extreme. The Buddha also taught the Doctrine of Non-Injury, but took pains to confine it within reasonable limits.<sup>42</sup> He condemned the killing of animals even

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<sup>42</sup> What may be the genesis of this holy horror of injuring and killing we do not know for certain. But we know what it was not. It was not, as has frequently been asserted by uninformed persons, fear of injuring a deceased relative in animal form and thus incurring his vengeance. There is not a word in all the Sacred Scriptures of the Buddhists which would afford the slightest justification for such a theory. It is quite probable that fundamentally and essentially there is nothing moral or religious about it at all. Even a European or an American shrinks from treading on a caterpillar. In a country like India the sight and smell of death in revolting and horrible forms, the ever-present spectacle, for example, of insects and creeping things trodden underfoot, carcasses of animals in various stages of decay, and exposed corpses, cannot but arouse physical repulsion for death and horror of death-dealing acts.

[28.19] for food, but did not altogether forbid the eating of flesh and fish. But he was not satisfied merely to condemn the injuring and killing of living creatures; he taught no such merely negative doctrine. Instead he taught the most sublime doctrine that ever fell from the lips of a human being; the doctrine, namely, of love for all living creatures without respect of kind or person and for the whole visible creation: A man must love his fellow-man as himself, returning good for evil and love for hatred. But this is not all. He must extend his love to the fishes of the sea and the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, to the plants and the trees, to the rivers and the mountains. A man must not kill his fellow-man even in self-defense. All war is unholy.

The Doctrine of the Middle Way between the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification, which was preached for the first time in India by the Buddha, illustrates in a most striking manner, not only the spirit of moderation which pervades his teaching, but also the points of contact between his own teachings and the teachings of his predecessors and contemporaries. Pischel has shown that the Buddha derived the materials for his system of meditation from the Yoga system of philosophy and self-discipline. The ascetic practices of the Yoga system, however, many of which were as horrible methods of self-torture as can well be imagined, the Buddha rejected in their entirety, as having no spiritual value whatever.<sup>43</sup> But again the Yoga system emphasized the importance of Right Conduct, while the related Sāṃkhya system emphasized the importance of Right Knowledge to the exclusion of all else. The Buddha emphasized the importance of both. Now the beginning of the Noble Eightfold Path is Right Knowledge, the middle is Right Conduct and Right Meditation, and the end is Nibbāna. Not one of these elements is new. Yet the Noble Eightfold Path is new.

### **§ 3. Practice of Meditation**

Since the Religion of the Buddha knows no God, prayer forms no part of the religious life and is not even mentioned. Frequent mention is made of the Earnest Wish, which is simply the formal expression [28.20] of an intense desire for advantage of some kind in a later existence. But this Earnest Wish is

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What may be in origin merely squeamishness and disgust would easily and quickly take on a moral and religious character. Disgust is indeed one of the most powerful motives of the Religious Life in Buddhism.

<sup>43</sup> For a brief account of Hindu Asceticism, see A. S. Geden, in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. 87-96.

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not in any sense a prayer, for it is not addressed to any deity, much less to a Supreme Being. The Earnest Wish sometimes takes on high religious character. For example, in i. 8 the Future Buddha is said to have attained Enlightenment as the fruit of an Earnest Wish made under twenty-four previous Buddhas, and many other examples are given.

However, the Earnest Wish as a religious act always accompanies a work of merit, and is thus analogous to the Intention with which a Catholic performs a work of merit, as when a priest celebrates Mass or a lay person hears Mass or gives alms for a certain Intention. The Earnest Wish also plays an interesting role in the avenging of murder. In i. 4, v. 7, and viii. 2 the victim of a brutal murder, in each case a woman, utters at the moment of death the Earnest Wish that she may be reborn as an ogress, able to wreak vengeance on her murderer. Here again the Earnest Wish is religious in character, for the Wish becomes the instrument, and the maker of the Wish the agent, of the Power of Past Deeds by which, in a later existence, the murderer reaps the fruit of his sin.

For the ordinary purposes of everyday life the Act of Truth supplies, to some extent at least, the place of prayer. An Act of Truth is simply a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished. For example, in xvii. 3 *b* a jealous woman throws boiling oil on Uttarā. Uttarā makes the following Act of Truth, "If I cherish anger towards her, may this oil burn me; if not, may it not burn me." The boiling oil becomes to her like cold water. Other examples are given in vi. 4 *b* and xiii. 6. Frequent mention is made also of prayers and vows to deities and spirits, for the purpose of obtaining temporal blessings or averting disaster of some kind. But neither the Earnest Wish nor the Act of Truth nor yet prayers and vows to deities and spirits have any part in the religious life strictly so called. The place of Prayer is supplied by the Practice of Meditation.

Meditation, in the Buddhist sense of the word, is not mere desultory reflection, but a severe exercise in attention, discipline of will and mind, and concentration of thought. The Practice of Meditation, based on Morality and leading to the Higher Wisdom, is as essential to the attainment of Nibbāna according to the Buddhist scheme of Salvation as are Mental Prayer, Meditation, and the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist to final perseverance according to the Catholic [28.21] scheme. But whereas the Practice of Meditation, is superimposed on the Catholic system, anything like methodical meditation being unknown before the fifteenth century, it is the Way of Salvation par excellence in the Buddhist scheme. It thus corresponds,

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although not in kind, at least in dignity and importance, to the Greater Sacraments of the Church rather than to the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola and similar Catholic systems of meditation.

The system of Meditation in vogue in Ceylon in the early part of the fifth century A.D. is outlined and described in minute detail by Buddhaghosa in the Second Part of his *Visuddhi-Magga*. To this system of Meditation constant reference is made in the legends and stories of this collection. The novice is taken in hand by a preceptor, who studies his disposition and temperament and assigns him a Subject of Meditation suited to his needs, choosing one of the following

### **Forty Subjects of Meditation**

<b>Ten Pleasing</b>	<b>Ten Disgusting</b>	<b>Ten Reflections</b>	<b>Ten Higher States</b>
The Kasinās			
	The Corpses:	The Triad:	Four Exalted States:
Four Elements:	11 Bloated	21 Buddha	31 Love
1 Earth	12 Purple	22 Doctrine	32 Compassion
2 Water	13 Festering	23 Order	33 Joy
3 Fire	14 Fissured		34 Indifference
4 Wind	15 Gnawed	24 Morality	
	16 Scattered	25 Generosity	Four Formless States:
Four Colors:	17 Pounded and	26 Deities and	35 Infinity of Space
5 Blue	Scattered	Spirits	36 Infinity of
6 Yellow	18 Bloody	27 Death	Consciousness
7 Red	19 Wormy	28 Body	37 Nothingness
8 White	20 Bony	29 In-and-Out-	38 Neither Consciousness
		Breathing	nor Unconsciousness
Light and Space:		30 Quiescence	
9 Light			One Realization: of the
10 Glimpse			39 Loathsomeness of Food
of Sky			
			One Analysis: of the
			40 Four Elements

The Ten Disgusting Subjects (11-20) and Meditation on the Thirty-two Constituent Parts of the Body (28) lead to the First Trance. The first three of the Four Exalted States (31-33) lead to the Third Trance. [28.22] The Ten Kasinās (1-10), the Meditation on In- and Out-Breathing (29), the last of the

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Four Exalted States (34), and the Four Formless States (35-38) lead to the Fourth Trance. Ten Subjects of Meditation do not lead to the Trances at all: the first seven and the last of the Ten Reflections (21-27, 30), Realization of the Loathsomeness of Food (39), and Analysis of the Four Elements (40). These Trances are of course nothing but self-induced hypnotic states. The Four Trances and the Four Formless States are counted as the Eight Attainments. The Forty Subjects of Meditation and the Four Trances lead to Detachment and to the Cessation of Craving; that is to say, to the destruction of the cause of Rebirth and Suffering, to Deliverance from the Round of Existences, to Nibbāna.

The novice retires to a quiet, secluded spot, preferably his own cell or a forest solitude, seats himself cross-legged, and begins his Meditation. More likely than not his preceptor has directed him to meditate on the Impurity of the Body, this Subject of Meditation being regarded as particularly efficacious in enabling the young to overcome the temptations of the flesh. Summoning up all the powers of his will and concentrating his attention, he begins to repeat the Formula of the Thirty-two Constituent Parts of the Body. This Formula he repeats, not once only, but hundreds and hundreds of times. Gradually the thought comes to his mind that the body, outwardly fair and beautiful, is in point of fact utterly impure and vile, a mere assemblage of decaying elements, transitory and perishable. Having obtained this mental reflex, he enters into a state of supernatural ecstasy and calm, the First Trance.

Very possibly his preceptor will next assign him the Earth-Kasiṇa. The novice drives four stakes into the ground, spreads them basket wise, and stretches a piece of cloth or a skin over them. He then kneads a disk of light-red clay, a few inches in diameter, and places it on the frame. Having so done, he seats himself cross-legged at a short distance from the frame, fixes his eyes on the disk, and begins his Meditation. He considers the worthlessness of the pleasures of sense, reflects on the virtues of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, and concentrates his mind on the element of earth, repeating its various names and dwelling on the thought that his body is naught but earth. He gazes steadfastly at the disk, sometimes with his eyes open, sometimes with his eyes closed. As soon as the disk appears equally visible, whether his eyes are open or closed, and he has thus obtained the proper mental reflex, he rises from his seat, goes to his place of abode, [28.23] and develops the reflex. Having entered into the ecstasy and calm of the First Trance, he considers and investigates his Subject of Meditation. Having so done, he abandons consideration and investigation, and thus enters into the Second Trance. Freeing himself from ecstasy, he enters

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into the supernatural calm of the Third Trance. From the Third Trance he passes into the Fourth Trance, becoming utterly indifferent to pleasure and pain alike.

In xx. 9 we read that the son of a goldsmith once became a monk under Elder Sāriputta. Sāriputta, desiring to enable the youth to ward off the attacks of lust, directed him to meditate on the Impurity of the Body. The youth failed miserably in his meditations. Sāriputta, not knowing what was the matter, took him to the Buddha. The Buddha surveyed the previous states of existence of the youth and perceived that in five hundred successive states of existence the youth had been reborn in the family of that same goldsmith. Knowing that in all these states of existence the youth had wrought flowers and other beautiful objects in ruddy gold, the Buddha concluded that Meditation on a Disgusting Subject was entirely unsuitable for him; that he must be assigned a Pleasant Subject.

Accordingly the Buddha created a lotus of gold, gave the lotus to the young monk, and told him to set it up on a heap of sand, to sit down cross-legged before it, and to repeat the words, “Blood-red! blood-red!” The young monk did so. He had no difficulty whatever in developing all Four Trances. The Buddha, desiring to assist the young monk to develop Specific Attainment to the uttermost, caused the lotus to wither. Immediately the young monk thought, “If things which have no attachment for the world thus decay and die, how much more will living beings who are attached to the world decay and die!” Thus he came to realize the Three Characteristics of all things, namely, Impermanence, Suffering, and Unreality.

In ii. 3 *b* the Buddha gives Little Wayman a clean cloth and directs him to face the East, rub the cloth, and repeat the words, “Removal of Impurity!” After Little Wayman has rubbed the cloth for a time, he observes that it has become soiled, and thus obtains the mental reflex of Impermanence. This was because in a previous state of existence he obtained the reflex of Impermanence by contemplating a cloth which had become soiled by the sweat of his brow. The Buddha appears to him in a vision and says, “Impurity is Lust, Hatred, Delusion. Remove these.” Little Wayman immediately attains Arahatsip. [28.24]

In i. 6 Mahā Kāḷa obtains the mental reflex of Impermanence by contemplating the destruction by fire of the corpse of a beautiful girl. In i. 8 *d* we are told that Yasa, in a previous state of existence, acquired a sense of the Impurity of

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the Body by contemplating the corpse of a pregnant woman. For this reason, the moment he beheld the loathsome appearance of his sleeping nautch-girls, he became disgusted with the pleasures of sense and obtained the concept of Impurity and Impermanence. In iii. 5 we are told that Cittahattha, disgusted with the revolting appearance of his pregnant wife as she lay asleep, which reminded him of nothing so much as that of a bloated corpse, instantly obtained the mental reflex of Impermanence.

In xi. 5 and xxiv. 5 vain women obtain the mental reflex of decay and death by contemplating the decay and death of a phantom woman. In x. 10 and xxv. 10 a monk attains Arahatsip by contemplating a ragged garment which he wore as a layman. In xxv. 8 we are told that some monks, while engaged in meditation, observed jasmine flowers, which had blossomed that very morning, dropping from their stems. Thereupon they thought, "So also will we obtain release from Lust, Hatred, and Delusion." Applying themselves to meditation with renewed energy, they attained Arahatsip.

In ii. 8 we read of a monk who failed miserably in the Practice of Meditation. Resolving to ask the Buddha to assign him a Subject better suited to his needs, he set out to return to the Buddha. On the way he saw a forest-fire. Hastily climbing a bare mountain, he watched the fire, concentrating his mind on the following thought, "Even as this fire advances, consuming all obstacles both great and small, so also ought I to advance, consuming all obstacles both great and small by the Fire of Knowledge of the Noble Path." He immediately attained Arahatsip. Under similar circumstances, in iv. 2 and xiii. 3, monks see a mirage and a waterfall and concentrate their minds on the following thoughts, "Even as this mirage appears substantial to those that are far off, but vanishes on nearer approach, so also is this existence unsubstantial by reason of birth and decay. Just as these bubbles of foam form and burst, so also is this existence formed and so also does it burst." In viii. 12 a nun obtains a mental reflex of Impermanence, Decay, and Death by contemplating vanishing drops of water, and in viii. 13 by contemplating a flickering lamp. In viii. 11 a discontented monk resolves to commit suicide and applies the razor to his throat. As he reflects on his past conduct, he perceives that it is flawless. Thereupon a thrill of joy pervades his whole body. [28.25] Suppressing the feeling of joy and developing Insight, he attains Arahatsip together with the Supernatural Faculties.

#### § 4. Dhammapada: its place in the Buddhist Canon

The Sacred Scriptures of the Buddhists fall into three principal divisions: Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka, and Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The Vinaya Piṭaka consists of the Books of Discipline of the Order of Monks founded by the Buddha. Incidentally it contains an account of the first two years of his ministry and of many other interesting events in his career. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka contains a systematic exposition of what may be called the Buddhist psychology of sensation; with it we are not concerned. The Sutta Piṭaka, the largest of the three divisions, contains the Books of Doctrine. The Sutta Piṭaka consists of five groups, called Nikāyas, namely, Four Nikāyas the Greater and One Nikāya the Less.

The first Four Nikāyas (also called Āgamas) are as follows: (1) Dīgha, (2) Majjhima, (3) Saṃyutta, (4) Aṅguttara. The Dīgha and Majjhima contain the long and medium-length discourses of the Buddha respectively. These are cast in the form of dialogues, somewhat after the manner of the Dialogues of Plato. The Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara contain explanations of points of doctrine, arranged in catechism fashion according to topic and number respectively. The Lesser Nikāya, called the Khuddaka, consists of fifteen books, grouped in three pentads. Of these fifteen books, perhaps the most interesting and important are the Jātakas, or Buddhist Birth Stories; the Sutta Nipāta, a collection of poetical dialogues and epic pieces (probably the oldest single book in the entire Canon); the Udāna, or Solemn Utterances of the Buddha (antique verse, together with a prose commentary ranking as canonical); and the Dhammapada.

The Dhammapada is an anthology of 423 Sayings of the Buddha in verse. This anthology is divided into twenty-six parts, or books (vaggas), the arrangement of the Stanzas being by subjects. These Stanzas are for the most part taken from other books of the Pāli canon and embody, if not the very words of the Buddha's utterance, at least the actual spirit of his teaching.<sup>44</sup> In one recension or another the Dhammapada was dispersed throughout the Buddhist world. [28.26] The most noteworthy versions, in addition to the Pāli version, are the four Chinese versions from the Sanskrit, the earliest of which, an anthology of 500 Stanzas, was brought from India in 223 A.D. and, together with the rest of the Tripiṭaka, printed from blocks in 972 A.D., nearly seven centuries before

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<sup>44</sup> See the Introduction to F. Max Müller's translation of the *Dhammapada*, in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x; also Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 63-65.

Gutenberg.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately this version has never been translated into any Occidental language. Next in importance is the Tibetan Udānavarga, also from the Sanskrit. The Udānavarga, which corresponds closely to the Udāna and the Dhammapada of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, was many years ago translated into English by W. W. Rockhill. Fragments of other versions of the Dhammapada are among the finds of recent explorations in Central Asia.

### **§ 5. Commentary: general character and structure of parts**

From Vedic times Hindu commentators have delighted to introduce illustrative stories into their commentaries. The Brāhmaṇas, like the Talmud, abound in quaint and interesting tales. In the case of commentaries on Vedic and Sanskrit texts the principal purpose of the author is, as might be expected, to interpret and explain the words of the text. Since it frequently happens that a good story illustrates the meaning of a word or passage even better than a philological discussion, the author always allows himself the liberty of introducing such stories as may serve his purpose. At the same time he is careful to subordinate the element of fiction to his main purpose, namely, the exegesis of the text. He never introduces a good story merely for the sake of the story.

The tendency of commentators on the Pāli texts, however, is just the reverse. The verbal glosses begin to shrink, both in size and importance, and the stories begin to grow. Finally, as in the case of the Dhammapada Commentary, the exegesis of the text becomes a matter of secondary importance altogether and is relegated to the background. Ostensibly at least, and in name and form, the commentary remains a commentary. But in point of fact, and to all intents and purposes, what was once a commentary has become nothing more or less than a huge collection of legends and folk-tales.

Such a commentary is the Dhammapada Commentary. Ostensibly it is a commentary on the Stanzas of the Dhammapada. The author or compiler or translator says this very solemnly in the Introductory [28.27] and Concluding Stanzas. There exists, he says, in the Island of Ceylon, an erudite Commentary on the Dhammapada which has been handed down from time immemorial. But it is in the Cingalese language, and is therefore of use only to the few. The suggestion has been made to him by Elder Kumāra Kassapa that, were it to be

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<sup>45</sup> See Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭika*. (There is a copy of this valuable and important work in the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore.)

translated into Pāli, it would conduce to the welfare of the whole world. The suggestion seems to him to be a good one, and he purposes to carry it into effect. It is his intention, therefore, to translate this Cingalese Commentary into Pāli. He will thus make clear everything that has not been made clear in the Stanzas themselves, whether in letter or in word. The rest he will also tell in Pāli, but more freely, *in accordance with the spirit* of the Stanzas.

Just what he means by the last statement is not at once apparent. But a study of the Commentary as a whole, in its relation to the Sacred Scriptures and to other Commentaries, makes his meaning abundantly plain. The reader will wish to know, first of all, who uttered the Stanza. He must be told that every one of the Stanzas is the very Word of the Buddha himself. But this will not satisfy his curiosity. He will ask many other questions about the Stanza; such, for example, as the following: Where was it uttered? when? why? for what purpose? with reference to what situation? with reference to what person or persons? The commentator will satisfy the reader's curiosity on all of these points. He is thoroughly familiar with the Sacred Scriptures, and the Sacred Scriptures tell him that the Stanza was uttered either on one certain occasion or on any number of different occasions. He is familiar also with voluminous Commentaries, both In Pāli and in Cingalese. Moreover, he has at his command the immense storehouse of Hindu legend.

If a legend or story which he finds in the Sacred Scriptures or Commentaries can be improved on by alteration or expansion or compression, he makes such changes in it as suit his purpose. If a story will do very well just as it stands, he copies it word for word, sometimes telling where he got it, but more often not. Or it may suit his purpose better to tell the story in his own words, introducing original touches here and there. Or he may have heard a good story from a traveler or a sailor or a villager or a fellow-monk. No matter where he read the story, no matter where he heard it, no matter what its character, it becomes grist for his mill.<sup>46</sup> Some of the stories he tells sound as though [28.28] they had come out of drinking-taverns, and it is quite possible that they did. Like Kipling's Homer, "Wot 'e thought 'e might require, 'e went and took." Not only does he display good judgment in selecting stories, and consummate skill in adapting them to his purpose, but he is also a first-rate story-teller on his own account. Many of the best stories cannot be traced to other sources, and of these at least a considerable number are doubtless original.

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<sup>46</sup> For a detailed discussion of the author's methods of handling motifs and story material generally, see Story v. 1, note 1.

It will be observed that he does not claim to be the author of the verbal glosses. It is well for his reputation that he does not. Semi-occasionally a gloss is of some assistance in the interpretation of the text. But more often than not the glosses are not only of no assistance whatever, but are positively misleading. Words and expressions from eight to ten centuries old, whose meaning and history are perfectly well known to us, the glossographer, whoever he may be, interprets after the manner of the scholastics of the fifth century A.D. Such etymologies as he gives are, like all other Hindu etymologies, the merest puns and utterly valueless. The problem of really difficult words, he generally evades, either by not noticing the words at all, or by the familiar expedient of including the term defined in the definition. There are only two glosses of any real interest or value in the entire collection: the long glosses on Stanzas 324 and 354 (end of Stories xxiii. 3 and xxiv. 10 respectively). These have been translated in full. As an illustration of the glossographer's stupid handling of difficult words, the short gloss on Stanza 415 (near the end of Story xxvi. 32) has been translated. All other glosses have been omitted from the translation.

The author or redactor or compiler of these legends and stories appears to have used as his models chiefly the prose-and-verse Udāna and the prose-and-verse Jātaka Book. In most cases there is no organic connection between the prose and the verse of the Udāna, and the same remark applies to the Dhammapada Commentary. So far as the stories of this collection conform to the type of the prose-and-verse Udāna, and a very large number do, no more need be said of them than that they consist of a Stanza and an illustrative tale. The structure of such stories as conform to the prose-and-verse Jātaka type, which form the bulk of the collection, is much more complex. Ordinarily each story of this type consists of eight subdivisions, as follows: (1) citation of the stanza (gāthā) to which the story relates; (2) mention of the person or persons with reference to whom the story was told; (3) story proper; or, more strictly, Story of the Present (paccuppanna-vatthu), [28.29] closing with the utterance of the (4) stanza or stanzas; (5) word-for-word commentary or gloss on the stanza; (6) brief statement of the spiritual benefits which accrued to the hearer or hearers;<sup>47</sup> (7) Story of the Past; or, more accurately, Story of Previous

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<sup>47</sup> This enumeration of spiritual benefits generally takes the following form: "At the conclusion of the stanza (or discourse), that monk (or layman) was established in the Fruit of Conversion, and many others in the Fruits of the Second and Third Paths. The company present also profited thereby." Since this formula adds nothing to the story, and the repetition of it becomes very wearisome, it has been omitted in the translation.

Existences (atīta-vatthu); (8) identification of the personages of the Story of the Past with those of the Story of the Present. Sometimes the Story of the Past precedes the Story of the Present, and not infrequently more than one Story of the Past is given.

## **§ 6. Subject-matter and motifs of the stories**

**§ 6 a. Fruit of Past Deeds and Rebirth as motifs.** As in other collections of Hindu tales, the psychic motif and literary device most frequently employed is the Fruit of Past Deeds and Rebirth. It is no exaggeration to say that in each and every story it is at least the ostensible purpose of the writer to illustrate the truth of the maxim, “Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.” Every story is in a very strict, although by no means narrow, sense a “moral tale.” Sometimes, it is true, the obligation to point a moral weighs so heavily upon the writer that he deliberately spoils a good story for the sake of the moral. But this is infrequently the case. Ordinarily he selects, remodels, and invents, with the utmost freedom, stories of all sorts and kinds, ranging all the way from stories of heroic virtue and sanctity to stories of unspeakable villainy and unbelievable wickedness, moved apparently by one and only one consideration, namely, that of telling the best story he can think of.

The earth is always ready to yawn and swallow up a sinner, and the Avīci hell to envelop him with its flames. The troubles and woes of a sinner are frequently more amusing and picturesque than the evil deeds that brought them upon him. A sinner is certain to be punished sooner or later. If retribution does not overtake him in one state of existence, it surely will in a later state. The worse a man behaves in one state of existence, the better the chance to tell a good story about him in a later state. It will thus be apparent that the requirement that each story shall be a “moral tale,” far from hampering or restricting [28.30] the story-teller, opens up to him a field of immense possibilities. Sometimes even the temporary discomfiture of a sinner or the conversion of a sinner from his evil ways is a more effective device in the hands of the story-teller than his punishment. There are few more effective denouements in the world’s fiction than the disproof of the false accusation brought against the Buddha by the wandering nun Ciñcā (xiii. 9) and the conversion of the robber Aṅgulimāla (xiii. 6).

A correct understanding of the Buddhist doctrine of the Fruit of Past Deeds is essential to a just appreciation of its importance and effectiveness as a psychic motif and literary device. Good deeds, works of merit, a life of righteousness

conformed to the ethical teachings of the Buddha, lead to happiness and prosperity in this life, and at death to rebirth either in a happier human estate or in one of the heavens. To be sure, this is not Salvation, for Salvation is Escape from the Round of Existences, Attainment of Nibbāna. Not Morality, but the Practice of Meditation, is the Way of Salvation, although of course Morality is the indispensable prerequisite to the Practice of Meditation. The merely moral man, however, will forever remain in the Round of Existences, and is therefore in a very real sense as far from Salvation as the sinner. But the Practice of Meditation, leading to Attainment of Nibbāna, while not without value as a literary motif, is of slight importance as compared with the Fruit of Past Deeds, more particularly the Fruit of Evil Deeds, and with it we are not chiefly concerned.

Just as good deeds lead to happiness, both here and hereafter, so evil deeds lead to sorrow and pain and adversity in this life, and at death to rebirth in one of the hells, in the animal kingdom, in the world of ghosts, or in the world of the fallen deities. The power of past deeds (kammabala), whether of the accumulated merit of good deeds (puñña) or of the accumulated merit of evil deeds (apuñña), is superior to all other powers spiritual or physical, human or superhuman. No man or deity or devil can stay the operation of the power of past deeds; there is no forgiveness of sins; every evil deed must be wiped out with the blood and tears of the evildoer. Moreover, as the Buddha makes abundantly clear in the Fifteenth Saṃyutta, the Round of Existences is without conceivable beginning; of it no starting-point in the past is known. Nor will there ever be an end of it for any human being unless by the Practice of Meditation, pursued with Energy and Heedfulness, he tear up by the roots and utterly destroy Craving, the cause of it. Now it is the burden of the Buddha's complaint that most men walk in ways of wickedness, few in the way of [28.31] righteousness, and fewer still in the Way of Salvation. It is therefore not surprising that in Buddhist works of fiction, as in Hindu fiction in general, such extensive use should be made of this motif of the Fruit of Past Deeds; there is simply no limit to its possibilities as an instrument in the hands of the storyteller. A glance at a few of the most interesting instances of its employment in the legends and stories of this collection will make this abundantly clear.

In ii. 7 we are told that Sakka (Indra), King of the Thirty-three Gods, was at one time a Brahman youth named Magha, and that Magha obtained rebirth as Sakka by fulfilling Seven Vows. The rest of the Thirty-three Gods were in their human estate associated with Magha in the performance of works of merit. Vissakamma (the Indian Vulcan) was a common carpenter. Likewise

three virtuous women of Magha's household, by the performance of works of merit, obtained rebirth as wives of Sakka. The fourth, thinking it a sufficient distinction to be a cousin of Magha, did nothing but adorn herself and was therefore reborn as a crane. However, by observing the Five Precepts even to the point of abstaining from the eating of live fish, she obtained rebirth as a potter's daughter; by persevering in the observance of the Five Precepts, she obtained rebirth as an Asura maiden and eventually became one of Sakka's wives.

The story of the seven marvelous escapes from death of the luck-child Ghosaka (ii. 1. 2) well illustrates, often in a most amusing way, the great variety of ways in which this motif is frequently employed within the limits of a single story. Ghosaka, in a previous existence as Kotūhalaka, cast his young son away in time of famine and was reborn as a dog. Dying of a broken heart for love of a Private Buddha, because of his straightforwardness and lack of deceit (which, the writer remarks, distinguish dogs from human beings), he was reborn as a god in the Heaven of the Thirty-three. In consequence of indulging in the pleasures of sense, he was reborn as the son of a courtesan. Because in his existence as Kotūhalaka he cast his own son away, he was himself cast away seven times. Because in his existence as a dog he made friends with a Private Buddha, he was miraculously preserved from death. The daughter of a rich man, because in his existence as Kotūhalaka she was his wife, fell in love with him at first sight and married him.

In xxvi. 33 *d* we are told that one day a monk who was an Arahat stopped at the house of a goldsmith to solicit gold for the erection of the shrine of the Buddha Kassapa. At that moment the goldsmith was [28.32] engaged in a quarrel with his wife. Irritated at the sight of the monk, he said angrily to his wife, "Throw your Teacher into the water!" As the fruit of this sin, in seven successive existences he was cast into the water on the day of his birth. But because he made reparation for the insult by offering three vessels of golden flowers at the shrine of the Buddha, a mountain of gold uprose for him in his seventh existence as Jaṭila.

The power of habit is considered to be the fruit of past deeds. In xxvi. 25 we are told that the monks once complained to the Buddha that one of their fellows was in the habit of accosting everybody he met with the epithet commonly applied to outcasts. The Buddha, after surveying the previous existences of the accused monk, informed his accusers that in five hundred successive existences the monk had been reborn as a Brahman, and that he used

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the epithet, not out of ill-will, but simply from the force of habit. There is a similar explanation in xviii. 9 of the various attitudes of five laymen while the Buddha was preaching. In five hundred successive existences the first had been a dragon, and therefore fell asleep; the second had been an earthworm, and therefore dug the earth with his finger; the third had been a monkey, and therefore shook a tree; the fourth had been an astrologer, and therefore gazed at the sky; the fifth had been a repeater of the Veda, and therefore listened attentively.

All manner of physical disabilities are looked upon as the fruit of past deeds. In xvii. 1 we read of a maiden who suffered from an eruption of the skin because in a previous existence as a queen, in a fit of jealousy and anger, she had ruined the complexion of a nautch-girl. In iii. 7 a monk suffers from an eruption of the skin because in a previous existence as a fowler he had been guilty of cruelty to birds. In v. 7 we are told that a youth once spat upon a Private Buddha. Moreover, in company with three other youths, he once murdered a courtesan for her jewels. At the moment of death the courtesan made the Earnest Wish that she might be reborn as an ogress, able to kill her murderers. The youth, because he spat upon a Private Buddha, was reborn as a leper. One day, shortly after he had obtained the Fruit of Conversion, he was set upon by a heifer and kicked in the head. As a matter of fact, the heifer was none other than the courtesan, who had been reborn as an ogress and who had disguised herself as a heifer to get revenge.

In i. 1 *a* a wicked physician blinds a woman who attempts to cheat him out of his fee for curing her of an affection of the eyes. In his next [28.33] existence as a monk he attains Arahatship and loses his eyesight at one and the same moment. In ix. 9 a wicked physician who was seeking employment for his services would have allowed a snake to bite some small boys. But one of the boys threw the snake on the physician's head, and he was bitten to death. In his next existence as a hunter he tormented a monk and was devoured by his own dogs. In v. 3 a niggard is reborn as a monstrosity and is forced to beg his food from door to door. In xxiv. 1 an insolent monk is reborn as a fish with a bad breath. In vii. 9 *c* Sīvali remained in the womb of his mother for seven days and seven months and seven years for no other reason than that in a previous existence he once blockaded a city and reduced the inhabitants to starvation.

The killing of animals, no less than the murder of human beings, brings down upon the guilty person's head the direst forms of retribution. In V. 1 *c* a queen once killed a ewe for food, and was reborn in hell. Afterwards, since the fruit

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of her wicked deed was not yet exhausted, her own head was cut off just as many times as there were hairs in the ewe's fleece. In i. 10 a pig-killer goes stark mad and for seven days crawls about his house, squealing and grunting like a pig. Dying, he is reborn in the Avīci hell. In xviii. 1 a cow-killer cuts off the tongue of a live ox, has it cooked, and sits down to eat. The moment he places a piece of ox-tongue in his mouth, his own tongue is cleft in twain and falls out of his mouth. Going stark mad, he crawls about on his hands and knees, bellowing like an ox. Dying, he is reborn in the Avīci hell. In xii. 1 c we are told that because in a previous state of existence Prince Bodhi ate some bird's eggs he was destined to remain childless all his life. In xxiv. 11 a rich man remains childless because he once killed his nephew for his money.

In x. 7 Moggallāna the Great, one of the Two Chief Disciples of the Buddha, is torn limb from limb by brigands and his bones ground into powder because in a previous existence he killed his mother and father. In xii. 5 Mahā Kāla, a faithful layman, is beaten to death because in a previous existence he beat a traveler to death in order to obtain possession of his wife. In ix. 11 a crow is burned to a crisp in mid-air because in a previous existence as a farmer he burned a lazy ox to death; the wife of a sea-captain is cast overboard as a Jonah because in a previous existence she drowned her dog; and seven monks are imprisoned in a cave for seven days because in a previous existence as young cowherds they thoughtlessly allowed a lizard to remain imprisoned in an ant-hill for seven days. Revenge pursued through [28.34] successive existences, the motive power being supplied by the Earnest Wish, is the theme of i. 4 and xxi. 2. In iii. 9, in consequence of expressing a wicked wish, a man is transformed into a woman, and thus is created the extraordinary situation of one and the same person being both the father and the mother of children. The writer remarks in the most matter-of-fact sort of way that there are no men who have not been women at some time or other, and no women who have not, at some time or other, been men.

§ 6 b. **Other motifs.**<sup>48</sup> Among the motifs found in this collection which are most frequently repeated in both Hindu and European fiction are the following:

Act of Truth:<sup>49</sup> curse, i. 3 a; to cross rivers on dry foot, vi. 4 b; to ease childbirth, xiii. 6 (cf. xxvi. 31); to cool boiling oil, xvii. 3 b.

Arrow pierces five hundred warriors at once; on removing armor, they fall dead, iv. 3.

Arrow turns back, ii. 1. 6.

Bad company mars manners, xxv. 5 a.

Baling out the ocean, xx. 8 a.

Beauty fades, xi. 5, xxiv. 5.

Braggart, but of humble origin, xviii. 8.

Bow requiring a thousand men to string, ii. 1. 6, iv. 3.

Captive king and captor's daughter, ii. 1. 4.

Change of sex, iii. 9.

Charm inadvertently recited, disperses robbers and saves king's life, ii. 3 c.

Charm to attract and banish elephants, ii. 1. 1, ii. 1. 4.

Charmed life borne by luck-child, ii. 1. 2.

Child's query, "Have we no relatives?" ii. 3 a, iv. 3.

Conflict between Devas and Asuras, ii. 7 6.

Cure for death, viii. 13 6.

Cure for gluttony, xv. 6, xxiii. 4.

Cure for love, xi. 2.

Daughter her father's senior, i. 13.

Daughter of rich man falls in love with her inferior: with hunter, ix. 8; with slave, ii. 3 a, viii. 12; with thief, viii. 3.

David and Uriah, v. 1.

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<sup>48</sup> On the subject of repeated motifs in Hindu fiction, see the following papers by Professor Maurice Bloomfield: *On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 36. 1916, pp. 54- 89; *On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction*, in *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 349-361; *The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 52. 1913, pp. 616-650.

<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of this motif, see E. W. Burlingame, *The Act of Truth (Saccakiriya); a Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1917.

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Death-warrant borne by self, ii. 1. 2. [28.35]

Delayed pursuit, ii. 1.4.

Destroyer of friendships, xx. 6 *a*.

Disloyal children: daughters, viii. 14; sons, xxiii. 3.

“Don’t count your chickens before they’re hatched,” iii. 4.

Drunkenness: drunken Asuras, ii. 7 6; drunken prince, x, 9, xiii. 4; drunken asses, vi. 8; drunken women, xi. 1; drunkenness of Suppabuddha, ix. 12.

Earnest Wish, i. 4 (xxi. 2), i. 8, iv. 8 *a*, v. 7, viii. 2.

Enchanted hunter, ix. 8.

Fakirs: bat-wing, xxvi. 11; with radiance from navel, xxvi, 30 6; skull-tapper, xxvi. 37.

False accusation of Buddha by suborned nuns, xiii. 9, xxii. 1.

Fruit of Past Deeds, see Introduction, § 6 *a*.

Golden maiden, xvi. 5.

Haunted forest, i. 1, iii. 6.

Haunted pool, x. 8 *a*.

Head splitting into seven pieces, i. 1, i. 3, xiii. 10.

Heir in disguise, ii. 2.

Homesickness, iv. 3 *a*, xxi. 6.

Hunger-strike (*āhāra-upaccheda*), viii. 3, xv. 3, xvi. 6.

“I have conquered!” iii. 5, ix. 1.

Identification: by footprint, ii. 1. 5 (cf. xiv. 1), ix. 8; by ring and mantle, ii. 1. 1; by the voice, ii. 2.

Jealous woman maltreats rival, xvii. 1 *b*, xxii. 6.

Jonah, v. 3, ix. 9, ix. 11 *b*.

Joseph and Potiphar’s wife, xiii. 9 *a*.

King in disguise eavesdropping, ii. 3 *c*.

Laugh, ii. 1. 2 (p. 265), xvii. 3 *b*.

Laugh and cry, v. 16 *c*.

Cf. also Smile.

Lioness mother of a human being, xxv. 9.

Longing of pregnancy, iv. 3.

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Magic bird, xii. 1 *a*.

Mind-reading, iii. 2, ii. 1. 6.

Moses in the bulrushes, xxvi. 33 *c*.

Multiplication of food by miracle, iv. 5, xviii. 10.

Multiplication of men by miracle, ii. 3 *b*.

Niggardliness, i. 2, iv. 5.

Oath to wash bench with human blood, iv. 3.

Pious fraud, ii. 7 *b*, iv. 10.

Pride goeth before a fall, i. 3, i. 14, v. 5, vi. 3, xviii. 4, xviii. 8. [28.36]

Rebirth, see Introduction, § 6 *a*.

Reflection in jeweled walls frightens warriors, xxvi. 34.

Removed, yet unremoved, xxvi. 23.

Riddling charm, ii. 3 *c*.

Riddling injunctions, iv. 8, xxi. 8.

Riddling phrases, ix. 8, i. 13.

Riddling questions, xiii. 7.

Riddling song, xiv. 3.

Slip of tongue, ii. 1. 2, xi. 7.

Smile of Buddha, x. 9, xi. 9, xxiv. 2, xxvi. 32.

Smile of Moggallāna, v. 12, v. 13, x. 6, xx. 6, xxii. 2.

Sounds of evil omen, v. 1.

Spit-fire monk and dragon, xiv. 6.

“Strike, but hear!” ix. 10.

Substitution of live cocks for dead cocks, ii. 1, 6.

Substitution of letter, ii. 1. 2.

Sword breaks, viii. 9 *a*.

Sycophants and rich youth, xi. 9.

Talkative tortoise, xxv. 3 *a*.

Talkativeness cured by tossing pellets of dung into the mouth, v. 13 *a*.

Transmutation of baser substances into gold, viii. 13 *a*, xvii. 3 *a*, xxiii. 8.

Treacherous wife, xxiv. 7 *a*.

Vow to spirits, i. 1, v. 1 *b*, viii. 3, viii. 9.

“We were three, we were two, I alone am left,” ii. 1. 3.

Women and monks: former wives, i. 6; innocent monk beaten by husband,

xxvi. 22; phantom woman, x. 4; St. Antony motif, vii. 10, xxvi. 32.

Wooden elephant filled with warriors, ii. 1. 4.

**§ 6 c. Humorous stories.** The book abounds in humorous stories and amusing situations. Niggardliness, drunkenness, pride, and the temptations of women are favorite themes. In i. 2 we read of a Brahman, very appropriately named Never-Gave, of disposition so niggardly that when he wished to have a pair of ear-rings made for his son, he beat out the gold himself to save the expense of employing a goldsmith; when his son was attacked by jaundice, he refused the request of his wife that a physician be called, for fear of having to pay him his fee, but inquiring of various physicians what remedies they were accustomed to prescribe for such and such ailments, prescribed for his son himself; and when, as the result of his treatment, his son grew steadily worse and was about to die, he carried him out of the house and laid him down on the terrace, fearing that persons who called to see his dying son might get a glimpse of the wealth the house contained. When his son died, he had the body burned, and went daily to the [28.37] burning-ground and wept and lamented. The son, reborn as a deity, decided to teach the father a lesson, and resuming human form, went to the burning-ground and wept and lamented also. “Why are you weeping?” inquired the father. “I want the sun and the moon,” replied the son. “You are a fool.” “But which of us is the bigger, fool, I who weep for what exists, or you who weep for what does not exist?”

In iv. 5 we read of another miser, a rich man named Niggardly. One day he saw a half-starved countryman eating a round cake stuffed with sour gruel. The sight made him hungry; but for fear that, if he said anything to his wife, many others might wish to eat with him and his substance might thus be wasted, he walked about all day long, enduring the pangs of hunger as best he could, until finally he was forced to take to his bed. His wife begged him to tell her what was the matter with him, suggesting that perhaps the king or some member of his household might be the cause of his woe. “Nothing of the sort.” “Then perhaps you have a craving for something.” When Niggardly heard this, he was struck dumb. Finally he admitted that he should like a round cake to eat. “Why didn’t you tell me so before? I will bake enough cakes for all the residents of the street.” “Why for them.” “Then enough for you and your children and your wife.” “Why for them?” “Then enough for you and me.” “Why for you?” “Very well, I will bake just enough for you.” But for fear others might get wind of the fact that there was cooking going on in the house,

Niggardly compelled his wife to bake the cake on the top floor of the house. By direction of the Buddha, Elder Moggallāna flew through the air to Niggardly's house and stood poised in the air outside of the window. When Niggardly saw the Elder, knowing very well that he had come for food, he sputtered and blustered, declaring that, for all the Elder's pains, he should get nothing. Finally the Elder began to belch forth smoke, whereupon Niggardly said to his wife, "Cook one tiny little cake for him and let's get rid of him. But each cake his wife baked grew bigger than the previous one, and when his wife tried to take a single cake from the basket, the cakes all stuck together. In despair Niggardly presented cakes, basket, and all to the Elder.

We are told in ii. 7 *b* that when Magha and his thirty-two companions were reborn in the World of the Thirty-three as Sakka and the Devas, the Asuras prepared strong drink to welcome the new deities. Sakka and his companions would not touch it, but the Asuras got very [28.38] drunk. Then Sakka gave the signal, and his companions picked up the Asuras by the heels and flung them into the abyss. We read in x. 9 that King Pasenadi, pleased with his Prime Minister Santati, turned over his kingdom to him for seven days and gave him a nautch-girl. For seven days Santati steeped himself in liquor, and on the seventh day, magnificently adorned, seated on the back of the state elephant, set out for the bathing-place on the river. Even the Buddha smiled when he saw him, for he knew that he was destined on that very day to pass into Nibbāna. Returning from the river, Santati seated himself in his drinking-hall, and his nautch-girl stepped on the stage and began to dance and sing. Now the nautch-girl had fasted for seven days to improve her figure, and suddenly dropped dead of heart-failure. "Look to the lady!" cried Santati. "She is dead." Instantly, says the text, all the liquor he had drunk during the preceding week vanished away like drops of water in a red-hot potsherd.

In xi. 1 we read that on a certain drinking festival five hundred men of Sāvatti entrusted their wives to Visākhā and went on a spree for seven days. On the eighth day the drum announced resumption of work, and the men obeyed. But their wives, discovering that a great quantity of liquor remained, drank it surreptitiously and became uproariously drunk. In order to escape punishment at the hands of their husbands, they took to their beds and pretended to be sick. But their husbands discovered what was the matter with them and beat them well. At a subsequent drinking festival they accompanied Visākhā to the monastery, carrying jugs of liquor under their cloaks. After drinking the liquor, they seated themselves in the Hall of Truth in the presence of the Buddha. Visākhā requested the Buddha to preach the Law to them. But

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those same women were so drunk that their bodies swayed back and forth, and suddenly they took it into their heads to dance and sing. An evil spirit, seeing his opportunity, took possession of them. Immediately some of them clapped their hands and laughed, while others began to dance. The Buddha sent forth a ray of light from his eyebrow, and straightway there was black darkness. So terribly were those women frightened, says the text, that instantly the strong drink within their bellies dried up. In ix. 12 we are told that the Buddha's father-in-law, Suppabuddha, because of a fancied grievance, intoxicated himself, sprawled in the street, and refused to allow the Buddha to pass. Seven days later, because of this insult, Suppabuddha fell down seven flights of stairs, was swallowed up by the earth, and was reborn in the Avīci hell. [28.39]

Amusing stories of pride, insolence, and obstinacy are i. 3, i. 14, v. 5, vi. 3, xviii. 4, and xviii. 8. In i. 3 we have an account of the haughty behavior of Elder Tissa, a cousin of the Buddha, towards some monks who came to pay their respects to him. Even when the Buddha directed Tissa to apologize to the monks, he refused to do so; whereupon the Buddha, remarking that this was not the first time Tissa had proved intractable, related the story of Devala and Nārada (i. 3 a). This story, one of the most entertaining and interesting in the entire collection, begins with a quarrel between two monks, culminates in curse and counter-curse, and ends with the avoidance of the consequences of the curse by the guilty monk by means of a trick. In xviii. 4 a proud monk is driven away with sticks and stones and falls into a cesspool. In xviii. 8 we have the age-long story of the youth of humble origin, who, when away from home, finds fault with everything and everybody and boasts and brags about how much better things are at home.

In i. 6 we read of the attempts of the former wives of two brothers who had become monks to recover their husbands. The two wives of the younger brother made their husband the butt of their ridicule, tore off his monastic robes, clothed him in white robes, and thus succeeded in their purpose. Now while the younger brother had only two wives, the older brother had eight, and the monks therefore expressed the opinion that the older brother would immediately succumb to their wiles. The Buddha, however, assured them that they were wrong. And so they were. For when the eight wives of the older brother sought to strip him of his monastic robes, he put forth his supernatural power, flew up into the air, and thus escaped from their clutches.

One of the most delightful stories in the entire collection is i. 9, the story of Nanda. Nanda became a monk in spite of himself, became dissatisfied with the

Religious Life, and was won to complete obedience by the promise of a retinue of celestial nymphs, just as in a previous existence as a recalcitrant donkey he was won to obedience by the promise of a beautiful mate. Another good story is iii. 2, which turns on mind-reading. A monk is entertained in the house of a female lay disciple, who, as an Arahāt, has the power of reading the thoughts of others. The monk has but to think of his needs, and his host immediately supplies them. But suddenly the thought occurs to him, "If I should entertain a single sinful thought, my host would doubtless seize me by the topknot and treat me like a criminal. I had best leave this house." And this he does, returning to the Buddha. [28.40] The Buddha, however, sends him back, admonishing him to control his thoughts. In no long time the monk attains Arahātship. One day, curious to know what may have been the relations between him and his host in previous existences, he calls up before his mind ninety-nine previous existences, and to his horror perceives that in each of these existences his host murdered him. "Oh, what a sinner she has been!" thinks the monk. "Call up one more existence," replies his host from her own chamber. The monk obeys. Calling up before his mind the hundredth existence, he perceives that in that existence she spared his life. Thereat he rejoices greatly and immediately passes into Nibbāna. The St. Antony motif is effectively employed in vii. 10 and xxvi. 32.

Common stupidity is, as might be expected, the theme of several ludicrous stories. In iv. 4 we are told that a hundred of our years are equal to a night and a day in the World of the Thirty-three Gods. One day Garland-wearer, a deity resident in the World of the Thirty-three, is informed that although men live only a hundred years, they are ever heedless and given to wicked ways. "Can it be possible that men are so stupid!" he exclaims. In i. 8 *b* Upatissa and Kolita invite their former teacher Sañjaya to accompany them to the Buddha. "No," replies Sañjaya, "I am too old to become anybody's pupil. Let the wise men go to the wise monk Gotama, and let the stupid come to stupid me." In xi. 7 *a* a young farmer spends an entire year learning a single stanza which he is to recite by way of petition to the king. The stanza closes with the words, "Pray give me another ox." When, however, the young farmer recites the stanza before the king, following his usual habit of saying the wrong thing instead of the right thing, he closes his petition as follows, "Pray take my other ox."

In ii. 3 *c* we read of another young man who was so stupid that his teacher despaired of ever teaching him anything. But wishing to provide him with some means of earning his living, his teacher taught him a charm, impressing upon him the importance of repeating it constantly, to avoid forgetting it. And

this was the charm, “You’re rubbing! you’re rubbing! why are you rubbing? I know too!” By this charm, recited inadvertently, the young man frightens robbers out of his house, and the king is saved from death at the hands of his barber. Out of gratitude the king appoints the young man Prime Minister. In ii. 1. 4 we read of another charm which did not work so well. King Udena had an elephant-charm which had always worked admirably until one day he tried it on what turned out to be a wooden elephant, posted on his frontier to entrap him. The wooden elephant was fitted [28.41] with mechanical appliances worked from the inside by sixty men and could move very rapidly. Moreover, its belly contained also a quantity of elephant-dung, which the men inside dumped at regular intervals. King Udena suddenly found himself the captive of his rival. King Caṇḍa Pajjota, who, it appears, had resorted to this ruse to get possession of Udena’s elephant-charm. Udena refused to teach him the charm unless he would pay him homage, but agreed to teach it to another. Caṇḍa Pajjota seated Udena on one side of a curtain and his own daughter on the other side, first telling Udena that his pupil was a hunchback and telling his daughter that her teacher was a leper. But Caṇḍa Pajjota lost both charm and daughter when Udena, in a fit of impatience, cried out, “Dunce of a hunchback!” and his pupil in indignation asked him to look and see for himself that she was no such thing.

In iv. 12 we are told that a disciple of the Buddha, angered by the repeated assertions of a friend that the Jain ascetics knew all about the past, the present, and the future, and could tell unerringly just what was going to happen and just what was not going to happen, resolved to teach those same ascetics a good lesson. So first preparing a trap for them, he invited them to his house. Suddenly they were all tipped over backwards and flung heels over head into a ditch filled with filth. In v. 13 *a* a cripple, seated behind a curtain, cures a house-priest of talkativeness by tossing pellets of goat’s dung into his mouth. In iii. 4 a discontented young monk, who has resolved to return to the life of a layman, muses on ways and means of earning a living as he stands and fans his uncle. Roused to a high pitch of anger at the thought that his future wife may disobey him, he swings his fan vigorously and brings it down on the head of the older monk. The older monk, who happens to be his uncle, knowing the thoughts that are passing through the mind of his nephew, calmly remarks, “Nephew, you didn’t succeed in hitting your wife; but why should an old monk suffer for it?” In viii. 10 a monk enters into a state of trance. A pack of thieves mistake him for the trunk of a tree, pile their sacks on his head and body, and lie down to sleep. In the morning they discover their mistake, beg the monk’s pardon, and are converted.

There is grim humor in the ruse by which, in ii. 1. 6, King Udena makes Māgandiyā confess her guilt to the crime of causing the death by fire of Sāmāvati. “Whoever did this deed must have loved me greatly.” “It was I.” “I am delighted! Send for your relatives, and I will reward you all properly.” Thereupon many persons in no [28.42] way related to Māgandiyā come forward and claim relationship. When the king has them all in his power, he causes them to be tortured and put to death. Grim humor attaches also to the device by which, in xi. 2, the Buddha cures a monk of love. It appears that a monk once fell in love with the female lay disciple Sirimā, a former courtesan. Sirimā sickened and died. By order of the Buddha the corpse was exposed for four days and then offered to the highest bidder. No one would take her, even as a gift. “See,” said the Buddha, “this woman used to bring a thousand pieces of money a night; but now there is no one who will take her, even as a gift.” The monk was cured of love.

Many amusing stories are told about Sakka, the king of the gods. In xxvi. 23 Sakka, disguised as an old Brahman, finds himself an unwelcome guest in the house of another Brahman. “Put him out!” cries the Brahman’s wife. The Brahman tries to, but Sakka refuses to stir from where he sits. Then the Brahman’s wife suggests, “You take hold of one arm and I’ll take hold of the other.” The Brahman and his wife manage to drag him out of the house. But as soon as they turn around, they see Sakka sitting just where he sat before, waving his hands back and forth! In xvii. 1 *c* four deities quarrel over the possession of a celestial nymph and refer the decision to Sakka. The moment Sakka looks upon the nymph he desires her for himself. So he says to the four deities, “What manner of thoughts have arisen within you since you saw this nymph?” The first replies that his thoughts have been as restless as a battle-drum; the second, that his thoughts have run wild like a mountain torrent; the third, that his eyes have popped out like the eyes of a crab; the fourth, that his thoughts have been as restless as the banner on a shrine. Says Sakka, “Friends, I see that your thoughts are all on fire. My decision is that I will take her for myself.”

**§ 6 d. Animal stories.** The elephant appears more frequently in the stories of this collection than any other animal. Perhaps the best elephant-story in the book is i. 5 *b*, in which are related at length the ministrations of the noble elephant Pārileyaka to the Buddha during the residence of the latter in Protected Forest. A monkey attempts to imitate the elephant, but comes to grief. When the Buddha takes leave of the elephant, the elephant dies of a broken heart, just as does the dog in ii. 1. 2 and the horse Kanthaka in the

Nidānakathā. In i. 7 *a* a noble elephant, instead of crushing a hunter, rebukes him. Trained elephants appear in ii. 1. 1, ii. 7 *b*, and xiii. 10. In vi. 1 *a* [28.43] we read of an elephant who presented his son to some carpenters to show his gratitude to them for removing a thorn from his foot. In xxiii. 3 *a* the homesick elephant Dhanapāla will not eat for love of his mother. In xxv. 5 *a* we read of the elephant Damsel-face, who behaved very well with the well-behaved, but very badly with the ill-behaved. In xxiii. 6 we read of a warrior-elephant who stuck fast in the mud. His keeper arrayed himself as for battle and caused the battle-drum to be beaten. The moment the warrior-elephant heard the battle-call he made a tremendous effort and pulled himself out of the mud. In xiii. 10 a rogue elephant, holding a parasol in his trunk, is led up to the monk Aṅgulimāla. Now Aṅgulimāla, before his conversion, was a notorious brigand and murderer. When, therefore, the rogue elephant is led up to the former brigand, he is immediately cowed. He thrusts his tail between his legs, drops both his ears, closes his eyes, and stands motionless. “What a way for a rogue elephant to behave!” remarks the king. In ii. 1 *b* an elephant refuses to trample the virtuous. Similarly in ii. 1. 2 a bull and draft-oxen refuse to trample the child Ghosaka, and a she-goat gives him suck. In ii. 1. 1 and viii. 12 birds mistake human beings for pieces of meat and carry them off. Perhaps the most entertaining animal stories in the collection are i. 9 *c*, the story of the recalcitrant donkey; xii. 2 *a*, the story of the otters and the jackal; and xxvi. 11 *a*, the story of the ascetic and the lizard. The wail of a louse is the theme of xviii. 3.

**§ 6 *e*. Legends of the Saints.** Especially noteworthy among the many legends of heroic sanctity found in the collection are the following: iv. 8, Visākhā; viii. 12, Paṭācārā; viii. 13 6, Kisā Gotamī; xiii. 6, Aṅgulimāla; and xiii. 7, The Weaver’s Daughter. Visākhā, a young woman of remarkable beauty, profound wisdom, and noble character, daughter of the wealthy Dhanañjaya and a disciple of the Buddha, is married to Puṇṇavaddhana, son of the wealthy Migāra, an adherent of the Jains. The story turns in a measure on the interpretation by Visākhā of Ten Riddling Injunctions given her by her father within the hearing of her father-in-law. Visākhā’s whole life is devoted to good works, and she lives to be a hundred and twenty years old. Paṭācārā, daughter of a wealthy merchant, runs away from home with her lover and in the course of time gives birth to two children. Her husband is bitten to death by a snake, one of her children is carried off by a hawk and the other swept away by a river, and her mother and father and brother perish in a whirlwind. Driven mad by [28.44] her sufferings, she is restored to sanity by the Buddha and attains Arahātship. Kisā Gotamī, daughter of a poverty-stricken house, loses

her child by death and asks the Buddha for medicine wherewith to cure him. The Buddha tells her to obtain a pinch of mustard-seed in some house wherein no one has ever died. By degrees it dawns upon her that she has undertaken a futile task. When she returns to the Buddha and tells him that her quest has been in vain, the Buddha comforts her, admonishing her that death is common to all living beings. She too attains Arahatsip. Aṅgulimāla, a notorious brigand and murderer, was converted by the Buddha and became a model disciple. The Weaver's Daughter meditated on death for three years, answered correctly Four Riddling Questions asked her by the Buddha, and died on the same day.

**§ 6 f. Stories of seven-year-old novices.** One of the finest groups of stories in the collection is a group of six stories relating to seven-year-old novices. In v. 15 we read of a seven-year-old novice who acquired four names: Tissa, Food-giver, Blanket-giver, and Forest-dweller. Tissa won all hearts, received gifts in profusion, and walked with the Buddha. In vi. 5 we read of a novice named Wiseman and in x. 11 *b* of a novice named Happy, these names being given to them by reason of the fact that, from the day they were born, wisdom and happiness prevailed in their respective households. The two stories are closely similar and turn on the motif of the Practice of Meditation. The story of Spearman, viii. 9, a story of unusual interest for a variety of reasons, tells of the miraculous birth and miraculous preservation from death of another seven-year-old novice. In xxv. 12 *c* we read of the adventures of the novice Flower with a dragon. The story of the Four Novices, xxvi. 23, is one of the most amusing stories in the collection.

**§ 6 g. Stories of good and evil spirits.** Stories of benevolent and kindly tree-spirits, who, however, sometimes show resentment to the monks for intruding into their forest solitudes, are the following: i. 1, ii. 1. 6, iii. 6, vii. 9, xvii. 2, xix. 3. Allusions to the offering of human sacrifice to spirits of forest and mountain are contained in v. 1 *b*, viii. 3, and viii. 9 *a*. Man-eating ogres and ogresses appear in i. 4 (cf. xxi. 2) and x. 8 *a*. Instances of demoniacal possession are xi. 1, xv. 2, xxiii. 5, and xxvi. 21. The last two are plain cases of epileptic seizure. Stories of ghosts are the following: v. 12, v. 13, x. 6, xx. 6, xxii. 2. [28.45]

## § 7. Literary relations of the Dhammapada Commentary

**§ 7 a. Relation to the Four Āgamas.** The Dhammapada Commentary derives only a few stories from the Dīgha, Majjhima, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas. The story of the visit of Subhadda to the Buddha on his deathbed (xviii. 12) is derived from the Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha (16. 23-30), and the story of the entertainment of the Buddha by Bodhi-rājakumāra (xii. 1) is derived either from the Sutta of the same name in the Majjhima (85) or from the Vinaya (Culla Vagga, v. 21). From the Aṅguttara are derived the following stories: iii. 1, Meghiya; iv. 9, Ānandathera-pañha (almost word for word); vii. 6, Sāriputta; and (through the medium of Jātaka 40) the first page of ix. 4, Anāthapiṇḍika.

From the Saṃyutta are derived seventeen stories, fifteen of them almost word for word. Brief outlines of Saṃyutta stories are: xv. 2, Māra, and xxii. 2, Aṭṭhisamkhalikapetādayo. Verbally identical with the Saṃyutta, or nearly so, are the following: Introduction to ii. 7, Mahālipañha; iv. 11, Godhika; Introduction to v. 12, Ahipeta; Introduction to v. 13, Saṭṭhikūṭapeta; Introduction to x. 6, Ajagarapeta; xv. 6, Pasenadi Kosala; Introduction to xx. 6, Sūkarapeta; xxi. 6, Vajjiputtaka; xxiii. 3, Parijññabrāhmaṇaputtā; xxiii. 5, Sāṇu sāmaṇera; xxiii. 8, Māra; xxiv. 11, Aputtaka seṭṭhi; xxv. 11, Vakkali; xxvi. 16, Akkosaka; and xxvi. 40, Devahita. Five of these stories are stories about petas and are taken from the Lakkhaṇa Saṃyutta. It is possible that this group of stories forms the connecting link between the Lakkhaṇa Saṃyutta and the prose stories of the Petavatthu Commentary.

### Synoptical Table A

A star means that the correspondence is close

Saṃyutta Nikāya	Dhammapada Commentary
i. 4. 3. 7, last stanza	*iii. 221 <sup>18-21</sup> = iv. 81 <sup>4-7</sup>
iii. 1. 9. 2-3: i. 75-76	*ii. 7 <sup>6-13</sup>
iii. 2. 3: i. 81-82	*xv. 6: iii. 264-267 *xxiii. 4: iv. 15-17 (brief)
iii. 2. 10: i. 91-92	*xxiv. 11: iv. 76-79
iv. 2. 8: i. 113-114	*xv. 2: iii. 257-259
iv. 2. 10: i. 116-117	*xxiii. 8: iv. 31-33

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Saṃyutta Nikāya	Dhammapada Commentary
iv. 3. 3: i. 120-122	*iv. 11: i. 431-433
vi. 1. 10: i. 149-153	iv. 91 <sup>4-6</sup> (reference)
vii. 1. 1: i. 160-161	*xxvi. 16: iv. 161-163 [28.46]
vii. 2. 3: i. 174-175	*xxvi. 40: iv. 233
vii. 2. 4: i. 175-177	*xxiii. 3: iv. 7-13
viii. 12, last stanza	*iv. 127 <sup>18-19</sup>
ix. 9: i. 201-202	*xxi. 6: iii. 460-462
x. 5: i. 208-209	*xxiii. 5: iv. 18-25
xi. 2. 3: i. 230-231	*ii. 7 a: i. 263 <sup>13</sup> -265 <sup>15</sup>
xv: ii. 178-193	*ii. 32 <sup>14-15</sup> (reference)
xix: ii. 254-262	*v. 12: ii. 64
	*v. 13: ii. 68 <sup>20</sup> -69 <sup>8</sup>
	*x. 6: iii. 60 <sup>13</sup> -61 <sup>11</sup>
	*xx. 6: iii. 410 <sup>11</sup> -411 <sup>17</sup>
	*xxii. 2: iii. 479
xxii. 84: iii. 106-109	i. 37 <sup>15-18</sup> (reference)
xxii. 87: iii. 119-124	*xxv. 11: iv. 117-119

**§ 7 b. Relation to the Vinaya.** From the Vinaya are derived the following seventeen stories of the Dhammapada Commentary: i. 5, Kosambakā bhikkhū; the story of Sāriputta and Moggallāna in i. 8; the story of Rāhula in i. 9; i. 12, Devadatta; v. 14, Citta and Sudhamma; vi. 2, Assajipunabbasukā; vi. 3, Channa; vi. 8, Disorderly monks; vii. 3, Monk stores food; ix. 2, Seyyasaka; x. 1, Chabbaggiyā; X. 2, Chabbaggiyā; xii. 1, Bodhi-rājakumāra; xii. 7, Devadatta; the story of Piṇḍola in xiv. 2; xvii. 2, Monk and tree-spirit; xvii. 8, Chabbaggiyā; and xviii. 10, Meṇḍaka the Magician. The story of the monks' quarrel in i. 5 is almost word for word the same as Jātaka 428, which in turn is derived from the Vinaya; the account of the Buddha's sojourn in the forest in the same story is derived immediately from the Vinaya. The story of Rāhula in i. 9 is almost word for word the same as the corresponding story in the Nidānakathā, which in turn is derived from the Vinaya.

**Synoptical Table B**

<b>Mahā Vagga, Vinaya</b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>
i. 6. 7-9: i. 8	xxiv. 9: iv. 71-72
i. 14: i. 23-24	ii. 32 <sup>11-12</sup> 2 (reference)
i. 23-24.4: i. 39 <sup>23</sup> -43 <sup>7</sup>	i. 8 <i>b</i> : i. 88 <sup>15</sup> -96 <sup>21</sup>
i. 54. 1-2, 4-5: i. 82 <sup>5-17</sup> 82 <sup>30</sup> -83 <sup>5</sup>	i. 116 <sup>15</sup> -118 <sup>1</sup> (through Jātaka, i. 91 <sup>17</sup> -92 <sup>18</sup> )
v. 6: i. 188 <sup>9</sup> -189 <sup>3</sup>	xvii. 8: iii. 330
v. 8. 1: i. 190 <sup>1-5</sup>	iii. 451 <sup>16-22</sup> (quotation)
v. 34: i. 240 <sup>5</sup> -245 <sup>7</sup>	xviii. 10: iii. 363-375
vi. 23. 1-9: i. 216-218	i. 411 <sup>1-10</sup>
viii. 1: i. 268-281	ii. 164 <sup>6</sup> (reference) [28.47]
viii. 15: i. 290-294	i 408 <sup>2</sup>
x. 1-5: i. 337-357	i 5: i. 53-65 (pp. 53-56 through Jātaka, iii. 486-587)
 <b>Culla Vagga, Vinaya</b>	
i. 13: ii. 9 <sup>29</sup> -13 <sup>22</sup>	vi. 2: ii. 108-109
i. 18: ii. 15 <sup>29</sup> -18 <sup>30</sup>	v. 14: ii. 74-83
v. 8: ii. 110-112	iii. 199 <sup>12</sup> -203 <sup>22</sup>
v. 21: ii. 127-129	xii. 1 <i>b</i> : iii. 136-137
vi. 11: ii. 166-167	x. 1: iii. 48-49
vii. 1-4: ii. 180-203	i. 12: i. 133-150
vii. 2. 5, stanza	iii. 156 <sup>22-23</sup>
vii. 3. 17: ii. 198 <sup>17-35</sup>	xii. 7: iii. 154
xi. 1. 12-16: ii. 290 <sup>9</sup> -292 <sup>26</sup>	vi. 3: ii. 110-112

**Pārājika, Vinaya**

i. 1-4: iii. 1-11	vi. 8: ii. 153-155
iv. 1: iii. 87-91	xxii. 3: iii. 480-481

**Samghādisesa, Vinaya**

i. 1: iii. 110-112	ix. 2: iii. 5
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**Pācittiya, Vinaya**

xi. 1: iv. 34	xvii. 2: iii. 299-302
xxxiv. 1: iv. 78-79	ii. 149 <sup>10</sup> (reference)
xxxviii. 1: iv. 86-87	vii. 3: ii. 170-173
lxxiv. 1: iv. 145-146	x. 1: iii. 48-49
lxxv. 1: iv. 146-147	x. 2: iii. 49-50

**§ 7 c. Relation to the Udāna.** The Udāna is the source of twelve stories of the Dhammapada Commentary and contains parallels to three more. Two stories, i. 9, Nanda, and xxvi. 31, Sīvali, are almost word for word the same as the Udāna. In three stories, ii. 1. 6, Sāmāvatī, iv. 10, Mahā Kassapa, and v. 7, Suppabuddha kuṭṭhī, the Udāna is referred to by name and the prose of the Udāna is quoted. The following six stories are free versions of Udāna stories: iii. 8, Nanda gopala; viii. 2, Bāhiya Dārucīriya; xvi. 3, Visākhā; xxiv. 1, Kapilamaccha; xxv. 7, Soṇa Koṭṭikaṇṇa; and xxvi. 25, Pilindavaccha. The story of Sundarī, xxii. 1, is almost word for word the same as the Introduction to Jātaka 285, which in turn is derived from the Udāna. Parallel to stories of the Udāna are the story of Buddha and the elephant in i. 5, derived from the Vinaya (Mahā Vagga, x. 4. 6-7); the story of Devadatta's schism in i. 12, also derived from the Vinaya (Culla Vagga, vii. 3. 17); and the story of Meghiya, iii. 1, derived from [28.48] the Aṅguttara. About one third of the Udāna is embodied in the Dhammapada Commentary.

**Synoptical Table C**

<b>Udāna</b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>
i. 10: 6-9, Bāhiya Dārucīriya	viii. 2: ii. 209-217
ii. 8: 15-18, Suppavāsā	xxvi. 31: iv. 192-194, Sīvali
iii. 2: 21-24, Nanda	i. 9: i. 115-125
iii. 3: 24-27, Yasoja	xxiv. 1: iv. 37-46, Kapilamaccha
iii. 6: 28-29, Pilindavaccha	xxvi. 25: iv. 181-182
iii. 7: 29-30, Mahā Kassapa	iv. 10: i. 423-430
iv. 1: 34-37, Meghiya	iii. 1: i. 287-289
iv. 3: 38-39, gopalaka	iii. 8: i. 322-325, Nanda gopala
iv. 5: 41-42, Pālileyyaka	(i. 5): i. 56 <sup>14</sup> -59 <sup>16</sup> , Pārileyyaka
iv. 8: 43-45, Sundarī	xxii. 1: iii. 474-478
v. 3: 48-50, Suppabuddha kuṭṭhī	v. 7: ii. 33-37
v. 6: 57-59, Soṇa Koṭīkaṇṇa	xxv. 7: iv. 101-112
v. 8: 60-61, Devadatta	(i. 12): i. 141-142
vii. 10: 79, Sāmāvatī	(ii. 1. 6): i. 221-222
viii. 8: 91-92, Visākhā	xvi. 3: iii. 278-279

**§ 7 d. Relation to the Works of Buddhaghosa.** So little of Buddhaghosa's work has been published that no more than a brief sketch of the relation of the Dhammapada Commentary to his writings is here possible. The principal works of Buddhaghosa are the Visuddhi-Magga and the Commentaries on the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas. The approximate date of the Visuddhi-Magga is 410 A.D. The rest of his works are later, for they presuppose the existence of the Visuddhi-Magga and frequently refer to it. [28.49]

The Dhammapada Commentary is demonstrably later than the works of Buddhaghosa, for much the same reason that the Commentaries on the four greater Nikāyas are later than the Visuddhi-Magga. Nothing is more certain than that the Jātaka Book is earlier than the Dhammapada Commentary. The Dhammapada Commentary refers frequently to the Jātaka and contains from

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forty to fifty stories derived from it, nearly one half of them being verbally identical with Jātaka stories. If, therefore, references occur in the Jātaka Book to the Commentaries of Buddhaghosa, the priority of the latter both to the Jātaka Book and to the Dhammapada Commentary is clearly established. The Jātaka Book refers at least twice to Commentaries of Buddhaghosa: at i. 131<sup>23-</sup><sup>24</sup> to Aṅguttara Commentary and at v. 38<sup>4-5</sup> to Saṃyutta Commentary.

Moreover, there is evidence in the Dhammapada Commentary itself of the existence of Buddhaghosa's Commentaries. The story of Sāṇu the novice, xxiii. 5: iv. 18-25, is almost word for word the same as the story of Sāṇu in the Commentary on Saṃyutta x. 5 (see Dhammapada Commentary, iv. 255, note 1). At iv. 91<sup>4-6</sup> Dhammapada Commentary refers to the Kokālika Sutta and to the Commentary thereon; that is to say, either to Saṃyutta vi. 1. 10 and Commentary or to Sutta-Nipāta iii. 10 and Commentary. The Dhammapada Commentary makes such extensive use of Saṃyutta material, taking over more than a dozen stories of the Saṃyutta word for word, that the reference is probably to the Saṃyutta and to the Saṃyutta Commentary. The balance of probability in favor of the Saṃyutta is still further increased by the fact that the form of the name given as the title of the Sutta is Kokālika in the Dhammapada Commentary and in the Saṃyutta, but Kokāliya in the Sutta-Nipāta.

### Synoptical Table D 1

The Commentaries on the Dhammapada, Therī-Gāthā, and Aṅguttara have the following stories in common:

<b>Commentary</b>	<b>Dhammapada</b>	<b>Therī-Gāthā</b>	<b>Aṅguttara</b>
1 Kuṇḍalakesī	viii. 3: ii. 217-227	xlvi. 9-102	<i>JRAS.</i> , 1893, pp. 771-785
2 Paṭācārā	viii. 12: ii. 260-270	xlvi. 108-112	“ “ “ 552-560
3 Kisā Gotamī	viii. 13: ii. 270-275	liii. 174-176	“ “ “ 791-796
4 Nandā	xi. 5: iii. 113-119	xli. 80-86	“ “ “ 763-766
5 Khemā	xxiv. 5: iv. 57-59	lii. 126-128	“ “ “ 527-532
6 Dhammadinnā	xxvi. 38: iv. 229-231	xii. 15-16	“ “ “ 560-566

[28.50] A comparison of the text of the Therī-Gāthā Commentary with the text of the Dhammapada Commentary and of the Aṅguttara Commentary reveals the fact that in the case of Stories 1, 3, 5, and 6 the Therī-Gāthā Commentary follows the Aṅguttara Commentary, frequently word for word; but that in the case of Stories 2 and 4 the compiler of the Therī-Gāthā Commentary uses both the Aṅguttara Commentary and the Dhammapada Commentary as authorities.

In Story 2, Paṭācārā, Th. 2. cm. 108<sup>8</sup>-109<sup>4</sup> follows A. cm. almost word for word; but Th. 2. cm. 109<sup>8</sup>-112<sup>28</sup> is almost word for word the same as Dh. cm. ii. 262<sup>21</sup>-270<sup>11</sup>. In Story 4, Nandā, Th. 2. cm. 80<sup>31</sup>-81<sup>12</sup> follows A. cm. almost word for word; but Th. 2. cm. 81<sup>31</sup>-82<sup>12</sup> although much briefer than Dh. cm., is almost word for word the same as Dh. cm. iii. 113<sup>5</sup>-118<sup>11</sup>. Nanda is called Janapada-Kalyāṇī Rūpa-Nandā in Dh. cm. and A. cm., and Sundarī Nandā Janapada-Kalyāṇī in Th. 2. cm. Abhirūpa-Nandā (Th. 2. cm. xix) is her double, just as Vāsithī (Th. 2. cm. li) is Paṭācārā's double. Story 5, Khemā, is similar to Story 4, Nandā.

A comparison of the text of the Dhammapada Commentary with the text of the Aṅguttara Commentary tends to show that in every case the Dhammapada Commentary version and the Aṅguttara Commentary version are derived independently of each other from a common original. The Story of the Past, a prominent feature of the Aṅguttara Commentary versions, is entirely lacking in the Dhammapada Commentary version of Stories 1, 3, 4, and 5, and is only briefly referred to in the same version of Stories 2 and 6.

**Synoptical Table D 2<sup>50</sup>**

<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Aṅguttara Commentary</b>
i. 8 b g: i. 96-97, 104-112	Aggasāvaka	i. 2-3: 91-100
i. 8 c: i. 97-99	Aññā-Koṇḍañña	i. 1: 84-88
i. 9: i. 115-125	Nanda	iv. 8: 190-192
ii. 1: i. 169-191, 199-231	Udena (Parts 2, 3, 5, 6)	vii. 3-4: 249-264

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<sup>50</sup> The references [to the Aṅguttara Commentary] are to the native subdivisions of the Commentary on the Etadagga Vagga and to the pages of the Colombo edition of 1904.

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<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Aṅguttara Commentary</b>
ii. 3: i. 239-255	Culla Panthaka	ii. 1-2: 129-135
iv. 8: i. 384-420	Visākhā	vii. 2: 241-249
V. 14: ii. 74-83	Citta-Sudhamma	vi. 3: 229-231
vi. 4: ii. 112-127	Mahā Kappina	iv. 9: 192-196
vii. 9: ii. 188-200 (cf. xxvi. 31)	Khadiravaniya Revata	ii. 5: 137-141
viii. 2: ii. 209-217	Bāhiya Dārucīriya	iii. 8: 170-173
viii. 3: ii. 217-227	Kuṇḍalakesī	v. 9: 220-224 [28.51]
viii. 12: ii. 260-270	Paṭācārā	v. 4: 213-215
viii. 13: ii. 270-275	Kisā Gotamī	v. 12: 225-227
ix. 1: iii. 1-5	Culla Ekasāṭaka	i. 4: 102-104
xi. 5: iii. 113-119	Nandā (Janapada- Kalyāṇī)	v. 6: 217-218
xiv. 2: iii. 199-230	Yamaka Pāṭihāriya	Introd.: 77-79
xvii. 3: iii. 302-314	Uttarā	vii. 5: 264-268
xvii. 5: iii. 317-321	Nakulapitā	vi. 10: 238-239
xxiv. 5: iv. 57-59	Khemā	v. 2: 205-207
xxv. 7: iv. 101-112	Soṇa-Kāṭiyānī	vii. 8: 270-271
xxv. 11: iv. 117-119	Vakkali	ii. 10: 152-153
xxvi. 25: iv. 181-182	Pilindavaccha	iii. 7: 169-170
xxvi. 31: iv. 192-194 (cf. vii. 9)	Sīvali	ii. 9: 149-152
xxvi. 37: iv. 226-228	Vaṅḡsa	iii. 4: 163-165
xxvi. 38: iv. 229-231	Dhammadinnā	v. 5: 215-217

In every case the two versions appear to be derived independently of each other from a common original. It is perhaps worthy of note that the first three

and last three pages of the Cullasetṭhi Jātaka are verbally identical with Buddhaghosa's version of the story of Culla Panthaka.<sup>51</sup>

Versions of all of the six stories which go to make up the story of Udena, ii. 1: i. 161-231, occur in the writings of Buddhaghosa. For Buddhaghosa's version of Parts 2, 3, 5, and 6, see his Aṅguttara Commentary, pages 249-264, as noted above. The story of the birth and youthful career of Udena (cf. ii. 1. 1) and the story of the winning of Vāsuladattā by Udena (cf. ii. 1. 4) are related briefly in the Commentary on Majjhima 85 (see F. Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 251). The story of the compassing of Sāmāvati's death by Māgandiyā (cf. ii. 1. 6: i. 210-231) is related briefly in Visuddhi-Magga, xii. 169 ff. Visuddhi-Magga, xii. 149 ff., contains a brief outline of the story of the death of Moggallāna (cf. x. 7: iii. 65-71). These stories of Buddhaghosa and the parallel stories in the Dhammapada Commentary are undoubtedly drawn from a common source.

The Khuddaka-Pāṭha Commentary is the only work of Buddhaghosa which has been published in its entirety. Buddhaghosa is undoubtedly the author of it, for it closely resembles, in language and [28.52] style, Buddhaghosa's better known writings and frequently quotes from the Visuddhi-Magga and from the principal Commentaries of Buddhaghosa. Three stories of the Dhammapada Commentary are derived from the Khuddaka-Pāṭha Commentary. The story of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, i. 100<sup>17</sup>-104<sup>21</sup> is substantially the same story as Khuddaka-Pāṭha Commentary, 202<sup>4</sup>-206<sup>6</sup>. The story of the monks and the tree-spirits, iii. 6: i. 313-316, is a much abbreviated version of Khuddaka-Pāṭha Commentary, 232<sup>7</sup>-235<sup>23</sup>, 251<sup>25</sup>-252<sup>20</sup>. The story of the Buddha's visit to Vesāli, xxi. 1: iii. 436-439, is almost word for word the same as Khuddaka-Pāṭha Commentary, 160<sup>22</sup>-165<sup>10</sup>, 196<sup>22</sup>-201<sup>6</sup>. At 129<sup>16-21</sup> Buddhaghosa refers to the stories of Sumana the gardener, Mallikā, and others as instances of benefits received for rendering honor to whom honor is due, and at 129<sup>21</sup>-130<sup>24</sup> he gives an outline of the story of Sumana referred to. It is in all respects the same as Dhammapada Commentary, v. 9: ii. 40-47, save only that the latter version

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<sup>51</sup> Compare Jātaka 4 (i. 114-123) with Aṅguttara Commentary 129-135. That the redactor of the Jātaka Book has borrowed most of his story from the Aṅguttara Commentary is plain from the reference to the Aṅguttara Commentary at Jātaka i. 131<sup>23</sup>. The compiler of the Dhammapada Commentary has in turn borrowed the story of Culla Panthaka (ii. 3 *a b*) from the Jātaka Book, and while still retaining the Jātaka stanza, has substituted an entirely different Story of the Past.

lacks the cliché of the Buddha's smile. Here again Buddhaghosa and the compiler of the Dhammapada Commentary have drawn from the same source.

**§ 7 e. Relation to the Jātaka Book.** The Dhammapada Commentary is more intimately related to the Jātaka Book than to any other book, canonical or uncanonical, and derives a greater amount of material from the Jātaka than from all other known sources combined. Over fifty stories of the Dhammapada Commentary, representing from one fifth to one quarter of its bulk, are either derivatives of Jātaka stories or close parallels. In addition many other Jātaka stories are referred to and many Jātaka stanzas are quoted. For example, in i. 12, fourteen Jātakas are referred to and twelve stanzas are quoted.

Verbally identical with Jātaka stories, or nearly so, are the following: story of the monks' quarrel in i. 5; story of Rāhula in i. 9; story of Culla Panthaka in ii. 3 (Story of the Past entirely different); story of Sakka and the parrot in ii. 9; iv. 3, Viḍūḍabha; iv. 5, Macchariyakosiya; ix. 4, Anāthapiṇḍika (brief); x. 8, Bahubhaṇḍika; xiii. 9, Ciñcā; xv. 1, Nātikalahavūpasamana (brief); xvii. 5, Sāketa brāhmaṇa; xx. 8, Sambahulā mahallakā; xxii. 1, Sundarī; xxiv. 4, Bandhanāgāra; xxv. 2, Haṃsaghātaka; and story of tortoise and geese in xxv. 3. Closely following the Jātaka versions, but yet not word for word, are the following: v. 2, Kassapa's companion; story of the stone-thrower in v. 13; ix. 9 a, Physician, boys, and snake; xii. 4, Birth of Kumāra Kassapa; xxvi. 32, Sundarasamudda.

Free versions of Jātaka stories are the following: i. 2, Maṭṭhakuṇḍali; [28.53] i. 7, Devadatta (more detailed); i. 12, Devadatta (very free); story of Magha in ii. 7; iii. 5, Cittahattha; iv. 3 a, Kesava; story of Hell-Pot in V. 1; vi. 7, Mother of Kāṇā; vi. 8, Pack of vagabonds; vii. 9 c, Sīvali's previous states of existence; x. 7, Death of Moggallāna; xi. 1, Visākhā's companions (very free); xi. 7, Lāḷudāyi; xii. 2, Upananda; xii. 3, Padhānikatissa (very free); xiv. 2, Twin Miracle (much longer and more detailed); xvi. 5, Anitthigandha; xviii. 5, Discontented monk; xviii. 8, Tissadahara; xx. 5, Padhānakammika; xxiv. 7, Culla Dhanuggaha; xxiv. 11, Aputtaka seṭṭhi; xxv. 1, Pañca bhikkhū; xxv. 5, Vipakkhasevaka; xxvi. 11, Kuhaka brāhmaṇa; xxvi. 31, Sīvali. Similar stories: i. 3 a, Devala and Nārada, is similar to the story of Jātimanta and the Bodhisatta in Jātaka 497; v. 1 c, Woman and ewe, is similar to Jātaka 18; viii. 3, Kuṇḍalakesī, is similar to Jātaka 419, Sulasā; xvi. 2, Loss of a son, is similar to Introduction to Jātaka 354.

**Synoptical Table E**

The letter I signifies that the correspondence is with the Introduction to the Jātaka (Story of the Present); the letter J that the correspondence is with the Jātaka proper (Story of the Past). An asterisk (\*) signifies that the correspondence is close. References are to the number of the story and to the volume and page of the text.

<b>Jātaka Book</b>		<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>
4:1.114-120, Cullaka Seṭṭhi	(I*)	ii. 3: i. 239-250, Culla Panthaka
6:1.126-133, Devadhamma	(I* J*)	x. 8: iii. 72-78, Bahubhaṇḍika
12: i. 145-149, Nigrodhamiga	(I*)	xii. 4: iii. 144-149, Kumāra Kassapa
14: i. 156-159, Vātamiga	(I*)	xxvi. 32: iv. 194-199 Sundarasamudda
18: i. 166-168 Matakabhatta	(J)	v. 1 c: ii. 17 <sup>14</sup> -18 <sup>14</sup> Woman and ewe
26:1.185-188 Mahilāmukha	(I)	xxv. 5: iv. 95-97 Vipakkhasevaka
31: i. 198-206 Kulāvaka	(J)	ii. 7: i. 263-281 Magha
40:1.226-231 Khadiraṅgāra	(I)	ix. 4: iii. 9-15 Anāthapiṇḍika
65: i. 301-302 Anabhirati	(I J)	xviii. 5: iii. 348-351 Aññatara kulaputta
68: i. 308-310 Sāketa	(I* J*)	xvii. 5: iii. 317-321 Sāketa
70: 1. 311-315 Kuddāla	(I J)	ill. 5: i. 305-313 Cittahattha [28.54]
71: i. 316-319 Varaṇa	(I)	xx. 5: iii. 407-410 Padhānakammika Tissa
78: i. 345-349 Ilīsa	(I*)	iv. 5: i. 366-376 Macchariya Kosiya
80: i. 355-356 Bhīmasena	(I)	xviii. 8: iii. 357-359 Tissa dahara
96: i. 393-401 Telapatta	(J)	xxv. 1: iv. 83-86 Pañca bhikkhū
100: i. 407-408 Asātarūpa	(I)	xxvi. 31:iv. 192-194 Sīvali
	(J)	vii. 9 c: ii. 196-200
107: i. 418-420 Sālittaka	(J*)	v. 13 a: ii. 68-73 Saṭṭhikūṭapeta
	(I*)	xxv. 2: iv. 86-88 Hamsaghātaka

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<b>Jātaka Book</b>		<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>
119: i. 435 Akālarāvi	(I)	xii. 3: iii. 142-144 Padhānika Tissa
137: i. 477-480 Babbu	(I J)	vi. 7: ii. 149-153 Kāṇā-mātā
138: i. 480-482 Godha	(J)	xxvi. 11: iv. 152-156 Kuhaka
146:1.497-499 Kāka	(I J*)	xx. 8: iii. 421-425 Sambahulā mahallakā
182: ii. 92-94 Saṃgāmāvacara	(I*)	i. 9: i. 115-122 Nanda
183: ii. 95-97 Vālodaka	(I J)	vi. 8: ii. 153-157 Pack of vagabonds
201: ii. 139-141 Bandhanāgāra	(I* J*)	xxiv. 4: iv. 53-57 Bandhanāgāra
211: ii. 164-167 Somadatta	(I J)	xi. 7: iii. 123-127 Lāḷudāyi
215: ii. 175-178 Kacchapa	(I J*)	xxv. 3: iv. 91-93 Kokālika
221: ii. 196-199 Kāsāva	(I J)	i. 7: i. 77-83 Devadatta
263: ii. 328 Culla Palobhana	(J)	xvi. 5: iii. 281-284 Anitthagandha
276: ii. 365-381 Kurudhamma	(I* J)	xxv. 2: iv. 86-90 Haṃsaghātaka
285: ii. 415-417 Maṇisūkara	(I*)	xxii. 1: iii. 474-478 Sundarī
314: iii. 43-48 Story of the Hell-Pot	(I J)	v. 1: ii. 1-19
321: iii. 71-74 Kuṭidūsaka	(I* J)	v. 2: ii. 19-25 Kassapa's pupil [28.55]
325: iii. 84-86 Godha	(J)	xxvi. 11: iv. 152-156 Kuhaka brāhmaṇa
328: iii. 93-94 Ananusociya	(J)	xvi. 5: iii. 281-284 Anitthagandha
346: iii. 142-145 Kesava	(J)	iv. 3 a: i. 342-345 Kesava
354: iii. 162-168 Uruga	(I)	xvi. 2: iii. 276-278 Aññatara kuṭumbika
367: iii. 202-203 Sāliya	(J*)	ix. 9 a: iii. 33 Physician, boys, and snake
374: iii. 219-224 Culla Dhanuggaha	(I J)	xxiv. 7: iv. 65-69 Culla Dhanuggaha
390: iii. 299-303 Mayhaka	(I J)	xxiv. 11: iv. 76-80 Aputtaka seṭṭhi

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<b>Jātaka Book</b>		<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>
400: iii. 332-336 Dabbhapuppha	(I J)	xii. 2: iii. 139-142 Upananda
419: iii. 435-438 Sulasā	(J)	viii. 3: ii. 217-227 Kuṇḍalakesī
428: iii. 486-490 Quarrel of the monks at Kosambi	(I*)	i. 5: i. 53-66
429: iii. 491-494 Mahāsuka	(J*)	ii. 9: i. 283-286 Nigamavāsī Tissa
449: iv. 59-62 Maṭṭhakuṇḍali	(I J)	i. 2: i. 25-37 Maṭṭhakuṇḍali
454: iv. 79-87 Ghata	(J)	i. 2: i. 25-37 Maṭṭhakuṇḍali
455: iv. 90-95 Mātīposaka	(J)	xxiii. 3: iv. 13-15 Verbal gloss
465: iv. 144-153 Bhaddasāla	(I*)	iv. 3: i. 337-362 Viḍūḍabha
466: iv. 158-159 Samuddavāṇija	(I)	i. 12: i. 133-150 Devadatta
472: iv. 187-196 Mahā Paduma	(I* J)	xiii. 9: iii. 178-183 Ciñcā
483: iv. 263-267 Sarabhamiga	(I)	xiv. 2: iii. 199-230 Yamaka Pāṭihāriya
497: iv. 388-389 Jātīmanta	(J)	i. 3 a: i. 39-43 Devala
507: iv. 469 Mahā Palobhana	(J)	xvi. 5: iii. 281-284 Anitthigandha [28.56]
512: v. 11 Kumbha	(I)	xi. 1: iii. 100-103 Drunken women
522: V. 125-127 Sarabhaṅga	(I)	x. 7: iii. 65-71 Mahā Moggallāna
531: V. 282-285 Kusa	(J)	xvi. 5: iii. 281-284 Anitthigandha
533: v. 333-337 Culla haṃsa	(I)	i. 12: i. 133-150 Devadatta
536: V. 412-416 Kuṇāla	(I*)	xv. 1: iii. 254-257 Ñāṭikalāhavūpasamana
536: V. 433 <sup>28</sup> -434 <sup>8</sup> Kuṇāla	(J*)	xxvi. 32: iv. 194-199 Sundarasamudda
542: vi. 129-131 Khaṇḍahāla	(I)	i. 12: i. 133-150 Devadatta

**§ 7 f. Relation to the Commentaries of Dhammapāla.** Internal evidence proves conclusively that the Commentaries of Dhammapāla on the Thera-Gāthā, Therī-Gāthā, Vimānavatthu, and Petavatthu are later than the Dhammapada Commentary. Dhammapāla refers to the Dhammapada Commentary four times in Thera-Gāthā Commentary (cxc, ccv, ccxxx, ccxl) and once in Vimānavatthu Commentary (iii. 8). Thera-Gāthā Commentary refers (xxvi) to Therī-Gāthā Commentary as yet to come, and Vimānavatthu Commentary is referred to four times by Petavatthu Commentary.<sup>52</sup> Internal evidence further proves that between twenty-five and thirty stories contained in these four Commentaries are derived from the Dhammapada Commentary.

From the Dhammapada Commentary are derived most of the following stories of the Thera-Gāthā Commentary: Ix, Sīvali; Ixii, Vajjiputta; Ixvi, Meghiya; Ixviii, Ekudāniya; Ixix, Channa; xcv, Cakkhupāla; cxxxvi, Mahā Kāḷa; cxxxix, Nanda; clxxviii, Yasoja; cxc, Jambuka; ccv, Vakkali; ccxv, Sappadāsa; ccxix, Sumana; ccxiv, Sundarasamudda; ccxxxv, Mahā Kappina; ccxl, Saṃkicca; cclix, Sāriputta; and cclxiv, Vaṅḡisa. Dhammapāla names the Dhammapada Commentary as the source of stories cxc and ccxl, and Aṅguttara Commentary and Dhammapada Commentary as the sources of story ccv.

In two stories of the Therī-Gāthā Commentary, xli and xlvii, Dhammapāla employs both Aṅguttara Commentary and Dhammapada Commentary as authorities. In the case of story xli, Nanda, the first fourteen lines are almost word for word the same as Aṅguttara Commentary; the rest of the story, although briefer than the original, is almost word for word the same as Dhammapada Commentary. Similarly in the story of Paṭācārā, xlvii, the first page is almost word for word the same as Aṅguttara Commentary; but the last four pages [28.57] are almost word for word the same as Dhammapada Commentary. For further details, see Introduction, § 7 d.

Four stories of the Vimānavatthu Commentary are derived from the Dhammapada Commentary, vii. 9, Maṭṭhakuṇḍali, is a free version of Dhammapada Commentary, i. 2. Verbally identical with Dhammapada Commentary are stories i. 15, Uttarā (= Dh. cm. xvii. 3); i. 16, Sirimā (= Dh. cm. xi. 2); and v. 2, Revatī (= Dh. cm. xvi. 9, Nandiya). Three stories of the Petavatthu Commentary are derived from the Dhammapada Commentary: i. 3, Pūtimukha (from Dh. cm. XX. 6); iv. 15 (cf. iv. 1), story of the Hell-Pot (from Dh. cm. v. 1); iv. 16, Saṭṭhikūṭa (from Dh. cm. v. 13).

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<sup>52</sup> See *Petavatthu Commentary*, 71<sup>30-32</sup> 92<sup>17-29</sup>, 244<sup>6-10</sup>, 257<sup>5-11</sup>.

**Synoptical Table F**

<b>Psalms of the Brethren</b>		<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>
xxxix. 43-44	Tissa	i. 3: i. 37-45
xliv. 48-49	Sāṇu	xxiii. 5: iv. 18-25
lx. 60-62	Sīvali	xxvi. 31: iv. 192-194 (vii. 9 6): ii. 192-195
lxii. 63	Vajjiputta	xxi. 6: iii. 460-463
lxvi. 67	Meghiya	iii. 1: i. 287-289
lxviii. 68-69	Ekudāniya	xix. 3: iii. 384-386
xcv. 88-89	Cakkhupāla	i. 1: i. 3-24
cxxxvi. 123-124	Mahā Kāḷa	i. 6: i. 66-77
cxxxix. 126-127	Nanda	i. 9:i. 115-125
clxxviii. 166-167	Yasoja	xxiv. 1: iv. 37-46
cxc. 179-180	Jambuka	V. 11: ii. 52-63
ccv. 197-200	Vakkali	xxv. 11: iv. 117-119
ccxv. 214-215	Sappadāsa	viii. 11: ii. 256-260
ccxix. 220-221	Sumana	(xxv. 12): iv. 129-137
ccxxiv. 228-230	Sundarasamudda	xxvi. 32: iv. 194-198
ccxxx. 241 refers to ccxxxv. 254-257	Mahā Kappina	iv. 12: i. 434-447 vi. 4:ii. 112-127
ccxl. 266-268	Samkicca	viii, 9: ii. 240-253
cclix. 340-342	Sāriputta	(i. 8): i. 88-96
celxiv. 395-397	Vaṅgīsa	xxvi. 37: iv. 226-228

**§ 8. Date of the Dhammapada Commentary: 450 A.D.**

The facts brought out in the preceding discussion of the relation of the Dhammapada Commentary to the works of Buddhaghosa, to the Jātaka Book, and to the Commentaries of Dhammapāla make it abundantly clear that the

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works with which we are chiefly concerned must be arranged in the following chronological order: [28.58]

1. Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga and Commentaries, 410-432 A.D.<sup>53</sup>
2. Jātaka Book (Jātaka-Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā); redactor unknown.<sup>54</sup>
3. Dhammapada Commentary (Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā); compiler unknown.<sup>55</sup>
4. Dhammapāla's Commentaries, latter part of fifth century A.D.<sup>56</sup>

An apparently naïve remark by the compiler of the Dhammapada Commentary in the story of the Hell-Pot, v. 1, gives us a possible clew to the date of the work. At the end of the story of the four adulterers, ii. 11<sup>13-16</sup>, he remarks, "Although the four wicked wights have been sinking in the Pot ever since King Pasenadi Kosala heard those sounds, not even yet (ajjāpi) have a thousand years elapsed."

If Pasenadi is the king so often referred to as warring with Ajātasattu, we may set 500 B.C. as his approximate date.<sup>57</sup> The remark referred to would then be good evidence that the Dhammapada Commentary was composed between 450 and 500 A.D. Moreover, the particle api would seem to indicate that at the time of writing the period of a thousand years was not quite up, but nearly so.

The evidence furnished by this remark agrees perfectly with the evidence we find in the Dhammapada Commentary regarding the chronological order of Buddhaghosa's works, Jātaka Book, Dhammapada Commentary, and Dhammapāla's Commentaries. It is certain that the Dhammapada Commentary is later than the Jātaka Book, and that the Jātaka Book is later than the works

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<sup>53</sup> For Buddhaghosa's life and work, see Rhys Davids's articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Cf. also Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 152-154, 157-161, 164-166.

<sup>54</sup> On the *Jātaka Book*, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, chap. xi, pp. 189-209; Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 89-127, 153-154; and Winternitz's article in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>55</sup> On the *Dhammapada Commentary*, cf. Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 153-157, and his article on the *Jātaka*, in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>56</sup> On Dhammapāla, see Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 161-164, and Rhys Davids's article in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*. According to Rhys Davids, Dhammapāla flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

<sup>57</sup> On Pasenadi, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 8-11. Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2d ed., p. 44, puts Ajātasattu at 500-475 B.C.

of Buddhaghosa. Now the date of Buddhaghosa's literary activity is approximately 410-432 A.D. Therefore we shall probably be not far from right if we fix 440 A.D. as the approximate date of the redaction of the Jātaka Book and 450 A.D. as the approximate date of the Dhammapada Commentary. [28.59]

### § 9. Authorship of the Dhammapada Commentary

The authorship of the Dhammapada Commentary is ascribed in the colophon to Buddhaghosa. This colophon, however, is the only evidence the four volumes of text contain that such is the case. The question is one which affects not only the Dhammapada Commentary, but the Jātaka Commentary as well. Indeed, so closely does the Dhammapada Commentary resemble the Jātaka Commentary, both in form and content, and so dependent on the Jātaka Commentary is the Dhammapada Commentary, that the problem of their authorship is a single problem, not to be divided, and best approached from the side of the Jātaka.

Buddhaghosa expressly names himself as the author of the Visuddhi-Magga, the Commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, and the Commentaries on the four greater Nikāyas in the introductory stanzas to these works. In the Gandhavaṃsa, a Burmese work of the seventeenth century A.D., he is also named as the author of the Commentaries on the Pātimokkhas, Abhidhamma Piṭaka, Khuddaka-Pāṭha, Dhammapada, Sutta-Nipāta, Jātaka, and Apadāna.<sup>58</sup> In the second part of chapter xxxvii of the Mahāvaṃsa, which contains an account of Buddhaghosa's literary career, the yet more sweeping statement is made that Buddhaghosa "translated all the Cingalese Commentaries into Pāli."<sup>59</sup>

Rhys Davids, in discussing the authorship of the Jātaka Commentary, argues that this statement by no means implies that Buddhaghosa is the author of all the Commentaries we possess.<sup>60</sup> In his opinion Buddhaghosa would certainly not have begun work on the Jātaka Commentary before completing Visuddhi-Magga, Vinaya Commentary, and the Commentaries on the four greater Nikāyas. Yet this is practically what we are asked to believe. Otherwise we should expect to find in the introductory stanzas to the Jātaka Commentary at least a reference to Buddhaghosa's principal works. As a matter of fact, while

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<sup>58</sup> *Gandhavaṃsa*, JPTS., 1886, p. 59.

<sup>59</sup> Text in Andersen's *Pāli Reader*, part 1, pp. 113-114 (114<sup>27-28</sup>).

<sup>60</sup> See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. lxiii-lxvi.

three elders are there mentioned with respect, there are no references to Buddhaghosa's teachers in India and Ceylon and no allusions to his conversion, journey from India, or previous writings. The argument from silence seems to Rhys Davids to be convincing. [28.60]

Fausböll, referring to the statement of the Gandhavaṃsa that Buddhaghosa is the author of the Jātaka Commentary, argues that while it is certain that Buddhaghosa is the author of the Visuddhi-Magga, the Commentary on the Vinaya, and the Commentaries on the four greater Nikāyas, it is incredible that he should have written six others equally long, especially if he remained only three years in Ceylon and was not only a translator, but also an independent writer.<sup>61</sup>

The arguments of Rhys Davids and Fausböll are convincing and apply also to the Dhammapada Commentary.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, on account of the dependent relation of the Dhammapada Commentary to the Jātaka Commentary, they apply with even greater force to the Dhammapada Commentary. But the strongest argument of all is this: The Jātaka Commentary and the Dhammapada Commentary differ so widely in language and style from the genuine works of Buddhaghosa as to make it in the highest degree improbable that he is the author of either of them.<sup>63</sup> The cumulative force of these three arguments is irresistible.

Buddhaghosa is not the author of the Jātaka Commentary or of the Dhammapada Commentary. Their authors are unknown.

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<sup>61</sup> See the Postscriptum to Fausböll's edition of the *Jātaka*, vol. vii. pp. viii-ix.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 152-154.

<sup>63</sup> In Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii. p. 886, col. 2, Rhys Davids says of the *Jātaka Commentary* and the *Dhammapada Commentary*: "In both style and matter each of these books differs from the other, and from such portions of the works of Buddhaghosa as are accessible to us." The last half of this statement is quite correct, but the first half is utterly wrong. The *Jātaka Book* and the *Dhammapada Commentary* are so similar in language and style and subject-matter as to arouse the suspicion that they are by the same author. There is no absolute proof that this is the case, however. See Introduction, § 7 e. For a comparative study of the *Dhammapada Commentary* and *Aṅguttara Commentary* versions of a typical story, see E. Hardy, *Story of the Merchant Ghosaka*, in *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 741-794.

## § 10. References to Dhammapada Commentary stories in Milindapañha iv and vi

It has long been the opinion of scholars that, while Books ii and iii of the Milindapañha date from the beginning of the Christian era. Books iv-vii and parts of Book i are as late as the fifth century A.D.<sup>64</sup> Books iv-vii are full of references to the Jātaka Book, and Books iv and vi refer to many stories and legends found only in fifth century Commentaries. The publication of the Dhammapada Commentary [28.61] enables us to identify a considerable number of these stories. Book iv, at p. 115 of the text and p. 291, refers to a group of seven stories, and Book vi, at p. 350, to a group of ten additional stories, all of which (with a single exception) occur either in the Dhammapada Commentary or in the Jātaka Book or in the Vimānavatthu Commentary. Most of these stories, however, occur in the Dhammapada Commentary and nowhere else.

The Dhammapada Commentary stories referred to are as follows: i. 2, Maṭṭhakuṇḍali; (possibly) iv. 8, Suppiyā; iv. 12, Garahadinna; V. 3, Ānanda seṭṭhi; v. 9, Sumana mālākāra; v. 11, Jambuka ājīvaka; ix. 1, Ekasāṭaka brāhmaṇa; xi. 2, Sirimā nagarasobhinī; xiii. 7, Pesakāradhitā; xvii. 3, Puṇṇa bhātaka; xvii. 5, Sāketa-brāhmaṇassa ālāhanadassana; xvii. 6, Puṇṇā dāsī; xxi. 8, Cūḷā Subhaddā. In addition Milindapañha at 349<sup>21</sup>, 350<sup>3</sup>, and 350<sup>4</sup> refers respectively to the three principal legends of the Dhammapada Commentary version of the Twin Miracle, xiv. 2; namely, 1. Twin Miracle, 2. Preaching of the Abhidhamma in the World of the Thirty-three, 3. Descent to earth of the Buddha and attendant deities. Most of the references at Milindapañha 349 appear to be to the Commentary on the Sutta-Nipāta.

These references are of little assistance in fixing the date of the Dhammapada Commentary, but tend to prove that Books iv-vii of Milindapañha are as late as the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

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<sup>64</sup> See Schrader, *Fragen des Königs Menandros*, Einleitung, pp. vii-xxxv; also Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 139-146.

**Synoptical Table G**

<b>I Milindapañha 115<sup>12-16</sup></b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	<b>Other Commentaries</b>	<b>Milindapañha</b>
1* Sumana mālākāra	v. 9: ii. 40-47		291 <sup>19-21</sup>
2* Ekasāṭaka brāhmaṇa	ix. 1: iii. 1-5	A. cm. 102-104	291 <sup>21-23</sup>
3* Puṇṇa bhataka	xvii. 3: iii. 302- 307		291 <sup>9-11</sup>
4 Mallikā devī		Jā. cm. iii. 405- 406	291 <sup>17-19</sup>
5 Gopalamātā			291 <sup>11-14</sup>
6 Suppiyā upāsikā	(iv. 8): i. 411 <sup>6-10</sup>	(Cf. Vin. 1. 217 <sup>10</sup> -218 <sup>10</sup> )	291 <sup>14-17</sup>
7* Puṇṇā dāsī	xvii. 6: iii. 321- 325	Jā. cm. ii. 286- 287	
 <b>II Milindapañha 350<sup>9-15</sup></b>			
1* Sumana mālākāra	V. 9: ii. 40-47 (47 <sup>18</sup> )	See Story 1 above	
2* Garahadinna	iv. 12: i. 434- 447 (446 <sup>14</sup> )		
3* Ānanda seṭṭhi	v. 3: ii. 25-29 (29 <sup>7</sup> )		
4* Jambuka ājīvaka	V. 11: ii. 52-63 (63 <sup>19</sup> )		
5 Maṇḍūka devaputta		Vv. cm. 216- 219 (219 <sup>26</sup> )	
6* Maṭṭhakuṇḍali devaputta	i. 2: i. 25-37 (37 <sup>7</sup> )	Vv. cm. 322- 330 (330 <sup>33</sup> );  Jā. cm. iv. 59- 62	

<b>II Milindapañha 350<sup>9-15</sup></b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	<b>Other Commentaries</b>
7 Sulasā nagarasobhinī		Jā. cm. iii. 435-439
8* Sirimā nagarasobhinī	xi. 2: iii. 104-109 (109 <sup>17</sup> )	
9* Pesakāradhītā	xiii. 7: iii. 170-176 (175 <sup>15</sup> )	
10* Cūḷā Subhaddā	xxi. 8: iii. 465-471 (471 <sup>5</sup> )	
11* Sāketa-brāhmaṇassa āḷāhanadassana	xvii. 5: iii. 317-321 (320 <sup>10</sup> )	Jā. cm. i. 308-310

### § 11. Parallels to Story-Cycle of Udena<sup>65</sup>

The story of Udena is the longest, and in many respects the most interesting, of all the stories of the Dhammapada Commentary. It is in reality a cycle of six stories of diverse origin and character, dealing with the fortunes of Udena, his principal treasurer, and his three queen-consorts. Only two of the stories are mainly concerned with the fortunes of Udena, the rest being introduced by simple and familiar literary devices. The story of the fortunes of Udena in the Dhammapada Commentary stands in much the same relation to the embedded stories as the frame-story of Udena in the Kathāsaritsāgara to the rest of the collection. Parallels to one or more of the stories are found in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga, Buddhaghosa's Commentaries on the Majjhima and Aṅguttara, the Divyāvadāna, Kathāsaritsāgara, and other Sanskrit collections, and the Tibetan Kandjur. The kernel of two of the stories is derived from the Sutta-Nipāta and the Udāna.

Story ii. 1. 1: i. 161-169 relates the circumstances of the birth and youthful career of Udena. The same story is related briefly by Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on Majjhima 85 (see Lacôte, p. 251). A somewhat different version of the story is found in chapter ix of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

Story ii. 1. 2: i. 169-187 relates the seven marvelous escapes from death of the luck-child Ghosaka, and is preceded by an account of Ghosaka's previous kamma. The same story is related in detail by Buddhaghosa in his Commentary

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<sup>65</sup> See F. Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇādhyā et la Brhatakathā*, pp. 247-273.

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on the Etadagga Sutta of the Aṅguttara.<sup>66</sup> For a comparative study of the two versions, see E. Hardy, *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 741-794. Parallels occur in many Sanskrit collections, and in fact in almost all of the literatures of the world. For a comparative study of the Oriental versions, see J. Schick, *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief*.<sup>67</sup> [28.63]

Story ii. 1. 3: i. 187-191 relates the circumstances under which Sāmāvātī became one of the queen-consorts of Udena.<sup>68</sup> Similar in all respects is the story of Pradyota and Çāntā (Sāmāvātī) in the Kandjur. See A. Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana und König Tskanḍa-Pradjota*:<sup>69</sup> V, Epidemie zu Udshdshajinī (pp. 14-17).

Story ii. 1. 4: i. 191-199 relates the capture of Udena by Caṇḍa-Pajjota and the winning of Vāsuladattā by Udena. Close parallels to this story occur in the Kathāsaritsāgara and Kandjur. See Kathāsaritsāgara, frame-story of chapters xi-xiv; and Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana*, xv, Udajana's Gefangennehmung und Rettung (pp. 35-40). The same story is related very briefly by Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on Majjhima 85 (see Lacôte, p. 251).

Story ii. 1. 5: i. 199-203 (cf. xiv. 1: iii. 193-199) relates the Buddha's rejection of Māgandiyā's offer of his daughter in marriage. The source of this story is Sutta-Nipāta, iv. 9, or some derivative thereof. A close parallel is Divyāvadāna, xxxvi, part 1, pp. 515-529. For a Sanskrit parallel from Eastern Turkestan, see A. F. R. Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 709 ff.

Story ii. 1. 6: i. 208-231 relates the compassing of Sāmāvātī's death by Māgandiyā, and is preceded by the stories of the three treasurers, the monks and the tree-spirit, and Khujjuttarā. A close parallel to this story is Divyāvadāna, xxxvi, part 2, pp. 529-544. Brief outlines of the story occur in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga, xii. 169 ff., and in Schiefner, *Lehensbeschreibung Çākyamuni's* (from the Kandjur), p. 47 (247). The burning

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<sup>66</sup> See footnote number 1 on next page.

<sup>67</sup> J. Schick, *Corpus Hamleticum* (Berlin, 1912): 1 Abteilung, 1 Band, *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief, Orientalische Fassungen*.

<sup>68</sup> Buddhaghosa's version of Parts 2, 3, 5, and 6 of the Udena-cycle is found in his Aṅguttara Commentary at pages 249-264, as stated above at p. 50, Synoptical Table D 2. – Postscript footnote.

<sup>69</sup> Memoires de l'academie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, viie série, tome xxii, No. 7.

of Sāmāvatī and her five hundred women is the subject of Udāna, vii. 10. The Dhammapada Commentary quotes the Udāna-passage word for word.

**§ 12. Parallels to Dhammapada Commentary stories in Sanskrit  
(Divyāvadāna) and Tibetan (Kandjur)**

The Divyāvadāna contains four parallels to stories of the Dhammapada Commentary. The story of Meṇḍhaka, chaps, ix-x, pp. 123-135, is a close parallel to the Dhammapada Commentary story of Meṇḍhaka, xviii. 10: iii. 363-376. The story of the Twin Miracle in Divyāvadāna, chap, xii, pp. 143-166, is closer to Jātaka 483: iv. 263-267, than to [28.64] Dhammapada Commentary, xiv. 2: iii. 199-230. The Divyāvadāna version of the story of Culla Panthaka, Cūḍāpaksha, chap, xxxv, pp. 483-515, differs materially from the version common to Jātaka 4: i. 114-120, and Dhammapada Commentary, ii. 3: i. 239-250. The Story of the Past is the story of the mouse-merchant, as in the Jātaka. Part 1 of the story of Mākandika, chap, xxxvi, pp. 515-529, is a close parallel to the story of Māgandiyā in Dhammapada Commentary, xiv. 1: iii. 193-199 (cf. ii. 1. 5: i. 199-203). Part 2 of the story of Mākandika, chap, xxxvi, pp. 529-544, is a close parallel to the story of the compassing of Sāmāvatī's death by Māgandiyā in Dhammapada Commentary, ii. 1. 6: i. 213-231. In Divyāvadāna, Māgandiyā's motive is jealousy; in Dhammapada Commentary, it is hatred of the Buddha. On Divyāvadāna, xxxvi, see Lacôte, pp. 258-262.

The Tibetan Kandjur exhibits parallels to stories of our collection. Thus three stories in Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana und König Tshaṇḍa-Pradjota*, are strikingly similar to stories of the Dhammapada Commentary. Stories v and xv, corresponding respectively to Dhammapada Commentary, ii. 1. 3 and ii. 1. 4, have been discussed above. The third story, xix, Pradjota's Träume und deren Deutung durch Mahākātjājana, relates Mahā Kātyāyana's interpretation of twelve words heard and eight visions seen in a dream by King Pradyota. It is a striking parallel to the story in Dhammapada Commentary, v. 1: ii. 1-12, and Jātaka 314: iii. 43-48, of the Buddha's interpretation of four syllables heard by King Pasenadi; to the story in Jātaka 418: iii. 428-434, of the Bodhisatta's interpretation of eight sounds heard by the King of Benāres; and to the Buddha's interpretation of the sixteen dreams of King Pasenadi in Jātaka 77: i. 334-346. Stories xix-xx form a striking parallel to the story of the king's dreams in Bidpai's Fables. See Keith-Falconer, Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxiii, and translation, pp. 219-247; also Knatchbull's translation, pp. 314-338.

### § 13. Hardy's Legends of Gotama Buddha (Cingalese)

Chapter vii of Robert Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism contains fifty-two legends of Gotama Buddha, representing in bulk nearly one half of the work. Most of these legends are derived from a Cingalese translation of the Jātaka Book or from medieval Cingalese collections of legends and stories. From a comparison of the contents of the Dhammapada Commentary with the contents of this [28.65] chapter it appears likely that nearly one half of Hardy's Legends are indirectly, through the medium of medieval Cingalese collections, derived from the Dhammapada Commentary. The correspondences are indicated in the following table:

Hardy's Legends of Gotama Buddha		Subject	Dhammapada Commentary	
Number	Page (Ed. 2)		Book	Story
10	200-203	Sāriputta and Moggallāna	i	8 <i>b</i>
[11	203-210	Buddha visits Kapila	i	9 <i>a</i> ]
12	210-212	Nanda and Rāhula	i	9 <i>a-b</i>
17	226-234	Visākhā	iv	8
18	234-242	Anuruddha-Sumana	xxv	12
19	242-244	Buddha visits Vesāli	xxi	1
21	257-261	Aṅgulimāla	xiii	6
29	284-286	Ciñcā	xiii	9
30	287-290	Mind-reading	iii	2
31	290-292	Bandhula	iv	3
32	292-294	Vāsabhakhattiyā	iv	3
35	296-297	Chattapāṇi	iv	7
36	297-298	Asadisadāna	xiii	10
38	300-308	Yamakapāṭihāriya	xiv	2 <i>a-d</i>
39	308-313	Yamakapāṭihāriya	xiv	2 <i>e-f</i>
40	313-314	Aggidatta	xiv	6

<b>Hardy's Legends of Gotama Buddha</b>		<b>Subject</b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	
41	314-317	Sounds of evil omen	v	1
42	317-320	Sākiyas and Koliyas	xv	1
43	326-333	Devadatta and Ajātasattu	i	12
45	337-340	Death of Devadatta	i	12
49	349-351	Death of Moggallāna	x	7
50	351-352	Suppabuddha	ix	12

#### § 14. Rogers's Buddhaghosha's Parables (Burmese)

In 1870 Captain T. Rogers published under the title Buddhaghosha's Parables an English translation of twenty-nine Burmese legends and stories. Of these, fifteen are late Burmese versions of legends and stories of the Dhammapada Commentary. The correspondences are indicated in the following table:

<b>Buddhaghosha's Parables</b>		<b>Title</b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	
Chapter	Page		Book	Story
1	1-11	Cakkhupāla	i	1
2	12-17	Maddhakuṇḍali	i	2
3	18-24	Tissa Thera	i	3
4	25-31	Culla Kāla and Mahā Kāla	i	6
5	32-60	Udena <sup>70</sup>	ii	1 [28.66]
6	61-71	Culla Panthaka	ii	3
7	72-77	Probationer Tissa	v	15
8	78-86	Mahā Kappina Thera	vi	4

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<sup>70</sup> The story of Ghosaka is omitted and the story of Sāmāvatī is compressed into one paragraph.

<b>Buddhaghosha's Parables</b>		<b>Title</b>	<b>Dhammapada Commentary</b>	
9	87-97	Probationer Paṇḍita	vi	5
10	98-102	Kisā Gotamī	viii	13
11	103-104	Girl and Hen	xxi	2
12	105-106	Hen and Little Sow	xxiv	2
13	107-119	Culla Sumana	xxv	12
15	125-135	Hell-Pot	v	1
24	160-163	Dhammadāna	xxiv	10

### **§ 15. Previous translations of Dhammapada and of parts of Commentary**

The Dhammapada has been translated many times. The following list contains the titles and names of authors of all the complete translations: *Pāli into Latin: Dhammapadam*, V. Fausböll, Haunia, 1855. Revision of the same: *The Dhammapada*, V. Fausböll, London, 1900. *Pāli into English: Buddha's Dhammapada, or Path of Virtue*, F. Max Müller (in the Introduction to Captain T. Rogers, *Buddhaghosha's Parables*), London, 1870. Also the following revisions of the same: *The Dhammapada*, F. Max Müller, forming part 1 of volume x of the Sacred Books of the East, 1st ed., Oxford, 1881; 2d ed., Oxford, 1898. *Dhammapada*, James Gray, 1st ed., Rangoon, 1881; 2d ed., Calcutta, 1887. *Hymns of the Faith (Dhammapada)*, Albert J. Edmunds, Chicago, 1902. *The Buddha's Way of Virtue*, in the *Wisdom of the East Series*, W. D. C. Wagiswara and K. J. Saunders, New York, 1912. *Pāli into German: Das Dhammapadam*, A. Weber, in *ZDMG.*, 14. 1860; reprinted in *Indische Streifen*, 1. 1868. *Worte der Wahrheit*, L. V. Schroeder, Leipzig, 1892. *Der Wahrheitspfad*, K. E. Neumann, Leipzig, 1893. *Pāli into French: Le Dhammapada*, Fernand Hû, Paris, 1878. *Pāli into Italian: Il Dhammapada*, P. E. Pavolini, Mailand, 1908. *Sanskrit into Chinese into English: Texts from the Buddhist Canon, commonly known as Dhammapada*, Samuel Beal, London, 1878. *Sanskrit into Tibetan into English: Udānavarga*, W. W. Rockhill, London, 1883.

Only a few of the stories of the *Dhammapada Commentary* have ever been translated. The first four stories are translated by C. Duroiselle in volume ii of the review *Buddhism*, Rangoon, 1905-08. The first two stories are translated by Godefroy de Blonay and Louis de la [28.67] Vallée Poussin in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 26. 1892. Stories i. 5 and iv. 3 are translated by the same scholars in the same *Revue*, 29. 1894. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, contains iv. 4 (pp. 264-267), i-v. 8 (pp. 451-481), iv. 11 (pp. 380-383), x. 7 (pp. 221-226), xvii. 2 (pp. 430-431), and xxv. 2 (pp. 432-433). A translation of the story of Ghosaka (ii. 1. 2, Story of the Present) by E. Hardy is given in *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 741-794. For an analysis of the stories of Books i-iv, see my paper, *Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary*, in *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 45, pp. 467-550. For translations of parallel stories in the *Jātaka Book*, see the Cambridge translation into English, or J. Dutoit's translation into German. The German version is vastly superior to the English.

### **§ 16. Editions of the text of the Dhammapada Commentary**

In 1855 extracts from the Commentary were published by V. Fausböll in his edition of the *Dhammapada*. These extracts form the basis of the admirable translations by H. C. Warren in *Buddhism in Translations* (see Introduction, § 15, paragraph 2). In 1906 the Pāli Text Society began the publication of a complete edition of the text, under the editorship of H. C. Norman of Benāres. The contents and date of publication of the several installments are as follows: Vol. i, part 1, containing Book i, 1906. Vol. i, part 2, containing Books ii-iv, 1909. Vol. ii, containing Books v-viii, 1911. Vol. iii, containing Books ix-xxii, 1912. Vol. iv, containing Books xxiii-xxvi, 1914. Vol. v. Indexes, 1915. Much to the regret of all students of Pāli literature, Professor Norman died on April 11, 1913, before the publication of the fourth and last volume of the text. The revision of the last three or four sheets of the text and the copying and revision of the Indexes was completed by a pupil of Norman's, Pandit Lakshman Shastri Tailang. There are two excellent native editions of the Commentary: a Burmese edition by Ū Yan, Rangoon, 1903, and a Cingalese edition by W. Dhammānanda Mahā Thera and M. Ñāṇissara Thera, Colombo, 1898-1908. The Pāli Text Society edition of the Commentary contains so many errors, the result not only of careless proof-reading, but of failure to exercise good judgment and common sense in the choice of readings, that the translator has been obliged to rely mainly on the Burmese native edition. The readings of this edition are generally given (although not always correctly) in the footnotes of the London edition. [28.68]

**§ 17. Brief list of books on the life and teachings of the Buddha**

Many books have been written about the Buddha, but not many good ones. **Bibliography:** *Buddhism*, a list of references in the New York Public Library. Compiled by Ida A. Pratt, New York Public Library, 1916. **On the life of the Buddha**, see T. W. Rhys Davids's article *Buddha* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., and A. S. Geden's article *Buddha* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. **On the teachings of the Buddha**, see Rhys Davids's article *Buddhism* in the *Britannica*. The best handbook of the life and teachings of the Buddha is R. Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, in the Series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, Band 109, 2 Auflage, Leipzig, 1910. The following books will also be found useful: T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: its History and Literature*, in *American Lectures on the History of Religions*, New York and London, 1904. Edmund Hardy, *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pāli-Werken dargestellt*, Münster, 1890. Edmund Hardy's brief manual *Buddha* in the *Sammlung Göschen*, Leipzig, 1905. Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, 6 Auflage, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1914. Reginald S. Copleston, *Buddhism, Primitive and Present, in Magadha and Ceylon*, 2d ed., London, 1908. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1896.

**On Primitive Buddhism** in its relation to other Indian religions, see G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, vol. i, chap. ii, and H. Oldenberg, *Die Indische Religion*, in *Die Religionen des Orients*, Teil i, Abteilung iii. 1, of *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. **For a comprehensive sketch of Buddhism as a world-religion**, see H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, in *Probsthain's Oriental Series*, vol. ii, London, 1910. **On the early history of Buddhism in India**, see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, in *The Story of the Nations*, London and New York, 1911. **On the history of the Buddhist sects**, see Rhys David's article *Hīnayāna* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. On the Buddhist literature, see M. Winternitz, *Die Buddhistische Litteratur*, in *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Zweiter Band, Erste Hälfte, Leipzig, 1913; also A. A. Macdonell's article *Literature (Buddhist)* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and Rhys Davids's article *Buddhism* in the *Britannica*.

**Translations of Selections:** H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, in *Harvard Oriental Series*, vol. iii, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Sixth Issue, 1915; J. Dutoit, *Das Leben des Buddha*, Leipzig, 1906; K. Seidenstücker, *Pāli-Buddhismus in Übersetzungen*, Breslau, 1911; M. Winternitz, *Buddhismus*, in A.

Bertholet, *Religionsgeschichtliches* [28.69] *Lesebuch*, Tübingen, 1908. **Complete Translations of Texts:** Of the *Vinaya*, *Pātimokkha*, *Mahā Vagga*, and *Culla Vagga* have been translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols, xiii, xvii, and xx. Of the *Dīgha*, Suttas 1-13 (vol. i) have been translated by K. E. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos aus der längeren Sammlung Dīghanikāyo des Pāli-Kanons*, I Band, München, 1907; Suttas 1-23 (vols, i-ii) by T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vols, i-ii (vols, ii-iii of the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*), London, 1899, 1910. The entire *Majjhima* has been translated by K. E. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos aus der mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pāli-Kanons*, 3 Bde., Leipzig, 1896-1902; Suttas 1-50 have been translated into English by the Bhikkhu Sīlacāra, *Discourses of Gotama the Buddha*, vols, i-ii, London, 1912, 1913. Of the *Aṅguttara*, *Nipātas* 1-3 (vol. i) have been translated by E. R. J. Gooneratne, Galle, Ceylon, 1913. For translations of the *Dhammapada*, see Introduction, § 15. The *Udāna* has been translated by D. M. Strong, London, 1902. The *Itivuttaka* has been translated by J. H. Moore, *Sayings of the Buddha*, New York, 1908. The *Sutta Nipāta* has been translated by V. Fausböll, part 2 of volume x of the *Sacred Books of the East*, 1st ed., Oxford, 1881; 2d ed., Oxford, 1898; also by K. E. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke Suttanipāto des Pāli-Kanons*, Leipzig, 1905, 2 Auflage, 1911. The *Thera-Gāthā* and *Therī-Gāthā* have been translated by K. E. Neumann, *Die Lieder der Monche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddhos*, Berlin, 1899; also, together with the greater part of the stories in prose from the *Commentaries of Dhammapāla*, by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists: i. Psalms of the Sisters (Therī-Gāthā Commentary)*, London, 1909; ii, *Psalms of the Brethren (Thera-Gāthā Commentary)*, London, 1913. Of the *Jātaka Book* there are two complete translations: the Cambridge translation into English and the far superior translation into German of J. Dutoit. The *Nidānakathā* has been translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880. The *Milindapañha* has been translated by T. W. Rhys Davids in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols, xxxv, xxxvi. – **Addendum.** *Dīghanikāya* in *Auswahl übersetzt* by R. Otto Franke, Göttingen, 1913. Suttas 1-5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 21, 26, 27.

# Translation of the Legends of the Dhammapada Commentary

## Prologue<sup>71</sup>

{1.1} [28.145]

Praise be unto him that is Highly Exalted, All-Holy, Supremely Enlightened.

I bow myself before the feet of the Supremely Enlightened, the All-Glorious. I honor his Good Law. I salute his Order.

Shrouded in darkness of error profound was the world, and he dwelt therein and beheld the ends thereof. With wonder-working power alight he lighted the lamp of the Good Law.

Skilled was he to know the true from the false in every matter. He, the Teacher, composed the Sentences of the Good Law, and moved with compassion, taught the pleasing Sentences of the Law, which yield increase of joy and satisfaction to gods and men alike.

“A subtile Commentary thereon has been handed down from generation to generation in the island of Ceylon. But because it is composed in the dialect of the island, it is of no profit or advantage to foreigners. It might perhaps conduce to the welfare of all mankind.”

This was the wish expressed to me by Elder Kumāra Kassapa, self-conquered, living in tranquillity, steadfast in resolve. His earnest request was made to me because of his desire that the Good Law might endure. {1.2}

Therefore I shall discard this dialect and its diffuse idiom and translate the work into the pleasing language of the Sacred Texts. Whatever in the Stanzas has not been made clear in the Stanzas themselves, whether in letter or in word, all that will I make clear. The rest I will also tell in Pāli, in accordance with the spirit of the Stanzas. Thus will I bring to the minds of the wise joy and satisfaction in matters both temporal and spiritual.

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<sup>71</sup> See Introduction, § 5. Text: N i. 1-2.

## Book I. Pairs, Yamaka Vagga

### I. 1. “If Thine Eye Offend Thee, Pluck It Out”<sup>72</sup>

{1.3} [28.146]

**1. Thought is of all things first, thought is of all things foremost, of thought are all things made.  
If with thought corrupt a man speak or act,  
Suffering follows him, even as a wheel follows the hoof of the beast of burden.**

Where was this religious instruction given? At Sāvatti. With reference to whom? Cakkhupāla the Elder.

At Sāvatti, we are told, lived a householder named Great-Wealth, Mahā-Suvaṇṇa. He was rich, possessed of great wealth, possessed of ample means of enjoyment, but at the same time he was childless. One day, as he was on his way home from bathing at a ghat, he saw by the roadside a large forest tree with spreading branches. Thought he, “This tree must be tenanted by a powerful tree-spirit.” So he caused the ground under the tree to be cleared, the tree itself to be inclosed with a wall, and sand to be spread within the inclosure. And having decked the tree with flags and banners, he made the following vow: “Should I obtain a son or a daughter, I will pay you great honor.” Having so done, he went on his way.

Now in no long time his wife conceived a child in her womb. {1.4} So soon as his wife knew that she was with child, she informed her husband, and he performed the Protection of the Embryo for her. On the expiration of ten lunar months she gave birth to a son. Since the merchant obtained a son by protecting the tree, he named his son Protector, Pāla. After a time he obtained a second son. The younger son he named Protector junior, Culla Pāla, calling the older Protector senior, Mahā Pāla. When they reached manhood, their parents obtained wives for them. After a time the mother and father died, leaving the entire estate to be administered by the two sons.

At this time the Teacher, having set in motion the glorious Wheel of the Law, after journeying from place to place, took up his residence at Jetavana, a

<sup>72</sup> Derived from this story are *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, xcv, and Rogers, *Buddhaghosha’s Parables*, i, pp. 1-11. Text: N i. 3-24.

monastery erected by the wealthy merchant [28.147] Anāthapiṇḍika at a cost of fifty-four crores of treasure. While in residence at Jetavana, he established the multitude in the Way to Heaven and the Way to Deliverance. (For the Tathāgata kept residence during but a single rainy season at the monastery erected by twice eighty thousand families of kinsmen, eighty on his mother's side, eighty on his father's. At Jetavana monastery, erected by Anāthapiṇḍika, he kept residence during nineteen rainy seasons; at Pubbārāma, erected by Visākhā at a cost of twenty-seven crores, he kept residence during six rainy seasons. Thus, by reason of the great merit of these two families, he kept residence near Sāvatti during twenty-five rainy seasons.)

Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā, the eminent female lay disciple, went regularly twice every day to wait upon the Tathāgata. Knowing that the young novices would expect alms from them, they never went empty-handed. Before breakfast {1.5} they took food, both hard and soft; after breakfast they took the five medicaments and the eight beverages. Moreover, in their residences seats were always prepared for two thousand monks. Whoever wished food or drink or medicine was immediately provided with just what he wished.

Not a single day had Anāthapiṇḍika asked the Teacher a question. Anāthapiṇḍika, we are told, refrained from asking questions by reason of his excessive love for the Teacher. He thought to himself, "The Tathāgata is a delicate Buddha, a delicate prince. Were the Teacher, because of the thought, 'This householder is my supporter,' to preach the Law to me, he would grow weary." Therefore he asked the Teacher no questions. But so soon as Anāthapiṇḍika took his seat, the Teacher thought to himself, "This merchant protects me where I have no need to be protected. For I spent four Incalculables and a hundred thousand cycles of time in addition fulfilling the Perfections. My own gloriously adorned head have I cut off; my eyes have I torn out; my heart's flesh have I uprooted; both son and wife, dear to me as life, have I renounced, solely that I might preach the Law to others. This man protects me where I have no need to be protected." And straightway he preached a sermon on the Law.

At this time seventy million people dwelt in Sāvatti. Of these, fifty million became Noble Disciples after hearing the discourse of the Teacher, but twenty million remained unconverted. The Noble Disciples had two duties: before breakfast they gave alms; after breakfast, bearing perfumes and garlands in their hands, with [28.148] servants bearing garments, medicaments, and beverages, they went to hear the Law.

Now one day Mahā Pāla saw the Noble Disciples going to the monastery with perfumes and garlands in their hands. {1.6} When he saw them, he asked, “Where is this great throng going?” “To hear the Law.” “I will go too,” said he. So he went, paid obeisance to the Teacher, and sat down in the outer circle of the congregation.

Now when the Buddhas preach the Law, they have regard to the predispositions of their hearers for the Refuges, the Moral Precepts, and Retirement from the World. Thus they always preach the Law with reference to the disposition of mind of each individual. When, therefore, the Teacher preached the Law on that day, he had regard to Mahā Pāla’s predispositions. And he preached in orderly sequence, expounding one subject after another; to wit, Almsgiving, the Moral Precepts, Heaven, the evil consequences and folly and defilement of Sensual Pleasures, and the blessings of Retirement from the World.

Mahā Pāla the householder listened. Thought he, “When a man goes to the next world, neither sons nor daughters nor riches follow him; nay, even his own body goes not with him. Of what profit is it for me to live the house-life? I will become a monk.” So at the end of the discourse he approached the Teacher and asked to be received into the Order. The Teacher asked him, “Have you no kinsman of whom it is proper that you should ask leave?” “Why yes, Reverend Sir, I have a younger brother.” “Well then, ask him.” To this Mahā Pāla agreed, and said, “Very well.” So he paid obeisance to the Teacher and went home. Summoning his younger brother, he said to him,

“Dear brother, whatever wealth is in this house, whether animate or inanimate, all this I give into your hands; take possession thereof.” “But you, master?” “I shall enter the Order under the Teacher.” “What say you, dear brother? When my mother died, I gained in you as it were a mother; when my father died, as it were a father. Your house contains great wealth. Surely you can do works of merit even though you live the house-life. {1.7} Do not so.” “Dear brother, after hearing the Teacher preach the Law, I can no longer live the life of a householder. For the Teacher preached a Law lovely in its beginning, its middle, and its end, and established precisely and exactly the Three Characteristics of existing things: Impermanence, Suffering, and Absence of Individuality. I cannot fulfill the Law amid the [28.149] cares of the household life; I must enter the Order, dear brother.” “Dear brother, now you are young. Wait until you are old, and then enter the Order.” “Dear brother, in the case of an old man, even hands and feet are disobedient and answer not to his will;

how much more so his kinsmen? No, I will not do as you say; I will fulfill the duties of a monk.

Hands and feet weakened by old age are disobedient;  
How shall he whose strength is impaired fulfill the Law?

Dear brother, I shall enter the Order despite all considerations to the contrary.”

In spite of his brother’s lamentations Mahā Pāla went to the Teacher and asked to be admitted to the Order. He was admitted and professed and spent five rainy seasons in residence with teachers and preceptors. When he had completed his fifth residence and celebrated the terminal festival,<sup>73</sup> he approached the Teacher, paid obeisance to him, and asked, “Reverend Sir, how many Duties are there in this religion?” “Two Duties only, monk: the Duty of Study and the Duty of Contemplation.” “Reverend Sir, what is meant by the Duty of Study, and what is meant by the Duty of Contemplation?” “The Duty of Study necessitates gaining a knowledge of the Word of the Buddha in a manner conformable to one’s understanding, the mastery of one or two Nikāyas, or indeed of the whole Tipiṭaka, bearing it in mind, reciting it, teaching it. {1.8} On the other hand the Duty of Contemplation, which leads to Arahatship, involves frugal living, satisfaction with a remote lodging, fixing firmly in one’s mind the idea of decay and death, and the development of Spiritual Insight by persistent effort.” “Reverend Sir, since I became a monk in old age, I shall not be able to fulfill the Duty of Study. But I can fulfill the Duty of Contemplation; teach me a Formula of Meditation.”

So the Teacher taught him a Formula of Meditation leading to Arahatship. Then he paid obeisance to the Teacher, sought monks to accompany him, and having obtained sixty, departed with them. When he had proceeded a distance of twenty leagues, he arrived at a larger border-village, and accompanied by his retinue, entered the village for alms. The inhabitants, observing that the monks were faithful in the performance of their duties, were favorably disposed to them, provided them with seats, and served them with savory food. Then they inquired, “Reverend Sirs, whither go the noble monks?” “Lay brethren, to a suitable retreat.” Then the wise villagers knew [28.150] within themselves, “The reverend monks seek lodgings wherein to spend the rainy season.”

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<sup>73</sup> Ed. note: i.e. the *pavāraṇa*, or *invitation* to other monastics to point out faults seen heard or suspected.

Said they, “If the noble monks would reside here during these three months, we would abide steadfast in the Refuges and receive the Moral Precepts.” The monks, thinking to themselves, “Through these families we shall effect escape from the round of existences,” gave their consent. The villagers, having obtained the consent of the monks, proceeded to erect a monastery, building night-quarters and day-quarters, and when it was finished, presented it to the monks. The monks resorted regularly to that village only for alms. And a certain physician came to them and offered his services, saying, “Reverend Sirs, where many reside, disease is inevitable. Should sickness arise, pray send me word, and I will prescribe remedies for you.”

When the monks entered upon residence on the first day of the rainy season, the Elder, addressing them, asked this question, {1.9} “Brethren, in how many Postures will you spend these three months?” “In all Four Postures, Reverend Sir.” “But, brethren, is this proper? Assuredly we must be heedful, for it was from the living Buddha that we received our Formula of Meditation on coming hither; and the favor of the Buddhas may not be won by double-dealing, but only by the manifestation of upright intent. Four States of Suffering await whoso is heedless, that he may enter therein as into his own habitation. Therefore, brethren, be heedful.” “But you, Reverend Sir?” “I shall spend the time in the Three Postures; I shall not stretch out my back, brethren.” “Very well, Reverend Sir. Be heedful.”

At the end of the first month the Elder, who allowed himself no sleep, began to suffer from an affection of the eyes. Streams of tears trickled from his eyes, as streams of water from a broken jar. All night long he devoted himself to meditation, and with the coming of dawn entered his cell and sat down. When it was time for the monks to go the rounds for alms, they came to the Elder and said to him, “Reverend Sir, it is time for us to go the rounds for alms.” “Very well, brethren; take bowl and robe.” Having thus directed them to take their own bowls and robes, he himself set out. The monks observed that his eyes were running and asked him, “What is the matter, Reverend Sir?” “The wind cuts my eyes, brethren.” “Were we not offered the services of a physician, Reverend Sir? We will inform him.” “Very well, {1.10} brethren.” [28.151]

They informed the physician, who prepared an ointment and sent it to the Elder. The Elder applied the ointment to his nose, remaining seated as he did so, and then entered the village. The physician, seeing him, said to him, “Reverend Sir, I am informed that the wind hurts your reverence’s eyes.” “That is true, lay disciple.” “Reverend Sir, did you apply to your nose an ointment

which I prepared and sent you?” “Yes, lay disciple.” “How do you feel now?” “The pain continues just the same, lay disciple.” The physician thought to himself, “The ointment which I sent him should have cured him with only one application. How is it that he is not cured?” So he asked the Elder, “Were you seated when you applied the ointment, or were you lying down?” The Elder remained silent. Though the physician repeated the question several times, he answered not a word. The physician thought to himself, “I will go to the monastery and have a look at his cell.” So he dismissed the Elder, saying to him, “That will do, Reverend Sir.” And going to the monastery, he inspected the Elder’s cell. Seeing only a place to walk and a place to sit down, but no place to lie down, he asked the Elder, “Reverend Sir, were you seated when you applied the ointment, or were you lying down?” The Elder remained silent. “Reverend Sir, do not act in this way; the duties of a religious can be performed only so long as the body is properly cared for. Were you lying down when you applied the ointment?” After the physician had repeated the question several times, the Elder replied, “Go your way, brother; I will take counsel and decide the matter for myself.”

Now the Elder had no kinsmen or blood-relatives there. With whom, therefore, was he to take counsel? Therefore he took counsel with his own person, saying, {1.11} “Come now, brother Pālita, tell me this. Will you regard your eyes or the Religion of the Buddha? For in the round of existences without conceivable beginning, there is no counting the number of times you have been without eyes. But while unnumbered hundreds of Buddhas and thousands of Buddhas have passed, your experience does not cover the period of even a single Buddha. Now in this rainy season you resolved not to lie down for three months. Therefore let your eyes perish or decay. Keep only the Law of the Buddha, not your eyes.” And admonishing his own physical body, he uttered the following Stanzas,

My eyes perish, my ears perish, so also my body,  
All that has to do with my body perishes;  
Why, Pālita, continue heedless? [28.152]

My eyes wear out, my ears wear out, so also my body,  
All that has to do with my body wears out;  
Why, Pālita, continue heedless?

My eyes decay, my ears decay, so also my body,  
All that has to do with my body decays;  
Why, Pālita, continue heedless? {1.12}

Having thus admonished himself in three Stanzas, he applied the ointment to his nose, remaining seated as before, and then entered the village for alms. The physician, seeing him, asked him, “Reverend Sir, have you applied the ointment to your nose?” “Yes, lay disciple.” “How do you feel?” “The pain continues just the same, lay disciple.” “Reverend Sir, were you seated when you applied the ointment, or were you lying down?” The Elder remained silent. The physician repeated the question several times, but the Elder answered never a word. Then the physician said to him, “You are not doing as you ought for your own good. Henceforth do not say, ‘So and So prepared ointment for me’ and I will not say, ‘I prepared ointment for you.’”

Given up by the physician, the Elder went to the monastery. Said he, “Monk, though you have been given up by the physician, do not give up your Posture.”

You are given up as incurable, you are abandoned by your physician.  
Destined to the King of Death, why, Pālita, are you heedless?

Having admonished himself in this Stanza, he resumed his meditations. At the end of the middle watch his eyes and his Depravities were blotted out simultaneously, and he became an Arahāt dwelling in the bliss of Spiritual Insight. He entered his cell and sat down. When the time came for the monks to go the rounds for alms, they came to the Elder and said to him, “Reverend Sir, it is time for us to go the rounds for alms.” “Is it time, brethren?” “Yes, Reverend Sir.” “Well then, go your way.” “But you, Reverend Sir?” “The sight of my eyes is gone, brethren.” They looked at his eyes, and their own eyes filled with tears. “Do not worry, Reverend Sir; {1.13} we will look after you,” said they to the Elder, comforting him. And having performed the various duties required of them, they entered the village for alms.

Not seeing the Elder, people asked the monks, “Brethren, where is our noble Elder?” When they learned what had happened, they sent rice-porridge to him. Afterwards, taking food, they went in person, [28.153] paid obeisance to the Elder, and rolling on the ground before his feet, poured out their lamentations. Then they comforted him, saying, “We will care for you, Reverend Sir; do not worry,” and went their way. From that time on they sent rice-porridge regularly to the monastery.

The Elder constantly admonished the other sixty monks, and they carried out his admonitions so faithfully that at the next *Pavāraṇā* all of them became Arahats possessed of the Supernatural Faculties. At the end of the rainy season, desiring to see the Teacher, they said to the Elder, “Reverend Sir, we desire to see the Teacher.” When the Elder heard their request, he thought to himself, “I am weak, and on the way is a forest haunted by evil spirits. If I go with them, all will become weary and will be unable to obtain alms. I will send them on ahead.”

So he said to them, “Brethren, you go on ahead.” “But you, Reverend Sir?” “I am weak, and on the way is a forest haunted by evil spirits. If I go with you, you will all become weary; therefore you go on ahead.” “Do not so, Reverend Sir; we will go only with you.” “Brethren, please do not do so; if you do so, it will displease me. When my younger brother sees you and asks after me, tell him that {1.14} I have lost the sight of my eyes, and he will send someone to guide my steps. Greet in my name the Possessor of the Ten Forces<sup>74</sup> and the eighty Chief Elders.” So saying, he dismissed them.

They begged the Elder to pardon them for their insistence, and entered the village for alms. The villagers provided them with seats, presented them with alms, and asked them, “Reverend Sirs, may we know why the noble monks are leaving?” “Yes, lay disciples, we desire to see the Teacher.” The villagers repeatedly begged the monks to remain, but finding that they were firm in their determination to go, accompanied them on their way weeping, and then turned back.

After journeying from place to place, the monks arrived at Jetavana and greeted the Teacher and the eighty Chief Elders in the name of the Elder. Having so done, they entered for alms the street where lived the Elder’s younger brother. The householder recognized them, received them cordially, provided them with seats, and asked them, “Where is my dear brother the Elder?” They told him what had happened. Flinging himself at their feet, he rolled on the ground and wept.

Then he asked them, “Now, brethren, what is to be done?” “The Elder wishes to have someone come from here, that he may return [28.154] with him.” “Brethren, here is my sister’s son Pālita. Send him.” “It will never do to send him, for there is danger by the way. We might, however, send him, after first

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<sup>74</sup> Ed. note: *Dasabala*, i.e. the Buddha.

receiving him into the Order.” “Do so and send him, brethren.” So they received him into the Order and for a fortnight instructed him in such matters as the proper manner of putting on the robe. Then, showing him the way, they sent him forth.

After journeying from place to place, he arrived at the village. Seeing an old man at the village gate, he asked him, “Is there a forest hermitage near this village?” “There is, Reverend Sir.” “Who lives there?” “An Elder named Pālita, Reverend Sir.” “Show me the way there.” “Who are you, Reverend Sir?” “I am the son of the Elder’s sister.” So the old man took him and {1.15} led him to the hermitage. He paid obeisance to the Elder and for a fortnight performed the major and minor duties for him, ministering to him faithfully. Then he said to him, “Reverend Sir, the householder my mother’s brother desires to have you come to him. Let us go thither.” “Very well, take hold of my staff.” Taking hold of the staff by the tip, he entered the village with the Elder. The villagers provided the Elder with a seat and asked him, “Reverend Sir, may we know your purpose in going?” “Yes, lay disciples, I am going to pay my respects to the Teacher.” The villagers sought by all means in their power to persuade them to remain, but failing in their efforts, escorted them part of the way, and then turned back weeping.

When the novice had gone part of the way with the Elder, holding the tip of the Elder’s staff, he arrived at a forest village named Katṭhanagara, near which the Elder formerly resided. As the novice came out of the village, he heard in the forest the voice of a woman singing away as she gathered firewood. As he listened to her song, he fell in love with her voice. (There is no sound to be compared with a woman’s voice for power to thrill man’s whole frame. Therefore said the Exalted One, “Monks, I know of no other single sound which so completely takes possession of the heart of a man as this, monks; namely, a woman’s voice.”<sup>75</sup>)

The novice, fascinated by her voice, let go his hold of the Elder’s staff. Said he, “Wait just a moment, Reverend Sir; I have some business.” So saying, {1.16} he went in the direction of the woman. When she saw him, she became silent. The novice violated the law of [28.155] chastity with her. The Elder thought to himself, “Just now I heard the sound of someone singing, and it was none other than a woman’s voice. The novice tarries; he must have violated the law of chastity.” When the novice had finished his business, he returned to the Elder

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<sup>75</sup> *Anguttara*, i. 1.

and said, “Come, Reverend Sir, let us be off.” But the Elder asked him, “Novice, have you committed sin?” The novice remained silent, and though questioned repeatedly, answered never a word. Then said the Elder to him, “A sinner like you can never hold the tip of my staff.”

The novice, overwhelmed with remorse, removed his yellow robes, clothed himself in the garb of a householder, and said, “Reverend Sir, before I was a novice; now I have become a layman again. It was not through faith that I became a monk, but because I feared the dangers of the journey. Come, let us be off.” The Elder replied, “An evildoer is an evildoer, be he layman or be he novice. While you were a novice, you were unable to keep the law of chastity. Will you be a better man for having become a layman? A sinner like you can never hold the tip of my staff.” “Reverend Sir, the road is infested with evil spirits and you are blind. How can you remain here?” The Elder answered, “Brother, don’t worry about that. No matter whether I lie down right here and die, or wander hither and thither, with you I will never go.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

Alas! I have lost the sight of my eyes; a weary way have I come;  
I will lie down and go no farther; with a simpleton no fellowship may be.

{1.17}

Alas! I have lost the sight of my eyes; a weary way have I come;  
I shall die; I will go no farther; with a simpleton no fellowship may be.

When the novice heard this, he was overwhelmed with remorse. And he cried out, “A grievous sin indeed have I committed, a deed of violence and impropriety!” And wringing his hands and weeping, he plunged into the forest and made off.

By the power of the Elder’s virtue the Yellowstone Throne of Sakka king of gods, sixty leagues long, fifty leagues wide, fifteen leagues thick, of the color of the Jayasumana flower, which has a way of lowering itself when Sakka sits down and of rising again when he stands up, manifested signs of heat. “Who, pray, can be seeking to thrust me from my seat?” thought Sakka. Surveying the world with Supernatural Vision, he saw the Elder. Therefore said those of old time, [28.156]

The king of gods, possessing a thousand eyes, purified the Divine Eye;  
This sin-abhorring Pāla purified his life.

The king of the gods, possessing a thousand eyes, purified the Divine  
Eye;  
This Pāla, reverer of the Law, sat delighting in Religion.

Then this thought occurred to him, “Should I fail to go to the assistance of such a sin-abhorring, Law-revering Elder, my head is likely to split into seven pieces. I will go to him.” And so

The king of the gods, possessed of a thousand eyes, bearing majestic  
sway over the gods,  
In a single instant approaching, approached Cakkhupāla. {1.18}

Accordingly Sakka approached the Elder. When he was quite near him, he shuffled his feet. “Who is there?” asked the Elder. “It is I, Reverend Sir, a traveler.” “Where are you going, lay disciple?” “To Sāvatti, Reverend Sir.” “Continue your journey, brother.” “But, Reverend Sir, where is your reverence going?” “I am going there too.” “Well then, let us go together, Reverend Sir.” “I am weak, brother. If you go with me, you will be delayed.” “I have no urgent business. Besides, if I go with you, I can avail myself of one of the ten ways and means of acquiring merit. Let us go together, Reverend Sir.”

The Elder thought to himself, “This is without doubt some pious man.” So he said to him, “Very well, take hold of the tip of my staff, lay brother.” Sakka did so. And Sakka shortened the distance so that they arrived at Jetavana at eventide. The Elder, hearing the noise of trumpets, drums, and other instruments of music, asked, “Where is that noise?” “At Sāvatti, Reverend Sir.” “Lay brother, when I came here before, we were a long time in coming.” “I know a short cut, Reverend Sir.” At that moment the Elder perceived within himself, “This is no human being; it must be a divinity.”

The king of gods, possessing a thousand eyes, bearing majestic sway over  
the gods,  
Shortening the distance, came quickly to Sāvatti.

Sakka conducted the Elder to a hut of leaves and grass which his younger brother had made for his express use, {1.19} seated him on a couch, and then, disguising himself as a dear friend of the younger brother, went to summon

him. "Friend Pāla!" he called out. "What is it, friend?" "Do you know that the Elder has arrived?" "No; is it true that the Elder has arrived?" "Yes, friend, I have just returned from the hermitage, and saw the Elder seated in the hut of leaves and grass you built for him." So saying, he departed. [28.157]

The householder went to the hermitage. When he saw the Elder, he flung himself at his feet, rolled on the ground, and wept. Then he said, "I knew this would happen, Reverend Sir. It was for this reason that I withheld from you my permission to become a monk." After talking with him for some time, he freed two slave-boys, had the Elder receive them into the Order, and committed him to their care, saying, "Bring rice-porridge and other kinds of food from the village and minister to the Elder." The novices ministered to the Elder, performing the major and minor duties faithfully.

Now one day a party of monks residing in foreign parts came to Jetavana to see the Teacher, After paying their respects to the Teacher and seeing the eighty Chief Elders, they made the rounds of the monastery. Coming to Cakkhupāla's retreat, they said to each other, "Let us see him too." So when evening came, they set out to visit him. Just at that moment a severe storm arose. So they turned back, saying, "It is now evening, and a storm has arisen. Therefore we will go and see him in the morning." The rain continued during the first watch, but ceased in the second. The Elder, a man of great energy, accustomed to walking, came down into the cloister in the last watch. Now at that time many insects had come out of the newly wet earth, {1.20} and as the Elder walked up and down, they perished in great numbers. The resident monks did not sweep betimes where the Elder walked. When the visiting monks arrived, saying, "We would see the place where the Elder resides," and saw the insects in the cloister, they asked, "Who was it that walked in this cloister?" "Our master. Reverend Sirs." They were offended and said, "See what the monk has done. When he had the sight of his eyes, he lay down and slept and did no sin. But now that he has lost his eyesight, saying to himself, 'I will take a walk,' he has destroyed these insects. 'That which is right I will do,' said he; but that which was not right he has done." So they went and reported the matter to the Tathāgata, saying, "Reverend Sir, the Elder Cakkhupāla, saying to himself, 'I will take a walk,' has destroyed many insects." "But did you see him killing them?" "We did not, Reverend Sir." "Precisely as you did not see him, so also did he not see these insects. Monks, they that are freed from the Depravities have no thought of killing." "Reverend Sir, seeing that he was destined to become an Arahat, how was it that he became blind?" "Monks,

it was by reason of his misdeed in a former existence.” “Why, Reverend Sir, what did he do?” “Well then, monks, listen.” [158]

### **1 a. Story of the Past: The wicked physician and the woman<sup>76</sup>**

In times long past, when the king of Kāsi reigned at Benāres, a certain physician went through towns and villages practicing his profession. Seeing a certain woman with weak eyes, he asked her, “What is the matter with you?” “My eyesight has failed.” “I will prescribe for you.” “Do so, master.” “What will you give me?” “If you succeed in making my eyes well and strong again, I will become your slave, and my sons and daughters too.” “Very well,” said he. So he prescribed a remedy for her, and with a single application of the remedy her eyes became well and strong again. {1.21}

Upon this she thought, “I promised to become his slave, and my sons and daughters too. But he will not treat me kindly. Therefore I will deceive him.” So when the physician came and asked her how she was getting on, she answered, “Before, my eyes pained me a little; but now they hurt me worse than ever.” The physician thought, “This woman is deceiving me because she is unwilling to give me anything. I don’t want her fee; now I will make her blind.” So he went home and told his wife about the matter. His wife said nothing. Then he compounded an ointment, went to the woman’s house, and directed her to rub it into her eyes. She did so, and her eyes went out like the flame of a lamp. That physician was Cakkhupāla. *End of Story of the Past.*

“Monks, the evil deed then committed by my son followed him ever after; for an evil deed follows the evildoer even as a wheel follows the hoof of the ox that bears the yoke.” After relating this story, the King of Righteousness joined the connection, even as a king seals an edict with the royal seal after the clay has been affixed, and pronounced the following Stanza,

- 1. Thought is of all things first, thought is of all things foremost, of  
thought are all things made.  
If with thought corrupt a man speak or act.  
Suffering follows him, even as a wheel follows the hoof of the beast of  
burden.**

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<sup>76</sup> Cf. Story ix. 9 a. Physician, boys, and snake.

## I. 2. Why Cry for the Moon?<sup>77</sup>

[28.159]

**2. Thought is of all things first, thought is of all things foremost, of  
thought are all things made.**

**If with thought of faith a man speak or act,  
Happiness follows him, even as a shadow never fading.**

The Second Stanza also, beginning with the words, “Thought is of all things first,” was recited in the same city, Sāvatti, with reference to Maṭṭhakuṇḍali. {1.25}

At Sāvatti, we are told, lived a Brahman named Never-Gave, Adinnapubbaka. He never gave anything to anybody, and that is why they called him Never-Gave, Adinnapubbaka. He had an only son who was his darling and delight. Now he desired to have a set of ornaments made for him. But knowing that in case he gave the commission to a goldsmith, he should have to pay him a fee, he beat out the gold himself, made him a pair of burnished earrings, and gave them to him. In this way his son received the name Burnished-Earrings, Maṭṭhakuṇḍali.

When his son was sixteen years old, he had an attack of jaundice. The mother looked at the boy and said, “Brahman, your son is sick; have him treated by a physician.” “Wife, if I send for a physician, I shall have to pay him a fee in rice; you care nothing about the loss of my substance.” “Well, Brahman, what are you going to do about it?” “I shall manage things in such a way as to lose none of my wealth.” So he went to various physicians and asked, “What are you in the habit of prescribing for such and such an ailment?” They mentioned to him bark of trees and this or that.

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<sup>77</sup> Parallels: *Jātaka* 449: iv. 59-62; *Jātaka* 454: 85-87; *Vimāna-Vatthu Commentary*, vii. 9: 322-330 (cf. *Peta-Vatthu Commentary*, ii. 5: 92); Rogers, *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, ii, pp. 12-17. The author has evidently worked over *Jātaka* 449, both Introduction and Story of the Past, making one story out of two and expanding the original considerably. The Buddha's conversion of Maṭṭhakuṇḍali, a prominent feature of the *Dhammapada Commentary* story, is lacking in the *Jātaka* version. The *Vimāna-Vatthu Commentary* version is derived, not from the *Jātaka Book*, but from the *Dhammapada Commentary*. It is much briefer at the beginning and end; elsewhere more diffuse. *Vv. cm.*, 325<sup>3</sup>-326<sup>13</sup>, is word for word the same as *Dh. cm.*, i. 29-30. This story is referred to at *Milindapañha*, 350<sup>11-12</sup>. Text: N i. 25-37.

So he procured these and prepared a remedy for his son. But in spite of all he did, his son's condition grew worse and worse, until finally he was past help. The Brahman, perceiving that his son was very weak, sent for a physician. The physician looked at the youth and said, "I have important business to attend to; send for some other physician and have him treat him." {1.26} Having thus refused to treat the boy, he turned and left the house. The Brahman realized [28.160] that his son was at the point of death. Thought he, "All who come to see this youth will see the wealth in my house; therefore I will place him outside." So he carried his son out of the house and laid him down on the terrace.

On that day, very early in the morning, the Exalted One arose from a Trance of Great Compassion. And for the purpose of seeing those who had made their Earnest Wish under previous Buddhas, those the roots of whose merit were fully developed, brethren capable of conversion, he surveyed the universe with the Eye of a Buddha, spreading the Net of his Knowledge over the ten Cakkavāḷa Worlds. Straightway Maṭṭhakuṇḍali, lying outside on the terrace, appeared within the Net of his Knowledge. As soon as the Teacher saw him, he became aware that he had been removed from the house and laid there; and considering within himself, "Have I sufficient reason for going to him?" he saw the following:

"This youth will repose faith in me, will die, and will be reborn as a deity in the Heaven of the Thirty-three, in a golden mansion, with a retinue of a thousand celestial nymphs. The Brahman will burn his body and will go about the burning-ground weeping. The deity will survey his own person, three-quarters of a league in height, adorned with sixty cart-loads of ornaments, surrounded by a thousand celestial nymphs. And considering within himself, 'Through what merit have I attained this attainment of splendor?' he will perceive that he obtained it by reposing faith in me. Then he will say to himself, 'My father, who failed to provide medicine for me for fear of wasting his wealth, has now gone to the burning-ground and is weeping. I will effect a change in his attitude.' And provoked at his father, he will take the form of Maṭṭhakuṇḍali, will go {1.27} to a place not far from the burning-ground, and will fling himself on the ground and weep.

"The Brahman will ask him, 'Who are you?' He will reply, 'I am your son Maṭṭhakuṇḍali.' 'Where were you reborn?' 'In the World of the Thirty-three.' The Brahman will ask him, 'What deed of merit did you perform?' and Maṭṭhakuṇḍali will tell him that he was reborn in the World of the Thirty-

three by reposing faith in me. Then the Brahman will ask me, ‘Are there any that have been reborn in Heaven by reposing faith in you?’ and I will reply to him, ‘It is not so many hundreds or thousands or hundreds of thousands—there is no counting the number of them.’ I will then recite a Stanza in the Dhammapada. At the conclusion of the Stanza eighty-four [28.161] thousand living beings will obtain Comprehension of the Law, Maṭṭhakuṇḍali will receive the Fruit of Conversion, and so will Adinnapubbaka the Brahman. Thus through this noble youth many will obtain Comprehension of the Law.”

Of all this the Teacher became aware. Accordingly, on the following day, having attended to his toilet, he surrounded himself with a large company of monks, entered Sāvatti for alms, and in due course arrived at the house of the Brahman. At that moment Maṭṭhakuṇḍali was lying with face turned towards the house. The Teacher, observing that he did not see him, sent forth a ray of light. “What is that radiance?” asked the youth, turning over. Seeing the Teacher from where he lay, he said, “On account of a foolish father, I have been deprived of the privilege of approaching so excellent a Buddha, nor have I obtained the privilege either of waiting upon him or of giving him alms or of hearing the Law. Now I cannot even control the movements of my hands; there is nothing else I can do.” So saying, he reposed faith in the Buddha. The Teacher said, “He has done enough,” and departed.

As the Tathāgata receded from his range of vision, {1.28} he died with a believing heart, and as if awaking from sleep, was reborn in the World of the Gods in a golden mansion thirty leagues in extent. The Brahman burned the body of his son, and resorting to the burning-ground, abandoned himself entirely to lamentation. Every day he would go to the burning-ground and weep and say, “Where are you, my only son.’ ”

The deity his former son surveyed his own glory and considered within himself, “By what deed of merit have I obtained this?” Perceiving that it was by reposing faith in the Teacher, he said to himself, “This Brahman failed to provide medicine for me when I was sick, but now goes to the burning-ground and weeps; I must effect a change in his attitude.” Accordingly he took the form of Maṭṭhakuṇḍali, went to a place not far from the burning-ground, and stood wringing his hands and weeping. The Brahman saw him and thought to himself, “As for myself, I am weeping because of sorrow for my son; why is yonder youth weeping.’ I will ask him.” So he asked him in the following Stanza,

Richly adorned, wearing earrings of burnished gold.  
Bearing garlands, with protuberances of yellow sandal.  
You wring your hands and weep.  
Why are you afflicted in the midst of the forest? [28.162]

Said the youth,

I have obtained a chariot-body.  
Shining, of solid gold,  
But I cannot find a pair of wheels for it;  
Through grief over this I shall lose my life. {1.29}

Then said the Brahman to him,

Name wheels of gold, of precious stones,  
Of copper, or of silver.  
Name them to me, good youth,  
And I will procure you a pair of wheels.

Hearing this, the youth thought to himself, “This Brahman failed to provide medicine for his son. But seeing that I look like his son, he says, ‘I will procure wheels for your chariot, either of gold or of precious stones or of copper or of silver.’ Very well! I will humble him.” So he said, “How large a pair of wheels will you make for my chariot?” “As large as you wish.” “I want the moon and the sun,” said the youth. “Give them to me.” By way of request

Said the youth to the Brahman, the moon and the sun are brothers twain.  
My chariot is of solid gold; with such a pair of wheels it would shine.

The Brahman replied.

Youth, you are a simpleton to seek for what cannot be obtained.  
I suppose you will die, for you will never obtain the moon and the sun.

But the youth said to him, “But which is the greater simpleton, he who weeps for what exists, or he who weeps for what does not exist?” {1.30}

They are seen that go and come;  
The property of color is seen on both sides of the street;  
But he that is dead and gone cannot be seen;  
Which of us that weep here is the greater simpleton?

Hearing this, the Brahman came to the conclusion, "What this youth says is sensible." And he said to him.

Youth, what you say is quite true; it is I that am the greater simpleton of  
the two that weep;  
Like a child crying for the moon, I desired a son that is dead and gone.

Having thus spoken, freed from sorrow by the words of the youth, the Brahman pronounced the following Stanzas in praise of the youth.

When I was all on fire, and the fire was as if fed with ghee,  
You poured water on the fire, as it were, and extinguished all my grief.  
[28.163]

You drew out the arrow that was in me, the sorrow that was in my heart;  
Although I was dead with sorrow, you removed my sorrow for my son.

The arrow of my grief has been withdrawn, and I am tranquil and  
happy;  
Having heard your words, youth, I sorrow no more, nor do I weep.  
{1.31}

Then the Brahman asked him, "Who are you?"

Are you a devatā or a gandhabba, or are you Sakka Purindada?  
Who are you? whose son are you? how am I to know you?

The youth replied,

I am he for whom you lament, he for whom you weep.  
Your son, whom you yourself burned in the burning-ground.  
By the performance of a work of merit  
I have attained the Society of the Thirty.

In these words the youth gave him the information he asked for. Then said the Brahman,

I never saw you give alms, either little or much, in your own home.  
Nor did you so much as keep fast-day; by what work of merit did you  
attain the World of the Gods?

The youth replied,

As I lay in my own home, sick, afflicted, oppressed with a grievous  
ailment, my body weakened by disease,  
I beheld the Buddha, free from passion, free from doubt, happy, of lofty  
wisdom.

With joyful mind and believing heart I did homage to the Tathāgata,  
with hands reverently clasped;  
By the performance of this work of merit I attained the Society of the  
Thirty. {1.32}

As the youth spoke, the whole body of the Brahman was suffused with joy. And  
this joy he made known in the following Stanza,

Wonderful! marvelous! that such as this should be the fruit of a reverent  
salutation.  
I too with joyful mind and believing heart seek refuge in the Buddha this  
very day.

Then said the youth,

This very day with believing heart seek refuge in the Buddha, the Law,  
and the Order;  
Likewise take upon yourself the Five Precepts, and keep them unbroken  
and unimpaired;  
Refrain from taking life, from this moment; take not that which is not  
given to you in this world;  
Drink not strong drink; speak not falsely; be content with your own wife.

“Very well,” said the Brahman, agreeing. And he pronounced the following  
Stanzas, [28.164]

You desire my weal, yakkha; you desire my welfare, divinity;  
I will obey your words; you are my teacher.

I seek refuge in the Buddha, and likewise in his incomparable Law,  
And in the Order of the Prince of Men do I seek refuge.

From the taking of life do I refrain, from this moment; I abstain from  
taking that which is not given to me in this world;  
I drink not strong drink; I speak not falsely; I am content with my own  
wife. {1.33}

Then said the deity to him, “Brahman, you have much wealth in your house. Approach the Teacher, give alms, listen to the Law, and ask him questions.” So saying, he disappeared. The Brahman went home and said to his wife, “Wife, I shall invite the monk Gotama to my house and ask him questions; therefore prepare hospitality.” Then he went to the monastery, and without saluting the Teacher or expressing any pleasure at seeing him, stood on one side and said, “Sir Gotama, consent for to-day to take a meal in my house with your company of monks.” The Teacher consented. As soon as the Brahman received his consent, he returned home quickly and caused food, both hard and soft, to be prepared in his house.

The Teacher, accompanied by the Congregation of Monks, went to his house and sat down on the seat prepared for him. The Brahman waited upon him respectfully. A multitude of people assembled. We are told that when a man who holds false views invites the Tathāgata, two classes of people assemble. Those who hold false views assemble with the thought in their minds, “To-day we shall see the monk Gotama embarrassed by the questions that are asked him.” Those who hold orthodox views assemble with the thought, “To-day we shall see the power of a Buddha and the grace of a Buddha.”

Now when the Tathāgata had finished his meal, the Brahman approached him, seated himself on a low seat, and asked him the following question, “Sir Gotama, are there any that have been reborn in Heaven, without giving alms to you, without rendering honor to you, without hearing the Law, without keeping fast-day, solely by making an act of faith?” “Brahman, why do you ask me? Did not your own son Maṭṭhakuṇḍali tell you that he had been reborn in Heaven by reposing faith in me?” “When, Sir Gotama?” “Did you not go to the burning-ground to-day, and while you were weeping, see a youth near you wringing his hands and weeping? {1.34} And did you not say to him, ‘Richly

adorned, wearing earrings of burnished gold, bearing garlands, with protuberances of yellow sandal?” [28.165] Continuing, the Teacher related in detail the conversation of the two and told the whole story of Maṭṭhakuṇḍali.

For this very reason the Teacher pronounced this Word of the Buddha, “Brahman, it is not a question of one hundred or two hundred – there is no counting the number of those who have been reborn in Heaven by reposing faith in me.” The multitude were not free from doubt. The Teacher, perceiving that they were not free from doubt, commanded, “Let the deity Maṭṭhakuṇḍali come hither in his mansion.” Thereupon Maṭṭhakuṇḍali drew near, three-quarters of a league in height, his person adorned with celestial adornments. Descending from his mansion, he paid obeisance to the Teacher and stood respectfully on one side. The Teacher asked him, “What work of merit did you perform to attain this glory?”

Divinity, you who possess surpassing beauty,  
Illuminating all four quarters like the herb-star,  
I ask you, god of mighty power,  
What meritorious act did you perform in your human estate?

When the Teacher had completed this Stanza, the deity replied, “Reverend Sir, I obtained this glory by reposing faith in you.” “You obtained it by reposing faith in me?” “Yes, Reverend Sir.”

The populace surveyed the god and exclaimed, “Marvelous, indeed, are the powers of the Buddhas! the son of the Brahman Adinnapubbaka {1.35} obtained glory such as this simply by reposing faith in the Teacher, without doing a single other work of merit!” And they were filled with joy. Then the Teacher said to them, “Our thoughts are the source of all our actions, both good and bad, and by our thoughts are our actions controlled. For, like a shadow, an act done with thought of faith never leaves a man who goes to the World of the Gods or the world of men. Having related this story, the King of Truth joined the connection, and sealing, as it were, with the royal seal an edict to which the clay had been attached, pronounced the following Stanza,

**2. Thought is of all things first, thought is of all things foremost, of  
thought are all things made.  
If with thought of faith a man speak or act,  
Happiness follows him, even as a shadow never fading.**

### I. 3. Tissa the Fat<sup>78</sup>

[28.166]

**3. “He abused me, he struck me, he defeated me, he robbed me;”  
If any cherish this thought, their hatred never ceases.**

**4. “He abused me, he struck me, he defeated me, he robbed me;”  
If any cherish not this thought, their hatred ceases.<sup>79</sup>**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to Elder Tissa. {1.37}

It seems that this Venerable Elder was the son of the sister of the father of the Exalted One. He was an old man when he retired from the world, and very fat. He enjoyed the gain and honor of the Buddhas; his clothes were always smooth from constant beating; he always sat in the center of the monastery in the Hall of State.

One day some visiting monks came to see the Tathāgata, and supposing Tissa to be some Great Elder, asked to be allowed the privilege of waiting upon him, offering among other things to rub his feet. Tissa remained silent. Thereupon a certain young monk asked him, “How many seasons have you kept residence?” “No seasons at all,” replied Tissa; “I was an old man when I retired from the world.” Said the young monk, “You wretched old monk, {1.38} you overestimate your own importance. Seeing before you, as you do, all these Great Elders, you are not even civil to them. To their offers to perform various services for you, you answer by silence. Moreover, you show not the slightest regret for your misconduct.” So saying, he snapped his fingers. Recovering the pride of a member of the Warrior caste, Tissa asked them, “Whom did you come to see?” “We came to see the Teacher.” “But with reference to me, you say to yourselves, ‘Who is he?’ I will extirpate your whole race.” So saying, he went to the Teacher, weeping and sad and sorrowful.

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<sup>78</sup> Derived from this story are *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, xxxix, and Rogers, *Buddhaghosha’s Parables*, iii, pp. 18-24. Cf. *Samyutta*, xxii. 84: iii. 106-109. Text; N i. 37-45.

<sup>79</sup> Ed. note: from here onwards the commentary normally just quotes the first few words of the verse at the beginning, and the whole verse at, or near, the end; but for better understanding of what the story is meant to be illustrating I give the whole verse (or verses) at the beginning, except where the story is exceptionally short.

The Teacher asked him, “Tissa, how is it that you come to me sad and sorrowful, with tears in your eyes, weeping?” The monks said to themselves, “If he goes alone, he may cause some trouble.” So they went right with him, paid obeisance to the Teacher, and sat down respectfully on one side. Tissa answered the Teacher’s question as follows, “Reverend Sir, these monks are abusing me.” “But where were you sitting?” “In the center of the monastery in the Hall of State, Reverend Sir.” “Did you see these monks when they came?” “Yes, Reverend Sir, I saw them.” “Did you rise and go to meet them?” “No, Reverend Sir, I did not.” “Did you offer to take their monastic utensils?” “No, Reverend Sir, I did not offer to take them.” [28.167]

“Did you offer to wait upon them and to provide them with water to drink?” “No, Reverend Sir, I did not offer to do either of these things.” “Did you bring seats for them and rub their feet?” “I did not, Reverend Sir,” “Tissa, you should have performed all these services for the old monks, for he who does not do this has no right to sit in the center of the monastery. You alone are to blame; ask pardon of these monks.” “But they {1.39} abused me, Reverend Sir; I will not ask their pardon.” “Tissa, do not act thus. You alone are to blame; ask their pardon.” “I will not ask their pardon, Reverend Sir.” The monks said to the Teacher, “He is an obstinate monk, Reverend Sir.” The Teacher replied, “Monks, this is not the first time he has proved obstinate; he was obstinate also in a previous state of existence.” “We know all about his present obstinacy, Reverend Sir; but what did he do in a previous state of existence?” “Well then, monks, listen,” said the Teacher. So saying, he told the following

### **3 a. Story of the Past: Devala and Nārada<sup>80</sup>**

Once upon a time, when a certain king of Benāres reigned at Benāres, an ascetic named Devala, who had resided for eight months in the Himālaya country, desiring to reside near the city during the four months of the rains, returned from the Himālaya for salt and vinegar. Seeing two boys at the gate of the city, he asked them, “Where do monks who come to this city spend the night?” “In the potter’s hall, Reverend Sir.” So Devala went to the potter’s hall, stopped at the door, and said, “If it is agreeable to you, Bhaggava, I should like to spend one night in your hall.” The potter turned over the hall to him, saying, “I have no work going on in the hall at night, and the hall is a large one; spend the night here as you please, Reverend Sir,”

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. the story of Jātīmanta and the Future Buddha in *Jātaka* 497: iv. 388-389.

No sooner had Devala entered the hall and sat down than another ascetic named Nārada, returning from the Himālaya, asked the potter for a night's lodging. The potter thought to himself, "The ascetic who arrived first may or may not be willing to spend the night with him; I will therefore relieve myself of responsibility." {1.40} So he said to the ascetic who had just arrived, "Reverend Sir, if the ascetic who arrived first approves, spend the night at his pleasure." So Nārada approached Devala and said, "Teacher, if it is agreeable to you, I should like to spend one night here." Devala replied, "The hall is a large one; therefore come in and spend the night on one side." So [28.168] Nārada went in and sat down behind the ascetic who had gone in before him. Both exchanged friendly greetings.

When it was bedtime, Nārada noted carefully the place where Devala lay and the position of the door, and then lay down. But when Devala lay down, instead of lying down in his proper place, he lay down directly across the doorway. The result was that when Nārada went out at night, he trod on Devala's matted locks. Thereupon Devala cried out, "Who is treading on my locks?" Nārada replied, "Teacher, it is I." "False ascetic," said Devala, "you come from the forest and tread on my locks." "Teacher, I did not know that you were lying here; pardon me." Nārada then went out, leaving Devala weeping as if his heart would break.

Devala thought to himself, "I will let him tread on me when he comes in also." So he turned around and lay down, placing his head where his feet had been before. When Nārada came in, he thought to himself, "The first time I injured the teacher; this time I will go in past his feet." The result was that, when Nārada entered, he trod on Devala's neck. Thereupon Devala cried out, "Who is that?" Nārada replied, "It is I, teacher." "False ascetic," said Devala, "the first time you trod on my locks; this time you tread on my neck. I will curse you." "Teacher, I am not to blame. I did not know that you were lying in this position. When I came in I thought to myself, 'The first time I injured the teacher; this time I will go in past his feet.' Pardon me." {1.41} "False ascetic, I will curse you." "Do not so, teacher." But Devala, paying no attention to what Nārada said, cursed him all the same, saying,

The sun possesses a thousand rays and a hundred flames, is dispeller of  
darkness.

When the sun rises on the morrow, may your head split into seven pieces.

Nārada said, “Teacher, I told you it was not my fault. But in spite of what I said, you have cursed me. Let the head of the guilty man split into seven pieces, not that of the innocent.” Thereupon Nārada pronounced the following curse,

The sun possesses a thousand rays and a hundred flames, is dispeller of darkness.

When the sun rises on the morrow, may your head split into seven pieces.

Now Nārada possessed great supernatural power and could call to mind eighty cycles of time, forty cycles in the past and forty in the future. So considering, “On whom will the curse fall?” and perceiving that it would fall on his brother-ascetic, he felt compassion for him, and [28.169] therefore put forth the power of his magic and prevented the sun from rising.

When the sun failed to rise, the citizens assembled before the gate of the king’s palace and wailed, “Your majesty, the sun has not risen, and you are king. Make the sun rise for us,” The king surveyed his own deeds, words, and thoughts, and seeing no impropriety, thought to himself, “What can be the cause?” Suspecting that it might be because of a quarrel of the monks, he inquired, “Are there any monks in this city?” “Your majesty, last evening there were some arrivals at the potter’s hall.” {1.42} The king immediately went there with torches carried before him, paid obeisance to Nārada, seated himself respectfully on one side, and said,

Nārada, the people of the Land of the Rose-Apple are unable to pursue their wonted occupations.

Why is the world overspread with darkness? Tell me in answer to my question.

Nārada told him the whole story. “For this reason,” said he, “I was cursed by this ascetic. So I cursed him back, saying, ‘I am not to blame; let the curse fall upon whichever of us is to blame.’ But when I had cursed him, I considered within myself, ‘Upon whom will the curse fall?’ and perceived that, as soon as the sun rose, the head of my brother-ascetic would split into seven pieces. Therefore, out of pity for him, I am not permitting the sun to rise.” “But, Reverend Sir, how can he escape destruction?” “He may escape destruction by begging my pardon.”

“Well then,” said the king to Devala, “beg his pardon.” Devala replied, “Great king, this fellow trod on my matted locks and on my neck; I will not beg

pardon of this false ascetic.” “Beg his pardon, Reverend Sir; do not act thus.” “Great king, I will not beg his pardon.” “Your head will split into seven pieces.” “Nevertheless I will not beg his pardon.” “I am convinced that you will not beg his pardon of your own free will,” said the king. Thereupon, taking him by the hands, feet, belly, and neck, the king compelled him to bow down before Nārada’s feet. Nārada said, “Rise, teacher, I pardon you.” Then said Nārada to the king, “Great king, since this ascetic does not ask pardon of his own free will, {1.43} take him to a certain lake not far from the city, put a lump of clay on top of his head, and make him stand in the water up to his neck.”

The king did so. Then said Nārada to Devala, “Teacher, I will put forth my magical power and cause the sun to rise. At that moment [28.170] duck in the water, rise in a different place, and go your way.” As soon as the sun’s rays touched the lump of clay, it split into seven pieces. Thereupon Devala ducked in the water, rose in a different place, and ran away. *End of Story of the Past.*

When the Teacher had given this religious instruction, he said, “Monks, at that time the king was Ānanda, Devala was Tissa, and Nārada was I myself; at that time also he was obstinate.” Then he addressed the Elder Tissa as follows, “Tissa, if a monk allows himself to think, ‘So and So abused me. So and So struck me. So and So defeated me. So and So robbed me of my goods,’ his hatred never ceases. But if he does not cherish such thoughts, his hatred ceases.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

**3. “He abused me, he struck me, he defeated me, he robbed me;”  
If any cherish this thought, their hatred never ceases.**

**4. “He abused me, he struck me, he defeated me, he robbed me;”  
If any cherish not this thought, their hatred ceases.**

## **I. 4. “Not Hatred for Hatred”<sup>81</sup>**

[28.166]

**5. For not by hatred are hatreds ever quenched here in this world.  
By love rather are they quenched. This is an eternal law.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to a certain barren woman. {1.45}

It appears that a certain householder’s son, on the death of his father, did all the farm and household work by himself alone and took care of his mother to boot. Now his mother said to him, “Dear son, I will fetch you a young woman to wife.” “Dear mother, speak not thus; my sole desire is to care for you so long as you shall live.” “Dear son, you alone are doing all the farm and household work, and I am not satisfied to have it so; let me fetch you a young woman to wife.” He protested time and again, and then held his peace.

The mother left the house, intending to go to a certain family and fetch home the daughter of that family. Her son asked her, “To what family are you going?” “To such and such a family.” He would not let her go to the family she had in mind, but told her of a family he liked better. So she went to the family he fancied, selected a wife [28.171] for her son, and having set the day, installed her in her son’s house. The woman turned out to be barren.

Then said the mother to the son, “Son, you had me fetch you a wife you yourself selected. Now she turns out to be barren. Without children a family {1.46} dies out, and the line is not continued. Therefore let me fetch you another young woman to wife.” “Enough said, dear mother,” replied the son; but the mother repeated her request time and again. The barren wife heard the talk and thought to herself, “It is certain that sons cannot disobey the words of their mothers and fathers. Now if she fetches him a wife who is fruitful, they will treat me like a slave. Suppose I were to fetch him a young woman of my own selection?”

So the barren wife went to a certain family and selected a young woman for him. But she immediately encountered the opposition of the young woman’s parents, who said to her, “Woman, what say you?” The barren wife replied, “I am a barren woman, and without children a family dies out. If your daughter gives birth to a son, she will be mistress of the family and the wealth thereof.

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<sup>81</sup> With this story cf. Stories xxi. 2 and x. 8 a and *Jātakas* 510 and 513. Text: N i. 45-53.

Therefore give your daughter to me for my husband.” She finally prevailed upon them to grant her request, and taking the young woman with her, installed her in her husband’s house.

Then this thought occurred to her, “If my rival gives birth to a son or a daughter, she alone will be mistress of the household. I must see to it that she shall not give birth to a child.” So the barren wife said to her rival, “As soon as you have conceived a child in your womb, pray let me know.” “Very well,” replied her rival. In accordance with her promise, as soon as she had conceived, she told her fellow-wife.

Now the barren wife was accustomed to give her rival a meal of rice-porridge regularly every day with her own hand. {1.47} So along with the food she gave her a drug to cause abortion. The result was that her rival had a miscarriage. Again the second time the fruitful wife conceived a child and informed the barren wife. And again her fellow-wife did as before and brought about a miscarriage.

The women who lived in the neighborhood asked the fruitful wife, “Is not your rival putting an obstacle in your way?” When she told them the facts, they said to her, “You foolish woman, why did you do this? This woman was afraid you would get the upper hand. So she mixed a preparation to bring about a miscarriage and gave it to you. Do not tell her again.” Accordingly the third time the fruitful wife [28.172] said nothing to her rival. But the barren wife, seeing her belly, said to her, “Why did you not tell me that you had conceived a child?” Said the fruitful wife, “It was you who brought me here, and twice you have caused me to suffer a miscarriage; why should I tell you?”

“Now I am lost,” thought the barren wife. From that time on she watched to catch her rival off her guard. When the babe in the womb was fully matured, she took advantage of an opportunity, mixed a drug, and gave it to her. But because the babe in her womb was fully mature, an abortion was out of the question, and the result was that the child lodged across the neck of the womb. Immediately the mother suffered acute pains and feared that her hour had come.

“You have killed me!” she cried. “It was you alone that brought me here; it was you alone that killed my three children. Now I also am going to die. When I have passed out of this existence, may I be reborn as an ogress able to devour your children.” And having made this Earnest Wish, she died, {1.48} and was

reborn in that very house as a cat. The husband seized the barren wife, and saying to her, "It was you who destroyed my family," beat her soundly with elbows, knees, and otherwise. As the result of the beating she received, she sickened and died, and was reborn in that very house as a hen.

So the fruitful wife was reborn as a cat, and the barren wife was reborn as a hen. The hen laid eggs, and the cat came and ate them. This happened three times. Said the hen, "Three times have you eaten my eggs, and now you are seeking an opportunity to eat me too. When I have passed out of this existence, may I be able to eat you and your offspring." And having made this Earnest Wish, she passed out of that existence, and was reborn as a leopardess. The cat was reborn as a doe.

So the barren wife, at the end of her existence as a hen, was reborn as a leopardess; and the fruitful wife, at the end of her existence as a cat, was reborn as a doe. Thrice the doe brought forth young, and thrice the leopardess went and devoured the doe's offspring. When the doe came to die, she said, "Thrice this beast has devoured my offspring, and now she purposes to devour me too. When I have passed out of this existence, may I be able to devour her and her offspring." And having made this Earnest Wish, she was reborn as an ogress. When the leopardess passed out of that existence, she was reborn at Sāvatti as a young woman of station.

So the fruitful wife, at the end of her existence as a doe, was reborn as an ogress; and the barren wife, at the end of her existence as a [28.173] leopardess, was reborn at Sāvatti as a young woman of station. When the latter grew up, she was married and went to live with her husband's family in a little settlement near the gate of the city. After a time she gave birth to a son. The ogress disguised herself as a dear friend of the young woman and went to see her. "Where is my friend?" said the ogress. "In the inner room; she has just given birth to a child." "Did she give birth to a son or a daughter? I should like to see her." So saying, the ogress went in. While pretending to be looking at the child, she seized him, devoured him, and then went out. Again a second time she devoured a child of the young wife in the same way.

The third time the young wife was great with child she addressed her husband, "Husband, in this place an ogress has devoured two sons of mine and escaped. {1.49} This time I intend to go to the house of my parents to give birth to my child."

Now at this time that ogress was away doing her turn at drawing water. (For Vessavaṇa's ogresses take their turn at drawing water from lake Anotatta, passing it along from the source. At the expiration of four or five months they are released; the others die of exhaustion.) The moment the ogress was released from her turn at drawing water she went quickly to the young wife's house and inquired, "Where is my friend?" "Where you will not see her. There is an ogress that devours every child she bears in this house, and therefore, she has gone to the house of her parents." "She may go wherever she likes, but she will not escape from me." Spurred on by an impulse of hatred, the ogress dashed towards the city.

On the day appointed for the naming of the child the mother bathed him, gave him a name, and then said to her husband, "Husband, now we will go back to our own home." Accordingly she took the boy in her arms and set out with her husband along the path leading through the grounds of the monastery. When they reached the monastery pool, the young wife gave the boy to her husband and bathed in the pool. When she had finished her bath, her husband bathed in the pool. While the husband was bathing, the wife remained near, giving suck to her child.

Just then the ogress drew near. The young wife saw her coming and recognized her. Immediately she screamed with a loud voice, "Husband! husband! come quickly! come quickly! here is that ogress!" Not daring to wait until her husband came, {1.50} she turned and dashed into the monastery.

Now at this time the Teacher was preaching the Law in the midst [28.174] of the congregation. The young wife laid her boy at the feet of the Tathāgata and said, "I give you this child; spare the life of my son." The deity Sumana, who resided in the embattled chamber over the gate, prevented the ogress from entering. The Teacher addressed the Elder Ānanda, saying, "Go, Ānanda, summon that ogress within." The Elder summoned her within. The young wife said, "Here she comes, Reverend Sir." Said the Teacher, "Let her come; make no noise."

When the ogress came and stood before him, the Teacher said, "Why have you so done? Had you not come face to face with a Buddha like me, you would have cherished hatred towards each other for an aeon, like the Snake and the Mongoos,<sup>82</sup> who trembled and quaked with enmity, like the Crows and the

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<sup>82</sup> *Panchatantra*, Book v, Frame-story, Harvard Oriental Series, xiv., p. 131.

Owls.<sup>83</sup> Why do you return hatred for hatred? Hatred is quenched by love, not by hatred.” And when he had thus spoken, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**5. For not by hatred are hatreds ever quenched here in this world.  
By love rather are they quenched. This is an eternal law. {1.51}**

At the conclusion of the Stanza the ogress was established in the Fruit of Conversion.

The Teacher said to the woman, “Give your child to this ogress.” “I am afraid to, Reverend Sir.” “Fear not. You have no reason to be alarmed because of her.” The young wife gave her child to the ogress. The ogress kissed and caressed him, gave him back again to his mother, and began to weep. The Teacher asked her, “Why do you weep?” “Reverend Sir, in the past I have managed somehow or other to get a living, but I have never had enough to eat. Now how am I to live?” Then the Teacher comforted her, saying, “Do not worry.” And turning to the mother, he said, {1.52} “Take this ogress home with you, let her live in your own house, and feed her with the choicest rice-porridge.”

So the young wife took the ogress home with her, lodged her on the central rafter of the hut, and fed her with the choicest rice-porridge. Now when the rice was threshed and the flail was raised, she feared that it would strike her head. So she said to her friend, “I shall not be able to live here any longer; lodge me elsewhere.” She was lodged successively in the flail-hut, the water-chatty, the bake-house, the storeroom for nimbs, the dust-heap, and the village gate. But she refused [28.175] to live in any of these places, saying, “Here the flail rises as if it would split my head in two; here boys empty out slops; here dogs lie down; here boys attend to nature’s needs; here they throw away sweepings; here village boys practice fortune-telling.” So they lodged her in a quiet place by herself outside of the village, and there they brought her the choicest rice-porridge.

The ogress said to her friend, “This year there will be abundance of rain; therefore plant your crops in a dry place. This year there will be a drought; therefore plant your crops in a moist place.” Other people’s crops were destroyed either by excessive moisture or by drought, but the crops of the young wife flourished above measure.

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<sup>83</sup> *Panchatantra*, Book iii, Frame-story, *ibidem*, p. 90.

People asked the young wife, “Woman, your crops are destroyed neither by excessive moisture nor by drought. When you plant your crops, you seem to know in advance whether the season will be wet or dry. How is this?” The young wife replied, “I have a friend, an ogress, {1.53} who tells me whether the season will be wet or dry; and I plant my crops according to her directions on high or low ground. Don’t you see? Every day the choicest rice-porridge and other kinds of food are carried out of our house; to her are they carried. Do you also carry the choicest rice-porridge and other kinds of food to her, and she will look after your crops also.”

Straightway all the residents of the city rendered honor to her. On her part, from that time forth, she looked after the crops of all. And she received abundant gifts and a large retinue. Subsequently she established the Eight Ticket-foods, which are kept up even to this present day.

## I. 5. The Quarrelsome Monks of Kosambi<sup>84</sup>

**6. But others do not understand that we must here control ourselves;  
Yet let them understand this, and straight dissensions cease.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to the monks of Kosambi. [28.176]

### 5 a. Quarrel among the monks

For at Kosambi, in Ghosita monastery, resided two monks, each with a retinue of five hundred monks. Of the two monks, one was a student of the Discipline, the other a preacher of the Law. One day the preacher of the Law, after easing himself, left in a vessel what remained of the water in which he had washed in the bathroom and came out. Afterwards the student of the Discipline went {1.54} in and saw the water. When he came out, he asked his companion, "Brother, was it you that left the water?" "Yes, brother." "But do you not know that it is a sin so to do?" "Indeed I do not." "But, brother, it is a sin." "Well then, I will make satisfaction for it." "Of course, brother, if you did it unintentionally, inadvertently, it is no sin." Thus the preacher of the Law came to look upon the sin as no sin.

Notwithstanding, the student of the Discipline said to his own pupils, "This preacher of the Law, although he has committed sin, does not realize it." They, seeing the pupils of the preacher of the Law, said, "Your preceptor, although he has committed sin, does not realize it." The preacher's pupils went and informed their own preceptor. The preacher of the Law spoke thus, "This student of the Discipline said before, 'It's no sin.' Now he says, 'It is a sin.' He's a liar." The preacher's pupils went and said, "Your teacher is a liar." Thus did they foment a quarrel between the two. Then the student of the Discipline, seizing the opportunity, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the preacher of the Law for failing to recognize his sin. Thenceforth even the

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<sup>84</sup> Parallels: *Jātaka* 428: iii. 486-490; *Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, x. 1-5: i. 337-357; *Udāna*, iv. 5: 41-42. The story of the quarrel among the monks is almost word for word the same as *Jātaka* 428, which in turn is derived from the *Vinaya*. The story of the Buddha's residence in Protected Forest with an elephant for his attendant is for the most part an elaboration of *Vinaya*, i. 350-357. The story of the monkey is an original touch of the redactor. The redactor follows the *Vinaya* account rather than that of the *Udāna*. Text: N i. 53-66.

supporters who furnished them the Requisites formed two factions. Even the nuns receiving instruction, even the protecting deities; their friends and intimates, the deities who dwell in the sky; beginning with these and extending to the world of Brahmā, all beings, even the unconverted, formed two factions. The quarrel extended from the Realm of the Four Great Kings to the Heaven of the Gods Sublime.

Now a certain monk drew near the Tathāgata and told him that those who pronounced the sentence of excommunication held the view that the monk had been excommunicated according to law; {1.55} but that the partisans of the excommunicated monk held the view that he had been excommunicated contrary to law, and that the latter had gathered round in support of him, in spite of the fact that those who pronounced the sentence of excommunication forbade them to do so. Twice the Exalted One sent word, “Let them be united,” and received [28.177] the reply, “Venerable Sir, they refuse to be united.” The third time he exclaimed, “The congregation of monks is rent asunder! The congregation of monks is rent asunder!” So saying, he went to them and pointed out to those who had pronounced sentence of excommunication the wrong involved in their act, and to those who had failed to recognize sin the wrong involved in theirs. Again he enjoined upon them the holding of fast-day and other ceremonies right there within the boundary, and laid down the rule that those who quarreled in refectories and elsewhere were to occupy separate seats in the refectory.

Hearing that they were quarreling again, he went to them, and beginning his discourse with the words, “Enough, monks! No quarreling!” he continued, “Monks, quarrels, strifes, contentions, disputes, – all these are unprofitable. For because of a quarrel even a tiny quail brought about the destruction of a noble elephant.” And he told the Birth-Story of the Tiny Quail.<sup>85</sup> Continuing, he said: “Monks, be united; engage not in disputes. For because of a dispute many thousand quails lost their lives.” And he told the Birth-Story of the Quails.<sup>86</sup>

But in spite of this they paid no attention to his words, and a certain heretical teacher, who wished the Tathāgata to be relieved of annoyance, said to him, “Reverend Sir, let the Exalted One, the Lord of Truth, remain at home. Reverend Sir, let the Exalted One live a life of inaction and ease in this present world. {1.56} We shall make ourselves notorious by our quarrels, strifes,

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<sup>85</sup> *Jātaka* 357: iii. 174-177.

<sup>86</sup> *Jātaka* 33: i. 208-210. Cf. *Panchatantra*, Book ii. Frame-story.

contentions, and disputes.” Thereupon the Tathāgata told the following Story of the Past:<sup>87</sup>

“Once upon a time, monks, Brahmadata reignd at Benāres as king of Kāsi. Brahmadata fought against Dīghati Kosala, took away his kingdom, and killed him while he was living in disguise. Dīghati’s son, Prince Dīghāvu, although he knew that Brahmadata was the murderer of his father, spared his life. Thenceforth they were at peace with each other. Such, monks, is said to have been the patience and gentleness of these kings who took scepter and sword. How much more, monks, should you, who have retired from the world under a Law and Discipline so well taught, let your light so shine in this world as to be known of men as patient and gentle.” Thus did the Teacher admonish them. [28.178]

But in spite of his admonition he was unable to reunite them. Thereupon, unhappy because of the crowded conditions under which he lived, he reflected, “Under present conditions I am crowded and jostled and live a life of discomfort. Moreover, these monks pay no attention to what I say. Suppose I were to retire from the haunts of men and live a life of solitude.”

After making his round for alms in Kosambi, without bidding the Congregation of Monks farewell, he took his own bowl and robe, and went quite alone to the village of Bālaka, the salt-maker, where he discoursed to the Elder Bhagu on the solitary life; thence he went to Eastern Bamboo Deer-park, where he discoursed to the three youths of station on the bliss of the sweets of concord; {1.57} and from there he went to Pārileyaka. There, at the foot of a beautiful Sāl-tree, in Protected Forest, near Pārileyaka, the Exalted One spent the rainy season pleasantly, attended by the elephant Pārileyaka.

When the lay brethren resident at Kosambi went to the monastery and failed to see the Teacher, they asked, “Reverend Sirs, where has the Teacher gone?” “To Pārileyaka Forest.” “For what reason?” “He strove to reunite us, but we would not be reunited.” “Do you mean, Reverend Sirs, that after receiving admission as monks at the hands of the Teacher, you refused to agree when he asked you to do so?” “Precisely so, brethren.” People said, “These monks, after receiving admission at the hands of the Teacher, were unwilling to patch up their differences when the Teacher asked them to do so. It’s all their fault that we

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<sup>87</sup> For a translation of the complete version of this beautiful story, see *Sacred Books of the East*, xvii (Vinaya Texts), pp. 293-305.

were unable to see the Teacher. To these monks, assuredly, we will neither give seats nor offer respectful salutations or other civilities.” And from that time on they showed them not so much as a sign of civility.

The monks got so little food that they were nearly famished, and it required only a few days to bring them to a better state of mind. Then they confessed their sins, one to another, asked to be pardoned, and said, “Brethren, we are reconciled; be to us as before.” “Reverend Sirs, have you begged the Teacher’s pardon?” “No, we haven’t, brethren.” “Well then, beg the Teacher’s pardon, and as soon as the Teacher has pardoned you, we will be to you as before.” But as the rainy season was then at its height, they were unable to go to the Teacher and spent the rainy season very uncomfortably. The Teacher, however, spent the time pleasantly, attended by an elephant. For this elephant, of noble breed, left his herd {1.58} and entered the forest for the sole purpose of having a pleasant time. As it is said, [28.179]

### **5 b. The Buddha, the elephant, and the monkey**

“Here I live, crowded by elephants, female elephants, elephant calves, and young elephants. They have chewed off the tips of the grass I eat; they eat branch after branch I break down; they muddy the water I have to drink. Whenever I plunge into the water, or come up out of the water, the female elephants come and rub against my body. Suppose I were to retire from the herd and live all alone.”<sup>88</sup>

So then this noble elephant withdrew from the herd and drew near to Pārileyaka, to Protected Forest, to the foot of the beautiful Sāl-tree; even to where the Exalted One was, thither did he draw near. And when he had drawn near and paid obeisance to the Exalted One, he looked all about for a broom. And seeing none, he smote with his foot the beautiful Sāl-tree below and hewed away with his trunk at the Sāl-tree above. And taking a branch, he then swept the ground.

Then he took a water-pot in his trunk and procured drinking-water. And as hot water was required, he prepared hot water. (How was that possible?) First he produced sparks with a fire-drill which he worked with his trunk; then he dropped sticks of wood on the sparks. Thus did he kindle a fire. In the fire he heated small stones; these he rolled along with a stick and dropped into a little

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<sup>88</sup> Ed. note: See *Udāna*, 4.5.

depression in the rock. Then, lowering his trunk and finding the water hot enough, he went and made obeisance to the Teacher. The Teacher asked, “Is your water hot, Pārileyyaka?” and went there {1.59} and bathed. After that the elephant brought various kinds of wild fruits and presented them to the Teacher.

Now when the Teacher enters the village for alms, the elephant takes his bowl and robe, puts them on top of his head, and accompanies him. When the Teacher reaches the vicinity of the village, he bids the elephant bring him his bowl and robe, saying, “Pārileyyaka, farther than this you are not permitted to go. Fetch me my bowl and robe.” The Teacher then enters the village, and the elephant stands right there until he returns. When the Teacher returns, the elephant advances to meet him, takes his bowl and robe just as he did before, deposits them in the Teacher’s place of abode, pays him the usual courtesies, and fans him with the branch of a tree. At night, to ward off danger from beasts of prey, he takes a big club in his trunk, says to himself, “I’ll protect the Teacher,” and back and forth in the interstices of the forest he paces until sunrise. (From that time forth, [28.180] we are told, that forest was called “Protected Forest.”) When the sun rises, the elephant gives the Teacher water wherewith to bathe his face, and in the manner before related performs all of the other duties.

Now a monkey saw the elephant up and doing each day, performing the lesser duties for the Tathāgata, and he said to himself, “I’ll do something too.” One day, as he was running about, he happened to see some stick-honey free from flies. He broke the stick off, took the honey-comb, stick and all, broke off a plantain-leaf, placed the honey on the leaf, {1.60} and offered it to the Teacher. The Teacher took it. The monkey watched to see whether or not he would eat it. He observed that the Teacher, after taking the honey, sat down without eating. “What can be the matter?” thought he. He took hold of the stick by the tip, turned it over and over, carefully examining it as he did so, whereupon he discovered some insect’s eggs. Having removed these gently, he again gave the honey to the Teacher. The Teacher ate it.

The monkey was so delighted that he leaped from one branch to another and danced about in great glee. But the branches he grasped and the branches he stepped on broke off. Down he fell on the stump of a tree and was impaled. So he died. And solely because of his faith in the Teacher he was reborn in the World of the Thirty-three in a golden mansion thirty leagues in measure, with a retinue of a thousand celestial nymphs.

It became known over all the Land of the Rose-apple that the Teacher was residing in Protected Forest, attended by a noble elephant.<sup>89</sup> From the city of Sāvatti, Anāthapiṇḍika, Visākhā, the eminent female lay disciple, and other such great personages sent the following message to the Elder Ānanda,

“Reverend Sir, obtain for us the privilege of seeing the Teacher.” Likewise five hundred monks residing abroad approached the Elder Ānanda at the close of the rainy season and made the following request, “It is a long time, Ānanda, since we have heard a discourse on the Law from the lips of the Exalted One. We should like, brother Ānanda, if you please, to have the privilege of hearing a discourse on the Law from the lips of the Exalted One.”

So the Elder took those monks with him and went to Protected Forest. When he reached the forest, he thought to himself, “The [28.181] Tathāgata has resided in solitude for a period of three months. It is therefore not fitting that I should approach him all at once with so many monks as these.” {1.61} Accordingly he left those monks outside and approached the Teacher quite alone. When the elephant Pārileyaka saw the Elder, he took his staff and rushed forward. The Teacher looked around and said to the elephant, “Come back, Pārileyaka; do not drive him away. He is a servitor of the Buddha.” The elephant immediately threw away his staff and requested the privilege of taking the Elder’s bowl and robe. The Elder refused. The elephant thought to himself, “If he is versed in the rules of etiquette, he will refrain from placing his monastic requisites on the stone slab where the Teacher is accustomed to sit.” The Elder placed his bowl and robe on the ground. (For those who are versed in the rules of etiquette never place their own monastic requisites on the seat or bed of their spiritual superiors.) The Elder, after saluting the Teacher, seated himself on one side.

The Teacher asked him, “Did you come alone?” The Elder informed him that he had come with five hundred monks. “But where are they?” asked the Teacher. “I did not know how you would feel about it, and therefore I left them outside and came in alone.” “Tell them to come in.” The Elder did so. The Teacher exchanged friendly greetings with the monks. Then the monks said to the Teacher,

“Reverend Sir, the Exalted One is a delicate Buddha, a delicate prince. You must have endured much hardship, standing and sitting here alone as you have

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. Story xxiii. 7.

during these three months. For of course you had no one to perform the major and minor duties for you, no one to offer you water for bathing the face or to perform any of the other duties for you.” The Teacher replied,

“Monks, the elephant Pārileyaka performed all of these offices for me. For one who obtains such a companion as he may well live alone; did one fail to find such, {1.62} even so the life of solitude were better for him.” So saying, he pronounced these three Stanzas in the Nāga Vagga,

328. Should one find a prudent companion to walk with, an upright man  
and steadfast,  
Let one walk with him, joyful, mindful, overcoming all dangers.

329. Should one not find a prudent companion to walk with, an upright  
man and steadfast,  
Then like a king renouncing the kingdom he has conquered, let one walk  
alone,  
Like an elephant roaming at will in an elephant-forest. [28.182]

330. The life of solitude is better; one cannot be friends with a simpleton;  
Let a man live in solitude, and do no evil deeds,  
Taking his ease, like an elephant roaming at will in an elephant-forest.

At the conclusion of the Stanzas the five hundred monks were established in Arahatsip.

The Elder Ānanda then delivered the message sent by Anāthapiṇḍika and the rest, saying, “Reverend Sir, fifty million Noble Disciples headed by Anāthapiṇḍika desire your return.” “Very well,” said the Teacher, “take bowl and robe.” Causing them to take bowl and robe, he set out. The elephant went and stood crosswise on the road. “Reverend Sir, what is the elephant doing?” “Monks, he desires to give alms to you. For a long time he has served me; it is not right to hurt his feelings. Turn back, monks!” The Teacher and the monks {1.63} turned back. The elephant entered the forest, gathered bananas and various other fruits, heaped them together, and on the following day gave them to the monks. The five hundred monks were unable to dispose of them all. When they had finished eating, the Teacher took bowl and robe and set out. The elephant, threading his way through the monks, went and stood crosswise in front of the Teacher.

“Reverend Sir, what is the elephant doing?” “Monks, having sped your parting, he desires to make me turn back.” Said the Teacher to the elephant, “Pārileyaka, I am going now, never to return. You cannot hope in this existence to enter into states of trance, or to attain Spiritual Insight, or the Paths, or the Fruits. Halt!” When the elephant heard that, he thrust his trunk into his mouth and retreated very slowly, weeping as he went. (Could he have made the Teacher turn back, he would have cared for him in the very same way to the end of his days.)

Now when the Teacher reached the vicinity of the village, he said, “Pārileyaka, farther than this it is unsafe for you to go. The habitations of men are fraught with danger to you. Halt!” The elephant halted where he was and wept. As the Teacher slowly passed out of sight, he died of a broken heart. Through faith in the Teacher he was reborn in the World of the Thirty-three in a golden mansion thirty leagues in measure, with a retinue of a thousand celestial nymphs. God Pārileyaka was his name.

The Teacher arrived in due course at Jetavana. The monks of Kosambi, {1.64} hearing of the Teacher’s return to Sāvatti, went thither to beg his pardon. The king of Kosala, hearing [28.183] that the quarrelsome monks of Kosambi had come to Sāvatti, approached the Teacher and said, “Reverend Sir, I’ll not allow those monks to come into my country.” “Great king, these monks are good men; only because of a dispute they had with each other they paid no attention to my words. Now they are coming to beg my pardon; let them come, great king.” Anāthapiṇḍika also said, “I’ll not allow those monks to enter the monastery.” But the Teacher took issue with him as he had with the king, and he was silent.

Now when those monks reached Sāvatti, the Exalted One gave orders that separate lodging should be prepared and given to them. The other monks neither sit nor stand in their company. One after another those who come ask the Teacher, “Where, Reverend Sir, are the quarrelsome monks of Kosambi?” The Teacher points them out, saying, “There they are!” “There they are! There they are!” One after another those who come point their fingers at them, until for shame they are unable to lift their heads. Then they threw themselves at the feet of the Exalted One and asked him to pardon them. Said the Teacher,

“Monks, grievous was the sin you committed when, after receiving admission as monks at the hands of a Buddha like me, in spite of my efforts to reconcile you, you refused to obey my words. Even wise men of old hearkened to the

admonition of their mother and father under sentence of death, {1.65} disobeyed it not, even while their parents were being deprived of life, and afterwards established their sovereignty over two kingdoms.” So saying, he related the Kosambika Jātaka once more, concluding as follows,

“Thus, monks, Prince Dīghāvu, even while his mother and father were being deprived of life, disobeyed not their admonition and afterwards, obtaining Brahmadata’s daughter in marriage, bore sway over the two kingdoms of Kāsi and Kosala. You, however, disobeyed my words, and thereby committed a grievous sin.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**6. But others do not understand that we must here control ourselves;  
Yet let them understand this, and straight dissensions cease. {1.66}**

At the conclusion of the Stanza the assembled monks were established in the Fruit of Conversion.

## **I. 6. Kāḷa Junior and Kāḷa Senior<sup>90</sup>**

[28.184]

**7. Whoever lives looking for pleasure, exercising no restraint over his senses,**

**Immoderate in his enjoyments, indolent, inert,**

**Him Māra overpowers, even as the wind overpowers a tree of little strength.**

**8. Whoever lives looking not for pleasure, exercising restraint over his senses,**

**Moderate in his enjoyments, endowed with faith, exerting the power of his will,**

**Him Māra does not overpower, even as the wind does not overpower a mountain of rock.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence near the city Setavya with reference to Kāḷa junior and Kāḷa senior, Culla Kāḷa and Mahā Kāḷa.

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<sup>90</sup> Derived from this story are *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, cxxxvi, and Rogers, *Buddhaghosha’s Parables*, iv, pp. 25-31. Text: N i. 66-77.

For Culla Kāḷa, Majjhima Kāḷa, and Mahā Kāḷa were three householders who lived in Setavya, and they were brothers. Culla Kāḷa and Mahā Kāḷa, the oldest and youngest respectively, used to travel abroad with their caravan of five hundred carts and bring home goods to sell, and Majjhima Kāḷa sold the goods they brought. Now on a certain occasion the two {1.67} brothers, taking wares of various kinds in their five hundred carts, set out for Sāvatti, and halting between Sāvatti and Jetavana, unharnessed their carts.

At eventide Mahā Kāḷa saw Noble Disciples, residents of Sāvatti, with garlands and perfumes in their hands, going to hear the Law. “Where are they going?” he asked. Receiving the answer that they were going to hear the Law, he thought to himself, “I will go too.” So he addressed his youngest brother, “Dear brother, keep watch over the carts; I am going to hear the Law.” So saying, he went and paid obeisance to the Tathāgata and sat down in the outer circle of the congregation.

On that day the Teacher preached the Law in orderly sequence with reference to Mahā Kāḷa’s disposition of mind, and quoting the Sutta on the Aggregate of Suffering,<sup>91</sup> and other Suttas, discoursed on the sinfulness and folly and contamination of sensual pleasures. Mahā Kāḷa, after listening to the discourse, thought to himself, “So a man must needs leave all things behind him when he goes hence. When a man goes to the world beyond, neither wealth nor kinsmen can follow him. Why should I continue to live the life of a householder? I will become a monk.” Accordingly, when the multitude had paid obeisance to the Teacher and departed, he requested the Teacher to receive him into the Order.

“Have you no kinsman of whom it is proper that you should ask permission?” inquired the Teacher. “I have a younger brother, Reverend Sir.” “Ask his permission.” “Very well, Reverend Sir.” So Mahā Kāḷa went to Culla Kāḷa and said to him, “Dear brother, [28.185] receive all this wealth.” {1.68} “But you, brother?” “I intend to retire from the world under the Teacher.” Culla Kāḷa used all manner of arguments to dissuade his brother from carrying out his intention, but in vain. Finally he said to him, “Very well, master; do as you wish.” So Mahā Kāḷa went and became a monk under the Teacher. Culla Kāḷa likewise became a monk. But the thought in Culla Kāḷa’s mind was, “After a time I will return to the world and take my brother with me.”

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<sup>91</sup> Ed. note: Presumably it refers to *Mahādukkhakkhandhasutta*, MN 13.

Somewhat later Mahā Kāḷa made his full profession, and approaching the Teacher, asked him, “How many duties are there in this Religion?” The Teacher informed him that there were two. Said Mahā Kāḷa, “Reverend Sir, since I became a monk in old age, I shall not be able to fulfill the Duty of Study, but I can fulfill the Duty of Contemplation.” So he had the Teacher instruct him in the Pure Practice of a Burning-ground,<sup>92</sup> which leads to Arahatship. At the end of the first watch, when everyone else was asleep, he went to the burning-ground; and at dawn, before anyone else had risen, he returned to the monastery.

Now the keeper of the burning-ground, a certain woman named Kāḷī, whose duty was to burn the bodies of the dead, saw the Elder as he stood up and sat down and walked about. And she thought to herself, “Who can this be that comes here? I will find out about him.” But she was unable to find out what she wished to find out about him. So one night she lighted a lamp in the hut of the burning-ground, and taking son and daughter with her, hid herself on one side of the burning-ground. When she saw the Elder approach, she approached him, paid obeisance to him, and asked him, “Reverend Sir, does our noble monk reside in this place?” “Yes, lay sister.” “Reverend Sir, {1.69} those that reside in a burning-ground have certain rules to observe.” The Elder did not say, “Do you think I shall observe any rules of your telling?” Instead he said, “What ought I to do, lay sister?”

Said the keeper of the burning-ground, “Reverend Sir, they that reside in a burning-ground are bound to declare the fact to the keepers of the burning-ground, to the Chief Elder at the monastery, and to the village headman.” “Why?” “Thieves who commit depredations, when pursued by lawful owners of property, frequently flee to a burning-ground and leave their spoils there; then the owners come and threaten residents of the burning-ground with harm. But if the authorities are duly informed, they can avert trouble by saying, [28.186] ‘We know for a fact that this reverend monk has resided here for such and such a length of time; he is no thief.’ For this reason you are bound to declare your intention to the authorities I have mentioned.”

Mahā Kāḷa then asked, “Is there anything else I ought to do?” “Reverend Sir, so long as your reverence resides in a burning-ground, you must abstain from fish, flesh, sesame, flour, oil, and molasses. You must not sleep by day. You

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<sup>92</sup> Ed. note: an odd translation, it refers to the ascetic practice of living in a charnel ground.

must not be slothful. You must live with high resolve, exerting all the powers of your will, avoiding double-dealing and deceit. At eventide, when all are asleep, you must leave the monastery and come here; at dawn, before any have risen, you must return to the monastery.

“In case, Reverend Sir, while you reside in this burning-ground, you succeed in reaching the goal of the Religious Life, and they bring a dead body here and cast it away, I will place it on the funeral pyre, and rendering the usual honors with perfumes and garlands, I will perform the funeral rites over the body. If you do not succeed, I will light the pyre, drag the body along with a stake, {1.70} throw it outside, chop it to pieces with an axe, throw the pieces into the fire, and burn it.” The Elder said to her, “Very well, woman. But in case you should see a corpse which you think would afford me a suitable Subject of Meditation on Material Form, be good enough to tell me.” “Very well,” said she, promising him to do so.

In accordance with his intention the Elder Mahā Kāḷa performed his meditations in the burning-ground. The Elder Culla Kāḷa, however, busy and active, thinking always of the house-life, remembering son and wife, said to himself, “It is an excessively difficult task my brother is engaged in.”

Now a certain young woman of station was attacked by a disease, and the very moment the disease attacked her, she died, at eventide, without a sign of withering or weariness. In the evening her kinsfolk and friends brought her body to the burning-ground, with firewood, oil, and other requisites, and said to the keeper of the burning-ground, “Burn this body.” And paying the keeper the usual fee, they turned the body over to her and departed. When the keeper of the burning-ground removed the woman’s dress and beheld her beautiful golden-hued body, she straightway thought to herself, “This corpse is a suitable Subject of Meditation to show to his reverence.” So she went to the Elder, paid obeisance to him, and said, “I have a remarkably good Subject of Meditation; pray look at it, Reverend Sir.”

“Very well,” said the Elder. So he went and caused the dress [28.187] which covered the corpse to be removed, and surveyed the body from the soles of the feet to the tips of the hair. Then he said, {1.71} “Throw this beautiful golden-hued body into the fire, and so soon as the tongues of fire have laid hold of it, please tell me.” So saying, he went to his own place and sat down.

The keeper of the burning-ground did as she was told and went and informed the Elder. The Elder came and surveyed the body. Where the flames had touched the flesh, the color of her body was like that of a mottled cow; the feet stuck out and hung down; the hands were curled back; the forehead was without skin. The Elder thought to himself, "This body, which but now caused those who looked thereon to forget the Sacred Word, has but now attained decay, has but now attained death." And going to his night-quarters, he sat down, discerning clearly Decay and Death.

Impermanent are all existing things. It is their nature to come into existence and to decay.

They come into existence and perish. It is well when they have ceased to be.<sup>93</sup>

Having recited this Stanza, Mahā Kāḷa developed Spiritual Insight and attained Arahatsip, together with the Supernatural Faculties.

When Mahā Kāḷa attained Arahatsip, the Teacher, surrounded by the Congregation of Monks, traveling from place to place, arrived at Setavya and entered the Simsapā forest. Culla Kāḷa's wives, hearing that the Teacher had arrived, thought to themselves, "Now we shall recover our husband." So they sent and invited the Teacher. Now when a visit is expected from the Buddhas, it is customary to prepare a seat in a place which is not circumscribed, and in order to insure that this shall be done, it is customary for a single monk to go in advance and give warning. For the Seat of the Buddhas must be set in the midst, {1.72} on the right of the Buddha must be placed the seat of the Elder Sāriputta, on his left that of the Elder Mahā Moggallāna, and next to these on both sides must be arranged the seats for the Congregation of Monks. Therefore the Elder Mahā Kāḷa, standing in the place where the bowls and robes were kept, sent forth Culla Kāḷa, saying, "You go in advance and give warning to arrange the seats."

From the moment the members of the household caught sight of Culla Kāḷa, they made a jest of him, putting the low seats at the ends [28.188] where the Elders of the Assembly were to sit, and the high seats where the novices were to sit. Culla Kāḷa said to them, "Do not arrange the seats thus; do not put the low seats above and the high seats below." But the women, pretending not to hear him, said, "What are you doing here, walking about? What right have you

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<sup>93</sup> *Dīgha*, ii. 157.

to give orders about the arrangement of the seats? By whose leave did you become a monk? Who made a monk of you? What made you come here?"

And having thus made a mock of him, they tore off his under and upper garments, clothed him with white garments instead, placed a garland-coil on his head, and packed him off, saying, "Go fetch the Teacher; we will arrange the seats." Now those who have been monks but a short time, and have returned to the world before keeping a single residence, are without a sense of shame. Therefore Culla Kāḷa, free from any anxiety on the score of his clothing, went to the Teacher, paid obeisance to him, and taking with him the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha, returned.

When the Congregation of Monks had finished their meal, Mahā Kāḷa's wives thought to themselves, "Culla Kāḷa's wives recovered their husband; let us also recover ours." {1.73} Accordingly they invited the Teacher for the following day. But on this occasion a different monk came to arrange the seats, and so Mahā Kāḷa's wives failed of an opportunity to embarrass him. When they had seated the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha, they presented them with food. Now Culla Kāḷa had two wives, Majjhima Kāḷa had four, and Mahā Kāḷa had eight. Those of the monks who desired to eat sat down and ate their meal; those who desired to go out arose and went out. The Teacher sat down and ate his meal. When he had finished his meal, those women said to him, "Reverend Sir, Mahā Kāḷa will pronounce the formula of thanksgiving and then return; you go on ahead." The Teacher said, "Very well," and went on ahead.

When the Teacher reached the village gate, the Congregation of Monks were offended and said, "What a thing for the Teacher to do! Did he do it wittingly or unwittingly? Yesterday Culla Kāḷa came in advance, and that was the end of his monastic life. But to-day a different monk came in advance, and nothing of the sort happened." The Teacher sent Mahā Kāḷa back and continued on his way. Said the monks, "The monk Mahā Kāḷa is virtuous and upright. Will they put an end to his monastic life?" [28.189]

Hearing their words, the Teacher stopped and asked them, "What is it you are saying, monks?" When they told him, he said, "But, monks, you do not think that Mahā Kāḷa is like Culla Kāḷa?" "Yes, Reverend Sir; Culla Kāḷa has two wives, but Mahā Kāḷa has eight. If his eight wives gather about him and seize him, what can he do, Reverend Sir?" Said the Teacher, "Monks, do not speak thus. Culla Kāḷa lives a busy and active life and allows his thoughts to dwell on

many pleasing objects. My son {1.74} Mahā Kāḷa, on the other hand, does not live looking for pleasure, but is immovable, like a mountain of solid rock.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

**7. Whoever lives looking for pleasure, exercising no restraint over his senses,  
Immoderate in his enjoyments, indolent, inert,  
Him Māra overpowers, even as the wind overpowers a tree of little strength.**

**8. Whoever lives looking not for pleasure, exercising restraint over his senses,  
Moderate in his enjoyments, endowed with faith, exerting the power of his will,  
Him Māra does not overpower, even as the wind does not overpower a mountain of rock. {1.77}**

Mahā Kāḷa’s former wives surrounded him and said to him, “By whose leave did you become a monk? Will you now become a householder?” Having said this and much more to the same effect, they sought to strip him of his yellow robes. But the Elder, divining their intention, rose from the seat where he had been sitting and flew upwards by his supernatural power, rending the peak of the pagoda asunder. And having soared through the air, he descended to the ground as the Teacher spoke the concluding words of the Stanzas, praising the golden body of the Teacher and paying obeisance at the feet of the Tathāgata.

### **I. 7. Devadatta Wears an Unbecoming Robe<sup>94</sup>**

**9. Whoever, not free from impurity, lacking self-restraint and truth,  
Puts on the yellow robe, he is not worthy of the yellow robe.**

**10. Whoever is free from impurity, firmly established in the moral precepts,  
Possessed of self-restraint and truth, he is worthy of the yellow robe.**

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<sup>94</sup> Cf. *Jātaka* 221: ii. 196-199. Text: N i. 77-83.

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to Devadatta's assumption of the yellow robe at Rājagaha.

For on a certain occasion the two Chief Disciples, each with a retinue of five hundred monks, took leave of the Teacher and went from Jetavana to Rājagaha. The residents of Rājagaha united by twos and threes and in larger groups and gave alms in accordance with the custom of giving alms to visitors. Now one day Venerable Sāriputta [28.190] said, in making the Address of Thanksgiving, {1.78} “Lay brethren, one man himself gives alms, but does not urge another to give; that man receives in succeeding states of existence the blessing of wealth, but not the blessing of a retinue. Another man urges his neighbor to give, but does not himself give; that man receives in succeeding states of existence the blessing of a retinue, but not the blessing of wealth. Another man neither himself gives alms nor urges others to give; in succeeding states of existence that man receives not so much as a bellyful of sour rice-gruel, but is forlorn and destitute. Yet another both himself gives alms and urges his neighbor to give; that man in succeeding states of existence, in a hundred states of existence, in a thousand states of existence, in a hundred thousand states of existence, receives both the blessing of wealth and the blessing of a retinue.” Thus did Venerable Sāriputta preach the Law.

A certain wise man heard him and thought to himself, “Sir, the preaching of the Law is indeed a wonderful thing; well has the means of happiness been expounded. It behooves me to do works of merit productive of these two Attainments.” So he invited the Elder to take a meal with him, saying, “Reverend Sir, accept my hospitality for to-morrow.” “How many monks have you need of, lay disciple?” “But how many monks are there in your retinue, Reverend Sir?” “A thousand, lay disciple.” “Bring all your monks with you to-morrow and accept my hospitality, Reverend Sir.” The Elder accepted the invitation.

The lay disciple went through the street of the city urging others to give alms, saying, “Men and women, I have invited a thousand monks. How many monks will you be able to provide with food? how many will you?” The people promised to provide food, each according to his means, saying, {1.79} “We will give to ten; we will give to twenty; we will give to a hundred.” The lay disciple then directed them to bring their offerings to one place, saying, “Well then, let us assemble in one place and cook the food as one body. All of you bring

together in one place the sesame, rice, ghee, molasses, and other articles of food.”

Now a certain householder presented a perfumed yellow robe worth a hundred thousand pieces of money, saying, “If your combined alms prove insufficient, sell this and devote the proceeds to supplying the deficiency; if they are sufficient, you may give it to whatever monk you please.” The combined offerings proved sufficient for the householder’s purpose; there was nothing lacking. The lay disciple therefore said to [28.191] the men, “Honorable Sirs, this yellow robe, given by a certain householder for such and such a purpose, is superfluous. To whom shall we give it?”

Some said, “Let us give it to the Elder Sāriputta.” Others said, “The Elder Sāriputta has a way of coming and going when the crops are ripe. But Devadatta is our constant companion, both on festival days and on ordinary days, and is ever ready like a water-pot. Let us give it to him.” After a long discussion it was decided by a majority of four to give the robe to Devadatta. So they gave the robe to Devadatta. Devadatta cut it in two, fashioned it, dyed it, put one part on as an undergarment and the other as an upper garment, and wore it as he walked about. When they saw him wearing his new robe, they said, “This robe does not become Devadatta, but does become the Elder Sāriputta. Devadatta is going about wearing under and upper garments which do not become him.” {1.80}

Now a certain monk who lived in foreign parts came from Rājagaha to Sāvatti, and when he had paid obeisance to the Teacher and expressed his pleasure at seeing him, the Teacher asked him about the well-being of the two Chief Disciples. The monk thereupon told him the whole episode of the robe from beginning to end. Said the Teacher, “Monks, this is not the first time Devadatta has worn robes unbecoming to him; in a previous state of existence also he wore robes which did not become him.” So saying, he related the following

### **7 a. Story of the Past: The elephant-hunter and the noble elephant**

Once upon a time, when Brahmadaṭṭa ruled at Benāres, there dwelt at Benāres a certain elephant-hunter who made a living by killing elephants and marketing their tusks, claws, entrails, and solid flesh. Now in a certain forest several thousand elephants found pasture. One day, when they went to the

forest, they saw some Private Buddhas.<sup>95</sup> From that day, both going and coming, they fell down on their knees before the Private Buddhas before proceeding on their way.

One day the elephant-hunter saw their actions. Thought he, “It is only with great difficulty that I can kill these beasts. But every time they come and go they pay obeisance to the Private Buddhas. What is it they see that makes them pay obeisance?” Coming to the conclusion that it was the yellow robe, he thought to himself, “I too ought to get a yellow robe immediately.” So he went to a pool used [28.192] by a certain Private Buddha, and while the latter was bathing and his robes lay on the bank, stole his robes. Then he went and sat down on the path by which the elephants came and went, with a spear in his hand and the robe drawn over his head. The elephants saw him, and taking him for a Private Buddha, paid obeisance to him, and then went their way. The elephant which came last of all he killed with a thrust of his spear. And taking the tusks and other parts which were of value and burying the rest of the dead animal in the ground, he departed. {1.81}

Later on the Future Buddha, who had been reborn as an elephant, became the leader of the elephants and the lord of the herd. At that time also the elephant-hunter was pursuing the same tactics as before. The Great Being observed the diminution of his retinue and asked, “Where do these elephants go that this herd has become so small?” “That we do not know, master.” The Great Being thought to himself, “Wherever they go, they must not go without my permission.” Then the suspicion entered his mind, “The fellow who sits in a certain place with a yellow robe drawn over his head must be causing the trouble; he will bear watching,”

So the leader of the herd sent the other elephants on ahead and brought up the rear himself, walking very slowly. When the rest of the elephants had paid obeisance and passed on, the elephant-hunter saw the Great Being approach, whereupon he gathered his robe together and threw his spear. The Great Being fixed his attention as he approached, and stepping backwards, avoided the spear. “This is the man who killed my elephants,” thought the Great Being, and forthwith sprang forwards to seize him. But the elephant-hunter jumped behind a certain tree and crouched down. Thought the Great Being, “I will encircle both the hunter and the tree with my trunk, seize the hunter, and dash him to the ground.” Just at that moment the hunter removed the yellow robe and

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<sup>95</sup> Ed. note: *Paccekabuddha*.

allowed the elephant to see it. When the Great Being saw it, he thought to himself, “If I offend against this man, the reverence which thousands of Buddhas, Private Buddhas, and Arahats feel towards me will of necessity be lost.” Therefore he kept his patience. Then he asked the hunter, “Was it you that killed all these kinsmen of mine?” “Yes, master,” replied the hunter. “Why did you do so wicked a deed? You have put on robes which become those who are free from the passions, but which are unbecoming to you. In doing such a deed as this, you have committed a grievous sin.” So saying, he rebuked him again for the last time, saying, {1.82} [28.193]

Whoever, not free from impurity, lacking self-restraint and truth,  
Puts on the yellow robe, he is not worthy of the yellow robe.

Whoever is free from impurity, firmly established in the moral precepts,  
Possessed of self-restraint and truth, he is worthy of the yellow robe.

“Unbecoming is the deed you have done,” said he.

When the Teacher had ended this lesson, he identified the characters in the Jātaka as follows, “At that time the elephant-hunter was Devadatta, and the noble elephant who rebuked him was I myself. Monks, this is not the first time Devadatta has worn a robe which was unbecoming to him; he did the same thing in a previous state of existence also.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

**9. Whoever, not free from impurity, lacking self-restraint and truth,  
Puts on the yellow robe, he is not worthy of the yellow robe.**

**10. Whoever is free from impurity, firmly established in the moral  
precepts,  
Possessed of self-restraint and truth, he is worthy of the yellow robe.**

## **I. 8. The Chief Disciples<sup>96</sup>**

**11. They who think to find the truth in falsehood, they who discern  
but falsehood in the truth,  
They never attain the goal of truth, but abide in the pasture-ground  
of error.**

**12. They who have rightly discerned the true in its truth and the false  
in its falsity,  
They attain the goal of truth and abide in the pasture-ground of  
right thinking. {1.83}**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Veḷuvana, and it was with reference to the announcement made by the Chief Disciples of Sañjaya's refusal to go to the Teacher. From first to last the story is as follows:

### **8 a. Life of the Buddha**

Four Incalculables and a hundred thousand cycles of time in the past our Teacher was born as a Brahman prince in the city of Amaravatī, and his name was Sumedha. After acquiring proficiency in all the arts, he renounced wealth amounting to countless millions which he inherited on the death of his mother and father, retired from the world, adopted the life of an anchorite, took up his residence in the Himālaya country, and there won for himself by Ecstatic Meditation<sup>97</sup> the Supernatural Powers. Now it came to pass on a certain day that [28.194] Dīpaṅkara, Master of the Ten Forces, set out from Sudassana monastery to go to the city Ramma, and the populace came forth to clear the way. As Sumedha came flying through the air on that day, he observed that a road was being cleared. Therefore selecting for himself a portion of the road which had not yet been cleared, when the Teacher approached, he made of himself a bridge for him, spread his mantle of antelope skin in the mud, laid

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<sup>96</sup> 8 a is a brief outline of *Nidānakathā, Jātaka*, i. 2<sup>13</sup>-85<sup>24</sup>: translated by Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 2-119. 8 b is derived from *Vinaya, Mahā Vagga*, i. 23-24. 4: i. 39<sup>23</sup>-43<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 200-203. With 8 f (*Dh. cm.*, I. 100<sup>17</sup>-104<sup>21</sup>) cf. *Khuddaka Pāṭha Commentary*, 202<sup>4</sup>-206<sup>6</sup>, and *Peta Vatthu Commentary*, 19<sup>22</sup>-23<sup>16</sup>. *Peta Vatthu Commentary* is here almost word for word the same as *Khuddaka Pāṭha Commentary*. Text: N i. 83-114.

<sup>97</sup> Ed. note: Burlingame's translation for *jhāna*.

himself thereon, and said, “Let not the Teacher with his company of disciples tread upon the mud. Let him rather tread upon me; so let him proceed upon his journey.”

When the Teacher beheld Sumedha, he said, “Yonder prince is a nascent Buddha; four Incalculables and a hundred thousand cycles of time hence {1.84} he will become a Buddha named Gotama.” Thus did the Teacher Dīpaṅkara prophesy regarding the Brahman prince Sumedha. After Dīpaṅkara came the following Buddhas: Koṇḍañña, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassī, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassī, Atthadassī, Dhammadassī, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassī, Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa. One after another these twenty-four Buddhas arose in the world and enlightened the world, and from each of them the Brahman prince Sumedha received the prophecy that he should one day become a Buddha. Now after Sumedha had fulfilled the Ten Perfections and the Ten Minor Perfections and the Ten Major Perfections, making in all Thirty Perfections, he was reborn as Vessantara; and in his existence as Vessantara he bestowed mighty alms which caused the earth to quake, and in that existence also he renounced both son and wife. When the term of life allotted to him was come to an end, he was reborn in the Heaven of the Tusita gods; and when he had remained in this state of existence during the term of life allotted to him, the deities of the Ten Thousand Worlds assembled together and thus addressed him,

The time is come, mighty hero; descend into the womb of your mother;  
Rescue the worlds of men and gods; discover the Region of the  
Deathless.

Thereupon he made the Five Great Observations, and passing from that state of existence, received a new existence in the royal household of the Sākiyas. In this royal household he was brought up amid great splendor and in the course of time attained auspicious youth. He spent his youth in three mansions appropriate to the three seasons of the year, enjoying splendor and majesty of sovereignty comparable [28.195] to the splendor of the World of the Gods. In the course of time it came to pass that, as he proceeded on three successive days to the garden to amuse himself, he beheld the Three Heavenly Messengers; namely, a man worn out by old age, a man afflicted with disease, and a dead man. {1.85} On each of the three days he returned to his palace, overcome with emotion.

On the fourth day he beheld a man who had retired from the world and adopted the life of a monk. “It were well for me to retire from the world and adopt the life of a monk,” said he, conceiving a desire for the religious life; and with this thought in mind, he proceeded to the garden and spent the entire day sitting on the bank of the royal pool. While he sat there, the god Vissakamma approached him, disguised as a barber, and dressed him in rich apparel and adorned him with all manner of adornments. There also he received the message that a son had been born to him, Prince Rāhula; and realizing the strength of affection for a son, he reflected, “I must straightway break this bond, lest it become too strong for me.” In the evening, as he entered the city, Kisā Gotamī, daughter of his father’s sister, pronounced the following Stanza,

Happy indeed is that mother, happy indeed is that father,  
Happy indeed is that wife whose husband is such a one as he.

When he heard Kisā Gotamī pronounce this Stanza, he said, “This woman has taught me where true happiness is to be found;” and taking off a string of pearls, he sent it to her as a present. Having entered his own residence, he lay down on the royal couch, and as he lay there beheld the disgusting appearance of the nautch-girls asleep. Heartsick he roused his courtier Channa, caused his steed Kanthaka to be brought to him, mounted Kanthaka, and taking Channa with him as his companion, and surrounded by the deities of the Ten Thousand Worlds, he went forth and made the Great Retirement. Proceeding to the bank of the river Anoma, he retired from the world and adopted the life of a monk.

Having adopted the life of a monk, he proceeded to Rājagaha and went about the city receiving alms. Then he retired to Paṇḍava mountain and seated himself in Paṇḍava mountain cave. While he was sitting there, the king of Magadha came to him and offered to bestow his kingdom upon him, but this offer of the king he straightway refused. He promised the king, however, to visit his kingdom so soon as he should attain Omniscience. Then he approached [28.196] Āḷāra and Uddaka; but after following their system of discipline, failed to win the Attainment which distinguishes one who has attained Arahatship. Thereafter, for a period of six years, he engaged in the Great Struggle.

Early in the morning on the day of full moon of the month Visākhā {1.86} he ate rice-porridge presented to him by Sujāta, caused his golden bowl to float on the river Nerañjarā, and spent the day in Mahāvana Grove in the various

degrees of Ecstatic Meditation. In the evening he listened to the praise of his noble qualities bestowed upon him by Kāḷa, King of the Dragons, ascended the Throne of Wisdom, received the bundles of grass presented to him by Sotthiya, scattered the grass before him, and formed the following resolution, “I will not abandon this posture until I have ceased utterly to care for the things of this world and my heart has thus rid itself of the Depravities.”

Thereupon he sat down facing the east, and before the sun had set overcame the host of Māra. In the first watch he acquired the knowledge of previous states of existence; in the second watch he acquired the knowledge of the vanishing of creatures from one state of existence and of their reappearance in another; at the conclusion of the last watch he acquired the knowledge of the Causes of Existence, fathoming the depths of Omniscience and acquiring the Ten Forces, the Four Subjects of Confidence, and all of the Noble Qualities. For seven weeks he remained on the Throne of Wisdom; in the eighth week he seated himself under the Goatherd’s Banyan-tree and meditated upon the depths of the Law, finally arriving at misgivings as to his ability to preach the Law to others.

Straightway Sahampati Brahmā, accompanied by the retinue of the Ten Thousand Worlds with which Mahā Brahmā is wont to be accompanied, approached him and requested him to preach the Law to others. Surveying the world with the eye of a Buddha, he acceded to Brahmā’s request. “To whom, pray, shall I first preach the Law?” thought he. Surveying the world, he became aware of the death of Āḷāra and Uddaka. But remembering the devoted services of the Five Monks, he arose from his seat {1.87} and went to Kāsipura, meeting Upaka by the way and talking with him.

On the day of full moon of the month Āsāḷha he arrived at Isipatana in the Deerpark, at the place of residence of the Five Monks; and when the Five Monks addressed him improperly, he instructed them how properly to address him. Then he set in motion the Wheel of the Law, giving to drink of the Deathless to a hundred and eighty millions of [28.197] angels, but above all to the monk Añña-Koṇḍañña. Having set in motion the glorious Wheel of the Law, on the fifth day of the half-month he established all those monks in Arahathship. On the same day also he perceived that the noble youth Yasa possessed the dispositions requisite for Conversion; and when the noble youth Yasa left his house in disgust at what he saw during the night, he saw him and summoned him and made a monk of him, saying, “Come, Yasa!” In that same night also he caused him to attain the Fruit of Conversion, and on the

following day caused him to attain Arahatsip. Afterwards he made monks of his fifty-four companions, employing the formula, “Come, monks!” And having made monks of them, he caused them to attain Arahatsip.

There were thus sixty-one Arahats in the world. Having kept residence during the season of the rains, and having celebrated the terminal festival, he sent out the sixty monks into all the world, saying, “Go forth, monks, preaching and teaching.” He himself proceeded to Uruvelā, on the way thither, in Kappāsika grove, instructing the Thirty Youths known as the Bhaddavaggiyas. Of these the least attained the Fruit of Conversion and the greatest attained the Fruit of the Third Path. All these youths he received into the Order with the single formula, “Come, monks!” And when he had so done, he sent them out into all the world. Arriving at Uruvelā, he performed three thousand five hundred miracles {1.88} and converted Uruvelā-Kassapa, Nadī-Kassapa, and Gayā-Kassapa. These were three brothers, ascetics who wore matted hair, with a following of a thousand disciples. These ascetics he instructed in the Law. And when he had so done, he received them into the Order with the single formula, “Come, monks!” Seating them at Gayāsīsa, he established them in Arahatsip by preaching the Fire Sermon; then, attended by a thousand Arahats, he went to Latthivana Garden near the city of Rājagaha, intending to redeem the promise he had given to King Bimbisāra.

“The Teacher has arrived,” went forth the cry. Hearing the report, King Bimbisāra approached with twelve nahutas of Brahman householders, and to him the Buddha preached the Law in a pleasing manner, establishing the king and eleven nahutas of Brahmans in the Fruit of Conversion and one nahuta of Brahmans in the Refuges. On the following day he listened to the praise of his noble qualities by Sakka king of the gods disguised as a Brahman youth, and then entered the city of Rājagaha. Having eaten his meal in the royal [28.198] residence, he accepted the gift of Veḷuvana monastery and took up his residence there. And there it was that Sāriputta and Moggallāna came to him.

### **8 b. Life of Upatissa (Sāriputta) and Kolita (Moggallāna)<sup>98</sup>**

Before the Buddha appeared in the world, there were two Brahman villages not far from Rājagaha named Upatissa village and Kolita village. One day a Brahman’s wife named Rūpasārī, who lived in Upatissa village, conceived a

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<sup>98</sup> Ed. note: for the canonical story see, <http://www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net/Texts-and-Translations/Mahakhandhako/41-Sariputta-Moggallana.htm>.

child in her womb; and on the same day a Brahman's wife named Moggalī, who lived in Kolita village, likewise conceived a child in her womb. We are told that for seven generations these two families had been firmly knit and bound together in the bonds of friendship; they performed the Protection of the Embryo for the two expectant mothers on the same day. On the expiration of ten lunar months, both women gave birth to sons.

On the day appointed for the naming of the children, they gave the name Upatissa to the son of the Brahman woman whose name was Sārī, because he was the son of the principal family in Upatissa village; {1.89} to the other boy, because he was the son of the principal family in Kolita village, they gave the name Kolita. As they grew up, both boys attained the highest proficiency in all the arts and sciences. Whenever the youth Upatissa went to the river or the garden to disport himself, five hundred golden litters accompanied him; five hundred chariots drawn by thoroughbreds accompanied the youth Kolita. The two youths had retinues of five hundred boys apiece.

Now there is a festival celebrated every year in Rājagaha which goes by the name of Mountain-top festival. A couch for the two youths was set up in one place, and the two youths sat together and witnessed the passing show. When there was occasion to laugh, they laughed; when there was occasion to weep, they wept; when it was time to give alms, they gave alms. In this way they witnessed the festivities for several days. But one day, when they had grown wiser, there was no laugh when they might have laughed, as on preceding days, there were no tears when they might have wept, and when their alms were sought they gave no alms.

The following thought, we are told, occurred to the two youths, "Why should we look at this? Before a hundred years have passed, all these people will have gone hence and will no more be seen. It behooves us rather to seek the Way of Release." And taking this [28.199] thought to heart, they sat down. Then Kolita said to Upatissa, "Friend Upatissa, you do not appear to be pleased and delighted as on previous days. Nay rather, you are afflicted with melancholy. What is in your mind?" "Friend Kolita, I sit thinking, 'There is no lasting satisfaction in looking upon these folk; {1.90} this is all unprofitable; it behooves me rather to seek the Way of Release for myself.' 'But why are you melancholy?'" Kolita said the same thing. When Upatissa discovered that Kolita's thoughts were one with his own, he said, "Both of us have had a happy thought. It behooves us both to seek the Way of Release and to retire from the world together. Under what teacher shall we retire from the world?"

Now at this time a wandering ascetic named Sañjaya entered the city of Rājagaha, accompanied by a large retinue of wandering ascetics. “We will retire from the world and become monks under Sañjaya,” said Upatissa and Kolita. So they dismissed five hundred retainers, saying to them, “Take the litters and the chariots and go,” and together with the remaining five hundred, retired from the world and became monks under Sañjaya. From the day when these two youths retired from the world and became monks under Sañjaya, Sañjaya reached the pinnacle of gain and renown. In but a few days they had passed the bounds of Sañjaya’s teaching. Therefore they asked him, “Teacher, is this all the religious truth you know, or is there something more besides?” “This is all there is; you know all.”

Upatissa and Kolita thought to themselves, “If this is the case, it is profitless for us to remain pupils of this teacher any longer. The Way of Release we retired from the world to seek for, we certainly cannot obtain from this teacher. But the Land of the Rose-apple is an extensive country. Let us journey through villages, market-towns, and royal cities. We shall surely find some teacher who will expound to us the Way of Release.” From that time forth, wherever they heard there was a learned monk or Brahman, they went to him and held converse with him. The questions Upatissa and Kolita asked, the others {1.91} were not able to answer; but every question the others asked, Upatissa and Kolita answered. In this manner they traveled all over the Land of the Rose-apple; then they retraced their steps and returned to their own homes again. Before they separated, Upatissa said to Kolita, “Friend Kolita, whichever of us first attains the Deathless is to inform the other.” Having made this agreement, they separated.

While they were living under this agreement, the Teacher, after [28.200] traveling from place to place as has been related above, arrived at Rājagaha, accepted the gift of Veḷuvana monastery, and took up his residence at Veḷuvana. Now after the Teacher had sent forth the sixty-one Arahats to proclaim the virtues of the Three Jewels, saying, “Go forth, monks, preaching and teaching,” one of the Band of Five, the Great Elder Assaji, turned back, came to Rājagaha, and on the following day, early in the morning, taking his bowl and his robe, entered Rājagaha for alms. On the same day, early in the morning, the wandering ascetic Upatissa ate his breakfast, and proceeding to the hermitage of the wandering ascetics, saw the Elder. When he saw him, he thought to himself, “Never before have I seen a monk like this monk. He must be one of those monks who have attained Arahatship in this world, or who have entered upon the path leading to Arahatship. Suppose I were to approach

this monk and ask him, 'For whose sake, brother, have you retired from the world? And who is your teacher? And whose doctrine do you profess?' ” Then this thought occurred to him, “It is not the proper time to ask this monk questions, for he is going from house to house for alms. Suppose I were to follow close in the footsteps of this monk, as those are wont to do who seek some favor?”

Therefore, observing that the monk had received a portion of alms and was on his way to a certain place, and perceiving that he desired to sit down, {1.92} he placed his own monk’s stool on the ground and offered it to him; and when the monk had finished his meal, offered him water from his own water-pot. Having thus performed the duties of a pupil to a teacher, he exchanged pleasant greetings with the Elder after the meal was over and said to him, “Calm and serene, brother, are your organs of sense; clean and clear is the hue of your skin. For whose sake, brother, did you retire from the world? And who is your teacher? And whose doctrine do you profess?”

The Elder thought to himself, “These wandering ascetics are hostile to the religion I profess; therefore I will show this monk the profundity of our religion.” But first he explained that he was himself a mere novice, saying, “Brother, I am as yet a mere novice; no long time have I been a monk; but recently did I approach this Doctrine and Discipline; just now I shall not be able to expound the Law at length.” Thought the wandering ascetic, “I am Upatissa; say much or little according to your ability; I will undertake to fathom the meaning in a hundred ways or a thousand ways.” Therefore he said, [28.201]

Say little or much; tell me the substance only;  
I have need of the substance only; why utter many words?

In response the Elder pronounced the first line of the Stanza,

Of all things that proceed from a cause,  
of these the cause the Tathāgata hath told.

So soon as the wandering ascetic heard the first line, he was established in the Fruit of Conversion, perfect in a thousand ways. {1.93} So soon as he was established in the Fruit of Conversion, the Elder completed the second line,

And also how these cease to be,  
this too the mighty monk hath told.

But after he had attained the Fruit of Conversion, the Higher Excellence failed to appear. Therefore he considered, “There must be a reason for this,” and said to the Elder, “Do not carry your teaching of the Law any further; let this suffice. Where does our Teacher reside?” “At Veḷuvana, brother.” “Well then, Reverend Sir, you go on ahead. I have a friend, and he and I made the following agreement with each other, ‘Whichever of us first attains the Deathless is to inform the other.’ I wish first to redeem this promise. I will bring my friend with me and go to the Teacher, following the same path you take.” So saying, Upatissa prostrated himself before the feet of the Elder with the Five Rests,<sup>99</sup> walked thrice around him sunwise, and then took leave of him and went to meet the leader of the wandering ascetics.

The wandering ascetic Kolita saw him approaching from afar and said to himself, “To-day my friend’s face has a hue not as on other days; it must be that he has attained the Deathless.” Therefore he asked him at once whether he had attained the Deathless. Upatissa said in reply, “Yes, brother, I have attained the Deathless.” So saying, he pronounced the same Stanza Assaji had pronounced. At the conclusion of the Stanza Kolita was established in the Fruit of Conversion. Thereupon Kolita said, “Friend, where does our Teacher reside?” “At Veḷuvana, friend. So I was informed by our teacher the Elder Assaji.” “Well then, friend, let us go; let us see the Teacher.”

Now it was a distinguishing trait of the Elder Sāriputta that he always held a teacher in profound respect. Therefore said he to his friend, “Friend, let us inform our teacher, the wandering ascetic Sañjaya, that we have attained the Deathless. {1.94} Thus will his mind be awakened, and he will comprehend. But should he fail to [28.202] comprehend, he will at any rate believe what we say to be true; and so soon as he has listened to the preaching of the Buddhas, he will attain the Path and the Fruit.” Accordingly the two wandering ascetics went to Sañjaya. When Sañjaya saw them, he asked, “Friends, did you succeed in finding anyone able to show you the Way to the Deathless?” “Yes, teacher, such a one have we found. The Buddha has appeared in the world, the Law has appeared, the Order has appeared. You, sir, are walking in vain unreality. Come, sir, let us go to the Teacher.” “You may go; I cannot go.” “For what

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<sup>99</sup> Ed. note: it means he worshipped by placing five places on the ground, his hands, feet and head.

reason?" "In the past I have gone about as a teacher of the multitude. For me to become a pupil again would be as absurd as for a chatty to go to the well. I shall not be able to live the life of a pupil."

"Do not act thus, teacher." "Never mind, friends, you may go, but I cannot go." "Teacher, from the moment of the Buddha's appearance in the world the populace will take perfumes, garlands, and so forth in their hands and will go and do honor to him alone. Let us also go there. What do you intend to do?" "Friends, which are more numerous in this world, the stupid or the wise?" "Teacher, the stupid are many, the wise are few." "Well then, friends, let the wise men go to the wise monk Gotama, and let the stupid come to stupid me. {1.95} You may go, but I shall not go." "You will become a famous man, teacher!" said his two former pupils, and departed. As they departed, Sañjaya's congregation broke up; at that instant the grove was empty. When Sañjaya saw that the grove was empty, he vomited hot blood. Five hundred wandering ascetics accompanied the two on their journey a little way. Of these, two hundred and fifty remained loyal to Sañjaya and turned back; the other two hundred and fifty wandering ascetics the two received as their own pupils and took with them to Veļuvana.

As the Teacher sat in the midst of the fourfold congregation preaching the Law, he saw the two wandering ascetics approaching from afar. Straightway he addressed the monks, "Monks, here come two friends, Kolita and Upatissa. They will become my pair of disciples, my chief and noble pair." The two wandering ascetics paid obeisance to the Teacher, sat down respectfully on one side, and spoke thus to the Teacher, "Reverend Sir, we should like to receive admission to the Order at the hands of the Exalted One; we should like to make our full profession." Said the Exalted One, "Come, monks! The Law has been well taught. Lead the holy life, to the end that all suffering may be utterly done away." Instantly they became possessed of [28.203] bowls and robes created by supernatural power, and became as it were Elders of a hundred years' residence.

By the acts of the company of his disciples the Teacher caused the preaching of the Law constantly to increase. With the exception of the two Chief Disciples all attained Arahathship. The two Chief Disciples, however, did not complete the meditations leading to the Three Higher Paths. (What was the reason for this? It was because of the magnitude of the Perfection of Knowledge of Chief Disciples.)

Now Venerable Moggallāna the Great, {1.96} residing near the village Kallavāḷa in the kingdom of Magadha, fell into sloth and torpor on the seventh day after the day of his reception into the Order. But aroused by the Teacher, he shook off sloth and torpor, and applying himself to the Formula of Meditation on the Elements given him by the Tathāgata, completed the meditations leading to the Three Higher Paths and attained the goal of the Perfection of Knowledge of Chief Disciples.

As for the Elder Sāriputta, he spent the fortnight following his reception into the Order with the Teacher, residing at Sūkarakhata Cave near the same city Rājagaha. Having heard an exposition of the Vedanāpariggaha Suttanta by his own sister's son, the wandering monk Dīghanakha,<sup>100</sup> he applied his mind to the Sutta, and like a man who eats rice boiled for another man, attained the goal of the Perfection of Knowledge of Chief Disciples.

(Surely the Venerable Sāriputta is a man of great intelligence. Why, then, does he require a longer time than Moggallāna the Great to attain the goal of the Perfection of Knowledge of Chief Disciples? Because the preliminaries are so elaborate. We must understand that the case is analogous to that of a king, who, when he wishes to set out on a journey, is obliged to make great preparations, such as caparisoning riding-elephants. On the other hand a poor man, no matter where he may wish to go, immediately goes there without more ado.)

On the very day when Sāriputta and Moggallāna were received into the Order, as the shadows of evening lengthened, the Teacher gathered his disciples together at Veḷuvana, assigned the place of Chief Disciples to the newcomers, and then recited the Pātimokkha. The monks were offended and said, "The Teacher shows favoritism in bestowing this distinction. In bestowing the place of Chief Disciples, he ought to give the preference to those who were the first to retire from the world; namely, the Band of Five. If he disregard their claims, he ought to give the preference to the Elder Yasa and his [28.204] Fifty-four Companions. If he disregard their claims, {1.97} he ought to give the preference to the Thirty Youths. If he disregard their claims, he ought to give the preference to the Three Brothers, Uruvelā-Kassapa, Nadī-Kassapa, and Gayā-Kassapa. In rejecting the prior claims of all these monks and giving the

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<sup>100</sup> Ed. note: this refers to MN 74. The translation should read: to his own sister's son, not by... the discourse is given by the Buddha to Dīghanakha.

place of Chief Disciples to those who retired from the world last of all, the Teacher shows favoritism.”

The Teacher asked them, “Monks, what is the subject you are discussing?” When they told him, he said, “Monks, I show no favoritism in bestowing this distinction. On the contrary I bestow on these monks and on all others that for which each has made his Earnest Wish. For Añña-Koṇḍañña gave the first fruits of a certain crop nine times, but in so doing did not make an Earnest Wish for the place of Chief Disciple. On the contrary, in bestowing his gift, he made the Earnest Wish that he might be the first to win the foremost estate of all; namely, Arahatsip.” “When was that, Reverend Sir?” “Listen, monks.” “Yes, Reverend Sir.” Thereupon the Exalted One related the following

### **8 c. Story of the Past: Kāḷa junior and Kāḷa senior**

Monks, ninety-one cycles of time in the past the Exalted Vipassī appeared in the world. At that time two brothers, Mahā Kāḷa and Cūḷa Kāḷa, both of them householders, caused a great field to be planted with rice. One day Cūḷa Kāḷa went to the rice-field, hulled a kernel of rice, and ate it, and found it unusually sweet. Shortly afterwards he desired to make a gift of unripe rice to the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha. So he went to his older brother and said to him, “Brother, let us have unripe rice hulled and cooked in a manner suitable for the Buddhas, and let us bestow the same in alms.” “What say you, brother? No one has ever yet had unripe rice hulled and given in alms, nor is anyone likely to do such a thing in the future; don’t spoil the crop.”

The younger brother repeated his suggestion several times. {1.98} Finally the older brother said, “Very well, divide the field into two parts. Do not touch my portion, but do whatever you like in your own portion of the field.” “Very well,” said Cūḷa Kāḷa. So he divided the field into two parts, hired a large number of men for manual labor, caused grains of unripe rice to be hulled, had it cooked in rich milk, adding ghee, honey, and sugar, and presented the rice thus prepared to the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha, saying [28.205] at the conclusion of the meal, “Reverend Sir, by virtue of this my gift of first-fruits may I be the first to win the foremost estate of all; namely, Arahatsip.” “So be it,” said the Teacher, returning thanks. When he went back to the field and looked at it again, he saw that the entire field was filled with heads of growing rice, bound together, as it were, in sheaves. At this sight he experienced the five kinds of joy. Thought he, “I am indeed fortunate.” When the rice was in the ear, he gave first-fruits of rice in the ear. In

association with the residents of the village he bestowed the first-fruits of the crop. When the rice was reaped, he gave the first-fruits of the reaping; when it was in the sheaf, the first-fruits of the sheaves; when it was in the shock, the first-fruits of the shocks; when it was in the rick, the first-fruits of the ricks; when it was threshed, the first-fruits of the threshing-floor; when it was ground, the first-fruits of the flour; when it was measured, the first-fruits of the measuring; when it was put away in the storehouse, the first-fruits of the store. Thus he bestowed the first-fruits of a single crop nine times. Whatever he took away was made up, and he had a bumper harvest. Goodness keeps him who keeps it. Therefore said the Exalted One, {1.99}

Righteousness truly keeps him who keeps righteousness; righteous living brings happiness.

Herein is the advantage of living righteously, that he who walks righteously will never go to a state of suffering.

Thus, in the dispensation of the Supremely Enlightened Vipassī, did Añña-Koṇḍañña bestow the gift of first fruits nine times, making the Earnest Wish to be the first to attain the foremost of all estates. Likewise in the dispensation of the Buddha Padumuttara, a hundred thousand cycles of time in the past, in the city Hamsavatī, he gave mighty gifts, and falling at the feet of that Exalted Buddha, made the Earnest Wish to be the first to attain the foremost of all estates; namely, Arahātship. Thus I bestowed on him only that for which he made his Earnest Wish. I show no favoritism in bestowing distinction.

#### **8 d. Story of the Past: Yasa and fifty-four companions**

Reverend Sir, what work of merit did the fifty-five noble youths led by Yasa perform? – They too made an Earnest Wish for Arahātship at the feet of a certain Buddha and did many works of merit. Subsequently, but before the present Buddha had appeared in the world, they became friends, banded themselves together for [28.206] the performance of works of merit, and devoted themselves to the care of the corpses of paupers. One day, seeing the dead body of a pregnant woman, they carried the body to the cemetery for the purpose of burning it. To Yasa and four of his companions was assigned the duty of burning the corpse; the rest returned and entered the village.

As the youth Yasa burned the body, piercing it with stakes and turning it over and over, he grasped the thought of the Impurity of the Body. This thought he communicated to his four companions also, saying, “Behold, brethren, this

body. Here and there the skin has burst open; it resembles nothing so much as the skin of a mottled cow. It is impure, stinking, {1.100} repulsive.” Straightway his four companions also grasped the thought of the Impurity of the Body. In their turn these five companions went to the village and informed the rest of their friends. As for Yasa, he went home and informed his mother and father and wife, and they all developed the thought of Impurity. This is the work of merit these youths performed in a previous state of existence. And because of this very work of merit, consciousness of the Impurity of the Body arose within Yasa’s mind in the women’s apartments. And thus, because they had acquired the faculties requisite thereto, all of them developed Specific Attainment. Therefore these youths also obtained precisely that for which they made their Earnest Wish. I show no favoritism in bestowing distinction.

#### **8 e. Story of the Past: Thirty noble youths**

But, Reverend Sir, what work of merit did the thirty noble youths perform? – They also made an Earnest Wish for Arahatsip at the feet of previous Buddhas and performed works of merit. Subsequently, but before the present Buddha appeared in the world, they were reborn as thirty evildoers; but hearing the admonition addressed to Tuṇḍila, they kept the Five Precepts for sixty thousand years. Thus these men also obtained only that for which they made their Earnest Wish. I show no favoritism in bestowing distinction.

#### **8 f. Story of the Past: Three brothers Kassapa**

But, Reverend Sir, what work of merit was performed by the three brothers Kassapa: Uruvelā-Kassapa, Nadī-Kassapa, and Gayā-Kassapa? – They also performed works of merit, making an Earnest Wish to attain Arahatsip. Ninety-two cycles of time in the past, two [28.207] Buddhas appeared in the world at the same time, Tissa and Phussa; Phussa’s father was King Mahinda. When Phussa attained Enlightenment, the king’s youngest son became his Chief Disciple, and the son of the house-priest became his Second Disciple. The king went to the Teacher and said, “My oldest son is the Buddha, my youngest son is Chief Disciple, and the son of my house-priest is Second Disciple.” And looking upon the three, he said, “My very own is the Buddha, my very own is the Law, my very own is the Order.” And thrice he breathed forth the Solemn Utterance, “Praise be unto Him that is Highly Exalted, All-Worthy, Supremely Enlightened.” Then he prostrated himself before the feet of the Teacher and said, {1.101} “Reverend Sir, now, at the end of a life lasting ninety thousand years, it is time, as it were, for me to sit down and close my eyes in slumber. So

long as I live, go not to the door of others' houses, but receive the Four Requisites from me alone." Having thus obtained the Teacher's consent, the king thereafter ministered to him regularly.

Now the king had three other sons besides, the eldest of whom had a retinue of five hundred soldiers, the middlemost three, and the youngest two. One day they sought permission of their father to entertain their brother, the Buddha Phussa, but failed to obtain it. This happened many times. Shortly afterwards an insurrection broke out on the frontier, and they were sent to suppress it. Succeeding in restoring order on the frontier, they returned to their father. Their father embraced them, kissed their heads, and said to them, "Dear sons, I grant you whatever you desire." "Very well, your majesty," said they, accepting his offer. When, after a few days, their father again said, "Dear sons, I grant you whatever you desire," they replied, "Your majesty, we desire naught else but only this, that henceforth we may entertain our brother; grant us this boon." "I will not grant you this boon, dear sons." "If you are unwilling to grant us this privilege permanently, then grant it to us for seven years." "That will I not, dear sons." "Well then, grant us the privilege for six years, or five, or four, or three, or two years, or for one year; or for seven months, or six, or five, or four, or three, or two months, or for one month." "That will I not, dear sons." "Well then, your majesty, make it one month for each of us; grant us this privilege for three months in all." "Very well, dear sons; then entertain your brother for three months."

Now all three brothers had a single treasurer and a single steward, the latter of whom had a retinue of twelve nahutas of serving-men. [28.208] The three brothers summoned the treasurer and the steward {1.102} and said to them, "During the coming three months we shall take upon ourselves the Ten Precepts, put on yellow robes, and reside with the Teacher. In our absence it will be your duty to administer the alms; every day you are to provide all the food, both hard and soft, for ninety thousand monks and a thousand soldiers. From henceforth we shall have nothing at all to say." So the three brothers took their retinue of a thousand men, took upon themselves the Ten Precepts, put on yellow robes, and began residence in the monastery.

The treasurer and the steward joined forces and performed the duty of almsgiving by turns, taking provisions from the storehouses of the three brothers and bestowing them in alms. But when the children of the serving-men cried for rice-porridge and other kinds of food, the treasurer and the steward would give them what they cried for, even before the Congregation of Monks

arrived. The result was that the Congregation of Monks received only what was left over at the end of a meal, and not a fresh supply of food at all. Finally the treasurer and the steward became so greedy that they would take food, and pretending that they were going to give it to the children, eat it themselves. The mere sight of the pleasing food they were unable to resist. They and their associates numbered eighty-four thousand men. Because they ate food which it was their duty to give to the Congregation of Monks, when they died and their bodies were dissolved, they were reborn in the World of Ghosts.

When the three brothers and their thousand men died, they were reborn in the World of the Gods and spent ninety-two cycles of time in passing from one celestial world to another. Thus did those three brothers perform works of merit at that time, making the Earnest Wish to attain Arahatsip. What they received was only that for which they made their Earnest Wish. I show no favoritism in giving what I give. (Now at that time {1.103} their steward was Bimbisāra, their treasurer was the lay disciple Visākha, and the three royal princes were the three ascetics of the matted locks.)

Their serving-men, reborn at that time among the ghosts, after passing from one state of existence to another, both good and evil, were reborn in this present world-cycle in the World of the Ghosts for the space of four Buddha-intervals. In this present world-cycle they approached first of all the Exalted Kakusandha, whose term of life was forty thousand years, and asked him, "Tell us when we shall obtain something to eat." He replied, "You will receive nothing to [28.209] eat in my time; but after me the great earth will be elevated a league, and the Buddha Koṇāgamana will appear; you had best ask him." They waited all that time, and when the Buddha Koṇāgamana appeared, asked him. He replied, "You will receive nothing to eat in my time; but after me the great earth will be elevated a league, and the Buddha Kassapa will appear; you had best ask him." They waited all that time, and when the Buddha Kassapa appeared, asked him. He replied, "You will receive nothing to eat in my time; but after me the great earth will be elevated a league, and the Buddha Gotama will appear. At that time your kinsman Bimbisāra will be king; he will give alms to the Teacher and will make over to you the merit acquired by that act; at that time you will receive something to eat."

The length of the period intervening between two Buddhas was to them as the morrow. When the Tathāgata appeared in the world and King Bimbisāra gave alms on the first day and they failed to receive the fruit thereof, they waited until it was night, and then made a fearful noise and showed themselves to the

king. When the king went to Veļuvana on the following day, {1.104} he related the incident to the Tathāgata. Said the Teacher, “Great king, ninety-two cycles of time in the past, in the dispensation of the Buddha Phussa, these ghosts were kinsmen of yours. They ate food which it was their duty to give to the Congregation of Monks, and because of this were reborn in the World of Ghosts. Passing through the round of existences, they asked the Buddhas Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa when they should obtain food, and the Buddhas told them this and that. All this time they desired greatly to receive your alms; and the reason why they acted as they did last night was that, when you gave alms, they failed to receive the fruit thereof.” “But, Reverend Sir, in case I were to give alms now, would they receive the fruit thereof?” “Yes, great king.”

On the following day the king invited the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha, bestowed abundant offerings, and said, “Reverend Sir, henceforth may celestial food and drink be the portion of these ghosts.” And when he had thus transferred to the ghosts the merit of his offering, they received celestial food and drink. On the following day the ghosts made their appearance naked. Said the king to the Buddha, “To-day, Reverend Sir, these ghosts made their appearance naked,” and asked him what he should do. Said the Teacher, “Great king, you did not give them clothes.” So on the following day the king presented robes to the Congregation of Monks [28.210] presided over by the Buddha, saying, “Henceforth may they possess celestial raiment.” And when he had thus made over to them the merit of his offering, instantly they became possessed of celestial raiment, whereupon they put off their ghostly forms and took on the forms of celestial beings. When the Teacher returned thanks, he said, “Without the walls they stand,”<sup>101</sup> reciting the extra-mural formula. At the conclusion of his words of thanksgiving eighty-four thousand living beings obtained Comprehension of the Law. Thus did the Teacher expound the Law, relating the story of the three brothers of the matted locks.

### **8 g. Story of the Past: Sarada and Sirivaḍḍha**

But, Reverend Sir, what work of merit did the Chief Disciples perform? – They made their Earnest Wish to attain the station of Chief Disciples. For an Incalculable of cycles of time and a hundred thousand cycles of time additional in the past, Sāriputta was reborn in the family of a Brahman of great wealth,

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<sup>101</sup> Ed. note: this refers to Khp 7, Tirokuḍḍasutta.

and his name was Prince Sarada. Moggallāna {1.105} was reborn in the family of a householder of great wealth, and his name was Householder Sirivaḍḍha. The two youths were friends from the time when they played in the dirt together.

Prince Sarada came into a large family-inheritance on the death of his father. One day, when he was alone by himself, he thought, "I have certain knowledge of the life of this world only; I know nothing of the life of the world beyond. All they that are born are certain to die. I ought to retire from the world, enter some Order, and seek the Way of Release." Therefore he approached his friend and said, "Friend Sirivaḍḍha, it is my intention to retire from the world and seek the Way of Release. Can you, or can you not, retire from the world with me?" "Friend, I cannot retire from the world; you alone retire from the world." Prince Sarada thought to himself, "No one ever yet went to the world beyond with companions or kinsmen or friends. What one does, he must do by himself."

Accordingly he threw open the doors of his treasure-house and bestowed abundant alms on paupers and travelers and beggars. Having so done, he retired to the foot of a certain mountain and adopted the life of an anchorite. First one, then two, then three, then many others followed his example in adopting the monastic life. Finally there were seventy-four thousand ascetics with matted locks. Sarada [28.211] acquired the Five Supernatural Faculties and the Eight Higher Attainments, and taught those ascetics of the matted locks the processes necessary to the practice of Ecstatic Meditation. All of them acquired the Five Supernatural Faculties and the Eight Higher Attainments.

At this time the Buddha Anomadassī appeared in the world. His city was Candavatī. His father was Yasavanta, of the Warrior caste, and his mother was Lady Yasodharā. His Bo-tree was the ajjuna-tree. Nisabha and Anoma were his Chief Disciples, Varuṇa was his supporter, and Sundarā and Sumanā were his principal female lay disciples. His term of life was a hundred thousand years, his stature {1.106} was fifty-eight cubits, and the radiance from his body flashed twelve leagues. He had a retinue of a hundred thousand monks. One day at dawn, arising from a Trance of Great Compassion, he surveyed the world and beheld the ascetic Sarada. Thereupon he became aware of the following, "To-day, through my approaching the ascetic Sarada, there will be mighty preaching of the Law. Sarada will make his Wish for the place of Chief Disciple, and his friend, Householder Sirivaḍḍha, will make his Wish for the

place of Second Disciple. At the conclusion of the discourse the seventy-four thousand ascetics with matted locks who compose his retinue will attain Arahathship. Therefore it behooves me to go there.” Accordingly, taking his own bowl and robe, saying not a word to anyone else, proceeding in solitude like a lion, he commanded, “Let Sarada know that I am the Buddha.” And while the ascetic Sarada’s pupils were absent seeking various kinds of fruits, he descended from the sky and alighted on the earth before Sarada’s very eyes.

When the ascetic Sarada beheld the supernatural power of the Buddha and the perfection of form of the Buddha, he pondered in his mind the memorial verses relating to the characteristics of a great man. And he said to himself, “One endowed with these marks, if he lives the house-life, is a King, a Universal Monarch. Living the life of retirement, he is one who has rolled back the veil of passion, an Omniscient Buddha. This man is without doubt a Buddha.” Therefore he advanced to meet him, paid obeisance to him with the Five Rests, prepared a seat and offered it to him. The Exalted One seated himself in the seat prepared for him, and the ascetic Sarada, selecting a seat appropriate to himself, sat down respectfully on one side.

At that moment the seventy-four thousand ascetics of the matted locks, who had been absent gathering various kinds of sweet and juicy fruits, returned to their teacher. Seeing the Buddha seated and their [28.212] own teacher seated near him, they said, {1.107} “Teacher, we used to go about this world thinking to ourselves, ‘There is no one greater than you.’ But as for this man, we are certain that he is greater than you.” “Friends, what say you? Do you mean to compare a grain of mustard seed to Mount Sineru, sixty-eight thousand leagues high? Little sons, do not compare me to an Omniscient Buddha.” Then those ascetics thought to themselves, “Were this an insignificant man, our teacher would not use such a comparison as this. How great indeed must this man be!” And forthwith they fell before his feet and prostrated themselves before him.

Then their teacher said to them, “Friends, we have here no offering suitable to present to the Buddhas, and the Teacher has come here at a time when we usually go the rounds for alms; let us give him gifts according to our ability. Fetch hither all manner of fruits that are choicest.” And having thus caused them to fetch fruits, he washed his hands and himself placed the fruits in the bowl of the Tathāgata. The moment the Teacher touched the fruits which were brought, the deities imparted a celestial flavor to them. The ascetic Sarada also himself filtered water and presented it to the Teacher. After the meal was over,

while the Teacher still remained seated, Sarada summoned all of his pupils, and sitting down, discoursed pleasantly with the Teacher.

Thought the Teacher to himself, “Let the two Chief Disciples approach, together with the Congregation of Monks.” Straightway those two ascetics with their retinue of a hundred thousand Arahats approached, paid obeisance to the Teacher, and sat down respectfully on one side. Then the ascetic Sarada {1.108} addressed his pupils as follows, “Friends, the seat wherein sit the Buddhas is low, and there is no seat for the hundred thousand monks. To-day you should render high honor to the Buddha. Fetch from the foot of the mountain flowers possessing bright colors and sweet perfumes.”

There is a saying, “Time occupied in talk is wasted; inconceivable is the range of magical power possessed by one endowed with supernatural power;” and so it was in this case. In but an instant those ascetics brought back flowers possessing bright colors and sweet perfumes and arranged a cushion of flowers a league long for the Buddhas. Then they arranged a cushion of flowers three gavutas long for the two Chief Disciples. The cushions for the rest of the monks were half a league long or less; those for the novices were an usabha long. It is not permissible to ask the question, “How could seats of such great [28.213] size be arranged in this hermitage?” This was made possible by the power of magic. When the seats had thus been made ready, the ascetic Sarada took his stand before the Tathāgata, and raising his clasped hands in an attitude of reverent salutation, said, “Reverend Sir, ascend this bed of flowers to my everlasting welfare and salvation.” Therefore it is said,

He gathered together various flowers and perfumes,  
Prepared a bed of flowers, and spoke these words,

“Here, mighty hero, have I prepared a seat suitable for you.  
Sit down on this bed of flowers, and render my heart tranquil.

“For seven nights and days the Buddha sat upon my bed of flowers.  
Rendering my heart tranquil, gladdening the world of men and the  
Worlds of the Gods.”

While the Teacher sat thus, the two Chief Disciples with the rest of the monks {1.109} sat each in the seat which had been prepared for him. The ascetic Sarada, taking a great flower-parasol, held it over the head of the Tathāgata. Said the Teacher, “May this honor rendered to me by the ascetics of the matted

locks yield rich fruit.” And straightway he entered into a state of trance, attaining the Attainment of Cessation. Observing that the Teacher had attained the Attainment of Cessation, the two Chief Disciples likewise entered into a state of trance and attained the Attainment of Cessation. For seven days the Teacher sat there, enjoying the bliss of the Attainment of Cessation. When it was time to seek food, Sarada’s pupils went into the forest and ate wild fruits and other varieties of fruits. The rest of the time they stood holding out their hands in an attitude of reverent salutation before the Buddhas. The ascetic Sarada, however, went not to seek food, but for seven days continuously held the flower-parasol over the Buddha, experiencing thereby intense joy and pleasure.

When the Teacher arose from trance, he said to his Chief Disciple the Elder Nisabha, who sat on his right hand, “Nisabha, return thanks to the ascetics who have honored us with flowers and seats.” Thereupon the Elder, like a mighty warrior who has just received high distinction at the hands of a Universal Monarch, his heart filled with joy, manifesting the Perfection of Knowledge capable of attainment by a disciple, began the address of thanksgiving for the flowers and seats. At the end of the discourse the Buddha addressed the Second Disciple as follows, “Do you also preach the Law to the monks.” Thereupon the Elder Anoma, pondering the Tipiṭaka, the Word of [28.214] the Buddhas, preached the Law. But although the two Chief Disciples preached the Law, not a single monk present attained Comprehension of the Law. Then the Teacher, manifesting the infinite power of a Buddha, began to preach the Law, with the result that at the conclusion of his discourse all seventy-four thousand ascetics of the matted locks attained Arahathship, with the sole exception of the ascetic Sarada. Then the Teacher stretched forth his hand and said to them, “Come, monks!” Instantly their hair and beard disappeared, and the Eight Requisites were attached to their persons.

Do you ask, “Why did not the ascetic Sarada attain Arahathship?” It was because his mind was distracted. We are told that when he seated himself in the seat of the Second Disciple of the Buddhas, {1.110} and the Chief Disciple, manifesting the Perfection of Knowledge of a disciple, preached the Law, at the very moment when he began to listen to the preaching of the Law by the Chief Disciple, the following thought arose in his mind, “Oh that at some time in the future, in the dispensation of a Buddha who shall arise hereafter, I might receive the burden which this disciple has received! Because of this thought, we are told, he was unable to attain the Path and the Fruit.

Sarada, however, paid obeisance to the Tathāgata, and standing face to face with him, said, “Reverend Sir, what is the title in your Religion borne by the monk who sits in the seat next to you?” “He it is that follows me in setting in motion the Wheel of the Law which I have set in motion; he it is that has reached the pinnacle of the Perfection of Knowledge capable of attainment by a disciple; he it is that has grasped the Sixteen Forms of Knowledge; he it is that is therefore called in my Religion Chief Disciple,” “Reverend Sir, here for seven days have I stood holding the flower-parasol over you, thereby rendering honor to you. As the fruit of this work of merit, I do not wish for a second existence as Sakka or Brahmā. But at some time in the future may I become the Chief Disciple of a certain Buddha, even as is this present Elder Nisabha.”

When Sarada had made this Earnest Wish, the Teacher considered within himself, “Will the Wish of this man be fulfilled?” Therefore he sent forth his perception into the future, and surveying the ages of the future, he passed before his mind a period of incalculable length and a hundred thousand cycles of time in addition; whereupon he saw that his Wish would be fulfilled. So when the Teacher saw that his Wish would be fulfilled, he said to the ascetic Sarada, “This Earnest Wish of yours will not be in vain. For at the end of a period of incalculable [28.215] length and a hundred thousand cycles of time in addition, Gotama Buddha will appear in the world. His mother will be Lady Mahā Māyā, his father will be King Suddhodana, his son will be Rāhula, his servitor will be Ānanda, and his Second Disciple will be Moggallāna. And you will be his Chief Disciple, the Captain of the Faith, and your name will be Sāriputta.” {1.111}

When the Teacher had thus predicted the future of the ascetic, he preached the Law, and then, surrounded by his company of monks, flew up into the air and departed. The ascetic Sarada sought out the pupils and elders and sent the following message to his friend, Householder Sirivaḍḍha, “Reverend Sirs, say to my friend, ‘Your friend the ascetic Sarada fell down before the feet of the Buddha Anomadassī and made his Earnest Wish for the place of Chief Disciple under the dispensation of the Buddha Gotama, who shall hereafter arise in the world. Do you make your Earnest Wish for the place of Second Disciple.’ ” And when he had thus spoken, he preceded the Elders by a different route and went and stood at the door of Sirivaḍḍha’s residence.

When Sirivaḍḍha saw him he said, “At last, after a long absence, my noble friend has returned.” And straightway he seated his friend in a seat, and having seated himself in a lower seat, asked him, “But, Reverend Sir, have you no

pupils and attendants?” “Yes, my friend, the Buddha Anomadassī came to our hermitage, and we did him honor to the extent of our power. The Teacher preached the Law to all, and at the conclusion of his discourse all the members of our community excepting me attained Arahathship and entered the Order. When I saw the Chief Disciple of the Teacher, the Elder Nisabha, I made my Earnest Wish for the place of Chief Disciple under the dispensation of the Buddha Gotama, who shall hereafter arise in the world. Do you also make your Earnest Wish for the place of Second Disciple under his dispensation.” “But, Reverend Sir, I am not on terms of familiar acquaintance with the Buddhas.” “I will assume the burden of talking with the Buddhas; you prepare a Great Resolve.”

When Sirivaḍḍha heard his words, he adorned a space eight karīsas in extent before the door of his residence with the respect due to a king, sprinkled sand, {1.112} scattered flowers of five kinds, including lāja flowers, caused a pavilion to be erected with a thatch of blue lotuses, caused the Seat of the Buddha to be made ready, and seats for the monks also to be prepared. And having caused abundant offerings and gifts to be prepared, he directed the ascetic Sarada to [28.216] invite the Buddhas. So the ascetic Sarada took the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha and went with them to Sarada’s residence. Sarada advanced to meet them, took the bowl from the hand of the Tathāgata, conducted them into the pavilion, seated the Congregation of Monks on the seats prepared for them, offered them Water of Donation, and provided them with the choicest food.

At the conclusion of the meal, having clothed the Congregation of Monks with robes of great price, he said to the Teacher, “Reverend Sir, it was for the purpose of gaining no mean place that this entertainment was undertaken. Show your gracious compassion by remaining here in this manner for a period of seven days.” The Teacher condescended to remain. For seven days Sirivaḍḍha bestowed abundant offerings in this manner. At the end of his almsgiving he paid obeisance to the Teacher, and standing before him with hands clasped in an attitude of reverent salutation, said, “Reverend Sir, my friend the ascetic Sarada made his Earnest Wish to become Chief Disciple of a certain Teacher. May I also become the Second Disciple of that same Teacher.”

The Teacher looked into the future, and beholding the fulfillment of his Earnest Wish, made the following prophecy, “At the end of a period of incalculable length and a hundred thousand cycles of time in addition, you will become the Second Disciple of Gotama Buddha.” Hearing this prophecy of the

Buddhas, Sirivaḍḍha was filled with joy and satisfaction. The Teacher returned thanks for the offering of food, and then, surrounded by the company of monks, returned to the monastery. This, monks, was the Earnest Wish made by my sons at that time. They have received precisely that for which they made their Earnest Wish. When I give, I give without respect of persons. *End of Stories of the Past.* {1.113}

When the Teacher had thus spoken, the two Chief Disciples paid obeisance to the Exalted One and said, “Reverend Sir, when we were yet householders, we went to see the festivities of Mountain-top;” and then told the entire story of the events which had recently taken place, to their attainment of the Fruit of Conversion at the hands of the Elder Assaji. Then they said, “Reverend Sir, we went to our teacher, desiring to lead him to your feet, and pointed out to him the shallowness of his own views, and dwelt upon the advantages of his coming here. But he said to us, ‘For me to try to live the life of a pupil now would be as absurd as for a chatty to go to the well. I shall not be able to live the life of a pupil.’ We replied, ‘Teacher, [28.217] the populace will now take perfumes, garlands, and so forth in their hands, and will go to do honor to the Teacher alone. What do you intend to do?’ Said he, ‘Which are the more numerous in this world, the stupid or the wise?’ We replied, ‘Teacher, the stupid are many; the wise are few.’ ‘Well then,’ said he, ‘let the wise men go to the wise monk Gotama, and let the stupid come to stupid me. As for you, go where you like.’ With these words, Reverend Sir, did he refuse to come hither.”

When the Teacher heard this, he said, “Monks, by reason of the false views which he holds, Sañjaya has mistaken falsehood for truth and truth for falsehood. But you, by reason of your own wisdom, have rightly discerned that which is true in its truth and that which is false in its falsity, and you have done wisely to reject that which is false and accept that which is true.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

**11. They who think to find the truth in falsehood, they who discern  
but falsehood in the truth,**

**They never attain the goal of truth, but abide in the pasture-ground  
of error. {1.114}**

**12. They who have rightly discerned the true in its truth and the false  
in its falsity,**

**They attain the goal of truth and abide in the pasture-ground of  
right thinking.**

## **I. 9. Nanda the Elder<sup>102</sup>**

**13. Even as rain breaks through an ill-thatched house,  
So lust breaks through an ill-trained mind.**

**14. Even as rain breaks not through a well-thatched house,  
So lust breaks not through a well-trained mind.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to Venerable Nanda. {1.115}

### **9 a. Nanda becomes a monk in spite of himself**

For after the Teacher had set in motion the glorious Wheel of the Law, he retired to Rājagaha and took up his residence at Veḷuvana. Thereupon his father, the great king Suddhodana, sent ten ambassadors to him, one after the other, each with a retinue of a thousand men, saying to them, “Fetch my son hither and show him to me [28.218] before my face.” After nine ambassadors had gone thither, attained Arahatsip, and failed to return, Elder Kāḷa Udāyi went thither and attained Arahatsip. And knowing that it was the proper time for the Teacher to go, he described the beauties of the journey and conducted the Teacher with his retinue of twenty thousand Arahats to Kapilapura. And there, in the company of his kinsfolk, the Teacher, taking a shower of rain for his text, related the Vessantara Jātaka.<sup>103</sup> On the following day he entered the city for alms. By the recitation of the Stanza, “A man should exert himself and should not live the life of Heedlessness,”<sup>104</sup> he established his father in the Fruit of Conversion; and by the recitation of the Stanza, “A man should live righteously,”<sup>105</sup> he established Mahā Pajāpatī in the Fruit of Conversion and his father in the Fruit of the Second Path. And at the end of the meal, with

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<sup>102</sup> 9 a follows *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, i. 85<sup>24</sup>-92<sup>14</sup>, frequently word for word. 9 b is almost word for word the same as *Udāna*, iii. 2: 21<sup>18</sup>-24<sup>13</sup>. Parallel to 9 b is *Jātaka* 182: ii. 92-94. 9 c is entirely different from the Story of the Past in *Jātaka* 182. Cf. also Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 203-212; Chavannes, *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues*, 409: iii. 87-94; *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, cxxxix; *Aṅguttara Commentary* on *Etadagga Vagga, Story of Nanda*; and Winternitz, *History of Buddhist Literature*, p. 207.

<sup>103</sup> *Jātaka* 547: vi. 479-593. Cf. Story xiii.

<sup>104</sup> *Dhammapada*, 168.

<sup>105</sup> *Dhammapada*, 169.

reference to the praise bestowed on him by the Mother of Rāhula, he related the Canda Kinnara Jātaka.<sup>106</sup>

On the following day, while the ceremonies of Prince Nanda's sprinkling, house-warming, and marriage were in progress, the Teacher entered the house for alms, placed his bowl in Prince Nanda's hands, and wished him good luck. Then, rising from his seat, he departed without taking his bowl from the hands of the Prince. Out of reverence for the Tathāgata, Prince Nanda did not dare say, "Reverend Sir, receive your bowl," but thought within himself, "He will take his bowl at the head of the stairs." But even when the Teacher reached the head of the stairs, he did not take his bowl. Thought Nanda, "He will take his bowl at the foot of the stairs." But the Teacher did not take his bowl even there. {1.116} Thought Nanda, "He will take his bowl in the palace court." But the Teacher did not take his bowl even there. Prince Nanda desired greatly to return to his bride, and followed the Teacher much against his own will. But so great was his reverence for the Teacher that he did not dare say, "Receive your bowl," but continued to follow the Teacher, thinking to himself, "He will take his bowl here! he will take his bowl there! he will take his bowl there!"

At that moment they brought word to his bride Belle-of-the-Country, Janapada-Kaḷyānī, "My lady, the Exalted One has taken Prince Nanda away with him; it is his purpose to deprive you of him." Thereupon Janapada-Kaḷyānī, with tears streaming down her face and hair half-combed, ran after Prince Nanda as fast as she could [28.219] and said to him, "Noble sir, please return immediately." Her words caused a quaver in Nanda's heart; but the Teacher, without so much as taking his bowl, led him to the monastery and said to him, "Nanda, would you like to become a monk?" So great was Prince Nanda's reverence for the Buddha that he refrained from saying, "I do not wish to become a monk," and said instead, "Yes, I should like to become a monk." Said the Teacher, "Well then, make a monk of Nanda." Thus it happened that on the third day after the Teacher's arrival at Kapilapura he caused Nanda to be made a monk.

On the seventh day the Mother of Rāhula adorned Prince Rāhula and sent him to the Exalted One, saying, "Dear son, go look upon this monk, possessed of a retinue of twenty thousand monks, possessed of a body of the hue of gold, possessed of the beauty of form of Mahā Brahmā. This monk is your father. To him once belonged great stores of treasure. From the time of his Great Retirement we have not seen him. Ask him for this your inheritance, saying,

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<sup>106</sup> *Jātaka* 485: iv. 282-288.

‘Dear father, I am a royal prince, and so soon as I shall receive the ceremonial sprinkling, I shall become a Universal Monarch. I have need of wealth; bestow wealth upon me; for to a son belongs the wealth which formerly belonged to his father.’ ”

Accordingly Prince Rāhula went to the Exalted One. The moment he saw him he conceived a warm affection for his father, and his heart rejoiced within him. And he said, “Monk, pleasant is your shadow,” {1.117} and said much else befitting his own station. When the Exalted One had finished his meal, he pronounced the words of thanksgiving, arose from his seat, and departed. Prince Rāhula followed in the footsteps of the Exalted One, saying, “Monk, give me my inheritance; monk, give me my inheritance.” The Exalted One did not repel the Prince; even the attendants were unable to prevent the Prince from accompanying the Exalted One. In this manner the Prince accompanied the Exalted One to the Grove. Then the thought occurred to the Exalted One, “The paternal inheritance which this youth seeks inevitably brings destruction in its train. Behold, I will bestow upon him the Sevenfold Noble Inheritance which I received at the foot of the Bo-tree; I will make him master of an inheritance which transcends the world.”

Therefore the Exalted One addressed Venerable Sāriputta, “Well then, Sāriputta, make a monk of Prince Rāhula.” When, however, Prince Rāhula had been received into the Order, the king his grandfather was afflicted with great sorrow. Unable to endure his sorrow, [28.220] he made known his sorrow to the Exalted One and made the following request of him, “It were well, Reverend Sir, did the noble monks not receive into the Order any youth without the permission of his mother and father.” The Exalted One granted him this request. Again one day, as the Exalted One sat in the royal palace after breakfast, the king, sitting respectfully at one side, said to the Exalted One, “Reverend Sir, while you were practicing your austerities, a certain deity approached me and said to me, ‘Your son is dead.’ But I refused to believe him and replied, ‘My son will not die until he attains Enlightenment.’ ” Said the Exalted One, “Now will you believe? In a previous existence also, when a deity showed you bones and said to you, ‘Your son is dead,’ you refused to believe.” And with reference to this incident he related the Mahā Dhammapāla Jātaka.<sup>107</sup> At the conclusion of the story the king was established in the Fruit of the Third Path.

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<sup>107</sup> *Jātaka* 447: iv. 50-55.

### **9 b. Nanda and the celestial nymphs**

When the Exalted One had thus established his father in the Three Fruits, {1.118} he returned once more to Rājagaha, accompanied by the Congregation of Monks. Now he had promised Anāthapiṇḍika to visit Sāvatti, so soon as the great monastery of Jetavana should be completed, and receiving word shortly afterwards that the monastery had been completed, he went to Jetavana and took up his residence there. While the Teacher was thus residing at Jetavana, Venerable Nanda, becoming discontented, told his troubles to the monks, saying, “Brethren, I am dissatisfied. I am now living the Religious Life, but I cannot endure to live the Religious Life any longer. I intend to abandon the higher precepts and to return to the lower life, the life of a layman.”

The Exalted One, hearing of this incident, sent for Venerable Nanda and said this to him, “Nanda, is the report true that you spoke as follows to a large company of monks, ‘Brethren, I am dissatisfied; I am now living the Religious Life, but I cannot endure to live the Religious Life any longer; I intend to abandon the higher precepts and to return to the lower life, the life of a layman?’” “It is quite true, Reverend Sir.” “But, Nanda, why are you dissatisfied with the Religious Life you are now living? Why cannot you endure to live the Religious Life any longer? Why do you intend to abandon the higher precepts and [28.221] to return to the lower life, the life of a layman?” “Reverend Sir, when I left my house, my noble wife Janapada-Kalyānī, with hair half-combed, took leave of me, saying, ‘Noble sir, please return immediately.’ Reverend Sir, it is because I keep remembering her that I am dissatisfied with the religious life I am now living; that I cannot endure to live the religious life any longer; that I intend to abandon the higher precepts and to return to the lower life, the life of a layman.”

Then the Exalted One took Venerable Nanda by the arm, and by the power of his magic conducted him to the World of the Thirty-three. On the way the Exalted One pointed out to Venerable Nanda in a certain burnt field, seated on a burnt stump, a greedy monkey which had lost her ears and nose and tail in a fire. When they reached the World of the Thirty-three, he pointed out five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs who came to wait upon Sakka, king of the gods. {1.119} And when the Exalted One had shown Venerable Nanda these two sights, he asked him this question, “Nanda, which do you regard as being the more beautiful and fair to look upon and handsome, your noble wife Janapada-Kalyānī or these five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs?”

“Reverend Sir,” replied Nanda, “as far inferior as this greedy monkey which has lost her ears and nose and tail is to Janapada-Kalyānī, even so far inferior, Reverend Sir, is my noble wife Janapada-Kalyānī to these five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs. In comparison with these nymphs my noble wife does not come into the count; she does not come within a fraction of them, she does not come within a fraction of a fraction of them; on the contrary, these five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs are infinitely more beautiful and fair to look upon and handsome.”

“Cheer up, Nanda!” replied the Exalted One. “I guarantee that you will win these five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs.” Said Venerable Nanda, “If, Reverend Sir, the Exalted One guarantees that I shall win these five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs, in that case, Reverend Sir, I shall take the greatest pleasure in living the exalted life of a religious.” Then the Exalted One, taking Venerable Nanda with him, disappeared from the World of the Thirty-three and reappeared at Jetavana. Now it was not long before the monks heard the following report, “It appears that it is in the hope of winning celestial nymphs that Venerable Nanda, brother of the Exalted One, son of his mother’s sister, is living the religious life; it appears that [28.222] the Exalted One has guaranteed that he shall win five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs.”

As a result Venerable Nanda’s fellow-monks treated him as a hireling and as one bought with a price. And they addressed him accordingly, saying, “It appears that Venerable Nanda is a hireling; it appears that Venerable Nanda is one bought with a price. It appears that it is in the hope of winning celestial nymphs that he is living the religious life; it appears that the Exalted One has guaranteed that he shall win five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs.”

Now Venerable Nanda, {1.120} although his fellow-monks despised him, were ashamed of him, and tormented him by calling him “hireling” and “bought with a price,” nevertheless, living in solitude, withdrawn from the world, heedful, ardent, resolute, in no long time, even in this life, himself abode in the knowledge, realization, and attainment of that supreme goal of the religious life for the sake of which goodly youths retire once and for all from the house-life to the houseless life. This did he know: “Birth is at an end, lived is the holy life, duty is done: I am no more for this world.” And there was yet another Venerable Elder numbered among the Arahats.

Now a certain deity came by night to the Teacher, illuminating the whole Jetavana; and bowing to the Teacher, thus addressed him, “Reverend Sir, Venerable Nanda, son of the sister of the mother of the Exalted One, by extinction of the Depravities, even in this life, himself abides in the knowledge, realization, and attainment of freedom from the Depravities, emancipation of the heart, emancipation of the intellect. And there arose within the Exalted One also knowledge of the following, “By extinction of the Depravities, Nanda, even in this life, himself abides in the knowledge, realization, and attainment of freedom from the Depravities, emancipation of the heart, emancipation of the intellect.”

In the course of the same night Venerable Nanda also approached the Exalted One, bowed to him, and spoke as follows, “Reverend Sir, I release the Exalted One from the promise which he made when he, the Exalted One, guaranteed that I should win five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs.” The Exalted One replied, “Nanda, I myself grasped your mind with my own mind and saw, ‘By extinction of the Depravities, Nanda, {1.121} even in this life, himself abides in the knowledge, realization, and attainment of freedom from the Depravities, emancipation of the heart, emancipation of the intellect.’ Likewise a deity informed me of the fact, saying, ‘By extinction [28.223] of the Depravities, Nanda, even in this life, himself abides in the knowledge, realization, and attainment of freedom from the Depravities, emancipation of the heart, emancipation of the intellect.’ When, therefore, Nanda, you ceased to cling to the things of the world, and your heart was released from the Depravities, at that moment I was released from that promise.” Then the Exalted One, knowing the true inwardness of this matter, breathed forth the following Solemn Utterance,

He that has crossed over the mud and crushed the thorn of lust,  
He that has destroyed delusion, such a man is unmoved, whether in  
pleasure or in pain.

Now one day the monks approached Venerable Nanda and asked him, “Brother Nanda, aforesaid you said, ‘I am dissatisfied.’ Do you say the same thing now?” “Brethren, I am in no wise inclined to the life of a layman.” When the monks heard his answer, they said, “Venerable Nanda says that which is not true, utters falsehood. On former days he used to say, ‘I am dissatisfied,’ but now says, ‘I am in no wise inclined to the life of a layman.’” And forthwith they went and reported the matter to the Exalted One. The Exalted One replied, “Monks, in former days Nanda’s personality was like an ill-thatched house, but

now it has come to be like a well-thatched house. From the day he saw the celestial nymphs, he has striven to reach the goal of a monk's labors, {1.122} and now he has reached it." So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

**13. Even as rain breaks through an ill-thatched house,  
So lust breaks through an ill-trained mind.**

**14. Even as rain breaks not through a well-thatched house,  
So lust breaks not through a well-trained mind.**

The monks began to discuss the incident in the Hall of Truth: "Brethren, the Buddhas are marvelous! Venerable Nanda became dissatisfied with the Religious Life all because of Janapada-Kaḷyānī; but the Teacher, employing celestial nymphs as a lure, won him to complete obedience." The Teacher came in and asked them, "Monks, what is it you are sitting here now talking about?" When they told him, he said, "Monks, {1.123} this is not the first time Nanda has been won to obedience by the lure of the opposite sex; the same thing happened in a previous existence also." So saying, he related the following [28.224]

### **9 c. Story of the Past: Kappaṭa and the donkey**

Once upon a time, when Brahmadaṭṭa reigned in Benāres, there dwelt at Benāres a merchant named Kappaṭa. Now Kappaṭa had a donkey which used to carry loads of pottery for him, and every day he used to go a journey of seven leagues. On a certain occasion Kappaṭa loaded his donkey down with a load of pottery and took him to Takkaṣilā. While he was engaged in disposing of his wares, he allowed the donkey to run loose. As the donkey wandered along the bank of a ditch, he saw a female of his species and straightway went up to her. She gave him a friendly greeting and said to him, "Where have you come from?" "From Benāres." "On what errand?" "On business." "How big a load do you carry?" "A big load of pottery." "How many leagues do you travel, carrying a big load like that?" "Seven leagues." "In the various places you visit, is there anyone to rub your feet and your back?" "No." "If that's the case, you must have a mighty hard time."

(Of course animals have no one to rub their feet and their back; she said this merely to join bonds of love between them.)

As the result of her talk, the donkey became dissatisfied. After the merchant had disposed of his wares, he returned to the donkey and said to him, “Come, Jack, let’s be off.” “Go yourself; I won’t go.” {1.124} Over and over again the merchant tried with gentle words to persuade him to go; and when, in spite of his efforts, the donkey remained balky, he vented abuse upon him. Finally he thought to himself, “I know a way to make him go,” and pronounced the following Stanza,

I will make a goad for you, with a sixteen-inch thorn;  
I will cut your body to shreds; know this, donkey.

When the donkey heard that, he said, “In that case I shall know just what to do to you.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

You say you will make a goad for me, with a sixteen-inch thorn. Very well!  
In that case I will plant my fore feet, let fly with my hind feet,  
And knock out your teeth; know that, Kappaṭa.

When the merchant heard that, he thought to himself, “What can be the reason for his talking thus?” The merchant looked this way and that, and finally his eyes fell upon the female. “Ah!” thought the merchant to himself, “she must have taught him these tricks. I will [28.225] say to the donkey, ‘I will bring you home a mate like that.’ Thus, by employing the lure of the opposite sex, I will make him go.” Accordingly he pronounced the following Stanza,

A four-footed female, with face like mother-of-pearl, possessed of all the marks of beauty,  
Will I bring to you to be your mate; know that, donkey.

When the donkey heard that, his heart rejoiced, and he replied with the following Stanza,

So “a four-footed female, with face like mother-of-pearl, possessed of all the marks of beauty,”  
You will bring to me to be my mate; in that case, Kappaṭa,  
Whereas hitherto I have traveled seven leagues a day, hereafter, I will travel fourteen leagues. {1.125}

“Well then,” said Kappaṭa, “come!” And taking the donkey with him, he went back to the place where he had left the cart.

After a few days the donkey said to him, “Didn’t you say to me, ‘I will bring you a mate?’” The merchant replied, “Yes, I said just that, and I will not break my word; I will bring you home a mate. But I will provide food only for you. It may or may not be enough for both you and your mate, but that is a matter for you alone to decide. After you both have lived together, foals will be born to you. The food I shall give you may or may not be enough for both you and your mate and your foals too, but that is a matter for you alone to decide.” As the merchant spoke these words, the donkey lost his desire.

When the Teacher had ended his lesson, he concluded the Jātaka as follows, “At that time, monks, the female donkey was Janapada-Kaḷyānī, the male donkey was Nanda, and the merchant was I myself. In former times, too, Nanda was won to obedience by the lure of the female sex.”

## **I. 10. Cunda the Pork-Butcher<sup>108</sup>**

**15. Here he suffers; after death he suffers: the evildoer suffers in both places.**

**He suffers, he is afflicted, seeing the impurity of his own past deeds.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Veḷuvana with reference to Cunda the pork-butcher.

The story goes that for fifty-five years Cunda made his living by killing pigs which he then either used for food or marketed. In time [28.226] of famine he would go to the country with his cart filled with rice, {1.126} and return with it filled with shotes<sup>109</sup> bought in villages for a mere pint-pot or two of rice apiece. Back of his house he had a plot of ground fenced off as a sort of pigsty, and there he kept his pigs, feeding them all kinds of shrubs and excrement.

Whenever he wanted to kill a pig, he would fasten the pig securely to a post and pound him with a square club to make his flesh swell plump and tender. Then, forcing open the pig’s jaws and inserting a little wedge in his mouth, he would pour down his throat boiling hot water from a copper boiler. The hot

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<sup>108</sup> Text: N i. 125-129.

<sup>109</sup> Ed. note: old English, meaning piglets recently weaned.

water would penetrate the pig's belly, loosening the excrement, and would pass out through the anus, carrying boiling hot excrement with it. So long as there was even a little excrement left in the pig's belly, the water would come out stained and turbid; but as soon as the pig's belly was clean, the water would come out pure and clear.

The rest of the water he would pour over the pig's back, and the water would peel off the black skin as it ran off. Then he would singe off the bristles with a torch. Finally, he would cut off the pig's head with a sharp sword. As the blood gushed forth, he would catch it in a dish; then he would roast the pig, basting it with the blood he had caught. Then he would sit down with his son and his wife and eat the pig. Whatever meat was left over, he would sell. In this way he made a living for fifty-five years. Although the Teacher was in residence at a neighboring monastery, not on a single day did Cunda do him honor by offering him so much as a handful of flowers or a spoonful of rice, nor did he do a single work of merit besides.

One day he was attacked by a malady, {1.127} and while he yet remained alive, the fire of the Great Hell of Avīci uprose before him. (The fire of Avīci is a consuming torment able to destroy the eyes of one who stands a hundred leagues away and looks at it. Indeed, it has been described<sup>110</sup> in this wise, "For ever and ever it shoots forth its flames continually a hundred leagues in all directions." Moreover, the Elder Nāgasena<sup>111</sup> employed the following simile to show how much more intense is its heat than that of ordinary fire, "Great king, reflect that a rock even as big as a pagoda goes to destruction in the fire of Hell in but an instant. However, living beings who are reborn there, through the effect of their past deeds, suffer not destruction, but are as though they reposed in their mothers' wombs.") [28.227]

When the torment of the Great Hell of Avīci uprose before the pork-butcher Cunda, his mode of behavior was altered in correspondence with his past deeds. Even as he remained within his house, he began to grunt like a pig and to crawl about on his hands and knees, first to the front of the house and then to the rear. The men of his household overpowered him and gagged him. But in spite of all they did (since it is impossible for anyone to prevent a man's past deeds from bearing fruit), he kept crawling back and forth, grunting like a pig continually.

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<sup>110</sup> *Aṅguttara*, iii. 35: i. 142.

<sup>111</sup> *Milindapañha*, 67<sup>7-8</sup>, 21-23.

Not a person was able to sleep in the seven houses round about. The members of his own household, terrified by the fear of death, unable otherwise to prevent him from going out, barricaded the doors of the house that he might not be able to go out, but might be confined within. Having so done, they surrounded the house and stood on guard. Back and forth for seven days crawled Cunda within his house, suffering the torment of Hell, grunting and squealing like a pig. Having thus crawled about for a period of seven days, he died on the seventh day and was reborn in the Great Hell of Avīci. (The Great Hell of Avīci is to be described in the terms of the Devaduta Suttanta.<sup>112</sup>)

Some monks who passed the door of his house {1.128} heard the noise, and thinking it was merely the noise of the grunting and squealing of pigs, went on to the monastery, seated themselves in the presence of the Teacher, and said to him, “Reverend Sir, for seven days the door of Cunda the pork-butcher’s house has been closed, and for seven days the killing of pigs has gone on; doubtless he intends to give some entertainment. Think, Reverend Sir, how many pigs he has killed! Evidently he has not a single thought of loving-kindness and lacks utterly the sentiment of compassion. So cruel and savage a being has never been known before.”

Said the Teacher, “Monks, he has not been killing pigs these seven days. Retribution in harmony with his past deeds has overtaken him. Even while he yet remained alive, the torment of the Great Hell of Avīci uprose before him. By reason of this torment he crawled hither and thither in his house for seven days, grunting and squealing like a pig. To-day he died, and was reborn in the Avīci hell.” When the Teacher had thus spoken, the monks said, “Reverend Sir, having suffered thus here in this world, he went again to a place of suffering [28.228] and was there reborn.” “Yes, monks,” replied the Teacher. “He that is heedless, be he layman or monk, suffers in both places equally.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**15. Here he suffers; after death he suffers: the evildoer suffers in both places.**

**He suffers, he is afflicted, seeing the impurity of his own past deeds.**

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<sup>112</sup> *Majjhima*, 130: iii. 178-187; cf. *Āṅguttara*, i. 138-142 (translated by Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 255-259).

## **I. 11. The Righteous Lay Brother<sup>113</sup>**

**16. Here he rejoices; after death he rejoices: he that has done good works rejoices in both places.**

**He rejoices, he rejoices exceedingly, seeing the purity of his own past deeds.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to a righteous lay brother. {1.129}

At Sāvattī, we are told, lived five hundred righteous lay brethren, each with a retinue of five hundred lay brethren. The senior layman had seven sons and seven daughters. Each of these sons gave regularly ticket-porridge, ticket-food, food of the waning moon, food of the new moon, invitation-food, fast-day food, visitors' food, and food of the season of the rains. All of them were "later born," so that the layman and his wife and fourteen children maintained sixteen forms of alms. And the layman, virtuous, upright, together with son and wife, took delight in the distribution of alms.

After a time the layman was attacked by a disease, and his vital forces began to decay. {1.130} Desiring to hear the Law, he sent word to the Teacher, "Send me eight or sixteen monks." The Teacher sent them, and they straightway went and gathered around his bed and sat down on seats prepared for them. "Reverend Sirs," said the layman, "it will be difficult for me to see you, for I am weak; rehearse me but a single Sutta." "Which Sutta would you like to hear, lay brother?" "The Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta,<sup>114</sup> common to all the Buddhas." Accordingly they began to rehearse the Sutta, beginning with the words, "There is this one Way, monks, this one Path which leads to the Salvation of living beings."

At that moment, from the Six Worlds of the Gods, approached six chariots a hundred and fifty leagues long, drawn by a thousand Sindh horses, adorned with all the adornments. In each chariot stood a deity, and each deity spoke and said, "Permit us to convey you to our celestial world." And they spoke again and said, "Even as one shatters a clay vessel and replaces it with a vessel of gold, even so are [28.229] living beings reborn to take their pleasure in our

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<sup>113</sup> Text: N i. 129-132. Ed. note: this is a misinterpretation by the translator, Dhammika (meaning 'righteous'), was the layman's name, it is not an adjective.

<sup>114</sup> *Dīgha*, 22; *Majjhima*, 10.

celestial world.” The lay disciple, unwilling to be interrupted in listening to the Law, said, “Wait! wait!” The monks, thinking that he was speaking to them, ceased their recitation of the Law. His sons and daughters cried out, “Formerly our father could never hear enough of the Law. But now, after summoning the monks and directing them to rehearse the Law, he stops them himself. After all, there is no man who does not fear death.” The monks said to each other, “This is no time for us to remain.” And forthwith they arose and departed.

After a time the layman recovered his attention and asked his sons, “Why do you weep?” “Dear father,” said they, “you sent for the monks, and even as you listened to the Law, you yourself stopped them from rehearsing the Law. We weep to think, ‘After all, there is no man who does not fear death.’ ” {1.131} “But where are the noble monks?” “They said to each other, ‘This is no time for us to remain.’ And forthwith they arose from their seats and departed.” “Dear sons, I was not speaking to the noble monks.” “With whom, then, were you talking, dear father?” “From the Six Worlds of the Gods six deities approached in six magnificently adorned chariots, and standing in their chariots poised in the air, they said to me, ‘Take your pleasure in our celestial world; take your pleasure in our celestial world.’ I was talking with them.” “Dear father, where are the chariots? We do not see them.” “Have I any wreaths of flowers?” “Yes, dear father.” “Which celestial world is the most delightful?” “Dear father, the most delightful is the World of the Tusita gods, the abode of the mothers and fathers of the Buddhas and of all the Future Buddhas.” “Well then, throw a wreath of flowers and say, ‘Let this wreath of flowers cling to the chariot which came from the World of the Tusita gods.’ ”

Accordingly the children of the layman threw the wreath of flowers, and it clung to the pole of the chariot and hung suspended in the air. The populace saw the wreath of flowers suspended in the air, but did not see the chariot. Said the lay disciple, “Do you see this wreath of flowers?” “Yes, we see it.” “This wreath hangs suspended from the chariot which came from the World of the Tusita gods. I am going to the World of the Tusita gods; be not disturbed. If you desire to be reborn with me, do works of merit even as I have done.” And when he had thus spoken, he died and set foot in the chariot. Immediately he was reborn as a deity three-quarters of a league in stature, adorned with sixty cartloads of ornaments. A retinue of a thousand [28.230] celestial nymphs attended him, and a golden mansion twenty-five leagues in extent became visible.

When those monks reached the monastery, the Teacher asked them, “Monks, did the lay disciple hearken to the recitation of the Law?” “Yes, Reverend Sir. But in the midst of the recitation he cried out, ‘Wait! wait!’ and stopped us. Then his sons and daughters began to weep, {1.132} whereupon we said to each other, ‘This is no time for us to remain,’ and arose from our seats and departed.” “Monks, he was not talking to you. From the Six Worlds of the Gods six deities approached in six magnificently adorned chariots, and they summoned that lay disciple to go with them; but the lay disciple, unwilling that the recitation of the Law should be interrupted, spoke to them.” “Is that true, Reverend Sir?” “That is true, monks.” “Reverend Sir, where was he reborn just now?” “In the World of the Tusita gods, monks.”

“Reverend Sir, but recently he lived here among his kinsfolk rejoicing, and just now he went again to a place of rejoicing and was there reborn.” “Yes, monks. They that are heedful, be they laymen or monks, rejoice in both places equally.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**16. Here he rejoices; after death he rejoices: he that has done good works rejoices in both places.**

**He rejoices, he rejoices exceedingly, seeing the purity of his own past deeds.**

## **I. 12. Devadatta’s Career<sup>115</sup>**

{1.133} **17. Here he suffers, after death he suffers; the evildoer suffers in both places.**

**He suffers to think, “I have done evil;” yet more does he suffer, gone to a place of suffering.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while in residence at Jetavana with reference to Devadatta. The story of Devadatta, from the time he became a monk to the time the earth opened and swallowed him up, is related in all the Jātakas.<sup>116</sup> The following is a synopsis of the story:

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<sup>115</sup> i. 12 is for the most part derived from *Vinaya, Culla Vagga*, vii. 1-4. With i. 12 a, cf. xxv. 12 b. With i. 12 b, cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 326-333, 337-340. Text: N i. 133-150.

<sup>116</sup> See *Jātakas* 542: vi. 129-131; 533: v. 333-337; 466: iv. 158-159; 404: iii. 355-358.

## **12 a. Retirement from the world of the six princes**

While the Teacher was in residence at Anupiya Mango-grove, which lies near Anupiya, a market-town of the Mallas, eighty thousand [28.231] kinsmen one day recognized on him the Characteristics of a Tathāgata, and eighty thousand youths asserted, “Let him be a king or a Buddha, he will spend his days surrounded by a retinue of Warrior-princes.” After all but six of these youths had retired from the world and become monks, the company of princes, observing that the six Sakyan princes, King Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta, had not yet retired from the world, discussed the matter as follows, “We admit only our own sons to the Order. But of course these six Sakyan princes are not kinsmen of the Buddha. For this reason, doubtless, they have not retired from the world and become monks.” Now one day the Sakyan prince Mahānāma approached Anuruddha and said, “Friend, there isn’t one of our family who has become a monk. You become a monk and I will follow your example.”

Now Anuruddha is said to have been brought up in such softness and luxury that he had never heard the word *isn’t* before. For example, one day these six Sakyan princes engaged in a game of marbles. Anuruddha staked cakes on the result, proved a loser, and sent home for cakes. His mother prepared cakes and sent them. {1.134} The princes ate the cakes and resumed their play. Anuruddha lost repeatedly. Three times in all his mother sent him cakes. The fourth time she sent back word, “There isn’t cake to send. Now Anuruddha had never before heard the word *isn’t*. Therefore, supposing that this must be a variety of cake, he sent the man back, saying to him, “Fetch me some *isn’t* cakes.” When his mother received the message, “Then, my lady, send me some *isn’t* cakes,” she thought to herself, “My son has never heard the word *isn’t* before. By this means, however, I can teach him the meaning of it.” So she took an empty golden bowl, covered it with another golden bowl, and sent it to her son.

The guardian deities of the city thought, “When Anuruddha the Sakyan was Annabhāra, he gave food that was his own portion to the Private Buddha Upariṭṭha, making the Earnest Wish, ‘May I never hear the word *isn’t*; may I never know where food comes from.’ Now if he sees the empty bowl, we shall never be able to enter the assembly of the gods; it may even happen that our heads will split into seven pieces.” So they filled the bowl with celestial cakes. As soon as the bowl was set down on the round platter uncovered, the fragrance of the cakes permeated the entire city. Moreover, the moment a

morsel of cake was placed in the mouth, it thrilled the seven thousand nerves of taste. Anuruddha thought to himself, “My mother does not love me; all this time she has never fried this *isn't* cake [28.232] for me. {1.135} From this time forth I shall eat no other kind of cake.” So he went home and asked his mother, “Mother, do you love me or do you not?” “My dear son, even as the eye is dear to one who possesses but one eye, and even as the heart, so are you exceedingly dear to me.” “Then, dear mother, why is it that all this time you have not fried *isn't* cake for me?” Said the mother to her little page, “Boy, is there nothing in the bowl?” “My lady, the plate is filled to overflowing with cakes, and with such cakes as I have never seen before.” The mother thought to herself, “It must be that my son has acquired great merit; it must be that he has made an Earnest Wish; deities must have filled the plate with cakes and sent them.” Said the son to the mother, “Dear mother, from this time forth I will eat no other kind of cake than this; henceforth, I pray you, fry *isn't* cake alone for me.” From that time forth, whenever her son said, “I should like some cakes to eat,” she would send a bowl absolutely empty, covered with another bowl. So long as he continued to live at home, during all that time deities sent him celestial cakes. Since Anuruddha was so unsophisticated as all this, how could he be expected to know the meaning of the expression becoming a monk?

For this reason, therefore, he asked his brother, “What is this becoming a monk?” His brother replied, “The life of a monk involves cutting off the hair and beard, sleeping with indifference whether in a thorn-brake or in a fine bed, and going the rounds for alms,” Anuruddha replied, “Brother, I am exceedingly delicate; I shall never be able {1.136} to become a monk.” “Very well, my dear brother, then learn farming and live the life of a householder. But at least one of us must become a monk.” Then said Anuruddha, “What is this farming?”

How could you expect a youth to know the meaning of the word farming who did not know where food comes from? For example, on a certain day a discussion arose among the three princes Kimbila, Bhaddiya, and Anuruddha as to where food comes from. Kimbila said, “It comes from the barn.” Bhaddiya said to him, “You do not know where food comes from; it comes from the boiler,” Anuruddha said, “Both of you together do not know where food comes from. It comes from a golden bowl with jeweled knob.”

We are told that one day Kimbila saw rice being removed from a barn, and immediately formed the opinion, “These grains of rice were produced in the barn.” Likewise one day Bhaddiya saw food being taken out of a boiler, and formed the opinion, “It was produced [28.233] in the boiler.” Anuruddha,

however, had never seen men pounding rice or boiling it or taking it out of the boiler, but had seen it only after it had been taken out of the boiler and set before him. So Anuruddha formed the opinion, “When one desires to eat, food makes its appearance in a golden bowl.” Such was the ignorance of all three princes as to where food comes from.

Now when Anuruddha asked the question, “What is this farming?” he received the following answer, “First the field must be plowed, and after that such and such other things must be done, and these things must be done year after year.” Said he to himself, “When will the duties connected with farming ever come to an end? When shall we ever have time to enjoy our possessions in peace?” And because it seemed to him that the duties connected with farming would never come to an end and never cease, he said to his brother, “Well then, if this is the case, you may live the life of a householder. But as for me, I have no use for it.” Accordingly he approached his mother {1.137} and said to her, “Mother, give me your permission; I wish to become a monk.”

Thrice Anuruddha requested his mother to give him permission to become a monk, and thrice she refused to do so. Finally she said to him, “If your friend King Bhaddiya will become a monk, then you may become a monk with him.” Accordingly he approached his friend Bhaddiya and said to him, “Friend, whether I shall become a monk or not is conditional upon your becoming a monk.” Anuruddha urged his friend Bhaddiya with every argument at his command to become a monk, and finally, on the seventh day, obtained Bhaddiya’s promise to become a monk with him.

So six princes of the Warrior caste, Bhaddiya, king of the Sakyans, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta, accompanied by Upāli the barber as seventh man, for seven days enjoyed celestial glory like gods, and then set out with fourfold array, as though on their way to a pleasure-garden. When they reached foreign territory, they turned back their army by royal command, and then entered foreign territory. There each of the six princes removed his own ornaments, made a bundle of them, and gave them to Upāli, saying, “Now, Upāli, turn back. All this wealth will suffice to provide you with means of livelihood.” Upāli flung himself at their feet, rolled over and over on the ground, and wept bitterly. But not daring to disobey the order, he arose and turned back. When they parted, the forest wept, as it were, and the earth quaked, as it were. [28.234]

When Upāli had gone a little way, he thought to himself, “Harsh and cruel are these Sakyans; they may kill me, thinking I have killed their brethren. These Sakyan princes have renounced all this splendor, have cast away these priceless ornaments like a mass of saliva, and intend to become monks; {1.138} why not I?” So saying, he untied the bundle, hung those ornaments on a tree, and said, “Let those who want them take them.” Having so done, he went to the Sakyan princes, and when they asked him why he had turned back, told them the whole story.

So the six Sakyan princes took Upāli the barber with them, went to the Teacher, and said to him, “We, Reverend Sir, are proud Sakyans. This man has been a servitor of ours for a long time. Admit him to the Order first; to him first we will offer respectful salutations; so will our pride be humbled.” Thus first did they cause Upāli the barber to be admitted to the Order, and after that entered the Order themselves.

Of the six Sakyan princes. Venerable Bhaddiya attained Threefold Knowledge in that very rainy season. Venerable Anuruddha attained Supernatural Vision, and after listening to the Sutta entitled “The Reflections of a Great Man,”<sup>117</sup> attained Arahatsip. Venerable Ānanda was established in the Fruit of Conversion. Elder Bhagu and Elder Kimbila subsequently developed Spiritual Insight and attained Arahatsip. Devadatta attained the lower grade of Magic Power.<sup>118</sup>

After a time, while the Teacher was in residence at Kosambi, rich gain and honor accrued to the Tathāgata and his company of disciples. Men entered the monastery bearing in their hands robes, medicines, and other offerings and asked, “Where is the Teacher? Where is the Elder Sāriputta? Where is the Elder Moggallāna? Where is the Elder Kassapa? Where is the Elder Bhaddiya? Where is the Elder Anuruddha? Where is the Elder Ānanda? Where is the Elder Bhagu? Where is the Elder Kimbila?” So saying, they went about looking at the places where sat the eighty Chief Disciples.

## **12 b. Devadatta’s wicked deeds**

Since no one asked, “Where does the Elder Devadatta sit and stand?” Devadatta thought to himself, “I became a monk at the same time as these

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<sup>117</sup> Ed. note: unidentifed.

<sup>118</sup> Ed. note: I.e. he attained Magic Power (*Iddhi*), but not any grade of Path and Fruit.

other monks. Even as they are men of the Warrior caste who have become monks, so also am I a man of the Warrior caste who have become a monk. {1.139} But whereas men bearing rich [28.235] offerings seek out these monks, no one takes my name on his lips. With whom now can I make common cause? With whom can I ingratiate myself, that I may obtain gain and honor for myself?"

Then the following thought occurred to him, "This King Bimbisāra, on the day when he first saw the Buddha, became established in the Fruit of Conversion, together with eleven nahutas of men besides; I cannot make common cause with him. Neither can I make common cause with the king of Kosala. But this king's son Ajātasattu knows no one's good qualities or bad qualities; I will make common cause with him." Accordingly Devadatta departed from Kosambi to Rājagaha, transformed himself into a youth, put four snakes on his hands and feet, put one snake about his neck, coiled one snake about his head as a cushion-rest, placed one snake on one shoulder, and thus arrayed in a girdle of snakes, he descended from the air and seated himself in Ajātasattu's lap. Ajātasattu was frightened and said, "Who are you?" "I am Devadatta." In order to dispel Ajātasattu's fear, Devadatta changed his form, stood before Ajātasattu wearing the robe of a monk and carrying a monk's bowl, ingratiated himself with Ajātasattu, and obtained for himself gain and honor.

Overcome with the gain and honor he received, Devadatta thought to himself, "It is I who ought to be at the head of the Congregation of Monks." Once having allowed this evil thought to spring up in his breast, with the springing up of the evil thought Devadatta lost the power to work miracles. Now at this time the Teacher was preaching the Law to the Congregation at Veḷuvana monastery, and the king was among the Congregation. While the Exalted One was preaching the Law, Devadatta paid obeisance to him, and then rising from his seat, extended his hands in an attitude of reverent salutation and said, "Reverend Sir, the Exalted One is now worn out, stricken with years, and aged; let him live a pleasant life in this world, free from care. I will direct the Congregation of Monks; commit the Congregation of Monks to my hands." {1.140} The Teacher, instead of consenting to the arrangement suggested by Devadatta, refused his request and called him a lick-spittle. Therefore Devadatta was highly indignant, and now for the first time conceiving hatred towards the Teacher, departed. The Teacher caused public proclamation to be made concerning Devadatta at Rājagaha.

Devadatta thought to himself, “Now I have been rejected by the monk Gotama; now I will make trouble for him.” With this thought in mind he approached Ajātasattu and said to him, “Youth, aforesaid [28.236] men were long-lived, but now they are short-lived. This makes it probable that you, being a prince, will soon die. Well then! You kill your father and become king, and I will kill the Exalted One and become Buddha.” So when Ajātasattu was established in his kingdom, Devadatta hired men to kill the Tathāgata. But the men he hired attained the Fruit of Conversion and turned back. Then Devadatta himself climbed Vulture Peak and said to himself, “I alone will deprive the monk Gotama of life.” So saying, he split off a piece of rock and hurled it down. But he succeeded only in drawing the Teacher’s blood. Failing in this way also to kill him, he next dispatched the elephant Nālāgiri against the Teacher. When the elephant approached, the Elder Ānanda offered his own life in behalf of the Teacher and stood in the breach. The Teacher subdued the elephant, and then departed from the city and went to the monastery. After partaking of the offerings of food brought by countless thousands of lay disciples, he preached in due course to the residents of Rājagaha, one hundred and eighty millions in number, and eighty-four thousand living beings obtained Comprehension of the Law. Said the monks, “How noble is the Venerable Ānanda! When so mighty an elephant approached, he offered his own life {1.141} and stood in front of the Teacher.” The Teacher, hearing the Elder praised in this wise, said, “Monks, this is not the first time he has renounced his life for my sake; he did the same thing in a previous state of existence,” And in response to a request of the monks he related the Culla Haṃsa,<sup>119</sup> Mahā Haṃsa,<sup>120</sup> and Kakkāṭa<sup>121</sup> Jātakas.

Devadatta’s wickedness did not by any means become so notorious from his having compassed the king’s death nor from his hiring murderers to kill the Tathāgata nor from his splitting off the piece of rock, as it did from his letting loose the elephant Nālāgiri. For upon that, the people raised a tumult and said, “Devadatta alone had the king killed and hired murderers and cast down the rock. But now he has turned the elephant Nālāgiri loose. Behold what manner of evildoer the king has on his hands!” The king then, hearing the words of the populace, caused Devadatta’s five hundred cooking-vessels to be removed and did not thereafter minister to his wants. Likewise the citizens did not so much as offer food to him when he came to their houses.

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<sup>119</sup> *Jātaka* 533: v. 333-354.

<sup>120</sup> *Jātaka* 534: v. 354-382.

<sup>121</sup> *Jātaka* 267: ii. 341-345.

When he had thus lost gain and honor, he determined to live by [28.237] deceit. Therefore he approached the Teacher and made the Five Demands.<sup>122</sup> But the Teacher rejected his demands, saying, “Enough, Devadatta! Whoever so desires, let him be a forest hermit.” “Brethren, whose words are the nobler, the words of the Tathāgata or the words which I myself have uttered? Very well, Reverend Sir, all their life long monks should be forest-dwellers, beggars, wearers of rags from a dust-heap, living at the foot of a tree, eating neither fish nor flesh. Whosoever desires release from suffering, let him come with me.” So saying, Devadatta departed. {1.142}

Some monks who had but recently retired from the world and who possessed little intelligence, hearing his words, said, “Devadatta spoke fair; let us join him.” So they joined him. Thus Devadatta with his five hundred monks sought to persuade all manner of people, both hardened and believing, to accept the Five Points. And living by soliciting food from various families, he strove to create a schism in the Order. The Exalted One asked him, “Devadatta, is it true, as men say, that you are striving to create schism and heresy in the Order?” “It is true,” replied Devadatta. Said the Teacher, “Devadatta, it is a grievous thing to create a schism in the Order.” Continuing, the Teacher admonished him at length. But Devadatta paid no attention to the Teacher’s words. He went forth, and seeing the Venerable Elder Ānanda going his round for alms in Rājagaha, said to him, “Brother Ānanda, from this day forth I shall keep Fast and Chapter apart from the Exalted One, apart from the Order.” The Elder told the Exalted One. When the Teacher realized the fact, he was filled with righteous indignation and said to himself, “Devadatta is doing that which will be of no profit to him in the Worlds of the Gods and the world of men; that which will cause him to be tormented in the Avīci hell.” And he reflected,

Easy to do are deeds that are evil, deeds that bring harm.

But the deed that brings welfare, the deed that is good, that truly is hard  
to do.

Having pronounced this Stanza, he then breathed forth the following Solemn Utterance,

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<sup>122</sup> Ed. note: listed just below.

Easy to do for the good is the good; the good for the evil man is hard.  
Evil for the evil man is easy to do; evil for the noble is hard.<sup>123</sup>

On Fast-day, as Devadatta sat on one side with his own retinue, he said, “Let whoever approves of these Five Points take a ticket.” [28.238] {1.143}

Five hundred Licchavi princes, novices having little gratitude, took tickets. Devadatta took these monks with him and went to Gayāsīsa. When the Teacher heard that he had gone there, he sent forth the two Chief Disciples to bring those monks back. The Chief Disciples went there, instructed the monks by performing miracles and wonders, caused them to drink the Deathless, and returned through the air, bringing them with them.

Said Kokālika, “Rise, brother Devadatta; Sāriputta and Moggallāna have carried off your monks. Do you not remember my saying to you, ‘Brother, trust not Sāriputta and Moggallāna?’” Said Devadatta, “Sāriputta and Moggallāna cherish evil desires, are under the control of evil desires.” As he spoke thus, he struck the center of his heart with his knee, and straightway hot blood burst forth from his mouth.

When the monks saw Venerable Sāriputta, surrounded by his retinue of monks, soaring through the air, they said, “Reverend Sir, when Venerable Sāriputta went hence, he went with but a single companion; but now he is returning resplendent with a great retinue.” Said the Teacher, “Monks, it is not the first time this has happened; when my son was reborn in the form of an animal, then also did he return to me resplendent.” So saying, he recited the Lakkhaṇa Jātaka:<sup>124</sup>

All goes well with the virtuous, with those whose disposition is friendly.  
Behold Lakkhaṇa returning at the head of a host of relatives;  
Then look upon yonder Kāla without relatives. {1.144}

Again said the monks, “Reverend Sir, they say that Devadatta seats a Chief Disciple on either side of him and imitates you, saying, ‘I will preach the Law with the grace of a Buddha.’” Said the Teacher, “Monks, this is not the first time he has so done; in a previous state of existence also he strove to imitate me, but was not able to do so.

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<sup>123</sup> *Udāna*, v. 8.

<sup>124</sup> *Jātaka* 11: i. 142-145.

Vīraka, have you seen a sweet-voiced bird  
With neck like that of a peacock, my husband Savitṭhaka?

Because he tried to imitate a bird that walks both on water and on land,  
Savitṭhaka became entangled in a sevāla-plant and died.

Supplying the rest of the story, the Teacher related the Vīraka Jātaka.<sup>125</sup> On succeeding days, with reference to the same subject, the Teacher related the Kandagalaka<sup>126</sup> and Virocana Jātakas:<sup>127</sup> [28.239]

This garuḍa bird went through the woods pecking at trees whose  
branches were soft and rotten.  
At last he came to an acacia-tree, whose wood is always sound, and  
broke his head. {1.145}

Your brains have run out, your head is split open,  
All your ribs are broken; to-day you are a pretty sight!

Again one day, hearing the remark, “Devadatta was ungrateful,” the Teacher related the Java Sakuṇa Jātaka.<sup>128</sup>

We did you what service we could.  
King of beasts, we render homage to you.  
May we obtain some favor from you.

Seeing that I hold you fast between my jaws, I who feed upon blood,  
I whose nature is to kill, it is a great deal that you yet live.

Again with reference to Devadatta’s going about for the purpose of slaying, he related the Kuruṅga Jātaka:<sup>129</sup>

It is well known to the antelope, that you let drop the fruit of the  
sepaṇṇi.  
Let us go to another sepaṇṇi; your tree likes me not.

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<sup>125</sup> *Jātaka* 204: ii. 148-150.

<sup>126</sup> *Jātaka* 210: ii. 162-164.

<sup>127</sup> *Jātaka* 143: i. 490-493.

<sup>128</sup> *Jātaka* 308: iii. 25-27.

<sup>129</sup> *Jātaka* 21: i. 173-174.

Again when the discussion took this turn, “Devadatta fell away both from gain and honor and from the high position of a monk,” the Teacher said, “Monks, this is not the first time he has so fallen away; in a previous state of existence also he fell away.” So saying, he related the Ubhatobhaṭṭha Jātaka:<sup>130</sup> {1.146}

Your eyes are put out, your garments are lost, in your own house there is  
strife;  
Your business is ruined in both places, both on water and on land.

In this wise did the Teacher, while he was in residence at Rājagaha, relate many Jātakas about Devadatta. From Rājagaha he went to Sāvatti, and took up his residence at Jetavana monastery.

Devadatta’s sickness continued for nine months; at the last, desiring to see the Teacher, he said to his own disciples, “I desire to see the Teacher; make it possible for me to see him.” They replied, “When you enjoyed good health, you walked at enmity with the Teacher; we will not lead you to him.” Said Devadatta, “Do not destroy me; I have indeed conceived hatred towards the Teacher, but the Teacher has not cherished so much as the tip of a hair’s hatred towards me.” And in very truth,

Towards the murderer Devadatta, towards the robber Aṅgulimāla,  
Towards Dhanapāla and Rāhula, to each and all he manifested an even  
temper. [28.240]

“Let me see the Exalted One,” begged Devadatta again and again; so finally they laid him on a litter and started out with him. When the monks heard that Devadatta was approaching, they informed the Teacher of the fact, saying, “Reverend Sir, we hear that Devadatta is coming to see you.” “Monks, he will not succeed in seeing me in this present existence.” (It is said that from the moment monks make the Five Demands, they invariably fail to see the Buddhas again.) {1.147} “Reverend Sir, he has reached such and such a place; he has reached such and such a place.” “Let him do as he likes; he will never succeed in seeing me again.” “Reverend Sir, now he is only a league distant, now he is only half a league distant, now he is only a gavuta distant, now he has reached the lotus-tank.” “Even if he enters within the Jetavana, he will not succeed in seeing me.”

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<sup>130</sup> *Jātaka* 139: i. 482-484.

Those who came with Devadatta set the litter down on the bank of the lotus-tank at the Jetavana and descended into the tank to bathe. Devadatta arose from his litter and sat down, resting both feet on the ground, whereupon his feet sank into the earth. By degrees he sank into the earth, first to the ankles, then to the knees, then to the hips, then to the breast, then to the neck. Finally, when his jaw-bone rested on the ground, he pronounced the following Stanza,

With these bones, with these vital airs, I seek refuge in the Buddha,  
Preeminent among men, god of gods, charioteer of untamed humanity,  
All-seeing, endowed with the auspicious marks of a hundred virtues.

There is a tradition that when the Tathāgata saw that matters had gone thus far, he made a monk of Devadatta. And this he did because he became aware of the following, “If he shall remain a layman and not be received into the Order as a monk, inasmuch as he has been guilty of grievous crimes, it will be impossible for him to look forwards with confidence to future existence; but if he shall become a monk, no matter how grievous the crimes he has committed, it will be possible for him to look forwards with confidence to future existence.” {1.148} (At the end of a hundred thousand cycles of time he will become a Private Buddha named Aṭṭhissara.)

When Devadatta had sunk into the earth, he was reborn in the Avīci hell. “Since he sinned against an unchanging Buddha, let him endure torture unchanging;” and such was the torture he suffered. When he had entered the Avīci hell, which is a hundred leagues in extent, his body became a hundred leagues in height. His head, as far as the outer ear, entered an iron skull; his feet, as far as the ankles, [28.241] entered earth of iron. An iron stake as thick as the trunk of a palmyra-tree proceeded forth from the west wall of the iron shell, pierced the small of his back, came forth from his breast, and penetrated the east wall. Another iron stake proceeded forth from the south wall, pierced his right side, came forth from his left side, and penetrated the north wall. Another iron stake proceeded forth from the top of the iron skull, pierced his skull, came forth from his lower parts, and penetrated earth of iron. In this position, immovable, he suffers this mode of torture.

The monks began a discussion, saying, “All this distance came Devadatta, but failed to see the Teacher, and was swallowed up by the earth.” Said the Teacher, “Monks, this was not the first time Devadatta sinned against me and was swallowed up by the earth; in a previous state of existence also he was swallowed up by the earth,” And by way of illustrating the point, he told the

story of an incident in his own previous existence as king of the elephants. He directed aright a man who had lost his way, allowed him to mount his own back, and carried him to a place of safety, only to have the man return to him three successive times and saw off first the tips of his tusks, then the middle, and then the roots. As the man passed out of sight of the Great Creature, he was swallowed up by the earth. {1.149}

The Teacher then completed the *Silava Nāga Jātaka*:<sup>131</sup>

If one should give the whole earth to an ungrateful man,  
A man who is ever looking for an opportunity, it would not satisfy him.

The discussion reverting to the same subject again and again, in order to illustrate the swallowing up of Devadatta by the earth in his existence as Kalāburājā for an offense against himself in his existence as Khantivādi, he related the *Khantivādi Jātaka*.<sup>132</sup> Again, in order to illustrate the swallowing up of Devadatta by the earth in his existence as Mahāpatāparājā for an offense against himself in his existence as Culla Dhammapāla, he related the *Culla Dhammapāla*<sup>133</sup> *Jātaka*.

Now when Devadatta was swallowed up by the earth, the populace was pleased and delighted, and raising flags and banners and plantain-trees and setting up brimming jars, held high festival, saying, “His death is indeed our great gain.” When the monks reported this incident to the Exalted One, the Exalted One said, “Monks, this is not the first time the populace has rejoiced at Devadatta’s death; [28.242] in times past also the populace rejoiced thereat.” And when he had thus spoken, to illustrate the rejoicing of the populace at the death of King Piṅgala of Benāres, a man who was hated by all the people for his harshness and cruelty, he related the *Piṅgala Jātaka*:<sup>134</sup>

All the people suffered harm at the hands of Piṅgala; so soon as he was  
dead they recovered confidence.

Was he of the yellow eyes dear to you? Why do you weep, porter?

{1.150}

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<sup>131</sup> *Jātaka* 72: i. 319-322.

<sup>132</sup> *Jātaka* 313: iii. 39-43.

<sup>133</sup> *Jātaka* 358: iii. 177-182.

<sup>134</sup> *Jātaka* 240: ii. 239-242.

He of the yellow eyes was not dear to me; I fear to think of his return.  
Now that he has gone hence, he may harm the king of death, and the  
king of death thus harmed may send him back again.

Finally the monks asked the Teacher, “Now, Reverend Sir, tell us where Devadatta was reborn.” “Monks, he was reborn in the Avīci hell.” “Reverend Sir, during his life here on earth he suffered, and when he went hence he was reborn in a place of suffering.” “Yes, monks, they that abide in Heedlessness, be they monks or laymen, suffer in both places.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**17. Here he suffers, after death he suffers; the evildoer suffers in both places.**

**He suffers to think, “I have done evil;” yet more does he suffer, gone to a place of suffering.**

### **I. 13. Lady Sumanā<sup>135</sup>**

**18. Here he rejoices, after death he rejoices: he that has done good works rejoices in both places.**

**He rejoices to think, “I have done good works;” yet more does he rejoice, gone to a world of bliss.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to Lady Sumanā. {1.151}

For every day two thousand monks take their meal in the house of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvatti, and a like number in the house of the eminent female lay disciple Visākhā. Whoever desires to give alms at Sāvatti, first seeks the good offices of these two lay disciples. Do you ask the reason for this? Suppose you are asked the question, “Has Anāthapiṇḍika or Visākhā given alms equal in amount to those which you have given?” and you answer, “They have not,” you may dispense a hundred thousand pieces of money in alms, and in spite of this the monks will murmur dissatisfaction, saying, “What kind of alms are these?” The explanation is that both of these lay disciples understand thoroughly the tastes of the Congregation of Monks and [28.243] know exactly what is the proper thing to do; therefore all who desire to give

<sup>135</sup> Cf. the story of Kavi in *Manu*, ii. 150 (Lanman’s *Sanskrit Reader*, 61”). Text: N i. 151-154.

alms take them with them when they go. And thus it happens that they are unable to minister to the monks in person in their own houses.

Under these circumstances Visākhā, considering within herself, “Who shall stand in my place and minister to the Congregation of Monks?” seeing the daughter of her son, appointed her to represent her; and thenceforth Visākhā’s granddaughter ministered to the Congregation of Monks in Visākhā’s residence. Anāthapiṇḍika appointed his oldest daughter Mahā Subhaddā; the latter showed the monks the customary attentions, hearkened to the Law, and as a result obtained the Fruit of Conversion; afterwards she married and went to live with her husband’s family. Then he appointed Culla Subhaddā, who followed her older sister’s example, obtaining the Fruit of Conversion, and afterwards marrying and going to live with the family of her husband. Finally he appointed his youngest daughter Sumanā. Sumanā obtained the Fruit of the Second Path, but remained unmarried. {1.152} Overwhelmed with disappointment at her failure to obtain a husband, she refused to eat, and desiring to see her father, sent for him.

Anāthapiṇḍika was in the refectory when he received his daughter’s message, but immediately went to her and said, “What is it, dear daughter Sumanā?” Sumanā said to him, “What say you, dear youngest brother?” “You talk incoherently, dear daughter.” “I am not talking incoherently, youngest brother.” “Are you afraid, dear daughter?” “I am not afraid, youngest brother.” She said no more, but died immediately.

Although the treasurer had obtained the Fruit of Conversion, he was unable to bear the grief that arose within him. Accordingly, when he had performed the funeral rites over his daughter’s body, he went weeping to the Teacher. Said the Teacher, “Householder, how is it that you come to me sad and sorrowful, with tears in your eyes, weeping?” “Reverend Sir, my daughter Sumanā is dead.” “Well, why do you weep? Is not death certain for all?” “I know that, Reverend Sir. But my daughter was so modest and so conscientious. What grieves me so much is the thought that when she died, she was unable to recover her right mind, but died raving incoherently.”

“But what did your youngest daughter say, great treasurer?” “Reverend Sir, I addressed her as ‘dear Sumanā,’ and she replied, ‘What say you, dear youngest brother?’ Then I said to her, ‘You talk [28.244] incoherently, dear daughter.’ I am not talking incoherently, youngest brother.’ ‘Are you afraid, dear

daughter?' 'I am not afraid, youngest brother.' She said no more, but died immediately."

Said the Exalted One to Anāthapiṇḍika, "Great treasurer, your daughter did not talk incoherently." "But why did she speak thus?" "Solely because you were her youngest brother. {1.153} Householder, your daughter was old in the Paths and the Fruits, for while you have attained but the Fruit of Conversion, your daughter had attained the Fruit of the Second Path. Thus it was, because she was old in the Paths and the Fruits, that she spoke thus." "Was that the reason, Reverend Sir?" "That was the reason, householder."

"Where has she now been reborn, Reverend Sir?" "In the World of the Tusita gods, householder." "Reverend Sir, while my daughter remained here among her kinsfolk, she went about rejoicing, and when she went hence, she was reborn in the World of Joy." Then the Teacher said to him, "It is even so, householder. They that are heedful, be they lay folk or religious, rejoice both in this world and in the world beyond." So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**18. Here he rejoices, after death he rejoices: he that has done good works rejoices in both places.  
He rejoices to think, "I have done good works;" yet more does he rejoice, gone to a world of bliss.**

### **I. 14. Two Brethren<sup>136</sup>**

**19. Though he utter much that is sensible, if the heedless man be not a doer of the word,  
He is like a cowherd counting the cows of others, and has no part in the Religious Life.**

**20. Though he utter little that is sensible, if a man live according to the Law,  
If he forsake lust and hatred and delusion, if he have right knowledge, if his heart is truly free,  
If he cling to naught in this world or in that which is to come, such a man has a share in the Religious Life.**

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<sup>136</sup> Text: N i. 154-159.

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to two fellow-monks. {1.154}

For at Sāvatti lived two young men of station who were inseparable friends. On a certain occasion they went to the monastery, heard the Teacher preach the Law, renounced the pleasures of the world, yielded the breast to the Religion of the Buddha, and became monks. When they had kept residence for five years with preceptors and teachers, they approached the Teacher and asked about the Duties in his Religion. After listening to a detailed description of the Duty of Meditation and of the Duty of Study, one of them said, "Reverend Sir, since I became a monk in old age, I shall not be able to fulfill the Duty of Study, but I can fulfill the Duty of Meditation." So he had [28.245] the Teacher instruct him in the Duty of Meditation as far as Arahatsip, and after striving and struggling attained Arahatsip, together with the Supernatural Faculties. But the other said, "I will fulfill the Duty of Study," acquired by degrees the Tipiṭaka, the Word of the Buddha, and wherever he went, preached the Law and intoned it. He went from place to place reciting the Law to five hundred monks, and was preceptor of eighteen large communities of monks.

Now a company of monks, having obtained a Formula of Meditation from the Teacher, went to the place of residence of the older monk, and by faithful observance of his admonitions attained Arahatsip. Thereupon they paid obeisance to the Elder and said, "We desire to see the Teacher." {1.155} Said the Elder, "Go, brethren, greet in my name the Teacher, and likewise greet the eighty Chief Elders, and greet my fellow-elder, saying, 'Our Teacher greets you.'" So those monks went to the monastery and greeted the Teacher and the Elders, saying, "Reverend Sir, our teacher greets you." When they greeted their teacher's fellow-elder, he replied, "Who is he?" Said the monks, "He is your fellow-monk, Reverend Sir."

Said the younger monk, "But what have you learned from him? Of the Dīgha Nikāya and the other Nikāyas, have you learned a single Nikāya? Of the Three Piṭakas, have you learned a single Piṭaka?" And he thought to himself, "This monk does not know a single Stanza containing four verses. As soon as he became a monk, he took rags from a dust-heap, entered the forest, and gathered a great many pupils about him. When he returns, it behooves me to ask him some questions." Now somewhat later the older monk came to see the Teacher, and leaving his bowl and robe with his fellow-elder, went and greeted the Teacher and the eighty Chief Elders, afterwards returning to the place of

residence of his fellow-elder. The younger monk showed him the customary attentions, provided him with a seat of the same size as his own, and then sat down, thinking to himself, "I will ask him a question."

At that moment the Teacher thought to himself, "Should this monk annoy this my son, he is likely to be reborn in Hell." So out of compassion for him, pretending to be going the rounds of the monastery, he went to the place where the two monks were sitting and sat down on the Seat of the Buddha already prepared. (For wherever the monks sit down, they first prepare the Seat of the Buddha, and not until they have so done do they themselves sit down. {1.156} Therefore the Teacher sat down on a seat already prepared for him.) And when [28.246] he had sat down, he asked the monk who had taken upon himself the Duty of Study a question on the First Trance. When the younger monk had answered this question correctly, the Teacher, beginning with the Second Trance, asked him questions about the Eight Attainments and about Form and the Formless World, all of which he answered correctly. Then the Teacher asked him a question about the Path of Conversion, and he was unable to answer it. Thereupon the Teacher asked the monk who was an Arahāt, and the latter immediately gave the correct answer.

"Well done, well done, monk!" said the Teacher, greatly pleased. The Teacher then asked questions about the remaining Paths in order. The monk who had taken upon himself the Duty of Study was unable to answer a single question, while the monk who had attained unto Arahātship answered every question he asked. On each of four occasions the Teacher bestowed applause on him. Hearing this, all the deities, from the gods of earth to the gods of the World of Brahmā, including Nāgas and Garuḍas, shouted their applause.

Hearing this applause, the pupils and fellow-residents of the younger monk were offended at the Teacher and said, "Why did the Teacher do this? He bestowed applause on each of four occasions on the old monk who knows nothing at all. But to our own teacher, who knows all the Sacred Word by heart and is at the head of five hundred monks, he gave no praise at all." The Teacher asked them, "Monks, what is it you are talking about?" When they told him, he said, "Monks, your own teacher is in my Religion like a man who tends cows for hire. But my son is like a master who enjoys the five products of the cow at his own good pleasure." So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas, {1.157}

**19. Though he utter much that is sensible, if the heedless man be not  
a doer of the word,  
He is like a cowherd counting the cows of others, and has no part in  
the Religious Life.**

**20. Though he utter little that is sensible, if a man live according to  
the Law,  
If he forsake lust and hatred and delusion, if he have right  
knowledge, if his heart is truly free,  
If he cling to naught in this world or in that which is to come, such a  
man has a share in the Religious Life.**

## Book II. Heedfulness, Appamāda Vagga

### II. 1. Story-Cycle Of King Udena Or Udayana<sup>137</sup>

[28.247]

**21. Heedfulness is the Way to the Deathless; heedlessness is the way to death.**

**The heedful never die, but they that are heedless are, as it were, dead already.**

**22. Knowing this clearly, they that are advanced in heedfulness Delight in heedfulness, and rejoice in the state of the Elect.**

**23. They that devote themselves to meditation, they that are persevering, they that put forth resolute effort.**

**They, the wise, attain Nibbāna, the highest bliss.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Ghosita monastery near Kosambi, and it was with reference to the loss by death of the five hundred women led by Sāmāvātī and of Māgandiyā and her five hundred kinswomen. From beginning to end the story is as follows: {1.161}

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<sup>137</sup> Ed. note: The notes here and in the following headers Story ii. 1. 1-6 are brought in from the Introduction, in accordance with Burlingame's instruction: The story of Udena is the longest, and in many respects the most interesting, of all the stories of the *Dhammapada Commentary*. It is in reality a cycle of six stories of diverse origin and character, dealing with the fortunes of Udena, his principal treasurer, and his three queen-consorts. Only two of the stories are mainly concerned with the fortunes of Udena, the rest being introduced by simple and familiar literary devices. The story of the fortunes of Udena in the *Dhammapada Commentary* stands in much the same relation to the embedded stories as the frame-story of Udena in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to the rest of the collection. Parallels to one or more of the stories are found in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi-Magga*, Buddhaghosa's Commentaries on the *Majjhima* and *Aṅguttara*, the *Divyāvadāna*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and other Sanskrit collections, and the Tibetan *Kandjur*. The kernel of two of the stories is derived from the *Sutta-Nipāta* and the *Udāna*. See also Rogers, *Buddhaghosa's Parables*, v, pp. 32-60. Text: N i. 161-231.

**Part 1. Birth and youthful career of Udena<sup>138</sup>**

Once upon a time King Allakappa ruled over the kingdom of Allakappa and King Veṭhadīpaka ruled over the kingdom of Veṭhadīpaka. They had been intimate friends since their boyhood-days and had received their education in the house of the same teacher. On the death of their fathers they raised the royal parasol and became rulers of kingdoms, each of which was ten leagues in extent.

As they met from time to time, and stood and sat and lay down to sleep together, and watched the multitudes being born into the world and dying again, they came to the conclusion, “When a man goes to the world beyond he can take nothing with him: {1.162} he must leave everything behind him when he goes thither; even his own body does not follow him; of what use to us is the life of the householder? Let us retire from the world.”

Accordingly they resigned their kingdoms to son and wife, retired from the world, adopted the life of ascetics, and took up their residence in the Himālaya country. And they took counsel together, saying, “Although we have renounced our kingdoms and retired from the world, we shall encounter no difficulty in gaining a living; but if we reside together in the same place, our life will be quite unlike the life of ascetics; therefore let us live apart. You live on this mountain; I will live on that. Every fortnight, on fast-day, we will meet together.” Then this thought occurred to them, “Under this arrangement [28.248] neither of us will be in regular communication with the other; but in order that each of us may know whether the other is living or not, you light a fire on your mountain, and I will light a fire on mine.” And this they did.

After a time the ascetic Veṭhadīpaka died and was reborn as a prince of deities of mighty power. A fortnight later Allakappa saw no fire on the mountain and knew that his comrade was dead. As soon as ever Veṭhadīpaka was reborn, he surveyed his own heavenly glory, considered the deeds of his former existence, reviewed the austerities he had performed from the day when he retired from the world, and said to himself, “I will go see my comrade.” Accordingly he laid

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<sup>138</sup> Story ii. 1. 1: i. 161-169 relates the circumstances of the birth and youthful career of Udena. The same story is related briefly by Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on *Majjhima* 85 (see Lacôte, p. 9251). A somewhat different version of the story is found in chapter ix of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

aside his form as a deity, disguised himself as a wayfarer, went to Allakappa, paid obeisance to him, and stood respectfully on one side.

Allakappa said to him, “Whence have you come?” {1.163} “I am a wayfarer, Reverend Sir; I have come a long distance. But, Reverend Sir, does your honor reside entirely alone in this place? Is there no one else here?” “I have a single comrade.” “Where is he?” “He resides on that mountain; but as he failed to light a fire on fast-day, I know he must be dead.” “Is that so, Reverend Sir?” “That is so, brother.” “I am he, Reverend Sir.” “Where were you reborn?” “Reverend Sir, I was reborn in the World of the Gods as a prince of deities of mighty power. I have returned to see your honor. Does your honorable self reside in this place undisturbed, or are you subject to some annoyance?” “Yes, brother, I am bothered to death by the elephants.” “Reverend Sir, what do the elephants do to trouble you?” “They drop dung on the ground I have swept clean, and they stamp with their feet and kick up the dust. What with removing the dung and smoothing the ground, I am all worn out.” “Well, would you like to keep them away?” “Yes, brother.” “Well then, I will provide you with means whereby you can keep them away.”

Accordingly Veṭṭhadīpaka gave Allakappa a lute to charm elephants with and likewise taught him spells for charming elephants. Now as he presented the lute to him, he showed him three strings and taught him three spells. “Strike this string,” said he, “and utter this spell, and the elephants will turn and run away without so much as daring even to look at you; strike this string and utter this spell, and they will turn and run away, eyeing you at every step; strike this string and utter this spell, and the leader of the herd will come up and offer you his back. Now do as you like.” With these words {1.164} he departed. [28.249] Thereafter the ascetic lived in peace, driving the elephants away by uttering the proper spell and striking the proper string.

At this time Parantapa was king of Kosambi. One day he was sitting out in the open air basking himself in the rays of the newly risen sun, and beside him sat his queen, great with child. The queen was wearing the king’s cloak, a crimson blanket worth a hundred thousand pieces of money; and as she sat there conversing with the king she removed from the king’s finger the royal signet, worth a hundred thousand pieces of money, and slipped it on her own.

Just at that moment a monster bird with a bill as big as an elephant’s trunk came soaring through the air. Seeing the queen and mistaking her for a piece of meat, he spread his wings and swooped down. When the king heard the bird

swoop down, he sprang to his feet and entered the royal palace. But the queen, because she was great with child and because she was of a timid nature, was unable to make haste. The bird pounced upon her, caught her up in the cage of his talons, and soared away with her into the air. (These birds are said to possess the strength of five elephants; they are therefore able to convey their victims through the air, settle wherever they wish, and devour their flesh.)

As the queen was being carried away by the bird, terrified though she was with the fear of death, she preserved her presence of mind and thought to herself, “Animals stand in great fear of the human voice. Therefore if I cry out, this bird will drop me the instant he hears the sound of my voice. But in that case I should accomplish only my own destruction and that of my unborn child. If, however, I wait until he settles somewhere and begins to eat, then I can make a noise and frighten him away.” Through her own wisdom, therefore, she kept patience and endured.

Now there stood at that time in the Himālaya country a banyan-tree which, although of brief growth, had attained great size {1.165} and was like a pavilion in form; and to this tree that bird was accustomed to convey the carcasses of wild animals and eat them. To this very tree, therefore, the bird conveyed the queen, lodged her in a fork of the tree, and watched the path leading to the tree. (It is the nature of these birds, we are told, to watch the path leading to their tree.) At that moment the queen, thinking to herself, “Now is the time to frighten him away,” raised both her hands, clapped them together and shouted, and frightened the bird away.

At sunset the pains of travail came upon her, and at the same time [28.250] from all the four quarters of heaven arose a great storm. The delicate queen, half dead with suffering, with no one beside her to say to her, “Fear not, lady,” slept not at all throughout the night. As the night grew bright, the clouds scattered, the dawn came, and her child was born at one and the same moment. Because the child was born at the time (*utu*) of a storm, at the time when she was upon a mountain, and at the time when the sun rose, she named her son Udena.

Not far from that tree was the place of residence of the ascetic Allakappa. Now on rainy days it was the custom of the ascetic not to go into the forest for fruits and berries, for fear of the cold. Instead he used to go to the foot of the tree and gather up the bones from which the birds had picked the flesh; then he would pound the bones, make broth of them, and drink the broth. On that very

day, therefore, he went there to get bones. As he was picking up bones at the foot of the tree, {1.166} he heard the voice of a child in the branches above.

Looking up, he saw the queen. “Who are you?” said he. “I am a woman.” “How did you get there?” “A monster bird brought me here.” “Come down,” said he. “Your honor, I am afraid to come down on account of difference of caste.” “Of what caste are you?” “Of the Warrior caste.” “I am also of the Warrior caste.” “Well then, give me the password of the Warrior caste.” He did so. “Well then, climb up and set down my boy.” Finding a way to climb the tree on one side, he climbed up and took the boy in his arms; obeying the queen’s behest not to touch her with his hand, he set the boy down; then the queen herself came down.

The ascetic conducted the queen along the path to his hermitage and cared for her tenderly without in any way violating his vow of chastity. He brought honey free from flies and gave it to her; he brought rice grown in his own field and prepared broth and gave it to her. Thus did he minister to her needs.

After a time she thought to herself, “For my part I know neither the way to come nor the way to go, nor can I repose absolute confidence even in this ascetic. Now if he were to leave us and go elsewhere, we should both perish right here. I must by some means seduce him to violate his vow of chastity, so that he will not abandon us. Accordingly she displayed herself before him with under and upper garments in disarray, and thus seduced him to violate his vow of chastity; thenceforth the two lived together.

One day, as the ascetic was observing a conjunction of a constellation with one of the lunar mansions, he saw the occultation of [28.251] Parantapa’s star. “My lady,” said he, “Parantapa, king of Kosambi, is dead.” {1.167} “Noble sir, why do you speak thus? Why do you bear ill-will against him?” “I bear him no ill-will, my lady. I say this because I have just seen the occultation of his star.” She burst into tears. “Why do you weep?” he asked. Then she told him that Parantapa was her own husband. The ascetic replied, “Weep not, my lady; whoever is born is certain to die.” “I know that, noble sir.” “Then why do you weep?” “I weep, noble sir, because it pains me to think, ‘To my son belongs the sovereignty by right of succession; had he been there, he would have raised the white parasol; now he has become one of the common herd.’ ” “Never mind, my lady; be not disturbed. If you desire that he shall receive the sovereignty, I will devise some means by which he shall receive it.” Accordingly the ascetic

gave the boy the lute to charm elephants with and likewise taught him the spells for charming elephants.

Now at that time many thousands of elephants came and sat at the foot of the banyan-tree. So the ascetic said to the boy, "Climb the tree before the elephants come, and when they come, utter this spell and strike this string, and they will all turn and run away, without even so much as daring to look at you; then descend and come to me." The boy did as he was told, and then went and told the ascetic. On the second day the ascetic said to him, "To-day utter this spell and strike this string, if you please, and they will turn and run away, eyeing you at every step." On that day also the boy did as he was told, and then went {1.168} and told the ascetic.

Then the ascetic addressed the mother, saying, "My lady, give your son his message and he will go hence and become king." So she addressed her son, saying, "You must say, 'I am the son of King Parantapa of Kosambi; a monster bird carried me off.' Then you must utter the names of the commander-in-chief and the other generals. If they still refuse to believe you, you must show them this blanket which was your father's cloak and this signet-ring which he wore on his finger." With these words she dismissed him.

The boy said to the ascetic, "Now what shall I do?" The ascetic replied, "Seat yourself on the lowest branch of the tree, utter this spell and strike this string, and the leader of the elephants will approach and offer you his back. Seat yourself on his back, go to your kingdom, and take the sovereignty." The boy did reverence to his parents, and following the instructions of the ascetic, seated himself on the back of the elephant and whispered in his ear, "I am the son of King [28.252] Parantapa of Kosambi. Get me and give me the sovereignty which I have inherited from my father." When the elephant heard that, he trumpeted, "Let many thousands of elephants assemble;" and many thousands of elephants assembled. Again a second time he trumpeted, "Let the old, weak elephants retire;" and the old, weak elephants retired. The third time he trumpeted, "Let those that are very young retire;" and they also retired.

So the boy went forth, surrounded by many thousands of warrior-elephants, and reaching a village on the frontier, proclaimed, "I am the son of the king; {1.169} let those who desire worldly prosperity come with me." Levying forces as he proceeded, he invested the city and sent the following message to the citizens, "Give me battle or the kingdom." The citizens answered, "We will give neither. Our queen was carried off by a monster bird when she was great

with child, and we know not whether she is alive or dead. So long as we hear no news of her, we will give neither battle nor the kingdom.” (At that time, we are told, the kingdom was handed down from father to son.) Thereupon the boy said, “I am her son.” So saying, he uttered the names of the commander-in-chief and the other generals, and when they still refused to believe him, showed the blanket and the ring. They recognized the blanket and the ring, opened the gates, and sprinkled him king.

## **Part 2. Birth and youthful career of Ghosaka<sup>139</sup>**

### **Story of the Past: Kotūhalaka casts away his son**

Once upon a time there was a famine in the kingdom of Ajita, and a man named Kotūhalaka, unable to get a living, took his young son Kāpi and his wife Kāḷi, and thinking, “I will go to Kosambi and get a living there,” set out with provisions for the journey. (There are also those who say that he left his home because the people were dying of intestinal disease.) As they proceeded on their journey, their provisions gave out, and finally they were so overcome with hunger that they were not able to carry the boy. Thereupon the husband said to his wife, “Wife, if we live, we shall have another son. Let us cast this child away and continue our journey alone.”

There is a proverb, “A mother’s heart is tender,” and so it was with this woman. She replied, “I could never cast away a living child.” “Well, what shall we do?” “Carry him by turns.” When the mother’s turn came, she would lift the child like a wreath of flowers, [28.253] clasp him to her breast, {1.170} or carry him on her hip, finally giving him back to his father. When the father took the child, no matter where he held him he suffered more intense pain than ever from hunger. Again and again he said to his wife, “Wife, if we live, we shall have another son. Let us cast this child away.” But this the mother steadfastly refused to do.

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<sup>139</sup> Story ii. 1. 2: i. 169-187 relates the seven marvelous escapes from death of the luck-child Ghosaka, and is preceded by an account of Ghosaka’s previous kamma. The same story is related in detail by Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on the *Etadagga Sutta* of the *Āṅguttara*. For a comparative study of the two versions, see E. Hardy, *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 741-794. Parallels occur in many Sanskrit collections, and in fact in almost all of the literatures of the world. For a comparative study of the Oriental versions, see J. Schick, *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief*.<sup>139</sup>

Finally the child became so tired from being passed back and forth that he fell asleep in the arms of his father. When the father observed that he was asleep, allowing the mother to precede him, he went and laid the child on a couch of leaves under a bush, immediately resuming his journey. The mother turned, looked back, and not seeing the child, asked, "Husband, where is my son?" "I laid him down under a certain bush." "Husband, do not kill me. Without my son I cannot live. Bring my son back to me." And she smote upon her breast and wept. So the husband retraced his steps, recovered the child, and brought him back to her. (In consequence of having cast away his child on this one occasion, Kotūhalaka was himself cast away seven times in a later existence. Let no one regard an evil deed lightly, saying, "It is only a small matter.")

Continuing their journey, they came to the house of a certain herdsman. On that day, as it happened, one of the herdsman's cows had calved, and the herdsman was about to hold the customary festival in honor of the event. Now a certain Private Buddha was accustomed to take his meals in the house of the herdsman. The herdsman, after providing the Private Buddha with food, celebrated the cow-festival with an abundant supply of rice-porridge. When the herdsman saw the visitors, he asked them, "Whence have you come?" They told him the whole story, whereupon the tender-hearted youth took pity on them and saw to it that they were given rice-porridge with a plentiful supply of ghee. The wife said to the husband, "Husband, if only you can live, I can live. For a long time you have not had sufficient food. Now eat to your heart's content." So saying, she set the ghee and curds before him, eating only a little of the ghee herself. The husband ate heartily; but so intense was the hunger from which he had suffered during the preceding seven or eight days that he was unable to satisfy it.

When the herdsman had seen to it that they were provided with rice-porridge, {1.171} he began himself to eat. Now under the herdsman's stool lay a bitch he had raised, and as the herdsman sat there eating, he fed her with morsels of rice-porridge. Kotūhalaka watched [28.254] him feed her and thought to himself, "Fortunate indeed is that bitch to get such food to eat!" Kotūhalaka was unable to digest the rice-porridge he had eaten, died during the night, and received a new existence in the womb of that very bitch.

His wife performed the funeral ceremonies over his body, and remaining in that very house, worked for hire. Receiving a pint-pot of rice, she cooked it and placed it in the bowl of the Private Buddha, saying, "May these grains of rice bring a reward to your servant." And she thought to herself, "It would be

well for me to remain right here. The Private Buddha comes here regularly; and whether there be alms or not, I shall have the privilege of paying obeisance to him each day and of ministering to him. By so doing I shall obtain peace of mind and earn much merit.” And she remained right there working for hire.

After six or seven months the bitch gave birth to a single pup. The herdsman reserved the milk of one cow for the pup, and in no long time he grew to be a fine big dog. When the Private Buddha ate his meal, he invariably gave him a portion of his rice; and because of this the dog became deeply attached to the Private Buddha.

Now the herdsman was accustomed to go regularly twice each day to wait upon the Private Buddha, and the dog always went with him. On the way was a lair of wild beasts, and the herdsman used to frighten the wild beasts away by striking bushes and ground with a stick and calling out three times, “Su! su!” One day he said to the Private Buddha, “Reverend Sir, in case at any time I should be unable to come, I will send this dog for you. Therefore if I send him, please understand that I wish you to come.”

A few days later the herdsman found it inconvenient to go in person. He therefore sent the dog in his place, saying, “Boy, go bring his reverence back.” At the mere word of the herdsman the dog started off. Where he had seen his master stop and strike bushes and ground, the dog also stopped and barked three times; and when he was sure that his barking had frightened away the wild beasts, he went on. {1.172} Early in the morning, having attended to nature’s needs, he entered the hut of leaves and grass, went to the place where the Private Buddha sat, barked three times by way of announcing his arrival, and then lay down at one side. By this the Private Buddha knew that it was time for him to go, and therefore started out. The dog ran before him, barking constantly. From time to time the Private Buddha tested the dog by taking the wrong path; but every [28.255] time he did so the dog, by standing across the path and barking, intimated to him to take the other path.

One day the Private Buddha took the wrong path, and when the dog tried to stop him, without turning back, he pushed away the dog with his foot and went on. The dog, perceiving that he did not intend to turn back, took the hem of his undergarment in his teeth and dragged him along until he brought him to the right path. Such was the strength of the affection of the dog for the Private Buddha.

Later on the Private Buddha's robe wore out. When the herdsman provided him with materials for a new set of robes, the Private Buddha said to him, "Brother, it is difficult for a person all alone to make a robe. I will go to a convenient place and have it made for me." "Make it right here, Reverend Sir." "No, brother, I cannot." "Well then, Reverend Sir, do not take up your residence far from here." The dog stood listening to every word they said. The Private Buddha said, "Wait a moment, brother." Thereupon, leaving the herdsman behind, he flew up into the air and departed in the direction of Gandhamādana.

When the dog saw him flying through the air, {1.173} he began to bark and howl, and he kept this up until the Private Buddha gradually faded from view, whereupon his heart broke. (Animals, they say, are straightforward and not given to deceit; men, however, think one thing in their heart, but say another with their lips. Therefore said the Exalted One to a monk, "The ways of men are past finding out, but the ways of the beasts are easy to discover."<sup>140</sup>) So when the dog died, he was reborn, because of his straightforwardness and lack of deceit, in the World of the Thirty-three with a retinue of a thousand celestial nymphs, and there he enjoyed glory and bliss unspeakable. When he but whispered, his voice carried a distance of sixteen leagues; when he spoke in an ordinary tone, he could be heard all over the city of the gods, a city ten thousand leagues in extent. (Do you ask, "Of what was this the consequence?" It was because he barked and howled for love of the Private Buddha.)

Remaining in the World of the Thirty-three for no long time, he passed from that state of existence. (Deities pass from the World of the Gods through four causes: exhaustion of life, exhaustion of merit, exhaustion of food, and anger. He that has earned much merit is reborn in the World of the Gods, remains there during the term allotted to him, and is then reborn higher and higher. Thus he passes through "exhaustion of life." He that has earned little merit [28.256] soon exhausts that merit, just as three or four pint-pots of rice tossed into a royal storehouse disappear; and he therefore soon dies. Thus he passes through "exhaustion of merit." Still a third, while enjoying the pleasures of sense, fails through confusion of memory to partake of food, and the strength of his body being thereby impaired, dies. Thus he passes through "exhaustion of food." A fourth, jealous of the glory of another, {1.174} becomes angry and dies. Thus he passes through "anger.")

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<sup>140</sup> Ed. note: MN 51, Kandarakasutta (PTS, I, 340).

**Story of the Present: Ghosaka is cast away seven times**

Ghosaka, while enjoying the pleasures of sense, became forgetful, passed, through exhaustion of food, from the World of the Thirty-three, and was conceived in the womb of a courtesan of Kosambi. On the day when the courtesan gave birth to the child, she asked her slave-woman, "What is it?" "A son, my lady." "Very well, put this boy into an old winnowing basket and cast him away on the dust-heap." Thus she caused him to be cast away. (Courtesans will bestow care on a daughter, but not on a son, for it is through a daughter that their line of business is maintained.) Crows and dogs surrounded the child and huddled about him; but in consequence of his barking and howling for love of the Private Buddha, not one dared to approach him.

At that moment a man came out and saw the crows and dogs all huddled together. "What does this mean?" thought he to himself, going nearer. When he saw the boy, he immediately took a fancy to him, and saying to himself, "I have gained a son," he picked the boy up and took him home with him.

Now the treasurer of Kosambi happened at that time to go to the royal palace. Seeing the house-priest returning from the royal residence, he asked him, "Teacher, have you observed a conjunction of a constellation with one of the lunar mansions to-day?" "Yes, great treasurer. What else have we to do?" "What will happen to the country?" "Only this: a boy has been born in this city to-day who will one day become the principal treasurer." As the treasurer's wife was at that time great with child, he immediately sent a messenger to his house, saying, "Go find out whether or not she has given birth to a child."

He received the answer that she had not yet given birth to a child. Therefore, as soon as he had seen the king, he went home quickly, summoned a slave-woman named Kālī, gave her a thousand pieces of [28.257] money, {1.175} and said, "Go scour this city, find the boy that was born to-day, and bring him hither to me." While she was scouring the city, she came to the house where the child was and asked the mistress of the house, "When was this boy born?" "To-day." "Give him to me," said she, first offering a penny and gradually increasing the amount until finally, by offering a thousand pieces of money, she obtained him. Then she took him with her and presented him to the treasurer.

The treasurer gave him a home in his house, thinking to himself, "If a daughter is born to me, I will marry her to this boy and make him treasurer; but if a son

is born to me, I will kill him.” After a few days his wife gave birth to a son. Thereupon the treasurer thought to himself, “If only this foundling did not exist, my own son would obtain the post of treasurer. I had best kill him immediately.” So he said to Kālī, “Carry this child to the cattle-pen, and when it is time for the cattle to come out, lay him across the doorway, and the cattle will trample him to death. Observe whether or not they trample him to death, and then come back and tell me.”

She carried the child to the cattle-pen, and as soon as the door was opened, laid him across the doorway. Now at other times the leader of the herd, the bull, came out last of all; but on this particular day he came out first, inclosed the boy with his four feet, and stood stock still. Several hundred cows came out on either side of the bull, rubbing against his flanks as they passed. The herdsman thought to himself, “Hitherto this bull has always gone out last of all, but today he went out first and stood stock still in the doorway of the pen. What can this mean?” Going near, he saw the boy lying under the bull. Immediately taking a fancy to him, he said to himself, “I have gained a son,” and picking him up, he carried him home.

Kālī went back to the treasurer and in answer to his question told him what had happened. Said the treasurer, “Go to the herdsman, give him these thousand pieces of money, and bring the child back to me again.” So she brought the child back again and gave him to the treasurer. {1.176} Then he said to her, “Good Kālī, five hundred carts start from this city at dawn on a trading expedition. Take this child and lay him in the track of the wheels. Either the oxen will trample him under their feet or the wheels will crush him to death. Observe what happens to him, and then return to me.”

She took the child and laid him down in the track of the wheels. The leader of the caravan came first; but when his oxen reached the [28.258] place where the child lay, they threw off the yoke. Again and again the leader replaced the yoke and tried to drive the oxen forwards; but as often as he did so, they threw off the yoke and refused to move. He was still struggling with them when the sun rose. “Why have the oxen acted thus?” thought he. He looked at the road and saw the boy. “Oh, what a grievous wrong I have done!” thought he. His heart was filled with joy at the thought, “I have gained a son,” and picking up the boy, he carried him off.

Kālī went back to the treasurer and in answer to his question told him what had happened. Said the treasurer, “Go to the caravan-leader, give him a

thousand pieces of money, and bring the child back to me again.” When she had so done, he said to her, “Now carry him to the burning-ground and lay him in the bushes. There he will either be eaten by dogs or attacked by demons, and he will die. As soon as you know whether or not he is dead, return to me.”

She took the child, laid him in the bushes, and stood at one side. But neither dog nor crow nor demon dared to approach him. (Pray, if he had neither mother nor father nor brother nor other kinsman to protect him, what was it that did protect him? All that protected him was his howling for love of the Private Buddha in his former existence as a dog.)

Just then a goatherd passed on one side of the burning-ground, leading several thousand goats to pasture. A certain she-goat made her way into the bushes eating leaves and grass, and seeing the boy, knelt down and gave him suck. The goatherd called, “He! he!” but she did not come out. Thereupon he said to himself, “I will beat her with my stick and bring her out.” So saying, he made his way into the bushes. {1.177} And there he saw the she-goat on her knees, giving suck to the boy. He immediately took a fancy to the boy, and saying to himself, “I have gained a son,” picked him up and carried him off.

Kālī went back to the treasurer and in answer to his question told him what had happened. Said the treasurer, “Go to the goatherd, give him a thousand pieces of money, and bring the child back to me again.” When she had so done, he said to her, “Good Kālī, take this child with you, climb the mountain that is known as Robbers’ Cliff, and throw him down the precipice. He will strike against the sides of the ravine and be dashed to pieces when he reaches the bottom. As soon as you know whether or not he is dead, return to me.”

She carried the child to Robbers’ Cliff, and standing at the top of the mountain, threw him down. Now there grew along the mountain [28.259] near that abyss a dense bamboo thicket, and the top of the mountain was covered with a thick growth of guñjā shrub. As the boy fell, he dropped into this bamboo thicket as into a coverlet of goat’s hair. Now that very day the leader of the reed-makers had received a gift of bamboo and accompanied by his son, he had gone to chop that thicket down. As he began his work, the bamboo shook and the boy cried out. “That sounds like the voice of a boy,” thought he. Climbing up on one side, he saw the boy. His heart was filled with joy at the thought, “I have gained a son,” and picking up the boy, he carried him off.

Kālī went back to the treasurer and in answer to his question told him what had happened. Said the treasurer, “Go to the reed-maker, give him a thousand pieces of money, and bring the child back to me again.” She did so. But in spite of the treasurer’s attempts on his life, the child lived and thrived and grew to manhood. Ghosaka was his name. He was like a thorn in the eye of the treasurer, who could not look him straight in the face.

Thinking of a way to kill him, the treasurer went to a friend of his who was a potter and asked him, “When are you going to fire your bake-house?” “Tomorrow.” {1.178} “Well then, take these thousand pieces of money and do a job for me.” “What is it, master?” “I have a single base-born son. I will send him to you. Take him into an inner room, chop him to pieces with a sharp axe, throw him into a chatty, and bake him in the bake-house. Here are a thousand pieces of money, to seal the bargain, as it were. But in addition I will reward you suitably later.” “Very well,” said the potter, consenting to the bargain.

On the following day the treasurer summoned Ghosaka and sent him to the potter, saying, “Yesterday I left an order with the potter to do a certain piece of work for me. Go say to him, ‘Finish the job my father gave you yesterday.’” “Very well,” said Ghosaka, and set out.

As Ghosaka was on his way to the potter’s, the treasurer’s other son, who was playing marbles with some boys, saw him. And calling to him, he asked, “Where are you going?” “I am carrying a message to the potter for father.” “Let me go there. These boys have won a big stake from me. You win it back and give it to me.” “I am afraid of father.” “Do not fear, brother; I will carry that message. I have lost a big stake. You play until I return again, and win the stake back for me.” [28.260]

(We are told that Ghosaka was skillful at shooting marbles, and that for this reason his foster-brother was so insistent.)

So Ghosaka consented to let his foster-brother go in his place, saying, “Well then, go to the potter and say to him, ‘Finish the job my father gave you yesterday.’” Thus it happened that the treasurer’s own son carried the message to the potter. The potter killed him according to the letter of the directions he had received from the treasurer and threw his body into the bake-house. Ghosaka played marbles all day and went home in the evening. {1.179} “You have returned home, son?” queried the treasurer. Ghosaka then told him the

reason why he had himself returned home and let his younger brother go to the potter.

“Woe is me!” cried the treasurer with a loud voice. He looked as though the blood had been drawn from his veins. He rushed to the potter, wringing his hands and wailing, “Oh, potter, do not kill me! do not kill me!” The potter saw him approaching in this wise and said to him, “Master, make no noise; the job is done.” Thus was the treasurer overwhelmed with sorrow as with a mountain. Thus did he suffer great grief, even as do all who offend against those that are without offense. Therefore said the Exalted One,

137. Whosoever visits punishment on those that deserve not punishment.  
Whosoever offends against those that are without offense.  
Such an one will right quickly come to one of ten states:

138. He will incur cruel suffering, or infirmity, or injury of the body.  
Or severe sickness, or loss of mind,

139. Or misfortune proceeding from the king, or a heavy accusation.  
Or death of relatives, or loss of treasures,

140. Or else the fire of lightning will consume his houses;  
Upon dissolution of the body such a fool will go to Hell. {1.180}

Now under these circumstances the treasurer was unable to look Ghosaka straight in the face. “How can I manage to kill him?” thought he. Finally he thought of a way. “I will send him to the superintendent of my hundred villages and order him to kill him,” said he to himself. Accordingly he wrote the following letter to the superintendent, “This is my base-born son. Kill him and throw him into the cesspool. Let this be done, and I shall know how to reward my uncle properly.” Then he said to his foster-son, “Dear Ghosaka, there is a superintendent over our hundred villages. Take this letter and give it to him.” So saying, he fastened the letter to the hem of [28.261] his garment. (Now Ghosaka did not know how to read and write, for ever since he was a boy the treasurer had striven, although without success, to kill him. Why, therefore, should he have taught him to read and write?) As Ghosaka set out with his own death-warrant fastened to the hem of his garment, he said to his father, “Father, I have no provisions for the journey.” “You have no need of provisions for the journey. On the way, in such and such a village, lives a friend of mine who is a treasurer. Obtain your breakfast at his house, and then

continue your journey.” “Very well,” said Ghosaka, and bowing to his father, set out on his journey.

When he arrived at the village, he inquired where the treasurer’s house was, went there, and saw the treasurer’s wife. “Whence have you come?” she inquired. “From the city,” he replied. “Whose son are you?” “I am the son of your friend the treasurer, my lady.” “Then you are Ghosaka.” “Yes, my lady.” She fell in love with him at first sight. Now the treasurer had a daughter about fifteen or sixteen years of age, and she was exceedingly beautiful and fair to look upon. In order to keep her safe and sound, her parents lodged her on the topmost floor of a seven-storied palace in an apartment of royal splendor, giving her a single slave-girl to run errands. {1.181} At that moment the treasurer’s daughter sent this slave-girl to a shop. The treasurer’s wife, seeing her, asked, “Where are you going?” “On an errand for your daughter, my lady.” “Just come here a moment. Never mind the errand. Spread a seat for my son, bathe his feet, anoint them with oil, and then spread a couch for him. After you have done this, you may do your errand.” The slave-girl did as she was told.

When she returned, the treasurer’s daughter scolded her for her long absence. The slave-girl replied, “Be not angry with me. The treasurer’s son Ghosaka has arrived, and I had to do this and that for him, besides going on an errand for you, before I returned.” When the treasurer’s daughter heard the name “treasurer’s son Ghosaka,” love suffused her body, cleaving her skin and penetrating the marrow of her bones.

(For she had been his wife in his former existence as Kotūhalaka and had given a pint-pot of rice to the Private Buddha. And through his supernatural power she had been reborn in the household of the treasurer. No wonder her old passion for him returned and overwhelmed her! Therefore said the Exalted One,

Through previous association or present advantage,  
That love springs up like a lily in the water.) [28.262]

The treasurer’s daughter said to the slave-girl, “Girl, where is he?” “He is lying asleep on the couch.” “Has he anything in his hand?” “There is a letter fastened to his garment.” “What can be in this letter?” she thought. So while Ghosaka was asleep, and her mother and father were otherwise engaged, she came down without attracting their attention, detached the letter from his garment, took it

with her, went into her room, closed the door, opened the window, and through her knowledge of writing read the letter. “Oh!” she exclaimed, “the simpleton is going about with his own death-warrant fastened to his garment. {1.182} Had I not seen it, he would surely have been killed.”

So she tore up this letter and wrote another in the name of the treasurer as follows, “This is my son Ghosaka. Procure presents for him from my hundred villages. Prepare a festival in honor of his marriage with the daughter of this district-treasurer. Build him a two-storied house in the center of the village wherein he resides. Surround his house with a wall and with a guard of men, and so provide him with ample protection. Then send me a message, saying, ‘I have done thus and so,’ and I shall know how to reward my uncle properly.” Having written the letter, she folded it up and fastened it to the hem of his garment.

After sleeping all day, Ghosaka arose, ate his meal, and went on his way. Early on the morning of the following day he arrived at that village and saw the superintendent performing his village duties. When the superintendent saw him, he asked him, “What is it, dear Ghosaka?” “My father has sent you a letter.” “What is it about, dear Ghosaka? Bring it to me.” He took the letter and read it, and then said with an exclamation of delight, “See, men, how my master loves me. He has sent me a message, saying, ‘Prepare a festival in honor of my oldest son.’ Bring wood and other building materials immediately.” Having thus given orders to the householders, he caused a house of the kind described in the letter to be erected in the center of the village, had presents brought from the hundred villages, conducted the daughter of the district-treasurer thither, celebrated the marriage festival, and then sent word to the treasurer, saying, “I have done thus and so.”

When the treasurer received the message, he said, “What I would do, that I do not; what I would not do, that I do.” Disappointment over the failure of his latest plan, together with sorrow over the death of his own son, set him on fire within and produced diarrhea. [28.263]

The treasurer’s daughter gave orders, saying, “Should anyone come here from the treasurer, tell me before you tell the treasurer’s son.” {1.183} The treasurer said to himself, “At any rate I will not make this rascally son of mine heir to my property.” With this thought in mind he said to a certain official, “Uncle, I wish to see my son. Send a servant and summon my son.” “Very well,” replied the official, and giving a certain man the letter, sent him away.

When the treasurer's daughter heard that the servant had arrived and was standing at the door, she sent for him and asked him, "What is it, my man?" "The treasurer is sick and wishes to see his son, and has therefore sent for him, my lady." "My man, is he strong or weak?" "He is still strong, my lady, and able to take nourishment." Without letting the treasurer's son know, she ordered that the man should be given lodging and expenses and said to him, "You may go when I send you. Remain here for the present."

Again the treasurer addressed the official, "Uncle, did you not send a messenger to my son?" "I did, master, but the man who went has not yet returned." "Well then, try again and send another." So the official sent another man, and the treasurer's daughter treated him just as she had the first. The treasurer's condition grew worse; one chamber-pot went in and another came out. Again the treasurer asked the official, "Uncle, did you not send a messenger to my son?" "I did, master, but the man who went has not yet returned." "Well then, try again and send another." So the official sent another man. When the third messenger arrived, the treasurer's daughter asked him the news. "The treasurer is a very sick man, my lady. He refuses to eat and is confined to his bed. One chamber-pot comes out and another goes in."

"Now it is time to go," thought the treasurer's daughter. So she said to the treasurer's son, "I learn that your father is sick." "Wife, what say you?" "It may be only a slight ailment, husband." "What is to be done now?" {1.184} "Let us take presents from his hundred villages and go see him." "Very well," said he. Having caused presents to be brought, he started out, conveying the presents in a cart. Then she said to him, "Your father is very weak. If we take all these presents, we shall be delayed on the way; send them back." Having sent all the presents back to their own house, she said to the treasurer's son, "Husband, please stand at your father's feet; I will stand beside his pillow." And as they entered the house, she gave orders to her own men, "Stand on guard both in the front of the house [28.264] and in the rear." And when they had entered, the treasurer's son took his stand at his father's feet and his wife beside his pillow.

At that moment the treasurer was lying on his back and the official was rubbing his feet. The latter said to him, "Master, your son has arrived." "Where is he?" "Here he is, standing at your feet." When the treasurer saw his son, he sent for the receiver of his revenues and asked him, "How much wealth is there in my house?" "Master, of money alone there are four hundred millions; as for objects for employment and enjoyment, such as villages and fields and men and animals and wagons and carriages, such and such is the total." It was the

treasurer's intention to say, "All of this wealth I do not give to my son Ghosaka." But instead of this he said, "I do give."

When the treasurer's daughter heard this, she thought to herself, "However, if this man should speak again, he might say something very different." Accordingly, pretending to be overcome with grief, she disheveled her hair, burst into tears, and said, "Dear father, do you really mean this? In spite of these words of yours, which we hear, we are indeed unfortunate." So saying, she fell on him, struck the middle of his breast with the crown of her head, and in order that he might not be able to speak again, rubbed the middle of his breast with the crown of her head, displaying at the same time signs of profound grief. At that very moment the treasurer died. {1.185}

They went and informed King Udena of his death. The king had the funeral ceremonies performed over his body and asked, "Has he any son or daughter?" "Your majesty, he has a son named Ghosaka; and, your majesty, he bestowed all his property on him before he died." Some time afterwards, the king sent for the treasurer's son. Now that day it rained, and there were pools of water here and there in the palace court. The treasurer's son set out to see the king. The king opened his window and watched him as he approached, noticing that as he crossed the palace court he leaped over the pools of water that stood in the court. When he reached the palace and paid obeisance to the king and stood before him, the king asked him, "Your name is Ghosaka?" "Yes, your majesty." The king comforted him, saying, "Do not grieve at the thought that your father is dead. I will give you alone your father's post as treasurer." Then he dismissed him, saying, "Now, dear Ghosaka, you may go," and stood and watched him as he left the palace.

Now whereas Ghosaka leaped over the water in approaching the palace, he walked through it on his return. The king sent orders for [28.265] him to return from where he was and asked him, "Dear Ghosaka, is it a fact that whereas, in coming to me, you leaped over the water, on your return you walk through it?" "It is even so, your majesty. Then I was a boy and was fond of play, but now I have been promised a post of honor by your majesty. Therefore I must now lay aside my former ways and deport myself with modesty and dignity." On hearing this, the king thought to himself, "There is a wise man. I will give him the post immediately." Accordingly he gave him the wealth formerly possessed by his father and the post of treasurer, together with all the hundred villages. Then Ghosaka mounted his chariot and drove sunwise round the city. Every place he looked at quaked and trembled.

The treasurer's daughter sat talking with the slave-woman Kāḷī. {1.186} "Mother Kāḷī," said she, "it was through me that your son obtained all this worldly glory." "How is that, my lady?" "Why, this youth came to our house with his own death-warrant fastened to the hem of his garment. I tore up that letter and wrote another, ordering the celebration of a festival in honor of my marriage to him. In this way did I protect him all that time." "My lady, this is all you know about it. But as a matter of fact, from the time your husband was a little boy, the treasurer constantly sought to kill him, and though his attempts were unsuccessful, a large sum of money was spent solely for the purpose of accomplishing his death." "Kāḷī, the treasurer was indeed guilty of abominable crimes!"

Having performed his ceremonial circuit of the city, Ghosaka entered his house. Now when his wife saw him, she thought to herself, "It was through me that he obtained all this worldly glory," and laughed. The treasurer's son asked her, "Why do you laugh?" "For a certain reason." "Tell me the reason." She refused to do so. He drew his sword and said, "If you do not tell me, I will cut you in twain." Then she said, "I laughed to think that it was through me that you obtained all this worldly glory." "If what I possess was handed over to me by my father, where do you come in?" (We are told that during all that time Ghosaka knew nothing about the designs against his life, and that that was why he refused to believe what she said.) So she told him the whole story, saying, "When your father sent you forth bearing your own death-warrant, I did this and that and protected you."

"What you say is not true," replied Ghosaka, refusing to believe her. "I will ask Mother Kāḷī." So he asked the slave-woman, "Kāḷī, [28.266] is what she says true?" "Yes, my lord. From the time you were a little boy your father sought constantly to kill you, and though his attempts were unsuccessful, a large sum of money was spent for the purpose of accomplishing your death. On seven occasions you had a narrow escape from death. Now, coming from the village of which he was headman, {1.187} you have obtained the post of treasurer, together with all the hundred villages."

When Ghosaka heard this, he thought to himself, "How great was my presumption! But since I have escaped from so terrible a death, I must no longer live the life of Heedlessness. Henceforth, therefore, I will live the life of Heedfulness." Accordingly he established alms for the blind and the poor, and employing his friend the householder as steward of his alms, he dispensed a thousand pieces of money daily.

**Part 3. Birth and youthful career of Sāmāvātī<sup>141</sup>**

Now at this time there lived in the city of Bhaddavatī a treasurer named Bhaddavatiya, and he was a friend of the treasurer Ghosaka, although Ghosaka had never seen him. For the treasurer Ghosaka heard, from traders who came from the city of Bhaddavatī, of the wealth and age of the treasurer Bhaddavatiya, and desiring to be friends with him, sent him a present. Likewise the treasurer Bhaddavatiya heard, from traders who came from the city of Kosambi, of the wealth and age of the treasurer Ghosaka, and desiring to be friends with him, sent him a present. Thus, although neither had seen the other, they dwelt as friends.

After a time intestinal disease broke out in the house of the treasurer Bhaddavatiya. When this disease breaks out, the first to die are flies; afterwards, in regular order, insects, mice, domestic fowls, swine, cattle, slaves both female and male, and last of all the members of the household. Only those that break down the wall and flee, save their lives. Now at that time the treasurer Bhaddavatiya and his wife and daughter fled in this manner, and intending to seek the treasurer Ghosaka, {1.188} set out on the road to Kosambi. While they were still on their way, their provisions for the journey gave out, and their bodies became exhausted from exposure to wind and sun, and from hunger and thirst. Reaching Kosambi with difficulty, they bathed in a pool of water in a pleasant place and then entered a certain rest-house at the gate of the city.

Then the treasurer said to his wife, “Wife, those who travel in this [28.267] way are not courteous even to a mother who has borne a child. Now I have a friend who, they say, dispenses a thousand pieces of money daily in alms to the blind, the poor, and other unfortunate persons. We will send our daughter there, have her bring us food, remain right here for a day or two and refresh our bodies, and then we will go and see my friend.” “Very well, husband,” she replied, and they took up their residence right there in the rest-house.

On the following day, when meal-time was announced and the blind, the poor, and other unfortunate persons went to obtain food, the mother and father sent

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<sup>141</sup> Story ii. 1. 3: i. 187-191 relates the circumstances under which Sāmāvātī became one of the queen-consorts of Udena. Similar in all respects is the story of Pradyota and Śāntā (Sāmāvātī) in the *Kandjur*. See A. Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana und König Tshanda-Pradjota: v, Epidemie zu Udshdshajinī* (pp. 14-17).

forth their daughter, saying, “Daughter, go bring us food.” So the daughter of a wealthy house, pride overcome with misfortune, hid her shame, took a bowl, and went with poor folk to procure food. “How many portions will you have?” she was asked. “Three,” she replied. So they gave her three portions. She carried the food back to her parents, and the three sat down to eat together. The mother and daughter said to the treasurer, “Master, misfortune comes even to prominent families. Eat without regarding us and do not worry.” After a good deal of urging, they prevailed upon him to eat. But after he had eaten, he was unable to digest his food, and when the sun rose, he died. The mother and daughter wept and wailed and lamented.

On the following day the young girl went the second time to procure food. “How many portions will you have?” {1.189} “Two.” She carried the food back to her mother, and after a good deal of urging, prevailed upon her to eat. The mother yielded to her pleading and consented to eat, but died on that very day. The young girl, left alone to herself, wept and wailed and lamented over the misfortune that had come upon her. On the following day, suffering the pangs of hunger keenly, she went weeping in the company of beggars to procure food. “How many portions will you have, daughter?” “One,” was her reply.

A householder named Mitta, remembering that she had received food for three days, said to her, “Perish, vile woman. To-day, at last, you have come to know the capacity of your belly.” This daughter of a respectable family, modest and timid, felt as though she had received a sword-thrust in her bosom, or as though salt water had been sprinkled on a sore. She immediately replied, “What do you mean, sir?” “Day before yesterday you took three portions, yesterday two, to-day you take but one. To-day, then, you know the capacity of your belly.” “Sir, do not think that I took these for myself.” “Why then did you take them?” “Sir, day before yesterday we were [28.268] three, yesterday we were two, to-day I am left alone.” “How is that?” he inquired.

She then told him the whole story from the beginning. As he listened to her story, he was unable to control his tears, but was overcome by the power of the grief that arose within him. Finally he said to her, “My dear girl, if this is the case, do not worry. Hitherto you have been the daughter of the treasurer Bhaddavatiya, but from this day forth you shall be my very own daughter.” And he kissed her on the head, conducted her to his own house, and adopted her as his own oldest daughter.

One day she heard loud and piercing screams in the refectory, whereupon she said to her foster-father, “Father, why do you not keep these people quiet when you dispense alms?” “It is impossible to do it, dear daughter.” “Father, it is quite possible.” “How would you do it, dear daughter?” “Father, {1.190} put a fence around the refectory and hang two gates through which the people may pass in and out, allowing only sufficient space for one person to pass through at a time. Then direct the people to pass in through one gate and out through the other. If you do this, they will receive their alms peaceably and quietly.” When the householder had heard her plan he remarked, “A happy device, dear daughter,” and did as she suggested. Now up to that time her name had been Sāmā, but through her construction of a fence (vati) she received the name Sāmāvati. From that time on there was no more tumult in the refectory.

Now the treasurer Ghosaka had long been accustomed to hear this noise in the refectory and rather liked to hear it; for it always made him think, “That is the noise in my refectory.” But after hearing no noise at all for two or three days, he asked the householder Mitta, who came one day to wait upon him, “Are alms being given to the blind, the poor, and other unfortunate persons?” “Yes, sir.” “How then does it happen that for two or three days past I have not heard a sound?” “I have arranged matters so that the people now receive alms without making any noise.” “Why didn’t you do so before?” “I didn’t know how, sir.” “How did you happen to find a way just now?” “My daughter told me how to do it, sir.” “Have you a daughter whom I have never seen?” Then the householder told him the whole story of the treasurer Bhaddavatiya, beginning with the outbreak of the plague and ending with his adoption of the young girl as his own oldest daughter.

Then said the treasurer to him, “If this is the case, why did you [28.269] not tell me? My friend’s daughter is my own daughter.” So he sent for her and asked her, “Dear girl, are you the daughter of the treasurer?” “Yes, sir, I am.” “Well then, do not worry; you are my own daughter.” Then he kissed her on the head, gave her five hundred women for her retinue, and adopted her as his own oldest daughter.

One day a festival was proclaimed in this city. Now at this festival daughters of respectable families, who do not ordinarily go out, go on foot with their own retinue {1.191} and bathe in the river. Accordingly on that day Sāmāvati also, accompanied by her five hundred women, went right through the palace court to bathe in the river. King Udena stood at his window and saw her. “Whose are those nautch-girls?” he inquired. “Nobody’s nautch-girls, your majesty.” “Then

whose daughters are they?” “Your majesty, that is the daughter of the treasurer Bhaddavatiya, and her name is Sāmāvati.” Now the king fell in love with the girl the moment he saw her, and immediately sent word to the treasurer Ghosaka, “Send me the maiden they say is your daughter.” “I will not send her, your majesty.” “Do not act thus. Do as I ask and send her.” “Your majesty, we householders do not give young girls, for fear people will say they are abused and maltreated.” Angered by the treasurer’s reply, the king caused the treasurer’s house to be sealed and the treasurer and his wife to be seized and turned out of doors.

When Sāmāvati returned after her bath and found no way of entering the house, she asked, “What does this mean, dear father?” “Dear daughter, the king sent for you; and when we refused to give you to him, he caused the house to be sealed and caused us to be turned out of doors.” “Dear father, you made a great mistake. When one who is a king commands, you should not say, ‘We do not give.’ You should rather say, ‘If you will take our daughter with her retinue, we will give her to you.’” “Very well, dear daughter. If that is your desire, I will do as you say.” Accordingly Ghosaka sent a message to that effect to the king, and the king accepted his offer, saying, “Very well.” Then the king conducted Sāmāvati with her retinue to the royal palace, conferred the ceremonial sprinkling on her, and elevated her to the dignity of chief consort. The other women became her ladies-in-waiting. [28.270]

#### **Part 4. Winning of Vāsuladattā by Udena<sup>142</sup>**

Yet another of Udena’s queen-consorts was Vāsuladattā, {1.192} daughter of Caṇḍa Pajjota, king of Ujjeni. One day, as Caṇḍa Pajjota was returning from his pleasure-garden, he surveyed his own splendor and asked, “Is there any other soever possessed of splendor like mine?” “Splendor such as it is, King Udena of Kosambi possesses exceeding great splendor.” “Very well, let us take him captive.” “It is impossible to capture him.” “By employing some means or other, let us capture him all the same.” “It is impossible, your majesty.” “Why?” “He understands the art of charming elephants. By reciting spells and playing his elephant-charming lute, he either drives elephants away or captures them at

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<sup>142</sup> Story ii. 1. 4: i. 191-199 relates the capture of Udena by Caṇḍa-Pajjota and the winning of Vāsuladattā by Udena. Close parallels to this story occur in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Kandjur*. See *Kathāsaritsāgara*, frame-story of chapters xi-xiv; and Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana*, xv, *Udajana’s Gefangennehmung und Rettung* (pp. 35-

his pleasure. No one possesses so many riding-elephants as he.” “I suppose it is impossible for me to capture him.” “If you are bent on doing it, have a wooden elephant made and turned loose near him. Let him hear of a good mount, be it elephant or horse, and he will go a long way for it. When he is close by, you can capture him.” “A stratagem indeed!” exclaimed the king.

So the king had a mechanical elephant made of wood, wrapped about with strips of cloth and deftly painted, and turned it loose on the bank of a certain lake near the country of his enemy. Within the belly of the elephant sixty men walked back and forth; every now and then they loaded their shovels with elephant dung and dumped it out. A certain woodman saw the elephant, and thinking to himself, “Just the thing for our king!” went and told the king, “Your majesty, I saw a noble elephant, pure white even as the peak of Kelasa, just the sort of elephant your majesty would like.”

Udena mounted his elephant and set out, taking the woodman along as a guide and accompanied by his retinue. His approach was {1.193} observed by spies, who went and informed Caṇḍa Pajjota. The latter straightway dispatched armies on both flanks of his enemy, allowing the space between them to remain open. Udena, unaware of his enemy’s approach, continued to pursue the elephant. He recited his spell and played his lute, but all to no purpose. The wooden elephant, driven with great speed by the men concealed within its belly, made as if it failed to hear the charm and continued its flight. The king, unable to overtake the elephant, mounted his horse. On and on sped the horse, galloping so rapidly that by degrees the army of the king was left far behind and the king was quite alone. Then Caṇḍa Pajjota’s [28.271] men, who were posted on both flanks, captured Udena and turned him over to their king. Udena’s army, perceiving that their leader had fallen into the hands of the enemy, built a stockade just outside of Ujjeni and remained there.

Caṇḍa Pajjota, having thus captured Udena alive, clapped him into prison behind closed doors and kept wassail for three days. On the third day Udena asked his keepers, “Friends, where’s your king?” “Carousing, for, says he, ‘I’ve landed my enemy.’ ” “What does your king mean by acting like a woman? He has captured a royal adversary and surely ought either to release him or to kill him. He has brought humiliation upon us and is ‘carousing’– indeed!” The keepers went and reported the incident to the king. The king came and asked,

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40). The same story is related very briefly by Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on *Majjhima* 85 (see Lacôte, p. 251).

“Is it true that you said thus and thus?” “Yes, your majesty.” “Very well, I will release you. They say you have such and such a charm; will you give it to me?” “Certainly I will give it to you; but when you receive it, will you pay me homage?” “I pay you homage? I’ll not pay you homage.” “Then I’ll not give it to you.” {1.194} “In that case I will have you executed.” “Do so; you are lord of my body, not of my mind.”

When the king heard Udena’s defiant answer, he thought to himself, “How in the world can I get the charm? I have it. I’ll have my daughter learn it from him, and then I’ll learn it from her. It would never do to let anyone else learn a charm like this.” So he said to Udena, “Will you divulge the charm to another, if the other will pay you homage?” “Yes, your majesty.” “Well then, we have in our house a hunchbacked woman. She will sit behind a curtain; you remain outside and have her repeat the charm.” “Be she hunchback or cripple, I will teach her the charm, provided she will pay me homage.”

Then the king went to his daughter Vāsuladattā and said, “Dear daughter, there is a certain leper who knows a priceless charm. You sit behind a curtain, and he will remain outside and repeat it to you. You get it from him, for it would never do to let anyone else learn it, and then I will get it from you.” After this sort, for fear of their making love, did Caṇḍa Pajjota feign that his daughter was a hunchback and Udena a leper. So Vāsuladattā seated herself behind a curtain, and Udena remained outside and caused her to repeat the charm.

One day Udena repeated the words of the charm over and over again to Vāsuladattā, but the latter was unable to reproduce it correctly. Thereupon Udena cried out, “Dunce of a hunchback, your lips are too [28.272] thick and your cheeks too pudgy! I’ve a mind to beat your face in! Say it this way!” Vāsuladattā replied in anger, “Villain of a leper, {1.195} what do you mean by those words? Do you call such as I hunchback?” Udena lifted the fringe of the curtain and asked, “Who are you?” Said the maiden, “I am Vāsuladattā, daughter of the king.” “When your father spoke to me, he described you as a hunchback.” “When he spoke to me, he made you out a leper.” Both said, “He must have said it for fear of our making love.” Then and there within the curtain they made love, and from that time on there was no learning charms or getting lessons. The king regularly asked his daughter, “Daughter, are you learning your lessons?” “Yes, father.”

Now one day Udena said to Vāsuladattā, “My dear, a husband can do that which neither father nor mother nor brothers nor sisters can do. If you will

save my life, I will give you a retinue of five hundred women and make you my chief consort.” “If you will carry out your promise without fail, I will save your life.” “My dear, I will do so without fail.” “Very well, husband.” So she went to her father, saluted him, and stood respectfully on one side. Her father asked her, “Daughter, is your task completed?” “Not quite completed, father.” “What do you require, daughter?” “We must have at our disposal a door and a mount, father.” “Why this request?” “Father, this is what my teacher says: ‘In order to work the charm, a certain medicinal herb is necessary, and this must be obtained at night at a time indicated by the stars.’ {1.196} Therefore whenever we are obliged to go out, whether it be early or late, we must have a door and a mount at our disposal.” “Very well,” said the king, giving his consent. They secured permission to use a certain door at any time they pleased.

Now the king was possessed of the five conveyances: a female elephant named Bhaddavatī, which could travel fifty leagues a day; a slave named Kāka, who could travel sixty leagues a day; two mares, Celakaṇṭhī and Muñjakesī, which could travel a hundred leagues a day; and an elephant named Nālāgiri, which could travel a hundred and twenty leagues a day.

### **Story of the Past: Caṇḍa Pajjota wins the five conveyances**

It seems that before the appearance in the world of the present Buddha, the king had been the servitor of a certain ruler. Now one [28.273] day as this ruler was returning from his bath outside of the city, a certain Private Buddha who had entered the city to receive alms came out with his bowl clean as it had been washed, having received not a single morsel of food by reason of the evil influence of Māra over all the residents of the city. Indeed when the Private Buddha reached the gate of the city, Māra approached him in disguise and asked him, “Reverend Sir, did you receive anything?” “But have you made it possible for me to receive anything?” “Well then, turn back and go in again. Now I will make it possible for you to receive alms.” “I will not go back again.” Had the Private Buddha returned, Māra would once more have taken possession of the bodies of all the residents of the city and would have subjected him to the embarrassment of hand-clapping and rude laughter.

Now when this ruler {1.197} saw the Private Buddha returning with his bowl clean as it had been washed, he asked him, “Reverend Sir, did you receive anything?” “I have gone my round and am coming out, brother.” The ruler thought to himself, “His reverence does not answer the question I asked him,

but tells me something I did not ask about. It must be that he failed to receive anything.” The ruler looked at his bowl and saw that it was empty. Not knowing whether the food in his house was ready or not, and therefore, brave though he was, not daring to take his bowl, he said, “Wait a moment, Reverend Sir.” So saying, he went home quickly and asked, “Is our food ready?” Receiving the answer that it was ready, he said to his servitor, “Friend, there is no one possessed of greater speed than you. Make the greatest possible speed, and when you reach his reverence, say to him, ‘Reverend Sir, give me your bowl,’ and then take his bowl and return to me.”

At the mere word of his master the servitor set out, obtained the bowl, and brought it back. The ruler filled the bowl with his own food and said, “Convey this to his reverence with all speed. I make over to you the merit of this action.” The servitor went quickly, gave the bowl to the Private Buddha, saluted him with the Five Rests, and said to him, “Reverend Sir, the time is short. I went and returned with the greatest possible speed. As the fruit of this speed, may I obtain the five conveyances able to travel fifty, sixty, a hundred, and a hundred and twenty leagues a day respectively. As I returned and went, my body was heated by the rays of the sun. As the fruit of this, in the various places where I shall be reborn, may I possess authority equal to the power of the rays of the sun. My master has [28.274] made over to me the merit of this alms. In consequence of this {1.198} may I be a partaker of the Truth you have seen.” The Private Buddha said, “So be it,” and returned thanks in the following Stanzas,

May all you’ve wished and prayed for come out well;  
May all your aspirations be fulfilled, even as the moon at the full.  
May all you’ve wished and prayed for come out well;  
May all your aspirations be fulfilled, as by the jewel Dew of Light.

This was the king’s deed in a previous state of existence. He was now Caṇḍa Pajjota, and in consequence of this deed he came to possess these five conveyances. *End of Story of the Past.*

Now one day the king went out to amuse himself in the garden. “Now’s the time to flee,” thought Udena. So he filled several big leather sacks with gold and silver coins, placed the sacks on the back of the female elephant, assisted Vāsuladattā to mount, and away they went. The harem guards saw what was happening and went and told the king. The king sent out a force in pursuit. “Go quickly,” said he. When Udena perceived that a force had set out in

pursuit, he opened a sack of gold and scattered the coins along the way. His pursuers stopped to pick up the coins and then hurried along. Then he opened a sack of silver and scattered the coins along the way. While his pursuers delayed because of their greed for silver, {1.199} Udena reached his own stockade built without the city. When his men saw him coming, they surrounded him, and escorted him back to Kosambi. When he arrived there, he sprinkled Vāsuladattā and raised her to the rank of chief consort.

### **Part 5. Rejection of Māgandiyā by the Buddha<sup>143</sup>**

Still another maiden who gained the dignity of chief consort of the king was Māgandiyā. She, we are told, was the daughter of the Brahman Māgandiyā, who lived in the Kuru country, her mother also bore the name Māgandiyā and her father's younger brother likewise bore the name Māgandiyā. She was as beautiful as a celestial nymph. Now her father was unable to find a husband who was worthy of her; and although scions of all the great families in the country asked for her hand, her father sent them all away, reviling them and saying, "You are not worthy of my daughter."

Now one day, as the Teacher surveyed the world at early dawn, he perceived that the Brahman Māgandiyā and his wife possessed the dispositions requisite for the attainment of the Fruit of the Third [28.275] Path. Therefore, taking his own bowl and robe, he went to a place just outside of a certain market-town, where the Brahman was tending the sacred fire. The Brahman surveyed the person of the Tathāgata, beholding in him the perfection of physical beauty, and thought to himself, "There is no other man in the whole world comparable to this man. I will give my daughter to this man to cherish and support." Accordingly he said to the Teacher, "Monk, I have a single daughter, and all this time I have not seen a man worthy of her. But you are suitable for her, and she is suitable for you. For you {1.200} ought to have a wife, and she ought to have a husband. I will give her to you. Wait right here until I come back." The Teacher said not a word, but remained silent.

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<sup>143</sup> Story ii. 1. 5: i. 199-203 (cf. xiv. 1: iii. 193-199) relates the Buddha's rejection of Māgandiyā's offer of his daughter in marriage. The source of this story is *Sutta-Nipāta*, iv. 9, or some derivative thereof. A close parallel is *Dīvyāvadāna*, xxxvi, part 1, pp. 515-529. For a Sanskrit parallel from Eastern Turkestan, see A. F. R. Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 709 ff.

The Brahman went home quickly and said to his wife, “Wife! wife! I saw a man who is worthy of our daughter. Hurry! hurry! Dress her in her beautiful garments.” So the Brahman had his daughter dressed in her beautiful garments, and taking daughter and wife with him, went to the Teacher. The whole city was agitated. “All this time,” said the people, “this man has said of every suitor, ‘He is not suitable for my daughter,’ and has refused to give her to anyone. But it is reported that he has said, ‘To-day I saw a man who is suitable for my daughter.’ What manner of man can he be? Let us go see him.” So a great throng of people went out of the city with him.

Now when the Brahman set out with his daughter, the Teacher, instead of remaining in the place mentioned by the Brahman, moved away from that place and took his stand in another place, leaving a footprint. (When the Buddhas establish a footprint, it appears only in a trodden place and not elsewhere, and only those for whom it is established can see it. Let elephants or other wild animals tread upon a footprint of the Buddhas to render it invisible, or let a violent storm pour forth rain upon it, or let the roaring winds beat upon it, yet not one of them can obliterate it.)

Now the Brahman’s wife said to the Brahman, “Where is this man?” The Brahman replied, “I said to him, ‘Remain in this place.’ Where can he possibly have gone?” He looked all about, and seeing his footprint, said, “Here is his {1.201} footprint.” Now the Brahman’s wife was familiar with the three Vedas, including the verses relating to signs. So she repeated the verses relating to signs, considering carefully the signs borne by the footprint before her. Finally she said, “Brahman, this is no footprint of one who follows the Five Lusts.” So saying, she pronounced the following Stanza, [28.276]

The footprint of a lustful man will be squatty;  
That of a wicked man, violently pressed down;  
Of one infatuate, the footprint will be shuffling;  
This is the sort of footprint made by one who has rolled back the Veil of  
Passion.

Then said the Brahman to her, “Wife, you are always seeing crocodiles in the water-vessel and thieves hiding in the house. Be still.” “Brahman, you may say what you like, but this is no footprint of one who follows the Five Lusts.”

Just then the Brahman looked around and saw the Teacher. “There is the man!” said he. Thereupon the Brahman went to him and said, “Monk, I give you my

daughter to cherish and support.” The Teacher, instead of saying, “I have need of your daughter,” or “I have no need of your daughter,” said to him, “Brahman, I have something to say to you.” “Say it, monk,” replied the Brahman. Thereupon the Teacher told him how Māra had pursued him from the time of the Great Retirement to the time of the Session under the Goatherd’s Banyan-tree, and how, when Māra seated himself under the Goatherd’s Banyan-tree, overcome with sorrow at the thought, “Now this man has escaped from my power,” Māra’s daughters came to assuage their father’s sorrow and endeavored to seduce him by appearing before him in the forms of women both young and old. {1.202} “At that time,” said the Teacher,

Having seen Craving, Pining, and Lust,  
I had no desire for the pleasures of love.  
What is this body, filled with urine and dung?  
I should not be willing to touch it, even with my foot.<sup>144</sup>

At the conclusion of the Stanza the Brahman and his wife were established in the Fruit of the Third Path.

As for Māgandiyā, she said to herself, “If this man has no need of me, it is perfectly proper for him to say so, but he declares me to be full of urine and dung. Very well! By virtue of the fact that I possess birth, lineage, social position, wealth, and the charm of youth, I shall obtain a husband who is my equal, and then I shall know what ought to be done to the monk Gotama.” And then and there she conceived hatred towards the Teacher.

(Did the Teacher know, or did he not know, that she had conceived hatred towards him? He knew. If he knew, why did he pronounce the Stanza? For the sake of the other two. For the Buddhas take no account of hatred directed against them, but preach the Law solely for the sake of those who are worthy to attain the Paths and the Fruits.) [28.277]

Her mother and father took her and committed her to the charge of her uncle Culla Māgandiyā, and then retired from the world and attained Arahatship. Culla Māgandiyā thought to himself, {1.203} “My daughter is not suited to be the wife of a low person, but is suited to be the consort of a king.” Accordingly he adorned her with all the adornments, took her with him to Kosambi, and presented her to King Udena, saying, “This jewel of a woman is worthy to

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<sup>144</sup> Ed. note: Sn 835 (PTS edition).

become a consort of your majesty.” When the king saw her, he fell deeply in love with her, conferred the ceremonial sprinkling upon her, provided her with a retinue of five hundred ladies-in-waiting, and raised her to the dignity of chief consort.

Thus the king had three chief consorts with a retinue of fifteen hundred nautch-girls.

### **Part 6. Death of Sāmāvati and of Māgandiyā, and the explanation thereof<sup>145</sup>**

#### **Treasurers, monks, and tree-spirit**

Now at this time there were living in Kosambi three treasurers, Ghosaka, Kukkuṭa, and Pāvāriya. As the beginning of the rainy season drew near, these men saw five hundred ascetics who had returned from the Himālaya country going the round of the city for alms. With joyful hearts they provided them with seats, offered them food, and obtaining from them a promise to reside with them, they provided them with lodging in their own homes during the four months of the rains. Then, having obtained from them a promise to return and spend the following rainy season with them, they let them go. From that time forth, after the ascetics had resided for eight months in the Himālaya country, they kept residence during the four months of the rains with the three treasurers.

On a later occasion, as the ascetics were on their way back from the Himālaya country, they saw a certain great banyan-tree in a forest retreat and went and sat down at the foot of it. The oldest ascetic thought to himself, “The deity who resides in this tree cannot be mundane. There must be a deva-king of great power here. {1.204} How good it would be if he would give this band of ascetics water to drink!” Immediately the tree-spirit gave them water to drink. Then the ascetic thought of water to bathe in, and the spirit gave that also. Then he thought of food, and the spirit gave that also.

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<sup>145</sup> Story ii. 1. 6: i. 208-231 relates the compassing of Sāmāvati’s death by Māgandiyā, and is preceded by the stories of the three treasurers, the monks and the tree-spirit, and Khujjuttara. A close parallel to this story is *Divyāvadāna*, xxxvi, part 2, pp. 529-544. Brief outlines of the story occur in Buddhaghosa’s *Visuddhi-Magga*, xii. 169., and in Schiefner, *Lehensbeschreibung Śākjamunis* (from the Kandjur), p. 47 (247). The burning of Sāmāvati and her five hundred women is the subject of *Udāna*, vii. 10. The *Dhammapada Commentary* quotes the *Udāna*-passage word for word.

Then this thought occurred to the ascetic, “This deva-king gives [28.278] us every single thing we think of. I wish we might see him.” Immediately the spirit burst the trunk of the tree and showed himself. Thereupon they asked him, “Deva-king, you possess great power. What did you do to get it?” “Do not ask me, Reverend Sirs.” “Deva-king, please tell us.” But the spirit was exceedingly modest, for the reason that the work of merit he had performed was a very small one, and therefore he did not wish to tell. However, after a good deal of urging, he said, “Well then, listen,” and told the following

### **Story of the Past: Tree-spirit’s former deed**

The tree-spirit, it appears, was once a poor man who sought and obtained work for hire from Anāthapiṇḍika and through him made a living. Now one fast-day Anāthapiṇḍika asked on his return from the monastery, “Has anyone told this laborer that to-day is fast-day?” “He has not been told, master.” “Well then, cook him his supper.” So they cooked him a measure of rice. Now the laborer had worked all day in the forest, and when he returned in the evening, he said, “I am hungry.” But when the rice had been prepared and given to him, all of a sudden he refused to eat. “On other days,” he thought to himself, “there is a great uproar in this house, ‘Give me rice, give me sauce, give me curry;’ but to-day all have lain down without making a sound, and they have prepared food for me alone. What can this mean?”

So he asked them, “Have the rest eaten?” “They have not eaten.” “Why?” “In this house people eat no supper on fast-days; {1.205} all keep the fast. The great treasurer requires all to fast, even infants at the breast, first causing them to rinse their mouths and to eat the four sweet foods. A lamp of scented oil is lighted, and all, both young and old, retire to recite the Thirty-two Constituents of the Body.<sup>146</sup> But we did not think it worth while to tell you it was fast-day, and therefore rice was cooked for you alone. Eat it.” “If it is proper for me to begin the fast now, I should like to do so.” “This is a matter for the treasurer to decide.” “Well then, ask him.” They went and asked the treasurer, and he replied as follows, “If he begins the fast now and rinses his mouth and takes upon himself the fast-day precepts, he will earn half the merit of keeping fast-day.” When the laborer heard the answer, he began the fast.

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<sup>146</sup> Ed. note: see Khp 3, and *passim*.

Now the laborer had worked all day long and was hungry, and the result was that the humors of his body became disordered. He bound a girth about his body, and holding the end of the girth in his hand, [28.279] he rolled over and over. When the treasurer learned of this, he took the four sweet foods and with torches borne before him went to the laborer and asked, "Friend, what is the matter?" "Master, the humors of my body are out of order." "Well then, get up and eat this medicinal food." "You eat it, master." "I am not sick. You eat it." "Master, as for keeping the fast, {1.206} I was not able to keep it all, but let me not be deprived of half." With these words the laborer refused to eat. "Do not act thus, friend," said the treasurer. But the laborer steadfastly refused to eat, and when the sun rose, he died even as a garland of flowers withers, and was reborn in that banyan-tree.

### **Treasurers, monks, and tree-spirit, concluded.**

Therefore the tree-spirit explained the matter as follows, "The treasurer was devoted to the Buddha, devoted to the Law, devoted to the Order; and it was through him, and in consequence of the merit I earned by keeping half of fast-day, that I obtained this power." When the five hundred ascetics heard the name "Buddha," they arose and stretched out their hands in an attitude of reverent supplication to the spirit and said, "Say 'Buddha.'" Three times they caused the spirit to confess his faith by repeating the formula, "I say 'Buddha.'" Then they breathed forth the solemn utterance, "This is an utterance difficult to obtain in this world," and said in conclusion, "Spirit, you have permitted us to hear a sound we have not heard for many hundred thousand cycles of time."

Then the pupils addressed their teacher as follows, "Well then, let us go to the Teacher." "Friends, we have three treasurers who are generous benefactors of ours. To-morrow we will receive food in their residence, tell them also what we have heard, and go. Give your consent, friends." Thereupon they gave their consent. On the following day the treasurers caused rice-porridge to be prepared and seats to be provided. And knowing that the ascetics would arrive on that day, they went forth and met them, escorted them to their residence, provided them with seats, and gave them food. When the ascetics had finished their meal, they said, "Great treasurers, we are going away." "Reverend Sirs, {1.207} did we not obtain from you a promise to reside with us during the four months of the rains? Where are you going now?"

“The Buddha has appeared in the world, the Law has appeared, the Order has appeared. We are therefore going to see the Teacher.” [28.280] “But is it proper for you only to go to the Teacher?” “It is not forbidden to others also, friends.” “Well then, Reverend Sirs, you wait, and we also will go as soon as we have made preparations.” “If you wait to make preparations, we shall be delayed. Therefore we will go on ahead, and you may follow after.” So they went on ahead, and seeing the Supremely Enlightened One, praised him, paid obeisance to him, and sat down respectfully on one side. Then the Teacher preached the Law to them in orderly sequence, and at the conclusion of his discourse all of them attained Arahathship, together with the Supernatural Faculties. Thereupon they asked to be received into the Order. “Come, monks!” said the Teacher. As soon as he spoke the word, they became full-fledged monks, possessed of bowls and robes created by magic.

Those three treasurers procured the requisites for alms, consisting of garments, coverlets, ghee, honey, molasses, and so forth, and conveying five hundred cartloads apiece, proceeded to Sāvatti. On reaching Sāvatti, they paid obeisance to the Teacher, listened to a discourse on the Law, and at the conclusion of the discourse were established in the Fruit of Conversion. For a fortnight they resided with the Teacher, bestowing alms, and then invited the Teacher to come to Kosambi. As the Teacher gave his promise, {1.208} he said, “The Tathāgatas delight in solitude.” Said the treasurers, “Reverend Sir, as soon as we notify you by sending you a message, it will be proper for you to come.” With these words they returned to Kosambi. The treasurer Ghosaka erected Ghosita monastery, the treasurer Kukkuṭa erected Kukkuṭa monastery, and the treasurer Pāvāriya erected Pāvāriya monastery.

When the treasurers had erected these three monasteries, they sent word to the Teacher to come and visit them. The Teacher, receiving their message, went there; whereupon they came forth to meet him, escorted him to the monasteries, and waited upon him by turns. The Teacher resided one day in each monastery and always went to receive alms at the door of the house of the particular treasurer in whose monastery he resided. Now these three treasurers had a servitor named Sumana, and he was a gardener. He said to the treasurers, “I have been a servitor of yours for a long time, and I should like to entertain the Teacher. Let me have the Teacher all to myself for just one day.” “Well then,” said they, “entertain him to-morrow.” “Very well, masters,” he replied, invited the Teacher, and made ready the usual honors. [28.281]

### **Conversion of Sāmāvātī by Khujjuttarā**

Now at that time King Udena was in the habit of giving Queen Sāmāvātī eight pieces of money every day to buy flowers with. A female slave of the queen named Khujjuttarā went regularly every day to the gardener Sumana and procured the flowers. When she came on that particular day, the gardener said to her, “I have invited the Teacher to be my guest and shall use my flowers to-day to honor the Teacher. You just wait, join with me in attendance on the Buddha, and listen to the Law. Then you may take with you the flowers that remain.” {1.209} “Very well,” said she, consenting to remain. Sumana waited upon the Congregation of Monks presided over by the Buddha and took his bowl that he might pronounce the words of thanksgiving. The Teacher began to pronounce the words of thanksgiving. Khujjuttarā listened to the discourse on the Law and became established in the Fruit of Conversion.

On previous days she had been in the habit of appropriating to her own use four pieces of money and of buying flowers with the other four; but on that day, spending all eight to buy flowers with, she returned with them. Sāmāvātī said to her, “My good woman, did the king give us twice as much money to-day to buy flowers with?” “No, my lady.” “Then why so many flowers?” “On previous days I kept four pieces of money for myself and brought you only so many flowers as I could buy for four pieces of money.” “Why didn’t you take the money to-day?” “Because I heard the Supremely Enlightened discourse on the Law and acquired understanding of the Law.”

The queen did not revile her and say, “You wretched slave, give me back the pieces of money you have stolen during all this time.” Instead she said to her, “My good woman, you have drunk the Deathless. Give me thereof to drink also.” “Well then,” replied Khujjuttarā, “order that a bath be prepared for me.” So the queen had her bathed with sixteen bowls of scented water and presented her with garments of fine cloth. One of these garments she caused her to put on as an undergarment, the other she caused to be thrown over her shoulder; then she had a seat prepared for her. Khujjuttarā thereupon sat down, took in her hand a painted fan, and addressing the five hundred women, preached the Law to them just as the Teacher had preached it. Then all of them paid obeisance to Khujjuttarā {1.210} and said, “Friend, from this day forth do no sinful deed, but [28.282] be to us as a mother and a teacher. Go to the Teacher and listen to every discourse he preaches, and then come back and repeat it to us.” And this she did so faithfully that later on she came to know the Tipiṭaka by heart. Indeed the Teacher assigned her preeminence, saying, “Preeminent among my

female lay disciples who are learned in the Scriptures and able to expound the Law is Khujjuttarā.”

Now those five hundred women said to her, “Woman, we should like to see the Teacher. Show him to us, that we may honor him with perfumes, garlands, and so forth.” “My lady, it is a serious matter to live in a king’s house. You have obtained access to it, but it is impossible for you to leave it.” “Woman, do not destroy us. Let us see the Teacher.” “Well then, make holes in the walls of your rooms large enough to look through. Then bring perfumes and garlands, and when the Teacher goes to the door of the house of the three treasurers, stand in your several places and look out and stretch forth your hands and pay obeisance to him and honor him.” They followed her directions, and when the Teacher went and returned, they looked out and paid obeisance to him and honored him.

### **Māgandiyā’s plot against Sāmāvātī and the Buddha**

Now one day Māgandiyā came forth from her own mansion and walked along until she came to the place where those women lived. Seeing a hole in a room, she asked, “What is this?” The women, not knowing of the hatred she had conceived towards the Teacher, said, {1.211} “The Teacher has come to this city, and we stand here and look at the Teacher and honor him.” “So the hermit Gotama has come to this city!” thought Māgandiyā. “Now I shall know what ought to be done to him. These women also are his supporters. I shall know what ought to be done to them also.” So she said to the king, “Great king, Sāmāvātī and her followers are disloyal to you and in but a few days will take your life.” The king replied, “They will do nothing of the sort,” and refused to believe the charge. Even when the charge was repeated, he still refused to believe. When she made the charge the third time and he still refused to believe, she said to him, “If you do not believe me, great king, go to the place where they reside and judge for yourself.” The king went there, and seeing the holes in the walls of the rooms, asked, “What does this mean?” When the matter was explained to him, he did not get angry, said not a word, but had the holes filled up and windows made with openings [28.283] above in all the rooms. (Windows with openings above came in at this time, we are told.)

Unable to injure the women, Māgandiyā thought to herself, “At any rate I will do to the monk Gotama what ought to be done.” So she bribed the citizens and said to them, “When the monk Gotama comes into the city and walks about,

instigate slaves to revile him and abuse him and drive him out of the city.” So heretics who did not believe in the Three Jewels followed the Teacher about when he entered the city and shouted at him, “You are a thief, {1.212} a simpleton, a fool, a camel, an ox, an ass, a denizen of hell, a beast, you have no hope of salvation, a state of punishment is all that you can look forward to.” Thus they reviled and abused him with the Ten Terms of Abuse.

Venerable Ānanda heard this and said to the Teacher, “Reverend Sir, these citizens are reviling and abusing us. Let us go elsewhere.” “Where shall we go, Ānanda?” “To some other city, Reverend Sir.” “If men revile us there, where shall we go then, Ānanda?” “To yet another city, Reverend Sir.” “If men revile us there, where shall we go then?” “To still another city, Reverend Sir.” “Ānanda, one should not speak thus. Where a difficulty arises, right there should it be settled. Only under those circumstances is it permissible to go elsewhere. But who are reviling you, Ānanda?” “Reverend Sir, everyone is reviling us, slaves and all.” “Ānanda, I am like an elephant that has entered the fray. Even as it is the duty of an elephant that has entered the fray to withstand the arrows which come from the four quarters, precisely so it is my duty to endure with patience the words spoken by many wicked men.” So saying, he preached the Law with reference to himself by pronouncing the following three Stanzas in the Nāga Vagga,

320. Even as an elephant engaged in the fray withstands arrows shot  
from the bow.

So also must I bear abuse, for the multitude is wicked. {1.213}

321. It is a tamed elephant they lead to battle; it is a tamed elephant the  
king mounts;

It is the tamed that is best among men, he that endures abuse patiently.

322. Of surpassing excellence are mules which are tamed, and well-bred  
Sindh horses,

And great elephants of the jungle; but better yet is the man who has  
tamed himself.

This discourse benefited the assembled multitude. When the Teacher had thus preached the Law, he said, “Ānanda, be not disturbed. These men will revile you for only seven days, and on the [28.284] eighth day they will become silent. A difficulty encountered by the Buddhas lasts no longer than seven days.”

When Māgandiyā had failed in her attempt to drive the Teacher out of the city by abusing him, she thought to herself, “Pray what can I do now?” Then the thought occurred to her, “These women are his supporters. I will destroy them.” Accordingly one day, while King Udena was drinking strong drink and she was waiting upon him, she sent the following message to her uncle, “Let my uncle come with eight dead cocks and eight live cocks. Having arrived, let him stand at the top of the stairs and announce his arrival. When he hears the word ‘Enter,’ let him not enter, but send in first the eight live cocks and afterwards the others.” And she gave a bribe to the page, saying, “Be sure to carry out my orders.”

Māgandiyā came and announced himself to the king. When, however, he heard the word “Enter,” he said, “I will not enter the king’s drinking-place.” {1.214} Māgandiyā then sent her page, saying, “Boy, go to my uncle.” He went, took the eight live cocks which Māgandiyā gave him, carried them to the king, and said, “Your majesty, the house-priest has sent you a present.” “A most excellent and dainty morsel!” said the king. “Now who will cook them?” Māgandiyā said, “Great king, the five hundred women led by Sāmāvati have nothing to do. Send the cocks to them. Let them cook them and carry them to you.” Accordingly the king sent them, saying to the page, “Go give these cocks to these women. Tell them not to intrust them to the hands of anyone else, but to kill them and cook them themselves.” “Very well, your majesty,” replied the page, and went and delivered the message. But the women refused to do the king’s bidding, saying, “We do not take the life of any living creature.” The page returned and so informed the king.

Māgandiyā said, “You see, great king? Now you shall find out whether or not they really take the life of living creatures. Your majesty, send word to them, ‘Cook them and send them to the monk Gotama.’” So the king sent this message to them. But the page, while pretending to carry the live cocks to the women, in reality went and gave those cocks to the house-priest and carried the eight dead cocks to the women, saying, “Cook these cocks and send them to the Teacher.” “This, to be sure, is our duty,” said the women in reply, and going to meet him, they received the cocks. When the page returned to the king and the latter asked him, “What was the result, boy?” he gave the king the following report, “The moment I [28.285] said to them, “Cook these cocks and send them to the hermit Gotama,’ they came to meet me and accepted them.” “See, great king,” said Māgandiyā, “they will not do it for the like of you. But you would not believe me when I said to you, ‘Their inclination is towards another.’ ” But

even when the king heard this, {1.215} he tolerated their conduct and remained silent. Māgandiyā thought to herself, “What shall I do now?”

Now at this time the king was accustomed to divide his time equally among his three consorts, Sāmāvatī, Vāsuladattā, and Māgandiyā, spending seven days by turns in the apartment of each. Māgandiyā, knowing that he would go on the morrow or on the day after to the apartment of Sāmāvatī, sent word to her uncle, “Send me a snake, first washing its fangs with a poisonous drug.” He did as she told him to and sent her a snake. Now wherever the king went, he was accustomed to take with him his lute for charming elephants, and in the shell of this lute was a hole. Māgandiyā inserted the snake in the hole and stopped the hole with a bunch of flowers; for two or three days the snake remained within the lute.

On the day when the king was to go to Sāmāvatī’s apartment, Māgandiyā asked him, “To whose apartment will you go to-day, your majesty?” “To Sāmāvatī’s apartment.” Said Māgandiyā, “Your majesty, to-day I had a bad dream; you must not go there.” “I am going all the same.” Three times she tried to dissuade him from going and failed. Finally she said, “In that case I will go too.” In spite of the king’s protests she went with him, saying, “Your majesty, I do not know what will happen to you.”

The king, wearing garments, flowers, perfumes, and ornaments given him by Sāmāvatī and her followers, ate heartily, and then placed his lute by his pillow and lay down on the bed. Māgandiyā, pretending to be merely walking back and forth, removed the bunch of flowers from the opening in the lute; whereupon the snake, which had been without food for two or three days, glided from the opening, hissed, raised his hood, and coiled himself up on the top of the bed. {1.216} When Māgandiyā saw the snake, she screamed with a loud voice, “Oh, your majesty, there is a snake!” And she straightway abused the king, saying, “This stupid, unlucky king will not listen to anything I say to him. As for these shameless scoundrels, what do they not receive from the king? You will live happily just as soon as the king is dead, but so long as he lives, you will have a hard time. Your majesty, when I cried out to you, ‘To-day I had a bad dream; you [28.286] must not go to Sāmāvatī’s apartment’ you would not listen to what I said.”

When the king saw the snake, he was terrified with the fear of death, the fire of anger was kindled within him, and he said, “So this is the sort of thing they are capable of doing! What criminals they are! Yet I would not believe

Māgandiyā when she told me of their evil nature. First they made holes in the walls of their own rooms and sat there; again, when I sent the cocks to them, they sent them back; to-day they have let a snake loose in my bed.”

Sāmāvatī delivered the following admonition to her five hundred women, “Friends, we have no other refuge. Cherish precisely the same feelings towards the king and the queen as you do towards yourselves. Be not angry with anyone.” The king took his horn-bow, which required a thousand men to string, twanged the bowstring, fitted a poisoned arrow to the string, and placing Sāmāvatī in front {1.217} and all the other women in single file behind her, shot an arrow at Sāmāvatī’s breast. But through the supernatural power of her love the arrow turned back, and returning by the same path it had come, penetrated, as it were, the king’s heart.

The king thought to himself, “The arrow I shot is capable of piercing even a rock, and there was nothing in the air to make it turn back. But it turned and came back by the same path it went. Indeed this senseless, lifeless arrow knows her goodness, but I, who am a human being, know it not.” And throwing the bow away and stretching forth his hands in an attitude of reverent supplication, he knelt before Sāmāvatī’s feet and pronounced the following Stanza,

I am utterly confused and bewildered; all four quarters are confused in  
my mind.

Protect me, Sāmāvatī, and be a refuge to me.

Sāmāvatī, hearing his words, instead of saying, “Very well, your majesty, seek refuge in me,” said, “Great king, in whom I have sought refuge, in him do you also seek refuge.”

Having thus spoken, Sāmāvatī, disciple of the Supremely Enlightened, said,

Do not seek refuge in me! He in whom I have sought refuge,—  
He is the Buddha, great king, he is the Buddha Incomparable!  
Seek refuge in that Buddha, and do you be a refuge to me. {1.218}

The king said, “Now I am the more afraid,” and pronounced the following Stanza, [28.287]

Now I am the more confused; all four quarters are confused in my mind.  
Protect me, Sāmāvatī, and be a refuge to me.

But she refused him precisely as before. Finally he said, “Well then, I seek refuge in you and in the Teacher, and I grant you a boon.” “I accept the boon, great king,” she replied.

The king approached the Teacher, sought refuge in him, invited him to accept his hospitality, and for seven days gave generous alms. Then, addressing Sāmāvātī, he said, “Rise and take your choice.” Sāmāvātī replied, “Great king, I have no need of gold and silver, but grant me this boon. Arrange matters so that the Teacher may come here regularly with his five hundred monks, so that I may hear the Law.” So the king paid obeisance to the Teacher and said, “Reverend Sir, come here regularly with your five hundred monks. Sāmāvātī and her attendants say they wish to hear the Law.” The Teacher replied, “Great king, the Buddhas may not always go to one place; many desire their presence.” “Well then, direct one monk to come.” The Teacher directed Ānanda to go. So Ānanda went every day to the royal palace with five hundred monks, and those women every day provided the Elder with food and listened to the Law.

One day, after they had listened to the Elder’s discourse on the Law, their hearts were filled with joy, and they rendered honor to the Elder by presenting him with five hundred yellow robes such as are worn over the shoulders, {1.219} each worth five hundred pieces of money. When the king saw that they had not a single garment left, he asked them, “Where are your yellow robes?” “We gave them to the Reverend Elder.” “Did he take them all?” “Yes, he took them all.” The king approached the Elder, paid obeisance to him, questioned him about the gift of the robes by the women, and learning that the women had given the robes and that the Elder had received them, asked, “Reverend Sir, there were a great many robes, were there not? What will you do with so many?” “I shall keep as many as we require for ourselves and send the rest to those whose robes are worn out, great king.” “What will they do with their own worn-out robes?” “They will give them to those whose robes are in a still worse state of repair.” “What will they do with their own worn-out robes?” “They will make bedspreads of them.” “What will they do with the old bedspreads?” “They will make carpets of them.” “What will they do with the old carpets?” “They will make foot-towels of them.” “What will they do with the old foot-towels?” “They will cut them into small pieces, mix them with mortar, and use them to plaster walls with.” [28.288]

“Reverend Sir, although all these are given to your reverences, nothing is lost.” “Quite so, great king.” The king was so pleased that he caused five hundred more robes to be brought and placed at the Elder’s feet.

(We are told that robes worth five hundred pieces of money {1.220} were presented to the Elder and laid at his feet in lots of a thousand, and that he received this number a hundred thousand times; that robes worth a thousand pieces of money were presented to the Elder and laid at his feet in lots of a thousand, and that he received this number a thousand times; that robes worth a hundred thousand pieces of money were presented to the Elder and laid at his feet in lots of a thousand, and that he received this number a hundred times. It is impossible to enumerate the number of robes he received by ones and twos and threes and fours and fives and tens. We are told that, upon the death of the Teacher, the Elder traveled all over the Land of the Rose-apple, presenting to the monks in all of the monasteries bowls and robes of his own.)

### **Burning of Sāmāvatī and punishment of Māgandiyā**

Māgandiyā thought to herself, “Whatever I do turns out otherwise than I expect. What shall I do now?” Finally she decided on a plan. On her way to the garden to amuse herself, she sent the following message to her uncle, “Go to Sāmāvatī’s palace, open the linen-closets and the oil-closets, soak pieces of cloth in the jars of oil, and wrap these cloths about the pillars. Then assemble all the women within the house, close the door, bar it from without, set fire to the house with torches, and then descend and go your way.”

Māgandiyā went up into the palace, {1.221} opened the closets, soaked garments in the oil-jars, and was just beginning to wrap them about the pillars when the women led by Sāmāvatī came up to him and said, “Why are you doing this, uncle?” “My ladies, the king desires these pillars to be strengthened, and has therefore given orders that they be wrapped in cloths soaked in oil. It is hard to understand why certain things should be done in a king’s house and certain other things should not be done. I beg of you, my ladies, not to remain here with me.” As soon as they had departed and entered their rooms at his suggestion, he closed the doors, barred them from without, set fire to first one cloth and then another, and descended.

Sāmāvatī delivered the following admonition to her followers, “It [28.289] would not be an easy matter, even with the knowledge of a Buddha, to determine exactly the number of times our bodies have thus been burned with fire as we have passed from birth to rebirth in the round of existences which has no conceivable beginning. Therefore be heedful.” As the fire consumed the house, the women applied themselves to meditation on the element of pain,

with the result that some of them attained the Fruit of the Second Path, while others attained the Fruit of the Third Path. Therefore it is said,<sup>147</sup>

Now a large number of monks, returning from their alms-pilgrimage after breakfast, drew near to where the Exalted One was, and having drawn near, paid obeisance to the Exalted One and sat down reverently on one side. And as they sat there on one side, those monks said this to the Exalted One, “Here, Reverend Sir, while King Udena was in his pleasure-garden, the quarters of his women were consumed with fire, and five hundred women led by Sāmāvatī lost their lives. Reverend Sir, what will be the end, what will be the future state of these female lay disciples?”

“Monks, some of these female lay disciples {1.222} obtained the Fruit of Conversion, others obtained the Fruit of the Second Path, others obtained the Fruit of the Third Path. Monks, none of those female lay disciples failed to receive the fruit of their past deeds.” And the Exalted One, clearly understanding the matter, breathed forth at that time the following Solemn Utterance,

Bound with the bond of delusion, the world appears to be good.  
The simpleton, fettered by the conditions of being, enshrouded by  
darkness,  
Thinks it eternal. But to him who really sees, there is naught.

So saying, he preached the Law, saying, “Monks, as living beings pass through the round of existences, they are not always heedful, and sometimes they commit sin. Therefore as they pass through the round of existences, they experience both pleasure and pain.”

When the king heard the cry, “Sāmāvatī’s house is on fire!” he went there quickly, but the house was burned before he could reach it. “Having extinguished the flames, he sat down surrounded by his retinue of courtiers, overwhelmed with profound grief, and recalled to his mind the virtues of Sāmāvatī. “Who could have done this deed?” thought he. Coming to the conclusion that Māgandiyā was the author of the crime, he thought to himself, “If I frighten her by my questions, she will not tell me. Therefore I will employ craft and question her gently.” {1.223} [28.290]

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<sup>147</sup> *Udāna*, vii. 10

Accordingly he said to his ministers, “Well, until this moment, no matter what I was engaged in or occupied with, I was apprehensive and suspicious; Sāmāvātī was ever seeking occasion to slay me. But now my mind will rest in peace, and I shall be able to lie down to sleep in security.” “Who was it that did this deed, your majesty?” “Someone who really loved me must have done it.” Now Māgandiyā happened to be standing near, and when she heard the king say this, she said, “None other than I could have done this. I alone did it. I sent word to my uncle and ordered him to do it.” “Except you, there is not a living being who really loves me. I am delighted. I grant you a boon. Send for all of your relatives.”

So Māgandiyā sent the following message to her relatives, “The king is pleased with me and has granted me a boon. Come immediately.” The king rendered high honor to all those who came, insomuch that even persons who were in no way related to Māgandiyā, hearing about it, gave bribes and came and said, “We are relatives of Māgandiyā.” When the king had them all in his hands, he caused pits to be dug waist-deep in the palace-court, set them therein, filled up the pits with earth, spread straw on top, and set the straw on fire. When the skin had been burned to a crisp, he caused the bodies to be plowed with an iron plow {1.224} and to be broken up into pieces and fragments. As for Māgandiyā, he had pieces of solid flesh ripped from various parts of her body with a sharp knife, and setting a vessel of oil on the brazier, he had them fried like cakes and made her eat them.

In the Hall of Truth the monks began to discuss matters, saying, “It is not right that a female lay disciple endowed with such faith should suffer such a death.” The Teacher came in and asked them, “Monks, what is it you are sitting here now talking about?” When they told him, he said, “Monks, if you regard this existence alone, it is indeed highly improper and unjust that the five hundred women led by Sāmāvātī should suffer such a death. What they received, however, was in every way proper, considering the sin they committed in a previous existence.” “Reverend Sir, what was the sin they committed in a previous existence? Pray tell us.” Responding to their request, the Teacher related the following

### **Story of the Past: Sāmāvātī’s attempt to burn a Private Buddha**

Once upon a time, when Brahmadata reigns in Benāres, there were eight Private Buddhas who regularly took their meals in the [28.291] royal palace, and there were five hundred women who waited upon them. Seven of these

Private Buddhas retired to the Himālaya, and the Private Buddha who remained sat down on the bank of the river where there was a tangle of grass, and entered into mystic meditation.

Now one day, after the Private Buddhas had departed, the king took those women {1.225} and went to sport in the water. When those women, who had sported there in the water all day, came out, they were stung with cold. Desiring to warm themselves, they said to each other, “Seek out some place where we can build a fire.” As they walked back and forth, they saw the tangle of grass, and thinking it was no more than a heap of grass, they gathered round it and set it on fire. When the grass burned down and they saw the Private Buddha, they cried out, “We are lost! we are lost! The king’s Private Buddha is burning up. If the king finds it out, he will kill everyone of us. Let us burn him well while we are about it.” So all those women brought firewood from all directions and piled it on the Private Buddha until they had erected a great pyre. Then they poured oil on it, and saying to themselves, “Now he will burn,” they departed.

Now in the beginning their act was a thoughtless one, and they were not bound thereby. But afterwards they committed a deliberate sin and were bound to suffer the consequences thereof. While the Private Buddha was absorbed in mystic meditation, they might have brought a hundred thousand cartloads of firewood and poured oil thereon, and they could not even have caused him to feel the heat. So on the seventh day the Private Buddha arose and went where he pleased. Because they committed this sin, those women were boiled for many hundreds of thousands of years in Hell, and because the fruit of that same evil deed was not yet exhausted, their houses were burned, and they were burned in their houses in a hundred successive states of existence in this very manner. This is the sin they committed in a previous state of existence.

When the Teacher had related this story, the monks asked him, “But, Reverend Sir, how did Khujjuttarā come to be a hunchback? How did she become so wise? How did she obtain the Fruit of Conversion? How {1.226} did she become an errand-girl?” [28.292]

### **Story of the Past: Khujjuttarā’s former deeds**

Monks, while that same king was ruling in Benāres, there was a Private Buddha who was slightly hunchbacked. Now a certain serving-woman, throwing a blanket over her shoulder and taking a golden vessel in her hand,

bent over so that she looked like a hunchback, and saying, “This is the way our Private Buddha walks,” imitated his manner of walking. It was in consequence of this that she came to be a hunchback.

But on the first day she provided those Private Buddhas with seats in the royal palace, took their bowls, filled them with rice-porridge, and presented them to them. The Private Buddhas took the bowls of porridge, but they were so hot that they were obliged to shift them from one hand to the other. That woman, seeing what they were doing, presented to them eight ivory bracelets of her own, saying, “Use these bracelets as stands for your bowls.” When they had so done, they looked at her, whereupon she said, “Reverend Sirs, we have no use for these bracelets. Accept them as a present from us before you go.” The Private Buddhas took them with them to Nandamūla mountain-cave, and those bracelets are preserved there unimpaired to this day. As the result of this act of hers, she now knows the Tipiṭaka by heart and possesses profound wisdom. Likewise it was through waiting upon the Private Buddhas that she obtained the Fruit of Conversion. These were her deeds in the interval between two Buddhas.

In the dispensation of Kassapa, the Supremely Enlightened, a certain treasurer’s daughter of Benāres took her mirror one day, as the shades of evening drew on, and sat down to adorn herself. Now a certain intimate friend of hers, {1.227} a nun freed from the Depravities, came to see her. For nuns freed from the Depravities like to visit the households of their supporters at eventide. But at that moment the treasurer’s daughter happened to have no errand-girl with her. So she said to the nun, “I greet you, Reverend Lady. Just take that basket of ornaments and give it to me.” The nun thought to herself, “If I do not take this basket and give it to her, she will take a dislike to me and will be reborn in Hell; but if I do give it to her, she will be reborn as the errand-girl of another. However, it is better to be the errand-girl of another than to suffer torment in Hell.” So out of pity for her she took the basket and gave it to her. In consequence of this act she became the errand-girl of another. *Stories of the Past concluded.* [28.293]

Again one day in the Hall of Truth the monks started a discussion. “Sāmāvatī and her five hundred women were burned with fire in their house; as for Māgandiyā and her kinswomen, a fire of straw was built over their bodies, and their bodies were torn asunder with iron plows, and Māgandiyā was boiled in boiling oil. Which of these are alive and which are dead?” The Teacher came in and asked, “Monks, what are you sitting here now talking about?” When

they told him, he said to them, “Monks, they that are heedless, though they live a hundred years, yet are they dead. They that are heedful, be they dead or alive, yet are they alive. Māgandiyā, while she yet lived, was dead already. Sāmāvati and her followers, though they be dead, yet are they alive. For, monks, the heedful never die.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas, {1.228}

**21. Heedfulness is the Way to the Deathless; heedlessness is the way to death.**

**The heedful never die, but they that are heedless are, as it were, dead already.**

**22. Knowing this clearly, they that are advanced in heedfulness  
Delight in heedfulness, and rejoice in the state of the Elect.**

**23. They that devote themselves to meditation, they that are  
persevering, they that put forth resolute effort.  
They, the wise, attain Nibbāna, the highest bliss.**

## **II. 2. The Voice Of A Rich Man<sup>148</sup>**

**24. If a man exert himself, if he be ever mindful, if his deeds be pure,  
if he be circumspect of conduct,  
If he control himself, if he live in accordance with the Law, if he be  
heedful, his glory ever increases.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Veḷuvana with reference to Kumbhaghosaka. {1.231}

For once upon a time the plague broke out at Rājagaha in the house of the principal treasurer of Rājagaha. When the plague breaks out, animals, from flies to cattle, are the first to die; after them, slaves; after them, the master and mistress of a household. So this disease attacked last of all the treasurer and his wife. As soon as they felt the first touch of the disease, they looked at their son, who stood near, and with eyes filled with tears said to him, “Dear son, as we know, when this disease breaks out, only those who break down the wall and flee succeed in saving their lives. Therefore have no consideration for us,

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<sup>148</sup> Text: N i. 231-239.

but make your escape. Having thus saved your life, come back again, and in such and such a place you will find buried in the [28.294] earth forty crores of treasure. Dig up the treasure and live on the money.” {1.232} When the son heard his parents speak thus, he wept aloud, bade farewell to his mother and father, and terrified with the fear of death, broke down the wall and fled. Seeking refuge in a certain mountain jungle, he dwelt there for twelve years, and then returned.

Now since he was a mere boy when he went away, and when he returned his hair and beard had grown long, no one recognized him. A sign which his mother and father had given him enabled him to find the place where the treasure had been buried, and going there he discovered that the treasure had not been disturbed. But he thought to himself, “No one knows me here, and if I dig up this treasure and begin to spend it, they will say, ‘A treasure has been dug up by a certain poor man,’ and will seize me and subject me to annoyance. Suppose I were to work for hire and thus gain a living.” So he dressed himself in rags and went through the servants’ quarters, inquiring, “Is there anyone who has need of a servant?”

When the servants saw him, they said, “If you will do a certain piece of work for us, we will pay you for it in rice.” “What kind of work is it, friends?” “To order and direct our work. You will be obliged to get up early in the morning and go the rounds of the workers and give orders to them, saying, ‘Men, get up and bring out the carts and yoke the oxen; it is time for the elephants and horses to go to pasture. Women, you also get up and cook broth and rice.’” “Very well,” said the rich man, accepting the task. So they gave him a house to live in, and he did his work faithfully every day.

Now one day King Bimbisāra, who could recognize anyone by the sound of his voice, heard his voice and straightway said, “That is the voice of some rich man.” A certain female servant who stood near {1.233} thought to herself, “No matter what the king says, this is something I ought to investigate.” Therefore she sent out a man, saying to him, “Just go and find out who this is.” The messenger straightway went and looked at the man, and on his return made the following report, “That is a poor man who is a servant of servants.” When the king heard his report, he said nothing; but on the second day and on the third day, hearing his voice, said precisely the same thing.

Every time the king made this remark the same thought occurred to that female servant, and again and again she sent a man to investigate. Every time

she heard the report, “That is a poor man,” she [28.295] thought to herself, “Every time the king hears the report, ‘That is a poor man,’ he refuses to believe it, and keeps repeating, ‘That is the voice of some rich man.’ There must be a reason for this, and it is my duty to find out the real facts.” Accordingly she said to the king, “Your majesty, give me a thousand pieces of money, and I will take my daughter and go to this man and bring this treasure to the royal palace.”

The king caused a thousand pieces of money to be given to her. She took the money, caused her daughter to put on a soiled dress, and departed with her from the royal palace. Pretending that she was making a journey, she went to the servants’ quarters, and entering a certain house, said to the mistress, “Woman, we are making a journey and should like to rest here for a day or two before we go on.” “Woman, there are many persons living in this house, and it is out of the question for you to remain here. But Kumbhaghosaka’s house is empty; go there.” So she went there and said to Kumbhaghosaka, “Master, we are making a journey and should like to remain here a day or two.” He refused her request, although she repeated it again and again. Finally she said, “Master, we will remain here to-day, just for one day, and early in the morning will continue our journey.” So saying, she refused to depart.

So she took up her residence there. On the following day, when it was time for Kumbhaghosaka to go to the forest, she said to him, “Master, give me an allowance for food {1.234} before you go, and I will cook food for you.” “Never mind about that,” replied Kumbhaghosaka; “I will cook food all by myself and eat it.” After she had urged him repeatedly, he gave her the allowance. As soon as she received it, she procured from a shop cooking-vessels and the purest of rice. Preparing the finest of boiled rice in the manner of cooking practiced in the king’s household, and cooking with the greatest care three portions of sauce and curry, she presented the food to Kumbhaghosaka on his return from the forest.

When he had eaten his meal and his senses were dull, she said to him, “Master, we are tired and will remain here for a day or two.” “Very well,” said he, consenting to the arrangement. Likewise in the evening and on the following day she cooked savory food for him and gave it to him. When she perceived that his senses had become dull, she said to him, “Master, we will remain right here for a few days.”

Thus she contrived to establish a residence in his house. One day she took a sharp knife and cut the cords of his mattress underneath at [28.296] the bed-frame in several places. The result was that, when he returned and lay down on his bed, the mattress sank down. Said he, “How did this bed come to be cut in this fashion?” “Master, I cannot prevent the boys from coming here and jumping on it.” “Woman, it is because of you that I have been subjected to this annoyance. Before you came, whenever I wished to go anywhere, I closed the door and went.” “My friend, what shall I do? I cannot stop them.” On three successive days she cut the mattress of his bed in this way, and when he became irritated and angry and rebuked her, she made the same answer.

Finally she cut all of the cords except one or two. {1.235} On that day, as soon as he lay down on the bed, the entire mattress fell to the ground, and he was doubled up with his head between his knees. Rising to his feet, he said, “What shall I do? Where shall I go now? I have no longer a bed on which I can lie.” “Dear friend, what can I do? I cannot prevent the boys of the neighborhood from entering. Well, do not worry. Let me think where you might go at this time.” And addressing her daughter, she said to her, “My dear daughter, make room for your brother to lie down.” So her daughter lay down on one side of her bed and said to Kumbhaghosaka, “Master, come lie here.” The mother also said to him, “Dear friend, go lie with your sister.” Accordingly Kumbhaghosaka lay down on the same bed with the girl and that very night did the deed of kind with her. The young girl burst into tears. Her mother asked her, “Dear daughter, why are you weeping?” “Mother, such and such happened.” “Well, what’s to be done about it? You ought to have a husband, and he ought to have a wife.” So she made Kumbhaghosaka her son-in-law, and thereafter Kumbhaghosaka and her daughter lived together.

After a few days she sent a message to the king, saying, “Cause the following proclamation to be made, ‘Let those who dwell in the servants’ quarters make holiday. Whoever does not make holiday in his house shall be visited with such and such punishment.’ ” The king did so. Kumbhaghosaka’s mother-in-law said to Kumbhaghosaka, “Dear son the king commands those who dwell in the servants’ quarters to make holiday. What shall we do?” “Mother, I can barely get along on the wages I earn. What shall I do?” “Dear son, those who live in a house of their own can borrow money. {1.236} The king’s command must not be disobeyed, but a debt can be paid off in some way or other. Go somewhere and get one or two pieces of money.” [28.297]

Kumbhaghosaka, much provoked, went to the spot where his forty crores of treasure were buried, removed but a single piece of money, and returned with it. His mother-in-law sent this piece of money to the king and paid the expenses of the holiday with a piece of money of her own. Again after a few days she sent the same message to the king. Again the king gave orders, "Let them make holiday. Those who do not shall be visited with such and such punishment." And again Kumbhaghosaka, under compulsion of his mother-in-law, who repeated the same suggestion she had previously made, went to his hidden store, removed three pieces of money, and brought and gave them to her. She sent these three pieces also to the king. After a few days more had passed, she sent yet another message to the king, saying, "Now let the king send some of his men and summon this man into his presence."

The king's men came and began a search for their man, inquiring, "Which man is Kumbhaghosaka?" When they saw Kumbhaghosaka, they said to him, "Come, sir, the king summons you." Kumbhaghosaka was frightened and was unwilling to go, saying, "The king does not know me," and much else. But the king's men overpowered him, and seizing him by the hands and feet, dragged him off. When his mother-in-law saw what they were doing, she reviled them, saying, "Rascally villains, you are not fit to lay hands on my son-in-law." Turning to Kumbhaghosaka, she said, "Go, my dear son; be not afraid. When I see the king, I will have him cut off the hands of those who seized you by the hands and feet." So saying, she took her daughter, and preceding the king's men, went to the royal palace. When she arrived at the palace, she changed her garments, adorned herself with all her adornments, and thus arrayed took her stand on one side.

The king's men came, pulling and dragging Kumbhaghosaka with them. Kumbhaghosaka paid obeisance to the king and took his stand before him. The king said to him, "You are Kumbhaghosaka?" "Yes, your majesty." "Why do you practice deceit in spending your great wealth?" {1.237} "Where is my great wealth, your majesty? I make a living by working for hire." "Do not act thus. Why do you deceive us?" "I am not deceiving you, your majesty. I have no wealth." Then the king showed him those pieces of money and asked him, "Whose are these pieces of money?" Kumbhaghosaka recognized the coins. Thought he, "Alas, I am lost! How did these pieces of money get into the hands of the king?" Looking about him, he saw [28.298] those two women, adorned and bejeweled, standing at the door of the room. Thought he, "This is a deep-laid plot. These women must have been suborned by the king."

Then said the king to him, “Speak, sir. Why do you act thus?” “I have no protector, your majesty.” “There does not exist a protector who is my equal.” “Your majesty, it would be most agreeable to me if your majesty were my protector.” “That am I, sir. How great is your wealth?” “Forty crores, your majesty.” “What shall I send to convey your wealth hither?” “Carts, your majesty.” So the king had several hundred carts yoked, and sent and had Kumbhaghosaka’s wealth brought and heaped up in the palace court. Then he assembled the residents of Rājagaha and asked, “Is there anyone at all in this city that possesses so much wealth as this?” “There is not, your majesty.” “What should be bestowed upon him?” “Honor, your majesty.” So the king bestowed high honor upon him, appointed him to the post of treasurer, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The king then took Kumbhaghosaka to the Teacher, paid obeisance to the Teacher, and said to him, “Reverend Sir, behold this man. For wisdom the like of him does not exist. Though he possesses forty crores of treasure, he gives no sign of being unduly elated, nor is he puffed up in his own conceit. As though he were a poor man, {1.238} he dressed himself in rags and worked for his living in the servants’ quarter. In this way I came to know of him. And coming to know of him, I sent for him, made him admit his wealth, caused his wealth to be carried to the palace, appointed him to the post of treasurer, and gave him my daughter in marriage. So wise a man I never saw before.”

Hearing this, the Teacher said, “If a man lives thus, great king, his life is a righteous life. But the deeds of thieves and other wicked men oppress them even in this world and afford them no happiness in the next. For if a man, when his wealth is exhausted, works for hire, his life is a righteous life. For such a man, exerting the power of his manhood, always mindful, pure in deeds and words and thoughts, circumspect of conduct through wisdom, exercising self-restraint in deeds and words and thoughts, leading a righteous life, never relaxing mindfulness, such a man goes from strength to strength.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**24. If a man exert himself, if he be ever mindful, if his deeds be pure,  
if he be circumspect of conduct,  
If he control himself, if he live in accordance with the Law, if he be  
heedful, his glory ever increases.**

## II. 3. Little Wayman<sup>149</sup>

[28.299]

**25. By rousing himself, by heedfulness, by controlling himself, by restraining himself,  
A wise man may make for himself an island which the flood can never overwhelm.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Veḷuvana with reference to Little Wayman the Elder. {1.239}

### 3 a. Birth of Little Wayman

We are told that the daughter of a rich merchant of Rājagaha, upon reaching the age of maturity, was provided by her mother and father with quarters on the topmost floor of a seven-storied palace and guarded with excessive care.<sup>150</sup> But in spite of this, maddened with the madness of youth and lusting for a man, {1.240} she did the deed of kind with her own slave. Frightened to think that others also might find out about her misconduct, she said to him, “It is out of the question for us to live here any longer. If my mother and father discover my misconduct, they will tear me limb from limb. Let us go live elsewhere.”

So taking a few necessary things they could carry in the hand, they left the house by the principal door. “It matters little,” said they, “where we go, so long as we go and live where others will know nothing about us.” So saying, the two set out together. They took up their residence in a certain place and lived together, with the result that the young wife conceived a child in her womb. When her unborn child reached maturity, she took counsel with her husband, saying, “If I give birth to my child in a place far removed from kith and kin, it will bring suffering to both of us. There is but one place for us to go, and that is home to my parents.” But her husband, fearing that, if he himself went there,

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<sup>149</sup> Parallels: *Jātaka* 4: i. 114-120; *Divyāvadāna*, xxxv: 483-515; Rogers, *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, vi, pp. 61-71; *Aṅguttara Commentary on Etadagga Vagga, Stories of Mahā Panthaka and Culla Panthaka*. 3 a and 3 b are almost word for word the same as the Introduction to *Jātaka* 4. 3 c is entirely different from the Story of the Past in the *Jātaka*. The *Divyāvadāna* version of the story of Culla Panthaka, Cuḍapaksha, chap, xxxv, pp. 483-515, differs materially from the version common to *Jātaka* 4: i. 114-120, and *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 3: i. 239-250. See also *Thera-Gāthā Commentary*, ccxxxi and ccxxxvi, and W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii, 317-321, together with the note on pp. 491-93. Text: N i. 239-255.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. the beginning of Stories viii. 3, viii. 12, and ix. 8.

he would be killed, kept postponing the day of their departure, saying, “We will go to-day; we will go to-morrow.”

The young wife thought to herself, “This simpleton realizes the [28.300] enormity of his offense, and therefore dares not go. After all, a mother and a father are one’s best friends. Let this fellow go or not; at any rate I intend to go.” So while her husband was out of the house, she put the household utensils away, and informing her next-door neighbors that she was going home to her parents, she started out on the road. When her husband returned to the house and failed to see her, he inquired of the neighbors where she had gone. Hearing that she had gone home to her parents, he set out after her as fast as he could and overtook her on the road. And right there she gave birth to her child. “What is it, wife?” asked the husband. {1.241} “Husband, it is a son.” “What shall we do now?” “That for which we intended to go home to my parents has happened by the way. Why, therefore, should we go there? Let us return to our own home.”

Agreeing that this was the best plan, husband and wife returned to their own home. Since their son had been born by the way, they gave him the name Wayman. In no long time the young wife conceived a second child in her womb. (All is to be related in detail precisely as before.) Since this child also was born by the way, they gave him the name Little Wayman, calling the older son Big Wayman. Taking their two sons, they returned to their own place of residence.

While they were living there. Big Wayman heard other boys speak of their uncles and grandparents. So one day he asked his mother, “Mother, other boys speak of their grandfather and grandmother. Haven’t we any relatives?” “Yes, my son. You have no relatives living here, but you have a grandfather, a rich merchant, living in Rājagaha, and we have many other relatives living there too.” “Why don’t we go there, mother?” The mother evaded telling her son why she did not go there. But the children repeated the question time and again. Finally she said to her husband, {1.242} “These children weary me excessively. Will my mother and father eat us alive when they see us? Come, why not let the children see the family of their grandparents?” “I should not dare meet them face to face, but I will escort you there.” “Very well; some means must be found by which the children can see the family of their grandparents.”

So mother and father took the children, and arriving at Rājagaha in due course, took up their residence in the hall of a certain woman near the gate of

the city. Then the mother of the children sent word to her mother and father that she and her children had arrived. When her parents received this message, they said to each other, “As we have passed through the round of existences, we have not previously [28.301] had a son or a daughter. But these two have grievously offended against us, and it is out of the question for them to stand in our sight. Let these two take as much money as they need and go and live in some pleasant place. However, let them send the children here.” So the two took the money which was sent to them, and giving their children into the hands of the messengers who came, sent them to their grandparents. Thus it happened that the children were brought up in the home of their grandparents.

Of the two children, Little Wayman was still very young. Big Wayman, however, used to accompany his grandfather to hear the Possessor of the Ten Forces preach the Law. And as the result of his frequent visits to the Teacher, his heart inclined to retirement from the world. Accordingly he said to his grandfather, “If you would give me your permission, I should like to retire from the world.” {1.243} “What say you, dear grandson? There is no one in the whole world whose retirement from the world would give me so much pleasure as your own. If you are able to do so, by all means retire from the world.”

### **3 b. Little Wayman as a monk**

Accordingly the grandfather took Big Wayman to the Teacher, who said, “Householder, you have won a boy?” “Yes, Reverend Sir, this is a grandson of mine who desires to become a monk under you.” The Teacher bade a certain monk on his round for alms to receive the boy into the Order. The Elder assigned to him as a Subject of Meditation the first five of the Constituent Parts of the Body,<sup>151</sup> and then received him into the Order. The youth learned by heart a considerable portion of the Word of the Buddha, kept residence during the season of the rains, made his full profession, and by diligently applying himself to meditation attained Arahatsip.

As Big Wayman passed his time in the enjoyment of the bliss of Mystic Meditation, in the enjoyment of the bliss of the Fruit of the Path, he thought to himself, “Assuredly it is in the power of Little Wayman to experience this same bliss.” Therefore he went to the treasurer his grandfather and said to him,

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<sup>151</sup> Ed. note: this preliminary meditation subject is traditionally recited at the time of ordination: *kesā, lomā, nakhā, dantā, taco; hairs of the head, body hairs, nails, teeth, skin.*

“Great treasurer, if you will give your kind permission, I should like to receive Little Wayman into the Order.” “By all means receive him into the Order, Reverend Sir.” We are told that the treasurer was profoundly attached to the Religion of the Buddha, and that when asked, “Of which daughter of yours are these two children the sons?” he felt ashamed to say, “Of [28.302] my daughter who ran away,” and that for these two reasons he was only too glad to give them permission to retire from the world.

So the Elder Big Wayman received his brother Little Wayman into the Order {1.244} and established him in the Moral Precepts. But Little Wayman, once received into the Order, proved a dullard. Indeed in four months he was unable to learn by heart this single Stanza,

Even as the lotus, the red lotus, of fragrant perfume, appears at early  
morn full-blown, with fragrance unimpaired,  
Behold the Buddha, resplendent as the blazing sun in the sky.

It seems that, in the dispensation of the Supremely Enlightened Kassapa, he possessed great wisdom, but that, after entering the religious life, he ridiculed and made fun of a certain monk who was a dullard, while the latter was trying to learn the Sacred Word; and that this monk, embarrassed by the ridicule to which he was subjected, was unable either to learn the passage by heart or even to repeat it. As the result of that act, Little Wayman was reborn as a dullard, and every sentence he learned put the preceding sentence out of his mind; indeed four months passed while he was striving to learn this one Stanza.

Thereupon Big Wayman said to his brother, “Little Wayman, it is not in your power to master this religion. In four months you have not been able to learn a single Stanza. How can you ever hope to reach the goal of the Religious Life? Leave the monastery at once.” So saying, he expelled his brother from the Order. But Little Wayman was sincerely attached to the Religion of the Buddha, and the last thing in the world he wished to do was to leave the Order and return to the life of a householder.

Now at that time Jīvaka Komarābhacca, taking an abundant supply of garlands and of various kinds of perfumes, went to his own mango-grove, rendered honor to the Teacher, listened to the Law, and then rising from his seat and paying obeisance to the Teacher, approached Big Wayman, who was steward of the Order, {1.245} and asked him, “Reverend Sir, how many monks are living with the Teacher?” “Five hundred.” “To-morrow, Reverend Sir, bring the five

hundred monks presided over by the Buddha and take a meal in our house.” “The lay disciple Little Wayman is a dullard and has made no progress in the Law. I accept the invitation for all except him.”

When Little Wayman heard that, he thought to himself, “The [28.303] Elder accepts an invitation for all these monks, but in accepting it, deliberately leaves me out. Beyond a doubt my brother’s affection for me is gone. Of what profit to me any longer is this religion? I will return to the life of a householder and spend my days giving alms and doing other works of merit.” So on the following day, very early in the morning, he set out with the intention of returning to the life of a householder. Very early in the morning also the Teacher surveyed the world, and seeing this incident, preceded Little Wayman to the gate and walked back and forth on the same road Little Wayman had taken.

As Little Wayman came along, he saw the Teacher, and approaching him, paid obeisance to him. Said the Teacher, “But, Little Wayman, where are you going at this hour of the day?” “Reverend Sir, my brother has expelled me from the Order, and therefore I intend to return to the world.” “Little Wayman, it was at my hands that you received admission to the Order. Therefore when your brother expelled you, why did you not come to me? Come now, what have you to do with the life of a householder? You shall remain with me.” So saying, the Teacher stroked him on the head with his hand, the palm of which was marked with the Wheel, and taking him with him, went and seated him over against the Perfumed Chamber. And creating by magic a perfectly clean cloth, he gave it to him, saying, “Little Wayman, remain right here, face towards the East, rub this’ cloth, and say as you do so, ‘Removal of Impurity! Removal of impurity!’ ” {1.246} Just then meal-time was announced, whereupon the Teacher, accompanied by the Congregation of Monks, went to the house of Jīvaka and sat down on the seat prepared for him.

Little Wayman sat down, facing the sun, and rubbed the cloth, saying as he did so, “Removal of Impurity! Removal of Impurity!” As he rubbed the piece of cloth, it became soiled. Thereupon he thought, “This piece of cloth was perfectly clean before. But through this body of mine it has lost its original character and has become soiled. ‘Impermanent, indeed, are all existing things!’ ” And grasping the thought of decay and death, he developed Insight. The Teacher, knowing that Little Wayman’s mind had attained Insight, said, “Little Wayman, think not that only a piece of cloth has become soiled and dyed with impurity. Indeed within you are lust, impurity, and other

defilements; remove them.” And sending forth a luminous image of himself, the Teacher, sitting before him, present in bodily form, as it were, pronounced the following Stanzas, [28.304]

Lust, not dirt, is properly called impurity; to lust is correctly applied the term “impurity.”

Monks should rid themselves of this form of impurity and live faithful to the religion of him who is devoid of impurity.

Hatred, not dirt, is properly called impurity; to hatred is correctly applied the term “impurity.”

Monks should rid themselves of this form of impurity and live faithful to the religion of him who is devoid of hatred.

Delusion, not dirt, is properly called impurity; to delusion is correctly applied the term “impurity.”

Monks should rid themselves of this form of impurity and live faithful to the religion of him who is devoid of delusion. {1.247}

At the conclusion of the Stanzas Little Wayman attained Arahatsip, together with the Supernatural Faculties, and with the Supernatural Faculties also a knowledge of the Three Piṭakas.

It appears that in a previous state of existence he was a king. Once, while making a ceremonial circuit of the city, with sweat pouring down his forehead, he wiped his forehead with a clean cloth, whereupon the cloth became soiled. Thought he, “By reason of this body of mine a cloth so clean as this has lost its former character and become soiled. ‘Impermanent, indeed, are all existing things!’ ” Thus did he acquire the concept of Impermanence. In consequence of this, in a later existence, Removal of Impurity became his salvation.

Jivaka Komarābhacca offered Water of Donation to the Possessor of the Ten Forces. Said the Teacher, covering the bowl with his hand, “Jivaka, are there no monks in the monastery?” Big Wayman replied, “No, Reverend Sir, there are no monks in the monastery.” Said the Teacher, “But Jivaka, there are!” “Very well,” said Jivaka, and sent a man to find out. Said he, “Go to the monastery and find out whether or not there are any monks there.” At that moment Little Wayman said to himself, “My brother says, ‘There are no monks in the monastery.’ I will show him that there are monks in the monastery.” And forthwith he filled the whole mango-grove with monks. Some of them were

making robes, others were dyeing robes, others were repeating the Sacred Texts. Thus did Little Wayman create by supernatural power a thousand monks, each different from every other. So when Jīvaka's messenger saw the numerous monks, he returned and told Jīvaka, "Noble sir, the entire mango-grove is full of monks." And right there Elder {1.248}

Wayman, multiplying himself a thousand-fold,  
Sat in the charming mango-grove until he was sent for. [28.305]

Said the Teacher to the man, "Go to the monastery and say, 'The Teacher summons Little Wayman.'" The man went and said what he was told to say. Thereupon the cry went up from a thousand throats, "I am Little Wayman! I am Little Wayman!" The man returned and said, "Reverend Sir, they all say they are Little Wayman." Said the Teacher, "Well then, go and take by the hand the first man that says, 'I am Little Wayman,' and the rest will disappear." The man did so. Immediately the thousand monks disappeared. The Elder Little Wayman returned with the man who came for him.

At the end of the meal the Teacher addressed Jīvaka, "Jīvaka, take Little Wayman's bowl, and he will pronounce the words of thanksgiving for you." Jīvaka took his bowl. The Elder Little Wayman, like a young lion roaring a lion's roar, pronounced the words of thanksgiving, ranging through the whole of the Three Piṭakas. The Teacher arose from his seat, and surrounded by the Congregation of Monks, went to the monastery. After the monks had shown the Teacher the customary attentions, the Teacher, facing the Perfumed Chamber, admonished the Congregation of Monks with the Admonition of the Happy One, assigned a Subject of Meditation, dismissed the Congregation of Monks, and then, having entered the Perfumed Chamber, the fragrant, perfumed residence in which he resided, lay down lion-like on his right side.

Now at eventide the monks assembled from all quarters, and drawing as it were curtains of crimson blankets, {1.249} sat down and began to praise the virtues of the Teacher. "Brethren, Big Wayman, not understanding the disposition of Little Wayman, thinking merely, 'In four months this dullard has not been able to learn a single Stanza,' expelled him from the monastery. But the Supremely Enlightened, because he is King of Ultimate Truth, within the space of a single meal bestowed Arahathship upon him, and together with Arahathship the Supernatural Faculties, and with the Supernatural Faculties mastery of the Three Piṭakas. Oh, great is the power of the Buddhas!"

Now the Exalted One, knowing that they were discussing this matter in the Hall of Truth, thought to himself, “It is my duty to go to them this very moment.” Accordingly he arose from the Seat of the Buddha, put on his gloriously dyed under and upper garments, girded himself as with lightning, and over his shoulders, like a crimson blanket, threw the great robe of the Happy One. And coming forth from his richly fragrant Perfumed Chamber, and walking with the stride of a noble elephant in rut, with the incomparable grace of a [28.306] Buddha, he proceeded to the Hall of Truth. And mounting the gloriously arrayed sublime Seat of the Buddha, and diffusing from his body the six-colored rays of a Buddha, even as the sun, newly risen on the top of Mount Yugandhara, agitates the inmost depths of the sea, he sat down in the center of the seat.

Now the moment the Supremely Enlightened One arrived, the Congregation of Monks ceased their talk, became silent. The Teacher surveyed the assemblage with soft, kind heart {1.250} and said, “This assemblage delights my heart beyond measure. Not a single hand is out of place, not a single foot is out of place; not a cough is to be heard, not a sneeze is to be heard; all these monks, reverent with reverence for the Buddha, subdued by the majesty of the Buddha, though I were to sit here for an aeon and not speak, would refrain from speaking first, would not so much as open their lips. I alone have the right to decide when it is proper to begin to speak. Therefore will I speak first.”

Accordingly with sweet voice, a voice like that of Great Brahmā, he addressed the monks, “Monks, what is the subject of your conversation now, as you sit here all gathered together? What was the subject of the discussion which you so suddenly broke off?” When they told him, he said, “Monks, this is not the first time Little Wayman has proved a dullard. In a previous state of existence also he was a dullard. This is not the first time I have been his refuge. In a previous state of existence also I was his refuge. But in a previous state of existence I made him master of the wealth of this world. Just now I made him master of wealth that transcends this world.” The monks desired to hear all about it. Responding to their requests, he related the following

**3 c. Story of the Past: The world-renowned teacher, the young man, and the king of Benāres**

Once upon a time a certain young man who lived in the city of Benāres went to Takkasilā for the purpose of acquiring the arts and became the pupil of a world-renowned teacher. He was by all odds the most helpful to the teacher of all the five hundred young men who were his pupils. All of his duties, such as bathing and perfuming the feet, he performed most faithfully. But he was such a dullard that he was not able to learn a single thing. The teacher thought, “This young man is most helpful to me; I will instruct him in the arts.” But in spite of his best efforts he was unable to teach him a single [28.307] thing. {1.251} When, after a long residence, the young man was unable to learn a single Stanza, he became discouraged, and resolving to return home, asked leave of the teacher.

The teacher thought to himself, “This young man is a devoted servitor of mine. I should like to make a learned man of him, but this I cannot do. However, I ought certainly to make him some return for the assistance he has rendered me. I will compose a certain charm for him and give it to him.” So he took him to the forest and composed for him the charm, “You’re rubbing! you’re rubbing! Why are you rubbing? I know too!” And this charm he taught him, causing him to repeat it many hundred times. “Do you know it now?” asked the teacher. “Yes,” replied the young man; “I know it now.” Thought the teacher, “If a dullard by dint of hard labor once learns by heart a form of words, it will never leave him.” And giving him money to defray the expenses of his journey, he dismissed him, saying, “Now go make your living by this charm. But in order that you may not forget it, keep repeating it over and over.” When he arrived at Benāres, his mother said to herself, “My son has returned after acquiring the arts,” and held high festival in his honor.

It happened just at this time that the king of Benāres made a careful examination of his thoughts, words, and deeds for the purpose of discovering whether he had been guilty of any fault. So far as he could see, he had been guilty of no impropriety. But he reflected, “A person never sees his own faults; it takes other persons to see them. I will make a tour of the city and listen to what others say about me. When people have eaten supper and have sat down, they gossip and talk about all sorts of things. If I am ruling unjustly, they will say, ‘We are utterly ruined by the punishments, taxes, and other oppressions of our wicked king.’ If, on the other hand, I am ruling justly, {1.252} they will comment on my good qualities, paying me many compliments and saying,

'Long life to our king!' ” So at nightfall he put on a disguise and went about the city, walking close to the walls of their houses.

At that moment some tunnel-thieves began to dig a tunnel between two houses in order to enter two houses by the same tunnel. The king saw them and took his stand in the shadow of the house. Now in this house lived the young man who had just returned from Takkasilā with the charm. When the thieves had dug the tunnel, they entered the house and began to look over the goods in the house. Just then the young man woke up and began to repeat his charm, “You’re [28.308] rubbing! you’re rubbing! Why are you rubbing? I know too!” When the thieves heard this, they exclaimed, “This man knows what we are up to. Now he will kill us.” And forthwith, dropping even the clothes they had on, they fled in terror in the first direction that was handy. The king, seeing them fleeing and hearing the words of the young man as he repeated his charm, continued his tour of the city and then entered the royal residence.

When the night grew bright and the dawn came, the king summoned a certain man and said to him, “My man, go into such and such a street, and in a certain house, where a tunnel has been dug, you will find a young man who has just returned from Takkasilā after learning the various arts. Bring him to me.” The man went and said to the young man, “The king summons you,” and conducted him to the king. The king said to him, “Friend, are you the young man that has just returned from Takkasilā after learning the various arts?” “Yes, your majesty.” “Give us this charm also.” “Very well, your majesty. Sit down on the same seat with me and learn it.” The king sat down on the same seat with him, learned the charm, {1.253} and then said to him, “Here is your fee as teacher,” and gave him a thousand pieces of money.

Just at this time the commander-in-chief of the army said to the king’s barber, “When do you expect to shave the king’s beard?” “To-morrow or the day after.” The commander-in-chief of the army gave the king’s barber a thousand pieces of money and said to him, “I have something for you to do.” “What is it, master?” “Go through the form of shaving the king’s beard, but grind your razor very sharp and cut his windpipe. Then you shall be commander-in-chief of the army and I shall be king.” “Very well,” said the barber, agreeing to the bargain.

When the day came for the barber to shave the king’s beard, he moistened the king’s beard with scented water, sharpened his razor, and applied it to the king’s cheek. Discovering that the razor was slightly dull, and realizing that he

must cut the king's windpipe with a single stroke, he stepped aside and began to sharpen his razor again. At that moment the king remembered his charm and began to repeat it, saying, "You're rubbing! you're rubbing! Why are you rubbing? I know too! I know!" Beads of sweat stood out on the forehead of the barber. "The king knows all about this business," thought he. He flung his razor to the ground in terror and prostrated himself on his breast before the feet of the king. [28.309]

Now kings know a thing or two; and the king of Benāres immediately said to the barber, "Scoundrel of a barber, you thought to yourself, 'The king doesn't know about this.'" "Spare my life, your majesty." "Very well; fear not. Tell me about it." "Your majesty, the commander-in-chief of the army gave me a thousand pieces of money, saying to me, 'Go through the form of shaving the king's beard, but cut his windpipe. Then I shall be king and you shall be commander-in-chief of the army.'" "

The king thought to himself, "It is due to my teacher that my life was spared." {1.254} He sent for the commander-in-chief of the army and said to him, "Well, commander-in-chief, what is there that you have not received from me? Henceforth I can endure to look upon you no longer. Depart from my kingdom." With these words he banished him from the kingdom. Then he sent for the young man who had been his teacher and said to him, "Teacher, it is due to you that my life was spared." And when he had so said, he bestowed high honor upon him and made him commander-in-chief of his army. *End of Story of the Past.*

"At that time," said the Teacher, "the young man was Little Wayman, and the world-renowned teacher was the Teacher himself." Therefore when the Teacher had finished this Story of the Past, he said, "Monks, thus in a previous state of existence also Little Wayman was a dullard, and at that time also I became his refuge and established him in the possession of the wealth of this world." Again one day the monks began a discussion, "The Teacher indeed became a refuge to Little Wayman." Thereupon the Teacher related the Story of the Past found in the Culla-Setṭhi Jātaka.

A man who is wise and intelligent can elevate himself to high position in  
the world with but little wealth,  
Even as by blowing a tiny flame one can start a great fire.

Having pronounced this Stanza, the Teacher said, “Monks, this is not the first time I have been a refuge to Little Wayman; in a previous state of existence also I was a refuge to him. But in a previous state of existence I made him master of the wealth of this world; just now I made him master of wealth that transcends the world. At that time the young pupil was Little Wayman and the young merchant was I myself.” Thus did he identify the characters in the Jātaka.

Again one day in the Hall of Truth the monks began a discussion: [28.310] “Brethren, in four months Little Wayman was unable to learn by heart a Stanza of four verses; but because he never relaxed the powers of his will, {1.255} he became established in Arahathship and has just now become master of wealth that transcends this world.” The Teacher came in and asked, “Monks, what is it that you are sitting here now talking about?” When they told him, he said, “Monks, a monk who exerts all the powers of his will in following the Precepts cannot fail to make himself master of wealth that transcends this world.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**25. By rousing himself, by heedfulness, by controlling himself, by  
restraining himself,  
A wise man may make for himself an island which the flood can  
never overwhelm.**

## **II. 4. Simpletons’ Holiday<sup>152</sup>**

**26. Simpletons are given to heedlessness...**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to Simpletons’ Holiday, Bālanakkhatta. {1.256}

For on a certain date there was a festival celebrated in Sāvatti called Simpletons’ Holiday, and on the occasion of this festival foolish, unintelligent folk used to smear their bodies with ashes and cow-dung and for a period of seven days go about uttering all manner of coarse talk. At this time people showed no respect for kinsfolk or friends or monks when they met them, but stood in the doorways and insulted them with coarse talk. Those who could not endure the coarse talk would pay the holiday-makers a half or a quarter or a

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<sup>152</sup> Text: N i. 256-258.

penny, according to their means, and the holiday-makers would take the money and depart from their houses.

Now at this time there were in Sāvatti five crores of Noble Disciples, and they sent word to the Teacher, “Reverend Sir, let the Exalted One refrain for a period of seven days from entering the city with the Congregation of Monks; let him instead remain at the monastery.” And for a period of seven days the Noble Disciples caused food to be prepared for the Congregation of Monks at the monastery and sent it to them, but did not themselves leave their houses. On the eighth day, however, when the festival was at an end, they invited the Congregation of Monks to be their guests, escorted them into the city, and gave abundant offerings. And having seated themselves [28.311] respectfully on one side, they said to the Teacher, “Reverend Sir, we have spent the past seven days most unpleasantly. Our ears had like to burst from hearing the coarse talk of foolish folk. {1.257} No one showed any respect for anybody else, and for this reason we did not permit you to enter the city. We ourselves did not go out of the house.” The Teacher listened to what they said, and then replied, “After this manner do foolish, unintelligent men conduct themselves. But they that are intelligent preserve heedfulness as their greatest treasure, and by so doing at last attain the attainment of the Deathless, Great Nibbāna.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanzas,

**26. Simpletons, folk of little intelligence, are given to heedlessness;  
But the intelligent man preserves heedfulness as his greatest treasure.**

**27. Give not yourselves up to heedlessness; indulge not in lust and  
sensual pleasure;  
For he that is heedful and practices meditation attains profound  
happiness.**

## II. 5. Kassapa The Great<sup>153</sup>

### 28. When the wise man banishes heedlessness by heedfulness...<sup>154</sup>

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to the Elder Mahā Kassapa. {1.258}

For on a certain day, while the Elder was in residence at Pippali Cave, he made his round of Rājagaha for alms, and after he had returned from his round for alms and had eaten his breakfast, he sat down and developed Insight, surveying with Supernatural Vision all living beings, both heedless and heedful, in the water, on the earth, on the mountains, and elsewhere, both coming into existence and passing out of existence.

The Teacher, seated at Jetavana, {1.259} exercised Supernatural Vision and pondered within himself, “With what is my son Kassapa occupied to-day?” Straightway he became aware of the following, “He is contemplating the rising and falling of living beings.” And he said, “Knowledge of the rising and falling of living beings may not be compassed even with the Knowledge of a Buddha. Living beings pass from one existence to another and obtain a new conception in a mother’s womb without the knowledge of mother or father, and knowledge thereof may not be compassed. To know them is beyond your range, Kassapa, for your range is very slight. It comes within [28.312] range of the Buddhas alone to know and to see in their totality the rising and falling of living beings.” So saying, he sent forth a radiant image of himself, and as it were sitting down face to face with Kassapa, pronounced the following Stanza,

**28. When the wise man banishes heedlessness by heedfulness,  
He climbs the terrace of wisdom, and free from sorrow, looks upon  
the sorrowing folk of the world.  
Steadfast, as though standing on a mountain-top, he gazes upon the  
simpletons standing on the ground below.**

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<sup>153</sup> Text: N i. 258-260.

<sup>154</sup> From here on if the story is short, only the opening line of the verse or verses will be quoted.

## II. 6. Two Brethren<sup>155</sup>

### 29. Heedful among the heedless...

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to two brethren. {1.260}

It appears that these two monks obtained a Subject of Meditation from the Teacher and retired to a forest hermitage. Early in the morning one of them brought firewood, prepared the charcoal-dish, and during the first watch sat and chatted with the probationers and novices. The other, a heedful monk, engaged in meditation, thus admonished his friend, "Brother, do not act thus. For a monk that is heedless stand ready four states of suffering, as if they were his own house. The favor of the Buddhas may not be won by double-dealing." When the lazy monk paid no attention to his admonition, the zealous monk said, "This monk cannot endure to be spoken to." Having failed to spur his comrade to greater effort, the zealous monk, abiding in heedfulness, resumed his meditations. {1.261}

The slothful Elder, having warmed himself during the first watch, entered the monastery just as his friend, having finished his walk, entered his cell. Said the slothful monk to the zealous monk, "Slothful one, you entered the forest for the purpose of lying down and sleeping. Seeing that you obtained a Subject of Meditation from the Buddhas, ought you not rather to rise and devote yourself to the practice of meditation?" So saying, he entered his own place of residence, lay down, and went to sleep. But his friend, after walking up and down during the first watch and resting during the second watch, rose in the last watch and devoted himself to the practice of meditation. Living thus the life of heedfulness, in no long time he attained Arahatsip, [28.313] together with the Supernatural Faculties. The other monk, however, spent his time in utter heedlessness.

When the two monks had completed residence, they went to the Teacher, paid obeisance to him, and sat down respectfully on one side. The Teacher exchanged friendly greetings with them and queried, "I trust that you have lived the life of heedfulness and that you have devoted yourselves earnestly to the practice of meditation. I trust that you have reached the goal of the Religious Life." The heedless monk replied, "Reverend Sir, how can this monk

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<sup>155</sup> Text: N i. 260-263.

be said to be heedful? From the time he left you he has done nothing but lie and sleep.” “But you monk?” “I, Reverend Sir, betimes in the morning brought firewood and prepared the charcoal-dish, and during the first watch I sat and warmed myself, but I did not spend my time sleeping.” Then said the Teacher to the slothful monk, “You who have spent your time in heedlessness say, ‘I am heedful.’ You mistake heedlessness for heedfulness. {1.262} Compared with my son, you are like a decrepit hack; but he, compared with you, is like a racer.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**29. Heedful among the heedless, watchful among the sleeping,  
Even as a racer outstrips a hack, even so goes a wise man.**

## **II. 7. How Magha Became Sakka<sup>156</sup>**

**30. By heedfulness Maghavā attained leadership of the gods;  
All men praise heedfulness; heedlessness is ever reprobated.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while in residence at a summer-house near Vesali with reference to Sakka king of gods. {1.263}

### **7 a. Story of the Present: Mahāli’s question**

For a Licchavi prince named Mahāli, who lived at Vesali, hearing the Teacher recite the Suttanta entitled Sakka’s Question,<sup>157</sup> thought to himself, “The Supremely Enlightened has described the great glory of Sakka. Has the Teacher seen Sakka? or has he not seen Sakka? Is the Teacher acquainted with Sakka? or is he not acquainted with Sakka? I will ask him.” So the Licchavi prince Mahāli drew near to where the Exalted One was, and having drawn near, saluted the Exalted One and sat down on one side. And having [28.314] sat down on one side, the Licchavi prince Mahāli spoke thus to the Exalted One, “Reverend Sir, has the Exalted One seen Sakka king of gods?” {1.264} “Yes, Mahāli, I have indeed seen Sakka king of gods.” “Reverend Sir, it must certainly have been a counterfeit of Sakka; for, Reverend Sir, it is a difficult matter to see Sakka king of gods.” “Nevertheless, Mahāli, I know Sakka; I know what qualities made him Sakka; I know by the cultivation of what qualities Sakka attained Sakkaship.

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<sup>156</sup> 7 a is almost word for word the same as *Samyutta*, xi. 2. 3: i. 230-231. 7 b is a free version of *Jātaka* 31: i. 198-206. Text: N i. 263-281.

<sup>157</sup> Ed. note: DN 21.

“Mahāli, in a previous state of existence Sakka king of gods was a human being, a prince named Magha; therefore is he called Maghavā. Mahāli, in a previous state of existence Sakka king of gods was a human being who in a previous state of existence gave gifts (*pure dānam adāsi*); therefore is he called Purindada. Mahāli, in a previous state of existence Sakka king of gods was a human being, who gave alms assiduously (*sakkaccam*); therefore is he called Sakka. Mahāli, in a previous state of existence Sakka king of gods was a human being who gave a dwelling-place (*āvasatham*); therefore is he called Vāsava. Mahāli in a previous state of existence Sakka king of gods was a human being who could think of as many as a thousand things (*sahassam attham*) in an instant; therefore is he called Sahassakkha. Mahāli, Sakka king of gods has an Asura maiden named Sujātā to wife; therefore is he called Sujampati. Mahāli, Sakka king of gods bears sway as lord and master over the Gods of the Thirty-three; therefore is he called King of Gods. Mahāli, Sakka king of gods in a previous state of existence as a human being took upon himself and fulfilled seven vows. Because he took upon himself and fulfilled these seven vows, Sakka {1.265} attained Sakkaship.

“Now what were the seven? ‘So long as I live, may I be the support of my mother and father. So long as I live, may I honor my elders. So long as I live, may I speak gentle words. So long as I live, may I never give way to backbiting. So long as I live, may I live the life of a householder with heart free from taint of avarice, generous in renunciation of what is mine, with open hand, delighting in liberality, attentive to petitions, delighting in the distribution of alms. So long as I live, may I speak the truth. So long as I live, may I be free from anger. Should anger spring up within me, may I quickly suppress it.’ Mahāli, Sakka king of gods in a previous state of existence took upon himself and fulfilled seven vows. Because he took upon himself and fulfilled these seven vows, Sakka attained Sakkaship.” [28.315]

If a man support his mother and father, if he honor his elders in the household,  
If he be gentle and friendly in conversation, if he avoid backbiting,  
If he steadfastly put away avarice, if he be truthful, if he suppress anger,  
Such a man the Gods of the Thirty-three call a good man.

When the Teacher said, “This, Mahāli, was what Sakka did in his previous existence as Prince Magha,” Mahāli, desiring to hear the whole story of his conduct, asked the Teacher, “Reverend Sir, how did Prince Magha conduct

himself?" "Well then," said the Teacher, "listen." So saying, he related the following

### **7 b. Story of the Past: How Magha became Sakka**

In times long past a prince named Magha lived in the village of Macala in the kingdom of Magadha. {1.266} One day he went to the place where the business of the village was carried on, removed with his foot the dust from the place where he stood, and having made a comfortable place for himself, stood there. Thereupon another struck him with his arm, pushed him aside, and took his place. But instead of becoming angry at the man, he made another comfortable place for himself and stood there. Thereupon another struck him with his arm, pushed him away, and took his place. But neither did he allow himself to become angry at this man; he merely made another comfortable place for himself and stood there. In like manner one man after another came out of his house, struck him with his arm, and pushed him away from the place which he had cleared for himself.

The prince thought to himself, "All these men appear to be pleased. Since this work of mine conduces to the happiness of men, it must be a meritorious work." So on the following day he took a spade and cleared a space as big as a threshing-floor, whereupon all the men came and stood there. In cold weather he built a fire to warm them, so that the place became a favorite resort for all. Then he thought to himself, "It behooves me to take upon myself the task of making the road smooth and even." So early in the morning he started out to make the road smooth and even, cutting down and removing all the branches of trees that needed to be removed. Thus did he spend his time.

Another man saw him and said to him, "Master, what are you doing?" He replied, "Master, I am treading the Path that leads to Heaven." "I also am your companion." "Be my companion, master; heaven is a pleasant place for many." {1.267} Seeing these two, a third man asked the same question, received the same answer, and joined them; then a fourth, then a fifth, until finally there were thirty-three. [28.316]

All these men worked together with spades and axes and made the road smooth and even for a distance of one or two leagues. The village headman saw them and thought to himself, "These men are all following the wrong occupation. If they would only fetch fish and flesh from the forest, or indulge in strong drink, or do something else of the sort, I should make something by it." So he sent for

them and asked them, “What is it you are doing?” “Treading the Path to Heaven, master.” “That is no proper occupation for men living the lives of laymen. What you should do is to bring fish and flesh from the forest, indulge in strong drink, and have a general good time.” But they refused to follow his suggestion, and the more he urged them, the more firmly they refused to do as he suggested.

Finally the village headman became angry. “I will destroy them,” said he. So he went to the king and said to him, “Your majesty, I see a band of thieves going about committing depredations.” The king replied, “Go catch them and bring them before me.” So the village headman arrested the thirty-three youths and haled them before the king. Without instituting an inquiry into their conduct, the king gave the following order, “Cause them to be trampled to death by an elephant.” Thereupon Magha admonished his companions as follows, “Friends, we have no refuge but love. Therefore let your hearts be tranquil. Cherish anger towards no one. Let your hearts be full of love for the king and the village headman and the elephant that tramples you under his feet.” The thirty-three youths followed the admonition of their leader. Such was the power of their love that the elephant dared not approach them.

When the king heard of this, he said, {1.268} “If the elephant sees so many men, he will not venture to trample them under his feet. Have the men covered with heavy matting, and then order the elephant to trample them.” So the village headman had the men covered with heavy matting and drove the elephant forwards to trample them. But when the elephant was yet a long way off, he turned round and went back. When the king heard what had happened, he thought to himself, “There must be some reason for this.” So he caused the thirty-three youths to be brought before him and asked them, “Friends, is there anything which you have failed to receive at my hands?” “Your majesty, what do you mean?” “I am informed that you are a band of thieves and that you rove about the forest committing depredations.” “Your majesty, who said that?” “Friends, the village headman so informed me.” [28.317]

“Your majesty, it is not true that we are thieves. The fact is, we are clearing a Path to Heaven for ourselves, and we do this and that. The village headman tried to persuade us to adopt an evil mode of life, and when we refused to follow his suggestions, he became angry at us and determined to destroy us. That is why he said this about us.” “Friends, this animal knows your good qualities; but I, who am a man, was unable to discern them. Pardon me.” So saying, the king made the village headman their slave, together with his

children and wife, gave them a riding-elephant, and presented that village to them to do with as they saw fit. Thought the thirty-three youths, "Even in this life the advantage to be derived from the performance of works of merit is clearly to be seen." And mounting the elephant by turns, they rode about the village.

As they went about the village, they took counsel together, {1.269} saying, "It is our duty to perform yet more abundant works of merit. What shall we do?" Thereupon the following thought occurred to them, "Let us build at the crossing of the four highways a rest-house for the multitude, making it secure and strong." So they summoned a builder and ordered him to build a hall for them. And because desire for women had departed from them, they resolved to give women no share in the building of the hall.

Now there were four women living in Magha's house, Joy, Thoughtful, Goodness, and Wellborn. Goodness went secretly to the builder, gave him a bribe, and said to him, "Brother, give me the principal share in the building of this hall." "Very well," replied the builder, agreeing to her proposal. Accordingly he first marked a tree out of which to make a pinnacle, felled it, and laid it aside to season. Then he hewed it and planed it and bored it, and having fashioned it in the form of a pinnacle, carved the following inscription on it, "This is the Hall of Goodness." Having so done, he wrapped it in a cloth and laid it aside.

Now when he had completed the hall and the day came to erect the pinnacle, he said to the thirty-three youths, "Noble sirs, there is something we have forgotten." "What is it, sir?" "A pinnacle." "Let us procure one." "It is impossible to make one out of a freshly hewn tree. We should procure for a pinnacle a tree felled long ago and laid away to season." "What had we best do under the circumstances?" "If in anybody's house there is a completed pinnacle which has been laid away to season and which is for sale, {1.270} that is the thing for you to search for." So they searched everywhere, and finding [28.318] what they wanted in the house of Goodness, offered her a thousand pieces of money for it. But they were unable to secure it for the price they offered. Said Goodness, "If you will give me a share in the building of the hall, I will give you the pinnacle." But they replied, "We have resolved to give women no share in the building of this hall." Thereupon the builder said to them, "Noble sirs, what are you doing? With the exception of the World of Brahmā, there is no place from which women are excluded. Take the pinnacle, for if you do, our work will speedily be finished." "Very well," said they. So they took the

pinnacle and completed the hall. And they divided the hall into three parts, reserving one chamber for kings, another for the poor, and another for the sick.

Then the thirty-three youths built thirty-three seats, and having so done, gave the following orders to the elephant, “If a visitor comes and sits down in a seat, take him and lodge him in the house of whoever built and owns that seat. It then becomes the duty of the owner of that seat to see that his guest’s feet and back are rubbed, to provide him with food both hard and soft, and with lodging; to perform for him, in fact, all the duties of hospitality.” Accordingly, whenever a visitor came, the elephant would take him and conduct him to the house of the owner of the seat in which he had sat, and the owner of the seat would on that day perform for him all the duties of hospitality.

Magha planted an ebony-tree near the hall and built a stone seat at the foot of the ebony-tree. All those who entered the hall looked at the pinnacle, read the inscription, and said, “This is the Hall of Goodness.” The names of the thirty-three youths did not appear.

Joy thought to herself, “The youths who built this hall resolved to deprive us of a share in the building thereof. {1.271} But Goodness by her own cleverness obtained a share. I also ought to do something. What can I do?” Thereupon the following thought occurred to her, “Those who come to the hall should be provided with water for drinking and water for bathing. I will have a place dug for a pool.” Accordingly Joy caused a bathing-pool to be built.

Thoughtful thought to herself, “Goodness has given a pinnacle, and Joy has caused a swimming-pool to be built. What can I do?” Thereupon the following thought occurred to her, “After those who come to the hall have drunk water and bathed, they should be decked with garlands when they are ready to depart. I will cause a flower garden to be laid out.” So Thoughtful caused a beautiful flower garden to be laid out. So many and so various were the flowers that grew therein [28.319] that it was impossible for anyone to say, “Such and such a flower-bearing or fruit-bearing tree does not grow in this garden.”

Now Wellborn thought to herself, “I am the daughter of the brother of the mother of Magha and likewise the wife of Magha. The merit of the work he has wrought accrues to me only, and the merit of the work I have wrought

accrues to him only.” Accordingly she did nothing but spend her time adorning herself.

Thus did Magha minister to his mother and father, honor his elders in the household, speak the truth, avoid harsh words, avoid backbiting, put away avarice, suppress anger. Even thus did he fulfill the Seven Precepts, as it is said: {1.272}

If a man support his mother and father, if he honor his elders in the household.

If he be gentle and friendly in conversation, if he avoid backbiting,

If he steadfastly put away avarice, if he be truthful, if he suppress anger.

Such a man the Gods of the Thirty-three call a good man.<sup>158</sup>

Having attained so praiseworthy a state, Magha, upon reaching the end of the term of life allotted to him, was reborn in the World of the Thirty-three as Sakka king of gods. His companions were likewise reborn there. The builder was reborn god Vissakamma.

Now at that time there were Asuras dwelling in the World of the Thirty-three, and when they learned that new gods had been reborn there, they prepared celestial drink for them. But Sakka gave orders to his retinue that no one should drink thereof. The Asuras, however, drank freely and became intoxicated. Thereupon Sakka thought to himself, “Why should I share my kingdom with these deities?” Forthwith, giving a sign to his retinue, he caused them to pick up the Asuras by the heels and fling them into the Great Ocean. So the Asuras fell headlong into the Ocean. By the power of their merit there sprang up at the foot of Mount Sineru the Palace of the Asuras and the Tree that is called Pied Trumpet-flower.

When the conflict between the gods and the Asuras was over and the Asuras had been defeated, there came into existence the City of the Thirty-three. The distance from the eastern gate to the western gate was ten thousand leagues, and the distance from the southern gate to the northern gate was the same. Now this city was provided with a thousand gates and was adorned with gardens and pools, and in the midst thereof, {1.273} as the fruit of the building of the hall, there arose a palace called the Palace of Victory. Its height was seven hundred leagues, and it was decked with banners three hundred leagues

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<sup>158</sup> Ed. note: Vatapadasutta, SN 1.11.11.

long. On staffs of gold were banners of jewels, and on staffs of jewels were [28.320] banners of gold; on staffs of coral were banners of pearls, and on staffs of pearls were banners of coral; on staffs of the seven precious stones were banners of the seven precious stones. Such was the palace that arose as the fruit of the building of the hall; a thousand leagues was its height, and it was composed of the seven precious stones.

As the result of the planting of the ebony-tree, there arose the Coral-tree, a hundred leagues in circumference. As the result of the building of the stone seat, there came into existence at the foot of the Coral-tree the Yellowstone throne, of a reddish yellow color like that of the jasmine flower, sixty leagues in length, fifty leagues in breadth, and fifteen leagues thick. When Sakka sits down on this throne, half its mass sinks into the ground; when he rises, it is all above ground. The elephant was reborn as god Erāvaṇa. There are no animals in the World of the Gods; so when he went into the garden to play, he would quit his form as a god and become the elephant Erāvaṇa, a hundred and fifty leagues in size. For the thirty-three youths, Erāvaṇa created thirty-three water-pots, each two or three quarters of a league around.

In the center of all, Erāvaṇa created for Sakka a water-pot called Beautiful. It was thirty leagues in circumference, and above it was a canopy, twelve leagues in size, made entirely of precious stones. {1.274} At regular intervals about the canopy there arose banners a league in length, made entirely of the seven precious stones. And from the lower edge of each banner depended a row of tinkling bells, which, when they were shaken by the gentle wind, gave forth sweet music like the mingled strains of the music of the five kinds of instruments or the singing of the celestial choir. In the center of the pavilion was prepared for Sakka a jeweled couch a league in length. There Sakka reclined in state. Erāvaṇa created thirty-three water-pots for the thirty-three gods. Each vessel bore seven tusks, each fifty leagues long; each tusk bore seven lotus-tanks; each lotus-tank bore seven lotus-plants; each lotus-plant bore seven flowers; each flower, seven leaves; and on each leaf danced seven celestial nymphs. Thus on all sides round about for a space of fifty leagues there were dancing-assemblies poised on elephants' tusks. Such was the glory in the enjoyment of which lived Sakka king of gods.

When Goodness died, she was also reborn there. And at the same time there came into existence Goodness, Moot-hall of the gods, nine hundred leagues in extent, than which exists no other place more charming. {1.275} Here, on the eighth day of the month, is preached [28.321] the Law. Unto this day, when

men behold a charming place, they say, “It is like Goodness, Moot-hall of the gods.” When Joy died, she also was reborn there. And at the same time there came into existence a lotus-tank called Joy, five hundred leagues in extent. When Thoughtful died, she also was reborn there. And at the same time there came into existence Thoughtful’s Creeper-grove, five hundred leagues in extent. Thither they conduct the gods whose prognostics have appeared, and walk rejoicing. But when Wellborn died, she was reborn as a crane in a certain mountain-cave.

Sakka surveyed his wives and considered within himself, “Goodness has been reborn here and likewise Joy and Thoughtful. Now where has Wellborn been reborn?” Perceiving that she had been reborn as a crane in a mountain-cave, he thought to himself, “Because she wrought no work of merit, the foolish girl has been reborn as an animal. It is my duty to have her perform some work of merit and bring her here.” So saying, he laid aside his proper form, and assuming a disguise, he went to her and asked, “What are you doing here?” “But, master, who are you?” “I am your husband, Magha.” “Where were you reborn, husband?” “I was reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three. Do you know where your companions were reborn?” “No, husband, I do not.” “They also were reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three as my wives. Should you like to see your companions?” “How can I get there?” Said Sakka, “I will carry you thither.”

Placing her in the palm of his hand, he carried her to the World of the Gods and set her free on the bank of the lotus-tank named Joy. Then he said to the other three, “Should you like to see your companion Wellborn?” “Sire, where is she?” {1.276} “On the bank of the lotus-tank named Joy.” So the three went and looked at her. “Alas!” they cried out, “see what has been the result of the noble woman’s spending her life in the adornment of self! Look now at her beak! Look at her feet! Look at her legs! She presents a beautiful appearance indeed!” Thus did they ridicule her. Having so done, they departed.

Sakka went once more to her and said, “Did you see your companions?” “Yes,” replied Wellborn, “I saw them. They ridiculed me and then went their way. Take me back again.” So Sakka took her back again, set her free in the water, and then asked her, “Did you see their celestial glory?” “Yes, Sire, I did.” “You also should employ such means as will enable you to obtain rebirth there.” “Sire, what shall I do?” “If I admonish you, will you keep my admonition?” [28.322] “Yes, Sire, I will keep your admonition.” So Sakka taught her the Five

Precepts. Having so done, he said to her, “Be zealous in keeping the Precepts,” and departed.

Thenceforth she sought after and ate only such fish as had died a natural death. After a few days had passed, Sakka determined to test her. So he went, and taking the form of a fish, lay down on the surface of the sand, pretending to be dead. When she saw the fish, thinking that it was dead, she took it in her beak. Just as she was about to swallow the fish, it wriggled its tail. The instant she discovered the fish was alive she released it in the water. Sakka waited a little while, and then lay down before her on his back once more. Again thinking it was a dead fish, she took it in her beak. But just as she was about to swallow the fish, it moved the tip of its tail. The instant she saw the fish move its tail she knew it was alive, and therefore let it go. When Sakka had thus tested her three times and had satisfied himself that she was keeping the Precepts faithfully, he revealed his identity to her and said, “I came here for the purpose of testing you. You are keeping the Precepts faithfully. If you continue thus faithfully to keep them, {1.277} you will before long be reborn as one of my wives. Be heedful.” So saying these words, he departed.

Thenceforth she used for food either fish that had died a natural death or none at all. After only a few days had passed, she shriveled up and died, and solely as the fruit of her virtuous conduct was reborn at Benāres as the daughter of a potter. When she was about fifteen or sixteen years old, Sakka considered within himself, “Where has she been reborn?” Perceiving that she had been reborn at Benāres as the daughter of a potter, he said to himself, “I ought now to go to her.”

So filling a cart with the seven kinds of precious stones disguised as cucumbers, he drove into the city of Benāres. “Come, get cucumbers!” he cried, as he entered the street. But when people came to him with coins in their hands, he said, “I do not part with my cucumbers for a price.” “On what terms do you part with them, then?” the people asked him. “I give them to the woman that keeps the Precepts,” he replied. “Master, what do you mean by ‘precepts’? Are they black or brown or of some other color?” “You don’t even know what Precepts are; much less will you keep them. I will give my cucumbers to the woman who keeps the Precepts.”

“Master, there is a potter’s daughter who is always going about saying, ‘I keep the Precepts.’ Give them to her.” The potter’s [28.323] daughter said to him, “Very well, master, give them to me.” “Who are you?” “I am a maiden that has

never failed to keep the Precepts.” {1.278} “For you alone have I brought these,” said Sakka. And driving his cart to her house, he presented to her, in the guise of cucumbers, celestial treasure which cannot be taken away by others. And making his identity known to her, he said, “Here is wealth sufficient for you to live on. Keep the Five Precepts unbroken.” So saying, he departed.

At the end of her existence as a potter’s daughter she was reborn in the World of the Asuras as the daughter of Vepacitti, king of Asuras, a bitter enemy of Sakka. Since she had kept the Precepts in two successive existences, she was fair of form, her skin was of a golden hue, and she was endowed with beauty and comeliness the like of which had never been seen. Vepacitti, king of Asuras, said to all the Asura princes who sought her in marriage, “You are not fit to marry my daughter.” Having thus refused to give her in marriage to any of the Asura princes, he said, “My daughter shall choose for herself such a husband as she sees fit.” So saying, he assembled the host of Asuras, and placing a garland of flowers in the hand of his daughter, said to her, “Choose for yourself a husband who suits you.”

At that moment Sakka looked to see where she had been reborn. Perceiving what was taking place, he assumed the form of an aged Asura and went and stood in the outer circle of the assembled company. The daughter of Vepacitti looked this way and that. Suddenly, because in a previous state of existence she had lived with Sakka, she was overwhelmed as by a mighty torrent by the power of the love for him which sprang up within her. And crying out, “He is my husband!” she threw the garland of flowers over his head. Said the Asuras, “For a long time our king has been unable to find a husband suitable for his daughter. Now, however, he has found one. This fellow is old enough to be his daughter’s grandfather.” {1.279} And they departed, hanging their heads with shame.

Sakka took her by the hand, cried out, “I am Sakka,” and flew up into the air. The Asuras exclaimed, “We have been fooled by Old Sakka,” and started up in pursuit. Mātali the charioteer brought up the chariot called Chariot of Victory and stopped by the way. Thereupon Sakka assisted his bride to mount and set out for the City of the Gods. Now when they reached the Forest of the Silk-cotton Trees, the Garuḍa fledglings, hearing the sound of the chariot and fearing they would be crushed to death, cried out. [28.324]

When Sakka heard their cries, he asked Mātali, “What are they that are crying?” “Garuḍa birds, Sire,” “Why are they crying?” “They hear the sound of the chariot and fear they will be crushed to death.” “Let not so numerous a host perish, crushed by the impact of the chariot, because of me alone. Cause the chariot to turn back.” Thereupon Mātali gave the sign with the lash to the thousand Sindh horses and caused the chariot to turn back.

When the Asuras saw that the chariot had turned back, they said, “Old Sakka started out in flight from the city of the Asuras, but has just caused his chariot to turn back. Doubtless he has received reënforcements.” And turning back, the Asuras entered the city of the Asuras by the same road by which they had come out and nevermore lifted up their heads. Sakka bore the Asura maiden Wellborn to the City of the Gods and installed her as the chief of twenty-five million celestial nymphs.

One day Wellborn asked Sakka for a boon, saying, “Great king, in this World of the Gods I have neither mother nor father nor brother nor sister; therefore pray take me with you wherever you go.” {1.280} “Very well,” replied Sakka, promising to do for her as she had asked. Thenceforth, when the tree that is called Pied Trumpet-flower blooms, the Asuras cry out, “Now is the time when our heavenly Coral-tree blooms,” and straightway they sally forth to attack Sakka. Therefore Sakka posts a guard to defend the Nāgas in the sea below, and likewise affords protection to the Supaṇṇas and the Kumbhaṇḍas and the Yakkhas, and likewise to the Four Great Kings. And over all, for the purpose of averting disaster, he places before the gates of the City of the Gods images of Indra bearing the thunderbolt in his hands. When the Asuras, after defeating the Nāgas and the other supernatural beings approach the City of the Gods and see the images of Indra, they cry out, “Sakka has made a sally,” and flee away. *End of Story of the Past.*

“Thus, Mahāli, Prince Magha adopted the way of Heedfulness. Because he was so heedful, he obtained such sovereignty so exalted and came to rule over the two Worlds of the Gods. Heedfulness is praised by the Buddhas and by others likewise. For it is through Heedfulness that all attain the Higher Attainments, both those that are of this world and those that transcend this world.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**30. By heedfulness Maghavā attained leadership of the gods;  
All men praise heedfulness; heedlessness is ever reprobated.**

## **II. 8. A Monk Attains Arahatsip<sup>159</sup>**

[28.325]

### **31. A monk who delights in heedfulness...**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to a certain monk. {1.281}

The story goes that this monk obtained from the Teacher a Subject of Meditation leading to Arahatsip and retired to the forest. Although he strove and struggled with might and main, he was unable to attain Arahatsip. Thereupon he said to himself, "I will ask the Teacher to give me a Subject of Meditation better suited to my needs." So he departed from his place of residence and set out to return to the Teacher. On the way he saw a great forest fire raging. Accordingly he climbed up to the top of a bald mountain and sat down. As he watched the fire consume the forest, {1.282} he concentrated his mind on the following thought, "Even as this fire advances, consuming all obstacles both great and small, so also ought I to advance, consuming all obstacles both great and small by the Fire of Knowledge of the Noble Path."

The Teacher, even as he sat in his Perfumed Chamber, became aware of the course of his thoughts and spoke as follows, "Monk, this is precisely true. Even as fire consumes all obstacles both great and small, so also is it necessary with the Fire of Knowledge to consume and utterly destroy all Attachments both small and great which arise within these living beings." And sending forth a luminous image of himself, present, as it were, sitting face to face with that monk, he pronounced the following Apparition-Stanza,

### **31. A monk who delights in heedfulness and views heedlessness with fear**

**Advances like a fire, consuming attachments both small and great.**

{1.283}

At the conclusion of the Stanza that monk, even as he sat there, consumed all the Attachments and attained Arahatsip, together with the Supernatural Faculties. And straightway, soaring through the air, he approached the Teacher, praising and glorifying the golden body of the Tathāgata. And when he had done him homage, he departed.

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<sup>159</sup> Text: N i. 281-283.

## II. 9. Tissa of the Market-Town<sup>160</sup>

[28.326]

**32. A monk who delights in heedfulness and views heedlessness with fear,  
Is not liable to fall away, but is nigh even unto Nibbāna.**

This religious instruction was given by the Teacher while he was in residence at Jetavana with reference to Elder Tissa of the Market-town, Nigamavāsī Tissa. {1.283}

For a youth of station, born and reared in a certain market-town not far from Sāvatti, retired from the world and became a monk in the Religion of the Teacher. On making his full profession, he became known as Tissa of the Market-town, or Nigama Tissa. He acquired the reputation of being frugal, contented, pure, resolute. He always made his rounds for alms in the village where his relatives resided. Although, in the neighboring city of Sāvatti, Anāthapiṇḍika and other disciples were bestowing abundant offerings and Pasenadi Kosala was bestowing gifts beyond compare, he never went to Sāvatti.

One day the monks began to talk about him and said to the Teacher, “This monk Nigama Tissa, busy and active, lives in intimate association with his kinsfolk. Although Anāthapiṇḍika and other disciples are bestowing abundant offerings and Pasenadi Kosala is bestowing Gifts beyond Compare, he never comes to Sāvatti.” {1.284} The Teacher had Nigama Tissa summoned and asked him, “Monk, is the report true that you are doing thus and so?” “Reverend Sir,” replied Tissa, “it is not true that I live in intimate association with my relatives. I receive from these folk only so much food as I can eat. But after receiving so much food, whether coarse or fine, as is necessary to support me, I do not return to the monastery, thinking, ‘Why seek food?’ I do not live in intimate association with my relatives, Reverend Sir.” The Teacher, knowing the disposition of the monk, applauded him, saying, “Well done, well done,

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<sup>160</sup> The Story of the Past presents an interesting problem. *Dh. cm.*, i. 284<sup>12</sup>-285<sup>5</sup>, is almost word for word the same as *Jātaka* 429: iii. 491<sup>4-20</sup>. *Dh. cm.* then makes Sakka utter, not the first stanza of *Jātaka* 429, but the first stanza of *Jātaka* 430, and refers the reader to the tenth *Nipāta* for the rest of the story. In Fausböll's edition the story occurs in the ninth *Nipāta*. But it has ten stanzas and doubtless stood in the tenth *Nipāta* of the recension of the *Jātaka* Book, to which the compiler of the Dhammapada Commentary had access. Text: N i. 283-286.

monk!” and then addressed him as follows, “It is not at all strange, monk, that after obtaining such a Teacher as I, you should be frugal. For frugality is my disposition and my habit.” And in response to a request of the monks he related the following [28.327]

### **9 a. Story of the Past: Sakka and the parrot**

Once upon a time several thousand parrots lived in a certain grove of fig-trees in the Himālaya country on the bank of the Ganges. One of them, the king-parrot, when the fruits of the tree in which he lived had withered away, ate whatever he found remaining, whether shoot or leaf or bark, drank water from the Ganges, and being very happy and contented, remained where he was. In fact he was so very happy and contented that the Abode of Sakka began to quake. Sakka considered the cause, and seeing the parrot, determined to put him to the test. Accordingly he employed his supernatural power and withered up the tree. Straightway the tree became a mere stump, full of holes and cracks. When the wind beat upon it, there came forth from the tree a hollow sound, and out of the holes and cracks came forth dust. {1.285} The parrot ate the dust, drank water from the Ganges, and going nowhere else, remained perched on the top of the fig-tree, recking naught of wind and sun.

When Sakka observed how very happy and contented the parrot was, he said to himself, “I will go to him, let him talk of the virtue of friendship, grant him his heart’s desire, and cause the fig-tree to bear ambrosial fruit.” Accordingly Sakka assumed the form of a royal goose, and preceded by Wellborn in the form of an Asura nymph, went to the grove of fig-trees, alighted on the branch of a certain tree not far off, and entered into conversation with the parrot by pronouncing the following Stanza,

There are trees with green leaves, trees aplenty with abundant fruit.  
Why does the parrot’s heart delight in a tree that is withered and hollow?

(The entire Jātaka is here to be related in detail, just as it occurs in the tenth Nipāta. The occasion there is different from what it is here, but everything else is the same.)<sup>161</sup> When the Teacher had given this religious instruction, he said, “At that time Sakka was Ānanda, and the parrot-king was I myself. Thus,

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<sup>161</sup> The *Jātaka* goes on to say that the parrot replied, “This tree has been good to me in the past. Why should I forsake it now?” Thereupon Sakka caused the tree to bloom anew and to bear abundant fruit.

monks, contentment is my disposition and my habit. It is, therefore, not at all strange that my son Nigamavāsī Tissa, because he was so happy and contented, obtained me for his teacher. Such a monk, because he has attained the [28.328] Paths and the Fruits, is not liable to fall away; nay rather he is nigh even unto Nibbāna.” So saying, he pronounced the following Stanza,

**32. A monk who delights in heedfulness and views heedlessness with  
fear,  
Is not liable to fall away, but is nigh even unto Nibbāna.**