

## **Buddhavaṃsa - Chronicle of Buddhas**

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### **SUMMARY**

The first chapter tells how Gautama Buddha, to demonstrate his supernormal knowledge, creates a jewelled walkway in the sky. In seeing this display, Sāriputta asks the Buddha:

"Of what kind, great hero, supreme among men, was your resolve? At what time, wise one, was supreme Awakening aspired to by you? ... Of what kind, wise one, leader of the world, were your ten perfections? How were the higher perfections fulfilled, how the ultimate perfections?" In response, the Buddha relays the remainder of the Buddhavaṃsa.

In the second chapter Gautama tells how in a distant past life as layman named Sumedha, he received a prediction from Dipankara Buddha that "In the next era you will become a buddha named Gotama.", and told him the ten perfections he would need to practice.

Chapters 3 through 26 are accounts of the twenty-four historical Buddhas who achieved Buddhahood between Dipankara and Gautama, and the acts of merit that Gautama performed towards them in his previous lives.

Chapter 27 is an account of the life of Gautama Buddha.

Chapter 28 mentions three Buddhas that preceded Dipankara, as well as the future Buddha, Maitreya.

Chapter 29 tells of the distribution of Gautama Buddha's relics after his death.

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# Praise to that Lord, Arahant, Fully Self-Awakened One

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## I SECTION ON THE JEWEL-WALK

- 1 Brahmā Sahampati, chief in the world, his hands clasped, requested him who was unexcelled: "There are beings here who by nature have little dust (of defilements) in them<sup>1</sup>; teach Dhamma<sup>2</sup> out of compassion for this generation".
- 2 In him possessed of knowledge-and-right-conduct, in the steadfast one<sup>3</sup>, the bringer of light<sup>4</sup>, bearer of his last body, Tathāgata, matchless person, there arose pitifulness towards all beings<sup>5</sup>:
- 3 As these men with devas do not know<sup>6</sup> of that kind is this Buddha, supreme among men, nor of what kind is his power of psychic potency, power of wisdom, of what kind is the power of a Buddha, benevolent towards the world—
- 4 As these men with devas do not know that of this kind is this Buddha, supreme among men, and of this kind is his power of psychic potency, power of wisdom, of this kind is the power of a Buddha, benevolent towards the world—
- 5 Come, I will display the unsurpassed power of a Buddha: in the zenith I will create a Walk adorned with jewels.

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 12, with but a small amount of the dust of attachment, hatred and confusion.

<sup>2</sup> Dhamma can mean the scriptures, the Teaching, concentration, wisdom, the normal, the particular essence, voidness, merit, offence, what can be known, the four true things. Here the four true things are to be understood, BvAC. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *tādi*, one who is unaffected by what is liked or disliked, BvAC. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Referring both to the light of his physical frame and to the light of wisdom, BvAC. 15, which also quotes S. i. 15.

<sup>5</sup> All beings without exception, BvAC. 18. Therefore animals are included.

<sup>6</sup> Referring mainly to his elder Sakyan relations who were sneering at him. The reading *na h'ete jānanti* has been accepted here and in ver. 4, in preference to *na bho te jānanti* of Bv. Verses 3-6 quoted at CpA. 5.

- 6 Devas of earth, those belonging to the Great Regents, the Thirty-Three, and Yama's devas, and the Happy Ones, those who rejoice in creating<sup>1</sup>, those too with power over others' creations<sup>2</sup>, and those of Brahmā's retinue, blissful, made a far-flung clamour.
- 7 Illumined were the earth together with the worlds of the devas and the numerous baseless spaces between the worlds, and the dense gloom was dissipated when they saw the wonderful marvel.<sup>3</sup>
- 8 Among devas, heavenly musicians, men, demons, a magnificent far-flung radiance appeared in both this world and that beyond, below and above, across and around.
- 9 The superb being, unexcelled, guider away, teacher, was honoured by devas and men<sup>4</sup>; of great might, with the mark of a hundred merits<sup>5</sup>, he displayed the wonderful marvel.
- 10 Requested by the glorious deva, he, one with vision<sup>6</sup>, supreme among men, leader of the world<sup>7</sup>, reflecting on the matter then created a well-wrought Walk there with all the jewels.
- 11 The Lord was master<sup>8</sup> of the three marvels: psychic potency, the speaking of suitable discourses<sup>9</sup>, and instruction<sup>10</sup>. The leader of the world created a well-wrought Walk with all the jewels.
- 12 In the ten-thousand world-system he displayed, like a course of pillars on (each) supreme mountain Sineru, Walks made of jewels.<sup>11</sup>
- 13 The Conqueror<sup>12</sup> created a Walk spanning the ten-thousand;

<sup>1</sup> nimmitā (devā) explained at BvAC. 28 as nimmānaratī devatā.

<sup>2</sup> paranimmitā explained at BvAC. 28 as paranimmitavasavattī devatā.

<sup>3</sup> BvAC. 31 takes this to be the Marvel of the Double which it describes in detail; cf. DhA. iii. 214f.

<sup>4</sup> A comprehensive statement including honour paid by animals and yakkhas.

<sup>5</sup> Or, a hundred marks of merit.

<sup>6</sup> The eye of knowledge which is fivefold and the bodily eye which is two-fold. See BvAC. 33.

<sup>7</sup> He leads the world towards deliverance, BvAC. 34.

<sup>8</sup> The five masteries are adverting to, attaining, resolutely determining to remain in, emerging from the meditations, and mastery over the reviewing impulses, BvAC. 35.

<sup>9</sup> ādesanā, a talk to suit the mental make-up or temperament of the listener.

<sup>10</sup> Exhortation in line with the mental bent of the listener, BvAC. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Or, "(the pillars) in the Walk made of jewels".

<sup>12</sup> Of the defilements.

- all golden were the sides of that Walk which was made of jewels.<sup>1</sup>
- 14 The junction of (each pair of) beams was symmetrical, the floor-boards covered with gold; all golden were the railings, well-fashioned on both sides (of the Walk).
- 15 Strewn over with sand (consisting) of jewels and pearls, fashioned and made of jewels it<sup>2</sup> illumined all the quarters like him of the hundred rays when he has risen.
- 16 Walking up and down in that, the wise one, him of the thirty-two glorious Marks, Self-Awakened One, Conqueror, shining, walked up and down in the Walk.
- 17 All the devas, gathered together, showered down on the Walk deva-like mandāra<sup>3</sup> flowers, lotuses, flowers of the Coral Tree.<sup>3</sup>
- 18 The company of devas saw him, the ten-thousand was joyous; paying homage they assembled, elated, exultant, joyous.
- 19 The Thirty-Three and Yama's (devas), also the Happy devatās, the devas who rejoice in creating, those devas with power over others' creations, their minds uplifted, happy, saw the leader of the world.
- 20 Heavenly musicians, men, demons together with the devas, nāgas, fairy-birds<sup>4</sup>, and bird men<sup>5</sup> besides, saw that one who was compassionate for the world's welfare like the orb of the moon high aloft in the zenith.
- 21 (Devas of) Light, Lustrous (devas), Vehapphala<sup>6</sup> (devas) and Akaniṭṭha devatās<sup>7</sup> stood raising clasped hands, clothed in garments and raiment that were very pure and bright.
- 22 And they let fall flowers of the five-hued mandāra mixed with sandal-wood powder, and they waved wearing apparel in the air then. Ah, the Conqueror compassionate for the world's welfare!
- 23 Thou, the teacher, flag and banner, and the sacrificial post for breathing things, the resting-place, support, and lamp (and island)<sup>8</sup>, supreme among men!

<sup>1</sup> Jewels were in the middle.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Walk.

<sup>3</sup> Tree in the deva-world.

<sup>4</sup> supanna, lovely wing; a kind of mythical bird.

<sup>5</sup> kinnara or kinṇara, a bird with a man's head.

<sup>6</sup> "Immensely fruitful", vipulaphala, BvAC. 37, VbhA. 521.

<sup>7</sup> "No youngsters (or, inferiors) here", BvAC. 37, DA. ii. 480, etc.

<sup>8</sup> BvAC. 38 explains dipa by both light and island.

- 24 The devatās of the ten-thousand world-system, great in psychic potency, attending on (him) paid homage, elated, exultant, joyous.
- 25 Devatās and deva-maidens, believing, their minds elated, honoured the bull of men with the five-hued flowers.
- 26 The company of devas saw him; believing, their minds elated, they honoured the bull of men with the five-hued flowers.
- 27 Ah, wonderful<sup>1</sup>, astonishing, astounding<sup>2</sup> in the world! Never before has there been such an astounding wonder as this.
- 28 The devatās, each remaining in his own abode, laughed a mighty laugh on seeing the wonder in the zenith.
- 29 Those in the sky and on the earth, dwellers in grass and on paths, clasping their hands paid homage, elated, exultant, joyous.
- 30 And those nāgas of long life-span, meritorious, great in psychic potency, joyous, paid homage to and honoured the supreme among men.
- 31 They sent forth chants in the air and down the aery paths; they played on drums<sup>3</sup> on seeing the wonder in the zenith.
- 32 And in mid-air they played on conches, cymbals, and many a kettle-drum on seeing the wonder in the zenith.
- 33 Surely one who is astonishing, astounding, has arisen for us today. We shall obtain the fulfilment of our constant aim. The moment<sup>4</sup> for us has come about.
- 34 Hearing these say "A Buddha", zest arose at once. They stood with their hands clasped, saying "A Buddha, a Buddha".
- 35 Various beings, clasping their hands, moved about in the heavens cheering, applauding and uttering sounds of acclamation.
- 36 They sang, cried out exultingly, and played (on musical instruments), they clapped their hands and they danced, and

<sup>1</sup> acchariya; if there is any overtone it is in the sense of 'rare' rather than of miraculous.

<sup>2</sup> Ioma-harīsana, lit. hair-raising and therefore to be precisely translated as 'horrific'. But horrific implies a greater sense of fear and dread than is intended in this and similar passages.

<sup>3</sup> cammanaddha, drums covered with skin.

<sup>4</sup> The timely or opportune period for leading the brahmacariya, see D. iii. 263, A. iv. 225.

- they let fall flowers of the five-hued mandāra mixed with sandal-wood powder.
- 37 Inasmuch, great hero, as the Wheel-mark is on your feet, the flag, the thunderbolt, the banner, with the decorative marks of the vaddhamāna<sup>1</sup> and the elephant-hook,
- 38 so are you unique in form, in morality, concentration and wisdom, equal to the unequalled in freedom, in setting the Wheel of Dhamma turning.
- 39 The natural strength of your body is as the strength of ten elephants; you are without an equal in the power of psychic potency, in setting the Wheel of Dhamma turning.
- 40 Pay homage to the great sage, one with pity, protector of the world(s) who is furnished thus with all the special qualities, endowed with all (their) factors.
- 41 <sup>2</sup>You are worthy of all respect, praising, reverence and laudation, homage and honour.
- 42 Of those who should be revered in the world, of those who are worthy of reverence, you are the best of all, great hero, none like you exists.
- 43 Even as he was standing on the Vulture Peak, Sāriputta, of great wisdom, proficient in concentration and meditation, saw the leader of the world.
- 44 He surveyed the bull of men who was like a king of sāla trees in full bloom, like the moon in the heavens, like the sun at midday.
- 45 He saw the wise one, the leader who was blazing like a tree of lamps, like the newly risen sun, illuminated by a halo extending for a fathom.
- 46 In an instant he had gathered together five hundred monks, their tasks done, steadfast ones, the cankers destroyed, stainless.
- 47 He displayed the marvel called Making the World Bright<sup>3</sup> (and said), "We too, going there, we will reverence the Conqueror.

<sup>1</sup> At VA. i. 75 and Mhvs-t. i. 304 vaddhamāna appears to mean cuppa, perfumed bath powder. All these were among the 32 Marks of a Great Man.

<sup>2</sup> This ver. and next quoted Mhvs-t 14f.

<sup>3</sup> BvAC. 46 says this is the marvel of unveiling the world, lokavivarāṇa.

- 48 Come, all of us will go, we will question the Conqueror. When we have seen the leader of the world we will dispel doubt<sup>1</sup>.”
- 49 These assented saying “It is good”; prudent, the faculties controlled, taking bowl and robe they went up (to him<sup>2</sup>) quickly.
- 50 By means of psychic potency Sāriputta, of great wisdom, approached with those whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tamed in the supreme taming.
- 51 By means of psychic potency Sāriputta, surrounded by these monks, leading the great host, approached blazing<sup>3</sup> like a deva in the heavens.
- 52 Carefully avoiding clearing the throat<sup>4</sup> and sneezing, proper in practice, they approached the Self-Awakened One with reverence, with deference.
- 53 When they had approached they saw the self-become, the leader of the world, the wise one high aloft in the zenith like the moon in the heavens.
- 54 They saw the leader of the world who was blazing like a tree of lamps, like lightning in the heavens, like the sun at midday.
- 55 The five hundred monks all saw the leader of the world like a clear pool, as a lotus in full bloom.
- 56 Holding up their clasped hands, elated, exultant, joyous, they fell down paying homage to the teacher’s Mark of the Wheel.
- 57 Sāriputta, of great wisdom, like and similar to a *koranda*<sup>5</sup> (flower), skilled in concentration and meditation, revered the leader of the world;
- 58 Moggallāna, of great psychic potency, without an equal in the power of psychic potency, thundering like a black storm-cloud, like and similar to a dark blue lotus<sup>6</sup>;
- 59 and the Elder Kassapa the Great too, resembling molten gold<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 47 sees that an explanation is needed here since arahants have no doubts; it concludes that as the Elder wanted to question the Lord only about the Buddhavaṃsa he spoke thus and did not mention a Buddha’s range, Buddhavisaya.

<sup>2</sup> To Sāriputta, BvAC. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Bv, Be, BvAB *laṅanto*, sporting, playing; BvAC *jalanto* (blazing) *deva gagane va*. Even if we accept *laṅanto*, the syllable *va* is missing from Morris’s edn.

<sup>4</sup> A recognised means of intimating one’s approach.

<sup>5</sup> Yellow amaranth; in one of its meanings a mythical plant that never fades.

<sup>6</sup> These two similes refer to the blue colour of Moggallāna’s body due, according to tradition, to his having suffered in Niraya for his cruelty to his parents in a former birth.

<sup>7</sup> *uttatta*, molten or burnished, glowing; owing to the colour of his skin.

- proclaimed chief in ascetic quality<sup>1</sup>, lauded, commended by the teacher<sup>2</sup>;
- 60 Anuruddha, leader of a great host, chief of those of deva-like vision<sup>3</sup>, best of kinsmen<sup>4</sup>, stood near the Lord;
- 61 Upāli, proficient in what is an offence and what is not an offence, in what is curable<sup>5</sup>, proclaimed chief in the Vinaya<sup>6</sup>, commended by the Teacher<sup>7</sup>;
- 62 The seer, son of Mantānī, named Puṇṇa and widely famed, penetrated to meanings delicate and subtle, very glorious among speakers<sup>8</sup>, having a following.<sup>9</sup>
- 63 Knowing the minds of these the sage skilled in similes, cutter off of doubt, great hero, spoke of his own spiritual qualities:
- 64 These are the four incalculables of which the extent is not known: the aggregation of beings, and space, and the infinite world-spheres, and the immeasurable knowledge of a Buddha—it is impossible to ascertain these.
- 65 What is this wonder in the world that consists of my display of psychic potency<sup>10</sup>? There are many other wonders, astonishing, astounding.
- 66 When I was in the Tusita group I was called Santusita then. The (inhabitants of the) ten-thousand, having gathered together, clasping their hands, requested me:
- 67 “It is time for you, deva, great hero, arise in the womb of a mother. Helping men with the devas to cross over, may you awaken unto the undying state.”
- 68 When I, deceasing then from the Tusita group, descended

<sup>1</sup> A. i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See S. ii. 197f., ThagA. iii. 135, Miln. 389.

<sup>3</sup> A. i. 23.

<sup>4</sup> He was a Sakyan, brother of Mahānāma and first cousin to the Buddha Gotama.

<sup>5</sup> *satekicca*. Of the 7 classes of offence against Vinaya regulations, only the first, the Pārājika class, has no remedy; the other 6 classes of offence are ‘curable’ by the appropriate means.

<sup>6</sup> A. i. 25.

<sup>7</sup> See Vin. iii. 39, 68, Jā. i. 148, ThagA. ii. 101, etc.

<sup>8</sup> A. i. 23.

<sup>9</sup> At BvAC. 51 it is said 500 young men of family went forth in his presence, all from the Lord’s native district, and all were possessed of the ten good themes of discourse (for which see M. i. 145, iii. 113, A. v. 67, 130, Miln. 344, etc.).

<sup>10</sup> *iddhi-vikubbana*.

- into the womb, then the earth of the ten-thousand world-system quaked.
- 69 When I, clearly conscious, issued forth from my mother's womb the ten-thousand (world-system) shook, sending forth its approval.
- 70 There is no descent equal to mine as to birth, issuing forth; in Self-Awakening and turning the Wheel of Dhamma<sup>1</sup>, I am the best.
- 71 Ah, the wonder in the world! the greatness of the special qualities of Buddhas! In six ways the ten-thousand world-system shook<sup>2</sup>.
- 72 And great was the radiance, astounding the wonder, for at that time the Lord, bull of men, was the eldest in the world.<sup>3</sup>
- 73 By means of psychic potency the Conqueror walked up and down displaying himself to men with devas. Even as he walked in the Walk the leader of the world talked, nor did he turn back on the way as though he were on a walk of (only) four cubits.<sup>4</sup>
- 74 Sāriputta, of great wisdom proficient in concentration and meditation, attained to the perfection of wisdom, asked the leader of the world:<sup>5</sup>
- 75 "Of what kind, great hero, supreme among men, was your resolve? At what time, wise one, was supreme Awakening aspired to by you?<sup>6</sup>
- 76 Of what kind were giving, morality, renunciation, wisdom and energy? And of what kind were patience, truth-speaking, resolute determination, loving-kindness, equanimity?
- 77 Of what kind, wise one, leader of the world, were your ten perfections? How were the higher perfections fulfilled, how the ultimate perfections?"
- 78 Asked by him, he of the voice sweet as a karavīka's made

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II A. 36.

<sup>2</sup> From east to west, west to east, from north to south, south to north, from centre to edge, edge to centre, BvAC. 56.

<sup>3</sup> I think this means his memory of former births, which was part of his omniscience, extended further back than that of anyone else; see e.g. I. 79 and II A for his memory of himself as Sumedha a hundred thousand eons and four incalculables ago. It is difficult to know whether the usual commentarial gloss of jetṭha, eldest, by seṭṭha, best, covers this aspect of jetṭha.

<sup>4</sup> He did not turn back till he had reached the ends but then did so quickly.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 74-78 quoted CpA. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted DAT. ii. 16.

- answer<sup>1</sup> cooling to the heart, rejoicing the world with the devas.
- 79 What was taught<sup>2</sup>, what was celebrated concerning past Buddhas, Conquerors, what was the traditional account of their teachings and activities<sup>3</sup>, he expounded for the welfare of the world with the devas from his discernment going back to his former habitations.
- 80 Keeping in mind<sup>4</sup> the acquiring of all the attainments which is productive of zest and joyousness and the removal of the darts of sorrow, listen to me:
- 81 Respectfully fare along<sup>5</sup> the Way<sup>6</sup> which crushes pride<sup>7</sup>, drives away sorrow<sup>8</sup>, delivers completely from saṃsāra, (and) destroys all anguish.

Concluded is the Section on the Jewel-Walk

## II A ACCOUNT OF SUMEDHA

- 1 A hundred thousand eons and four incalculables ago there was a city named Amara, good to look upon, delightful.
- 2 It resounded with the ten sounds<sup>9</sup>, was well provided with food and drink: the sound of elephants, the sound of horses, and of drums, chanks and chariots,
- 3 as well as of "Eat, drink", shouted out for victuals and drink. The city was complete in all respects. It engaged in every industry,
- 4 was possessed of the seven kinds of treasures, crowded with all kinds of people; prosperous as a deva-city, it was a dwelling-place for doers of merit.

<sup>1</sup> He told Sāriputta the whole of the Buddhavaṃsa from the time of his own aspiration to the culmination in his Awakening.

<sup>2</sup> Dhamma connected with the four truths, BvAC. 62.

<sup>3</sup> According to BvAC. 62 this comprised their eon, birth, lineage, life-span, Tree, male and female disciples, assemblies, attendants, parents, wife and son.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. honouring the recollection of the Buddhas.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. listen.

<sup>6</sup> Called the teaching of the Buddhavaṃsa.

<sup>7</sup> All forms of pride beginning with that of birth, BvAC. 63. See A. i. 146 and PED. s. v. mada.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. D. iii. 235, A. iii. 147, Miln. 196.

<sup>9</sup> The sounds of elephants, horses, chariots, drums, chanks, lutes, singing, cymbals, songs, as well as of "Partake of, drink, eat", BvAC. 66; cf. D. ii. 147, Mhv. iii. 232.

- 5 In the city of Amaravatī the brahman named Sumedha<sup>1</sup>,  
accumulating countless crores, was rich in plentiful crops.
- 6 A repeater<sup>2</sup>, expert in mantras, master of the three Vedas, he  
had reached perfection in the (science of) Marks, the  
legendary tradition, and the obligatory duties (of a brahman).
- 7 Sitting in seclusion I thought thus then: "Again-becoming is  
anguish<sup>3</sup>, also the breaking up of the physical frame.
- 8 Liable to birth, liable to ageing, liable to disease am I then;  
I will seek the peace that is unageing, undying, secure.<sup>4</sup>
- 9 Suppose I, casting aside this putrid body filled with various  
ordures, should go on indifferent, unconcerned?
- 10 There is, there must be<sup>5</sup> that Way; it is impossible for it not  
to be. I shall seek that Way for the utter release from  
becoming.
- 11 Even an anguish exists, happiness exists too, so as becoming  
exists non-becoming also is to be desired.
- 12 Even as heat exists, coolness exists too, so as the threefold  
fire exists nibbāna is to be desired.
- 13 Even as evil exists, loveliness exists too, so as birth exists the  
unborn<sup>6</sup> also is to be desired.
- 14 Even as a man fallen into filth, though seeing a brimming  
pool does not seek that pool, that is not a defect in the pool.<sup>7</sup>
- 15 So, though the pool of the Undying exists for washing away  
the stains of the defilements, if one does not seek that pool,  
the defect is not in the pool of the Undying.<sup>8</sup>
- 16 Even as that man who is beset by enemies, while there exists  
a path for escape does not flee away, that is not a defect in  
the direct way.
- 17 So, the one who is beset by the defilements, while there exists  
a safe path does not seek that way, the defect is not in the  
safe direct way.

<sup>1</sup> For a much abridged account of Sumedha see DhA. i. 83f. introducing the Aggasāvaka-vatthu.

<sup>2</sup> Of brahmanical texts. Cf. xxv. 10, 11 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dh. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. i. 163 for these words used by the Bodhisatta Gotama in his last birth.

<sup>5</sup> Read hebhiti, a future of hoti (< bhavati), with Be, BvA and Jā. i. 4, and not hehī ti of Bv.

<sup>6</sup> The unborn is nibbāna which is the quenching of the three fires of attachment and so forth.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Miln. 353.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Miln. 246f.



Plate I Nagayôn Corridor—Dīpaṅkara and Sumedha.

- 18 And even as a man who has a disease, while there exists a physician does not get that disease cured, the defect is not in the physician.
- 19 So, (if) the one who is anguished, hard pressed by the diseases of the defilements does not seek that teacher, that is not a defect in the guider away<sup>1</sup>.
- 20 And even as a man, having discarded a loathsome ordure tied to his neck<sup>2</sup>, would go on at ease, independent, his own master,
- 21 so, casting aside this putrid body, a conglomeration of various ordures, I would go on indifferent, unconcerned.
- 22 Even as men and women, casting aside excrement in a place for defecation, go on indifferent, unconcerned,
- 23 so too I, casting aside this body filled with various ordures, will go on as one having eased himself (leaves) a privy.
- 24 And even as the owners, having cast aside an old, broken down and leaking boat, go on indifferent, unconcerned,
- 25 so too I, casting aside this body of the nine constantly streaming apertures<sup>3</sup>, will go on as its owners (leave) a worn-out boat.
- 26 And even as a man who, taking goods with him, is going along with robbers, but seeing a danger of the goods being plundered, goes on casting them<sup>4</sup> aside,
- 27 so too I, getting rid of this body which resembles a great thief, will go on without danger of plundering what is skilled<sup>5</sup>.
- 28 So I, having thought thus, giving away countless hundreds of crores<sup>5</sup> of wealth to rich and poor, went up to the Himavant.
- 29 On the mountain named Dhammaka close to the Himavant my hermitage was well made; well constructed was my leaf-hut.<sup>6</sup>
- 30 I constructed a walk there that was clear of five defects<sup>7</sup>; I

<sup>1</sup> The guider or leader away is the teacher of the way to release. BvAC. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vin. iii. 68, M. i. 119f., A. iv. 377.

<sup>3</sup> See Miln. 24 and MQ. i. 101 for notes and references.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the robbers.

<sup>5</sup> See above, ver. 5.

<sup>6</sup> BvAC. 75 says this sounds as if Sumedha constructed the hermitage, leaf-hut and walk with his own hands. This is not so. They were fashioned by the devaputta Vissakamma on receipt of a message from Sakka.

<sup>7</sup> BvAC. 75 says this means the 5 defects of a place for pacing up and down in: uniformly hard, trees inside it, densely covered, too narrow, too wide. Cf. Jā. i. 7.

- gained power in the super-knowings that was possessed of eight special qualities.<sup>1</sup>
- 31 There I gave up my outer cloak that was endowed with nine defects<sup>2</sup> and clothed myself in a bark-garment that was endowed with twelve special qualities.<sup>3</sup>
- 32 I gave up the leaf-hut that was filled with eight defects<sup>4</sup> and approached the root of a tree that was endowed with ten special qualities.<sup>5</sup>
- 33 I completely gave up sown and planted grain and ate wild fruits that were possessed of countless special qualities.
- 34 I strove the striving there, whether sitting, standing, pacing. Within a week I reached power in the super-knowings.
- 35 While I was thus attaining accomplishment and becoming a master in the teaching (for ascetics)<sup>6</sup>, the Conqueror named Dīpaṅkara arose, leader of the world.

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 76 says this means possessed of the 8 special qualities spoken of thus: with the mind quite composed, quite purified, quite clarified, without blemish, without defilement, grown soft and workable, fixed, immovable. In the Pali Canon these qualities frequently serve as the stock introduction to a meditator's entry to the super-knowings, *abhiññā*. Cf. Jā. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> BvAC. 76 says that these are: that it is valuable, one is dependent on others, it soon becomes soiled through use and so has to be washed and dyed, it becomes worn out and must be mended, it is difficult to handle on the almsround, it is not suitable for the going forth of ascetics (*tāpasa*), it must be guarded since opponents also have outer cloaks, when it is put on it takes the place of adornment, and one who takes it when he is walking for alms has great desires. Cf. Jā. i. 8.

<sup>3</sup> BvAC. 77: it has no value, causes no dependence on others, can be made by oneself, there is no need to mend it, or to fear robbers, it is easily got ready for the almsround, is not regarded as an adornment, does not arouse desires, is suitable for ascetics, is comfortable, bark is easily obtained, and it is of no consequence if bark-garments are lost. The reading of *guṇe* must be plural with *dasahi*—perhaps from Skt. *guṇaih*.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 77: great preparations are needed to construct it of grass, leaves and clay. But it gets old and has to be reconditioned, and then there can be no one-pointedness of mind. By warding off heat and cold loveliness of body results. It can conceal what is blamable (in conduct). It arouses a sense of personal property. There is not only sharing with a companion, but also sharing with lice, fleas, house-lizards and so forth.

<sup>5</sup> BvAC. 77: no (or, few) preparations are needed, it is there simply to be gone to, no blame in taking it, perception of impermanence is constant through seeing the changes in the leaves, it is a lodging causing no envy, one is ashamed to do evil there, one does not possess it (as a chattel), there is association with devatās, there is no opposition, its use is pleasing for it is a matter for indifference that one goes continually to a lodging at the root of trees. Cf. Jā. i. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *sāsane ti vemānasatāpasānaṃ sāsane*, BvAC. 83 (noticed at BvAB). Some MSS. read *sāsentaṇaṃ vikāsentaṇaṃ tāpasānaṃ*. BvAB reads *sāsane ti viveka-mānasāsanaṃ sāsane*.

- 36 Rapt in the delight of meditation, I did not see the four signs of arising, of being born, of being awakened, of teaching Dhamma.<sup>1</sup>
- 37 (The people in) the border-country, having invited the Tathāgata, cleared the way for his coming, their minds delighted.
- 38 I, at that time, departing from my own hermitage, rustling<sup>2</sup> the bark-garments, went through the air then.
- 39 Seeing the delighted populace, elated, exultant, joyous, I descended from the heavens and immediately asked the people:
- 40 "Elated, exultant, joyous is the great populace—for whom is the way being cleared, the direct way, the path and road?"
- 41 Asked by me, these declared<sup>3</sup> that an incomparable Buddha had arisen in the world, the Conqueror named Dīpaṅkara, leader of the world, and that it was for him that the way, the direct way, the path and road was being cleared.
- 42 When I heard "Buddha", zest arose immediately. Saying "Buddha, Buddha" I expressed my happiness.
- 43 Standing there elated, stirred in mind, I reasoned, "Here will I sow seeds<sup>4</sup>; indeed, let not the moment<sup>5</sup> pass!
- 44 If you are clearing for a Buddha, give me one section. I myself will also clear the direct way, the path and road."
- 45 They gave me a section of the direct way to clear then. Thinking "Buddha, Buddha", I cleared the way then.
- 46 Before my section was finished, the great sage Dīpaṅkara, the Conqueror, entered upon the direct way with four hundred thousand steadfast ones who had the six super-knowings, whose cankers were destroyed, stainless.

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 79 says that 32 portent-signs or marvels, appear only on the four occasions when Bodhisattas are entering their mother's womb, issuing forth from it, attaining awakening, and turning the Dhamma-wheel. BvAC. 81f. enumerates the 32 portent-signs and gives their symbolism. Cf. i. 70 above.

<sup>2</sup> *dhananto*, shaking, tossing, rustling; cf. xviii. 11 *dhanamāna* which BCL (who apparently did not refer to the Comy.) translates 'trembling'. RhD., Bud. Birth Stories, p. 10 has 'rustling'.

<sup>3</sup> Be reads *Te me puṭṭhā viyākamsu*, which gives the regular 8 syllables. Bv has *vyākamsu*, giving 7 syllables. I have here a note by E. J. Thomas which says "I now think that Bv is translated from the Skt., and that *vyā-* of the Skt. has been carelessly left by the translator—then we ought not to correct him." And it adds, "There are so many irregularities of metre that many of them may go back to the author (or at least to the time when Bv was turned into Pali)".

<sup>4</sup> Seeds of merit, BvAC. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *khaṇa*, cf. i. 33 above.

- 47 Many were those who, beating drums, were going forward to meet him. Men and deities<sup>1</sup>, rejoicing, made applause.
- 48 Devas saw the men<sup>2</sup> and the men saw the devatās, and both, their hands clasped, followed the Tathāgata.
- 49 The devas with deva-like musical instruments, the men with man-made ones<sup>3</sup>, both playing on these, followed the Tathāgata.
- 50 Deities in the zenith of the sky poured down in all directions deva-like mandārava flowers, lotuses, flowers of the Coral Tree.
- 51 The men on the surface of the earth threw up in all directions flowers of campaka, saḷala, nīpa, nāga, punnāga and ketaka.
- 52 Loosening my hair, spreading my bark-garments and piece of hide there in the mire, I lay down prone.
- 53 "Let the Buddha go treading on me with his disciples. Do not let him tread in the mire—it will be for my welfare."
- 54 While I was lying on the earth it was thus in my mind: If I so wished I could burn up my defilements today.
- 55 What<sup>4</sup> is the use while I (remain) unknown<sup>5</sup> of realizing dhamma here? Having reached omniscience, I will become a Buddha<sup>6</sup> in the world with the devas.
- 56 What is the use of my crossing over alone, being a man aware of my strength? Having reached omniscience, I will cause the world together with the devas to cross over.
- 57 By this act of merit of mine towards the supreme among men I will reach omniscience, I will cause many people to cross over.

<sup>1</sup> See note to II A. 71

<sup>2</sup> Text to be corrected to devā manusse.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. DA. 617, MA. ii. 300, SA. i. 191, VvA. 37 and Mhvs-t, 518 for the 5 kinds: ātata (a drum), vitata (another kind of drum), ātatavitata (a lute), susira (a bamboo flute), ghana (a cymbal).

<sup>4</sup> kiṃ is an expression for the contrary, a contrast, opposition, BvAC. 90. This ver. is quoted Mhvs-t. 15.

<sup>5</sup> aññāta-vesena, glossed at BvAC. 90 as apākaṭavesena aviññātena paṭicchanena.

<sup>6</sup> Awakened, one who awakens; crossed over, one who causes (others) to cross over; freed, one who frees, BvAC. 90. His aspiration for Buddhahood was made therefore with the welfare of the world in view, beside which his own realization of Dhamma and his own crossing over faded into insignificance. Both had been accomplished without any instruction from a teacher, cf. BvAC. 10. The verse is quoted there and at DA. 466, MA. ii. 176 with tārayissam for Buddhō hessam which is the reading also at Jā. i. 14.

- 58 Cutting through the stream of saṃsāra, shattering the three becomings<sup>1</sup>, embarking in the ship of Dhamma<sup>2</sup>, I will cause the world with the devas to cross over.
- 59 Human existence<sup>3</sup>, attainment of the (male) sex<sup>4</sup>, cause, seeing a Teacher, going forth<sup>5</sup>, attainment of the special qualities, an act of merit, and will-power—by combining these eight things the resolve succeeds.<sup>6</sup>
- 60 Dīpaṅkara, knower of the world(s)<sup>7</sup>, recipient of offerings<sup>8</sup>, standing near my head, spoke these words:
- 61 Do you see this very severe ascetic, a matted hair ascetic? Innumerable eons from now he will be a Buddha in the world.
- 62 <sup>9</sup>Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila, the Tathāgata will strive the striving<sup>10</sup> and perform austerities.
- 63 After sitting at the root of the Ajapāla tree and accepting milk-rice there, the Tathāgata will go to the Nerañjarā.
- 64 When he has partaken<sup>11</sup> of the milk-rice on the bank of the Nerañjarā, that Conqueror will go to the root of the Tree of Awakening by the glorious way prepared.
- 65 Then, having circumambulated the dais of the Tree of Awakening, the unsurpassed one of great renown will awaken at the root of an Assattha tree.

<sup>1</sup> The sensuous, fine-material and immaterial spheres where are defilements due to kamma, BvAC. 91.

<sup>2</sup> This is the ariyan eightfold Way for crossing over the four floods, BvAC. 91. Cf. the three qualities of a ship that should be adopted, Miln. 376f.

<sup>3</sup> Very difficult to attain. See simile of the blind turtle, M. iii. 160, S. v. 455, referred to at Thig. 500, Miln. 204, Asl. 60; cf. A. i. 35 "so few are the beings born among men".

<sup>4</sup> "It is impossible that a woman . . . could be a Fully Self-Awakened One", M. iii. 65, A. i. 28. "Bodhisattas who have made the aspiration . . . do not go to female status", itthibhāvam na gacchanti, CpA. 330.

<sup>5</sup> Only Bodhisattas who have gone forth into homelessness win Self-Awakening; householders cannot do so, BvAC. 92. This verse is often quoted.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. quoted e.g. at SnA. 48, Jā. i. 14, CpA. 16, ApA. 16, 18, 140, etc.

<sup>7</sup> He knew the world profoundly, its arisings, cessation, and the means for its cessation. He also knew the three worlds: of the constructions, of beings, of location (habitations of beings), BvAC. 93f., Vism. 204 and see S. i. 62, A. ii. 49f.

<sup>8</sup> āhutinam paṭiggaho. Cf. Miln. 154ff. for the dilemma of whether the Tathāgata was a recipient, lābhin (of the requisites) or not.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. ver. 62-69 with xx. 14-21.

<sup>10</sup> This is energy.

<sup>11</sup> At Bv this line reads Nerañjarāya tiranhi pāyasaṃ ādā (Be ada) so jino; at Jā. i. 16 Nerañjarāya tīre pāyasaṃ ādāya so jino. Ādā is a contracted form of ādāya. Reading at xx. 16 is asati jino.

- 66 His genetrix and mother<sup>1</sup> will be named Māyā, his father Suddhodana; he will be named Gotama.
- 67 Kolita and Upatissa, cankerless, stains gone, tranquil in mind, concentrated, will be the chief disciples.
- 68 Ānanda will be the name of the attendant who will attend on this Conqueror. Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā will be the chief women disciples,
- 69 cankerless, stains gone, tranquil in mind, concentrated. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Assattha.
- 70 Citta and Hatthālavaka will be the chief (lay) attendants. Nandamātā and Uttarā will be the chief women (lay) attendants.
- 71 When they had heard these words of the great seer<sup>2</sup> who was without an equal, men and deities<sup>3</sup>, rejoicing, thought "Sprout of the Buddha-seed is this".
- 72 The sounds of acclamation went on; the (inhabitants of the) ten-thousand (world-system) with the devas clapped their hands, laughed, and paid homage with clasped hands.
- 73 (Saying) "If we should fail of the Dispensation of this protector of the world<sup>4</sup>, in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."<sup>5</sup>
- 74 As men crossing a river but, failing of the ford to the bank opposite, taking a ford lower down cross over the great river, even so, all of us, if we miss (the words of) this Conqueror<sup>6</sup>,
- 75 in the distant future will be face to face with this one."

<sup>1</sup> The words janikā mātā are used to distinguish Māyā, the mother who bore him, from Mahāpajāpatī, his aunt who nurtured him and acted as his second mother.

<sup>2</sup> *isi*, usually translated 'seer', is perhaps more properly 'seeker'. BvAC. 98 says "the great seer searched and quested for the great categories of morality, concentration, wisdom."

<sup>3</sup> *naramarū*; a description where *marū* includes all the *nāgas* and *yakkhas* in the ten-thousand world-system, BvAC. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīpaṅkara*.

<sup>5</sup> The present *Bodhisatta* when he has become the Buddha named Gotama.

<sup>6</sup> *yadī muñcām' imarū jinaṃ*. It seems the meaning might be rather well expressed by the colloquial "miss out on" this Conqueror. The people, probably not prepared for the advent of a Buddha in their midst, comforted themselves by thinking that if they did not and could not make the most of the present opportunity they would have another chance, in some future birth, when the *Bodhisatta* had become a Buddha, of crossing over to the deathless state under his Dispensation. Unfortunately BvA is of no help here. The verses are repeated in full at xxv. 26-30.

- 76 *Dīpaṅkara*, knower of the world(s), recipient of offerings, proclaiming my *kamma*, raised his right foot.<sup>1</sup>
- 77 All the sons of the Conqueror who were there went round me keeping their right sides towards me; devas, mankind and demons (then) departed, saluting respectfully.
- 78 When the leader of the world with the Order had passed beyond my sight, rising from my prostrate posture, I sat cross-legged then.
- 79 I was happy with happiness, joyful with joyousness, and flooded with zest as I sat cross-legged then.
- 80 Sitting cross-legged I thought thus then: I have come to mastery in the meditations, gone to perfection in the super-knowings.
- 81 In the (ten) thousand worlds there is no seer equal to me; without an equal in the states of psychic potency I obtained happiness of this kind.
- 82 While I was sitting cross-legged eminent denizens of the ten-thousand sent forth a great shout: Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 83 Those former portents that were manifest when *Bodhisattas* were sitting cross-legged are manifest today:
- 84 Cold was dispelled and heat allayed: these are manifest today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 85 The ten-thousand world-system was silent and undisturbed: these are manifest today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 86 Great winds did not blow, streams did not flow: these are manifest today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 87 Flowers arisen on dry land and arisen in the water all flowered then; all these are flowering too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 88 As creepers and trees were fruit-bearing<sup>2</sup> then, all these are fruiting too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 89 Treasures<sup>3</sup> of the sky and of the earth were shining then; all these treasures are shining too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ver. 60 above.

<sup>2</sup> Bv *phaladharā*; Be, Jā. i. 18 *phalabhārā*, which at BvAC. 100 is glossed by *phaladharā*.

<sup>3</sup> *ratana*, glossed by BvAC. 100 as *muttādīni*, pearls and so forth.

- 90 Man-made and deva-like musical instruments<sup>1</sup> were played then; both these are sounding too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 91 Various flowers rained down from the heavens then; these are manifest too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 92 The great sea receded, the ten-thousand quaked; both these are sounding too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 93 Even the ten thousand fires in the Nirayas were extinguished then; these fires are extinguished too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 94 The sun was stainless, all the stars were visible; these are manifest too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 95 Though it had not rained, water gushed from the earth then; it is gushing from the earth too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 96 Hosts of stars and constellations are shining in the vault of the heavens. Visākhā is in conjunction with the moon. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.<sup>2</sup>
- 97 (Animals) having lairs in holes, lairs in caves, came forth each from its lair; these lairs are rejected too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 98 There was no tedium among beings, they were contented then; all are contented too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 99 Illnesses were allayed then and hunger abolished; these are manifest today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 100 Attachment<sup>3</sup> was slight then, hatred and confusion done away with; all these are gone too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 101 Fear did not exist then; this is manifest too today. By this sign we know: Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 102 Dust did not fly up; this is manifest too today. By this sign we know: Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 103 Unpleasing smells went away, a deva-like scent was wafted round; that scent is blowing too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> See note II A. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted DAṬ. ii. 20 in support of its statement that the great resolve of all Buddhas is (made) during the asterism of Visākhā.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. to sense-pleasures, BvAC. 101.

- 104 All the devas except the formless ones were manifest; all are visible too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 105 As far as the Nirayas everything was visible then; everything is visible too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 106 Walls, doors and rocks were no obstacle then; they are as space too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 107 At that moment<sup>1</sup> deceasing and arising did not exist; these are manifest too today. Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 108 Firmly exert energy; do not turn back, advance. We discern this too: Assuredly you will be a Buddha.
- 109 When I had heard the utterance both of the Buddha and of the ten-thousand,<sup>2</sup> elated, exultant, joyous, I thought thus then:
- 110 The utterance of Buddhas is not of double meaning, the utterance of Conquerors is not false, there is no untruth in Buddhas. Assuredly I will be a Buddha.
- 111 As a clod of earth cast into the sky assuredly falls to the ground, so is the utterance of the best of Buddhas assured and eternal. There is no untruth in Buddhas. Assuredly I will be a Buddha.
- 112 As too the dying of all creatures is assured and eternal<sup>3</sup>, so is the utterance of the best of Buddhas assured and eternal. There is no untruth in Buddhas. Assuredly I will be a Buddha.
- 113 As on the waning of the night the rising of the sun is assured, so is the utterance of the best of Buddhas assured and eternal. There is no untruth in Buddhas. Assuredly I will be a Buddha.
- 114 As the roaring of a lion when he leaves his den is assured, so is the utterance of the best of Buddhas assured and eternal. There is no untruth in Buddhas. Assuredly I will be a Buddha.
- 115 As the delivery of a pregnant woman is assured, so is the utterance of the best of Buddhas assured and eternal. There is no untruth in Buddhas. Assuredly I will be a Buddha.
- 116 Come, I will examine the things making a Buddha, here and

<sup>1</sup> I.e. when former Bodhisattas were sitting cross-legged, BvAC. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Reading at Be and Jā. i. 19 *dasasahassina c'ūbhayaṃ* to be adopted for Bv's *dasasahassī na cubhayaṃ*.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning 'inevitable', BvAC. 103.

- there, above, below, (in) the ten quarters, as far as the ideational element.<sup>1</sup>
- 117 Examining, I saw then the first perfection, that of Giving, the great path pursued by the great seers of old.<sup>2</sup>
- 118 You, having made firm, undertake and go on to this first perfection, that of Giving, if you wish to attain Awakening.
- 119 As a full jar overturned by whatever it may be discharged the water completely and does not retain it there,
- 120 so, seeing supplicants, low, high or middling, give a gift completely<sup>3</sup> like the overturned jar.
- 121 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 122 Examining, I saw then the second perfection, that of Morality, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 123 You, having made firm, undertake and go on to this second perfection, that of Morality, if you wish to attain Awakening.
- 124 And as a yak-cow if her tail is caught in anything, does not injure her tail, but goes to death there,
- 125 so, fulfilling the moral habits in the four planes<sup>4</sup>, protect morality continuously like the yak-cow her tail.
- 126 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 127 Examining, I saw then the third perfection, that of Renunciation, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 128 You, having made firm, undertake and go on to this third perfection, that of Renunciation, if you wish to attain Awakening.
- 129 As a man who for long has lived painfully afflicted in a prison does not generate attachment there but seeks only freedom,
- 130 so do you see all becoming as a prison. Be one turned toward renunciation for the utter release from becoming.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the dhammas of sense-pleasures, fine-materiality and immateriality, BvAC. 104. Quoted CpA. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CpA. 277.

<sup>3</sup> By giving away all one's wealth one fulfils the perfection of giving; one fulfils the higher perfection of giving by giving any of one's limbs; one fulfils the ultimate perfection of giving by sacrificing one's life; see BvAC. 105.

<sup>4</sup> The four planes: control by the Pātimokkha, control over the sense-organs, complete purity of livelihood, reliance only on the requisites (of a bhikkhu's daily life), BvAC. 106; cf. Miln. 336.

- 131 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 132 Examining, I saw then the fourth perfection, that of Wisdom, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 133 You, having made firm, undertake and go on to this fourth perfection, that of Wisdom, if you wish to attain Awakening.
- 134 And as a monk, looking for alms, not avoiding low, high or middling families<sup>1</sup>, acquires sustenance thus,
- 135 so you, questioning discerning people<sup>2</sup> all the time, going on to the perfection of Wisdom, will attain Self-Awakening.
- 136 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things, I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 137 Examining, I saw then the fifth perfection, that of Energy, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 138 You, having made firm, undertake and go on to this fifth perfection, that of Energy, if you wish to attain Awakening.
- 139 And as a lion, the king of beasts, whether he is lying down, standing or walking, is not of sluggish energy but is always exerting himself,
- 140 so you too, firmly exerting energy in every becoming, going on to the perfection of Energy, will attain Self-Awakening.
- 141 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 142 Examining, I saw then the sixth perfection, that of Patience, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 143 You, having made firm, undertake this sixth; with mind unwavering therein you will attain Self-Awakening.
- 144 And as the earth endures all that is thrown down on it, both pure and impure, and shows no repugnance (or) approval<sup>3</sup>,
- 145 so you too, patient of all respect and disrespect, going on to the perfection of Patience, will attain Self-Awakening.
- 146 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.

<sup>1</sup> When he is walking for alms a monk should visit the families in a successive order and not pick and choose between them.

<sup>2</sup> "What, sir, is skill? What unskill? What is blamable? What blameless?" BvAC. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Bv reads *dayaṃ* which could mean kindness (appreciation?); BvACB read *tayā*, remarking that *dayaṃ* is also a reading. Asl (Siam. edn.) reads *dvayaṃ*, for both. I take *dayā* in the sense of *anunaya*, affection, inclination, courtesy, with which *paṭigha*, repugnance, resistance, is sometimes paired, e.g. Miln. 122, 165, 187. Cf. ver. 164 below.

- 147 Examining, I saw then the seventh perfection, that of Truth (-speaking), followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 148 You, having made firm, undertake this seventh: by speech without double-meaning therein you will attain Self-Awakening.
- 149 And as Osadhi<sup>1</sup> is balanced<sup>2</sup> for devas and mankind in (all) times and seasons<sup>3</sup> and does not deviate from her source,
- 150 so you too must not deviate from the course of the Truths; going on to the perfection of Truth (-speaking), you will attain Self-Awakening.
- 151 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 152 Examining, I saw then the eighth perfection, that of Resolute Determination, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 153 You, having made firm, undertaking this eighth, being stable therein, will attain Self-Awakening.
- 154 And as a mountain, a rock, stable and firmly based, does not tremble in rough winds but remains in precisely its own place,
- 155 so you too must be constantly stable in resolute determination; going on to the perfection of Resolute Determination, you will attain Self-Awakening.
- 156 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 157 Examining, I saw then the ninth perfection, that of Loving-kindness, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 158 You, having made firm, undertaking this ninth, be without an equal in Loving-Kindness if you wish to attain Awakening.
- 159 And as water pervades with coolness good and evil people alike and carries away dust and dirt,
- 160 so you too, by developing loving-kindness for friend and foe<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Vism. 412 among the different lights the light of this star is as that of the chief disciples. At BvAC. 110 it is said healing herbs, osadha, are gathered when this star has risen, so it is called Osadhī, the star of healing. Cf. PvA. 71 where it is a giver of strength to medicinal herbs.

<sup>2</sup> tulābhūta ti pamāṇabhūta, the balance means the measure. The 'balance' seems connected with the star's undeviating course. See also ver. 163 below.

<sup>3</sup> The hot weather, the cold weather, and the rains. BvAC. 110.

<sup>4</sup> hitāhite, BvA reads ahitahita.

- equally, going on to the perfection of Loving-kindness,<sup>1</sup> will attain Self-Awakening.
- 161 But not these few only can be the Buddha-things. I will examine other things too that are maturing for Awakening.
- 162 Examining, I saw then the tenth perfection, that of Equanimity, followed and practised by the great seers of old.
- 163 You, having made firm, undertaking this tenth, being balanced,<sup>2</sup> firm, will attain Self-Awakening.
- 164 And as the earth is indifferent to the impure and the pure thrown down on it and avoids both anger and courtesy,<sup>3</sup>
- 165 so you too must be balanced always in face of the pleasant and unpleasant and, going on to the perfection of Equanimity, you will attain Self-Awakening.
- 166 So few as these only are those things in the world maturing for Awakening. There is nothing elsewhere beyond these<sup>4</sup>. Be established firmly in them.<sup>5</sup>
- 167 While I was reflecting on these things with their intrinsic nature, traits and characteristic marks, the earth<sup>6</sup> and the ten-thousand quaked because of the incandescence of Dhamma.<sup>7</sup>
- 168 The earth<sup>8</sup> moved and squealed like a sugar-cane mill on being pressed; the earth<sup>9</sup> shook thus like the wheel in an oil press.<sup>10</sup>
- 169 As many as comprised the company at the alms-giving to the Buddha, they lay there fainting on the ground, trembling.

<sup>1</sup> Bv mettāpāramiṇ; Be and Jā. i. 24—pāramitaṇ.

<sup>2</sup> tulābhūta, remaining in a state of indifference—like the beam of a balance that is weighted evenly, so the balance remains even and does not rise or fall one way or the other, BvAC. 113. Cf. above, ver. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ver. 144 above.

<sup>4</sup> The Bodhisatta reflects that they are not in the sky nor on the earth nor in any of the quarters but only in his heart, BvAC. 113.

<sup>5</sup> According to BvAC. 113 the Bodhisatta, by resolute determination, reflected on the perfections in forward and in reverse order and, further, beginning in the middle be brought them to an end at both limits and then brought them back again to the middle.

<sup>6</sup> vasudhā.

<sup>7</sup> Here meaning his knowledge of consolidating the perfections, BvAC. 114.

<sup>8</sup> puthavi at Bv, puthavi at BvAC, pathavi at BvAB.

<sup>9</sup> medini.

<sup>10</sup> Like the big wheel of mechanisms (turning), cakkikānaṇi mahācakkayantaṇi viya, BvAC. 114.

- 170 Countless thousands of water-jars and many a hundred pitcher were shattered and crushed there striking against one another.
- 171 The great populace anxious, alarmed, terrified, staggered, their minds in confusion, having gathered together approached Dīpaṅkara:
- 172 "What will happen, good or evil, to the world? The whole world is disturbed. One with vision, remove this."
- 173 Dīpaṅkara, the great sage, assured them then: "Have confidence, have no fear of this earthquake.
- 174 He of whom I declared today that he will be a Buddha in the world is reflecting on the Dhamma that was followed by former Conquerors.<sup>1</sup>
- 175 The Dhamma reflected on by him is the entire plane<sup>2</sup> of Buddhas. It is for this reason that the earth of the ten-thousand with the devas and men is shaking."
- 176 Having heard the Buddha's words, their minds were calmed at once. All, approaching me, greatly revered<sup>3</sup> me again.
- 177 Having undertaken the special qualities<sup>4</sup> of Buddhas, having made firm my purpose, I paid homage to Dīpaṅkara and arose from my seat then.
- 178 As he was rising from the seat both devas and men showered down deva-like and earthly flowers.
- 179 And these pronounced a safety-blessing, both devas and men: Great is your aspiration, may you obtain what you wish.
- 180 May all calamities be avoided, all illnesses be done away with, may there be no stumbling-block<sup>5</sup> for you, Quickly reach supreme Awakening.
- 181 As flowering trees flower when the season has come, so do you, great hero, flower with a Buddha's knowledge.
- 182 As they whoever that were Self-Awakened Ones fulfilled the

<sup>1</sup> During the time they were Bodhisattas, BvAC. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Perfection of a Buddha, BvAC. 116.

<sup>3</sup> abhivandimsu; Ce vandisum, Jā. i. 27 abhivandiyum.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 117 explains Buddhagūṇe by pāramiyo, the perfections.

<sup>5</sup> Bv reading bhavantantarāyo; BvAC. 117 bhavantantarāyo, noted at Be which reads -antarāyā: Jā. i. 27 mā te bhavatu antarāyo.

- ten perfections, so may you, great hero, fulfil the ten perfections.
- 183 As they whoever that were Self-Awakened Ones awakened on the dais of a Tree of Awakening, so may you, great hero, awaken in a Conqueror's Awakening.
- 184 As they whoever that were Self-Awakened Ones set turning the Wheel of Dhamma, so may you, great hero, set turning the Wheel of Dhamma.
- 185 As the moon shines clear on a full-moon night, so do you shine fully in the ten-thousand.
- 186 As the sun, freed from Rāhu<sup>1</sup>, blazes with splendour, so do you, freed of the world<sup>2</sup>, shine with glory.
- 187 As whatever are those rivers that flow into the great ocean, so may the world with the devas flow into your presence.
- 188 Praised and lauded by these, he, undertaking the ten things, fulfilling those things, entered the forest<sup>3</sup> then.

Concluded is the Account of Sumedha

## II B THE FIRST CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD DĪPAṅKARA

- 189 Then they<sup>4</sup>, having entertained the leader of the world with the Order, approached that teacher, Dīpaṅkara, for refuge.
- 190 The Tathāgata established some in going for refuge, some in the five moral habits, others in the tenfold morality<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The demon of eclipse.

<sup>2</sup> Bv, Be lokā muñcitvā, BvAC. 118 muccitvā. The analogy would be "freed from the mire of the world" as a lotus is freed from muddy water. Muñcitvā normally is the active, however, and so Jā. i. 28 reads lokam muñcitvā, having freed the world. But there is some confusion between the active (muñc-) and the passive (mucc-), possibly scribal since ñc and cc are very similar. Cf. abbhā mutto va candimā at M. ii. 104, Dh. 382.

<sup>3</sup> On Mount Dhammaka, BvAC. 119.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 119, 122 calls these the inhabitants of Ramma city who were lay-followers. This is the city Dīpaṅkara entered after he had won Awakening, BvAC. 84, 86, 90, 128. See also II B. 207.

<sup>5</sup> Comprised under right conduct of body, speech and thought.

- 191 To some he gave recluseship<sup>1</sup> in the four supreme fruits; to some he gave the analytical insights<sup>2</sup>, things without an equal.
- 192 To some the bull of men gave the eight glorious attainments; he bestowed the three knowledges<sup>3</sup> on some and the six super-knowings.
- 193 In this fashion the great sage exhorted the multitude. By this means the Dispensation of the protector of the world was wide-spread.
- 194 He, named Dīpaṅkara, mighty in jaw<sup>4</sup>, broad of shoulder<sup>4</sup>, caused many people to cross over, he freed them from a bad bourn.
- 195 Seeing people who could be awakened<sup>5</sup> even though they were a hundred thousand yojanas away, in a moment that great sage, going up to them, awakened them.
- 196 At the first penetration<sup>6</sup> the Buddha awakened a hundred crores; at the second penetration the protector awakened ninety crores.<sup>7</sup>
- 197 And when the Buddha had taught Dhamma in a deva-abode<sup>8</sup> there was the third penetration by ninety thousand crores.
- 198 The teacher Dīpaṅkara had three assemblies; the first gathering was of a hundred thousand crores.
- 199 Again, when the Conqueror had gone into aloofness on

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 123, quoting S. v. 25 (also quoted at DA. 158) says the Way is called recluseship according to ultimate truth.

<sup>2</sup> The four paṭisambhīdā are those of meaning, of Dhamma (or dhammā, mental states), of language, and of perspicuity (or fluency in expression and knowledge).

<sup>3</sup> Knowledge of deva-like vision, of recollection of one's former habitations, of the destruction of the cankers, BvAC. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Among the 32 Marks of a Great Man.

<sup>5</sup> Because they were accessible to a Buddha's teachings, BvAC. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Two penetrations, abhisamaya, are recognized at Vism. 216: that of development (of the Way) and that of realization (of nibbāna). Dīpaṅkara's first 'penetration' was after he had turned the Dhamma-Wheel in Sunanda-ārāma, BvAC. 124. Called Nanda at ver. 212.

<sup>7</sup> This was when he was teaching Dhamma principally to his own son in a way similar to (Gotama's) Exhortations to Rāhula, BvAC. 124.

<sup>8</sup> This was after he had performed the Marvel of the Double under an acacia tree, had gone to Tāvātimsa and there taught the 7 parts of the Abhidhamma, principally to his mother, BvAC. 124.

- Mount Nārada<sup>1</sup>, there came together a hundred crores whose cankers were destroyed, stains gone.<sup>2</sup>
- 200 During the time the great hero was on Sudassana mountain<sup>3</sup> the great sage 'invited' with ninety thousand crores.
- 201 I at that time was a matted-hair ascetic, severe in austerity, moving through mid-air, expert in the five super-knowings.
- 202 There was penetration of Dhamma by tens and twenties of thousands. Penetration by ones and twos was incalculable by computation.
- 203 The well purified Dispensation of the Lord Dīpaṅkara was widely famed then among the populace; it was successful,<sup>4</sup> prosperous.<sup>5</sup>
- 204 Four hundred thousand having the six super-knowings, having great psychic potency, continuously surrounded Dīpaṅkara, knower of the world(s).
- 205 Despised were those initiates<sup>6</sup> who at that time departed this life as human beings<sup>7</sup> without having attained their purpose.
- 206 The fully flowering Word shone forth continuously with arahants who were steadfast ones, their cankers destroyed, stainless.
- 207 Rammavati<sup>8</sup> was the name of the city, Sumedha<sup>9</sup> the name

<sup>1</sup> Here BvAC. 125f. gives an exciting story of Dīpaṅkara's conquest of a malignant man-eating yakkha who lived on this mountain. Eventually the yakkha realized, however, that all the harm he tried to do to the Buddha only recoiled on himself.

<sup>2</sup> This assembly is called one that is caturaṅgasamannāgata, i.e. possessed of (the following) four factors: all present had been ordained by the 'Come, monk' formula, all were possessed of the six super-knowings, all had come uninvited, and the day was the Observance day that was the fifteenth (of the month), BvAC. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Having gone there for the rains. This was the third assembly.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. in training people in the higher morality and so forth. Cf. viii. 5, xxvi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. mindfulness and concentration prospered, BvAC. 127.

<sup>6</sup> Initiates, sekha, are those who have attained any of the four Ways and the first three fruitions (defined MA. i. 40) but have not won the fruit of arahantship, BvAC. 128. For the verse cf. xxvi, 11 and S. i. 121, quoted DhA. i. 432 and Asl. 140; cf. also S. v. 14, A. i. 231 for definition of sekha.

<sup>7</sup> jahanti mānusaṃ bhavaṃ, lit. put off human status. The above translation perhaps gives greater clarity, however. Cf. xxvi. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ramma at DhA. i. 83 with v. 11. Rammavati, Ambaravati. Thūp. 2f. also gives Ramma.

<sup>9</sup> BvAC. 129 Sudeva.

- of the warrior-noble, Sumedhā was the name of the mother of Dīpaṅkara, the teacher.
- 208 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. And the three superb palaces were Haṃsā, Koñcā, Mayūrā.
- 209 There were three hundred thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Padumā, his son was named Usabhakkhandha.<sup>1</sup>
- 210 After he had seen the four signs the Conqueror departed mounted on an elephant; he strove the striving for a full ten months.
- 211 After he had engaged in the striving the sage awakened to his purpose. On being requested by Brahma, Dīpaṅkara, great sage,
- 212 great hero, turned the Wheel in the Nanda-park in Sirighara. Sitting at the root of a Sirīsa<sup>2</sup>, he crushed the sectarians.
- 213 Sumaṅgala and Tissa were the chief disciples, Sāgata was the name of the attendant of Dīpaṅkara, the teacher.
- 214 Nandā and Sunandā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Pippalī.<sup>3</sup>
- 215 Tapussa<sup>4</sup> and Bhallika were the chief attendants; Sirimā and Sonā the chief women attendants on Dīpaṅkara, the teacher.
- 216 The great sage Dīpaṅkara was eighty cubits in height. He shone like a tree of lights, like a king of sāla trees in full bloom.
- 217 That great seer's life-span was a hundred thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 218 After illuminating the True Dhamma and causing the populace to cross over, blazing life a mass of fire, he, with the disciples, waned out.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Samavattakkhandha at BvAC. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Acacia, Kekusandha's Bodhi-Tree.

<sup>3</sup> Pippalī is another name for Assattha, the Bodhi-Tree, hence the Anglo-Indian pipul (peepul) tree for the Bo. The more usual form is pippala. Ordinary pepper (pipp(h)alī) corns are found clustered together on stems hanging down from the pepper-vine. BvAC. 129 explains pippalī as pilakkhakapitthanarukkho, possible meaning a kind of kapitthana called pilakkha-kapitthana (and not ordinary kapi-). PED says kapitthana is a variant of kapithana, Thespesia populneoides, and M-W says plakṣa (pilakkha) is Ficus infectoria or, more appropriately here, Ficus religiosa. Pippalī and kapithana occur at Vin. iv. 35 as two separate trees, see BD. ii. 228, notes 4, 7. I was wrong to translate kapithana there as 'wood-apple', for note 7 says "there is no connexion between Thespesia populneoides and Feronia elephantum".

<sup>4</sup> Tapassu is another reading.

<sup>5</sup> nibbuto, waned out, was cooled, attained (complete or final) nibbāna.

- 219 And that psychic potency and that great retinue<sup>1</sup> and those treasures of the Wheel on his feet have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 220 Dīpaṅkara, the Conqueror, the teacher, waned out in Nanda-part. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was thirty-six yojanas in height.

The First Chronicle: that of the Lord Dīpaṅkara

### III THE SECOND CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD KOṆḌAÑÑA

- 1 After Dīpaṅkara was the leader named Koṇḍañña, of infinite incandescence, with a boundless following, immeasurable, difficult to attack.
- 2 In patience he was like the earth<sup>2</sup>, in morality like the ocean<sup>3</sup>, in concentration similar to Meru<sup>4</sup>, in knowledge like the heavens.<sup>5</sup>
- 3 For the welfare of all breathing things the Buddha constantly explained the truths of the cardinal faculties, the powers, the constituents of Awakening, the Ways.<sup>6</sup>
- 4 When Koṇḍañña, leader of the world, was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there was the first penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 5 After that, when he was teaching in a gathering of men and deities, there was the second penetration by ninety thousand crores.
- 6 When he taught Dhamma, crushing the sectarians, there was the third penetration by eighty thousand crores.
- 7 The great seer Koṇḍañña had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.

<sup>1</sup> yasa, fame, glory, also a (great) retinue. See PED. The Comy supports this last meaning.

<sup>2</sup> See M. i. 423.

<sup>3</sup> See Vin. ii. 237, A. iv. 198, Ud. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Unshaken by states of mind that are inimical to concentration, BvAC. 135.

<sup>5</sup> See above, i. 64.

<sup>6</sup> Reference is to the 37 things favourable to Awakening, for the applications of mindfulness and the right efforts are to be understood as included here in addition to the factors mentioned; BvAC. 135 says these fall into four groups.

- 8 The first gathering was of a hundred thousand crores, the second of a thousand crores<sup>1</sup>, the third of ninety crores.
- 9 I at that time was a warrior-noble named Vjītāvin. I held sway from end to end of the sea.
- 10 I refreshed with superb food the hundred thousand crores of stainless great seers together with the highest protector of the world.
- 11 And that Buddha Koṇḍañña, leader of the world, also declared of me: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha in the world.
- 12 Having striven the striving, carried out austerities, the Self-Awakened One of great fame will be awakened at the root of an Assattha.
- 13 His genetrix and mother will be named Māyā, his father Suddhodana, and he will be named Gotama.
- 14 Kolita and Upatissa will be the chief disciples. Ānanda is the name of the attendant who will attend on that Conqueror.
- 15 Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā will be the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Assattha.
- 16 Citta and Hatthālavaka will be the chief attendants; Nanda-mātā and Uttarā will be the chief women attendants.
- 17 The life-span of this famed Gotama will be a hundred years." When they had heard the words of the great seer who was without an equal, men and deities, rejoicing, thought "Sprout of the Buddha-seed is this".
- 18 The sounds of acclamation went on; the (inhabitants of the) ten-thousand with the devas clapped their hands, laughed, and paid homage with clasped hands.
- 19 (Saying) "If we should fail of the Dispensation of this protector of the world, in the distant future we will be face to face with this one.
- 20 As men crossing a river but, failing of the ford to the bank opposite, taking a ford lower down cross over the great river, even so, all of us, if we miss (the words of) this Conqueror, in the distant future will be face to face with this one."<sup>2</sup>
- 22 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my

<sup>1</sup> The reading at Bv of a hundred thousand (again) is against Be and BvAC which read 'thousand'.

<sup>2</sup> As at II A. 72-75 above.

- mind. For effecting that very aim<sup>1</sup> I gave the great kingdom to the Conqueror. Having abandoned the great kingdom, I went forth in his presence<sup>2</sup>
- 23 Having learnt thoroughly the Suttanta and Vinaya and all the ninefold Dispensation of the teacher, I illumined the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 24 Living diligent therein, whether sitting, standing or pacing, after reaching perfection in the super-knowings to the Brahma-world went I.<sup>3</sup>
- 25 Rammavati was the name of the city, Sunanda the name of the warrior-noble, Sujātā the name of the mother of Koṇḍañña, the great seer.
- 26 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. The three superbly glorious palaces were Suci<sup>4</sup>, Suruci,<sup>5</sup> Subha.
- 27 There were three hundred thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Rucidevi, his son was named Vjitasena.
- 28 After he had seen the four signs he departed by chariot as the means of conveyance; the Conqueror strove the striving for not less than ten months.
- 29 Koṇḍañña, supreme among men, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb city of devas.
- 30 Bhadda and Subhadda were the chief disciples; Anuruddha was the name of the attendant on Koṇḍañña, the great seer.
- 31 Tissā and Upatissā were the chief women disciples. The Tree of Awakening of Koṇḍañña, the great seer, was a lovely Sāla.<sup>6</sup>
- 32 Soṇa and Upasoṇa were the chief attendants; Nandā and Sirimā were the chief women attendants.
- 33 That great sage was eighty-eight cubits tall. He shone like the sun at midday, as the king of heavenly bodies.
- 34 The (normal) life-span lasted then for a hundred thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.

<sup>1</sup> The aim, attha, making for Buddhahood was the accomplishing of the perfection of Giving, BvAC. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xix. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 23. 24 also at xii. 16, 17; cf. iv. 16, 17, xix. 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Bv, Ruci, BvAC. 132 Rāma.

<sup>5</sup> BvAC. 132 Surāma.

<sup>6</sup> sālekalyāṇika. It comes into being only in the time of a Buddha and of a universal monarch; it is supposed to rise up in one day, BvAC. 140.

- 35 The earth was ornamented with those whose cankers were destroyed, stainless.<sup>1</sup> As the heavens with heavenly bodies, so did he shine forth.
- 36 And those countless nāgas of great renown, imperturbable<sup>2</sup>, difficult to attack, waned out showing themselves like a flash of lightning.<sup>3</sup>
- 37 And that Conqueror's psychic potency which was not to be gauged, and the concentration fostered through knowledge have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 38 Koṇḍañña the glorious Buddha waned out in Canda-park. A decorated cetiya (to him) there was seven yojanas high<sup>4</sup>

The Second Chronicle: that of the Lord Koṇḍañña

#### IV THE THIRD CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD MAṄGALA

- 1 After Koṇḍañña the leader named Maṅgala<sup>5</sup> carried aloft the torch of Dhamma annihilating the gloom<sup>6</sup> in the world.
- 2 His lustre was unrivalled, excelling that of other Conquerors; dimming the lustre of the sun and moon, he shone over the ten-thousand.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This earth was one mass of light aglow with the yellow robe, BvAC. 140f.

<sup>2</sup> Unaffected by the 8 lokadhammā, for which see D. iii. 260, A. iv. 156, quoted Nettī. 162.

<sup>3</sup> BvAC. 141 says that at the time of Koṇḍañña, when monks were attaining parinibbāna they rose into the air to the height of seven palm-trees and, like the lightning, illuminated the dark rents in the clouds. Obviously these monks were arahants; had they not been probably they could not have attained parinibbāna.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Thūp. 8, 9.

<sup>5</sup> This Chronicle occurs in Mhvu. with some interesting divergencies. See Mhvu. Transl. i. 204ff.

<sup>6</sup> The darkness of the world and that of the heart, i.e. ignorance, BvAC. 144.

<sup>7</sup> BvAC. 143 says "the lustre of the physical frame of other Buddhas measured 80 cubits or a fathom, but the lustre of this Lord's physical frame remained permanently suffusing the ten-thousand world-system. Trees, hills, rocks and so forth were as though shrouded in cloth of gold". When he was a Bodhisatta he had made the great gift of his two children to a man-eating yakkha disguised as a brahman and seen them crunched up before his very eyes. Then, being of the opinion that the gift was well given, joyful and happy, he made an aspiration to the effect that "as a result of all this may rays issue forth from me in the future", BvAC. 143. Moreover, again when he was a Bodhisatta he saw a Buddha's cetiya and thought "I must sacrifice my life for him", and he set fire to his body beginning with his head. But he was able to circumambulate the cetiya all night,

- 3 This Buddha too expounded the four supremely glorious truths. And those who had drunk of the juice of the truths removed the great gloom.
- 4 After he had reached the unrivalled Awakening there was at the first teaching of Dhamma the first penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 5 When the Buddha explained (Dhamma) in the deva abode of the chief of devas there was the second penetration by a thousand crores.<sup>1</sup>
- 6 When Sunanda, the universal monarch, approached the Self-Awakened One, then the Self-Awakened One smote the supremely glorious drum of Dhamma.
- 7 The multitude that followed Sunanda then was ninety crores. And all these without exception were 'Come, monk' ones.<sup>2</sup>
- 8 The great seer Maṅgala had three assemblies: the first was a gathering of a hundred thousand crores.
- 9 the second of a thousand crores, the third was then a gathering of ninety crores of those whose cankers were destroyed, stainless.
- 10 I at that time was a brahman named Suruci, a repeater, expert in the mantras, master of the three Vedas.
- 11 Approaching him, going to the teacher for refuge, I honoured the Order with the Self-Awakened One at the head with perfumes and garlands. When I had honoured them with the perfumes and garlands I refreshed them with the gavapāna.<sup>3</sup>
- 12 And that Buddha Maṅgala, supreme among men, also declared of me: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 13 When he has striven the strivings, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."<sup>4</sup>
- 14 When I had heard his words too, all the more did I incline my

for not even a pore of his skin became warm. "Dhammo hi nāma' csa attānaṃ rakkhantaṃ rakkhati" for this Dhamma protects him who protects himself, BvAC. 144.

<sup>1</sup> Different versions give nine thousand crores and a hundred thousand crores. BvAC. 146 equates Dhamma here with Abhidhamma.

<sup>2</sup> ehibhikkhukā, meaning they were ordained by the 'Come, monk' formula for ordination.

<sup>3</sup> Also called the "meal of the four sweet things". See Intr. p. xlix, under 3. Maṅgala.

<sup>4</sup> As at II A, 73-75.

- mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 15 Increasing zest then for the attainment of the glorious Self-Awakening, I gave my worldly wealth<sup>1</sup> to the Buddha and went forth in his presence.
- 16 Having learnt thoroughly the Suttanta and Vinaya and all the ninefold Dispensation of the teacher, I illumined the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 17 Living diligent therein, developing the Brahma-development<sup>2</sup>, after reaching perfection in the super-knowings to the Brahma-world went I.<sup>3</sup>
- 18 Uttara was the name of the city, Uttara the name of the warrior-noble, Uttarā the name of the mother of Maṅgala, the great seer.
- 19 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Yasavā, Sucimā, Sirimā.
- 20 There were a full thirty thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Yasavatī, his son was named Sivala.
- 21 After he had seen the four signs he departed on horse-back<sup>4</sup>; the Conqueror strove the striving for not less than eight months.
- 22 Maṅgala, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in Siriva, a superb wood.
- 23 Sudeva and Dhammasena were the chief disciples. Pālita was the name of the attendant on Maṅgala, the great seer.
- 24 Sivalā<sup>5</sup> and Asokā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Nāga.
- 25 Nanda and Visākha were the chief attendants; Anulā and Sutanā were the chief women attendants.
- 26 The great sage was eighty-eight ratanas<sup>6</sup> tall. There streamed forth from him countless hundreds and thousands of rays.

<sup>1</sup> geḥa, house, explained by sāpatcyya, property, wealth, at BvAC. 151.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the four brahmavihāra, here called brahma bhāvana. Cf. the Buddha Gotama's rebuke to Sāriputta at M. ii. 194ff. for establishing the dying brahman Dhānañjāni only in these so that on his death he could do no more than attain the Brahma-world.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 16, 17 also at xiii. 18, 19, xix. 12, 13. Cf. iii. 23, 24, xii. 16, 17.

<sup>4</sup> The horse was named Paṇḍara, BvAC. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Sivalī at Jā. i. 34.

<sup>6</sup> See Intr. p. xxii.

- 27 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 28 Just as it is not possible to count the waves of the ocean<sup>1</sup> so it was not possible to count his disciples.
- 29 For as long as the leader named Maṅgala, the Self-Awakened One, was alive there was no dying then with defilements (present) in his Dispensation<sup>2</sup>.
- 30 Having carried the torch of Dhamma<sup>3</sup> and caused the great populace to cross, he, of a great retinue,<sup>4</sup> blazing like a column of fire<sup>5</sup> waned out.
- 31 Having shown devas and men the essential nature<sup>6</sup> of the constructions<sup>7</sup>, blazing like a mass of fire, as the setting sun, the Buddha Maṅgala waned out in the park named Vessara.<sup>8</sup>
- 32 A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was thirty yojanas high.

The Third Chronicle: that of the Lord Maṅgala

#### V THE FOURTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD SUMANA

- 1 After Maṅgala was the leader named Sumana, without an equal in all things<sup>9</sup>, supreme among all creatures.
- 2 In Mekhala city he too smote the drum of deathlessness then accompanied by the conch of Dhamma, the ninefold Dispensation of the Conqueror.
- 3 Having conquered the defilements he attained supreme Self-Awakening. The teacher built a city<sup>10</sup>, a supremely glorious city of Dhamma.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Miln. 244.

<sup>2</sup> sankilesamarāṇa. BvA says "sankilese (with defilements) means with kilesas (present in them); sankilesamarāṇa means death (or dying, maraṇa) with the kilesas present. That was not (to be found at that time)." That is to say, all the disciples passed away into nibbāna as arahants and did not die as worldlings or 'initiates', sekha.

<sup>3</sup> See above ver. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See II B, 219.

<sup>5</sup> dhūmaketu, having smoke as its banner, i.e. fire.

<sup>6</sup> General characteristics of impermanence and so on.

<sup>7</sup> saṅkhāra, things that are conditioned.

<sup>8</sup> So Bv. But Be Vassara, 'Thūp. 10 Vasabha, Jkm. 11 Vessabhū.

<sup>9</sup> In the things of morality, concentration and wisdom, BvAC. 154.

<sup>10</sup> City of nibbāna, BvAC. 155; cf. Miln. 332, 341.

- 4 He built a main street, continuous, not crooked, straight, large and extensive: the supremely glorious applications of mindfulness.
- 5 There, in the street, he laid out the four fruits of recluseship<sup>1</sup>, the four analytical insights<sup>2</sup>, the six super-knowings, the eight attainments.
- 6 Those who are diligent, without (mental) barrenness<sup>3</sup>, endowed with conscience and energy, they obtain whichever of these glorious special qualities they please.<sup>4</sup>
- 7 Thus, by this earnest application, the teacher, carrying across<sup>5</sup> the populace, awakened first a hundred thousand crores.
- 8 At the time of the second teaching of Dhamma, when the great hero exhorted groups of sctarians, a thousand crores penetrated (it).
- 9 When devas and men, one in mind<sup>6</sup>, met together they asked a question about cessation and about the doubt in their minds.
- 10 And then on the teaching of Dhamma, on the elucidation of cessation, there was the third penetration by ninety thousand crores.
- 11 The great seer Sumana had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 12 When the Lord had kept the rains, the Tathāgata, on the proclamation of the 'invitation', 'invited' with a hundred thousand crores.
- 13 Following on that, in a stainless<sup>7</sup> assembly on Golden Mountain there was the second gathering of ninety thousand crores.
- 14 When Sakka, king of devas, came to see the Buddha, there was the third gathering of eighty thousand crores.
- 15 I at that time was a nāga-king of great psychic potency, Atula by name, abounding in an accumulation of skill.

<sup>1</sup> The fruitions of the four ways of stream-attainment and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> Of meanings, things (dhammā), language, perspicuity.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Sta. 16; also D. iii. 237, A. iii. 248, iv. 400, v. 17.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 146 attributes this verse to Sumana.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. across the ocean of saṃsāra by means of the ship of the ariyan Way, BvAC. 156.

<sup>6</sup> They all wanted to know how one entered on, was entered on and emerged from cessation, and decided to question the Lord Sumana, BvAC. 156f.

<sup>7</sup> BvAC. 157 says this was an assembly that had the four factors, for which see II B. 199.

- 16 Then I, issuing forth with my kinsfolk from the nāga-abode, attended on the Conqueror and his Order with the deva-like instrumental music of nāgas.
- 17 After I had given the hundred thousand crores one pair of robes each and had refreshed them with food and drink, I went to him for refuge.
- 18 That Buddha Sumana, leader of the world, also declared of me: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 19 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one".
- 20 When I had heard his words too all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 21 Mekhala<sup>1</sup> was the name of the city, Sudatta the name of the warrior-noble, Sirimā the name of the mother of Sumana, the great seer.
- 22 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Canda, Sucanda, Vaṭaṃsa.<sup>2</sup>
- 23 There were eighty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Vaṭaṃsikā, his son was named Anupama.
- 24 After he had seen the four signs he departed mounted on an elephant; the Conqueror strove the striving for not less than ten months.
- 25 Sumana, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb city of Mekhala.
- 26 Saraṇa<sup>3</sup> and Bhāvitatta were the chief disciples; Udena was the name of the attendant on Sumana, the great seer.
- 27 Soṇā and Upasoṇā were the chief women disciples. And that Buddha of boundless fame awakened at the root of a Nāga (tree).
- 28 Varuṇa and Saraṇa were the chief (lay) attendants; Cālā and Upacālā were the chief women (lay) attendants.
- 29 That Buddha, standing ninety cubits in height, shone like a golden festooned column over the ten-thousand.

<sup>1</sup> Jā. 34 Khema.

<sup>2</sup> Called Narivaḍḍhana Somavaḍḍhana Iddhivaḍḍhana at BvAC. 153, and the first Sirivaḍḍhana at BvAB, but as above at BvAC. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Stepbrother to the Buddha Sumana.

- 30 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 31 After causing those to cross over who could be caused to cross over and awakening those who could be awakened, the Self-Awakened One, setting like the king of stars, attained final nibbāna.
- 32 Those who were monks whose cankers were destroyed, of great renown,<sup>1</sup> and that unique Buddha who had displayed unrivalled lustre, (all) waned out.
- 33 And that unrivalled knowledge and those unrivalled treasures have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 34 The renowned Buddha Sumana waned out in the Aṅgārāma-park. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was four yojanas high.<sup>2</sup>

The Fourth Chronicle: that of the Lord Sumana

#### VI THE FIFTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD REVATA

- 1 After Sumana was the leader named Revata, incomparable, unique, unrivalled, supreme, Conqueror.
- 2 He too, earnestly requested by Brahma, expounded Dhamma, the defining of the aggregates and elements, non-occurrences in various becomings.<sup>3</sup>
- 3 When he was teaching Dhamma there were three penetrations. Not to be told by computation was the first penetration.
- 4 When the sage Revata instructed king Arindama then there was the second penetration by a thousand crores.
- 5 Having emerged after seven days from solitary meditation<sup>4</sup>, the bull of men instructed a hundred crores of men and deities in the supreme fruit.
- 6 The great seer Revata had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, well freed.

<sup>1</sup> Also meaning according to BvAC. 160, having a great retinue.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted Thūp. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. kāma rūpa arūpa; he also taught Dhamma for getting rid of rebirth process-becoming and kamma process-becoming, the former being preceded by the latter, BvAC. 162.

<sup>4</sup> In which he attained the attainment of cessation, BvAC. 163.



Plate II Nagayōn Corridor—Revata and Alideva.

- 7 Those who gathered together at the first were beyond the range of computation. The second gathering was of a hundred thousand crores.
- 8 One who was without an equal in wisdom, a Wheel-follower of his<sup>1</sup>, was ill then, his life in doubt.
- 9 The third gathering<sup>2</sup> was of a hundred thousand<sup>3</sup> crores of arahants, those sages<sup>4</sup> who approached then to inquire about his illness.
- 10 I at that time was a brahman named Atideva. Having approached Revata the Buddha, I went to him for refuge.
- 11 Having lauded his morality, concentration and supremely glorious special quality of wisdom, according to my ability,<sup>5</sup> I gave him (my) outer cloak<sup>6</sup>.
- 12 That Buddha Revata, leader of the world, also declared of me: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 13 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." ". . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 14 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 15 Then too, remembering that Buddha-thing<sup>7</sup>, I increased it (thinking) "I will obtain that thing<sup>8</sup> that I ardently long for".

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Varuṇa, one of the chief disciples, foremost of those of wisdom, BvAC. 163.

<sup>2</sup> According to BvAC. 183 this was also a four-factored assembly; see II B 199.

<sup>3</sup> Be reads saḥassa, a thousand.

<sup>4</sup> Bv muni, Be, BvAC muni. The Comy explains that if the final vowel in muni is long the reference is to bhikkhus; if short, with the nasal vowel ṁ supplied, it is to Varuṇa, this Buddha's son and chief disciple.

<sup>5</sup> Bv reads yathā thomaṁ. Be, BvAC read yathāthāmaṁ, explained by yathābalaṁ. 'Ability' conveys the meaning in English perhaps better than 'strength'.

<sup>6</sup> uttariya; BvAC. 164, Jā. i. 35, Thūp. 10, ApA. 38 "paid honour with (an) upper robe", uttarāsaṅga. "Dedicated the clothing worn by himself" if Prof. Luce's rendering of the writing in one of the earliest Old Burmese lists (of Buddhas) at Pagán in the Hall of Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi—"a temple dating perhaps from Caṅsū II's reign (1174-1211 A.D.)". See G. H. Luce *Old Burma—Early Pagán*, i. 393.

<sup>7</sup> 'Thing' is an ideal (dhamma), here a perfection, leading to the status of a Buddha, BvAC. 165. For Bodhisattas the ideal would be their Self-Awakening.

<sup>8</sup> Buddhahood, BvAC. 165.

- 16 Sudhañña<sup>1</sup> was the name of the city, Vipula the name of the warrior-noble, Vipulā the name of the mother of Revata, the great seer.
- 17 He lived the household life for six thousand years.<sup>2</sup> The three superb palaces, produced by meritorious deeds, were Sudasana, Ratanagghi, and the decorated Āveḷa<sup>3</sup>.
- 18 There were thirty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sudassanā, his son was named Varuṇa.
- 19 After he had seen the four signs he departed by chariot<sup>4</sup> as the means of conveyance. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than seven months.
- 20 Revata, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in Varuṇa-park in Sirighaṇa<sup>5</sup>.
- 21 Varuṇa and Brahmadeva were the chief disciples; Sambhava was the name of the attendant on Revata, the great seer.
- 22 Bhaddā and Subhaddā were the chief women disciples. And that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, awakened at the root of a Nāga (tree).
- 23 Paduma and Kuñjara were the chief attendants; Sirimā and Yasavati were the chief women attendants.
- 24 That Buddha, standing eighty cubits in height, illumined all the quarters like a rainbow on high.
- 25 The unsurpassed garland<sup>6</sup> of lustre emanating from his physical frame suffused a yojana all round whether by day or by night.
- 26 The (normal) life-span lasted then for sixty thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 27 After displaying the power of a Buddha and expounding deathlessness to the world, he waned out without grasping (other renewed existence) like a fire on the consumption of the fuel.
- 28 And that gem-like body<sup>7</sup> and that unique Dhamma have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?

<sup>1</sup> Bv reads Sudhañña.

<sup>2</sup> Bv reads six hundred thousand, but this is an error. His life-span lasted 60 thousand years.

<sup>3</sup> Bv reads Avela.

<sup>4</sup> Harnessed to thoroughbreds, BvAC. 161.

<sup>5</sup> BCL says this should be Sirisa thicket. Bv reads Sirighara.

<sup>6</sup> Or, the halo (?), mālā, which BvAC. 166 interprets as velā, limit, boundary.

<sup>7</sup> ratananibha. The Lord's body was golden coloured, BvAC. 166, thus rightly choosing gold among the various other gems included in ratana.

- 29 The renowned Buddha Revata, that great sage, waned out. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Fifth Chronicle: that of the Lord Revata

## VII THE SIXTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD SOBHITA

- 1 After Revata was the leader named Sobhita, concentrated, tranquil in mind, without an equal, matchless.
- 2 When in his own house that Conqueror had turned away<sup>1</sup> his mind, on attaining full Awakening he turned<sup>2</sup> the Wheel of Dhamma.
- 3 At the teaching of Dhamma there was one assembly in the spaces as far as (the region) upwards of Avīci (from below) and downwards from the height of becoming<sup>3</sup> (from above).
- 4 The Self-Awakened One turned the Wheel of Dhamma in that assembly. That was the first penetration, not to be told by computation.
- 5 Subsequently, as he was teaching<sup>4</sup> in a gathering of men and deities, there was the second penetration by ninety thousand crores.
- 6 And again, a warrior-noble, Prince Jayasena, having planted a park, dedicated it to the Buddha then.
- 7 Lauding his offering, the One with Vision taught Dhamma. Then was the third penetration by a thousand crores.
- 8 The great seer Sobhita had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 9 The king named Uggata gave a gift to the supreme among men. At that giving a hundred crores of arahants gathered together.
- 10 And again, a host of townspeople gave a gift to the supreme among men. Then was the second gathering of ninety crores.
- 11 When the Conqueror descended after staying in the deva-world, then was the third gathering of eight crores.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vinivattayi, i.e. from an ordinary person's life.

<sup>2</sup> pavattayi.

<sup>3</sup> bhavagga, meaning the zenith of the universe, abode of the Akanittha devas.

<sup>4</sup> He was teaching Abhidhamma in the abode of the Thirty-Three, BvAC. 168.

<sup>5</sup> This too is said at BvAC. 169 to be an assembly that was four-factored; see II B. 199.

- 12 I at that time was a brahman named Sujātā<sup>1</sup>. Then I refreshed the Buddha and the disciples with food and drink.
- 13 That Buddha Sobhita, leader of the world, also declared of me, "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 14 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 15 When I had heard his words, exultant, stirred in mind, I made strenuous endeavour for attaining that very aim.<sup>2</sup>
- 16 Sudhamma<sup>3</sup> was the name of the city, Sudhamma the name of the warrior-noble, Sudhammā the name of the mother of Sobhita, the great seer.
- 17 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Kumuda, Nālīna<sup>4</sup>, Paduma.
- 18 There were thirty-seven thousand<sup>5</sup> beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Samaṅgi<sup>6</sup>, his son was named Siha.
- 19 After he had seen the four signs he departed by palace<sup>7</sup>. The supreme among men engaged in striving for a week.
- 20 Sobhita, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb Sudhamma-pleasaunce.
- 21 Asama and Sunetta were the chief disciples<sup>8</sup>; Anoma was the name of the attendant on Sobhita, the great seer.
- 22 Nakulā and Sujātā were the chief women disciples. And that Buddha, awakening, awakened at the root of a Nāga (tree).
- 23 Ramma and Sudatta were the chief attendants; Nakulā and Cittā were the chief women attendants.

<sup>1</sup> Ajita at Jā. i. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The aim, attha, was Buddhahood. He felt assured of winning this because of his belief that the words of the Buddhas are true, BvAC. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Be and BvAC. 170 read Sudhammaṃ nāma nagaraṃ which gives the right metre. Bv omits nāma.

<sup>4</sup> So Be. Nālīna at Bv.

<sup>5</sup> Bv's reading asattati saḥassāni is to be ignored as is BCL's restitution as cha-sattati, seventy-six. Be and prose portions of BvACB read sattatīpasa-hassāni.

<sup>6</sup> Called Maṇḍilā at Be, Makhilā at BvACB.

<sup>7</sup> BvAC 166f. gives a vivid description of this volatile or flying palace. When it rested on the ground after it had come down with the nāga-tree in the middle of it, all the dancing-women left of their own accord.

<sup>8</sup> His younger step-brothers, BvAC. 167.

- 24 The great sage was fifty-eight ratanas in height. He illumined all the quarters like him of a hundred rays on high.
- 25 Just as a forest in full bloom is perfumed with divers scents, so his words were perfumed with the scent of moral habit.
- 26 And just as the ocean cannot satiate one who is looking at it, so his words could not satiate one who was hearing them.
- 27 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 28 After giving exhortation and instruction<sup>1</sup> to the rest of the people<sup>2</sup>, burning out like fire<sup>3</sup>, he with the disciples waned out.
- 29 That Buddha, equal to the unequalled, and those disciples who had attained powers<sup>4</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 30 Sobhita, the glorious Self-Awakened One, waned out in Siha-park. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Sixth Chronicle: that of the Lord Sobhita

#### VIII THE SEVENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD ANOMADASSIN

- 1 After Sobhita was Anomadassin, the Self-Awakened One, supreme among men, of boundless fame, incandescent,<sup>5</sup> difficult to overcome.
- 2 He, having cut through all bonds, having shattered the three becomings<sup>6</sup> taught for devas and mankind the Way going to the no-turn-back<sup>7</sup>.
- 3 As the ocean he was imperturbable,<sup>8</sup> as a mountain hard to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Those who had not penetrated the truths, BvAC. 171.

<sup>3</sup> hutāsana, oblation-eater, glossed as aggi, fire, at BvAC. 171. Cf. Vism. 171. The altar of Sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 202 explains as iddhibala, the powers of psychic potency; ten are given at Pts. ii. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Possessed of the incandescence of morality, concentration, wisdom, BvAC. 172.

<sup>6</sup> Having shattered and made in-existent the kamma leading to the three becomings by means of the knowledge that makes for the destruction of kamma, BvAC. 173.

<sup>7</sup> anivattigamana-magga, the way leading to the no-turn-back is called nibbāna at BvAC. 173.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. iii. 36, xi. 1, Miln. 21.

- attack, as the sky unending<sup>1</sup>, as a king of sāla-trees he was full of bloom<sup>2</sup>.
- 4 Living things were gladdened by the mere sight of that Buddha. Those who heard his voice as he was speaking attained deathlessness.
- 5 Penetration of his Dhamma was successful and prosperous<sup>3</sup> then. At the first teaching of Dhamma hundreds of crores penetrated.
- 6 In the penetration following on that, while (the Buddha) was raining the showers of Dhamma, at the second teaching of Dhamma<sup>4</sup> eighty crores penetrated.
- 7 Following on that, while he was raining<sup>5</sup> (the Dhamma) and refreshing (them), there was the third penetration by seventy-eight crores of living things.
- 8 And this great seer also had three assemblies of those who had attained power in the super-knowings and were blossoming through freedom.<sup>6</sup>
- 9 There was an assembly of eight hundred thousand then of steadfast ones who had got rid of pride and confusion, were tranquil in mind.
- 10 The second gathering was of seven hundred thousand steadfast ones who were without taints, stainless, calm.
- 11 The third gathering was of six hundred thousand of those who had attained power in the super-knowings, were waning out, were 'burners-up'<sup>7</sup>.
- 12 I at that time was a yakkha of great psychic potency, a chief with highest power over countless crores of yakkhas.
- 13 Then, having approached that glorious Buddha, the great seer, I refreshed the leader of the world and the Order with food and drink.

<sup>1</sup> That is, in regard to his special Buddha-qualities. BvAC. 173.

<sup>2</sup> With all the 32 Marks of a Great Man and the minor characteristics. *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. II B, 203.

<sup>4</sup> This is Abhidhamma, BvAC. 174.

<sup>5</sup> While he was raining the shower of the talk on Dhamma, BvAC. 194. Cf. xi. 4.

<sup>6</sup> As at xviii. 8. See too ver. 27 below. BvAC 175 "freedom of (or due to) the fruit of arahantship".

<sup>7</sup> Their cankers destroyed and burnt up by the ariyan Way leading to the destruction of the defilements. The three assemblies were all composed of arahants, BvAC. 174.

- 14 That sage, of purified sight, also declared of me then: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 15 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 16 When I had heard his words, exultant, stirred in mind, I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 17 Candavatī<sup>1</sup> was the name of the city, Yasavā<sup>2</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Yasodharā the name of the mother of Anomadassin, the teacher.
- 18 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. The three superb palaces were Sirī, Upasirī, Vaḍḍha<sup>3</sup>.
- 19 There were twenty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sirimā, and his son was named Upavāna.
- 20 After he had seen the four signs he departed by means of a palanquin. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than ten months.
- 21 Anomadassin, great sage, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the pleasaunce in Sudassana.
- 22 Nisabha<sup>4</sup> and Anoma<sup>5</sup> were the chief disciples. Varuṇa was the name of the attendant on Anomadassin, the teacher.
- 23 Sundarī<sup>6</sup> and Sumanā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Ajjuna.
- 24 Nandivaḍḍha and Sirivaḍḍha were the chief attendants; Uppalā and Padumā were the chief women attendants.
- 25 The great sage was fifty-eight ratanas tall. His lustre streamed forth<sup>7</sup> like him of the hundred rays on high.
- 26 The (normal) life-span lasted then for a hundred thousand years.<sup>8</sup> Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 27 The words (of the Buddha) blossomed fully by means of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AA. i. 149. Bandhumatī at DhA. i. 105 with vv. II. Candavatī, Candavāri, Bhandavatī.

<sup>2</sup> Yasavantā at DhA. i. 105 with v. I. Yasavā.

<sup>3</sup> BvACB. Sirivaḍḍha.

<sup>4</sup> Visabha with v. I. Nissabha at AA. i. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes called Asoka. <sup>6</sup> Sundarā at AA. i. 149, DhA. i. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Suffusing 12 yojanas, so BvAC. 176, AA. i. 149, DhA. i. 106.

<sup>8</sup> Also at AA. i. 149, DhA. i. 105.

arahants<sup>1</sup>, steadfast ones without attachment, stainless; and the Dispensation of the Conqueror shone.

- 28 But that teacher of boundless fame, those unrivalled pairs<sup>2</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 29 Anomadassin, Conqueror, teacher, waned out in Dhammapark. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was twenty-five (yojanas) in height.

The Seventh Chronicle: that of the Lord Anomadassin

### IX THE EIGHTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD PADUMA

- 1 After Anomadassin was the Self-Awakened One named Paduma, supreme among men, without an equal, matchless.
- 2 His moral habit was without equal and his concentration unending, his glorious knowledge incalculable and his freedom incomparable.
- 3 When he of unrivalled incandescence was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there were three penetrations washing away the great gloom.<sup>3</sup>
- 4 At the first penetration the Awakened One awakened a hundred crores; at the second penetration the wise one awakened ninety crores.
- 5 And when the Buddha Paduma exhorted his own son there was then the third penetration by eighty crores.
- 6 The great seer Paduma had three assemblies; the first gathering was of a hundred thousand crores.
- 7 When kaṭhina robe-material had accrued at the time of the formal spreading out of the kaṭhina-cloth, monks sewed a robe for the General under Dhamma.<sup>4</sup>
- 8 Then those three hundred thousand stainless monks, having

<sup>1</sup> See above, ver. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Of chief disciples and so on. Anomadassin's two chief male disciples made an aspiration in his presence for being (the Buddha Gotama's) chief disciples, Śāriputta and Moggallāna; see BvAC. 176f., and cf. AA. i. 152f., DhA. i. 110f.

<sup>3</sup> Dispelling great confusion.

<sup>4</sup> The Elder Sāla, one of the chief disciples, see ver. 21. The kaṭhina-cloth, presented to monks by the laity, is formally made into robes at the end of the rains by the monks, see Vin. i. 253ff.

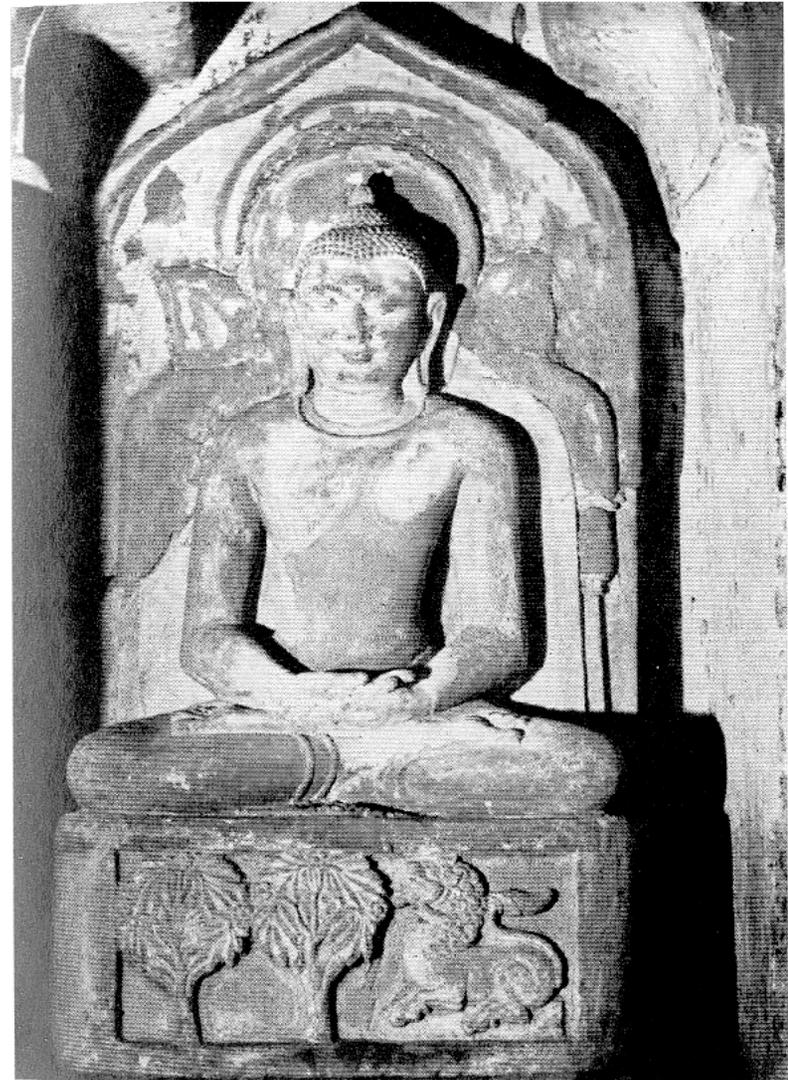


Plate III Nagayōn Corridor—Paduma and the Lion

the six super-knowings, of great psychic potency, unconquered, gathered together.

- 9 And again, that bull of men entered upon the (rains-) residence<sup>1</sup> in a forest; there was then a gathering of two hundred thousand.
- 10 I at that time was a lion, overlord of wild creatures. I saw the Conqueror in the forest increasing aloofness<sup>2</sup>.
- 11 I revered his feet with my head, circumambulated him, roared loudly three times, and attended on the Conqueror for a week.<sup>3</sup>
- 12 After the week the Tathāgata emerged from the glorious attainment<sup>4</sup>; thinking with purpose in his mind he brought together a crore of monks.<sup>5</sup>
- 13 Then that great hero too declared in their midst: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 14 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 15 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 16 Campaka was the name of the city, Asama<sup>6</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Asamā the name of the mother of Paduma, the great seer.
- 17 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. The three superb palaces were Nandā, Vasu, Yasuttarā<sup>7</sup>.
- 18 There were thirty-three thousand<sup>8</sup> beautifully adorned

<sup>1</sup> So BvA.

<sup>2</sup> The mental withdrawal from things of the world, necessary for the attainment spoken of in ver. 12.

<sup>3</sup> He did not go away to look for prey for himself, thus sacrificing his life, BvAC. 180.

<sup>4</sup> The attainment of nirodha, the eighth and final meditative attainment and equivalent to the attainment of nibbāna, is the cessation or stopping of perception and feeling.

<sup>5</sup> The purpose was for the lion to incline his heart towards the Order, BvAC. 180, Jā. i. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Paduma at Jā. i. 36.

<sup>7</sup> So Be for the three names. Bv reads Nandā ca Suyasā Uttarā, BvAC. 177 Uttara Vasuttara Yasuttara; BvAB. Nanduttara Vasuttara Yasuttara.

<sup>8</sup> Bv gives 33 hundred thousand, BvACB as above.

- women. His wife was named Uttarā, his son was named Ramma.
- 19 After he had seen the four signs he departed by chariot<sup>1</sup> as the means of conveyance. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than eight months.<sup>2</sup>
- 20 Paduma, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb Dhanañjapleasaunce.
- 21 Sāla and Upsaāla were the chief disciples. Varuṇa was the name of the attendant on Paduma, the great seer.
- 22 Rādhā and Surādhā<sup>3</sup> were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Great Soṇa.
- 23 Bhiyya and Asama were the chief attendants; Ruci and Nandarāmā were the chief women attendants.
- 24 The great sage was fifty-eight ratanas tall. His lustre, without an equal, streamed forth over all the quarters.
- 25 The lustre of the moon, the lustre of the sun, the lustre of jewels, a festooned column, gems<sup>4</sup>—all were dimmed by the Conqueror's supreme lustre.
- 26 The (normal) life-span lasted then for a hundred thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 27 Having awakened the beings whose minds were thoroughly mature omitting none, having instructed the remainder, he and his disciples waned out.
- 28 As a snake sheds its worn-out skin, as a tree<sup>5</sup> its old leaves, so, burning up all the constructions, he waned out like a fire.
- 29 Paduma, glorious Conqueror, teacher, waned out in Dhammapark. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

#### The Eighth Chronicle: that of the Lord Paduma

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by thoroughbreds, BvAC. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Bv addhamāsa, half a month; Be aṭṭhamāsāni, eight months; BvACB aṭṭhamāse, also eight months.

<sup>3</sup> Rāmā and Uparāmā at Jā. i. 36.

<sup>4</sup> ratanagghimanipabhā, the lustre of each of these three last things. Agghi, a shortened form of agghiya, can be a festooned column as in v. 29, x. 26 where it was golden. On the other hand BvAC. 181f. reads aggi, fire.

<sup>5</sup> pādapa, 'foot-drinker', imbibing nourishment with the foot or root, thus a tree. BvA says nothing. Cf. Miln. 117 "as leafless pādapas crashed down".

#### X THE NINTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD NĀRADA

- 1 After Paduma was the Self-Awakened One named Nārada, supreme among men, without an equal, matchless.
- 2 That Buddha, the eldest and cherished own son of a wheel-turning king, adorned with garlands and trinkets, went to a pleasaunce.
- 3 There was a tree there, widely famed, beautiful, tall and pure; hastening towards it he sat down under the Great Soṇa.
- 4 In him glorious knowledge arose, unending, like diamond<sup>1</sup>, by means of which he examined the constructions upwards and downwards<sup>2</sup>.
- 5 There he washed away all the defilements so that none remained; he attained full Awakening<sup>3</sup> and the fourteen knowledges of a Buddha.<sup>4</sup>
- 6 Having attained Self-Awakening he turned the Wheel of Dhamma. The first penetration was by a hundred thousand crores.
- 7 The great sage, taming Mahādoṇa the nāga-king<sup>5</sup>, then performed a Marvel<sup>6</sup> displaying it to the world with the devas.
- 8 Then, at that expounding of Dhamma, ninety thousand crores of devas and men crossed over all doubt.
- 9 At the time when the great hero exhorted his own son there was the third penetration by eighty thousand crores.

<sup>1</sup> Sharp as a diamond, a synonym for the knowledge of insight of contemplating impermanence and so forth, BvAC. 184. Cf. A. i. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Their rise and fall, BvAC. 184. Cf. anuloma-paṭiloma, forward and reverse order, and see II A. 166 which refers to BvAC. 113 where these words are used; and cf. Vin. 1. 1, etc. where they are connected with paṭiccasamuppāda.

<sup>3</sup> Knowledge of the way to arahantship, BvAC. 185.

<sup>4</sup> The knowledge of the ways and the fruits are eight, the six knowledges not shared by others (and other knowledges in addition), BvAC. 185. See MQ. ii. 9, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> He was very venomous and could ruin whole districts with drought or excessive rain if people did not offer him food. But Nārada's psychic potency was greater and he withstood the strong poison the nāga discharged against him without a hair of his body quivering. Mahādoṇa then knew he was subjugated and approached Nārada for refuge, BvAC. 185f. Cf. Vin. i. 24f. where parts of the stories are similar.

<sup>6</sup> The Marvel of the Double according to BvAC. 186.

- 10 The great seer Nārada had three assemblies; the first was a gathering of a hundred thousand crores.
- 11 When the Buddha expounded the special Buddha-qualities with their source<sup>1</sup>, ninety thousand crores of stainless ones gathered together then.
- 12 When the nāga Verocana<sup>2</sup> gave a gift to the teacher, eighty hundred thousand sons of the Conqueror gathered together then.
- 13 I at that time was a very severe ascetic, a matted-hair ascetic, a mover through mid-air I was<sup>3</sup>, master of the five super-knowings.
- 14 And when I had refreshed with food and drink<sup>4</sup> the equal to the unequalled with his Order and his following, I honoured him highly with (red) sandal-wood<sup>5</sup>.
- 15 And that Buddha Nārada, leader of the world, also declared of me: "Innumerable eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 16 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 17 When I had heard his words, all the more gladdened in mind, I resolutely determined on the strenuous practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 18 Dhaññavatī was the name of the city, Sudeva<sup>6</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Anomā the name of the mother of Nārada, the great seer.
- 19 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Jitā, Vijitā, Abhirāmā<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Source, nidāna, refers to the account of Buddhavaiṃsa given by Nārada, BvAC. 186.

<sup>2</sup> A pious nāga-king who gave a great gift to the Buddha and his retinue in a pavilion he had created.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xiii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> He went to Uttarakuru and fetched the nutriments from there, BvAC. 187.

<sup>5</sup> This he fetched from Himavant, BvAC. 187. Cf. Miln. 321 for the three special qualities in red sandal-wood: it is hard to obtain, has a lovely scent, is praised by good people—qualities also present in nibbāna.

<sup>6</sup> Sumedha at Jā. i. 37.

<sup>7</sup> At Bv the names are in a compound form: Jitāvijitābhirāmā. He gives Jito Vijitābhirāmo; BvAC gives Vijito Vijitāvī Jitābhirāmo at p. 182, but on p. 188 the last name reads Vijitābhirāmo. BvAB Vijito Vijitāvī Vijitābhirāmo.



Plate IV Nagayōn Corridor—Nārada and the Jaṭila

- 20 There were forty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Vijitasenā<sup>1</sup>, his son was named Nanduttara.
- 21 After he had seen the four signs he departed on foot. The leader of the world engaged in striving for seven days.
- 22 Nārada, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel of Dhamma in the superb Dhanāñja-pleasaunce.
- 23 Bhaddasāla, Jitamitta were the chief disciples. Vāsetṭha was the name of the attendant on Nārada, the great seer.
- 24 Uttarā and Phaggunī were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Great Sona.
- 25 Uggarinda and Vasabha were the chief attendants; Indāvārī and Caṇḍī<sup>2</sup> were the chief women attendants.
- 26 The great sage was eighty-eight ratanas tall. The ten-thousand was brilliant like a golden festooned column.
- 27 Lustrous rays extending for a fathom streamed forth from his body in every direction, constantly, day and night, and suffused a yojana then.
- 28 At that time none of the people within the circuit of the yojana lit torches or lamps as they were overspread with the Buddha's rays.
- 29 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 30 As the heavens look beautiful when ornamented with stars, so did his Dispensation shine with arahants.
- 31 After making firm the bridge of Dhamma so that the remainder who had entered on the Way<sup>3</sup> could cross over the stream of saṃsāra, that bull of men waned out.
- 32 Both that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, and those whose cankers were destroyed, of matchless incandescence, have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 33 Nārada, bull of Conquerors, waned out in Sudassana city. A glorious Conqueror's thūpa (to him) there was four yojanas high.

The Ninth Chronicle: that of the Lord Nārada

<sup>1</sup> Bv calls her Jitasenā.

<sup>2</sup> Vaṇṇī at Bc with two v. ll.

<sup>3</sup> paṭipannaka; cf. MA. ii. 137.

## XI THE TENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD PADUMUTTARA

- 1 After Nārada was the Self-Awakened One, the Conqueror named Padumuttara, supreme among men, imperturbable as the ocean.<sup>1</sup>
- 2 It was like a Maṇḍa-con<sup>2</sup> in which this Buddha was born. In this eon people of outstanding merit<sup>3</sup> were born.
- 3 At the Lord Padumuttara's first teaching of Dhamma there was a penetration of Dhamma by a hundred thousand crores.
- 4 Following on that, while (the Buddha) was raining (Dhamma) and refreshing living things there was the second penetration of Dhamma by thirty-seven hundred<sup>4</sup> thousand (crores)<sup>5</sup>.
- 5 At the time when the great hero approached Ānanda, as he came into his father's presence he smote the kettle-drum of deathlessness<sup>6</sup>.
- 6 When the drum of deathlessness<sup>7</sup> had been smitten and the rain of Dhamma was raining down, there was the third penetration by fifty hundred thousand.
- 7 The Buddha, an exhorter, an instructor<sup>8</sup>, a helper across of all breathing things, skilled in teaching, caused many people to cross over.
- 8 The teacher Padumuttara had three assemblies; the first was a gathering of a hundred thousand crores.
- 9 When the Buddha, equal to the unequalled, was staying on Mount Vebhāra there was the second gathering of ninety thousand crores.
- 10 Again, when he set forth on tour, there was the third gathering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. viii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> An eon in which two Buddhas are born; but though Padumuttara is held to have been born in a Sāra-eon, i.e. an eon in which only one Buddha appears, this particular Sāra-eon took on some of the qualities of a Maṇḍa-eon, BvAC. 190. He is supposed to have arisen a hundred thousand eons ago, BvAC. 190 and see ver. 12 below, also xxviii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> kusala is here puñña, BvAC. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Bv omits 'hundred'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. viii. 7.

<sup>6</sup> amatadudrabhi.

<sup>7</sup> dhammabheri at Bv for amatabheri.

<sup>8</sup> Exhorter as to the beauty of the refuges and moral habits and as to understanding the ascetic practices; instructor, awakener as to the four truths, BvAC. 193, Cf. vii. 28.

of eighty thousand crores from villages, market-towns, districts.<sup>1</sup>

- 11 I at that time was a district governor named Jaṭila<sup>2</sup>. I gave cloth with food to the Order with the Self-Awakened One at the head.
- 12 And that Buddha too, as he was sitting in the midst of the Order, declared of me: "A hundred thousand eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 13 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 14 When I had heard his words I resolutely determined on further practice and made strenuous endeavour for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 15 Stamped out were all sectarians, distracted and downcast then. No one looked after them. They threw them out from the district.<sup>3</sup>
- 16 All (of them) gathering together there, went into the Buddha's presence and said: "Great hero, you are our protector, may you be our refuge, One with vision".
- 17 Compassionate, having pity, seeking the welfare of all breathing things, he established all the assembled sectarians in the five moral habits.
- 18 It<sup>4</sup> was thus uninvolved with and empty of sectarians; it was ornamented with arahants, steadfast ones who had come to mastery.
- 19 Hamsavati was the name of the city, Ānanda<sup>5</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Sujātā<sup>6</sup> the name of the mother of Padumuttara, the great seer.
- 20 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. The three superb palaces were Naravāhana, Yasa<sup>7</sup>, Vasavatti.

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 194 says that such people who had left the villages and so on, had gone forth (into homelessness).

<sup>2</sup> Bv Jaṭila, BvAC Jaṭika.

<sup>3</sup> From their own district (territory or province, sakaraṭṭhato), BvAC. 195.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Lord's Dispensation. This Buddha is unique in that no sectarians remained in his time. See also above, ver. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Nanda at BvAB., AA. i. 287; Sunanda at DhA. i. 417, Jkm. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Sumedhā at SA. ii. 80, AA. i. 287.

<sup>7</sup> Nāra- at Bv; Naravāhana Yasavāhana at Be.

- 21 There were forty-three thousand<sup>1</sup> beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Vasudattā, his son was named Uttara.<sup>2</sup>
- 22 After he had seen the four signs he departed by palace. The supreme among men engaged in striving for seven days.
- 23 Padumuttara, guided away<sup>3</sup>, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb Mithila-pleasaunce.
- 24 Devala<sup>4</sup> and Sujāta were the chief disciples. Sumana was the name of the attendant on Padumuttara, the great seer.
- 25 Amitā and Asamā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Salaḷa.
- 26 Vitiṇṇa and Tissa were the chief attendants; Hatthā and Vicittā were the chief women attendants.
- 27 The great sage was fifty-eight ratanas tall. The thirty-two glorious Marks resembled a golden festooned column.
- 28 For twelve yojanas<sup>5</sup> all round ramparts, doors, walls, trees, mountain-craggs were no obstruction to him.
- 29 The (normal) life-span lasted then for a hundred thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 30 After causing the populace to cross over and cutting through all doubt, he, blazing like a mass of fire, waned out with the disciples.
- 31 Padumuttara, Conqueror, Buddha, waned out in Nandapark. A glorious thūpa to him there was twelve yojanas in height.

The Tenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Padumuttara

## XII THE ELEVENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD SUMEDHA

- 1 After Padumuttara was the leader named Sumedha, hard to attack, of intense incandescence, supreme sage in all the world.

<sup>1</sup> BvACB a hundred and twenty thousand.

<sup>2</sup> Uparevata at SnA. 341.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. of faults.

<sup>4</sup> Devala also at Ap. i. 106; Revata at SA. ii. 90, ThagA. i. 115ff.

<sup>5</sup> Day and night the lustre of the Lord's physical frame suffused places for twelve yojanas all round.

- 2 He was clear-eyed, full-mouthed, of tall stature<sup>1</sup>, upright, majestic. He sought the welfare of all beings and released many from bondage.
- 3 When the Buddha had attained the full supreme Awakening, he turned the Wheel of Dhamma in the city of Sudassana.
- 4 Under him there were three penetrations when he was teaching Dhamma. The first penetration was by a hundred thousand crores.
- 5 And again, when the Conqueror was taming the yakkha Kumbhakaṇṇa<sup>2</sup>, there was the second penetration by ninety thousand crores.
- 6 And again, when he of boundless fame expounded the four truths, there was the third penetration by eighty thousand crores.
- 7 The great seer Sumedha had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 8 When the Conqueror went to Sudassana, the glorious city, there gathered together then a hundred crores of monks whose cankers were destroyed.
- 9 And again, on Devakūṭa at the (time of the) formal spreading out of the kaṭhina (robe-material) for monks,<sup>3</sup> there was then the second gathering of ninety crores.
- 10 And again, when He of the Ten Powers was walking on tour, there was then the third gathering of eighty crores.
- 11 I at that time was a brahman youth named Uttara. Eighty crores of riches were stored in my house.

<sup>1</sup> brahā, cf. SnA. 453. BvAC. 108 in saying that "the measure of his physical frame was not shared by others" must be referring to his contemporaries. For he was the same height as the Buddhas Koṇḍañña, Maṅgala and Nārada, viz. 88 cubits, and was exceeded by Sumana who was 90 cubits tall. Mhvu. iii. 245 also knows a Buddha, Atyuccagāmin, who was called "the exceeding high one" for when he stood up he was as tall as a palm-tree; he was the Buddha following Padumuttara (ibid., 243) as was Sumedha; he was a brahman (ibid., 247) who lived for 100,000 years (ibid., 244). The two therefore cannot be identified for certain.

<sup>2</sup> A man-eating yakkha who made his terrifying appearance more terrible still so as to frighten the Buddha—lengthily and vividly described at BvAC. 108f. But he was unable to stir the tip of any one of the Lord's hairs and so asked him a question as Ālavaka did (SnA. 255f.). The yakkha was then tamed by the Lord so thoroughly that he gave him the price that the people had had to bring him as an offering.

<sup>3</sup> See ix. 7.

- 12 Giving the whole of it to the leader of the world with the Order, I approached him for refuge and found delight in the going forth.
- 13 That Buddha too, while he was giving the benediction, declared of me: "After thirty thousand eons this one will be a Buddha.
- 14 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one".
- 15 When I had even heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 16 Having learnt thoroughly the Suttanta and Vinaya and all the ninefold Dispensation of the teacher, I illumined the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 17 Living diligent therein, whether sitting, standing, pacing, after reaching perfection in the super-knowings to the Brahma-world went I.<sup>1</sup>
- 18 Sudassana was the name of the city, Sudatta the name of the warrior-noble, Sudattā the name of the mother of Sumedha, the great seer.
- 19 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Sucanda, Kañcana,<sup>2</sup> Sirivaḍḍha.
- 20 There were forty-eight thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sumanā, his son was named Sumitta.<sup>3</sup>
- 21 After he had seen the four signs he departed mounted on an elephant. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than half a month.<sup>4</sup>
- 22 Sumedha, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb Sudassana-pleasaunce.
- 23 Saraṇa and Sabbakāma were the chief disciples. Sāgara was the name of the attendant on Sumedha, the great seer.

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 16, 17 also at iii. 23, 24. Cf. iv. 16, 17, xiii. 18, 19, xix. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> BvAC. 197, Sucandanaka Koñca.

<sup>3</sup> Be Punabbasa, BvACB Punabbasumitta.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 197 aṭṭhamāse, eight months, which sounds more plausible. See EC. 21, n. 2.

- 24 Rāmā and Surāmā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Great Nipa<sup>1</sup>.
- 25 Uruvela and Yasava were the chief attendants; Yasodharā and Sirimā were the chief women attendants.
- 26 The great sage was eighty-eight ratanas tall. He illumined all the quarters as the moon in a host of stars.
- 27 As a universal monarch's gem<sup>2</sup> shines over a yojana, so did his jewel<sup>3</sup> suffuse a yojana all round.
- 28 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 29 With steadfast ones who had attained the three knowledges, the six super-knowings, the powers—with such arahants was this<sup>4</sup> thronged.
- 30 And when all of these, of boundless fame, well freed, devoid of clinging, had displayed the light of knowledge, they, of great fame, waned out.
- 31 The Buddha Sumedha, glorious Conqueror, waned out in Medha<sup>5</sup>-park. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Eleventh Chronicle: that of the Lord Sumedha

### XIII THE TWELFTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD SUJĀTA

- 1 In that same Maṇḍa-eon<sup>6</sup> the leader was named Sujāta, lion-jawed, broad of shoulder<sup>7</sup>, immeasurable, difficult to attack.
- 2 Stainless as the moon, pure,<sup>8</sup> majestic as him of the hundred rays—so shone the Self-Awakened One, his lustre blazing with splendour.
- 3 The Self-Awakened One, having attained full supreme Awakening, turned the Wheel of Dhamma in the city of Sumaṅgala.

<sup>1</sup> Anthocephalus cadamba. Bv calls this Tree mahānimba, a great Neem tree, Azadirachta Indica. See EC. 21, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Treasure of the Gem or Jewel.

<sup>3</sup> The jewel of the radiance from his body, BvAC. 202.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 202 says 'this' refers to the Dispensation or to the earth.

<sup>5</sup> Dhamma at Jkm. 15.

<sup>6</sup> The same as the one in which Sumedha arose.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. II B. 194.

<sup>8</sup> suddha at Bv, Be; buddha at BvACB.

- 4 While Sujāta, leader of the world, was teaching the glorious Dhamma<sup>1</sup> eighty crores penetrated at the first teaching of Dhamma.
- 5 When Sujāta, of boundless fame, was spending the rains with the devas, there was the second penetration by thirty-seven thousand<sup>2</sup>.
- 6 When Sujāta, equal to the unequalled, went into his father's presence, there was the third penetration by sixty hundred thousand.
- 7 Sujāta, the great seer, had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 8 They, among the sixty hundred thousand (of those) who had attained power in the super-knowings and had not come to repeated births, assembled there.<sup>3</sup>
- 9 And again, at an assembly when the Conqueror was coming down from a heaven<sup>4</sup>, there was the second gathering of fifty hundred thousand.
- 10 That chief disciple of his, approaching the bull of men, approached the Self-Awakened One with four hundred thousand.<sup>5</sup>
- 11 I at that time was lord of the four continents,<sup>6</sup> a mover through mid-air was I,<sup>7</sup> a wheel-turner, very powerful.
- 12 When I had seen that marvel in the world, wonderful, astounding, I went up to Sujāta, leader of the world and revered him.
- 13 Bestowing on the Buddha my great kingdom of the four continents and the seven superb treasures, I went forth in his presence.
- 14 Monastery-attendants, having gathered together the produce

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 203: to his own younger brother and a priest's son together with their retinues. These two became his chief disciples.

<sup>2</sup> Be, BvAB read 37 hundred thousand.

<sup>3</sup> This verse may mean that "after having gained power in the super-knowings they had transcended existence", *abhiññābalappattānam appattānam bhavābhavē*, where BvAC. 204 for *appattānam bhavābhavē* gives a variant reading *appavattā bhavābhavē*. For *appavatta* cf. BvAC. 103 in explanation of *advejjha*.

<sup>4</sup> *tidiva*, explained at BvAC. 204 as *saggaloka*, (a) heaven-world.

<sup>5</sup> This was the third assembly, BvAC. 204.

<sup>6</sup> *Jambudīpa* (India), *Pubbavideha*, *Aparagoyāna*, *Uttarakuru*.

<sup>7</sup> Following the *Treasure of the Wheel*. At x. 13 the *Bodhisatta* was also an *antaikkhacara* but for a different reason.

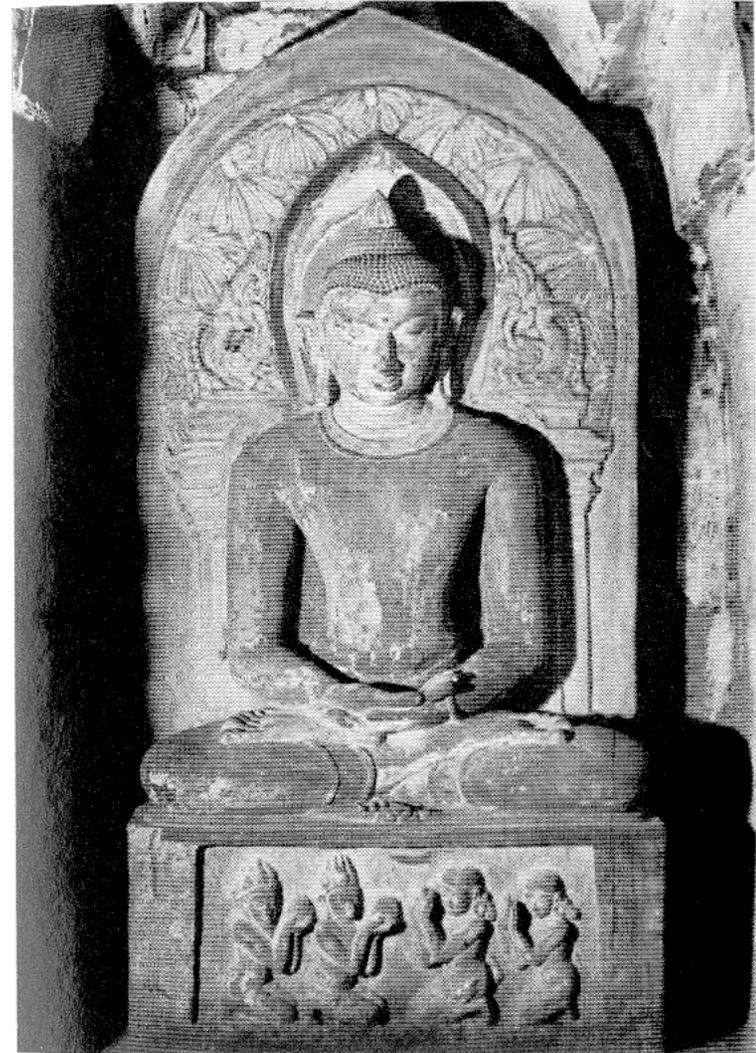


Plate V Nagayōn Corridor—Sujāta and the Cakkavattin.

- of the countryside, presented the Order of monks with requisites, beds and seats.
- 15 This Buddha, lord of the ten-thousand, also declared of me: "After thirty thousand eons this one will be a Buddha.
- 16 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." ". . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 17 When I had heard his words all the more did I rejoice. I resolutely determined on the strenuous practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 18 Having learnt thoroughly the Suttanta and Vinaya and all the ninefold Dispensation of the teacher, I illumined the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 19 Living diligent therein, developing the Brahma-development, after reaching perfection in the super-knowings to the Brahama-world went I.<sup>1</sup>
- 20 Sumaṅgala was the name of the city, Uggata the name of the warrior-noble, Pabhāvati the name of the mother of Sujāta, the great seer.
- 21 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Sirī, Upasirī, Nandā.
- 22 There were twenty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sirinandā, his son was named Upasena.
- 23 After he had seen the four signs he departed on horse-back<sup>2</sup>. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than nine months.
- 24 Sujāta, leader of the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb Sumaṅgala-pleasaunce.
- 25 Sudassana and Deva were the chief disciples. Nārada was the name of the attendant on Sujāta, the great seer.
- 26 Nāgā and Nāgasamālā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Great Veḷu<sup>3</sup>.
- 27 And that Tree was thick, beautiful, not hollow, leafy, a bamboo that was straight, big, good to look upon, delightful.

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 18. 19 also at iv. 16, 17, xix. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> The horse was named Hamsavaha, BvAC. 202.

<sup>3</sup> mahāveḷu, probably not the Giant Bamboo.

- 28 It grew to a good height as one stem and after that a branch broke out; as a peacock's tail feathers well tied together<sup>1</sup>, thus shone that Tree.
- 29 It had neither thorns not yet a hollow. It was big, the branches outspread, it was not sparse, the shade was dense, it was delightful.
- 30 Sudatta and Citta were the chief attendants; Subhaddā and Padumā were the chief women attendants.
- 31 That Conqueror was fifty ratanas tall. He was furnished with all the glorious attributes, provided with all the special qualities.
- 32 His lustre, equal to the unequalled, streamed forth all round. He was measureless, unrivalled, not to be compared with anything similar.
- 33 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 34 Just as the waves in the ocean<sup>2</sup>, just as the stars in the sky, so was the Word (of the Buddha) emblazoned then by arahants.
- 35 Both that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, and those unrivalled special qualities<sup>3</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 36 Sujāta, glorious Conqueror, Buddha, waned out in Sila-park. A cetiya to him there was three gāvutas<sup>4</sup> high.

The Twelfth Chronicle: that of the Lord Sujāta

#### XIV THE THIRTEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD PIYADASSIN

- 1 After Sujāta was Piyadassin, leader of the world, self-become, difficult to attack, equal to the unequalled, of great renown.
- 2 And that Buddha of boundless fame shone like the sun. Annihilating all the gloom he turned the Wheel of Dhamma.
- 3 And under him whose incandescence had no gauge there were

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps to a handle and used as a sunshade.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. iv. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning with omniscient knowledge. Four special qualities of a Tathāgata are given at Miln. 157.

<sup>4</sup> gāvuta, a linear measure, is quarter of a yojana, a little less than two miles.

- three penetrations. The first penetration was by a hundred thousand crores.
- 4 Sudassana, the deva-king, took pleasure in false view. The teacher, dispelling his false view, taught Dhamma.<sup>1</sup>
- 5 An assembly of people, without gauge, great, assembled then; the second penetration was by ninety thousand crores.
- 6 When the charioteer of men had tamed the elephant Doṇa-mukha<sup>2</sup> there was the third penetration by eight thousand crores.
- 7 And this Lord Piyadassin had three assemblies. The first was a gathering of a hundred thousand crores.
- 8 Later, ninety crores of sages gathered together. At the third assembly there were eighty crores.
- 9 I at that time was a brahman (youth) named Kassapa, a repeater, expert in the mantras, master of the three Vedas.<sup>3</sup>
- 10 When I had heard his Dhamma I conceived belief. With a hundred thousand crores<sup>4</sup> I constructed a park for the Order.
- 11 After giving him the park, I was exultant, stirred in mind; I undertook the refuges and the five moral habits making myself firm in them.
- 12 And that Buddha too, as he was sitting in the midst of the Order, declared of me: "After eighteen hundred eons this one will be a Buddha.
- 13 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."

<sup>1</sup> This deva-king was at a gathering of yakkhas when the Buddha went to his abode to dispel his wrong views. On his return the deva was so furious to find the Buddha there that first of all he tried to burn him up. Finding, however, that he was immune from burning up by fire, he tried to drown him by means of a flood he created. When this too proved useless he rained down on him showers of the nine kinds of weapons; but they turned into garlands of flowers. But the Buddha determined he should be seen by devas and mankind, and the 101 kings of Jambudīpa assembled and respectfully saluted the Buddha. See BvAC. 200f. It was to these and their retinues with Sudassana, the deva-king, in a prominent position that he taught Dhamma as told in the next verse.

<sup>2</sup> BvAC. 210 gives a long description of how the Elder Soṇa, who like Devadatta was an enemy of the Buddha, tried by several different means to make the elephant kill him. But by his power of mettā the Lord tamed the elephant. Cf. the story to which BvAC. 212 refers, of the attempts of Devadatta and Ajātasattu to kill the Buddha Gotama by using the elephant Dhanapāla.

<sup>3</sup> As at II A. 6, iv. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Of wealth.

- 14 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 15 Sudhañña<sup>1</sup> was the name of the city, Sudatta<sup>2</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Sucandā<sup>3</sup> was the name of the mother of Piyadassin, the teacher.
- 16 He lived the household life for nine thousand years. The three superb palaces were Sunimmala, Vimala, Giriguyhā.<sup>4</sup>
- 17 There were thirty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Vimalā, his son was named Kañcanaṇḍa.<sup>5</sup>
- 18 After he had seen the four signs he departed by chariot as the means of conveyance. The supreme among men engaged in striving for six months.
- 19 Piyadassin, great sage, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the delightful Usabha<sup>6</sup>-pleasaunce.
- 20 Pālita and Sabbadassin<sup>7</sup> were the chief disciples. Sobhita was the name of the attendant on Piyadassin, the teacher.
- 21 Sujātā and Dhammadinnā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Kakudha.<sup>8</sup>
- 22 Sannaka and Dhammika<sup>9</sup> were the chief attendants; Visākhā and Dhammadinnā were the chief women attendants.
- 23 And that Buddha of boundless fame had the thirty-two glorious Marks. Eighty cubits tall, he looked like a king of Sāla trees.
- 24 No lustric of fire, the moon and the sun was like unto the lustric of that great seer who was without an equal.
- 25 The life-span of this deva of devas was such that the One with vision remained in the world for ninety thousand years.
- 26 But that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, and those unrivalled pairs<sup>10</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?

<sup>1</sup> Sudhaññaṇḍa at BvACB, Anoma at Jā. i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Sudassana at BvAB, Sudinna at Jā. i. 39.

<sup>3</sup> As at BvAC, 214, Candā at BvAC. 208, BvAB, Jā. i. 39.

<sup>4</sup> BvACB Giribrahā. <sup>5</sup> Kañcana at BvAC. 208 only.

<sup>6</sup> Bv Ussāvana; Be Usabhavati.

<sup>7</sup> The son of the king and of the chaplain respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Piyaṅgurukko at Jā. i. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Be Sandaka Dhammaka.

<sup>10</sup> As at viii. 28.

- 27 That glorious sage Piyadassin waned out in Assattha-park. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was three yojaṇas high.

The Thirteenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Piyadassin

#### XV THE FOURTEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD ATTHADASSIN

- 1 In that same Maṇḍa-eon<sup>1</sup> Atthadassin, bull of men<sup>2</sup>, annihilating the great gloom, attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 2 On being requested by Brahma, he turned the Wheel of Dhamma and refreshed with deathlessness<sup>3</sup> the ten-thousand worlds with the devas and men.
- 3 And under this protector of the world there were three penetrations. The first penetration was by a hundred thousand crores.
- 4 When the Buddha Atthadassin went on tour among the devas there was the second penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 5 And again, when the Buddha taught in his father's presence, there was the third penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 6 And this great seer too had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 7 The first gathering was of ninety-eight thousand; the second gathering was of eighty-eight thousand.
- 8 The third gathering was of seventy-eight<sup>4</sup> thousand of those who were freed without substrate (for rebirth remaining), stainless, great seers.
- 9 I at that time was a very severe matted-hair ascetic<sup>5</sup> named Susīma, considered the best on earth.

<sup>1</sup> Really a Vara-eon (in which three Buddhas arise) as explained at BvAC. 216 but which says it was called a Maṇḍa-eon for the same reasons as those given for calling Padumuttara's Sāra-eon a Maṇḍa-eon.

<sup>2</sup> narāśabha; Be, BvACB mahāyasa, of great renown.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the drink of deathlessness.

<sup>4</sup> Bv 38,000.

<sup>5</sup> Before this, he, like Sumedha, had been a very wealthy brahman. But, giving away all his wealth to the poor and destitute, he went to Himavant and went forth in the going forth of ascetics, attained the attainments and was of great psychic potency; therefore he could visit the deva-world.

- 10 When I had brought deva-like flowers of mandāra, lotus and of the Coral Tree from the deva-world, I greatly honoured the Self-Awakened One.
- 11 And that Buddha too, Atthadassin, great sage, declared of me: "After eighteen hundred eons this one will be a Buddha.
- 12 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 13 When I had heard his words, exultant, stirred in mind, I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 14 Sobhana<sup>1</sup> was the name of the city, Sāgara the name of the warrior-noble, Sudassanā the name of the mother of Atthadassin, the teacher.
- 15 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. The three superb palaces were Amaragiri, Suragiri, Girivāhana<sup>2</sup>.
- 16 There were thirty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Visākhā, his son was named Sela<sup>3</sup>.
- 17 After he had seen the four signs he departed on horse-back<sup>4</sup>. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than eight months.
- 18 Atthadassin, of great renown, great hero, bull of men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in Anoma-pleasaunce.
- 19 Santa and Upasanta were the chief disciples. Abhaya was the name of the attendant on Atthadassin, the teacher.
- 20 Dhammā and Sudhammā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Campaka.
- 21 Nakula and Nisabha were the chief attendants; Makilā and Sunandā were the chief women attendants.
- 22 And that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, eighty cubits tall, shone like a king of sāla trees, like the king of stars at the full.
- 23 Countless hundreds of crores of rays from his natural state<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jā. i. 39 Sobhita.

<sup>2</sup> Given at Be as Amaragiri Sugiri Vāhanā.

<sup>3</sup> Bv reads Sena.

<sup>4</sup> The horse's name was Sudassana according to the Comy.

<sup>5</sup> Not produced by his resolute determination, BvAC. 219. The rays therefore emanated from his body of their own accord and were not due to any mental resolve.

constantly suffused the ten quarters for a yojana above and below.

- 24 And that Buddha too, bull of men, supreme sage among all beings, One with vision, remained in the world for a hundred thousand years.
- 25 Having displayed unrivalled effulgence and shone over the world with the devas, he too attained impermanence<sup>1</sup> like a fire on the consumption of the fuel.
- 26 Atthadassin, glorious Conqueror, waned out in Anoma-park. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Fourteenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Atthadassin

#### XVI THE FIFTEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD DHAMMADASSIN

- 1 In that same Maṇḍa-eon Dhammadassin, of great renown, dispelling that darkness, shone out in the world with the devas.
- 2 And when he of unrivalled incandescence was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there was the first penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 3 When the Buddha Dhammadassin guided away the seer Sañjaya<sup>2</sup> then was the second penetration by ninety crores.
- 4 When Sakka and his company approached the guider away then was the third penetration by eighty crores.
- 5 And that deva of devas had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 6 When the Buddha Dhammadassin went to Saraṇa for the rains then was the first gathering of a thousand crores.<sup>3</sup>
- 7 And again, when the Buddha came from the deva-world to that of men, then was the second gathering of a hundred crores.

<sup>1</sup> BvAC. 219 says that he attained final nibbāna through the destruction of the four kinds of grasping.

<sup>2</sup> A king who had seen the peril in sense-pleasures and gone forth in the going forth of seers with 90 crores following his example. The Buddha, aware of their mental achievements, went to them and taught Dhamma.

<sup>3</sup> So Bv, BvAC; a hundred thousand at Be, BvAB.

- 8 And again, when the Buddha expounded the special qualities of asceticism, then was the third gathering of eighty crores.
- 9 I at that time was Sakka, fort-shatterer.<sup>1</sup> Greatly I honoured him with deva-like scents, garlands, instrumental music.
- 10 That Buddha<sup>2</sup> too, seated in the midst of devas, declared of me: "After eighteen hundred cons this one will be a Buddha.
- 11 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one".
- 12 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections."
- 13 Saraṇa was the name of the city, Saraṇa the name of the warrior-noble, Sunandā the name of the mother of Dhammāassin, the teacher.
- 14 He lived the household life for eight thousand years. The three superb palaces were Araja, Viraja, Sudassana.
- 15 There were forty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Vicikolī<sup>3</sup>, his son was named Puñṇavaḍḍhana.
- 16 After he had seen the four signs he departed by palace.<sup>4</sup> The supreme among men engaged in striving for seven days.
- 17 Dhammāassin, bull of men, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary.<sup>5</sup>
- 18 Paduma and Phussadeva were the chief disciples. Sunetta was the name of the attendant on Dhammāassin, the teacher.
- 19 Khemā and Saccaṇāmā<sup>6</sup> were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Bimbijāla.
- 20 Subhadda and Kaṭṭissaha were the chief attendants; Sāḷiyā and Vaḷiyā<sup>7</sup> were the chief women attendants.
- 21 And that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, eighty cubits tall,

<sup>1</sup> purindada is one of Sakka's epithets; see MLS. ii. 52, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> BvACB tadā.

<sup>3</sup> Bv Vicitlī.

<sup>4</sup> The one called Sudassana, BvAC. 215.

<sup>5</sup> Comy. says at an Isipatana. A deer-sanctuary (migadāya) and a seers' resort (isipatana) are often associated, but are not so connected here. See Intr. p. xxii.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly meaning "She who was named Sacca". BvACB Sabbanāmā.

<sup>7</sup> Be Katiyā.



Plate VI Nagayōn Corridor—Dhammāassin and Sakka Purindada.

shone out with incandescence over the ten-thousand world-system.

- 22 Like a king of sāla trees in full bloom, like lightning in the heavens, like the sun at midday,<sup>1</sup> so did he shine forth.
- 23 And the life<sup>2</sup> of this one of unrivalled incandescence was similar.<sup>3</sup> The One with vision remained in the world for a hundred thousand years.
- 24 Having displayed effulgence, having made a stainless Dispensation, as the moon disappears<sup>4</sup> in the heavens so did he wane out with the disciples.
- 25 Dhammadassin, great hero, waned out in Kesa-<sup>5</sup>park. That glorious thūpa (to him) there was three yojanas high.

The Fifteenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Dhammadassin

#### XVII THE SIXTEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD SIDDHATTHA

- 1 After Dhammadassin was the leader named Siddhattha; driving out all gloom, he was like the risen sun then.
- 2 After he had attained Self-Awakening and was causing the world with the devas to cross over, he rained down from the cloud of Dhamma making the world with the devas cool.
- 3 And under him whose incandescence had no gauge there were three penetrations. The first penetration was by a hundred thousand crores.
- 4 And again, when he smote the drum<sup>6</sup> in Bhīmaratha<sup>7</sup>, then was the second penetration by ninety crores.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. i. 44.

<sup>2</sup> jivita, life, life-principle.

<sup>3</sup> samāka, of the same duration, according to the Comy., as that of the people at that time. This is normal, however: the life-span of all Buddhas is roughly the same as that of the people contemporary with them, much as all heights of physical frame are roughly the same.

<sup>4</sup> Bv virocayi, shone forth; Be, BvACB all read cavi, fell, deceased, and so 'disappeared'. On the other hand, as other Buddhas are spoken of as having waned out in a blaze of glory the reading virocayi would not be out of place, and perhaps is even to be preferred.

<sup>5</sup> Kēśa at Thūp. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Of deathlessness, BvAC. 224.

<sup>7</sup> A city, Bv. Bhīmarattha.

- 5 When that Buddha taught Dhamma in the superb city of Vebhāra,<sup>1</sup> then was the third penetration by ninety crores.
- 6 And this supreme among men had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 7 There were these three occasions of a gathering of stainless ones: of a hundred crores, of ninety, and of eighty crores.
- 8 I at that time was an ascetic named Maṅgala, very austere, hard to overcome, endued with powers of the super-knowings.
- 9 Bringing a fruit from the rose-apple tree<sup>2</sup> I gave it to Siddhattha. When the Self-Awakened One had accepted it he spoke these words:
- 10 "Do you see this very severe matted-hair ascetic? Ninety-four cons from now he will be a Buddha.
- 11 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 12 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 13 Vebhāra was the name of the city, Udena<sup>3</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Suphassā the name of the mother of Siddhattha, the great seer.
- 14 He lived the household life for ten thousand years. The three superb palaces were Kokā, Suppalā, Kokanudā.<sup>4</sup>
- 15 There were forty-eight thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Somanassā<sup>5</sup>, his son was named Anupama.<sup>6</sup>
- 16 After he had seen the four signs he departed by means of a palanquin. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than ten months.
- 17 Siddhattha, leader of the world, great hero, supreme among

<sup>1</sup> He was teaching the Buddhavaṁsa to his relations, BvAC. 224.

<sup>2</sup> BvAC. 225 says he went to this tree by psychic potency. It also says, as does Vin. i. 30, that this land of the rose-apple (Jambudīpa = India) is called after this rose-apple tree (jambu).

<sup>3</sup> Jayasena at Jā. i. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Called Paduma at BvAC. 223 and at BvAB.

<sup>5</sup> Sumanā at Bv.

<sup>6</sup> Anūpama at Be.

- men, on being requested by Brahma turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary<sup>1</sup>.
- 18 Sambala<sup>2</sup> and Sumitta were the chief disciples. Revata was the name of the attendant on Siddhattha, the great seer.
- 19 Sivalā and Surāmā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Kaṇikāra.
- 20 Suppiya and Samudda were the chief attendants; Rammā and Surammā were the chief women attendants.
- 21 And that Buddha was sixty ratanas tall to the sky. Like a golden festooned column<sup>3</sup> he shone forth over the ten thousand.
- 22 And that Buddha, equal to the unequalled, unrivalled, matchless, One with vision, remained in the world for a hundred thousand years.
- 23 Having displayed a stainless lustre, having caused the disciples to blossom<sup>4</sup>, and, gracing the attainments, he waned out with the disciples.
- 24 The sage Siddhattha, glorious Buddha, waned out in Anomapark. A glorious thūpa to him there<sup>5</sup> was four yojanas high.

The Sixteenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Siddhattha

### XVIII THE SEVENTEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD TISSA

- 1 After Siddhattha was Tissa, without an equal, matchless, of unending morality, of boundless fame, highest leader in the world.
- 2 Dispelling the darkness of gloom, making effulgent the world with the devas, compassionate, great hero, the One with vision arose in the world.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See xvi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bv Samphala; BvAC. 224 Sambahula, but Sambala in the verse on p. 226, and at Be, BvAB.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xi. 27.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. with the flowers of the attainment of meditation, the super-knowings, the ways and the fruits, BvAC. 227.

<sup>5</sup> Reading with Be tatth' ev' assa instead of Bv tatth' eva so.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mhvu. iii. 245 which also says he was born during the festival (of the asterism) of Tīṣya.

- 3 His too were unrivalled psychic potency and unrivalled morality and concentration. He, having gone to perfection in everything, turned the Wheel of Dhamma.
- 4 That Buddha made his pure speech heard in the ten-thousand. At the first teaching of Dhamma hundreds of crores penetrated.<sup>1</sup>
- 5 The second was of ninety crores, the third of sixty crores. He released from bondage<sup>2</sup> the men and deities who were present then.
- 6 Tissa, highest leader in the world, had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 7 The first was a gathering of a hundred thousand whose cankers were destroyed. The second was a gathering of ninety hundred thousand.
- 8 The third was a gathering of eighty hundred thousand whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, blossoming through freedom<sup>3</sup>.
- 9 I at that time was a warrior-noble named Sujāta. Having abandoned great possessions I went forth in the going forth of seers.<sup>4</sup>
- 10 When I had gone forth<sup>5</sup> the leader of the world arose. Hearing the sound 'Buddha' rose in me.
- 11 Taking deva-like flowers of mandāra, lotus, and Coral Tree flowers in both hands, rustling,<sup>6</sup> I went up to<sup>7</sup>
- 12 Tissa, highest leader in the world, Conqueror, when he was surrounded by the four kinds (of companies<sup>8</sup>). Bringing those flowers, I held them over his head.

<sup>1</sup> BvA says he taught Dhamma to the king's two sons (who later became his chief disciples) and their entourages as though making it known to the ten-thousand world-system.

<sup>2</sup> From bondage to the ten fetters.

<sup>3</sup> As at viii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Thomas, in a note to me, said Bv's isipabbajari is the correct spelling but wrong metre and "I think the author wrote -pabbajari". This is the reading at Be, BvAB.

<sup>5</sup> Here meaning when he had reached a certain status in that discipline.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. II A. 48; shaking or rustling the bark-garments.

<sup>7</sup> BvAC. 229 says he went to a heaven-world by means of his psychic potency (cf. xv. 10), filled a silver casket measuring a gāvuta with the flowers, came back and honoured the Buddha with them as in ver. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Warrior-nobles, brahmanas, householders, recluses, but some say the four varṇas (castes), BvAC. 230.

- 13 And as he was sitting in the midst of the people this Buddha too declared of me: "Ninety-two eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 14 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 15 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 16 Khemaka was the name of the city, Janasandha<sup>1</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, and Padumā the name of the mother of Tissa, the great seer.
- 17 He lived the household life for seven thousand years. The three superb palaces were Guhasela, Nārī<sup>2</sup>, Nisabhā<sup>3</sup>.
- 18 There were thirty thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Subhaddā, his son was named Ānanda.
- 19 After he had seen the four signs he departed on horse-back<sup>4</sup>. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than eight months.
- 20 Tissa, highest leader in the world, great hero, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in the superb Yasavati<sup>5</sup>.
- 21 Brahmadeva and Udaya were the chief disciples. Samaṅga<sup>6</sup> was the name of the attendant on Tissa, the great seer.
- 22 Phussā and Sudattā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Asana.
- 23 Sambala and Sirī<sup>7</sup> were the chief attendants; Kisāgotamī and Upasenā were the chief women attendants.
- 24 And that Buddha, Conqueror, was sixty ratanas in height: incomparable, unique, he was to be seen like the Himavant<sup>8</sup>.
- 25 And the life-span of him of unrivalled incandescence was

<sup>1</sup> Saccasandha at BvAC. 227, but Janasandha at BvAC. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Bv Nārī, Be, BvAB Nārisaya, BvAC Nārīsa.

<sup>3</sup> BvAB Usabha.

<sup>4</sup> The horse was named Sonuttara according to BvA.

<sup>5</sup> A deer-sanctuary according to BvA.

<sup>6</sup> BvAC. 230 Samaha; Jā. i. 40 Sambhava.

<sup>7</sup> Be Sirimā, Bv Sirī.

<sup>8</sup> BvA says this mountain was 100 yojanas high, could be seen from far away and was peaceful.

- unsurpassed<sup>1</sup>. The One with vision remained in the world for a hundred thousand years.
- 26 Having enjoyed great renown, superb, most glorious, best, blazing like a mass of fire he waned out with the disciples.
- 27 As a cloud by the wind, like frost by the sun, as darkness by a lamp, he waned out with the disciples.
- 28 Tissa, glorious Conqueror, Buddha, waned out in Nanda<sup>2</sup>-park. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was three yojanas high.

The Seventeenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Tissa

### XIX THE EIGHTEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD PHUSSA

- 1 In the same Maṇḍa-eon was the teacher Phussa<sup>3</sup>, unsurpassed, incomparable, equal to the unequalled, highest leader in the world.
- 2 When he had dispersed all the gloom and had untangled the great tangle<sup>4</sup>, he rained down the waters of deathlessness refreshing the world with the devas.
- 3 When Phussa was turning the Wheel of Dhamma during the festival of an asterism<sup>5</sup>, there was the first penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 4 The second penetration was by ninety hundred thousand; the third penetration by eighty hundred thousand<sup>6</sup>.
- 5 And Phussa, great seer, had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 6 The first was a gathering of sixty hundred thousand; the second was a gathering of fifty hundred thousand.

<sup>1</sup> It was neither too long nor too short, so BvA. See Intr. p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Sunanda, BvAC. 231.

<sup>3</sup> At KhA. 202, PvA. 19 there is a story about Phussa.

<sup>4</sup> A synonym for taphā, craving or thirst, BvAC. 233; cf. SA. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Phusse nakkhattamaṅgale appears to be a pun, since Phussa is also the name of an asterism. Mhvu. iii. 245 says he was born during this asterism, or the festival held then, and was named after it. This verse could be translated therefore (1) as above, or (2) When he was. . . during the festival of the asterism of Phussa. BvA is silent.

<sup>6</sup> When he was teaching Dhamma to his own son.

- 7 The third was a gathering of forty hundred thousand of those who were freed without clinging (remaining), their relinking cut through.
- 8 I at that time was a warrior-noble named Vijiṭṭhāvīn. Abandoning a great kingdom, I went forth in his presence.<sup>1</sup>
- 9 And this Buddha Phussa, highest leader in the world, also declared of me: "Ninety-two eons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 10 When he has striven the striving, carried out austerities . . ." " . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one."
- 11 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.<sup>2</sup>
- 12 Having learnt thoroughly the Suttanta and Vinaya and all the ninefold Dispensation of the teacher, I illumined the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 13 Living diligent therein, developing the Brahma-development, after reaching perfection in the super-knowings to the Brahma-world went I.<sup>3</sup>
- 14 Kāsika was the name of the city, Jayasena<sup>4</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, and Sirimā the name of the mother of Phussa, the great seer.
- 15 He lived the household life for nine thousand years<sup>5</sup>. The three superb palaces were Garuḷa<sup>6</sup>, Haṁsa, Suvāṇṇabhārā.
- 16 There were twenty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Kisāgotamī, his son was named Anupama<sup>7</sup>.
- 17 After he had seen the four signs he departed mounted on an

<sup>1</sup> According to BvA he became an expert in the three Piṭakas, gave a talk on Dhamma to the populace, and fulfilled the perfection of morality. Cf. iii. 22 above.

<sup>2</sup> Read dasapārami- with Be and not dasamapārami- as at Bv.

<sup>3</sup> These last two verses also at iv. 16, 17, xiii. 18, 19; cf. xii. 16, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Janasena at Jkm. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Bv, BvAC 232 read 6,000. The 9,000 as at Be, BvAB, Jkm. 17 accords better with the length of his life-span.

<sup>6</sup> Be, BvAC, 232, BvAB read Garuḷapakkha.

<sup>7</sup> Ananda at Bv.

- elephant. The supreme among men engaged in striving for six months.
- 18 Phussa, highest leader in the world, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary<sup>1</sup>.
- 19 Surakkhita<sup>2</sup> and Dhammasena were the chief disciples. Sabhiya<sup>3</sup> was the name of the attendant on Phussa, the great seer.
- 20 Cālā and Upacālā<sup>4</sup> were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Āmaṇḍa<sup>5</sup>.
- 21 Dhanañjaya and Visākha were the chief attendants; Padumā and Nāgā were the chief women attendants.
- 22 And that sage was fifty-eight ratanas tall. He shone like him of a hundred rays, like the moon at the full.
- 23 The (normal) life-span lasted then for ninety thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 24 When he had exhorted many beings and had caused the great populace to cross over, that teacher too, of unrivalled renown, waned out with the disciples.
- 25 Phussa, glorious Conqueror, teacher, waned out in Sena<sup>6</sup>-park. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Eighteenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Phussa

## XX THE NINETEENTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD VIPASSIN

- 1 And after Phussa the Self-Awakened One named Vipassin<sup>7</sup>, supreme among men, One with vision, arose in the world.

<sup>1</sup> This was at an isipatana, a seers' resort, in the city of Saṅkassa, BvAC. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Sukkhita at Bv. <sup>3</sup> Sambhiva at Bv. <sup>4</sup> Sālā Upasālā at BvAC.

<sup>5</sup> Comy. identifies this with āmalaka, and it is so called in the prose part of BvACB and at Jā. i. 41. Āmaṇḍa is also glossed by āmalaka at MA. iv. 147; see MLS. iii. 140, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Sena at Bv. Sena at Be, BvACB, Jā and Jkm, Sundara at Thūp. 15. This park is said to have been in Kusinārā.

<sup>7</sup> The first of the six Buddhas preceding Gotama. Beginning with Vipassin, D. ii. 2ff. gives some details of their 'lives'. Cf. Mhv. iii. 245f. Vipassin is sometimes said to have taught Dhamma once in every seven years, see AA. i. 165, and to have held the uposatha once in every seven years, see DhA iii. 236, or once in every six years, but on such occasions the whole Order of monks was present, VA. 186ff. See also Vin. iii. 7ff.

- 2 When he had torn apart all ignorance and had attained supreme Self-Awakening, he set forth to turn the Wheel of Dhamma in the city of Bandhumatī.
- 3 When the leader was turning the Wheel of Dhamma he awakened both<sup>1</sup>. This was the first penetration, not to be told by number.
- 4 Later, he of boundless fame expounded the truth there. The second penetration was by eighty-four thousand.
- 5 When they had arrived in the monastery the One with vision taught Dhamma to those eighty-four thousand who had gone forth following the example of the Self-Awakened One.
- 6 Having gone close and listened when he was speaking (and dwelling) on all aspects, they too went to<sup>2</sup> the glorious Dhamma; this was the third penetration.
- 7 Vipassin, great seer, had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 8 The first gathering was of sixty-eight hundred<sup>3</sup> thousand. The second gathering was of a hundred thousand monks.
- 9 The third gathering was of eighty thousand monks. The Self-Awakened One shone out there in the midst of the company of monks.
- 10 I at that time was a nāga-king named Atula, of great psychic potency, meritorious, bearer of light.
- 11 When I went up to the eldest in the world<sup>4</sup> then, playing on deva-like musical instruments, having surrounded (him)<sup>5</sup> with countless crores of nāgas,
- 12 having approached Vipassin, the Self-Awakened One, leader of the world, and having invited<sup>6</sup> him, I gave the king under Dhamma a golden seat inlaid with pearls and jewels, embellished with every adornment.
- 13 As he was sitting in the midst of the Order that Buddha too declared of me: "Ninety-two eons from now this one will be a Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> Prince Khaṇḍa, his younger half-brother, and Tissa, the chaplain's son, later to become his chief disciples, see ver. 28 and BvAC. 237; cf. AA. ii. 140.

<sup>2</sup> This means they came to know his Dhamma. The poet attempts to connect the implied meanings of gantvā and upanisādino, sitting close, or having gone close. On the sentiment cf. M. i. 480.

<sup>3</sup> Bv omits.

<sup>4</sup> See note to i. 72.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the Lord, BvAC. 241.

<sup>6</sup> nimantetvā, i.e. had invited him to accept the gift.

- 14 Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila, he will be a Tathāgata. When he has striven the striving and carried out austerities,
- 15 after sitting at the root of the Ajapāla tree and accepting milk-rice there, the Tathāgata will go to the Nerañjarā.
- 16 When he has partaken of the milk-rice on the bank of the Nerañjarā, that Conqueror will go to the root of the Tree of Awakening by the glorious way prepared.
- 17 Then, circumambulating the dais of the Tree of Awakening, the unsurpassed one of great renown will awaken to Self-Awakening, at the root of an Assattha.
- 18 His genetrix and mother will be named Māyā, his father Siddhodana; he will be named Gotama.
- 19 Kolita and Upatissa, cankerless, attachment gone, tranquil in mind, concentrated, will be the chief disciples.
- 20 Ānanda will be the name of the attendant who will attend on this Conqueror. Khemā and Uppalvaṇṇā will be the chief women disciples,
- 21 cankerless, attachment gone, tranquil in mind, concentrated. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Assattha."<sup>1</sup>
- 22 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 23 Bandhumatī was the name of the city, Bandhumā the name of the warrior-noble, Bandhumatī the name of the mother of Vipassin, the great seer.
- 24 He lived the household life for eight thousand years. The three superb palaces were Nanda, Sunanda, Sirimā.
- 25 There were forty-three thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sutanū<sup>2</sup>, his son was named Samavattakkhandha<sup>3</sup>.
- 26 After he had seen the four signs he departed by chariot as the means of conveyance. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than eight months.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ver. 14-21 with II A. 62 69.

<sup>2</sup> Bv Sutanā; Be Sudassanā; BvACB Sudassanā adding that she is also called Sutanū; she is again so called at BvAC. 241. Sudhānā with v. 1. Sutanā at DA. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Bv Samvattakkhandho.

- 27 Vipassin, leader of the world, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary.
- 28 Khaṇḍa<sup>1</sup> and Tissa were the chief disciples. Asoka was the name of the attendant on Vipassin, the great seer.
- 29 Candā and Candamittā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Pāṭali.
- 30 Punabbasumitta and Nāga were the chief attendants; Sirimā and Uttarā were the chief women attendants.
- 31 Vipassin, leader of the world, was eighty cubits tall. His lustre streamed forth for seven yojanas all around.
- 32 The Buddha's life-span then was eighty thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 33 He released from bondage many devas and men, and to the remaining ordinary people he pointed out the Way and what was not the Way.
- 34 When he had displayed the light<sup>2</sup> and had taught the undying state, blazing like a mass of fire he waned out with the disciples.
- 35 The glorious psychic potency, the glorious merit, and the Marks that were blossoming<sup>3</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 36 Vipassin, glorious Conqueror, wise one<sup>4</sup>, waned out in Sumitta-park. A glorious thūpa to him was seven yojanas high.

The Nineteenth Chronicle: that of the Lord Vipassin

### XXI THE TWENTIETH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD SIKHIN

- 1 After Vipassin was the Self-Awakened One named Sikhin, supreme among men, Conqueror, without an equal, matchless.
- 2 Having smashed Māra's army, attained to supreme Self-Awakening, he turned the Wheel of Dhamma out of compassion for breathing things.

<sup>1</sup> Bv Khandha, also at DA. 457 with v. 1. Khaṇḍha; Be, D. ii. 4, DA. 416, AA. i. 140, Jā i. 41 Khaṇḍa.

<sup>2</sup> āloka, the light of the knowledge of the Way, BvAC. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Be, BvACB ca kusumitani; Bv catubhūmikari.

<sup>4</sup> Bv dhīro; Be buddho.

- 3 As Sikhin, bull (-man)<sup>1</sup> of Conquerors, was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there was the first penetration by a hundred thousand crores.
- 4 And later while the best of the company<sup>2</sup>, the supreme among men, was teaching Dhamma there was the second penetration by ninety thousand crores.
- 5 And while he was displaying the Marvel of the Double to the world with the devas there was the third penetration by eighty thousand crores.
- 6 Sikhin, too, great seer, had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 7 The first gathering was of a hundred thousand monks; the second gathering was of eighty thousand monks.
- 8 The third gathering was of seventy thousand monks; it was unsullied like a lotus grown up in the water.<sup>3</sup>
- 9 I at that time was a warrior-noble named Arindama. With food and drink I refreshed the Order with the Self-Awakened One at the head.
- 10 After giving many glorious robes—not less than a crore of robes—I gave the Self-Awakened One a caparisoned riding-elephant.<sup>4</sup>
- 11 Measuring (the dimensions of) the riding-elephant, I presented what was allowable<sup>5</sup>. I fulfilled my purpose which was ever-present and firm.
- 12 And that Buddha Sikhin, highest leader in the world, also declared of me: “Thirty-one cons from now this one will be a Buddha.
- 13 Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila . . .<sup>6</sup>”  
“ . . . we will be face to face with this one.”

<sup>1</sup> puṅgava as at Vism. 78, Mhv. iii. 249.

<sup>2</sup> gaṇasetṭha, best of the band of disciples.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. ii. 39.

<sup>4</sup> hatthiyāna, elephant vehicle, mount, mode of conveyance. The same word has been used, and is used below, ver. 18, in speaking of the Bodhisattas who departed hatthiyānena, which I have translated “mounted on an elephant”. I think “on a riding elephant” would be just as good, and would distinguish a riding-elephant from a working one.

<sup>5</sup> kappiya, permissible or allowable of use. BvAC. 245 gives kappiyabhaṇḍam. DPPN. (s. v. 1. Arindama) “suitable gifts to the height of an elephant”. Perhaps a stable for the elephant is intended.

<sup>6</sup> See xx. 14.



Plate VII Nagayon Corridor Sikhin and Arindama.

- 14 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 15 Aruṇavātī was the name of the city, Aruṇa<sup>1</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, and Pabhāvātī the name of the mother of Sikhin, the great seer.
- 16 He lived the household life for seven thousand years. The three superb palaces were Sucanda, Giri, Vāhana<sup>2</sup>.
- 17 There were twenty-four thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was called Sabbakāmā, his son was named Atula.
- 18 After he had seen the four signs he departed mounted on an elephant<sup>3</sup>. The supreme among men engaged in striving for eight months.
- 19 Sikhin, highest leader in the world, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary.<sup>4</sup>
- 20 Abhibhū and Sambhava<sup>5</sup> were the chief disciples. Khemaṅkara was the name of the attendant on Sikhin, the great seer.
- 21 Makhilā<sup>6</sup> and Padumā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Puṇḍarīka<sup>7</sup>.
- 22 Sirivaḍḍha and Canda<sup>8</sup> were the chief attendants; Cittā and Sugattā were the chief women attendants.
- 23 That Buddha was seventy cubits in height. He of the thirty-two glorious Marks resembled a golden festooned column.
- 24 The fathom-length halo was a lustre that streamed forth from his body continuously day and night for three yojanas over all the quarters.
- 25 This great seer's life-span was seventy thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.

<sup>1</sup> Aruṇavā at BvAC 243 (prose), 246 (verse), S. i. 155, Jkm. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Be reads Sucandaka Giri Vasabha. Prose part of BvACB calls them Sucandakasiri Giriyasa Nāivasabha. Bv reads Vahana. This verse does not occur in the Comy.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the elephant given to him by Arindama.

<sup>4</sup> DhA. iii. 236 says he held the uposatha once in every six years; see Vin. iii. 7ff.

<sup>5</sup> Both are mentioned at S. i. 155f. where there is a story about Abhibhū which is referred to at A. i. 227, Kvu. 203, DA. 416.

<sup>6</sup> As at Be, BvAC, Jā. i. 41. Akhilā at Bv, Sakhilā at BvAB.

<sup>7</sup> Identified by BvA and DA. 416 with the Sctamba, white mango.

<sup>8</sup> Be, BvAB Nanda.

- 26 Having made the cloud of Dhamma rain down moistening the world with the devas, attaining to that peace<sup>1</sup> himself, he waned out with the disciples.
- 27 The minor characteristics with which he was endowed, the thirty-two glorious Marks<sup>2</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 28 Sikhin, glorious sage, Buddha, waned out in Dussa<sup>3</sup>-park. A glorious thūpa to him was three yojanas high.

The Twentieth Chronicle: that of the Lord Sikhin

### XXII THE TWENTY-FIRST CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD VESSABHŪ

- 1 In the same Maṇḍa-eon the leader<sup>4</sup> named Vessabhū, without an equal, matchless, arose in the world.
- 2 Realizing then that it<sup>5</sup> was aflame with the fire of passion and was the domain<sup>6</sup> of cravings then, he attained supreme Self-Awakening like an elephant breaking asunder its shackles.
- 3 When Vessabhū, leader of the world, was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there was the first penetration by eighty thousand crores.
- 4 When the eldest<sup>7</sup> in the world, bull of men, was setting out on tour in the realm there was the second penetration by seventy thousand crores.
- 5 He worked a Marvel<sup>8</sup> driving out a great false view; men and deities of the ten-thousand worlds of men with the devas were gathered together.

<sup>1</sup> khema is the security or peace of nibbāna as BvA notes.

<sup>2</sup> BvA says the Lord's body was endowed with the 30 minor characteristics and adorned with the 32 Marks of a Great Man.

<sup>3</sup> Assa at Be and BvACB. But Dussa, as at Bv, Thūp. 16, Jkm. 18, might have reference to the dussa, cloths or robes, that the Bodhisatta gave to Sikhin, see above ver. 10.

<sup>4</sup> nāyako, but Bv reads so jino which Be recognizes as a reading. He is said to have held uposatha once in every six years DhA. iii. 236. See also Vin. iii. 7ff.

<sup>5</sup> BvAC. 249 sakalaṃ idaṃ lokattayaṃ, this entire triple world.

<sup>6</sup> vijitaṃ explained by raṭṭhañ ca vasavattiṭṭhānaṃ at BvAC. 249.

<sup>7</sup> jettā; BvAC reads setṭha, best, as noticed by Be, BvAB. For 'eldest' see i. 72 above.

<sup>8</sup> BvA says it was the Marvel of the Double.

- 6 On seeing the great wonder, astonishing, astounding, sixty crores of devas and men awakened.
- 7 Vessabhū, great seer, had three assemblies of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 8 The first gathering was of eighty thousand monks; the second gathering was of seventy thousand monks<sup>1</sup>.
- 9 The third gathering was of sixty thousand monks who had overpassed the fear of ageing and so forth<sup>2</sup>, great seers, own sons<sup>3</sup> (of the Buddha).
- 10 The superb Wheel had been turned by that Buddha without an equal. I rejoiced in the going forth when I had heard the excellent Dhamma.<sup>4</sup>
- 11 I at that time was a warrior-noble called Sudassana. Having invited the great hero and given a gift of great value<sup>5</sup>, I honoured the Conqueror and the Order with food, drink, with clothing.
- 12 Having bestowed the great gift, unrelaxing night and day, I went forth in the Conqueror's presence in the going forth that is endowed with special qualities.
- 13 Endowed with the special quality of right practice, composed in the duties and in morality, seeking for omniscience I delighted in the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 14 Having come to faith and zest, I revered the Buddha, the teacher<sup>6</sup>. Zest arose for the sake of my Awakening itself.<sup>7</sup>
- 15 Knowing that I had no intention of turning back<sup>8</sup>, the Self-Awakened One spoke thus, "Thirty-one eons from now this one will be a Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion here. Bv, Be and BvAB give sattatibhikkhusahassa in the verse, but in the prose portions of BvACB and in the verse in BvAC the number is given as sattatirisasahassa, 37,000.

<sup>2</sup> Bv jarādibhayacittānaṃ; Be -bhayabhītānaṃ; BvAC -bhayātītānaṃ; BvAB -bhayātānaṃ.

<sup>3</sup> 'Spiritual' sonship is meant.

<sup>4</sup> Be and BvAB reverse the order of ver. 10. 11 as given in Bv and BvAC, presumably so that the Bodhisatta begins his 'autobiography' at the traditional place though this separates the two verses that refer to the gift. I follow Bv, BvAC.

<sup>5</sup> This line omitted at Bv.

<sup>6</sup> Bv buddhaṃ vandāmi sattharaṃ; BvAC pāde vandāmi satthari as noted at BvAB.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xxv. 32.

<sup>8</sup> anivattimānasāṃ (Bv anivatta-) ñatvā, "knowing my purpose of no-turn-back", cf. viii. 2 anivattigamanamagga.

- 16 Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila<sup>1</sup> . . .”  
“ . . . in the distant future we will be face to face with this one”<sup>2</sup>.
- 17 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 18 Anoma<sup>3</sup> was the name of the city, Suppatīta<sup>4</sup> the name of the warrior-noble, Yasavatī the name of the mother of Vessabhū, the great seer.
- 19 He lived the household life for six thousand years. The three superb palaces were Ruci, Suruci, Rativaḍḍhana<sup>5</sup>.
- 20 There were not less than thirty thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sucittā, his son was named Suppabuddha.
- 21 After he had seen the four signs he departed by palanquin<sup>6</sup> as the means of conveyance. The supreme among men engaged in striving for six months.
- 22 Vessabhū, leader of the world, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the Wheel in Aruṇa-park.
- 23 Soṇa and Uttara were the chief disciples. Upasanta<sup>7</sup> was the name of the attendant on Vessabhū, the great seer.
- 24 Dāmā<sup>8</sup> and Samālā were the chief women disciples. That Lord’s Tree of Awakening is said to be the Great Sāla.
- 25 Sotthika and Ramma were the chief attendants; Gotamī<sup>9</sup> and Sirimā were the chief women attendants.
- 26 He was sixty ratanas tall. He resembled a golden sacrificial pillar. Rays streamed forth from his body like fire at night on a mountain-top.
- 27 This great seer’s life-span<sup>10</sup> was sixty thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.

<sup>1</sup> See xx. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See iv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> BvAC. 247, 251 Anupama; D. ii. 7, Jā. i. 42 Anopama.

<sup>4</sup> Bv Supatita; Jkm. 18 Pupphavatika.

<sup>5</sup> Bv Vadḍhana.

<sup>6</sup> By a golden palanquin, BvAC. 241.

<sup>7</sup> D. ii. 6 Upasannaka.

<sup>8</sup> Bc, BvAB Rāmā. <sup>9</sup> BvAC. 251 Kāligotamī as noted at BvAB.

<sup>10</sup> Reading with Bc, BvACB āyu tassa mahesino, which brings it into line with xx. 32, xxi. 25, xxiii. 24, xxiv. 26, xxv. 43 (also II B. 217) instead of Bv’s āyu vijjati tāvade, “the (normal) life-span lasted then”, as is usual in all except these seven references to the length of the life-span, with xviii. 25 added where the wording is unique. See Intr. p. xxxiii.

- 28 Having made Dhamma widely famed, having assorted the great populace<sup>1</sup>, and having provided the ship of Dhamma<sup>2</sup>, he waned out with the disciples.
- 29 All the comely people<sup>3</sup>, the mode of life and the mode of behaviour<sup>4</sup> have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 30 Vessabhū, glorious Conqueror, teacher, waned out in Khema-park. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Twenty-first Chronicle: that of the Lord Vessabhū

### XXIII THE TWENTY-SECOND CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD KAKUSANDHA

- 1 After Vessabhū was the Self-Awakened One named Kakusandha<sup>5</sup>, supreme among men, immeasurable, hard to attack.
- 2 Having suppressed all becoming, come to (the) perfection(s) through right practice, like a lion breaking asunder its cage he attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 3 When Kakusandha, leader of the world, was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there was the first penetration by forty thousand crores.
- 4 When he was in mid-air, in the sky, after working the changing Double<sup>6</sup> he awakened thirty thousand crores of devas and men.
- 5 When he was expounding the four truths for the yakkha

<sup>1</sup> He classified them in respect of exertion and so forth and in respect of stream-entry and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> The ship of Dhamma which is for crossing over the four floods is the eightfold Way. See II A. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Bv mahājana, the great populace; Bc, BvACB sabbajana (which I follow) means the Buddha and his disciples, BvAC. 252.

<sup>4</sup> iriyāpātha also means the four postures.

<sup>5</sup> The first of the five Buddhas in this Bhadda-eon. He is said to have held uposatha once in every year, DhA. iii. 236. See Vin. iii. 7ff.

<sup>6</sup> This presumes he rose into the air after he had performed the Marvel. BvA says he worked it at the root of a great sāla tree at the gateway to the city of Kāṇṇakujja. The ‘changing Double’, yamaka vikubbana: vikubbana means versatile, also transformation, miracle, miraculous manifestation, usually through psychic potency (when performed by a Buddha and arahants). So perhaps here it means ringing the changes on the Marvel of the Double, no doubt always in their proper sequence.

- Naradeva<sup>1</sup>, the (number gaining) penetration of his Dhamma was incalculable by computation.
- 6 The Lord Kakusandha had one gathering<sup>2</sup> of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 7 The gathering then was of forty thousand who had attained the tamed stage by the destruction of the host of canker-enemies.<sup>3</sup>
- 8 I at that time was a warrior-noble named Khema. Having given a considerable gift to the Tathāgata and the Conqueror's sons,
- 9 having given bowls and robe-materials, ointment (for the eyes)<sup>4</sup>, wild liquorice<sup>4</sup> I bestowed all this, very glorious,<sup>5</sup> as was wanted.
- 10 And that sage Kakusandha, guider away, also declared of me: "In this Bhadda-con this one will be a Buddha.
- 11 Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila..." "..." in the distant future we will be face to face with this one".
- 12 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 13 Khemavatī was the name of the city. I was named Khema then. Seeking omniscience I went forth in his presence.

<sup>1</sup> These naradeva, man-gods, who were yakkhas, appear to have acquired the personal name of Naradeva; cf. xxv. 7. The visible physical form of this one was human. He enticed people to come to a lovely lake in the middle of a desert and then he ate them, went into some woods nearby and ate the creatures there. The terrified people waited till they could cross the desert in large convoys. But the Lord knew that they and the naradeva yakkha were within the net of knowledge. So he went to the naradeva's abode where, after receiving homage and honour from him and his entourage, he talked on the four truths and there was this third penetration of Dhamma, BvAC. 253f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. ii. 5. All the other Buddhas had three except Kakusandha, and the remaining Buddhas in this eon, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama.

<sup>3</sup> Be, BvACB āsavāri-gaṇakkhaya. Bv āsavādi-. As there are no more than four āsavas, cankers, Bv's -adi, meaning "and so forth", seems to make little sense. On the other hand -āri could be taken as psychological enemies, such as the defilements, kilesa. Or it could mean "the enemies that are the cankers". BvA does not explain. It merely says these 40,000 were arahants. Cf. D. ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> añjana and madhulatthika. See Intr. p. xlviii.

<sup>5</sup> varaṃ varaṃ, explained at BvAC 256 as seṭṭham seṭṭham, best of the best. It also says yacā taṃ paṭṭhitam is also a reading (adopted above); and then, "I gave him all that he wished; this is more correct".

- 14 And the Buddha's father was the brahman named Aggidatta. Visākhā was the name of the mother of Kakusandha, the great seer.<sup>1</sup>
- 15 There in Khema-city dwelt the Self-Awakened One's great clan who were the most glorious and best of men, well born, of great renown.
- 16 He lived the household life for four thousand years. The three superb palaces were Kāma, Kāmavaṇṇa, Kāmasuddhi<sup>2</sup>.
- 17 There were a full thirty thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Virocamānā<sup>3</sup>, his son was named Uttara.
- 18 After he had seen the four signs he departed by chariot as the means of conveyance. The Conqueror strove the striving for not less than eight months.
- 19 Kakusandha, leader of the world, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma, turned the wheel in a deer-sanctuary.
- 20 Vidhura<sup>4</sup> and Sañjīva were the chief disciples. Buddhija was the name of the attendant on Kakusandha, the teacher.
- 21 Sāmā and Campā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Sirisa.
- 22 Accuta and Sumana<sup>5</sup> were the chief attendants; Nandā and Sunandā were the chief women attendants.
- 23 The great sage was forty ratanas tall. Golden lustre streamed forth for ten<sup>6</sup> yojanas all round.
- 24 This great seer's life-span was forty thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 25 Having spread out the shop of Dhamma<sup>7</sup> for (the world of) men and women with the devas, and roaring a lion's roar, he waned out with the disciples.
- 26 He (the teacher) whose speech possessed eight characteristics,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Be, satthuno, (of) the teacher.

<sup>2</sup> Bv Ruci, Suruci, Vadḍhana, the same as it gives for Vessabhū's palaces. BvAC, 253, Suci, Suruci, Rativaddhana. The names given above are taken from Be and BvAB.

<sup>3</sup> BvAC. 253, DA. 422, Rocanī; Be, BvAV Rocinī.

<sup>4</sup> So at Bv, Be. M. i. 333, S. ii. 191, MA. ii. 417; Vidhūra at D. ii. 4, DA 417. Jā. i. 42. Sometimes the variant is given. Sañjīva is referred at BvAC. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Bv Samana.

<sup>6</sup> Bv twelve.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Buddha Gotama's eight shops at Miln. 332ff.

<sup>8</sup> Given at M. ii. 140 of the Buddha Gotama's voice or speech.

and the flawless (things<sup>1</sup>) have all disappeared for ever. Are not all constructions void?

- 27 Kakusandha, glorious Conqueror, waned out in Khemapark. A glorious thūpa to him there was a gāvuta high to the sky.

The Twenty-second Chronicle: that of the Lord Kakusandha

#### XXIV THE TWENTY-THIRD CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD KOṆĀGAMANA

- 1 After Kakusandha was the Self-Awakened One named Koṇāgamana<sup>2</sup>, supreme among men, Conqueror, eldest in the world<sup>3</sup>, bull of men.
- 2 When he had fulfilled the ten things<sup>4</sup> he overpassed the wilderness<sup>5</sup>. Cleansing away all stains<sup>6</sup>, he attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 3 When the leader Koṇāgamana was turning the Wheel there was the first penetration by thirty thousand crores.
- 4 And when he was working the Marvel<sup>7</sup> for crushing the theories of others there was the second penetration by twenty thousand crores.
- 5 Then the Conqueror, after working the changing (Double)<sup>8</sup>, went to a city of the devas. The Self-Awakened One stayed there on the ornamental stone<sup>9</sup>.
- 6 The sage stayed there for the rains teaching the seven treatises.<sup>10</sup> The third penetration was by ten thousand crores.

<sup>1</sup> According to BvA either moral habits that are flawless, spotless, without blemish (cf. M. i. 322), or pairs of disciples and so forth that are flawless.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have held uposatha once in every year, DhA. iii. 236. See also Vin. iii. 7ff.

<sup>3</sup> See note to i. 72.

<sup>4</sup> BvA the ten perfection-things.

<sup>5</sup> Or desert, of birth.

<sup>6</sup> The three stains of attachment and so forth, BvAC. 259.

<sup>7</sup> The Marvel of the Double (see next ver.) which he worked at the foot of a sāla-tree at the gateway to the city of Sundara, BvAC. 258.

<sup>8</sup> vikubbana. See xxiii. 4. He worked it by psychic potency, BvAC. 259.

<sup>9</sup> The paṇḍukambala silāsana was Sakka's seat; it showed signs of warmth when his aid was needed on earth.

<sup>10</sup> Of the Abhidhamma. He taught his mother and other devatās, BvAC. 259.

- 7 That deva of devas had one gathering only<sup>1</sup> of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 8 It was a gathering of thirty thousand monks then who had overpassed the floods<sup>2</sup> and were shatterers of mortality.
- 9 I at that time was a warrior-noble named Pabbata. I was possessed of friends and counsellors, unending forces and mounts.<sup>3</sup>
- 10 I went to see the Self-Awakened One and heard the unsurpassed Dhamma. I invited the Order with the Conqueror and gave a gift to my heart's content.<sup>4</sup>
- 11 I gave the teacher and the disciples<sup>5</sup> silk from Paṭṭunna<sup>6</sup>, silk from China, Kāsi silk, woollen cloth too, and golden sandals as well.
- 12 As that sage was sitting in the midst of the Order he too declared of me: "In this Bhadda-eon this one will be a Buddha.
- 13 Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila . . ." " . . . face to face with this one"<sup>7</sup>.
- 14 When I had heard his words too all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 15 Seeking omniscience, giving the gift to the supreme among men, I, having renounced a great kingdom, went forth in the Conqueror's presence.<sup>8</sup>
- 16 Sobhavatī was the name of the city, Sobha the name of the warrior-noble. The great clan of the Self-Awakened One lived there in the city.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Bv atikkanta-catur' oghānaṃ; Be, BvACB oghānaṃ atikkantānaṃ; they explain the floods as the four floods of sense-desire and so forth.

<sup>3</sup> Bv. Be, BvAB anantabalavāhana; BvAC balavāhanam anappakaṃ. Vāhana is a beast of burden, a conveyance or mount (as Hindu deities have a vāhana, a mount to carry them and on which they ride).

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 261 takes yadicchakaṃ as referring to the recipients, so "to their heart's content". The above rendering gives better sense I think.

<sup>5</sup> BvA says this means "I gave to the Teacher as well as to the disciples."

<sup>6</sup> paṭṭunna, perhaps a country: silk from that country.

<sup>7</sup> See II A. 62-75.

<sup>8</sup> Bv tassa santike as noticed at Be which, with BvACB, reads jinasantike.

- 17 And the Buddha's father was the brahman Yaññadatta. Uttarā was the name of the mother of Koṇāgamana, the teacher.
- 18 He lived the household life for three thousand years. The three superb palaces were Tusita, Santusita, Santuṭṭha.
- 19 There were a full sixteen thousand beautifully adorned women, His wife was named Rucigattā,<sup>1</sup> his son was named Satthavāha.
- 20 After he had seen the four signs he departed mounted on an elephant. The supreme among men engaged in striving for six months.
- 21 Koṇāgamana, leader, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary.
- 22 Bhiyyasa<sup>2</sup> and Uttara were the chief disciples. Sotthija was the name of the attendant on Koṇāgamana, the teacher.
- 23 Samuddā and Uttarā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Udumbara.
- 24 Ugga and Somadeva were the chief attendants; Sīvalā and Sāmā were the chief women attendants.
- 25 That Buddha was thirty cubits in height. As a circlet<sup>3</sup> in a smelting-pot was he thus embellished with rays.
- 26 The Buddha's life-span (then) was thirty thousand years<sup>4</sup>. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 27 Having raised up the archway of Dhamma<sup>5</sup> decorated with the streamer of Dhamma<sup>6</sup>, having made a cluster of the flowers of Dhamma<sup>7</sup>, he waned out with the disciples.

<sup>1</sup> Rucaggattī at DA. 422.

<sup>2</sup> Bhiyyoso at Bv; Bhiyasa at BvAC. 259; Bhiyyaso at BvAC. 261; Bhiyyosa at D. ii. 4 (with v. l. Bhiyosa), S. ii. 191, Jā. i. 43, DA. 417.

<sup>3</sup> kambu, circlet or bracelet.

<sup>4</sup> Bv āyu Buddhassa tāvade, where tāvade seems to have crept in by error from the commentarial reading āyu vijjati tāvade, the (normal) life-span lasted then. See Intr. p. xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> dhammaceti. Cetiya means primarily a cairn, a heap; it can also mean a shrine. 'Heap' comes from words which come from an Indo-European base meaning to bend, arch, vault. An arch, or archway, that by which one enters in, is not unsuitable here, though of course cetiya comprises other classes of monument besides archway. BvAC. 262 says the cetiya here consists of the 37 things helpful to Awakening.

<sup>6</sup> dhammadussa. Dussa is material, woven stuff, so streamer. BvA calls it the banner of the four true things. Cf. xxv. 44.

<sup>7</sup> dhammapupphagūḷa.

- 28 His people<sup>1</sup>, great in grace<sup>2</sup>, (and he) making known the Dhamma of splendour<sup>3</sup>, have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 29 Koṇāgamana, Self-Awakened One, waned out in Pabbata-park. His relics were dispersed in a number of regions.

The Twenty-third Chronicle: that of the Lord Koṇāgamana

### XXV THE TWENTY-FOURTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD KASSAPA

- 1 After Koṇāgamana was the Self-Awakened One named Kassapa<sup>4</sup>, supreme among men, king under Dhamma, bringer of lustre.
- 2 Cast aside<sup>5</sup> was his family fortune; giving away in charity to supplicants much food, (both) beverages and soft food, and fulfilling his purpose, (he went forth) like a bull breaking down its tethering-post and attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 3 When Kassapa, leader of the world, was turning the Wheel of Dhamma there was the first penetration by twenty thousand crores.
- 4 When for four months the Buddha was walking on tour in the world there was the second penetration by ten thousand crores.
- 5 When he had worked the changing Double<sup>6</sup> and had proclaimed the element of knowledge<sup>7</sup> there was the third penetration by five thousand crores.
- 6 He expounded Dhamma<sup>8</sup> there in the Sudhammā (Hall) in a delightful deva-city; the Conqueror awakened three thousand crores of devas.

<sup>1</sup> His disciples; BvA.

<sup>2</sup> BvA says attained to the grace, vilāsa, of psychic potency.

<sup>3</sup> siriḍhamma. BvA explains as the supermundane things, lokuttaradhamma.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned at KhA. 203, PvA. 21 in extension of the story given there about the Buddha Phussa. DhA. iii. 236 says he held uposatha once in every six months. See also Vin. iii. 7ff.

<sup>5</sup> Given away, not squandered.

<sup>6</sup> vikubbana, a psychic phenomenon, called at BvAC. 265 the Marvel of the Double. Cf. xxiii. 4, xxiv. 5.

<sup>7</sup> ñāpadhātu, omniscient knowledge according to BvAC. 265.

<sup>8</sup> Abhidhamma, so BvAC. 265.

- 7 Later, at a teaching of Dhamma to the yakkha Naradeva<sup>1</sup>, the penetrations by these are incalculable by computation.
- 8 That deva of devas had one gathering only of steadfast ones whose cankers were destroyed, stainless, tranquil in mind.
- 9 It was a gathering of twenty thousand monks then of steadfast ones who, by modesty and morality, had overpassed those who still had attachment.
- 10 I was then the brahman youth Jotipāla<sup>2</sup>, a famous repeater, expert in the mantras, master of the three Vedas.
- 11 I had reached perfection in (the science of) the Marks, in the legendary tradition and the obligatory duties (of a brahman). I was skilled in the (signs of) earth and sky, a sorcerer<sup>3</sup>, experienced<sup>4</sup>.
- 12 Ghaṭikāra was the name of the Lord Kassapa's attendant; respectful, deferential<sup>5</sup>, he waned out in the third fruition.<sup>6</sup>
- 13 Ghaṭikāra, taking me with him, approached Kassapa, the Conqueror. When I had heard his Dhamma I went forth in his presence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxiii. 5. BvA narrates of this Naradeva that he was able to assume the voice and form of the king of whatever region he was in: then he would eat the king, gain the kingdom and the women's quarters. He was an insatiable eater of flesh and a scoundrel with women. But the clever women who remained discovered that he was not their king, but a non-human being. So, even though feeling ashamed, he ate these women too and went off to another city and repeated the process. And so it was that he used to feed on human beings. But, at last, when he came to the city of Sunanda all the people ran away. And Kassapa confronted the yakkha. Finding that the Buddha was not frightened of him, he asked him a question instead (BvA does not say what the question was), was tamed and went to the Lord for refuge.

<sup>2</sup> Bv, Be, BvAB read ahaṃ taḍā mānava Jotipālo; BvAC ahaṃ tena samayena Jotipālo. Story of Ghatikāra and Jotipāla occurs at Mhv i. 317. See Kvu iv. 8 for controversy whether the Bodhisatta was a disciple of Kassapa and entered on the path of assurance and fared the Brahma-faring during his dispensation. See also, for fuller discussion, N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta 1970, p. 82ff., 110ff.

<sup>3</sup> katavijja could also mean "one who has acquired knowledge, is scientific, a philosopher"; one who has laid up lore (charms and spells).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ver. 10, 11 with II A. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Jotipāla, on the other hand, referred to the Buddha Kassapa as "little shaveling recluse" (M. Sta. 81). This indiscretion led Gotama when he was the Bodhisatta in his last life to have to spend as many as six years in performing austerities before he gained supreme Awakening. See Ap. 301, etc. Other Buddhas spent at most ten months in carrying out austerities, and some of them only a few weeks.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M. ii. 52 where he is in effect spoken of as a non-returner.

- 14 Being one who put forth energy, proficient in all the observances, I fell away in none<sup>1</sup>; I fulfilled the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 15 Having learnt thoroughly all the ninefold Dispensation of the teacher as far as it had been uttered by the Buddha, I illumined the Conqueror's Dispensation.
- 16 When he had seen the wonder of mine<sup>2</sup> that Buddha too declared: "In this Bhadda-eon this one will be a Buddha.
- 17 Having departed from the delightful city of Kapila, having striven the striving and carried out austerities, he would become a Tathāgata . . . .<sup>3</sup>
- 18 After sitting at the root of the Ajapāla tree and accepting some milk-rice there the Tathāgata will come to the Nerañjarā.
- 19 When he has partaken of the milk-rice on the bank of the Nerañjarā, he will go to the root of the Tree of Awakening by the glorious way prepared.
- 20 Then, having circumambulated the dais of the Tree of Awakening, the supreme among men, in the cross-legged position for supreme Awakening in the invincible seat,
- 21 sitting cross-legged, he of great renown will awaken. His genetrix and mother will be named Māyā, his father Sudhodana; he will be named Gotama.
- 22 Cankerless, attachments gone, tranquil in mind, concentrated, Kolita and Upatissa will be the chief disciples.
- 23 Ānanda is the name of the attendant who will attend on that Conqueror. Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā will be the chief women disciples,
- 24 cankerless, tranquil in mind, attachments gone, concentrated. That Lord's Tree of Awakening will be called the Assattha.
- 25 Citta and Hatthālavaka will be the chief attendants; Nanda-mātā and Uttarā will be the chief women attendants."
- 26 When<sup>4</sup> they had heard these words of the great seer who was without an equal, men and deities, rejoicing, thought, "Sprout of the Buddha-seed is this."

<sup>1</sup> This refers, according to BvAC. 267, to moral habits, concentration and the attainments. He fell away in none of these in whatever place he was performing monastic duties, vatta, for which see BD. v., Index s. v. observance.

<sup>2</sup> BvAC. 267 "my right practice—an astonishing marvel not shared with others".

<sup>3</sup> Bv, giving . . . pe . . . here refers us to iv. 13. But better to cf. with II A. 62ff.

<sup>4</sup> For ver. 26-30 see II A. 71-75.

- 27 The sounds of acclamation went on; (inhabitants of the) ten thousand (worlds) with the devas clapped their hands, laughed, and paid homage with clasped hands.
- 28 (Saying) "If we should fail of the Dispensation of this protector of the world, in the distant future we will be face to face with this one.
- 29 As men crossing a river but, failing of the ford to the bank opposite, taking a ford lower down cross over the great river, even so, all of us, if we miss (the words of) this Conqueror, in the distant future will be face to face with this one."
- 31 When I had heard his words all the more did I incline my mind. I resolutely determined on further practice for fulfilling the ten perfections.
- 32 Thus I, faring on (in saṃsāra), avoiding wrong conduct<sup>1</sup>, engaged in austerities for the sake of my Awakening itself.<sup>2</sup>
- 33 Bārāṇasī was the name of the city, Kikī the name of the warrior-noble. The great clan of the Awakened One lived there in the city.
- 34 And the Buddha's father was the brahman Brahmadata. Dhanavatī was the name of the mother of Kassapa, the great seer.
- 35 He lived the household life for two thousand years. The three superb palaces were Hamsa, Yasa, Sirinanda.
- 36 There were forty-eight thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Sunandā, his son was named Vijitasena.
- 37 After he had seen the four signs he departed by palace. The supreme among men engaged in striving for seven days.
- 38 Kassapa, leader of the world, great hero, supreme among men, on being requested by Brahma turned the Wheel in a deer-sanctuary.
- 39 Tissa and Bhāradvāja were the chief disciples. Sabbamitta was the attendant on Kassapa, the great seer.
- 40 Anulā and Uruvelā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Nigrodha.
- 41 Sumaṅgala and Ghaṭikāra were the chief attendants; Vijitasenā and Bhaddā were the chief women attendants.
- 42 That Buddha was twenty ratanas in height. He was like a streak of lightning, like the moon encircled by celestial bodies.

<sup>1</sup> See note to ver. 12.<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxii. 14.

- 43 This great seer's life-span was twenty thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over.
- 44 Having created the pond of Dhamma, given moral habit as a perfumed ointment, having dressed in the streamer of Dhamma<sup>1</sup>, he arranged the chaplet of Dhamma.<sup>2</sup>
- 45 When he had placed the stainless mirror of Damma before the populace<sup>3</sup> he said, "Let those wishing for nibbāna see my ornament."
- 46 Giving the armour of moral habit, wearing the coat of mail of the meditations, having put on the hide of Dhamma<sup>4</sup> and given the supreme armature,<sup>5</sup>
- 47 having given the shield of mindfulness, the sharp lance of knowledge, having given the glorious sword of Dhamma (and) moral habit for crushing (wrong) association<sup>6</sup>,
- 48 having given the ornament of the threefold knowledge, the four fruitions as a garland for the forehead, having given the decoration of the six super-knowings, the flowers of Dhamma worn on one's person<sup>7</sup>,
- 49 having given the white sunshade of True Dhamma for warding off evil, having created a flower of no-fear<sup>8</sup>, he waned out with the disciples.
- 50 And this fully Self-Awakened One, immeasurable, difficult to attack, and this jewel of Dhamma, well-taught, a come-and-see thing,
- 51 and this jewel of the Order, faring along rightly, unsurpassed, have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void?
- 52 Kassapa, great Conqueror, teacher, waned out in Setavyā-park. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was high to the height of a yojana.

#### The Twenty-fourth Chronicle: that of the Lord Kassapa

<sup>1</sup> Conscience and shame, BvAC. 269. Cf. xxiv. 27.<sup>2</sup> dhammamālā. The 37 things helpful to Awakening; cf. xxiv. 27.<sup>3</sup> So that the populace could reflect on blamable, blameless, skilled and unskilled things and perhaps gain stream-entry, BvAC. 269.<sup>4</sup> Mindfulness and clear consciousness, BvAC. 269.<sup>5</sup> Energy possessed of the four supreme factors, BvAC. 269. This caturaṅga-viriya refers, according to MA. iii. 194, to the phrase kāmāṃ taco ca nhāru ca atthi ca avasissatu maṃsalohitañ ca upasussatu; see M. i. 481, S. ii. 28, A. i. 50.<sup>6</sup> With the defilements.<sup>7</sup> The nine supermundane states.<sup>8</sup> The flower is the eightfold way leading to the city of fearlessness (or no-fear).

### XXVI THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHRONICLE: THAT OF THE LORD GOTAMA

- 1 I at the present time am the Buddha Gotama, one who advances the glory of the Sakyans<sup>1</sup>. When I had striven the striving I attained supreme Self-Awakning.
- 2 On being requested by Brahma I turned the Wheel of Dhamma. The first penetration was by eighteen crores.
- 3 And subsequently when I was teaching in a gathering of men and deities<sup>2</sup> there was the second penetration<sup>3</sup>, not to be told by number.
- 4 Here, at the present time, when I myself exhorted<sup>4</sup> my son there was the third penetration, not to be told by number.
- 5 I had only one assembly<sup>5</sup> of disciples, great seers; it was a gathering of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks.
- 6 Shining, stainless, in the midst of the Order, like the jewel granting all desires<sup>6</sup> I give evcrything that is aspired after<sup>7</sup>.
- 7 To those longing for fruition, to those seeking to get rid of the craving for becoming I expound<sup>8</sup> the four truths out of compassion for breathing things.
- 8 There was penetration of Dhamma by tens and twenties of thousands. Penetration by ones and twos was incalculable by computation.
- 9 The well-purified Dispensation of mine, of the sage of the Sakyans, is widely famed here among the populace; it is successful, prosperous, blossoming well.<sup>9</sup>
- 10 Countless hundreds of monks without cankers, attachments gone, tranquil in mind, concentrated, all constantly surround me.

<sup>1</sup> Sakyavaḍḍhano where vaḍḍhano is 'promoter', 'furtherer' of the Sakyan clan (Sākiyakula, so BvAC. 292). The idea is "one who brings glory to", causing growth to.

<sup>2</sup> By desento naradevasamāgamo; Be, BvAV desente naradevasamāgame; BvAC desente naramarūnarā samāgame.

<sup>3</sup> The Comy. wants to put this and the third penetration into the future.

<sup>4</sup> BvAC. 292 uses the future tense, ovaḍḍissāmi. See preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxiii. 6, xxiv. 7, xxv. 8.

<sup>6</sup> maṇi va sabbakāmadā, the "wish-conferring gem".

<sup>7</sup> The bliss of what is worldly and transcendental—probably referring to the ways, the fruits and nibbāna.

<sup>8</sup> Be, BvACE read pakāsemi for Dv's -sesi.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. II B. 203.



Plate VIII Nagayōn Corridor—Gotama and Ajita.

- 11 Despised by the wise are those monks, initiates, who now at the present time depart this life as human beings without having attained their purpose<sup>1</sup>.
- 12 The people who, praising the direct ariyan Way, always delighting in Dhamma, mindful, are men who will awaken<sup>2</sup> to the stream of saṃsāra<sup>3</sup>.
- 13 My city is Kapilavatthu, King Sudjhodana is my father, my genetrix and mother is known as Queen Māyā.
- 14 I lived the household life for twenty-nine years. The three superb palaces were Ramma, Suramma, Subhaka<sup>4</sup>.
- 15 There were forty thousand beautifully adorned women. Bhaddakaccā<sup>5</sup> was the name of my wife, Rāhula the name of my son.
- 16 After I had seen the four signs I departed on horseback<sup>6</sup>. For six years I engaged in striving, difficult to do.
- 17 The Wheel was turned by me in the seers' resort near Bārāṇasī. I, Gotama the Self-Awakened One, am the refuge for all breathing things.
- 18 The two monks, Kolita and Upatissa, are the chief disciples. Ānanda is the name of the attendant attending closely upon me.
- 19 The nuns Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā are the chief women disciples. Citta and Hatthālavaka are the chief lay attendants.
- 20 Nandamātā and Uttarā are the chief laywomen attendants. I attained supreme Self-Awakening at the root of an Assattha.
- 21 The lustre of my fathom-deep halo always rises sixteen cubits high. Now at the present time the (normal) life-span is a brief hundred years.
- 22 Living so long I am causing many people to cross over, having established the torch of Dhamma<sup>7</sup> (and) the awakening of the people who come after.

<sup>1</sup> Arahantship; cf. II B, 205.

<sup>2</sup> bujjhissanti, will penetrate the four true things in the future, BvAC, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Bv reads saṃsārasaritaṃ narā; Be -sāritam gatā. BvAC, 293 explains as saṃsārasaritam and glosses sarita by sāgara, ocean.

<sup>4</sup> Bv Rāma Surāma Subhata. BvAC has v. l. Sucandaka Kokanada Koñca; and Jkm. 27 reads Canda Kokanuda Koñca.

<sup>5</sup> Bv Bhaddakaccā; Be, BvAB, Jkm. 27 Bhaddakaccānā and Jkm. also Rāhulamātā; BvAC, 293f. Yasodharā which BvAB also calls her in the prose after the verse. See DPPN, s. v. Rāhulamātā; E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 49f., 59; Et. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, II, 1001.

<sup>6</sup> The horse's name was Kanthaka.

<sup>7</sup> As carried by the Buddha Maṅgala, iv. i, 30.

- 23 But I, in no long time, together with the Order of disciples, will wane out entirely here like a fire on the consumption of the fuel.
- 24 And those of unrivalled incandescence<sup>1</sup>, and these ten powers and this body with the glorious special qualities<sup>2</sup> overspread with the thirty-two Marks<sup>3</sup>—
- 25 they, having illumined the ten quarters<sup>4</sup>, will disappear like him of the hundred rays with sixfold lustre. Are not all constructions void?

The Twenty-fifth Chronicle: that of the Lord Gotama

### XXVII MISCELLANY ON THE BUDDHAS

- 1 Immeasurable eons ago<sup>5</sup> there were four guiders away: these Conquerors, Taṇḥāṅkara, Medhaṅkara, Saraṇāṅkara and Dīpaṅkara the Self-Awakened One were in one eon.
- 2 After Dīpaṅkara the leader named Koṇḍañña<sup>6</sup>, alone in one eon, caused many people to cross over.
- 3 The eons between the lord Dīpaṅkara and the teacher Koṇḍañña are incalculable by computation.
- 4 After Koṇḍañña was the leader named Maṅgala. The eons between them are also incalculable by computation.
- 5 And these Buddhas were in one eon: Maṅgala and Sumana and Revata and the sage Sobhita, ones of vision, lustrous.
- 6 After Sobhita there was Anomadassin of great renown. The eons between them are also incalculable by computation.
- 7 These Buddhas: Anomadassin, Paduma and the leader Nārada, end-makers of darkness, sages, were also in the same eon.
- 8 After Nārada was the leader named Padumuttara. Arising alone in one eon, he caused many people to cross over.

<sup>1</sup> The pairs of chief disciples.

<sup>2</sup> The six knowledges not shared by others, BvAC. 295.

<sup>3</sup> Bv reads: *guṇavaradeho dvattiriṅsalakkhaṇācīto*; Be *ayañ ca guṇadhāraṇo deho dvattiriṅsavaraṇalakkhaṇāvicīto*; BvAC. 295 *guṇadhāraṇavaradeho*; BvAB, *guṇadhāraṇo deho*.

<sup>4</sup> Bv *asadisā*; Be *dasadisā*.

<sup>5</sup> For the Buddhas and the eons see also Intr. p. xxvi, and DA. 410f.

<sup>6</sup> Be *Koṇḍañña*, Bv *Koṇḍañña*.

- 9 The eons between the lord Nārada and the teacher Padumuttara are also incalculable by computation.
- 10 A hundred thousand eons (prior to now) there was but the one great sage, Padumuttara, knower of the world(s), recipient of offerings.
- 11 Thirty thousand eons after Padumuttara there were two leaders<sup>1</sup>, Sumedha and Sujāta.
- 12 Eighteen hundred eons ago there were three leaders<sup>2</sup>: the leaders Piyadassin, Atthadassin and Dhammadassin.
- 13 After Sujāta these Buddhas<sup>3</sup>, Self-Awakened Ones, supreme among men, matchless, arose in the same eon.
- 14 Ninety-four eons ago there was one great sage, Siddhattha, knower of the world(s), surgeon<sup>4</sup>, unsurpassed.
- 15 Ninety-two eons ago there were two leaders<sup>5</sup>, Tissa and Phussa, Self-Awakened Ones, unequalled, matchless.
- 16 Ninety-one eons ago Vipassin was the leader. And that Buddha, one with pity, released beings from bondage.
- 17 Thirty-one eons ago there were two leaders<sup>6</sup>, Sikhin and Vessabhū, unequalled, matchless.
- 18 In this Bhadda-eon there have been three leaders<sup>7</sup>, Kaku-sandha, Koṇāgamana and the leader Kassapa<sup>8</sup>.
- 19 I at the present time am the Self-Awakened One, and there will be Metteyya. These are the five Buddhas, wise ones, compassionate toward the world.
- 20 When these kings under Dhamma had pointed out the Way for countless crores of others, they waned out with their disciples.<sup>9</sup>

Concluded is the Miscellany on the Buddhas

<sup>1</sup> Bv *āsimsu nāyaka*, Be *āsum vināyaka* (as also in ver. 1) and noting the other reading.

<sup>2</sup> See II.

<sup>3</sup> Be *te buddhā*, Bv *sambuddhā* (again).

<sup>4</sup> *sallagatto* at Bv, *-katto* at Be.

<sup>5</sup> See II.

<sup>6</sup> See II.

<sup>7</sup> See II and D. ii. 2.

<sup>8</sup> As Morris points out, Bv p. 67, n. 1 "Here the *Buddhavamsa* rightly ends", and he quotes BvAC. 295 which, in glossing *aparimeyya* ito *kappe* of ver. 1 of this Section, says these 18 verses were established by the recensionists and should be regarded as the Envoi.

<sup>9</sup> The Pali construction of this verse is unusual and makes a correct rendering difficult to produce. The verse must refer to the previous Buddhas and not to the Buddhas Gotama and Metteyya.

### XXVIII ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELICS

- 1 The great Gotama, glorious Conqueror, waned out in Kusināra-park. There was a dispersal of the relics in a number of regions<sup>1</sup>;
- 2 One for Ajātasattu, one in the city of Vesālī, one in Kapilavatthu, and one to the people of Allakappa,
- 3 And one in Rāmagāma, and one to those (brahmins) of Veṭhadīpa, one to the Mallas of Pāvā, and one to the people of Kusinārā<sup>2</sup>.
- 4 The brahman known as Doṇa built a thūpa for the pot; the Moriyas, their minds elated, built a thūpa over the ashes.
- 5 The thūpas for the bodily remains were eight, the ninth was the cetiya for the pot, the tenth was the thūpa that was established over the ashes themselves then.
- 6 One<sup>3</sup> eye-tooth in a city of the Thirty<sup>4</sup>, one in a nāga-city, one in a region of Gandhāra, one for the King of Kalinga<sup>5</sup>.
- 7 The devas of each of the world-systems in succession<sup>6</sup> took the forty teeth of an even size<sup>7</sup>, the hairs of the head, the hairs of the body.
- 8 The Lord's bowl and staff in Vajirā, and the lower robe in Kusaghara<sup>8</sup>, the cloth for covering the bed<sup>9</sup> in Kapilavatthu.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the account of requests for the relics and comparable verses on the distribution at D. ii. 164-167; see also Dial. ii. 190, n. 1, Jkm. 37 and EC. 53. For identification of the places mentioned in this Section and some notes on them see BCL. 86ff. See also Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha* (from Tibetan works), London, 1907, p. 143ff., and Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama of the Burmese*, London, 1911, ii. 93ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bv Kusinārake, Be Kosi-

<sup>3</sup> Here the Burmese MSS and Be insert five verses, not necessary to reproduce.

<sup>4</sup> Tidasa may mean the deva-realm of the Thirty-Three.

<sup>5</sup> In present-day worship in Ceylon the fourth pāda is read as ekā ca puna Sīhale. Is this an indication that Bv was written before the relic of the Tooth came to Ceylon?

<sup>6</sup> cakkavālaparamparā, meaning they took them in an orderly manner giving precedence to those to whom it was due, and those of each cakkavāla keeping strictly to their turn.

<sup>7</sup> One of the 32 Marks was that there were forty teeth, all of an even size.

<sup>8</sup> Be Kula-, Jkm. 37 Kuru-

<sup>9</sup> paccattharaṇa, rug, bedspread. It is something spread, a spreading (pacca + attharaṇa) probably over the bed and under the person, and made of cloth (see BD. ii. 34, n. 1 and the reference there to *ibid.* p. 46, n. 3 for uttarattharaṇa which seems to be specifically what is spread over the bed or chair).

- 9 The water-pot<sup>1</sup> and girdle in the city of Pāṭaliputta<sup>2</sup>, the bathing-cloth<sup>3</sup> in Campā, and the hair between the eyebrows<sup>4</sup> in Kosala.
- 10 And the ochre garment in the Brahma-world, the tuft of hair forming the top-knot<sup>5</sup> in the city of the Thirty, and<sup>6</sup> that undecaying footprint<sup>7</sup>, the best footprint, at the Pāsāṇaka (cetiya)<sup>8</sup>, the piece of cloth for sitting on<sup>8</sup>, the coverlet in the realm of Avantipura<sup>9</sup> then,
- 11 and the fire-stick in Mithilā, the water-strainer in Videha, the razor and needle-case in the city of Indapaṭṭha<sup>10</sup> then.
- 12 People took<sup>11</sup> the rest of the requisites<sup>12</sup> which had been made use of by the sage to the western country then.
- 13 The ancients say<sup>13</sup> that the dispersal of the relics of Gotama, the great seer, was out of compassion for breathing things.

Concluded is the Account of the Distribution of the Relics

Concluded is the Chronicle of Buddhas

<sup>1</sup> karaka at Bv, karaṇa at Be.

<sup>2</sup> Pāṭaliputtanagare at Bv. -puttapuramhi at Be.

<sup>3</sup> -sātiyaṃ at Be, -sāṭikā at Bv.

<sup>4</sup> unṇaloma. One of the 32 Marks is unṇa. BCL translates "woollen dress".

<sup>5</sup> veṭhana, usually turban or head-dress, but monks did not and do not wear these. Jkm. 37 reads unḥisa, the tuft of hair which stood up like a top-knot.

<sup>6</sup> . . . <sup>6</sup> omitted by Be.

<sup>7</sup> Bv accutipadaṃ (read accuta-?), Jkm accalam padam, transl. at EC. 54 "the footprint that cannot be defaced".

<sup>8</sup> nisidana, cloth to sit on, a mat. See BD. ii. 87, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> So taken by DPPN. s. v. Avanti. Reading at Bv is nisidanam Avantipure ratthe attharam tadā. Jkm. 37 reads nisidanam Avantisu, devaratthe attharam, "the piece of cloth among (the people of) Avanti, the coverlet in a deva-realm". Devaratthe transl. at EC. 54 "in the land of Deva(?)".

<sup>10</sup> Bv Indaratṭha, Be Indapatṭha; see DPPN and CPD s. v. Indapatta.

<sup>11</sup> akamsu.

<sup>12</sup> Be parikkhāṇā avasesā, Bv parikkharam avasesam.

<sup>13</sup> Read ahū for Bv ahū.