

Cariyāpiṭaka - Basket of conduct

Translated by I.B. Horner (1975), Pali Text Society

SUMMARY

In the first story (Cp. I), the Buddha says he will illustrate his practice of the perfections (Pali, pāramitā or pārami) by stories of his past lives in this current age. The text contains 35 such stories, spanning 356 to 371 verses.

The body of the Cariyapitaka is broken into three divisions (vagga), with titles correlated to the first three of the ten Theravada pāramitā:

Division I (dāna pāramitā): 10 stories for the perfection of offering (dāna)

Division II (sila pāramitā): 10 stories for the perfection of conduct (sila)

Division III (nekkhamma pāramitā): 15 stories distributed among five other perfections, as follows:

- renunciation (nekkhamma pāramitā): five stories
- resolute determination (adhiṭṭhāna pāramitā): one story
- truth (sacca pāramitā): six stories
- loving-kindness (mettā pāramitā): two stories
- equanimity (upekkhā pāramitā): one story

The three remaining Theravada perfections — wisdom (paññā), energy (virīya), patience (khanti) — are mentioned in a closing stanza but no related Cariyapitaka stories have come down to us. Horner suggests that these latter three perfections are "implicit in the collection," referenced in both story titles and contexts.

DIVISION III: PERFECTION OF RENUNCIATION

	PAGE
1 Conduct of Yudhañjaya	30
2 Conduct of Somanassa	31
3 Conduct of Ayoghara	32
4 Conduct (involving) Lotus-Stalks	34
5 Conduct of Wise Soṇa	35

PERFECTION OF RESOLUTE DETERMINATION

6 Conduct of Wise Temiya	36
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PERFECTION OF TRUTH

7 Conduct of the Monkey-King	39
8 Conduct of Wise Sacca	40
9 Conduct of the Young Quail	40
10 Conduct of the Fish-King	41
11 Conduct of Kaṇhadīpāyana	43
12 Conduct of Sutasoma	44

PERFECTION OF LOVING-KINDNESS

13 Conduct of Suvanṇa-Sāma	46
14 Conduct of Ekarājā	46

PERFECTION OF EQUANIMITY

15 The Great Astounding Conduct	48
---------------------------------	----

ENVOI-VERSES

Index of Pali Proper Names	51
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Homage to that Lord, Arahant, Fully Self-Awakened One

DIVISION I: THE PERFECTION OF GIVING

(Dānapāramitā)

I. 1 CONDUCT OF AKITTI¹

(Akitticariyaṃ)

- 1 In the interval between now² and a hundred thousand eons and four incalculables ago, all that conduct³ was maturing for Awakening.
- 2 Setting aside conduct in many an existence in past eons, I will speak of conduct in this eon. Listen to me.⁴
- 3 When I, having plunged⁵ into a huge forest, into an empty⁶ open forest-glade⁷, was living as an ascetic named Akitti,
- 4 Then the overlord of the Threefold Heaven⁸ (his ornamental seat) warmed by the incandescence of my austerity, approached me for almsfood in the guise of a brahman.

¹ Akitti-jātaka, No. 48c. Cf. Jtm. No. 7 where the Bodhisatta is called Agastya. Ee reads Akatti, noticed as a v. l. at Ce.

² In this Bhadda-eon, CpA. 16, 20.

³ carita. CpA. 17, reading cariyaṃ, explains ettha caritan ti cariyā. It then gives the same 8 cariyā as at Pts. ii. 19, 225, Nd2. 237.

⁴ The Buddha is said to have related Cp. to Sāriputta, at his request, as he is said to have related Bv. too.

⁵ Ee ajjhogāhetvā; CpA. 21, Ce, Be -gahetvā.

⁶ Of people, CpA. 20.

⁷ Ee vivinakānana; CpA. 20, Ce vipina-, Be not clearly printed, probably vipina-.

⁸ Sakka. He rules over Tāvātimsa, here called Tidiva.

- 5 Seeing him standing at my door¹, together with the receptacle (for food) I scattered (before him) leaves gathered from the forest, without oil and without salt.²
- 6 Having given him the leaves, I, turning the (food-) vessel upside down, abandoning a further search³ (for alms), entered the little leaf-hut.
- 7 And a second and a third time he came up to me. Unmoved, without clinging⁴, I gave as before.
- 8 By reason of this⁵ there was no discolouration of my physical frame. With zest and happiness, with delight I spent that day.
- 9 If for only a month or for two months I were to find a worthy recipient, unmoved, unflinching, I would give the supreme gift.
- 10 While I was giving him the gift I did not aspire for fame or gain. Aspiring for omniscience I did those deeds (of merit).

I. 2 CONDUCT OF SAṆKHA⁶

(Saṅkhacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was the brahman called Saṅkha, wanting to cross over the great ocean I was on my way to the port.⁷
- 2 There I saw⁸ on the opposite side of the way a self-become one,⁹ an unconquered one¹⁰ faring along a desert-path whose ground was hot and rough.
- 3 When I saw him on the opposite side of the way, I investigated this matter: "This is a field (for merit) that has been reached by a person desiring merit.

¹ Of his leaf-hut, CpA. 24.

² It was a great gift of merit even though it was a lowly gift, *ibid*.

³ Not part of the austere life to search for food twice in one day, *ibid*.

⁴ Unshaken by avarice, not clinging even minutely because of greed, *ibid*.

⁵ This gift, *ibid*.

⁶ Saṅkha-jātaka, No. 442. Called Saṅkhabrahmacariyaṃ at CpA. 28, 35. BCL identifies as Jā. No. 524 which is also the identification he gives for Cp. II. 10.

⁷ The port of Tāmalitti, in order to take a boat for Suvāṇṇabhūmi (Burma?), CpA. 28.

⁸ Ee tattha adassim, Ce tath' addasāmi, Be tath' adassam.

⁹ A paccakabuddha, CpA. 28.

¹⁰ Not conquered by any one of the kilesamāras, defilements, and so forth. CpA. 28 speaks of 3 Māras.

- 4 Just as a cultivator, seeing a field that would yield a great return, does not sow seed there, he cannot be in need of grain,
- 5 Even so I, desiring merit, seeing the glorious and superb field¹ (for merit), if I do not render service there, I cannot be in need of merit.
- 6 Just as a minister, desiring power² over the persons in a king's palace, does not give them wealth and grain, he dwindles in power,
- 7 Even so I, desiring merit, seeing one eminently worthy of a gift of faith, if I do not give him a gift, I will dwindle in merit".
- 8 Thinking thus I, taking off (my) sandals³, honouring his feet, gave him sunshade and sandals.
- 9 I who was even a hundred times (more) delicate and comfortably nurtured⁴ than him, yet fulfilling (the perfection of) Giving, thus I gave him (these things I needed more than he did).

I. 3 CONDUCT ACCORDING TO THE KURU MORALITY⁵

(Kurudhammacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was a king named Dhanañjaya in the superb city of Indapatta⁶ I was furnished with the ten skilled (ways of acting).⁷

¹ The paccakabuddha.

² muddi, power, authority, a rare word. Cf. muddikaṃ āharāpesi, DhA. ii. 4, and muddikaṃ deti, Miln. 379.

³ orohitvā upāhanā, an unusual expression. At Vin. ii. 207f. monks coming into a monastery have to take off their sandals, upāhanā omuñcitvā, (as a sign of respect). But according to Jā No. 442 (iv. 16) the paccakabuddha knew the brahman would be shipwrecked but saved from drowning by his gift of sandals.

⁴ Even so, indifferent to his own physical hardship, he gave the paccakabuddha his own sunshade and sandals. 'Comfortably nurtured'—Be, Ce, v. 1. sukhe-dhita; Ee, sukkhethita.

⁵ Kurudhammajātaka, No. 276. Justification for the name "The Story of Dhanañjaya" as heading in Ee is apparently internal, for at end of the verses the name is Kurudhammacariyaṃ; at CpA. 35, Ce, Be it is Kururājacariyaṃ. Also see DhA. iv. 86ff. where, at p. 88 as at Jā. ii. 367, the Kurudhammā are called the 5 sīla, moral habits.

⁶ So Ce, CpA. But Indapaṭṭha in Ee, -paṭṭha in Be.

⁷ CpA. 35, these are either the ten puññakiriyaṭṭhu, grounds for making

- 2 Brahmans from the realm of the kingdom of Kāliṅga approached me; they requested me for the elephant-nāga¹ which was regarded as auspicious and of good omen.
- 3 "The country has a drought, is short of food, there is a great famine. Give (us) the glorious black² elephant³ called Añjana."
- 4 A refusal by me was not suitable when a supplicant had arrived. (I thought), "let not my undertaking⁴ be torn. I will give the mighty elephant⁵."
- 5 Having taken the elephant⁶ by the trunk, sprinkling water from a jewelled ceremonial vessel over the hand⁷ I gave the elephant⁵ to the brahmans.
- 6 When he had bestowed this⁸ elephant⁶ the ministers spoke thus: "Why did you bestow the glorious elephant⁶ on the supplicants?"
- 7 Auspicious, possessed of good omen, supreme in conquest in battle, now that the elephant⁶ has been bestowed what will your kingdom do?"
- 8 I would give even the whole of my kingdom, I would give my own body. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave the elephant.⁹

I. 4 CONDUCT OF MAHĀ-SUDASSANA¹⁰

(Mahāsudassanacariyam)

- 1 When in the city of Kusāvati I was lord of the earth, named Mahā-Sudassana, a wheel-turner, very powerful,

merit (see e.g. MA. i. 132, UJ. 285), or the ten kusalakammāpatha (see e.g. D. iii. 269, M. i. 287, A. v. 266ff., cf. Netti. 43.), i.e. three skilled ways of acting by body, four by speech, three by thought. Also below, II. 8, 2; III. 14, 2. Morris's surmise that kusale, in kusale dasehi, is "merely a contracted form for kusalehi" (see his Preface, p. xvi, n. 3 to Ee) is borne out by CpA. 35.

¹ hatthināga.

² nīla, not always dark blue, sometimes a lustrous black, see Bud. Psych. Ethics, p. 62, n.

³ nāga. They said this believing he would bring rain, CpA. 35. Below, ver. 7 suggests that without him there might be a drought.

⁴ The gaining of omniscience. ⁵ gaja. ⁶ nāga.

⁷ Water of dedication. ⁸ CpA. 38, Ce, Be tassa, 'by him', Ee tasmim.

⁹ nāga. If he failed in the first perfection he would be unable to win omniscience, CpA. 38.

¹⁰ Mahāsudassana-suttanta, D. Sta. No. 17, Mahāsudassana-jātaka, No. 95. I follow the verse-numbering in Ce, Be as the arrangement seems better than in Ee.

- 2 I had it proclaimed there three times daily in this place and that: Who wants, desires what? To whom what is the wealth to be given?
- 3 Who is hungry? Who thirsty? Who (wants) a garland, who an unguent? Who, being naked, will put on many-hued raiment?
- 4 Who will take a parasol on the highway, who sandals, soft and pleasant?¹ Thus in the evening and at dawn I had it proclaimed in this place and that.
- 5 Not in ten places nor merely in a hundred places, in countless hundreds of places wealth was got ready for the supplicants.
- 6 If there came a mendicant beggar², whether by day or by night, receiving whatever goods³ he wanted he went away with his hands full.
- 7 I gave a great gift such as this as long as my life lasted. I gave the wealth not because it was disagreeable nor did I not have a hoard⁴.
- 8 Just as an invalid in order to recover from an illness, satisfying the doctor⁵ with (some) wealth, recovers from the illness,
- 9 Even so did I, realizing⁶ it, in order to achieve complete fulfilment⁷ and to fill the mind that was lacking in contentment⁸, give gifts to mendicant beggars⁹ without attachment, expecting nothing in return,¹⁰ for the attainment of Self-Awakening.

I. 5 CONDUCT OF MAHĀ-GOVINDA¹¹

(Mahāgovindacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was the brahman Mahā-Govinda, priest to seven kings¹², I was honoured by devas among men.¹³

¹ Ee mudusabhā, CpA. 42 -subhā. Ce, Be mudū subhā.

² Ee vaṇipako, CpA. 44, Ce vanibbake, Be vanibbako. See BHSD.

³ Ee, Be bhogaṇ, Ce dānaṇ.

⁴ Ee pi n'atthi, Ce, Be na pi n'atthi. Cf. I. 5. 3. 'Not' in transl. not justified if we accept CpA.

⁵ Ee, Be vajjaṇ, Ce vejjaṇ. ⁶ jānamāno, glossed by bujjhamāno at CpA.

⁷ The fulfilment of the aspirations of beings and my own, CpA.

⁸ Ee unadhaṇaṇ; CpA., Ce, Be unamaṇaṇ. "As my perfection of Giving had not been fulfilled I had not reached contentment", CpA.

⁹ For spelling see above, ver. 6 n. ¹⁰ Ee apaccāyo; CpA., Ce, Be -āso.

¹¹ Cf. Mahā-Govinda Sta., D. ii. 230ff.; also Mhvu. iii. 197ff.

¹² Named at D. ii. 236.

¹³ naradeva, here kings. CpA. 45 refers this to these kings and all other rulers, khattiya, in Jambudīpa.

- 2 Then I, with whatever offerings I had in the seven kingdoms, gave great gifts, imperturbable like the ocean.¹
- 3 Wealth and grain were not disagreeable to me, nor did I not² have a hoard. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave glorious wealth.³

I. 6 CONDUCT OF KING NIMI⁴

(Nimirājacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when in the superb city of Mithilā I was a great king named Nimi, learned, desiring good,⁵
- 2 I had then four halls built (each) with four entrances⁶. There I conferred gifts on beasts, birds, men and so forth⁷,
- 3 Clothing and beds and food and drink and (a variety⁸ of other) victuals—I conferred great gifts, making them continual.⁹
- 4 Just as a servant, going to the master for the sake of wealth, seeks for satisfaction by gesture, speech, thought,
- 5 So will I seek in every becoming for what is produced for Awakening¹⁰, refreshing creatures with gifts¹¹; I long for supreme Awakening.

I. 7 CONDUCT OF PRINCE CANDA¹²

(Candakumāracariyaṃ¹³)

- 1 And again, when I was own son of Ekarāja in the city of Pupphavatī¹⁴, a prince called Canda,

¹ This seems to mean he neither refused to give nor showed favouritism. Same simile, in other applications, at Bv. xi. 1, Miln. 21.

² Ee pi n'atthi, Ce, Be napi n'atthi. Cf. I. 4. 7.

³ CpA. 47 varaṃ dhanan ti uttamaṃ icchitaṃ vā dhananī, the utmost wealth wished for.

⁴ Nimi-jātaka, No. 541.

⁵ Of self and others, CpA. 51.

⁶ Doorways to the four directions, CpA. 53.

⁷ Ee naranāriṇaṃ, men and women; Ce, Be narādinaṃ. CpA. says: not only on animals but on petas too.

⁸ So CpA. 54.

⁹ Ee, CpA. abhoccinnaṃ; Ce, Be abbo-. He made the gifts in perpetuity for the duration of his life.

¹⁰ CpA. 55, knowledge of the ariyan Ways.

¹¹ So as to fulfil the perfection of Giving.

¹² Khaṇḍahāla-jātaka, No. 542. For different versions see Handurukande, p. 87. Mentioned Miln. 203.

¹³ CpA. 58 Candarājacariyaṃ.

¹⁴ An old name for Bārāṇasī, CpA. 58.

- 2 Then I, freed from (being made a) sacrifice, issuing forth from the sacrificial pit¹, stirring up a deep thrill², conferred a great gift.
- 3 I did not drink, I did not eat³, nor did I partake of soft food even for five or six nights without having given to one worthy of offerings.
- 4 Just as a merchant making a store of goods takes the goods there⁴ where the profits are great,
- 5 Even so, even from what one has himself used, what is given to others is of great fruit; therefore what is to be given to others will become a hundredfold.
- 6 Knowing this truism⁵ I gave gifts in existence after existence⁶. For the attainment of Self-Awakening I did not draw back from giving.

I. 8 CONDUCT OF KING SIVI⁷

(Sivirājacariyaṃ)

- 1 In the city called Ariṭṭha I was a warrior-noble named Sivi. Seated in a glorious palace I thought thus then:
- 2 "Whatever is a human gift⁸ there is none that has not been given by me. Even if someone should request me for an eye I would give it, unmoved."
- 3 Knowing my desire Sakka, lord of devas, sitting in a company of devas, spoke these words:
- 4 "Seated in a glorious palace Sivi the king, of great psychic potency, thinking of various gifts, does not see what could not be given.
- 5 Come, I will test⁹ him as to whether this is true, not untrue. Wait for a moment till I know his mind."

¹ CpA. 61, Ce, Be yaññavāṭato, Ee -vāṭako.

² For a discussion of this difficult word see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Saṃvega*, 'Aesthetic Shock', *IJAS* Vol. 7, No. 3, Feb. 1943.

³ khādati, the verb for eating solid or hard food.

⁴ Ce, Be tattha taṃ harati, Ee tatthāharati.

⁵ etam atthavaṣaṃ ñatvā as at Sn. 297. Here the reason for giving is the expectation of great fruit as well as being a means for gaining Full Awakening.

⁶ bhavābhava, in a variety of existences. CpA. does not comment here.

⁷ Sivi-jātaka, No. 499. Mentioned Miln. 120.

⁸ CpA. 64 "an ordinary human gift".

⁹ Ee vimāṃsayāmi, Ce, Be vi-.

- 6 Appearing as a trembling, grey-haired man¹, with wrinkled limbs, old, ill, and blind, he approached the king.
- 7 Stretching out his left and right arms then, bringing his clasped hands to his head, he spoke these words:
- 8 "I request you, great king, who have fostered the kingdom righteously, whose renown for delight in giving has spread to devas and men:
- 9 Even both my eyes, my guides, are blind, destroyed. Give me one eye, you too² keep going with one."
- 10 When I had heard his words, elated, deeply thrilled in mind,³ my hands clasped, filled with enthusiasm, I spoke these words:
- 11 "Now I, thinking (of this) am come here from the palace; you, knowing my mind, are come to request an eye.
- 12 Ah, my intention is accomplished, fulfilled is my desire. Today I will give a glorious gift not given before to a supplicant."
- 13 "Come, Sīvaka⁴, be up and doing, do not linger⁵, do not tremble. Plucking out even both eyes⁶ give to the mendicant beggar."⁷
- 14 Thereupon Sīvaka, urged on by me, doing my bidding, tearing (them) out like the pith of a palm-tree⁸ bestowed them on the supplicant.
- 15 While I was desiring to give, while I was giving, and after the gift had been given by me, there was no contrariety of mind⁹; it was for the sake of Awakening itself.
- 16 The two eyes were not disagreeable to me nor was myself¹⁰ disagreeable to me. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave the eye(s).

¹ Ee phalitasiro, Ce, Be palita-

² They would then each have one eye, CpA. 65.

³ For it was as though the 'brahman' knew his thoughts, CpA. 65, as described in next ver.

⁴ Sivi's physician.

⁵ Ee, CpA. 68 dantayi, Ce, Be dandhayi.

⁶ Ee nayane, Ce, Be -nam.

⁷ Ee va tibbake, w.r. for vaṇibbake. See I. 4. 6n.

⁸ tālamiñja. But perhaps meaning the kernel of a nut from the palm-tree.

⁹ cittassa aññathā, see CPD s.v. aññathā. Same expression at BvA. 60, Jā. i. 46, ApA. 50.

¹⁰ Cf. III. 6. 19, which reads attā me na ca; above all edns. read attā na me na, except Jā. iv. 406 which, mentioning Cp by name and quoting this ver., reads attānam me na.

I. 9 CONDUCT OF VESSANTARA¹

(Vessantaracariyaṃ)

- 1 She who was my mother, the warrior-noble lady named Phusati² and Sakka's chief consort³ in a former birth⁴—
- 2 On seeing⁵ the destruction of her life-span, the lord of devas spoke thus, "I am giving you ten boons, lovely one, choose⁶ the boon you wish."
- 3 And when this had been said that devī spoke of this again⁷ to Sakka, "In what way is there a fault in me? In what way am I disagreeable to you that you cause me to debase from a delightful place as the wind (blows down) a dharaṇīruha⁸?"
- 4 And when this had been said, Sakka again said this to her, "It is not at all that you have done any evil and nor are you not dear to me.
- 5 To this extent only is your life-span; it must be the time for deceasing. Accept the boons given by me, ten incomparable boons."
- 6 She, Phusati, given the boons by Sakka, elated, exultant, joyous, accepted the ten boons including myself.⁹
- 7 She, Phusati, deceasing from there, arose among warrior-nobles in the city of Jetuttara¹⁰, and wedded Sañjaya.
- 8 When I descended into the womb of Phusati, my dear mother, through my incandescence my mother was always delighting in giving.

¹ Vessantara-jātaka, No. 547; Jtm No. 9. Detailed bibliography at Lamotte *Traité* vol. 2, p. 713. References to Vessantara and the Jā at Miln. 113, 274, VA. 245, DhA. i. 84, 115, iii. 164, VbhA. 414, Mahāvamsa 30. 88, Cūlavamsa 42. 5.

² Ee Phussati, but Phusati in ver. 7, 8, 10.

³ Ee, Ce ca mahesiyā, Be mahesī piyā.

⁴ In spite of pl. atitāsu jātisū, CpA. 74 maintains that the immediately preceding birth is meant.

⁵ Ee, Ce disvā, Be ṇatvā.

⁶ Ee, Be vare, Ce vara, CpA. 75 varā ti varassu varaṅgaṇha, choose a boon among boons.

⁷ CpA. 75 pun' idam, this again, referring to Phusati's imminent decease from the deva-world. Ee, Ce, Be purindaṃ. Purinda, lord of cities, and purindada, bounteous giver, also meaning citadel-breaker, are among Sakka's epithets.

⁸ See Jā. vi. 482, 497, Miln. 376, 385, 410 for this name of a tree.

⁹ I.e. she made me to be included among these boons (to be received), CpA. 76.

¹⁰ The capital of Sivi kingdom where reigned Sivi and his son Sañjaya.

- 9 She gave gifts to the destitute, the sick, the old, to supplicants, to people travelling¹, to recluses and brahmins, to those who had lost their property², to those who had nothing.
- 10 Phusatī, carrying me for ten months, making a circuit of the city gave birth to me in the street of the vessa.³
- 11 My name was not from my mother's side⁴ nor yet did it originate from my father's⁵. As I was born there⁶ in the street of the merchants³ therefore Vessanātara⁷ was I called.
- 12 When I was a boy, eight years old, seated in the palace then I thought of giving gifts.
- 13 I would give my heart, eyes, flesh and even too my blood, I made it known⁸ I would give my body should anyone request me.
- 14 While I was considering my state (of mind) which was unmoved, steadfast, the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves⁹, trembled there.
- 15 Every fortnight¹⁰ (and invariably) on the full moon day, the Observance (day), I mounted the elephant Paccaya and went to give a gift.
- 16 "Brahmins from the realm of the kingdom of Kāliṅga approached me; they requested me for the elephant-nāga which was regarded as auspicious and of good omen:
- 17 "The country has a drought, is short of food, there is a great famine. Give (us) the glorious all-white elephant, supreme among elephants."

¹ CpA. 77, Ce, Be addhike, Ee paṭṭhike, noticed as a v. l. at Ce with paṭṭhi-, pathi- (also noted at Be).

² khīṇe, so explained at CpA. 77.

³ The common people, Vaiśya being a sedry. of viś, a settlement.

⁴ Ee mettikaṁ, CpA. 78, Ce matti- noticing the reading metti-, also Be.

⁵ Ee mettika-, CpA., Ce, Be puttika-.

⁶ Ee, Jā. vi. 485 jāto 'mhi, noted at CpA. 78 which with Ce, Be reads jā't ettha.

⁷ Among the vessas.

⁸ Ee yācetvā, CpA., Ce, Be, Jā. vi. 486 sāvetvā.

⁹ Groves in Tāvātīṁsa (named at CpA. 79, Vism. 424) arisen on Sineru are known as Sineru's Groves. Or, the meaning is Sineru and the delightful Groves in the (various) Jambudīpas and Sineru-Grove. This means garlanded with Sineru's Groves (CpA.).

¹⁰ Ee addhaddhamāse, Ce, Be anvaddha-, also CpA. 80 which glosses by anu-aḍḍhamāse. See Vin. iv. 145 anvaddhamāsan ti anuposathikarī, every fast day.

¹¹ As pointed out at CpA. 81 the verses beginning here (16, 17, 19, 20) have occurred already (at I. 3. 2-5).

- 18 I did not waver, I gave whatever the brahmins requested of me. I did not conceal what was there (in my possession), my mind delighted in giving.
- 19 A refusal by me was not suitable when a supplicant had arrived. (I thought) "let not my undertaking be torn. I will give the mighty elephant."
- 20 Having taken the elephant by the trunk, sprinkling water from a jewelled ceremonial vessel over the hand, I gave the elephant to the brahmins.
- 21 And again, when I was giving the superb all-white elephant the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves, trembled then too.
- 22 At the gift of the elephant the people of Sivi,¹ angry, gathered together; they banished me from my own kingdom (saying), "Let him go to Mount Vaṅka."
- 23 While they were driving me out, unmoved, steadfast, I requested² one boon: to confer a great gift.
- 24 On being requested, all the people of Sivi gave me the one boon. I, having a pair of drums³ sounded⁴, gave the great gift.
- 25 Then at this sound great was the tumult, the dread. Because of that (earlier) gift⁵ they threw me out—I gave the gift again.
- 26 Giving elephants, horses, chariots, women and men slaves, cattle, riches—having given the great gift, I departed from the city then.
- 27 When I had departed from the city and turned back to look (at it),⁶ the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves, trembled then too.
- 28 Giving the chariot drawn by four horses⁷, standing quite alone without a companion at a great cross-road, I said to the lady Maddī:

¹ Including the sons of King Sivi, and in fact everyone except King Sañjaya, Queen Phusatī, and the lady Maddī, CpA. 82.

² Ee, Ce ayācissam, Be -cissam.

³ kaṇṇabherin ti yugalamahābherim, CpA. 85, a pair of great drums, or perhaps a double-drum.

⁴ Ee āyācayitvā; v. l. āsāvayitvā at CpA and so at Ce with v. ll. sāvetvā, āyāvayitvā; Re sāvayitvā. Explained at CpA by ghoṣāpetvā.

⁵ Ee, Ce dānena maṁ, Be dānen' imam.

⁶ nivattitvā vilokite; cf. D. ii. 122 where the Buddha for the last time "gazed at Vesālī with the elephant-look", nāgāpalokitaṁ V. apaloketvā; cf. Divy 208.

⁷ Giving it to the brahmins, CpA. 85.

- 29 "You, Maddī, take Kaṇhā, she is light and the younger. I will take Jāli for heavy is he being the brother".
- 30 Maddī took up Kaṇhājīnā as though she were a blue lotus (or) a white water-lily. I took up the warrior-noble Jāli as though he were a golden gourd.¹
- 31 Four warrior-noble people, well-born, delicately nurtured, walking on uneven and on even (ground), were going towards Mount Vaṅka.
- 32 Whatever people were coming² the same way or from the opposite direction, we asked them the way saying, "Where is Mount Vaṅka?"
- 33 Seeing us there they uttered compassionate words, they made known their sorrow – far away was Mount Vaṅka.
- 34 If the children saw trees in fruit in the forest³, the children cried out for these fruits.
- 35 When the tall⁴ massive trees saw that the children were crying, bending down of their own accord, they came within reach of the children.
- 36 Seeing this marvel, wonderful, astounding, Maddī, beautiful in every limb, gave applause.
- 37 "A marvel indeed in the world, wonderful, astounding. The trees have bent down of themselves through Vessantara's incandescence."⁵
- 38 Out of compassion for the children yakkhas shortened the path; on the very day they set out they reached the Ceta kingdom.
- 39 Sixty thousand kings were living then in Mātula.⁶ All, holding up their clasped hands, weeping⁷, came forward.
- 40 When they had held conversation there with the Ceta (kings) and their sons, departing from there they⁸ came to Mount Vaṅka.

¹ bimba, an image, also a kind of gourd. As noted by BCL, p. 103, n. 2 "The line *Jalam hatthe ākiritvā brāhmaṇānam adam gajam* which follows in text of the P.T.S. is omitted in other recensions and is not supported by the Commentary. I therefore refrain from translating it."

² *Ee yanti*, CpA. 86, Ce, Be *enti*. ³ *Ee*, Be *pavane*, Ce *pavanā*.

⁴ *Ee ubbidhā*, Be *ubbidhā*, Ce *ubbiggā*. ⁵ The might of his merit, CpA. 87.

⁶ *Ee mātulā*, Ce, Be *mātule* also CpA. 88 which calls it a city in the Ceta kingdom.

⁷ CpA explains this was because they were much concerned to see that it was Vessantara who had come in such circumstances.

⁸ This refers to "We four people", CpA. 88.

- 41 The lord of devas, addressing Vissakamma¹ who was of great psychic potency, said, "Create properly a well-made hermitage, a delightful leaf-hut."
- 42 When Vissakamma¹ who was of great psychic potency had heard Sakka's words, he created properly a well-made hermitage, a delightful leaf-hut.
- 43 Plunging into the forest which was quiet and undisturbed, we four people lived there on the mountain.
- 44 I and the lady Maddī and both Jāli and Kaṇhājīnā lived in the hermitage then dispelling each other's sorrow.
- 45 Keeping guard over the children I was not idle² in the hermitage. Maddī fetched fruits, she fed three people.
- 46 While I was living in the forest a traveller approached me. He requested me for both the little children, Jāli and Kaṇhājīnā.
- 47 Seeing the supplicant approaching, joy arose in me³. Taking hold of both children, I gave them to the brahman then.
- 48 When I was relinquishing my own children to the brahman supplicant, the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves, trembled then too.
- 49 And again, Sakka, descending in the guise of a brahman, requested me for the lady Maddī who was virtuous⁴, a chaste wife.
- 50 Taking Maddī by the hand, filling the clasped hands with water⁵, having a mind of faith in my purpose⁶, to him Maddī I gave.
- 51 As Maddī was being given the devas in the heavens were rejoiced; the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves, trembled then too.
- 52 Jāli (my son), Kaṇhājīnā my daughter, the lady Maddī, a

¹ *Ee Vissu-*.

² *asuñño*; CPD gives 'assiduous' for this passage. CpA. 89-90 says "even as the hermitage was not empty (*asuñño*) so was I 'not empty' (not idle) in developing *asuñña*; *asuñne* is also a reading; my abode was not empty due to my occupation of it guarding the children; there I lived. Through the might of the Bodhisatta's *mettā* (loving-kindness) all the animals too for 3 *yojanas* all round acquired *mettā*."

³ Thinking he would fulfil the perfection of Giving.

⁴ *Ee silavatīm*, CpA. 94-5 (prose), Ce, Be *-vantīm*.

⁵ The brahman's outstretched hands, CpA. 95.

⁶ He thought that, reaching the summit of the perfection of Giving, he would arrive at Self-Awakening.

- chaste wife—relinquishing them I did not think¹; it was for the sake of Awakening itself.²
- 53 Neither child was disagreeable to me, the lady Maddi was not disagreeable. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave away those who were dear.³
- 54 And again in the company of my parents⁴ in the vast forest, when they were lamenting compassionately and talking about my happiness and sorrow⁵,
- 55 I approached them both with shame and fear of blame, with reverence; the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves, trembled then too.
- 56 And again, having departed from the vast forest with my relations,⁶ I entered⁷ the delightful city Jetuttara, supreme among cities.
- 57 The seven (kinds of) gems rained down, a great rain-cloud showered down; the earth, garlanded with Sineru's (celestial) Groves, trembled then too.
- 58 Even this cognizant earth, not knowing happiness or sorrow⁵, at the power of my giving quaked seven times.⁸

I. 10 CONDUCT OF THE WISE HARE⁹

(Sasapanditacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was a hare who roamed in the forest, feeding on grass, leaves, herbs and fruit, refraining from oppressing others,

¹ He did not think of the torment; he was released (in mind), CpA. 96, which also gives the five sacrifices incumbent on all Bodhisattas: that of their wealth, that of their own heads, eyes or limbs, that of their own life, that of their dear child(ren), that of their loved wife.

² Cf. I. 8. 15. Ver. quoted Miln. 117.

³ Ver. quoted Miln. 281, which mentions Cp. by name.

⁴ Other people came too, CpA. 100.

⁵ I.e. the vicissitudes he had been through. Ee, ApA. 51 dukkham, Ce, Be, Ja. i. 47 dukham.

⁶ Ee, Ce sañātibhi, CpA. 101 -tīhi, Be sañātibhi. Cf. III. 3. 4n.

⁷ Ee pavissāmi, Ce, CpA, Be pavissāmi.

⁸ This ver. cited at Jā. i. 47, ApA. 51 which add that after the (Bodhisatta's) life-span as Vessantara was ended he arose in Tusita-realm.

⁹ Sasa-jātaka, No. 316; Jtm. No. 6. Versions vary; also in Avadānaśataka ed. J. S. Speyer, St. Petersburg 1906, 1909, No. 37, and Śasakāvadāna, No. 104 in Avadānakalpalatā (Kṣemendra, ed. S. C. Das and Vidyābhūšana, Calcutta 1888). For more detail see Handurukande, p. 83.

- 2 A monkey, a jackal, a young otter and I dwelt then in the same neighbourhood and were to be seen evening and morning.¹
- 3 I instructed them as to lovely and evil deeds: "Shun the evil ones, keep to the lovely ones"²
- 4 Seeing the moon at the full on an Observance day, I pointed it out to them there saying, "Today is an Observance (day).
- 5 Prepare gifts to give to one worthy of gifts; having given the gift to one worthy of gifts, observe the Observance (day)."
- 6 Saying "Very well" to me, having prepared gifts according to their ability, according to their means, they sought³ one worthy of gifts.
- 7 Seated there I thought about⁴ a worthy, suitable gift: "If I should get someone worthy of gifts, what would be my gift?"
- 8 I have no sesamum, gram or beans,⁵ rice, clarified butter. I keep myself going on grass; it is not possible to give grass.
- 9 If anyone⁶ worthy of gifts comes into my presence for food I will give my own self; he will not go away empty."
- 10 Knowing my intention, Sakka in the guise of a brahman approached my lair so as to test my giving.
- 11 When I saw him, elated I spoke these words, "It is good that for the sake of fodder you have reached my presence."⁷
- 12 Today I will give you a glorious gift not given before. You are furnished with moral virtue; unfitting in you is the oppressing of others.
- 13 Come, light a fire, collect different kinds of sticks. I will roast myself, you will devour (me) roasted."
- 14 He saying "Very well", exultant in mind, collected different

¹ Ee pāto padissare, Ce, Be pāto ca dissare.

² Onslaught on creatures, wrong view, etc.; and giving, morality, etc., CpA. 103.

³ Ee gavesissimū, Ce gavesiyum, CpA. 104, Be gavesissum.

⁴ Ee nisajja cintesi, Ce nissajja cintesim, CpA, Be nisajja cintesim.

⁵ Ee, Ce, Be māsā vā, CpA na māsā. This and mugga, green gram or (in Anglo-Indian) the mung bean, are both pulses.

⁶ Ee yadi eti, Ce, Be yadi koci eti.

⁷ Ee mam' antike, Ce, Be mama santike.

- kinds of sticks; making a womb of embers he made a huge pyre.
- 15 He lit a fire there that would become big quickly. Shaking my dust covered limbs¹, I sat down at one side.
- 16 When the great pile² of sticks was burning and roaring³, leaping up then I fell down into the middle of the blazing flames.
- 17 As anyone entering into cool water allays⁴ his distress and fever and finds⁵ satisfaction and zest,
- 18 So did the burning fire when I entered it allay all my distress as though it were cool water.
- 19 I gave to the brahman the whole of my entire body, the outer skin, inner skin, flesh, sinews, bones, and the muscles of the heart.⁶

Its summary⁷:

- 1(20) Akitti the brahman⁸, Saṅkha, Dhanañjaya the Kuru king, King Mahā-Sudassana, the brahman Mahā-Govinda,
- 2(21) Nimi, and Prince Canda, Sivi, Vessantara, the Hare—such was I then who gave these glorious gifts.
- 3(22) These were the preliminary requirements⁹ for giving, these

¹ In the Jātaka the hare shook himself so as not to harass or oppress others (see ver. 1, 12), such as any small creatures who might be in his fur being burnt to death. CpA. 106 is similar.

² Ee pañja, CpA. 106, Ce, Be puñja. Ce gives pañja as a v. l.

³ Ee dhūmam āyati, grammatically wrong; CpA, Be dhamadhamāyati, Ce dhumadhumāyati, making the noise dhamadhama. Cf. III. 9. 4.

⁴ sameti, glossed CpA. 107 by vūpasameti.

⁵ deti, ibid. uppādeti.

⁶ Traditionally this story ends with Sakka making a likeness of the hare on the moon (visible in the tropics). Jā. i. 172 says that one of the four marvels of this con is that for the whole of it the likeness of the hare will endure on the moon. Another of these four marvels is the inability of fire to burn a certain district, see below III. 9.

⁷ On the notation of the following verses see Intr. p. xi.

⁸ CpA. 108 takes brāhmaṇo as belonging to Akitti, though that he was a brahman before he became an ascetic is not said in his Story at I. 1.

⁹ parikkhāra, apparently meaning it was necessary to have been born as the first nine persons of this Division for the Hare to fulfil the ultimate perfection of Giving, namely the giving of his own life. For they had fulfilled the perfection and the higher perfection of Giving by giving their possessions and their limbs (which includes the giving of one's eyes, children and wife). See I. 9. 52 n. and II. 10. S2 n.

the perfection of Giving; giving my life to a supplicant, I fulfilled this perfection.

- 4(23) When I saw one approaching for alms, I sacrificed my own self. There was no one to equal me in giving—this was my perfection of Giving.¹

¹ Jā. i. 45, BvA. 59, ApA. 49 referring to the Sasapaṇḍita-jātaka, quote this ver. to illustrate the culmination of the perfection of Giving.

DIVISION II: THE PERFECTION OF MORALITY

(Sīlapāramitā)

II. 1 CONDUCT OF A MOTHER'S SUPPORTER¹

(Mātiposakacariyaṃ)

- 1 When I was a lordly elephant² in a forest supporting my mother there was none then on earth like me in respect of (moral) virtues.³
- 2 A forester, having seen me in the forest, informed the king about me: "Sire, an elephant⁴ befitting you is living in a forest-glade.
- 3 There is no need of precautions for him, nor even of pit or stake.⁵ If he is taken⁶ by the trunk he will come here himself."
- 4 When he had heard his words the king, joyful in mind, sent an elephant-tamer, a skilful teacher, well-trained.
- 5 That elephant-tamer, going there, saw (me) in a lotus-pond pulling out lotus roots⁷ for my mother's sustenance.
- 6 Discerning my moral virtue he looked out for distinguishing marks. Saying, 'Come, son', he held me by my trunk.
- 7 What was then the natural strength of my physical frame is today exactly the same as the strength of a thousand elephants.
- 8 Had I been angry with those who came to capture me I was

¹ Ee Silavanāgacariya; CpA. 110, Ce, Be Mātuposakacariya. See Jā. No. 455. Mātiposaka-jātaka (K. Mātu-). The Silavanāgajātaka, Jā. No. 72, to which BCL refers in his translation, p. 107, n. 1, is quite different from Cp. story. The title of this story therefore is better taken as Mātiposaka, A Mother's Supporter.

² kuñjara.

³ guṇena, explained as silaguṇena at CpA. 110.

⁴ gaja.

⁵ Ee, Be na pi ālakakāsuyā, Ce na piyāhaka-, with v. l. napi ālahaka-, CpA. 111 -āḷaka- (in another compound), v. s. v. CPD.

⁶ Ee samāgahite, CpA, Be sahaga-, Ce samam gahite.

⁷ Ee, CpA. bhisamūla, Ce, Be -muḷāla, lotus stalks.

capable of crushing to death even the whole kingdom of men.¹

- 9 Yet I, for the sake of guarding morality, for fulfilling the perfection of Morality, would not change my mind (even though) they were tethering² me to a stake³.
- 10 If they had attacked me there with axes and spears I would not even have been angry with them for fear of breaking my morality.

II. 2 CONDUCT OF BHŪRIDATTA⁴

(Bhūridattacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was Bhūridatta⁵, of great psychic potency⁶, I went to a deva-world⁷ with the great king Virūpakkha⁸.
- 2 There I, seeing devas who were entirely given over to happiness, undertook the vow of morality for the sake of going to⁹ that heaven.
- 3 Having seen to my physical needs,¹⁰ having eaten enough to keep myself going, resolutely determining on the four factors¹¹, I lay down on top of an anthill.
- 4 He who had some need of my inner skin, outer skin, flesh, sinews or bones, let him take it away, given as it was.¹²

¹ A free transl. based on CpA. 112 of patibalo bhavate tesam vāva rajjam pi mānusaṃ, "I would have been capable (of destroying not only) him who had come to capture me (but also) even to the extent of the (whole) human domain."

² pakkipantaṃ.

³ Ee, CpA ālake, Ce āhake, Be ālake. Thus too he shows resolute determination (also a perfection), CpA. 113.

⁴ Bhūridatta-jātaka, No. 543.

⁵ CpA. 115, bhūri is the earth, Datta the name given him by his parents. In his great wisdom he resembled the earth, therefore Wise Datta.

⁶ Ibid., the psychic potency of nāgas. ⁷ CpA. 117, Tāvātimsa.

⁸ Ibid. lord of the Nāgas. He is also one of the four Great Kings.

⁹ Ibid. arising in, i.e. in some future birth.

¹⁰ Ibid. such as washing the face.

¹¹ As at II. 10. 2. The four are the 'fourfold energy' of MA. iii. 194 on M. i. 48r =S. ii. 28=A. i. 50; "gladly would I be reduced to skin, sinews, bone and let my body's flesh and blood dry up." See next ver., and CpA. 117, which says chavicamma is one factor, the rest are to be taken separately. It is therefore misleading of BCL to annotate: "the four constituents are Sīla, Samādhi, Paññā, Vimutti", though these form another 4 aṅga, factors, constituents, at A. ii. 79.

¹² As at II. 10. 3; cf. I. 10. 19.

- 5 As I was lying down the ungrateful Ālampāna¹ caught me. Having thrown me into a basket he made me perform in this place and that.
- 6 Even though thrown into a basket, even though crushed down by his hands, I was not angry with Ālampāna² for fear of breaking my morality.
- 7 The sacrifice of my own life was (more) trifling to me than that of grass. The transgression of morality was to me like the earth inverted.³
- 8 In a hundred successive births I could sacrifice my life rather than violate morality even for the sake of (reigning over) the four continents.
- 9 So I, for the sake of guarding morality, for fulfilling the perfection of Morality, would not change my mind even though they were throwing (me) into the basket.⁴

II. 3 CONDUCT OF THE NĀGA CAMPEYYA⁵

(Campeyyanāgacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was Campeyyaka⁶ of great psychic potency, even then I was righteous⁷, given over to the practice of moral vows.
- 2 Even then, a snake-charmer⁸ catching me who was a Dhamma-farer⁹, who observed the Observance (days), made me perform¹⁰ at the royal gateway.¹¹
- 3 Assuming the colour he had thought of—blue, yellow or red¹², I was obedient to his intention, carrying out his thoughts.

¹ CpA. 122, Be Ālampāyano, Ce Ālampāno.

² Ee Ālampānena na, Ce Ālampāne na, Be Ālampāyena na.

³ Ee uppattanā, CpA. 122 uppattanā, Ce, Be uppattanam. CpA uses the word parivattanā in explanation, with which cf. parivatteyyam etc. at Vin. i. 7 where Moggallāna suggests he should 'invert' the earth or turn it upside-down.

⁴ Cf. II. 1. 9.

⁵ Campeyya-jātaka, No. 506.

⁶ A nāga-king who lived under the river Campā between Aṅga and Magadha

⁷ dhammika, explained by dhammacārin, dhamma-farer, at CpA. 126.

⁸ Ee ahikuṇḍika, CpA. 130 -guṇḍika, Ce -guṇḍika, Be -tuṇḍika.

⁹ dhammacārin, CpA. 129 one who farced the Dhamma of the ten skilled ways of acting.

¹⁰ Ibid. 130 explains kiḷati by kiḷāpeti.

¹¹ To the residence of King Uggasena of Bārāṇasī.

¹² Ee yam so vaṇṇam cintayati nilāpitaṃ va lohitaṃ; Ce yam so vaṇṇam cintayati nilāṇ ca pitalohitaṃ; Be yam yam so vaṇṇam cintayati nilāṇ va pitalohitaṃ.

- 4 I could have turned dry land to water and turned water to dry land. If I had been angry with him I could have reduced him to ashes in a moment.
- 5 Had I been under the mastery of mind, I would have fallen away from morality; the supreme aim¹ does not succeed for one who has fallen away in respect of morality.
- 6 Willingly let this body be broken up, let it be scattered in this very place—not for all that would I violate morality in spite of its being scattered like chaff.²

II. 4 CONDUCT OF CŪLABODHI³

(Cūlabodhicariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was Cūlabodhi, very virtuous, seeing becoming as a peril, I departed on the Departure.⁴
- 2 She who had been my wife⁵, a brahman lady of golden-coloured skin, without expectation in the round⁶ (of rebirths), departed on the Departure.
- 3 Without attachment,⁷ kinsmen⁸ cut off, without expectation from a family or company⁹, walking along to village and market-town, we reached Bārāṇasī.
- 4 There we lived prudently, not in association with a family (or) company; we both lived in the royal pleasaunce, undisturbed, (where there was) little noise.¹⁰
- 5 When the king went to see the pleasaunce he saw the brahman lady. Approaching me he asked, "Is she yours? Whose wife is she?"¹¹

¹ Buddhahood in accordance with the aspiration the Bodhisatta made at the feet of Dīpaṅkara, CpA. 130f.

² This seems to refer to the body, CpA. 131.

³ Cullabodhi-jātaka, No. 443; also Jtm. No. 21.

⁴ nekkhammam abhinikkhamim, "I utterly renounced the world and its pleasures through fear of further existence in saṃsāra, seeing that nibbāna was close", CpA. 133.

⁵ dutiyikā, companion, i.e. in the household life.

⁶ Ee, CpA vivaṭṭe; Ce, Be pi vaṭṭe.

⁷ nirālaya. CpA equates ālaya with taṇhā, thirst, craving.

⁸ Taken by CpA. 133 as ṇātisu taṇhabandhanassa chinnattā, since the ties of attachment to kinsmen of desire have been cut off.

⁹ A family who supported monks and ascetics, and a group of ascetics.

¹⁰ From animals and birds, CpA.

¹¹ Ee, Ce tuyh' esā kassa bhariyā (Ce bhāriyā), CpA. 135, Be tuyhe sū kā? kassa bhariyā? and meaning "What is she to you—wife or sister? Is she another's wife?"

- 6 This said, I spoke these words to him, "She is not my wife¹; she is of the same persuasion, the one dispensation".
- 7 Infatuated with her² he had his hirelings³ seize her; compelling her by force he made her enter the inner apartments of the palace.
- 8 She who had been mine by touching a water-jar⁴, conatal⁵, of the one dispensation—when he dragged her along and she was being led away, anger arose in me.
- 9 With anger arising I recollected the observance of the vow of morality⁶; then and there I held back (my) anger, I did not let it increase further⁷.
- 10 If anyone were to attack that brahman lady with a sharp knife, for the sake of Awakening itself never would I violate morality.
- 11 That brahman lady was not disagreeable to me, nor even did strength not exist in me. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I guarded morality.

II. 5 CONDUCT OF THE BUFFALO-KING⁸

(Mahisarājacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was a buffalo roaming in a forest⁹, very well-grown in body, strong, large, terrifying to behold,
- 2 Here and there in a mountain-cave¹⁰, on a rough hillside and

¹ CpA. 135 explains that she was not his wife after he had gone forth nor was he her husband. She was a fellow Brahma-farer.

² Ee, Ce tassā, Be tissā.

³ Ee cetake, CpA, Ce, Be ceṭake, king's men, rājapurisa.

⁴ odapattakiyā. A wife taken after touching a jar of water is called odapattikā, CpA. 135. One of the 10 kinds of wives at Vin. iii. 140, odapattakinī nāma udakapattam āmasitvā vāseti, having touched a bowl of water he makes her live (in his house). VA. 555, "plunging their two hands into one pot of water, he says, Joined like this water, so let them not be divided." The 10 kinds of wives also enumerated at VvA. 73.

⁵ By reason of going forth at the same time.

⁶ sīlabbata, the perfection of Morality, CpA. 136.

⁷ Ee nādāsi vuḍḍhitum pari; CpA, Ce, Be nādāsim vaddhitupari. For pari read 'pari, CpA gloss: upari, uddham.

⁸ Mahisa-jātaka, No. 278, misprinted as 275 in Ee. Cf. Jtm. No. 33.

⁹ Ee vanacārako, CpA. 140, Be pavanacārako, Ce pavanacāriko.

¹⁰ Perhaps a rocky declivity; CpA. 140 olambakasīlākūṭiya.

- at the root of a tree, near a water-course, there was some place or other for buffaloes.
- 3 Wandering about in the huge forest I saw a favourable place¹. Going to that place I stood and I lay down.
- 4 Then an evil, foul, nimble monkey came there and urinated and defecated over my shoulder, forehead and eyebrows.
- 5 And on one day, even on a second, a third and a fourth too, he polluted me. All the time I was distressed by him.
- 6 A yakkha, seeing my distress, said this to me, "Kill that vile evil one with horns and hoofs."
- 7 This spoken, I said this then to that yakkha, "How is it that you (would) besmear me with a carcase, evil and foul²?"
- 8 If I were to be angry with him, from that I would become more degraded than him;³ and morality might be violated by me and wise men might censure me.
- 9 Better indeed is death through (leading a life of) purity⁴ than a life subject to disdain. How will I, even for the sake of life, do an injury to another?
- 10 This one,⁵ thinking thus of me, will do the same to others and they will kill him there; for me this will be freedom.⁶
- 11 This one of wisdom, forgiving⁷ disrespect among low, middling, high, thus obtains, intent of mind, according as he aspired."⁸

¹ CpA a comfortable place at the root of a tree.

² CpA. 142 takes kiṃ tvaṃ makkhesi kuṇapena . . . maṃ to mean: it is not suitable in you to incite me to the evil of onslaught on creatures, and so forth; and he explains why in the following verses.

³ tato hinataro bhavē, which CpA. 142 takes to mean, "I would become more degraded, lamakataro; the foolish monkey has been born in a low (state) and he, the buffalo, would become more evil than the monkey."

⁴ Purity of morality, CpA.

⁵ This monkey.

⁶ From onslaught on creatures, CpA. 143. Other buffaloes might do what the yakkha (who lived in the tree) told them, and kill the monkey. But this buffalo, by resisting the yakkha's advice, overcame the temptation to take life. There is no indication of where his words to the yakkha are supposed to end. Ver. 10 is the only one having a parallel in Mahisa-jātaka.

⁷ saṃto, glossed at CpA. 143 by khamanto.

⁸ Namely, for omniscience; it is not far off for him, ibid.

II. 6 CONDUCT OF RURU THE DEER-KING¹

(Rurumigarājacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was Ruru, the deer-king, resembling fine burnished² gold, concentrated on the highest morality,³
- 2 I approached a pleasant region, delightful, secluded, without human beings, and dwelt there on a charming bank of the Ganges.
- 3 Then at the upper reaches of the Ganges a man, hard pressed by creditors, fell⁴ into the Ganges (thinking), "I live or I die".⁵
- 4 Day and night he, borne along in the great water of the Ganges, crying out a piteous cry, went on in the middle of the Ganges.
- 5 I, hearing the piteous sound of his lament, standing on the bank of the Ganges, asked, "What man are you?"
- 6 And he, asked by me, explained then his own action, "Terrified of creditors, I jumped, fearful, into the great river."
- 7 Taking pity on him, sacrificing⁶ my life, entering (the river)⁷ I dragged him out in the darkness of the night.
- 8 When I knew he had recovered⁸ I said this to him, "I ask one boon of you: tell no-one about me"⁹.
- 9 Going to the city, when questioned he conveyed (this news) for the sake of wealth. Bringing the king, he came close to me.
- 10 All that had been done by me was told to the king. The king,

¹ Ruru-jātaka, No. 482; cf. Jtm. No. 26. Another version in Jātakastava, No. 17. See also MQ. i. 292, n. 4.

² Ee suddatta-, Ce, Be suta-.

³ CpA. 141 says paramasīlasamāhita means either purified morality and the mind well concentrated, or the mind properly concentrated on purified morality.

⁴ Ee patati, Ce, Be papati.

⁵ In either case the creditors could not press him.

⁶ cajiṭvā, usually sacrificing, abandoning; here it seems more in the sense of hazzarding.

⁷ tassa, gen. in sense of acc., CpA. 146, which adds that tattha is also the pāli (i.e. text) and that its meaning here is nadiyaṃ. This is loc. sing. and could mean 'near the river.'

⁸ After two or three days when the deer had given him all sorts of fruits, he knew the man had got over his exhaustion.

⁹ "Do not tell the king or a minister that a golden deer lives in such and such a place", CpA. 147.

hearing the words, fitted his arrow, "Here will I kill this ignoble betrayer of a friend."

- 11 I, shielding him, substituted¹ myself, "Let him be, sire, I will be he who carries out your will and pleasure".
- 12 I guarded my morality, I did not guard my life, for I was then one of morality for the sake of Awakening itself.

II. 7 CONDUCT OF MĀTAṄGA²

(Mātaṅgacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was a matted-hair ascetic of very severe austerity, Mātaṅga by name, I was one of morality, well concentrated.³
- 2 I and a brahman⁴ both lived on a bank of the Ganges; I lived in the upper reaches, the brahman lived in the lower.
- 3 Wandering along the bank he saw my hermitage up-river. Reviling me there he cursed so that my head would split.⁵
- 4 If I had been angry⁶ with him, if I had not protected morality, I, by (merely) looking at him, could have made him like ashes.
- 5 As he, angry, corrupt in mind⁷, cursed me then with that⁸, it fell back on his own head—I let him free by means of a device.⁹
- 6 I guarded my morality, I did not guard my life, for I was then one of morality for the sake of Awakening itself.

¹ nimminiṃ. CpA. 150 taṃ parivattesiṃ ... tassa maraṇaṃ nivāresiṃ, Cf. II. 9. 7. I exchanged him (for myself), I prevented his death.

² Mātaṅga-jātaka, No. 497. Called Mātaṅgapaṇḍita at CpA. 152.

³ Ibid., an attainer of meditation, jhāna.

⁴ A brahman who had gone forth from the household life.

⁵ Into seven pieces on the seventh day.

⁶ Ee kuppeyyaṃ, CpA. 157, Ce pakuppeyyaṃ, Be pakupeyyaṃ.

⁷ dutṭha, corrupt, defiled, polluted, often by anger and hatred (to be understood).

⁸ With that splitting of the head.

⁹ In the Jātaka and CpA. 160 this device, yoga, was that the Bodhisatta who on the seventh day had prevented the sun from rising told the people that if he let it rise the brahman ascetic's head would break into seven pieces. So he instructed them to get a lump of clay and put it on the brahman's head. Then he let the sun rise whereupon the lump of clay broke into seven pieces. So the brahman was freed from the recoil of his curse.

II. 8 CONDUCT OF DHAMMA THE DEVAPUTTA¹

(Dhammadevaputtacariyaṃ)²

- 1 And again, when I, having a great retinue³, great psychic potency, was Dhamma⁴ by name, a great yakkha was I, compassionate towards all the world.
- 2 Rousing the populace to the ten skilled ways of acting⁵, I toured villages and market-towns with friends, with attendants.
- 3 An evil, avaricious yakkha, making known the ten evil⁶ (ways of acting), he too was touring here on earth⁷ with friends, with attendants.
- 4 The speaker of Dhamma and Adhamma we, both enemies, striking chariot-pole against chariot-pole, both met face to face.⁸
- 5 A terrible⁹ quarrel proceeded between the good and the evil and imminent was a great battle for descending from the way.¹⁰
- 6 If I had been angry¹¹ with him, if I had broken the ascetic qualities, I could have reduced him and his companions to dust.
- 7 But I, for guarding morality, having caused my mind to be cool¹², descending with my people, the path to the evil one I gave.

¹ Dhamma-jātaka, No. 457. Mentioned Miln. 202.

² Ee Dhammādharmadevaputtacariyaṃ.

³ Ee mahāyakkho, Ce, Be mahāpakkho, CpA. 161 mahesakkho, explained by mahāparivāro.

⁴ A devaputta reborn in the kāmāvacara deva world. Adhamma likewise was a devaputta reborn in the same deva-world, CpA. 161f.

⁵ dasakusalakammāpatha, see I. 3, 1; III. 14. 2.

⁶ Ee pāvake, CpA. 162, Ce, Be pāpake. The ten are given at e.g. M. i. 286f., and spoken of at Jā. iv. 10. by their generic title akusalakammāpatha. BCL's "burning with the ten kinds of fire" must be due to the reading pāvake and to the two meanings of dīpeti, to light, kindle, and to illustrate, explain.

⁷ The encounter took place in the sky in the Jā story. CpA. 162 therefore inserts here the word āsanna, near, close to (Jambudīpa).

⁸ samimhā ti samāgatā sammukhī bhūtā, CpA. 163. They met as they were going in opposite directions with their retinues.

⁹ Ee asma, CpA, Ce Be bhesma. Cf. assa and bhasma, Morris JPTS 1891-3, p. 10.

¹⁰ See n. 7.

¹¹ Ee, CpA, Ce pakuppeyyaṃ, Be kup-

¹² Arousing khanti and mettā, patience and loving-kindness (two of the perfections), also mercy, CpA. 166.

- 8 As soon as I had descended from the path having cooled my thoughts, the earth instantly¹ formed a fissure for the evil yakkha.²

II. 9 CONDUCT OF ALĪNASATTU³

(Alīnasattucariyaṃ)⁴

- 1 In the kingdom of Pañcāla in the city of Kampilā⁵, the incomparable city, the king named Jayaddisa⁶ had attained the qualities of morality.
- 2 I was that king's son, well-instructed⁷, of great morality, Alīnasattu, having (virtuous) qualities⁸, always caring for the attendants.⁹
- 3 My father who had gone deer-hunting met a man-eater¹⁰. He seized my father (and said), "You are my prey, do not move."
- 4 Hearing those words of his he was alarmed and trembled with terror; his thighs became rigid on seeing that man-eater.
- 5 "Taking the venison, let me go free". Making a promise to return again and giving wealth to the brahman¹¹, my father addressed me:
- 6 "Son, take care of the kingdom, do not neglect this city. I promised the man-eater to return."

¹ Ibid. tāvade ti tam khaṇaṇṇeva, 'that very moment', forthwith.

² Various occasions are recorded when in the past, atite, 'Devadatta' entered the earth, e.g. Jā, Nos. 222, 518. In the Dhammājātaka Adhamma, here the evil yakkha, is identified as Devadatta. Five other occasions are recorded at Miln. 101, when in present times, etarahi, evil-doers were swallowed by the earth. One of these was Devadatta, see Ap. p. 300, ApA. 121ff., DhA. i. 147ff.

³ Jayaddisa-jātaka, No. 513.

⁴ Ee Jayaddisacariyaṃ; CpA, Be Alīnasattu-; Ce Alīnasattu- and -satta-.

⁵ Ee Kapillā, CpA. 167, Be Kapilā, Ce Kampilā. Elsewhere Kampilla.

⁶ Vanquishing enemies.

⁷ sutadhamma. He had heard, i.e. learnt, all that a prince should learn; he had learnt much, bahussuta, CpA. 168.

⁸ Ibid. endowed with the splendid qualities of a Great Man.

⁹ Ee anuttara-parijjano, supreme in; CpA anuratta-parijjano, devoted to; Ce, Be anurakkha-parijjano, guarding: namely, with the four bases of sympathy or generosity, saṅgahavattiṃ (mentioned at III. 14. 2 and enumerated at e.g. D. ii. 152, 232, A. ii. 32). See CpA. 168.

¹⁰ Son of a yakkhīni, ibid.

¹¹ Who had recited some verses just as the king was setting out to hunt; the king, who had promised him a reward when he got back, wanted to keep his promise.

- 7 Having honoured my mother and father, substituting myself,¹ discarding bow and sword I approached the man-eater.
- 8 Approaching him with weapons in my hand perhaps he would be afraid. If I roused dread in him so would morality be violated.
- 9 I did not speak what was disagreeable to him for fear of breaking my morality. With a mind of loving-kindness, of benign speech², I spoke these words:
- 10 "Kindle a great fire. I will fall (on it) from a tree³. Knowing when the time has come you, grandfather⁴, can eat."
- 11 Thus for the sake of moral vow I did not guard my life. And I banished forever his tendency for (making) onslaught on creatures.

II. 10 CONDUCT OF SAṆKHAPĀLA⁵

(Saṅkhapālacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was Saṅkhapāla, I was of great psychic potency, with fangs⁶ my weapons, terribly venomous, two-tongued, overlord of nāgas.
- 2 At a cross-road on a highway crowded with divers people, resolutely determining on the four factors⁷, I made my dwelling there.
- 3 He who had some need of my inner skin, outer skin, flesh, sinews or bones, let him take it away, given as it was.⁸
- 4 Hunter-boys⁹, rough, harsh, pitiless, saw me and came up to me there, sticks and clubs in their hands.
- 5 Piercing my nostrils, tail and backbone, placing me on a carrying-pole, the hunter-boys bore me off.

¹ Cf. II. 6. 11.

² hitavādi, or speaking what was useful, beneficial, speaking in a friendly way.

³ Jayaddisa-jātaka, vol. v, 33 here refers to the hare who jumped into a blazing fire; see above I. 10.

⁴ pitāmaha, forbear? The man-eater, half-human, was the king's brother, and so uncle to the prince.

⁵ Saṅkhapāla-jātaka, No. 524.

⁶ Two above, two below, CpA. 175.

⁷ See II. 2. 3.

⁸ As at II. 2. 4; cf. I. 10. 19.

⁹ bhojaputtā, explained by luddaputtā at CpA. 177; both words occur at Jā. v. 172f., translated 'lewd fellows', 'ruffians'.

- 6 If I wishing it, I could have burnt there with the breath of my nose this sea-girt earth¹ with the forests, with the mountains.
- 7 Though pierced by stakes, though hacked about by knives, I was not angry with the hunter-boys—this was my perfection of Morality.²

Its summary³:

- 1(8) Lordly elephant, Bhūridatta, Campeyya, Bodhi, the buffalo, Ruru, Mātāṅga, and Dhamma, and Jayaddisa, (and his) own son.
- 2(9) All these, strong in morality, were the preliminary requirements in partial fulfilment.⁴ Having maintained⁵ life they preserved moral habits.
- 3(10) When I was Saṅkhapāla, all the time handing over even my life to whomever it was⁶—therefore that was the perfection of Morality.

¹ The great earth sasāgara, with the sea, which CpA. 178 takes as bounded by the ocean.

² According to CpA. 178f., he evinced all the perfections. This ver. is cited at Jā. i. 45, BvA. 60, ApA. 50 in illustration of the ultimate perfection of Morality.

³ On notation of following verses, see Intr. p. xi.

⁴ parikkhārā padesikā. The former conduct of the 9 beings mentioned in ver. S. 1 above would appear to have been necessary preliminaries to the culminating perfection of morality as exhibited by Saṅkhapāla. They were not separate from the final achievement, but sappadesā, perhaps meaning 'combined' or integrated with it, showing the process of full mastery of the perfection of morality was a gradual one. Cf. I. 10. S3.

⁵ Ee parikkhitvā, CpA. 181, Cc, Be parirakkhitvā. The beings of ver. S1, though aware of the necessity to guard their morality did not give up their life but preserved both that and their morality.

⁶ yassa kassaci. This seems to mean that, irrespective of persons he preserved his morality but gave up his life. Cf. MA. iv. 170: of the Bodhisatta, "there was no gift not given, there was no morality not protected."

DIVISION III: THE PERFECTION OF RENUNCIATION

(Nekkhammapāramitā)

III. 1 CONDUCT OF YUDHAÑJAYA¹

(Yudhañjayacariyam)

- 1 When I was Yudhañjaya, the king's son, of immeasurable renown, I thrilled when I saw a dew-drop fallen down in the warmth of the sun.²
- 2 Taking that itself as the sign I increased the thrill. Honouring my mother and father I requested (their consent) for the going forth.
- 3 Their hands folded, with the citizens, with the inhabitants of the kingdom, they begged me, "Son, this very day take care of the great estate³ which is rich and prosperous".
- 4 While the (multitude) together with the king, the court ladies, the citizens and the inhabitants of the kingdom, were lamenting piteously, I went forth⁴ without expectation.
- 5 It was for the sake of Awakening itself that, renouncing the sovereignty of the entire earth, relations, retinue, renown, I did not think (anything about it⁵).
- 6 Mother and father were not disagreeable to me, and nor was the great retinue disagreeable to me⁶. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave up the kingdom.

¹ Yuvañjaya-jātaka, No. 460.

² He thought of impermanence and the brevity of life, CpA. 183.

³ mahāmahiṃ, lit. the great earth, i.e. kingdom.

⁴ Ee, CpA. 184 hi pabbajim, Ce, Be parivajjim, omitting hi.

⁵ Only of attaining Awakening, CpA. 185.

⁶ Ee omits. Cf. III. 3. 10 where me, to me, occurs.

III. 2 CONDUCT OF SOMANASSA¹

(Somanassacariyam)

- 1 And again, when in the incomparable city of Indapatta², I was the (king's) son named Somanassa, I had been longed for (by my parents), was dear (to them), widely famed.
- 2 I was virtuous, possessed of (good) qualities³, of ready and lovely speech, paying respect to the elderly, modest, and proficient in the bases of sympathy.⁴
- 3 An ascetic who was an imposter was⁵ that king's favourite. He lived⁶ by cultivating the orchard and the flowering shrubs.
- 4 Seeing him to be an impostor like a heap of chaff without the rice-grain⁷, and⁸ a tree hollow inside, like a plantain-tree with no hard core I (thought),
- 5 "This one, for the sake of his livelihood, has no (virtuous) conduct⁹ towards what is good, has fallen away from recluseship, and abandoned modesty and pure conduct."
- 6 The border district was¹⁰ disturbed by neighbouring wild tribes. My father, on going away to pacify it, instructed me,
- 7 "Do not you, my dear, neglect the matted-hair ascetic of severe penance. He is the giver of all (our) desires; act in conformity with his wishes."
- 8 Going to attend on him, I spoke these words, "I hope you are well,¹¹ householder¹², or what may be brought to you?"¹³
- 9 At this the impostor, stuck up with conceit, was angry¹⁴ and said, "I will have you slain today¹⁵ or banished from the kingdom."
- 10 The king, having pacified the border district, said to the

¹ Somanassa-jātaka, No. 505.

² Ee Indapatte, CpA. 186, Ce, Be -patte.

³ Faith, much truthfulness, and so forth, CpA. 186.

⁴ Cf. II. 9. 2 n.

⁵ Ec āsi, Ce, Be ahoṣi.

⁶ Ee so jivati, Ce, Be omit so.

⁷ Ee, CpA. 190, Be atandulam, Ce tan-.

⁸ Ee, Ce, Be ca, CpA va.

⁹ dhamma.

¹⁰ Ee, Ce ahoṣi, Be ahu.

¹¹ I.e. well, kusala, in body, CpA. 191.

¹² Somanassa saw him watering the plants and knew he was a greengrocer, paṇṇika, CpA. 190.

¹³ Gold, wrought or unwrought, ibid. 191. Gold is not given to ascetics. Ee āhariyyatu, CpA, Ce, Be -iyatu.

¹⁴ At being addressed as 'householder', CpA.

¹⁵ The time when the king would return, ibid.

impostor, "I hope, reverend sir, you are well and honour was paid to you?" The evil one told him why the prince should be killed.

- 11 When he had heard his words the lord of the earth commanded, "Cut off his head wherever he is¹ and, with him² in four pieces, display them from street to street—this is the fate³ of those who are contemptuous towards matted-hair ascetics."
- 12 Accordingly the executioners⁴ fierce, harsh, pitiless, went off and, dragging me away as I was seated on my mother's lap,⁵ led me away.
- 13 I spoke thus to them as they were binding me tightly, "Let me appear forthwith before the king—I have business with the king."
- 14 They let me appear before the evil king, follower of the evil one. When I saw him I convinced him and brought him under my influence.
- 15 He asked my forgiveness therein, he gave me the great kingdom. But I, having burst asunder⁶ the gloom⁷, went forth into homelessness.
- 16 It was not that the great kingdom was disagreeable to me, enjoyment of sense-pleasures was not disagreeable. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave up the kingdom.

III. 3 CONDUCT OF AYOGHARA⁸

(Ayogharacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was own son of the king of Kāsi, grown up in an iron house⁹, I was Ayoghara by name.
- 2 (My father said), "Having obtained (your) life with difficulty,

¹ tatth' eva, in whatever place you see him, *ibid*.

² His body, *ibid*.

³ gati, bourn, destination.

⁴ Ee tatth' akārunikā, CpA. 191, Ce, Be tattha kāraṇikā.

⁵ He was only seven years old, CpA. 189.

⁶ Ee dālayetvā, Ce dālayitvā, CpA. 194, Be dālayitvā.

⁷ Of delusion, confusion; he had seen the peril in sense-pleasures, CpA. 194.

⁸ Ayoghara-jātaka, No. 510; cf. Jtm. No. 32.

⁹ ayoghara. He was brought up here so as to avoid trouble from non-human beings, female yakkhas having eaten his two brothers, CpA. 195 f.

nurtured in close confinement¹, this very day, son, take charge of this whole earth²

- 3 With the kingdoms, the townships, the people." Paying homage to the warrior-noble, raising my clasped hands in salutation, I spoke these words,
- 4 "Whatever the beings on the earth³, low, high, middling, without protection they grow up each in his own home together with kinsmen.⁴
- 5 This (way of) nurturing me in confinement is unique in the world. I have grown up in an iron house with no light from moon or sun.
- 6 Having been released from my mother's womb which was full of obnoxious, offensive matter, from there again I was thrown into more frightful anguish in the iron house.
- 7 If I, having come to the cruellest anguish such as this, were to find pleasure in sovereignty⁵ I would be the most degraded⁶ of evil ones.
- 8 I am wearied of the body, I have no need of sovereignty. I shall seek for waning out where death shall not crush me."
- 9 Thinking thus while the populace was wailing aloud⁷, like an elephant bursting asunder its bonds⁸ I entered the forest, the (great) wood.
- 10 Mother and father were not disagreeable to me, and nor was great renown disagreeable to me. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I gave up the kingdom.⁹

¹ Ee pati posito, Ce, Be patiposito. CpA. 197 explains sampiḷe by sambādhe.

² vasudhā.

³ mahi.

⁴ Ee, Ce saha ṇātibhi, Be sakaṇātibhi, CpA sakaṇātīhi ti sakehi ṇāt'hi sammōdamānā visitthā (ṭṭ w. r.) anukkaṇṭhitā. Cf. I. 9. 56 n.

⁵ rajjesu, taken as rajje at CpA. 197.

⁶ uttama, explained as nihinatama, *ibid*.

⁷ Ee, Ce CpA. 198 viravantam mahajanam, Be -vante -jane.

⁸ He burst asunder the bonds of craving, CpA.

⁹ Cf. III. 1. 6, III. 2. 16.

III. 4 CONDUCT (INVOLVING) LOTUS-STALKS¹(Bhisacariyaṃ)²

- 1 And again, when I was in the glorious incomparable city of the Kāsis a sister and³ seven brothers had been born in a learned (brahman⁴) family.
- 2 I was the first-born of these, furnished with the pure (virtue of) conscientiousness. Seeing becoming as a peril, I greatly delighted in renunciation.
- 3 Sent by my mother and father, my friends unanimously invited me to sense-pleasures: "Maintain the family lineage", they said.
- 4 Whatever they said regarding what brings happiness in the household state, to me was like a hard, heated ploughshare.⁵
- 5 They then asked me, who was rejecting (the household state), about my aspiration, "What do you aspire for⁶, friend, that you do not enjoy sense-pleasure?"
- 6 I, desiring my own good⁷, spoke thus to these who were seeking my welfare, "I do not aspire for the household state, I greatly delight in renunciation."
- 7 When they had heard my words, they informed⁸ my father and mother. My mother and father spoke thus, "Then, good sirs⁹, we are all¹⁰ going forth."
- 8 We, both my mother and father, sister and¹¹ the seven brothers, casting aside immense wealth, entered the great wood.

¹ Bhisī-jātaka, No. 488; cf. Jtm. No. 19. When Sakka tested the good intentions of Mahākāñcana (the Bodhisatta) and his brothers and sister, all of them ascetics, by causing Mahākāñcana's share of the fruits collected in the forest to disappear before he could eat them, his relations invited curses to fall upon them if any was guilty of stealing so much as a lotus-stalk, bhisa.

² CpA. 200 Mahākāñcanacariya.

³ Be adds ca.

⁴ Supplied by CpA. 200 which glosses sotthiya, learned, by uđita, high (-ranking), elevated.

⁵ Words that burned his ears, like a ploughshare heated all day, CpA. 201.

⁶ Ee, Ce patthayasi, Be -yase.

⁷ Ee, Be atthakāmo, Ce -kāma, CpA. 202 atta-, and saying attakāmo ti attano atthakāmo . . . atthakāmo ti pi pāli.

⁸ Ee, CpA. 202 sāveyyuṃ, Ce, Be sāvayum.

⁹ bho; CpA says they were addressing the brahmins.

¹⁰ Ee pi, Ce, Be va.

¹¹ Ce omits ca.

III. 5 CONDUCT OF WISE SOṄA¹(Soṇapaṇḍitacariyaṃ)²

- 1 And again, when I was in the city of Brahmavaḍḍhana³ I was born there in a high family, eminent, very wealthy.
- 2 Even then, seeing that the (whole) world was blind, smothered in gloom⁴, my mind recoiled from becoming as if harshly pricked by a goad.
- 3 Having seen manifold (forms of) evil, I thought thus then, "When shall I enter the forest having departed from (life in) a house?"
- 4 Then too⁵ relations invited⁶ me to the enjoyment of sense-pleasures. Them too I told of my desire (saying), "Do not invite me to these (things)."
- 5 My younger brother who was named Nanda the Wise, he too, following my training⁷, found equal pleasure in going forth.
- 6 I Soṇa, and Nanda and both my mother and father, even then casting aside their possessions, entered the great wood.

¹ Soṇa-Nanda-jātaka, No. 532.

² Ee, CpA. 209, Ce, Be Soṇa-, Jā Soṇa-.

³ An old name for Bārāṇasī, Jā. iv. 119.

⁴ Of nescience, CpA. 211. Ee -otthataṃ, CpA, Ce, Be -taṃ.

⁵ Referring back to III. 3, the Iron-house birth, CpA.

⁶ Ee, CpA nimantimāsu, Ce, Be -terimāsu.

⁷ In morality and so forth, CpA.

THE PERFECTION OF RESOLUTE DETERMINATION

(Adhiṭṭhānapāramitā)

III. 6 CONDUCT OF WISE TEMIYA¹

(Temiyapañcītacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was own son of the king of Kāsi and was Mūgapakkha² by name, they called me Temiya.³
- 2 To none of the king's sixteen thousand women had a (male) child⁴ been born then. After many days and nights, I arose, the only one.
- 3 My father, having a white sunshade held over my bed, brought me up, a dear son, of good birth, a light-bringer, so hardly got.
- 4 When I awoke after sleeping on the glorious bed I then saw the pale sunshade by means of which I had gone to purgatory.⁵
- 5 At the sight of the sunshade a terrible dread arose in me. I reached the decision "How⁶ shall I release⁷ this⁸?"
- 6 A devatā who formerly had been a blood-relation of mine⁹, desiring my weal, seeing me anguished, advised me about three (kinds of) behaviour¹⁰:

¹ Mūgapakkha-jātaka, No. 538, also called Temiya-jātaka.

² One who is dumb and crippled.

³ On the day of his birth a great shower of rain made him wet, temiya.

⁴ Though puma usually refers to a male, CpA. 216 says it does not mean only a son here, for the king had no daughter either.

⁵ Kings, having to be very harsh, accumulated much demerit leading to Niraya. CpA. 218 says tato tatiye attabhāve ahaṃ niraye gato, in the third individuality from now I to Niraya had gone. These three 'individualities' are specified at Jā. vi. 2.

⁶ Ee kadāhaṃ, CpA, Ce, Be kathāhaṃ, when (shall) I?

⁷ Ee muccissariṃ, CpA. 218 muñceyyariṃ, Ce, Be muñcissariṃ.

⁸ This unlucky kingdom, CpA.

⁹ His mother in a former birth.

¹⁰ For escaping the anguish of sovereignty, CpA. 219.

- 7 "Show no intelligence¹, to all creatures be like a fool², let all people heap scorn on you³—thus will there be weal for you.⁴"
- 8 ⁵ When this had been said I spoke these words to her, "I will do your bidding as you⁶ say, devatā. You wish me weal, my dear, you wish me welfare, devatā."
- 9 When I had heard her words I obtained as it were dry land in the sea. Exultant, thrilled in mind, I resolutely determined on the three factors:
- 10 I was dumb, deaf, a cripple—unable to walk.⁷ Resolutely determining on these factors I lived for sixteen years.
- 11 Then they, rubbing my hands, feet, tongue and ears⁸, seeing no defect in me designated me 'inauspicious one'⁹.
- 12 Then all the people of the country¹⁰, the generals and priests, all being unanimous, approved of casting me aside.
- 13 I, when I had heard their opinion, was exultant, thrilled in mind (for) the purpose for which I had practised austerity was a purpose that had prospered for me.
- 14 Having bathed me, rubbed me with ointment, fastened the royal diadem (to my head¹¹), having ceremonially anointed me, they had me make a circuit of the city under the sunshade.
- 15 Holding it aloft for seven days, (one day) when the orb of the sun had arisen the charioteer, having taken me out in a chariot, came to a wood.
- 16 Keeping the chariot in an open space, the bridled horse set free from his hand¹², the charioteer dug a pit to bury me in the ground.
- 17 Fearing¹³ for the resolute determination that in the various

¹ Ee pañdiccam; Ce, Be pañdiccayariṃ, also CpA. 219 which says "or this (pañdiccam) is the reading."

² Ee bahumatariṃ sappāṇinariṃ, Ce, Be, Jā. vi. 4 bālamato bhava sabbapāṇinariṃ, CpA bālamato . . . sabbo.

³ Ee, Ce sabbo jano ocināyatu, Be, Jā. vi. 4 sabbo taṃ jano.

⁴ tava, om. in Ee.

⁵ Verses 8–11 are arranged here as in Ce, Be.

⁶ tvaṃ, only Jā maṃ.

⁷ gatvivajjito; CpA silent.

⁸ To test whether he was deaf, dumb, a cripple.

⁹ kālakaṇṭhi, black-eared. Cf. DhA. iii. 31, 38 for the epithet implying a bad omen.

¹⁰ Ee janapadā, Ce, Be jāna-

¹¹ vethetvā rājaveṭhanariṃ, so explained at CpA. 223.

¹² Ee hatthamuccitariṃ, CpA, Ce -muñcīto, Be muccīto.

¹³ Ee tājanto, CpA, Ce, Be -ento.

ways¹ was resolutely determined on, I did not break that² resolute determination which was for the sake of Awakening itself.

- 18 Mother and father were not disagreeable to me and nor was self disagreeable to me³. Omniscience was dear to me, therefore I resolutely determined on that itself.⁴
- 19 Resolutely determining on those factors I lived for sixteen years. There was no one equal to me⁵ in resolute determination—this was my perfection of Resolute Determination.

¹ Referring to all the many and various tests by which his nurses tried to discover what was wrong with him until he was sixteen years old, see ver. 10.

² Ee, Ce va tañ, Be tañ only.

³ Cf. I. 8. 16, III. 1. 6.

⁴ Illustrating the ultimate perfection of Resolute Determination, this verse is cited at Jā. i. 46, BvA. 61, ApA. 51; all read na (pi) me derañ mahāyassañ, nor was great wealth (or a great following) disagreeable to me, for Cp's attā na me ca dessiyo.

⁵ Be inserts me, against the metre, but consistent with the concluding verses in III. 7 and III. 9-14.

THE PERFECTION OF TRUTH

(Saccapāramitā)

III. 7 CONDUCT OF THE MONKEY-KING¹

(Kapirājacariyañ)

- 1 When I was a monkey (living) in a lair in a cleft of a river-bank, harrassed by a crocodile² I had no opportunity of going (to the island)³.
- 2 In that place where I used to stand⁴ (when I had jumped) from the hither bank and descended on the further (bank)⁵, there sat the crocodile, an enemy,⁶ a killer, fierce of aspect.⁷
- 3 He spoke⁸ to me saying 'Come'. 'I am coming'⁹ I said¹⁰ to him. Stepping on to his head, I gained¹¹ the further bank.
- 4 No untruth was spoken to him, I acted according to my word¹². There was no one to equal me in truth—this was my perfection of Truth.

¹ Vānarinda-jātaka, No. 57. Ee, Intr. xiv identifies with No. 203, BCL with No. 250.

² suñsumāra. In next ver. kumbhila.

³ There was a rock in the river half-way between the bank and an island on which grew many fruit-trees. The crocodile's mate wanted to eat the monkey's heart so, till the monkey outwitted him, the crocodile lay on the rock to catch him, thereby depriving him both of his feeding-ground and his safety.

⁴ I.e. the rock in the river, CpA. 229.

⁵ The monkey would then jump from the rock to where he lived, ibid.

⁶ Ee, CpA (Be) satthu, but Ce sattu.

⁷ Ee ruddadassana, CpA, Ce, Be ludda-.

⁸ Ee, CpA. 230, Be asañsi, Ce, giving this as a v. l., āsiñsi.

⁹ Keeping his word, he thus spoke the truth.

¹⁰ Ee vadi, CpA, Ce, Be vadiñ.

¹¹ patiṭṭhaliiñ, I was established on, stood firm on.

¹² In both the Suñsumāra-jātaka, No. 208, and the Vānara-jātaka, No. 342, the monkey told an untruth to a crocodile.

III. 8 CONDUCT OF WISE SACCA¹

(Saccasavhayapaṇḍitacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was the ascetic called Sacca² I protected³ the world by means of truth, I made the people united.⁴

III. 9 CONDUCT OF THE YOUNG QUAIL⁵(Vaṭṭapotakacariyaṃ⁶)

- 1 And again, when I was a young quail in Magadha, wings (as yet) not grown, newly hatched, a morsel of flesh in the nest,
2 My mother reared me (on food) she brought in her beak; I lived by means of contact with her, I had no bodily strength.
3 Every year in the hot season a forest-fire⁷ would blaze. (Once) the fire⁸, black-trailed, came close to us.
4 The great fire⁹, making sounds like Dhūma Dhūma¹⁰, a blazing fire¹¹, gradually came close to me.
5 My mother and father, alarmed and terrified with fear at the ferocity of the fire¹¹, abandoning me in the nest, saved themselves.

¹ There does not appear to be a corresponding Jātaka; BCL identifies with No. 73.

² Not in DPPN.

³ Ee, CpA. 231, Be pālesim, Ce pālemi.

⁴ samagga. CpA. 232 says that he showed the populace the peril in the quarrels and disputes they had been indulging in, and instead established some in the 10 skilled ways of conduct and, having allowed others to go forth (no doubt in the going forth of seers in which he himself had gone forth), he established them, according to their merit, in control by moral habit, in guarding the sense-faculties, in mindfulness and clear consciousness, in dwelling aloof, in the meditations and super-knowings.

⁵ Vaṭṭaka-jātaka, No. 35; cf. Jtm No. 16.

⁶ Vaṭṭakarājacariyaṃ at CpA. 233.

⁷ Ee, Be davadāho, Ce -dhāho.

⁸ pāvaka, lit. purifier.

⁹ sikhin, lit. flame-crested.

¹⁰ 'Smoke'. CpA says "thus making the sound dhama-dhama. This implies the roar of a forest-fire." Cf. I. 10. 16.

¹¹ aggi.

- 6 I strove¹ with feet, with wings. I had no bodily strength. As I could not go², there³ I thought thus then:
7 Those to whom I, alarmed, terrified, trembling, should run, have gone leaving me behind. How should I act today?
8 In the world is the quality of morality, there is truth, purity, mercy. "By this truth I will make a supreme asseveration of truth:
9 Reflecting on the power of Dhamma, remembering former Conquerors, relying on⁵ the power of truth, I made an asseveration of truth:
10 "Wings there are that fly not, feet there are that walk not⁶. Mother and father are gone away. Jātaveda⁷, recede."
11 With truth asseverated by me, the great burning fire⁸ drew back sixteen karīsas⁹ (and was) like a fire¹⁰ that has reached water. There was no one to equal me in truth—this was my perfection of Truth.

III. 10 CONDUCT OF THE FISH-KING¹¹

(Maccharājacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was a fish-king in a large lake the water in the lake dried up in the hot season¹² in the heat of the sun.

¹ pajahāmi. CpA. 234 explains by pasāremi iriyāmi vāyāmi, ihāmi; the variant paṭihāmi, 'I struggle' is explained as vehāsagamanayogge kāturū ihāmi.

² agatika, a non-goer.

³ CpA says "since I was unable to go I had become without a refuge on account of the departure of my parents, Tattha (there); remaining either in that forest . . . or in the nest."

⁴ Verses 8 to half way through 11 also at Jā. i. 214f.

⁵ avassāya; Jā. i. 214 apa-.

⁶ Referring to his own wings and feet, CpA. 235.

⁷ Name for Agni, fire. CpA says "arisen, jāta, it is experienced, vediyati, it becomes manifest with the appearance of smoke and blaze, therefore jātaveda."

⁸ sikhin, lit. flame-crested.

⁹ A karīsa seems to be a square piece of land, perhaps equal to about 4 acres. See Rhys Davids, Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 18. Jā. i. 172, referring to the Vaṭṭakajātaka, says this is one of the 4 marvels that will last the whole of this eon, namely that this place will never be burnt by fire. This is also said at the end of the Vaṭṭakajātaka.

¹⁰ Again sikhin; here CpA. 236 explains that as the fire, jātaveda, retreated it went out like a torch dipped in water.

¹¹ Maccha-jātaka, No. 75; BCL identifies with No. 34; cf. Jtm. No. 15.

¹² unhe, which CpA. 237 says is the hot season.

- 2 Then crows and vultures and herons¹, hawks and falcons, sitting near the fish² devoured them day and night.
- 3 Oppressed there together with my relations, I thought thus, "Now, by what means can I set free my relations from suffering?"
- 4 Having considered the good in Dhamma³, I saw truth as a support. Standing firm in truth, I removed that great destruction of my relations.
- 5 Having recollected the true Dhamma⁴, considering the highest good, I made an asseveration of truth that would be lasting, eternal in the world:
- 6 "As long as I (can) remember about myself, ever since I have come to (years of) discretion I am not aware of having hurt⁵ intentionally even one living thing. By this utterance of truth may Pajjunna⁶ pour down rain.
- 7 Thunder, Pajjunna! Destroy the treasure-trove of the crows⁷, besiege⁸ the crows with grief, set free the fishes⁹ from grief."
- 8 And immediately after the glorious (asseveration of) truth was made, Pajjunna thundered out; and in a moment he poured down rain filling uplands and lowlands.¹⁰
- 9 Putting forth¹¹ the utmost energy for the glorious (asseveration of) truth, relying on the power and incandescence of truth, I made a great storm-cloud rain down. There was no one to equal me in truth—this was my perfection of Truth.

¹ Ee, Ce, bakā, Be kaṅkā.

² The fish got into the mud in the bed of the lake.

³ dhammattha, the good in Dhamma, its aim, its meaning? CpA. 237 explains by dhammabhūtaṃ atthaṃ. Dhammato vā anapetaṃ atthaṃ, "the good that is (has become) Dhamma. Or, the good that deviates not from Dhamma."

⁴ That of not harming even a single creature, CpA. 238.

⁵ Ee vihiṃsitaṃ, Ce, Be pi hiṃ-. The same asseveration is made at e.g. Jā. iv. 142. and cf. M. ii. 103.

⁶ Called megha (storm-) cloud, CpA. 238, Jā. i. 332. At SA. 81 he is called deva-king of rain and thunder-clouds.

⁷ Though kāka is in the sing., the pl. is intended, or the flock of crows, kākaśaṅgha, CpA. 238f.

⁸ Ee, CpA, Ce rundhehi, Be, Jā. i. 332 ran-, noticed as a v. l. at Ce.

⁹ macche. CpA. 239 says this means: all the fish who are my relations; adds that they read mañ ca, 'and me', in the Jātaka; and then says: set me free and my relations.

¹⁰ Cf. S. i. 100, It. 66. At CpA., Jā. i. 332, it is said it rained over the whole of Kosala.

¹¹ karvā, making, having made, taken with viriyāṃ uttamaṃ at CpA. 240.

III. 11 CONDUCT OF KAṆHADĪPĀYANA¹

(Kaṇhadīpāyanacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was Kaṇhadīpāyana², a seer, I fared dissatisfied³ for more than fifty years.
- 2 No one knew of this dissatisfied mind of mine for⁴ I told no one; the dissatisfaction went on in my mind.⁵
- 3 A fellow Brahma-farer, Maṇḍabya, a friend of mine, a great seer, in connexion with a former deed⁶ acquired impalement on a stake.
- 4 I, after attending to him, restored him to health. Having asked permission⁷ I went back to what was my own hermitage.
- 5 A brahman friend of mine, bringing his wife and little son—the three people, coming together, approached as guests.
- 6 While I was exchanging greetings with them, seated in my own hermitage, the youth threw a ball along⁸ (and) angered a poisonous snake⁹.
- 7 Then that little boy, looking for the way by which the ball had gone, touched the head of the poisonous snake with his hand.
- 8 At his touch, the snake, angered, relying on its strong venom, angry with utmost anger, instantly bit the youth.
- 9 As he was bitten by the poisonous snake¹⁰ the youth fell to the ground, whereby afflicted was I; that sorrow (of the parents)¹¹ worked on¹² mine.

¹ Kaṇhadīpāyana-jātaka, No. 444.

² CpA. 241 explains that the Bodhisatta's name then was Dipāyana, but because his body became black in colour as he sat under his friend Maṇḍabya's body which, impaled on a stake, was dripping with blood, he was known as Dipāyana the Black.

³ anabhirati, cf. BD. i. 114, 192.

⁴ Ee pi, CpA. 242, Ce, Be hi.

⁵ Ee aratim me ratimānase. I follow Ce, Be arati me carati mānase, and the explanatory words at CpA mama manase citte arati carati pavattati.

⁶ In a former existence he had pierced a fly with a splinter of ebony.

⁷ āpucchati is usually to ask the permission to depart of someone who has conferred a benefit. Here Maṇḍabya had built hermitages for Dipāyana and another ascetic.

⁸ Playing a game called geṇḍuka-game, CpA. 246.

⁹ The ball entered an ants' nest and hit the snake, already inside, on the head.

¹⁰ Ee ativisena, CpA. 246, Ce, Be āsi-.

¹¹ So CpA.

¹² vāhasi, "it bore on my pity as on my body", ibid.

- 10 Comforting them that were afflicted, shaken by grief, first of all I made the highest, supremely glorious asseveration of truth:
- 11 ¹“For just seven days I, with a mind of faith, desiring merit, fared the Brahma-faring. After that, this that was my² faring for fifty years and more³
- 12 I fared only unwillingly. By this truth may there be well-being⁴, the poison destroyed may Yaññadatta⁵ live.”
- 13 With this (asseveration of) truth made by me, the brahman youth who had trembled with the strength of the poison, rousing himself, stood up and was well. There was no one equal to me in truth—this was my perfection of Truth.

III. 12 CONDUCT OF SUTASOMA⁶

(Sutasomacariyaṃ)

- 1 And again, when I was Sutasoma, lord of the earth, captured by a man-eater I remembered my promise⁷ to a brahman.
- 2 Having strung up a hundred warrior-nobles by the palms of their hands⁸, having let them dry out,⁹ he brought me for sacrifice.
- 3 The man-eater asked me, “Is it that you wish your release¹⁰? I will act according to your pleasure if you will come to see me again.”

¹ Ver. 11, 12 at Jā. iv. 31.

² Ee, Ce mama yidaṃ, Be mamedarṃ.

³ Identical line at D. ii. 151. At DAṬ. ii. 236 samādhikāni, ‘and more’ is explained by ekena vassena, which would make a total of 51 years. CpA. is silent.

⁴ etena saccena suvatthi hotu; cf. Aṅgulimāla’s safety-rune at M. ii. 103, tena saccena sotthi hotu.

⁵ The boy’s name.

⁶ Mahāsutasoma-jātaka, No. 537; Jtm. No. 31.

⁷ Ee saṅkara, CpA. 251, Ce, Be, Jā. v. 481 saṅgara.

⁸ CpA says he made a hole in the palms of their hands and passed a rope through so as to hang them on a tree.

⁹ sampamilāpetvā. CpA pamilāpetvā, withered, visosetvā, desiccated, khedāpetvā, tortured. Or is it from the root ml, and not mlā, as suggested by CpA and adopted by PED? But cf. pamilāta at Miln. 303, obviously having the meaning of dried up, withered.

¹⁰ Ee, CpA. 254 nissajjaṃ, Ce, Be nissajam, i.e. from the man-eater’s hands.

- 4 Having assured him of my return at dawn, approaching the delightful city, I renounced the kingdom then.
- 5 Recollecting the Dhamma of the good followed by former Conquerors, giving the wealth to the brahman, I approached the man-eater.
- 6 I had no doubt whether he would kill me or not. Protecting truth-speaking I approached to sacrifice my life. There was no one to equal me in truth—this was my perfection of Truth.¹

¹ I do not see this ver. in Jā. No. 537, nor the different one ascribed to it at Jā. i. 46, BvA. 60, ApA. 51 to exemplify the ultimate perfection of truth, paramatthapāramī, but BvA. 60 reads esā me saccapāramī.

THE PERFECTION OF LOVING-KINDNESS

(Mettāpāramitā)

III. 13 CONDUCT OF SUVAṆṆA-SĀMA¹

(Suvaṇṇasāmacariyam²)

- 1 When in a wood I was Sāma, created by Sakka³, I brought the lions and tigers in the forest to loving-kindness.
- 2 Surrounded by lions and tigers, by leopards⁴, bears, buffaloes and by spotted deer and wild boar I lived in the wood.
- 3 No one was frightened⁵ of me nor did I⁶ fear anyone⁷; sustained by the power of loving-kindness I delighted in the forest then.⁸

III. 14 CONDUCT OF EKARĀJĀ⁹

(Ekarājacariyam)

- 1 And again, when I was called Ekarājā, widely famed, resolutely determining on the supreme morality¹⁰, I governed¹¹ the great earth.

¹ Sāma-jātaka, No. 540; cf. Mhvu. ii. 209, and Jātakastava, Story 44. Sāma mentioned at Miln. 123, 198.

² CpA. 258 Sāmapañḍitacariyam. ³ I.e. produced on his advice.

⁴ Ee dīpehi, Ce, Be dīpihi. ⁵ Ee uttasati, CpA. 260, Ce, Be uttasati.

⁶ Ee, Be na pi, Ce napi 'harā.

⁷ CpA. 260 animals, yakkhas, non-human beings or human beings who were hunters.

⁸ This verse, cited at Jā. i. 47, BvA. 61 in illustration of the ultimate perfection of Loving-kindness, is attributed there to Ekarājjātaka; also cited at ApA. 51 as from Sāma-jātaka, with v. 1. Ekarājjātaka. See III. 14, n. 1.

⁹ Ekarāja-jātaka, No. 303. At DPPN, Jā. i. 47, BvA. 61 it is given as an example of a birth where the Bodhisatta practised mettā to the highest perfection. The verse quoted, however, is the last verse in the previous Cp story (III. 13) which is not a story concerning this perfection at its utmost limit. At ApA. 51 it is rightly ascribed to the Sāma-jātaka.

¹⁰ As named in next verse.

¹¹ CpA. 264 explains pasāsāmi as anusāsāmi, I governed, and rajjam kāremi, I ruled, reigned—namely, over the kingdom of Kāsi.

- 2 Without exception I practised the ten skilled ways of acting,¹ I treated the populace kindly with the four bases of generosity².
- 3 While I was being diligent thus for the sake of this world and the next, Dabhasena,³ having approached, sacking my city⁴ (by force of arms),
- 4 Getting complete possession of the dependants of the king, the townspeople together with the armed forces and with the country-folk, buried⁵ me in a pit.⁶
- 5 When he had captured the (whole) body of ministers, the prosperous kingdom, my inner city⁷, I saw even my dear son taken. There was no one to equal me in loving-kindness—this was my perfection of Loving-kindness.

¹ As at I. 3, 1; II. 8, 2.

² See II. 9, 2, n.

³ King of Kosala.

⁴ Bārāṇasī, also called Kāsi.

⁵ Ee nikkhani, CpA. 266 nikhani, Ce nikhari, Be nikhari.

⁶ kāsū explained by āvāṭa at CpA which adds 'up to the neck'. Kasu also at II. 1. 3.

⁷ antepura is the inner city, i.e. the royal palace, which will have included the king's women-folk, children and retainers.

THE PERFECTION OF EQUANIMITY

(Upekkhāpāramitā)

III. 15 THE GREAT ASTOUNDING CONDUCT¹

(Mahālomahamsacariyaṃ)

- 1 ²I lay down in a cemetery leaning against³ a skeleton. Crowds of rustic children⁴ approached me and displayed a great deal of derisive behaviour.
- 2 Others, exultant, thrilled in mind, brought (me) offerings of many perfumes and garlands⁵ and a variety of food.
- 3 Those who caused⁶ me anguish and those who gave me happiness—I was the same to them all; kindness, anger⁷ did not exist.
- 4 Having become balanced toward happiness and anguish, toward honours and reproaches⁸, I was the same in all circumstances—this was my perfection of Equanimity.

Concluded is the Exposition on the Perfection of Equanimity⁹

¹ The identification of this cariya with Lomahamsa-jātaka, No. 94, is open to doubt. See Intr. p. viii.

² At Jā. i. 47, BvA. 61, ApA. 51 this verse is cited to illustrate the ultimate perfection of Equanimity, all three passages saying that the full meaning can be obtained from the Cariyāpiṭaka. At M. i. 79 in the Mahāsihanāda Sta., No. 12, the episode of this verse is called 'abiding in equanimity'. At the end of the Sta. the Buddha is recorded to advise Nāgasamāla that since his hair had stood on end while he was listening to it he should remember it as the Hair-raising (or Astounding) Disquisition, Lomahamsanapariyāya. See Intr. p. viii, also my Ten Jātaka Stories, London, 1957, Intr. p. xxi.

³ Ee nidhāya; Ce, Be, BvA. 61, ApA. 51 upanidhāya; CpA. 260 'making a bone my pillow', 276, M. i. 79 (in prose), Jā. i. 47 upadhāya.

⁴ Ee, Be gāmaṇḍala; Ce, CpA., M. i. Jā. i, BvA., ApA. (all loc. cit.) go-peasants'.

⁵ Ee, Ce gandhañ ca mālañ ca, Be gandhamālañ ca.

⁶ Ee, Ce upadahanti, CpA. 270, Be upaharanti.

⁷ Ee dayakopo, CpA., Ce, Be dayā kopo.

⁸ yasesu ayasesu explained by kittisu nindāsu at CpA. 270.

⁹ Ce upekkhāpāramī niddeso niṭṭhito, Be upekkhavaggo tatiyo.

Its summary:¹

- 1(5) Yudhañjaya, Somanassa, Ayogghara, and involving a Lotus-stalk², Soṇa-Nanda, Mūgapakkha, Monkey-king, Sacca by name,
- 2(6) The Quail, and the Fish-king, the seer Kaṇhadīpāyana, again I was Sutasoma, I was Sāma and Ekarājā; there was the perfection of Equanimity. So it was declared by the great seer.

ENVOI-VERSES

- 1(7) Having thus experienced manifold anguish and manifold happiness in a variety of existences³, I attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 2(8) Having given gifts that should have been given⁴, having fulfilled morality in its entirety, having gone to perfection in renunciation, I attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 3(9) Having inquired of the learned⁵, having engaged in supreme energy, having gone to the perfection of patience, I attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 4(10) Having made resolute determination firm, guarding truth-speaking, having gone to the perfection of loving-kindness, I attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 5(11) Toward gain and non-gain, toward honour and reproach⁶, toward respect⁷ and disrespect—having been the same⁸ in all circumstances, I attained supreme Self-Awakening.
- 6(12) Having seen indolence as a peril and output of energy as

¹ On the numbering of these final ten verses, see Intr. p. 1 Ver. 4-(10).

² bhisenā, explained at CpA. 271 as conduct of Mahākācana, its title for this cariya, III. 4.

³ bhavābhava, CpA. 272: in small as well as in large existences, or in growings and declinings. See too CpA. 20.

⁴ dātābhakarā. Ver. (8)-(14) also at Ap. p. 5-6, ver. 69-75, with a few vv. ll.

⁵ Indicating the perfection of Wisdom, CpA. 274. None of the 3 perfections of this ver. has a corresponding cariya in Cp.

⁶ yasāyase; see III. 15. 4.

⁷ Read sammā- with CpA. 275, Ce, Be for Ee samā-.

⁸ Read samako with ibid., for Ee samāno.

peace, be putters forth of energy—this is the teaching of the Buddhas.¹

7(13) Having seen contention² as a peril and non-contention³ as peace, be united, tender-hearted⁴—this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

8(14) Having seen negligence as a peril and diligence as peace, develop the eight-fold⁵ Way—this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

The Lord, in this way⁶ illustrating his own former conduct, spoke the disquisition on Dhamma called Heroic Stories of the Buddha.⁷

Concluded is the Basket of Conduct

¹ Ee, Be, CpA. 333 on ver. 6 buddhanusasani, Ce, CpA. 333, 335 on ver. 7, 8 -āna-.

² CpA. 333 refers to the six matters causing vivāda, contention, quarrel. See e.g. Vin. ii. 89, D. iii. 246, M. ii. 245, A. iii. 334.

³ CpA, this is cultivation of loving-kindness, or also the six things to be remembered (sārāṇiyadhamma, e.g. D. iii. 245, M. i. 322, A. iii. 288) causing absence of contention.

⁴ Ee akhilā, CpA, Ce, Be sakhilā, explained at CpA as muduhadayā.

⁵ Ee bhavē aṭṭhaṇ-, CpA. 334, Ce, Be, Ap. p. 6, ver. 75 bhāvēth' aṭṭhaṇ-.

⁶ itthaṇṇ sudarṇ. CpA. 335 says that sudarṇ is only a participle, and itthaṇṇ means 'the hundred thousand eons and' (four incalculables), see CpA. 2, ver. 16; these were needed to bring Awakening to maturity.

⁷ Buddhāpadāniya, given as an alternative title for Cp at CpA. 8. This means according to CpA. 335, that the earlier deeds, purāṇanakamma, done under (different) Buddhas and difficult to do, were told as pertaining to himself, adhikiccappavattattā (this word also at Vism. 450), i.e. to the Buddha Gotama. The stories collected in Cp to illustrate his former heroic conduct are supposed to recount deeds done in this Bhadda-eon only (see I. 2 and CpA. 20); see Intr. p. vi f. x.

INDEX OF PALI PROPER NAMES

Numbers refer to the Division, Story, Verse. S stands for the Summaries at the end of each Division.

Abbreviations used

cy. city, k. king, kd. kingdom, pr. prince, y. yakkha.

- Adhamma, y. II 8. 4
 Akitti I 1. 3, 10. S1
 Ālampāna II 2. 5f.
 Alinasattu II 9. 2
 Aṅgulimāla III 11. 12 n.
 Añjana, elephant I 3. 3
 Aritṭha, cy. I 8. 1
 Ayoghara, pr. III 3. 1, 15. S1
- Bārāṇasī I 7. 1 n., II 4. 3, III 5. 1 n,
 14. 3 n
 Bhūridatta II 2. 1, 10. S1
 Brahmavaddhana, cy. III 5. 1
 Buddhāpadāniya p. v 50, n. 7
- Campeyya (ka) II 3. 7, 10. S1
 Canda I 7. 1, 10. S2
 Ceta I 9. 38; kings of I 9. 40
 Cūḷabodhi II 4. 1, 10. S1
- Dabbasena, k. III 14. 3
 Dhamma, y. II 8. 1, 10. S1
 Dhanañjaya, k. I 3. 1, 10. S1
 Dipaṅkara, B. II 3. 5 n.
- Ekarāja k. (1) I 7. 1 (2) III 14. 1, 15.
 S2
- Ganges II 6. 2ff., 7. 2
- Indapatta, cy. I, 3. 1, III 2. 1
- Jāli, I 9. 29 30 44 46 52
 Jambudīpa I 9. 14 n.
 Jātaveda III 9. 10
 Jayaddisa, k. II 9. 1, 10. S1
 Jetuttara, cy. I 9. 7, 56
- Kāliṅga, kd. I 3. 2, 9. 16
 Kampilā (Kapillā, Kapilā), cy. II 9. 1
 Kaṇhadīpayana III 11. 1, 15. S2
 Kaṇhā(jinā) I 9. 29 30 44 46 52
 Kāsi, cy. III 4. 1; k. of III 3. 1, 6. 1
 Kosala III 10. 8 n., 14. 3 n.
 Kusavati, cy. I 4. 1
- Maddi I 9. 28ff. 36 44f. 49ff.
 Magadha III 9. 1
 Maha-Govinda I 5. 1, 10. S1
 Mahākāñcana, III 4. n.1, 15. S1 n.
 Mahā-Sudassana, k. I 4. 1, 10. S1
 Maṇḍabya III 11. 3
 Mātanga II 7. 1, 10. S1
 Mithilā, cy. I 6. 1
 Moggallāna II 2. 7 n.
 Mūgapakkha, pr. III 6. 1, 15. S1
- Nāgasamāla III 15. 2 n.
 Nanda III 5. 6, 15. S1
 Nimi, k. I 6. 1, 10. S2
- Paccaya, elephant I 9. 15
 Pajjunna III 10. 6ff.
 Pañcāla, kd. II 9. 1
 Phusati I 9. 1 6ff. 10
 Puppavati, cy. I 7. 1
- Ruru II, 6. 1, 10. S1
- Sacca III 8. 1, 15. S1
 Sakka I 1. 4n., 8. 3, 9. 1 3 4 6 42 49,
 10. 10 19n., III 4. n.1, 13. 1
 Sāma III 13. 1, 15. S2
 Sañjaya, I 9. 7
 Saṅkha I 2. 1, 10. S1