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SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

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DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA

*TRANSLATED FROM THE PALI
OF THE DĪGHA NIKĀYA*

BY

T. W. AND C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

PART III

London

HUMPHREY MILFORD

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INTRODUCTION.

It is now twenty years since the first volume of this translation of the Dīgha was published. Other work, infirmities and old age have contributed to the delay, and the work would never have been finished if it had not received the co-operation of my wife, who in spite of much other work to do, found time to assist me so often and so much.

In the opening pages of the first volume eight facts were referred to as evidence of the age of the Dīgha, and incidentally of the rest of that part of the Pali literature which belonged to the same period. The conclusions drawn from these facts were that the books in question were North Indian in origin; that they belonged to a period before the time of Asoka, and before South India and Ceylon were well known in the North of India; and that they contained good evidence for the 5th century, and indeed, in parts of them, for the 6th century B.C.

Since these conclusions were drawn the Pali Text Society has published nearly fifty volumes of Pali texts. They belong to all periods. But so far as they throw light on the subject, they confirm the above conclusions. Two valuable treatises on Pali Literature have also appeared—the one by Professor Winternitz in the 2nd vol. of his *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*,¹ and the other by Professor Geiger in his *Pali Literatur und Sprache*.² The two scholars, though differing on many points of detail, agree on

¹ Leipzig, 1913.

² Vol. I, Pt. 7 of *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1916.

the main point of the general accuracy of the above conclusions.

We can now go a little further. With the whole of the texts before us we can speak with more certainty as to the method of their gradual growth, and as to the difference of age of the various portions. We have no space here to repeat the arguments put forward in *Buddhist India*, pp. 165-188. We can only give the general conclusions. These are—

1. Of the twenty-nine books in the canon only one—the latest—has a putative author, and even in that case ‘editor’ would be more accurate than ‘author.’

2. Most of them, including all the most important, are anthologies, collections of older material.

3. Some of this older material had already been collected into smaller anthologies, now no longer extant as separate books, but incorporated in the existing ones. Such are the *Pātimokkha*, the *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyana*, and the *Octades*.

4. The older material consists of hymns or ethical verses or ballads; and of prose passages on doctrine or ethics or conduct, and of parables, or short episodes in the life history of the principal contemporaries of the Buddha. Such passages can often be distinguished from the context in which they now stand by the fact that they are found in identical words in two or more of the existing anthologies.

5. The great compendiums—that is the Four *Nikāyas*, and the *Vinaya*—grew up side by side, and were probably completed in their present shape about a century after the Buddha’s death.

6. When such a passage or stanza as is mentioned in § 4 occurs in two or more of these five there need be no question of one having borrowed from the other. Each may have incorporated the passage or stanza or episode from the common stock of such passages, etc., handed down in the community.

7. Each of them has at the end an appendix which is a little later than the rest of the work.

8. We have now a long and increasing list of words or

thoughts which are tests of age—words used in one sense in the older strata of the literature and in another sense in later strata (abhiññā, anāgāmin, abhidhamma, ogha, etc.)—new words introduced to modify or supplement ideas in older works (dukkata, dhutanga, etc.) and new words formed to express new ideas.¹ Such test-words are invaluable in assisting us to determine the comparative age (with reference to other passages) of the particular passage in which they occur.

9. It has been possible therefore to arrange the canonical books into a list showing their comparative age during the period from the time of the Buddha to that of Asoka.²

10. Not one of these twenty-nine Pali books has been, so far as we know, translated into Sanskrit. When some Buddhists, notably the Sabbatthivādins (to be henceforth known as Sarvāstivādins), began to write in Sanskrit about the time of Kanishka, they wrote new works, or made new anthologies. These sometimes had titles imitated from the titles of the Pali books; and the anthologies, whether in prose or verse or both, contained some of the selections included in the Pali anthologies with similar names. But they were new books.

11. Their historical value is all the greater on that account. It is the differences we want to know about. What changes did they make in doctrine or discipline, and why? It is waste of time to speculate without the texts. And especially we want a complete edition of all the Sarvāstivādin works (except more story books—they can wait).

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

January, 1921.

¹ See, for instance, Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* (Quest Series), pp. 140-200; and cf. the list given in Rhys Davids, *Questions of Milinda* I, xlv. ff.

² See *Buddhist India*, p. 188.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PĀṬIKA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta is concerned really with only two topics, firstly that of mystic wonders, and secondly that of the origin of things. The former has been dealt with much better and more fully in the Kevaddha;¹ the latter, here treated quite curtly and by way of appendix only, is fully discussed below in the Aggañña.

The treatment here is clumsy. It is no doubt intended to be both humorous and edifying. But the humour is far removed from the delicate irony of the Kevaddha and the Aggañña. The fun is of the pantomime variety; loud, and rather stupid. It is funny perhaps to hear how a corpse gets slapped on the back, wakes up just long enough to let the cat out of the bag, and then falls back dead again; or how an incompetent medicine-man gets stuck fast to his seat, and wriggles about in his vain endeavours to rise. But this sort of fun would appeal more strongly to a music-hall audience, or to schoolboys out for a holiday, than to those who are likely to read it in this volume. And the supposed edification is of the same order. As an *argumentum ad hominem*, as propounded for the enlightenment of the very foolish Sunakkhatta (and this is just, after all, what it purports to be), it may pass muster. Whether it can have appealed to (or was even meant to appeal to) wiser folk is very questionable. One gets rather bored with the unwearied patience with which the Tathāgata is here represented as suffering fools gladly. And it is difficult to bear with an author who tells stories so foolish merely to prove that the Tathāgata is as good a magician as the best, and who has the bad taste to put them into the mouth of the Tathāgata himself. Not only in style and taste does this Suttanta differ from the others. In doctrine also it is opposed to them. The wonders in which the peoples of India, in the sixth century B.C., believed were not very different from those so easily, at the same period,

¹ Above, I, 272-279.

believed in Europe. The mental attitude regarding them was, I venture to think, not at all the same. In the West, though the other view was also found, the prevailing belief was that such wonders were the result of the interference of some deity suspending, or changing, the general law, the sequence of things that generally happened. In India, though this view was sometimes held by some, the prevailing belief was that such wonders (whether worked by humans, gods, or animals) were in accordance with law. In a word, they were not miracles. There is a tendency to make little of this distinction, but it is really of vital importance. It is the difference between Animism and what I have ventured to call Normalism, the exact contrary of Animism.¹

The early Buddhists did not deny the occurrence of such marvels; on the contrary, they accepted them in the Normalistic sense held by most of their more cultured compatriots. But they held them in low esteem. The Kevaddha makes the Master say :

It is because I see danger in the practice of such mystic wonders that I loathe, and abhor, and am ashamed thereof.²

And he is there represented as maintaining that the real wonder, the one he advocates, is the wonder of education—a thesis then set out in detail, and set out, in all probability, for the first time in the history of the world.

So at Dīgha III, 112, 113 (translated below), a distinction is made between such wonders as are ignoble and those that are noble (Ariyan). The former are all the wonders worked by the unconverted, or the worldly. The latter is the wonder of self-mastery.

Then again there is a special rule in the canon law :

You are not, O Bhikkhus, to display before the laity the wonders of Iddhi, surpassing the power of ordinary men. Whosoever does so shall be guilty of a wrong act (dukkata).³

Yet in this Suttanta we have the Master, who is said in the Vinaya to have laid down this rule, represented as doing the very thing he denounces in the Rule as a wrong act.

We have before us then a case, not only of divergence in doctrine, but of complete contradiction. What does it mean? It is partly a question of time, partly a question of individual eccentricity, and partly a question of toleration. Our Suttanta can scarcely have grown up in the community

¹ Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1915.

² Above, I, 278.

³ Vinaya II, 112; translated in Vinaya Texts III, 81.

after the period in which the Rule just quoted became acknowledged in the community as valid. Now the occurrence in the Rule of the technical term *dukkata* (wrong act), a term not found in the *Pātimokkha*, shows (for the reasons given by Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the text) that the Rule in question belongs to the third and latest stage in the evolution of the Canon Law. We must allow, at least, two or three generations after the death of the Buddha for this evolution. During that interval different individuals in the community held different views as to the powers of magic. No one believed in miracles in the European sense of that word. But there were a number of individuals who thought it edifying to ascribe the power of magic, and to ascribe it in ever increasing degree, to the Buddha and his most famous disciples. The view of the more intelligent; the view that ultimately, in great measure, prevailed; and so far as we can judge, the view of the Buddha himself, was the view put forward in the *Kevaddha* and allied passages. But the other view was also held by weaker vessels. And when the anthology called the *Dīgha* was put together, its editor, or editors, included not only both old and new, but also stories, legends or paragraphs embodying views divergent and even opposed. We are not entitled on these facts to suppose that the *Pāṭika Suttanta* was either later or earlier than the *Kevaddha*. Both may have been already current in the community when the *Dīgha* was edited, and the editors may have been tolerant of whichever of the opposing views they did not share; or they may have thought the story should go in, as it clearly implied how very silly *Sunakkhatta* was, and how deplorably weak were the views he held.

The word *Arahant* is, in this *Suttanta*, applied by *Sunakkhatta* to three persons—*religieux* of the baser sort, devoid, in all that we are told about them, of the essential qualities of the *Arahant* as laid down in the *Nikāyas*. He is simply not using the word in the Buddhist sense at all. The expression is pre-Buddhistic. It is used, for instance, in the *Brāhmaṇa* of the Hundred Paths of kings and priests, not apparently with any ethical connotation, but simply as people entitled to receive gifts and respect, and who are apt to be very angry if these be not forthcoming.¹ It is here an honorific title, used of worldly people of distinguished position. It might be freely rendered Right Honourable; but

¹ Śat. Br. (S.B.E.) III, 4, 1, 3, 6, 8.

really means worthy or entitled to receive gifts. In our Suttanta it is applied by Sunakkhatta, who rejects the new movement of reform, to ascetics as such merely on account of their self-mortification (*tapas*).¹ It might be rendered His Worship (that is, worth-ship) or His Reverence. In this he has the devas on his side. They are represented as saying of one become emaciated by voluntary starvation that he is like in appearance to an Arahant.² Now the dear devas were not considered as very bright, except in their outward form. They were intellectually on a level with the chorus in a Greek play, or with the man in the street of the modern journalist, but they talk, no doubt, the language of men, and we may take it that at the time of the rise of Buddhism the word Arahant had come to be popularly applied, not only to priests and kings, but also to ascetics.³

As in so many other cases, the leaders of the new movement adopted the current term, but poured, as it were, new wine into the old bottle by using it with a new connotation. They tried the same plan also with the old term Brahmin, and then they failed; vested interests were too strong for them.⁴

In this particular case they succeeded. Seldom or never in later writings do we find the word in its old sense. It has the reformed meaning only—viz., that of a man who has reached the end of the Ariyan Path and has the consequent knowledge and sense of emancipation.⁵ And as a consequence of this we find alongside of the old derivation (from *arahati*, to be worthy of) all sorts of fanciful and purely exegetical explanations. So at Majjhima I, 280 the word is connected with *āraṇa*, distant, because all evil dispositions are far from the Arahant, and the Visuddhi Magga⁶ and the Abhidhāna Padīpikā Sūcī (*s.v.*) give a number of others of the same kind.

Arahant, in the new sense, thus differs from the ancient usage in connoting not worldly position or the outward signs of asceticism, but a radical change of heart, and an alertness of intellect so ingrained that it amounts, at times, to intuition. There are many passages in the oldest texts

¹ See the passages referred to above, II, 208-311.

² Majjhima I, 245. Cf. Pss. of the Sisters, p. 130.

³ *Ye loke arahanto*. See Saṃyutta II, 220.

⁴ See above, Vol. I, p. 141.

⁵ Majjhima III, 76. Comp. Saṃyutta III, 161; IV, 175-252.

⁶ P. 198 f.

giving the details of this ideal state.¹ The post-canonical history of the word is a striking testimony to the decline of the faith. The later writers, whether in Pali or Sanskrit, do not know any contemporary Arahants. For them Arahants, whether laymen or not, existed only in the good old times. We have seen above² how the Buddha, just before his death, in the talk with his last convert, gives utterance to the hope: May the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of Arahants!

According to the view of Buddhist writers, the world has been bereft of Arahants for more than two thousand years. But the Buddhist Messiah is to come and then there will be Arahants again.³

There arises out of this a further question: Who, in the oldest period, could be an Arahant? The answer is: Anyone—men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*.⁴ There is a statement in the Milinda (p. 264) that Whoever has attained, as a layman, to Arahantship, one of two courses is possible to him, and no other—either that very day he enters the Order, or he dies, for beyond that day he cannot last.

No confirmation of this has so far been found in the Nikāyas. But there is an adumbration to such a doctrine in the Kathā Vatthu (IV. 1) when the objector has decidedly the best of the argument against the Thera-vādin. The latter depends on a statement put into the Master's mouth in the Majjhima:

‘There is no layman who, without putting away the bonds that bind laymen, obtains after death the end of ills.’⁵

But this is a very different matter and is no answer, as pointed out by the objector, to the fact that examples are given of laymen who become Arahants. When laymen had experienced the mental change called becoming an Arahant, the natural result, under the conditions prevailing in North India in the sixth or fifth centuries B.C., would be that he

¹ See R. O. Franke in Appendix II to his Dīgha Nikāya (Leipzig, 1913), a translation into German of selected portions of the Dīgha.

² Vol. II, p. 167.

³ Dīghā III, 76.

⁴ For examples of lay Arahants see Vinaya, I, 17; Saṃyutta V, 94; Anguttara III, 451; Kathā Vatthu 267. Compare the Comy. on Theragāthā (Pss. of the Brethren, 234, a boy seven years old), and on Therī-Gāthā 64 (a girl seven years old); Dhp. Comy. I, 308; Jāt. II, 229; Milinda II, 57, 96, 245.

⁵ Majjhima I, 483.

would become a *religieux*. And this may have been sufficient reason for such opinions as those expressed in the Kathā Vatthu and the Milinda having, in the course of centuries, grown up.

We talk now of the Buddha, and have scarcely begun to be familiar with the term Arahant. In the old days these were so closely allied that they really gave expression to two facets of the same jewel. Every Buddha (awakened one) was an Arahant. Every Arahant was buddha (awakened).¹

T. W. R. D.

¹ Saṃyutta I, 169, 200; III, 83 f.; Sutta-Nipāta 186, 590; Udāna I, 5; Sum. Vil. I, 43; and the passages quoted above, II, 1-3.



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seated, Bhaggava the Wanderer spake thus to the Exalted One :

Some days ago, Lord, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis¹ called on me and spake thus : I have now given up the Exalted One, Bhaggava. I am remaining no longer under him (as my teacher). Is the fact really so, just as he said ?

It is just so, Bhaggava, as Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis said.

3. Some days ago, Bhaggava, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta, the Licchavi, came to call on me, and spake thus : Sir, I now give up the Exalted One. I will henceforth remain no longer under him (as my teacher). When he told me this, I said to him : But now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you : Come, Sunakkhatta, live under me (as my pupil) ?

No, Sir, you have not.

[3] Or have you ever said to me : Sir, I would fain dwell under the Exalted One (as my teacher) ?

No, Sir, I have not.

But if I said not the one, and you said not the other, what are you and what am I that you talk of giving up ?² See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.³

4. Well, but, Sir, the Exalted One works me no mystic wonders surpassing the power of ordinary men.⁴

Why, now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you : Come, take me as your teacher, Sunakkhatta, and I will work for you mystic wonders surpassing the power of ordinary men ?

You have not, Sir.

Or have you ever said to me : Sir, I would fain take the Exalted One as my teacher, for he will work for

¹ His story is sketched above (I, 199).

² Literally, being who, whom do you give up? that is, considering your want of position in the matter, how can you so talk? So also at M., I, 428.

³ Yāvañ ca te idaṃ aparaddhaṃ. See D. II, 198; M. III, 169.

⁴ Iddhi-pāṭihāriya. See above, I, 272-9, for a statement of the doctrine on mystic wonders.

me mystic wonders beyond the powers of ordinary men?

I have not, Sir.

But if I said not the one, and you said not the other, what are you and what am I, foolish man, that you talk of giving up? What think you, Sunakkhatta? Whether mystic wonders beyond the power of ordinary man are wrought, or whether they are not, is the object for which I teach the Norm this: that it leads to the thorough destruction of ill for the doer thereof?

[4] Whether, Sir, they are so wrought or not, that is indeed the object for which the Norm is taught by the Exalted One.

If then, Sunakkhatta, it matters not to that object whether mystic wonders are wrought or not, of what use to you would be the working of them? See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.

5. But, Sir, the Exalted One does not reveal to me the beginning of things.¹

Why now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you: Come, Sunakkhatta, be my disciple and I will reveal to you the beginning of things?

Sir, you have not.

Or have you ever said to me: I will become the Exalted One's pupil, for he will reveal to me the beginning of things?

Sir, I have not.

But if I have not said the one and you have not said the other, what are you and what am I, foolish man, that you talk of giving up on that account? What think you, Sunakkhatta? Whether the beginning of things be revealed, or whether it be not, is the object for which I teach the Norm this: that it leads to the thorough destruction of ill for the doer thereof?

¹ Na . . . aggaññan paññapeti. Aggañña, meaning priority in time, space or merit, is by the Comy. defined here as loka-paññatti, revelation of the world, and, in the Aggañña Suttanta below, as lokuppatti, the genesis of the world.

Whether, Sir, they are revealed or not, that is indeed the object for which the Norm is taught by the Exalted one.

[5] If then, Sunakkhatta, it matters not to that object whether the beginning of things be revealed, or whether it be not, of what use to you would it be to have the beginning of things revealed? See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.

6. In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken my praises among the Vajjians,¹ saying²: Thus is the Exalted One; he is an Arahant fully awakened; wisdom he has and righteousness; he is the Well-Farer³; he has knowledge of the worlds; he is the supreme driver of men willing to be tamed; the teacher of devas⁴ and men; the Awakened and Exalted One. In such wise have you been wont, among the Vajjians, to utter praise of me.

In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken the praises of the Dhamma among the Vajjians: Well proclaimed by the Exalted One is the Dhamma as bearing on this present life, not involving time,⁵ in-

¹ Vajji-gāme, literally, in the village—*i.e.*, says the Comy. of the Vajjian-rājas. (free men) at Vesālī.

² The following three paragraphs are the stock passages for the description of a Buddha, his Dhamma, and his Sangha respectively. See A. VI, 57; S. IV, 41 etc.

³ Sugata. It is curious that this, after Buddha, the awakened, should be the epithet most frequently used as a name of the founder of Buddhism. That is so, both in the ancient texts and in the more modern commentaries. See above, II, 242-5, 265. See also below, Chap. II, § 7 f.; Suttanta XXXI, § 6 etc.; Sutta-Nipāta Comy. I, 43.

⁴ We judge that while the word deva is applicable also to conceptions of divinity, its essential meaning, in Indian literature, is rather that of other-world nature than of superhuman nature. We in the next world are deva's. Spirit alone can roughly and inadequately parallel this wide denotation. See I, 115, *n.* 1.

⁵ The definitions of akālika by Buddhaghosa elsewhere and Dhammapāla hardly justify our previous renderings of this word. See Kindred Sayings, I, 15, *n.* 2; Pss. of the Brethren, 314, *n.* 1.

viting all to come and see,¹ to be understood by every wise man for himself. In such wise have you been wont, among the Vajjians, to utter praise of the Dhamma.

In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken the praises of the Order among the Vajjians: Well are they trained, the Order of the Exalted One's disciples, even the four branches thereof. The eight classes of individuals² well trained in uprightness, in principles and in courtesy. This Order should be respected and revered; gifts should be given it, and homage; for it is the world's unsurpassed field (for sowing) merit. In such wise have you been wont, among the Vajjians, to utter praise of the Order.

I tell you Sunakkhatta, I make known to you Sunakkhatta, that there will be those that shall say concerning you thus: Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis was not able to live the holy life under Gotama the recluse. And he, not being able to adhere to it, hath renounced the discipline and turned to lower things.

[6] Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and purgatory.

7. At one time, Bhaggava, I was staying among the Bumu's. Uttarakā is a village of theirs, and having dressed early one morning, I afterwards took my bowl, put on my robe, and went into Uttarakā for alms. Now, at that time, a cynic there, Bandylegs the Khattiya,³ was wont to behave like a dog, walking on all fours,⁴

¹ Ehi-passiko: come-see-ish.

² The branches are brethren and sisters, laymen and laywomen. The eight classes refer to the four Paths and four stages of Fruition—i.e., the *spiritual condition* of the four branches.

³ * Kora-khattiyo kukkura-vatiko. Buddhaghosa explains kora as a nickname, having the feet turned in. See M. I, 387; Netti 99; Jāt. I, 389, and compare Rh. D.'s Buddhist India, 245.

⁴ Catukunṭiko as in M. I, 79. The Comy. reads catukonṭhiko, which it paraphrases by catusanghaṭhito, and explains by walks, resting the knees and elbows on the earth.

or sprawling on the ground and taking up food, whether hard or soft, with his mouth only (without using his hands).

Sunakkhatta, seeing him act thus, thought: How truly admirable does he look, the holy man, the recluse creeping on all fours, or sprawling on the ground, taking up food, whether hard or soft, with his mouth only. Then I, Bhaggava, knowing what was in his mind, said to him: Do you, O foolish man, confess yourself as following the son of the Sākiyas?

What does the Exalted One mean, Sir, in [7] saying this to me?

Did you not think, Sunakkhatta, as you looked at that naked Cynic, Kora the Khattiya, on all fours, sprawling on the earth, taking up his food, whether hard or soft, with his mouth only: How admirable were it to be a holy man like that?

Yes, lord, I did. What then! Does the Exalted One begrudge Arahantship in others?¹

Nay, foolish man. I begrudge in no one Arahantship. It is only in you that this vicious opinion has arisen. Put it away. Let it not become a lasting source of harm and ill to you. This naked cynic, Kora the Khattiya, whom you, Sunakkhatta, fancy so admirable an arahant, will die seven days hence of an epilepsy,² and dying he will be reborn as one of the Kālakañjas,³ the very lowest of the Asura groups. As dead, he will be laid out on a heap of bīraṇa grass in the charnel field. You might go up to him, if you wish, and ask him: Do you know your own destiny, friend Kora? Perchance he will reply: I know my own

¹ The Comy. paraphrases by *mā aññassa arahattan hotūti*—May no one else (except me and mine) be Arahants. Arahant in common non-Buddhist usage was simply holy man. (Dhp. A. 1. 400; Psalms of the Sisters, 130).

² *Alasakena*: is this a negative of *lasikā*, the synovial fluid (p. 100)?

³ On these see Vol. II, p. 289:

The Kālakañjas all
Of fearsome shape. . . .

destiny, friend Sunakkhatta. There are Asuras called Kālakañjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups—'tis among them I am reborn.

8. Thereat, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis, went up to the cynic, Kora the Khattiya, and spake thus to him: Friend Kora the Khattiya, the Samaṇa Gotama has declared that on the seventh day hence, the naked ascetic, Kora the Khattiya, will die, and dying [8] he will be reborn as one of the Kālakañjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups. As dead, he will be laid on a heap of bīraṇa grass in the charnel field. Wherefore, friend Kora the Khattiya, you should partake of food with great moderation; you should drink liquids with great moderation; so that the word of the Samaṇa Gotama may prove wrong. Then Sunakkhatta, so firmly did he disbelieve the Tathāgata, counted up the seven days one after another; but, Bhaggava, on the seventh day, Kora the Khattiya died of an epilepsy, and dying was reborn as had been foretold; and as dead, was laid out as had been foretold.

9. Now Sunakkhatta heard, Bhaggava, that Kora the Khattiya lay dead in the charnel field on a heap of bīraṇa grass. And he went thither where the corpse was lying, and thrice he smote the naked ascetic with his hand, saying: Do you know, friend Kora the Khattiya, what has been your destiny? Then Bhaggava, Kora the Khattiya, rubbing his back with his hand, raised himself up and said: I know, friend Sunakkhatta, what is my destiny. Among the Kālakañjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups—there am I reborn.. So saying, he fell back supine.¹

10. Thereupon, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi came to me, and saluting me, sat down beside me. So

¹ It may be interesting to mention the Commentator's suspended judgment on this weird occurrence: A corpse is not capable of rising up and speaking. It spoke by the power of the Buddha. The Exalted One either brought back Kora the Khattiya from the Asura-womb (or form of birth, *yoni*), or he made the body speak. For the range of a Buddha is incalculable.

sitting, I spake to him thus : What think you, Sunakkhatta ? Has it happened to the cynic, Kora the Khattiya, even as I declared to you, or otherwise ?

It has happened to him even as the Exalted One declared to me, not otherwise.

[9] What think you, Sunakkhatta ? This being so, has a mystic wonder by power beyond that of ordinary men been wrought, or has it not ?

Surely, sir, this being so, such a mystic wonder has been wrought.¹

And is it then to me, you foolish man, who have thus by power beyond that of ordinary men, wrought a mystic wonder, that you say : Sir, the Exalted one works me no miracles with his superhuman gifts ? See, foolish man, how far you have committed yourself.

Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and to purgatory.

11. At one time, Bhaggava, I was staying at Vesālī, in the Great Wood, at the Gable Hall. Now at that time there was a naked ascetic residing at Vesālī, named Kandara-masuka,² and great was his gain and his fame in the Vajjian home. He had vowed and taken upon himself seven rules of life, to wit : So long as I live I will be of the Naked Ascetics, I will put on no garment ; so long as I live, I will be a devotee, devoted to a life of chastity ; so long as I live, I will maintain myself by spirituous drink and by flesh, eating no rice-broth or gruel ; I will never go beyond the Udena shrine on the east of Vesālī ; the Gotamaka shrine on the south ; the Sattamba shrine on the west, [10] and the Bahuputta shrine on the north. It was because of his having laid

¹ Five miracles, reckons the Comy. : The date of death foretold ; the illness ; the rebirth ; the bīraṇa-bier indicated ; the speaking corpse.

² The MSS. give the name also as Kalāra- and Kaḷāra-maṭṭaka and -maṭṭhaka and -matthuka and -masukha, but it has not, so far, been met with elsewhere



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14. Now Sunakkhatta heard that Kandara-masuka, the ascetic, had died (as I had foretold). Thereupon he came to call upon me, and saluting me, he sat down beside me, and I spake to him thus: What think you, Sunakkhatta? Has it happened to the naked ascetic, Kandara-masuka, even as I declared to you, or otherwise?

It has happened to him even as the Exalted One declared to me, not otherwise.

What think you, Sunakkhatta? This being so, [12] has a mystic wonder by power surpassing that of ordinary men been wrought, or has none been wrought?

Surely, Sir, this being so, such a mystic wonder has been wrought.¹

And is it then to me, you foolish man, who have thus by power surpassing that of ordinary men, wrought a mystic wonder, that you say: Sir, the Exalted One works no such mystic wonder. See, foolish man, how far you have committed yourself.

Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and to purgatory.

15. At one time, Bhaggava, I was staying there at Vesālī, in the Great Wood, at the Gable Hall. Now at that time, the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son,² was residing at Vesālī, and great was his gain and his fame in the Vajjian home. He held forth thus in the Vesālī assemblies:

Both the Samaṇa Gotama and I affirm that we have insight. Now it becomes one who affirms this to show, in virtue of his insight, mystic wonders, by his extraordinary gifts. If the Samaṇa Gotama would come half-way, I would meet him half-way. Then we could both work a mystic wonder by our extraordinary gifts. If the Samaṇa Gotama work one such mystic wonder,

¹ *Seven* mystic wonders, says the Comy.—viz., of prophecy: one for each of the seven rules broken by the ascetic, as predicted.

² In Jāt. I, 389, the Buddha is said to have been staying in Pāṭika's Park, during the Kora episode. Cf. also Jāt. I, 77.

I will work two. If he work two, I will work four [13]. If he will work four, I will work eight. Thus, to whatever extent he may perform, I will perform double.

16. Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi came to call on me, and saluting me, sat down beside me. And so seated, told me all this. And when he had thus spoken, Bhaggava, I said to Sunakkhatta: Incompetent, Sunakkhatta, is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to meet me face to face, if he withdraw not those words, if he put not away that idea, if he renounce not that opinion. If he thinks that, holding to those words, to that idea, maintaining that opinion, he would come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder.

17. Let the Exalted One take heed to what he says. Let the Wellfarer take heed to what he says.

[14] What mean you, Sunakkhatta, that you say this to me?

It may be, sir, that the Exalted One's words convey an absolute statement respecting what would happen, in any case, to Pāṭika's son, should he, as such, come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama. But Pāṭika's son might come in an altered shape¹ to meet the Exalted One, and that would render the Exalted One's words false.

18. Now, Sunakkhatta, would a Tathāgata utter any speech that was ambiguous?

Well now, Sir, is it by the Exalted One's own discernment that he knows what would happen to Pāṭika's son were he to meet the Samaṇa Gotama face to face; or has some deva announced this matter to the Tathāgata?

I have both discerned it in my mind, Sunakkhatta, and a deva has also announced it to me [15]. For Ajita, general of the Licchavis, who died the other day, has been reborn in the realm of the Three-and-Thirty. He came to me and declared this to me: Shameless, Sir, is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son; a liar, Sir, is Pāṭika's

¹ He might, explains the Comy., assume an invisible body, or the shape of a lion, or tiger, etc.

son. He made this statement concerning me among the Vajjians: Ajita, the general of the Licchavis, is reborn in the Great Purgatory. But I am not reborn there, sir; I am reborn in the realm of the Thirty-and-Three. Shameless is Pāṭika's son, Sir, and a liar; incompetent is he to meet Samaṇa Gotama face to face, if he withdraw not those words, if he put not away that idea, if he renounce not that opinion. If he thinks that, holding to those words, to that idea, maintaining that opinion, he would come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder. Thus, Sunakkhatta, have I both discerned this in my mind, and a deva has also told it me. Now Sunakkhatta, when I have gone to Vesālī on my round for alms, and have dined, and am on the way back, I will go to Pāṭika's son's Park. Tell him, then, Sunakkhatta, whatever you think right.

[16] 19. Then I, Bhaggava, having dressed early, and taken my bowl and robe, entered Vesālī for alms. And after my meal, as I returned, I went into Pāṭika's son's park for siesta. Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, in a great hurry, went into Vesālī, and went to all the most distinguished of the Licchavis and told them saying: Friends, that Exalted One, on returning from his round for alms, and after dining, has gone to Pāṭika's son's park for siesta. Come forth, sirs, come forth. There is going to be wonder-working by the superhuman gifts of admirable recluses. Then those most distinguished among the Licchavis thought: Is that so? Come then, let's go. And wherever there were eminent brahmins and wealthy householders of position,¹ who had become Wanderers or brahmins of different sects, there he went (and told them the same thing, and they also determined to go). [17] So, Bhaggava, those eminent Licchavis and distinguished brahmins and wealthy householders of position, now Wanderers or brahmins of different sects, all repaired to the park of the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son. And

¹ Necayikā; nicaya, storing up. Ang. v, 149, 364. Neither at D. I, 136, nor here does Buddhaghosa give any help.

they formed an assembly of several hundred, nay, of several thousand persons.

20. Now Pāṭika's son heard that all these people were come out and that the Samaṇa Gotama himself was sitting, during siesta, in his park, and hearing of it, fear came upon him and trembling and creeping of the flesh. And thus afeared, agitated, and in dread, he went away to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park.

Then that company, Bhaggava, heard that he had gone thither in a panic, and they charged a certain man, saying: Come, my man, go to the Tinduka Pollards and find Pāṭika's son, the naked ascetic, and say this to him: We have come out, friend Pāṭika's son; there are come out many distinguished Licchavis and brahmins and wealthy householders, and various teachers among brahmins and recluses. And the Samaṇa Gotama himself is sitting, during siesta, in your reverence's park. You, friend Pāṭika's son, have delivered this speech in the assembly at Vesālī: Both the Samaṇa Gotama and I affirm that we have insight. Now one who affirms this is fit, in virtue of his insight, to show mystic wonders with his superhuman gifts [18]. If the Samaṇa Gotama would come halfway, I would meet him halfway. There we could both work mystic wonders by our superhuman gifts. And whatever number of mystic wonders he may work, I will work twice as many. Come forth then half-way, friend Pāṭika's son; the Samaṇa Gotama has come all the first half and is seated in your reverence's park for siesta.

21. Very good, said that man, consenting, and he went to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park, found Pāṭika's son, and gave him the message. When this was told him, Bhaggava, the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, saying: I am coming, [19] friend, I am coming, writhed about then and there and was unable to rise from his seat. Then said the man to him: How now, friend Pāṭika's son? Are your hams stuck to your seat, or is your seat stuck to your hams? You

say : I am coming, friend, I am coming, yet you writhe about and are not able to rise from your seat. And though this was said to him, Pāṭika's son repeated : I am coming, friend, I am coming, but only writhed about, unable to rise.

22. Now when the man recognized Pāṭika's son's discomfiture, hearing his words and seeing his incapacity, he went to the assembly and told them, saying : The naked ascetic Pāṭika's son seems discomfited. He says : I am coming, friend, I am coming, but he only writhes about as he sits and is unable to get up.

At these words, Bhaggava, I said to the assembly : Incompetent, friends, is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to meet me face to face, if he withdraw not those words, if he put not away that idea, if he renounce not that opinion. If he thinks that, holding to those words, to that idea, maintaining that opinion, he would come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder.

• (Here ends the first chapter for recitation.)

2. 1. Thereupon, Bhaggava, a certain councillor of the Licchavis rose from his seat and addressed the meeting : Well then, gentlemen, wait a while [20] till I go and see whether I am able to bring the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to this assembly. Then that councillor went to the Tinduka 'Pollards, the Wanderers' Park, found Pāṭika's son and summoned him to attend, even as the first messenger had done, ending with these words : Come forth, friend Pāṭika's son. If you come we will make you the victor, and cause the Samaṇa Gotama to lose.

2. And Pāṭika's son, Bhaggava, responded as before [21], even when the councillor rallied him as the first messenger had done.

3. Now when the councillor recognized the ascetic's discomfiture, hearing his words and seeing his incapacity, he came to the meeting and told them, saying : The naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, seems discomfited.

He says : I am coming, friend, I am coming, but he writhes about as he sits and is unable to get up.

And when he had thus said, Bhaggava, I spake to the meeting and told them again : Incompetent is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son . . . (as before, p. 17, § 16.) Even if it occurred to my noble friends the Licchavis : Let us bind Pāṭika's son with thongs and drag him hither with ox-yokes, Pāṭika's son would break those thongs. Incompetent is the ascetic, Pāṭika's son to meet me . . . (etc., as before).

4. Thereupon, Bhaggava, Jāliya, pupil of Wooden-Bowl¹ rose from his seat and spoke thus to the meeting : Well then, gentlemen, wait awhile till I go and see whether I am able to bring the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to this assembly. Then Bhaggava, Jāliya, Wooden-Bowl's pupil, went to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park, found Pāṭika's son, and summoned him to attend (even as the councillor had done [22], and with the same results).

5. Now when Jāliya, Wooden-Bowl's pupil, recognized the ascetic's discomfiture, he spake to him thus : Long ago, friend Pāṭika's son, this idea occurred to the lion, king of the beasts :² What if I were to make my lair near a certain jungle, so that in the evening I could issue from my lair, and stretch myself and survey the landscape, and thrice roar a lion's roar, and go forth towards the cattle pastures. I could slay the pick of the herd of beasts, feast on a continual diet of tender flesh, and get me back to that same lair. Then the lion, friend, chose his lair, and (did according to his desire [24]).

7. Now, friend Pāṭika's son, there was an old jackal who had continually thriven on the remains of that lion's food, and was stout and strong, and it occurred

¹ See Dialogues I, 202.

² Not without interest is the commentator's remark : There are four kinds of lions—the grass lion, the black, the tawny, and the hairy (kesava) lion. The last is the greatest and is the kind here meant.

to him :¹ Who am I, and who is Lion, king of the beasts? What if I were to choose my lair near a certain jungle, so that in the evening I could issue from my lair, and stretch myself and survey the landscape, and thrice roar a lion's roar, and go forth towards the cattle pastures? I could slay the pick of the herd of beasts, feast on a continual diet of tender flesh, and get me back to that same lair. Now, friend, that old jackal chose his lair and (did according to his desire). And coming forth in the evening and stretching himself, and surveying the landscape, he thought : Thrice will I roar a lion's roar, and thereat he roared a jackal's howl, a vulpine howl. Would you compare a vile jackal's howl with a lion's roar? ² Even so, you, friend Pāṭika's son, living among the exploits ³ of the Wellfarer, feeding on food left over after the Wellfarer has been served, fancy you can reach up to those who are ⁴ Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme! Why, what have wretched Pāṭika's sons in common with Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme?

8. Now since Jāliya, Bhaggava, was unable, even by this parable, to make the ascetic leave his seat, he went on :

[25] The jackal on himself reflecting deemed :
 The lion I ! I am the king of beasts !
 And so he roared—a puny jackal's whine,
 For what is there in common 'twixt the twain—
 The scurvy jackal and the lion's roar?

Even so do you, friend Pāṭika's son, living among

¹ Because of his *a smi-māno* is the comment—his I-am conceit.

² On the idiom *ke ca . . . ke ca* (cf. M. III, 209) the Comy. has *ko ca . . . ko pana . . . sigālassa ca sihanādassa ko sambandho ti adhippāyo*. The Papanca Sūdanī has no corresponding comment.

³ Comy.—i.e. on the *lakḥaṇa*'s, on the religious achievements of the Sugata in the threefold training.

⁴ *Āsādetabbān*. Comy.: This term covering many things is spoken as if there were but one.



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Supreme. What have wretched Pāṭika's sons in common with rivals of Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme?

11. Now, Bhaggava, since Jāliya was unable, even by this parable, to make the ascetic leave his seat, he went back to the meeting and told them, saying: The naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, seems discomfited. He says: I am coming, friend, I am coming, but he writhes about as he sits, and is unable to get up.

12. And when he had thus said, Bhaggava, I spake to the meeting as before: Incompetent is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to meet me face to face. . . . If he thinks that . . . he could come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder. If it occurred to my noble friends, the Licchavis: Let us bind Pāṭika's son with thongs [27] and drag him hither with ox-yokes, Pāṭika's son would break those thongs. Incompetent is he to meet me face to face . . . if he could come, his head would split asunder.

13. Thereupon, Bhaggava, I taught, and incited, and aroused, and gladdened¹ that company with religious discourse. And when I had so done, and had set them at liberty from the great bondage,² had drawn forth eighty-four thousand creatures from the great abyss,³ I entered on jhāna by the method of flame, rose into the air to the height of seven palm trees, projected a flame the height of another seven palm trees, so that it blazed and glowed; and then I reappeared in the Great Wood, at the Gabled Hall.

Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta, the Licchavi, came to call on me, and saluting, he sat down beside me. To him, so sitting, I said: What think you of it, Sunakkhatta? Has it fared with Pāṭika's son as I declared unto you, and not otherwise?

It has fared with him even as the lord, the Exalted One, declared unto me, and not otherwise.

¹ On this formula cf. Kindred Sayings I, 140, *n.* 4.

² Of the Kilesa's. Comy.: Cf. Bud. Psych. Ethics, p. 327.

³ Mahāvidugga—i.e. of the four Floods. Comy. Cf. A. I, 35, *nadī-vidugga*.

What think you of it, Sunakkhatta? If it be even so, has a mystic wonder through superhuman gifts been wrought, or has none been wrought?

Verily, Sir, it being even so, a mystic wonder through superhuman gifts has been wrought indeed.

Even so do you, you foolish man, say of me [28] working mystic wonders by superhuman gifts: The lord, the Exalted One, works no mystic wonder with his superhuman gifts. Behold, O foolish man, how far you have committed yourself.

Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and to purgatory.

14. The ultimate beginning of things,¹ I know, Bhaggava, and I know not only that, but more than that.² And while I know that, I do not pervert it.³ And as one not perverting it, I even of myself have understood that Peace,⁴ the which realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins who declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was the work of an overlord, of Brahmā? To them have I gone and said: Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was the work of an overlord, of Brahmā? And they, so questioned, have answered: Ay. And then I have said: But how do the reverend teachers declare in their traditional opinion, that the beginning of things as the work of an overlord, of Brahmā was appointed? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they

¹ Aggañña—i.e. according to the Comy., lokupatticariyavaṃsa: the history of the genesis and course of the world. See above p. 9, n. 1.

² Uttaritarā—i.e. starting from virtue and concentration, I know even up to omniscient insight. Comy.

³ By way of craving, opinion and conceit. Comy.

⁴ Nibbuti, which Buddhaghosa explains by kilesa-nibbāna.

asked it of me as a counter-question. To whom I, being asked, have made answer :

15. There comes a time,¹ friends, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long epoch, the world is dissolved and evolved. When this takes place, beings have mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance. There they dwell, made of mind, feeding on rapture, radiating light from themselves, traversing space, continuing in beauty, and thus they remain—for a long, long period of time.

Now there comes also a time, friends, when, sooner or later, this world-system begins to re-evolve. When this happens, the abode of the Brahmās appears, but it is empty. [29] And some being or other, either because his span of years has passed, or because his merit is exhausted, deceases from that world of Radiance,² and comes to life in the abode of the Brahmās. And there also he lives, made of mind, feeding on rapture, radiating light from himself, traversing space, continuing in beauty ; and thus does he remain for a long, long period of time. Now there arises in him, from his dwelling there so long alone, a dissatisfaction and a longing : Oh, would that other beings too might come to join me in this place ! And just then, either because their span of years had passed, or because their merit was exhausted, other beings fall from the world of Radiance and appear in the abode of the Brahmās as companions to him ; and in all respects, they lead a life like his.

16. On this, friends, that being who was first reborn thinks thus : I am Brahmā, the great Brahmā, the Vanquisher, the Unvanquished, the All-Seeing, the Disposer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief, the Assigner, Master of myself, the Father of all that are and are to be.³ By me are these beings created.

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 30.

² This, the Ābhassara-devaloka, ranked, in the cosmogony adopted (or put forth) by Buddhism, as the third celestial stage above that of the Great Brahmā devaloka.

³ See Vol. I, pp. 31, 281.

And why is that so? A while ago I thought: Would that other beings too might come to this state of being! Such was the aspiration of my mind, and lo! these beings did come.

And those beings themselves who arose after him, they too think thus: This worthy must be Brahmā, the great Brahmā, the Vanquisher, the Unvanquished, the All-Seeing, the Disposer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief, the Assigner, Master of himself, the Father of all that are and are to be. By this Brahmā have we, good sirs, been created. And why is that so? Because he, as we see, arose here first, but we arose after him.

[30] 17. On this, friends, that being who first arose becomes longer lived, handsomer, and more powerful, but those who appeared after him become shorter lived, less comely, less powerful. And it might well be, friends, that some other being, on deceasing from that state, should come to this state [on earth]. So come, he might go forth from the household life into the homeless state. And having thus gone forth, by reason of ardour, effort, devotion, earnestness, perfected intellection,¹ he reaches up to such rapt concentration, that with rapt mind he calls to mind his former dwelling-place, but remembers not what went before. He says thus: That worshipful Brahmā, that great Brahmā, the Vanquisher, Unvanquished, All-Seeing, Disposer, Lord, Maker, Creator, Chief, Assigner, Master of himself, Father of all that are and are to be, he by whom we were created, he is permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and he will remain so for ever and ever. But we who were created by that Brahmā, we have come hither all impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, destined to pass away.

Thus was appointed the beginning of things which ye, sirs, declare as your traditional doctrine; to wit, that it has been wrought by an overlord, by Brahmā.

¹ S a m m ā - m a n a s i k ā r a n—a rare compound of two familiar terms.

And they have said. Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us.

But I, Bhaggava, know the beginning of things . . . and have understood that Peace, which realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

18. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins who declare it as their doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of pleasure.¹ To them have I gone and said: Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of pleasure? And they, so questioned, have answered, Ay [31]. And then have I said: But how do the reverend teachers declare in their traditional opinion, that the beginning of things as being due to a debauch of pleasure was appointed? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they asked it of me instead as a counter-question. To them, I, on being asked, have made reply:

There are, friends, certain spirits called the Debauched-by-Pleasure. For ages they pass their time in mirth and sport of sensual lusts. In consequence thereof their self-control is corrupted, and thereby those devas decease from that state.

Now it might well be, friends, that some being or other, on deceasing from that state, should come hither, and that, having come hither, he should go forth from the household life into the homeless state. As a recluse he might . . . acquire the power of recollecting his previous birth, but not what preceded it.² And he would say to himself: Those worshipful spirits who are not debauched-by-pleasure, they have not, for ages, passed their time in the mirth and sport of sensual lusts. Hence is their self-control not corrupted. Hence they decease not from their estate, but are

¹ Khīḍḍā-paḍūsika-mūlakan. Comy.: Cf. Part I, p. 32; Part II, p. 291.

² This is told verbatim as the preceding episode, § 17. Compare also above Vol. I, pp. 32, 33.

permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and will so remain for ever and ever. But we who were pleasure-debauched, we did pass our time for ages in the mirth and sport of sensual lusts, whereby our self-control became corrupted, so that we deceased from that estate, and are come to this form of life impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, deciduous. Thus was appointed [32] the beginning of things which ye declare as being due to a debauch of pleasure.

And they have said : Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us. But I, Bhaggava, know the beginning of things . . . and have understood that Peace which, realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

19. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins, who declare as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of mind. To these have I gone and said : Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of mind ? And they, so questioned, have answered : Ay. And then have I said : But how do the reverend teachers declare, in their opinion, that the beginning of things as being due to a debauch of mind was appointed ? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they asked it of me instead as a counter-question. To whom I, being asked, have made answer :

There are, friends, certain spirits called the Debauched-in-Mind.¹ For ages they burn with mutual envy ; hence their thoughts regarding each other become depraved. Hence their bodies become feeble and their minds imbecile. They de cease from that estate. Now it might well be, friends, that some being or other, de ceasing from that estate, should come hither, and being hither come, should go forth from the household life into the homeless state. As a recluse

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 33, *n.* 1.

he might . . . acquire the power of recollecting his previous birth, but not that which went before. And he would say to himself: Those worshipful devas who are not debauched in mind, they have not for ages been burning with mutual envy. Hence their thoughts regarding each other have not become depraved. Hence have their bodies not become feeble, nor their minds imbecile. Those devas [33] decease not from that estate, but are permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and will so remain for ever and ever. But we who were debauched in mind, we did pass the time for ages burning with mutual envy, whereby our thoughts about each other became depraved, our bodies feeble, our minds imbecile. And we have deceased from that estate and are come hither, impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, deciduous. Thus was appointed the beginning of things which ye declare as being due to debauch of mind.

And they have said: Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us, but I, Bhaggava, know the beginnings of things . . . and have understood that Peace which, realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

- 20. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins, who declare it as their doctrine, that the beginning of things was by chance.¹ To them have I gone and said: Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was by chance? And they, so questioned, have answered, Ay. Then have I said to them: But how do the reverend teachers declare that the beginning of things by chance, which you teach, was appointed? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they asked it of me instead as a counter-question. To whom, I, being asked, have made answer:

There are, friends, certain spirits called Unconscious

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 41: Fortuitous Originists.



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But this, Bhaggava, I have not said. What I do say is this : Whenever one attains to the stage of deliverance, entitled the Beautiful, one is then aware 'Tis lovely !

[35] But it is they, lord, that are all wrong, who impute to the Exalted One and to his bhikkhus that they err. So delighted am I with the Exalted One that I believe he is able so to teach me that I may attain to and remain in the stage of deliverance, entitled the Beautiful.

Hard is it, Bhaggava, for you, holding, as you do, different views, other things approving themselves to you, you setting different aims before yourself, striving after a different aim, trained in a different system,¹ to attain to and abide in the deliverance that is beautiful. Look therefore to it, Bhaggava, that you foster well this faith of yours in me.

If, Sir, it be hard for me, holding different views, other things approving themselves to me, I setting different aims before myself, striving after a different aim, trained in a different system, to attain to and abide in the deliverance that is beautiful, then will I, at least, foster well my faith in the Exalted One.

These things spake the Exalted One. And Bhaggavagotta, the Wanderer, pleased in heart, took delight in his words.²

(The Pāṭika Suttanta is ended.)

¹ Cf. Vol. I, 254. The Comy. refers also to this parallel in the Poṭṭhapāda Suttanta.

² Buddhaghosa judges that this was merely affected appreciation. But we are not told anything of the later history of this man.

[36] XXV. UDUMBARIKĀ SĪHANĀDA-SUTTANTA.

(The Lion's Roar to the Udumbarikans.)

ON ASCETICISM.

THUS have I heard :

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagaha, on the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time there was sojourning in Queen Udumbarikā's Park assigned to the Wanderers the Wanderer Nigrodha,¹ together with a great company of Wanderers, even three thousand. Now the householder Sandhāna went forth in the afternoon from Rājagaha to call on the Exalted One. Then it occurred to him : It is not timely to call just now on the Exalted One ; he will be in retirement. Nor is it the hour for calling on the brethren who are practising mind-culture ; they will be in retirement. What if I were to go to Udumbarikā's Park and find out Nigrodha, the Wanderer ? And Sandhāna did so.

2. Now at that time Nigrodha the Wanderer was seated with his large company, all talking with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish²

¹ Pronounce Nigrô'dha. The conversation reported in this Suttanta is referred to above, I, 239.

² Tīracchāna-kathā, literally animal-talk, but the adjective 'animal' as applied to talk is meaningless to Europeans. Brutish, brutal, beastly would all be literal, but very bad renderings. The fact is that the mental attitude of Indians towards animals is quite different from our own. They regard animals as on a lower plane indeed than men, but different (not in kind), only in degree. They take for granted the very real relationship between men and animals which we fail to realize, and often deny. The phrase animal-talk is therefore untranslatable. Buddhaghosa (Sum. I, 89) says, not leading to heaven or to emancipation. This is good exegesis of the whole passage, but throws little light on the exact connotation of the particular phrase animal-talk. It was translated above at I, 13 by low, and at I, 245 by worldly. Neither of these gives the exact force of the

talk of various kinds, to wit: tales of kings, robbers [37] and state officials; tales of armies, panics, and battles; talk about foods and drinks, and clothes, beds, garlands, and perfumes; talks about relatives; talks about carriages, villages, towns, cities, and countries; talks about women;¹ talks of heroes; gossip from street-corners and the places for drawing water; ghost-stories; desultory talk; speculative talk on the world and the sea; on existence and non-existence.

3. And Nigrodha the Wanderer saw the householder Sandhāna approaching in the distance, and called his own company to order, saying: Be still, sirs, and make no noise. Here is a disciple of the Samaṇa Gotama coming, the householder Sandhāna. Whatever white-robed lay disciples of Gotama there be dwelling at Rājagaha, this Sandhāna is one of them. Now these good gentlemen delight in quiet; they are trained in quiet; they speak in praise of quiet. How well it were if, seeing how quiet the assembly is, he should see fit to join us. And when he spake thus, the Wanderers kept silence.

4. Now the householder Sandhāna came on to where Nigrodha the Wanderer was, and exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of civility and courtesy, and sat down beside him. So seated, Sandhāna said to Nigrodha: Different is the way in which these reverend Wanderers, holding views of their own, talk when they have met and are come together, from the practice of the Exalted One. They talk with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish

original, which must be akin to childish. For as the child is to the man with us now, so then in India (only one stage removed) was the animal to the man.

¹ Here the Sinhalese MSS. again (as above I, 13) omit *purisa-kathan*—talk about men, the Siamese and Burmese modern printed editions inserting it. Probability is all on the side of the Sinhalese. From the male standpoint, *all* the other subjects are about Ourselves, directly or indirectly, i.e. in relation to this or that; *itthi-kathā* is about Ourselves in relation to women. Hence, to add talks about men is entirely redundant and a later gloss.

talk of various kinds (to wit . . . [38] on existence and non-existence). But the Exalted One haunts the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where the breezes from the pastures blow,¹ yet which are hidden from the eyes of men, suitable for self-communing.

5. And when Sandhāna had spoken, Nigrodha to him made answer: Look you now, householder, know you with whom the Samaṇa Gotama talks? With whom he holds conversation? By intercourse with whom does he attain to lucidity in wisdom?² The Samaṇa Gotama's insight is ruined by his habit of seclusion. He is not at home in conducting an assembly. He is not ready in conversation. He is occupied only with the fringes of things.³ Even as a one-eyed cow that, walking in a circle, follows only the outskirts, so is the Samaṇa Gotama. Why forsooth, householder, if the Samaṇa Gotama were to come to this assembly, with a single question only could we settle him; yea, methinks we could roll him over like an empty pot.

[39] 6. Now the Exalted One heard with his clair-audient sense of hearing, pure, and surpassing that of man, this conversation between Sandhāna the householder and Nigrodha the Wanderer. And descending

¹ *Vijana vātāni*. Both reading and meaning are doubtful. See Rhys Davids' *Quest of King Milinda* I, 30; E. Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, 242; H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya* I, 367. The epithet is usually applied to a residence for members of the Order, but it is also applicable to a place of meditation. Both must be near enough to the homesteads for the confidence necessary to peace of mind, and yet far enough off to be free from disturbance. The first part of the word may well have been originally from *vrjana*, as Buddhaghosa's explanation from *jana* seems very forced.

² Cf. *M.* I, 82, 175; II, 209. *Veyyattiya* = *vyatti-bhāva*. By way of reply and rejoinder with whom? says Buddhaghosa. The word is not in Childers, but see *Majjhima* I, 82, 175; II, 208 9. Perhaps we should render lucidity and wisdom.

³ *Antamantāni eva sevati*. Perhaps: 'so he keeps apart from others, in solitary places.'

from the Vulture's Peak, he came to the Peacocks' Feeding-ground on the bank of the Sumāgadhā¹ and there walked to and fro in the open air. Then Nigrodha saw him thus walking, and on seeing him he called his company to order, saying : Be still, sirs, and make no noise. The Samaṇa Gotama is walking to and fro in the open air at the Peacocks' Feeding-ground, by the bank of the Sumāgadhā. Now this good gentleman delights in quiet, speaks in praise of quiet ; how well it were if, seeing how quiet the assembly is, he should see fit to join us. If the Samaṇa Gotama should come to this assembly, we might ask him this question ; What, lord, is this religion of the Exalted one wherein he trains his disciples, and which those disciples, so trained by the Exalted One as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness ?²

When he had said this the Wanderers kept silence.

7. Then the Exalted One went up to Nigrodha the Wanderer, and Nigrodha spake thus to him : Let the lord the Exalted One approach. Welcome is the lord the Exalted One ! Long has the lord the Exalted One taken ere deciding on this step of coming hither. May it please the lord the Exalted One to take a seat. Here is one ready.

The Exalted One sat down on the seat made ready, and Nigrodha, taking a low seat, sat beside him. To him so seated the Exalted One spake thus : On what talk, Nigrodha, are ye here and now engaged as ye sit together, and what conversation between you have I interrupted ?

[40] Thereupon Nigrodha replied to the Exalted One and said : Lord, we have just seen the Exalted

¹ A lotus-pool or tank in the park. Cf. M. II, 1 ; A. I, 291 ; V, 326 as to the Peacocks' Feeding-ground in the same park.

² Ajjhāsayam ādibrahmacariyam. Cf. above, II, p. 262, n. 2. (The reference has there, by a printer's error and our oversight, been made to refer to § 10, instead of to § 12, l. 4.) In the present connexion the Comy. paraphrases ajjhāsayam by uttama-nissaya-bhūtam, and ādibrahmacariyam by The Ariyan Path termed the ancient brahmacariya (holy life).

One walking in the open air at the Peacocks' Feeding-ground, by the Sumāgadhā, and seeing him thus, we said : If the Samaṇa Gotama should come to this assembly, we could ask him this question : What, lord, is this religion of the Exalted One, wherein he trains his disciples, and which those disciples, so trained by the Exalted One as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness ?

Difficult is it, Nigrodha, for one of another view, of another persuasion, of another confession, without practice and without teaching, to understand that wherein I train my disciples, and which they, so trained as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness. Come now, Nigrodha, ask me a question about your own doctrine, about austere scrupulousness of life :¹ in what does the fulfilment, in what does the non-fulfilment of these self-mortifications consist ?

When he had said this, the Wanderers exclaimed loudly, with noise and clamour : Wonderful, sir ! Marvellous is it, sir, the great gifts and powers of the Samaṇa Gotama in withholding his own theories and inviting the discussion of those of others !

8. Then Nigrodha bade the Wanderers be quiet, and spake thus to the Exalted One : We, lord, profess self-mortifying austerities ; we hold them to be essential ; we cleave to them. In what does the fulfilment, in what does the non-fulfilment of them consist ?

Suppose, Nigrodha, that an ascetic² goes naked, is of certain loose habits, licks his hands, respects no Approach, sir, nor Stop, sir ; [41] accepts nothing expressly brought, nor expressly prepared, nor any invitations. He accepts nothing taken from mouth of cooking-pot, nor placed within the threshold, nor within a mortar,

¹ This question is referred to above, I, 239. The catalogue of austerities is identical with the list in that Suttanta, where the various practices are explained.

² Tapassī. One who depends on tapas, austerities, self-mortification.

nor among sticks, nor within a quern ; nor anything from two eating together, nor from a pregnant woman, nor from a nursing mother, nor from a woman in intercourse with a man, nor food collected in drought, nor from where a dog is, nor from where flies are swarming, nor will he accept fish or meat, nor drink strong drink, or intoxicants, or gruel. He is either a one-houser, a one-mouthful man ; or a two-houser, a two-mouthful man ; or a seven-houser, a seven-mouthful man. He maintains himself on one alms, on two, or on seven. He takes food once a day, or once every two days, or once every seven days. Thus does he dwell addicted to the practice of taking food according to rule, at regular intervals, up to even half a month. He feeds either on ^{pot herbs} ^{or} wild rice, or nivāra seeds, or leather parings, or on haṭa, or on the powder in rice rusks, on rice-scum, on flour of oil-seeds, on grasses, on coddung, on fruits and roots from the woods, [42] or on windfalls. He wears coarse hempen cloth, coarse mixture cloth, discarded corpse-cloths, discarded rags, or tiritā-bark cloth ; or again, he wears antelope-hide, or strips of the same netted, or kusa-fibre, or bark garments, or shale cloth, or a human-hair blanket, or a horse-hair blanket, or an owl's-feather garment. He is a hair-and-beard plucker, addicted to the practice of plucking out both ; a stander-up ; a croucher on heels, addicted to exerting himself (to move forward) when thus squatting ; a bed-of-thorns man, putting iron spikes or thorns on his couch ; he uses a plank-bed ; sleeps on the ground ; sleeps only on one side ; is a dust-and-dirt wearer and an open-air man ; a where-you-will sitter ; a filth-eater, addicted to the practice of eating such ; a non-drinker, addicted to the practice of never drinking (cold water) ; an evening-for-third-time-man. What think you, Nigrodha ? If these things be so, is the austerity of self-mortification carried out, or is it not ?

Truly, lord, if these things be so, the austerity of self-mortification is carried out, and not the contrary.

Now I, Nigrodha, affirm that austerity by self-



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foods, saying : This suits me ; this doesn't suit me. The latter kind he deliberately rejects.² Over the former he waxes greedy and infatuated, and cleaves to them, seeing not the danger in them, discerning them not as unsafe, and so enjoys them. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

[44] And again, Nigrodha, because of his longing for gifts, attentions and fame, he thinks : Rājas will pay me attentions, and so will their officials ; so, too, will nobles, brahmins, householders and founders of schools. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

11. And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic gets grumbling at some recluse or brahmin, saying : That man lives on all sorts of things : things grown from tubers, or shoots, or berries, or joints, or fifthly, from seeds,¹ munching them all up together with that wheel-less thunderbolt of a jawbone—and they call him a holy man !² This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic sees a certain recluse or brahmin receiving attentions ; being revered, honoured and presented with offerings by the citizens. And seeing this he thinks : The citizens pay attentions to this fellow who lives in luxury ; they revere and honour him, and present him with offerings, while to me who, as ascetic, live a really austere life, they pay no attentions, nor reverence, nor honour, nor offerings ! And so he cherishes envy and grudging at the citizens. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic becomes one who sits in public.³ This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

¹ On these varieties of *bīja* see above, I, 6, *n.* 2.

² The sentence is not clear. The reading *asani-vicakka* is confirmed by *Samyutta* II, 229. As to the metaphor, the *Atthasālinī*, p. 404, has five, equally vigorous.

³ Buddhaghosa explains : He sits in some meeting- (lit. seeing-) place, and where they can see him, he executes the bat-rite (cf. *Jāt* III, 235 ; IV, 299 ; I, 493) of hanging head downwards like a sleeping bat, the fivefold austerity (see *ibid.*) or stands on one leg, or worships the sun.

And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic, when on his round for alms among the people, slinks along furtively,¹ as if to say : This is part of my austerity ; this is part of my austerity. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

[45] And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic affects the mysterious. When asked : Do you approve of this ? he, not approving, says : I do, or approving, says : I do not. Thus he consciously tells untruths. . . . This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

12. And again, Nigrodha, when the Tathāgata, or a disciple of the Tathāgata, teaching the Norm, uses a method worthy of appreciation, the ascetic does not appreciate it. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic is liable to lose his temper and bear enmity. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic is liable to be hypocritical and deceitful, as well as envious and grudging ; he becomes cunning and crafty, hard-hearted and vain, he entertains evil wishes and becomes captive to them ; he entertains false opinions, becomes possessed of metempirical dogma ;² misinterprets his experience ;³ is avaricious and adverse from renunciation. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

What think you of this, Nigrodha ? Are these things blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification, or are they not ?

Verily, lord, these things are blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification. It is possible, lord, that an ascetic may be possessed even of all these blemishes, much more by one or other of them.

13. Now take the opposite case, Nigrodha : an

¹ Attānam adassayamāno. Buddhaghosa thinks the negative *a-* in the latter word a mere particle.

² Antaggahikā-diṭṭhi, which the Comy. limits to the Annihilationist heresy (*ucchedanta*) ; cf. above, I, p. 46.

³ Sandiṭṭhi : what he himself can see, says the Comy.

ascetic undertakes a course of austerity. Through that course he does not become self-complacent, nor are his aims fulfilled [46]. This being so, he is to that degree purified.

And again, Nigrodha, he . . . does not exalt himself nor despise others . . .¹ he does not become inebriated and infatuated and careless . . . he is not made self-complacent and disdainful by gifts, attentions and fame, nor does he thereby exalt himself and despise others, nor does he thereby become inebriated, infatuated and careless ; he does not make a distinction between foods, saying : This suits me, this doesn't suit me, deliberately rejecting the latter, and waxing greedy and infatuated over the former, cleaving to them and enjoying them without seeing the danger in them, or discerning that they are unsafe ; he does not think, out of his longing for gifts, attentions and fame, Rājas will pay me attentions, and so will their officials ; so, too, will nobles, brahmins, householders and founders of schools.

14. And again, he does not grumble at some recluse or brahmin, saying [47] That man lives on all sorts of things—things for instance grown from tubers, or shoots, or berries, or joints, or fifthly, from seeds—munching them all up with that wheel-less thunderbolt of a jawbone, and they call him a holy man ! When he sees a certain recluse or brahmin receiving attention, being revered, honoured, and presented with offerings by the citizens, he does not think : The citizens pay attention to this fellow who lives on all sorts ; they revere and honour him and present him with offerings, while to me, who, as ascetic, live a really austere life, they pay no attentions, nor reverence, nor honour, nor offerings, and thus he does not cherish envy and grudging at the citizens ; he does not sit in public, nor slink about among the citizens as if to say : This is part of my austerity ; this is part of my austerity. He does not affect the mysterious, nor say when asked if

¹ The negative instances are given mostly in full.

he approves of this, I do approve, when he does not, or, I do not approve, when he does. Herein he avoids telling deliberate untruths.

15. And again, when the Tathāgata, or a disciple of the Tathāgata, teaching the Norm, uses a method worthy of appreciation, he appreciates it. And he does not lose his temper or bear enmity ; he does not become hypocritical and deceitful, envious and grudging, cunning and crafty, hard-hearted [48] and vain ; he does not entertain evil wishes, or become captive to them ; he does not entertain false opinions or become possessed of metempirical dogma, does not pervert experience, is not avaricious and averse from renunciation. In not becoming infected by empiricism, not being avaricious, given to renunciation—to that degree does he become purified.

What think you, Nigrodha ? That being so, does the austerity by these things become genuinely pure, or not ?

Verily, lord, the austerity of these things becomes genuinely pure, and not impure ; it wins topmost rank, it reaches the pith.¹

Nay, Nigrodha, not yet does the austerity become of topmost rank, nor reach the pith ; for that matter it has but reached the outside splinters.

16. In what way, lord, does an austerity win topmost rank, and reach the pith ? Good were it if the Exalted One caused my austerity to win topmost rank and reach the pith !

Take the case, Nigrodha, of an ascetic self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch. What is the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch ? It is when an ascetic inflicts injury on no living thing, nor causes injury to be inflicted on any living thing, nor approves thereof. [49] He takes not what is not given, nor approves thereof. He utters no lies, nor causes lies to be uttered, nor approves thereof. He craves not for

¹ Sārappattā. Sāra (pith) is the usual Buddhist metaphor for the essence, the heart, root, or core of the matter.

the pleasures of sense,¹ nor leads others to crave for them, nor approves thereof. Now it is thus, Nigrodha, that the ascetic becomes self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold-Watch.

Now in that he is thus self-restrained, and his austerity is made to consist in *this*, he advances upwards² and turns not back to lower things. He chooses³ some lonely spot for his seat—in the forest, at the foot of a tree, on the hillside, in mountain glen, or rocky cave, in the charnel place, or on a heap of straw in the open fields. And returning thither after his round for alms, he seats himself when his meal is done, cross-legged, keeping his body erect, and his intelligence alert, intent. Putting away the hankering after the world, he abides with unhankering heart, and purifies his mind of covetousness. Putting away the canker of ill-will, he abides with heart free from enmity, benevolent and compassionate towards every living thing,⁴ and purifies his mind of malevolence. Putting away sloth and torpor, he abides clear of both; conscious of light, mindful and self-possessed, he purifies his mind of sloth and torpor. Putting away flurry and worry, he abides free from excitement; with heart serene within, he purifies his mind of flurry and worry. Putting away doubt, he abides as one who has passed beyond perplexity; no longer in suspense as to what is good, he purifies his mind of doubt.

17. He, having put away these Five Hindrances, and to weaken by insight the strength of the things that defile the heart, abides letting his mind, fraught with love,⁵ pervade one quarter of the world, and so.

¹ Na bhāvitam āsimsati. Perhaps: he does not rest complacently on that in which he has so trained himself. But we follow Buddhaghosa.

² Abhiharati, paraphrased as upari upari vadḍhati—he grows upward upward.

³ See above, I, p. 82.

⁴ This phrase was inadvertently omitted from the corresponding sentence in I, 82.

⁵ Lit.: accompanied by. These paragraphs occur above at I, p. 318; II, pp. 219, 279, but not at p. 82.

too, the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere, and altogether does he continue to pervade with love-burdened thought, abounding, [50] sublime, and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill-will. And he lets his mind, fraught with pity, pervade the world . . . and he lets his mind, fraught [with sympathy with joy],¹ pervade . . . the world. And he lets his mind, fraught with equanimity, pervade one quarter of the world, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world—above, below, around, and everywhere, and altogether does he continue to pervade with heart fraught with equanimity, abounding, sublime, and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill-will.

What think you of this, Nigrodha? Does austerity by these things become genuinely pure or not?

Verily, lord, austerity by these things becomes genuinely pure and not impure, wins topmost rank and reaches the pith.

Nay, Nigrodha, not yet does the austerity win topmost rank, or reality ; for that matter it does but reach into the bark.²

18. In what way, lord, does an austerity win top rank and reach the pith? How good it were if the Exalted One could make my austerities win top rank and reach the pith!

Take the case, Nigrodha, of an ascetic who is self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch. In that he is thus self-restrained, and his austerity is made to consist in this, he advances upward and turns not back to lower things. He chooses some lonely spot for his seat . . . and, having put away those Five Hindrances, and to weaken by insight the strength of

¹ Our modern tongues sadly lack a word for *muditā*: joy in others' good, the obverse, so to speak, of sympathy. We have only another obverse: malice, Schadenfreude!

² Lit. : has reached the bark, as distinct from the pith (*sāra*).

the things that defile the heart, abides letting his mind pervade the world, fraught with love . . . pity . . . sympathy . . . equanimity. He recalls to mind¹ his various temporary states in days gone by—one birth, or two, or three, or four, or five births, or ten, or twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty, or a hundred, [51] or a thousand, or a hundred thousand births, through many an æon of dissolution, many an æon of evolution: In such a place, such was my name, such my family, such my colour, such my food, such my experience of discomfort or of ease, and such the limits of my life. When I passed away from that estate, I took form again in such a place. There I had such and such a name and family and colour and food and experience of discomfort or of ease, and such was the limit of my life. When I passed away from that state, I took form again here . . . thus does he call to mind his temporary state in days gone by in all their details, and in all their modes.

What think you of that, Nigrodha? Does the austerity by these things become genuinely pure or not?

Verily, lord, the austerity by these things becomes genuinely pure and not impure, wins topmost rank and reaches the pith.

Nay, Nigrodha, not yet does the austerity win to topmost rank and reach the pith, although it does reach the underlying fibre.

19. But in what way, lord, does an austerity reach to the top and to the pith? How well it were if the Exalted One could make my austerities attain to the top and to the pith!

Take the case, Nigrodha, of an ascetic who is self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch, who has put away the Five Hindrances, who has let his mind pervade the world with love, pity, sympathy, and equanimity, and has recalled to mind his various temporary states in days gone by, in all their details, [52] and in all their modes. He with the pure deva-

¹ See above, I, p. 90.



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When he had thus said, the Wanderers raised a clamour, exclaiming loudly and noisily : Herein are we and our teachers set at naught. We know of nothing beyond their teaching that is higher.

[53] 20. When the householder Sandhāna realized : Surely now these Wanderers, though of other views, are listening to what the Exalted One has said, are paying attention, are applying their minds to understand, he then spake thus to Nigrodha :¹ You were saying to me just now, Nigrodha : Look you now, householder, know you with whom the Samaṇa Gotama talks ; with whom he holds conversation ; by intercourse with whom does he attain to lucidity in wisdom ? The Samaṇa Gotama's insight is ruined by his habit of seclusion. He is not at home in conducting an assembly. He is not ready in conversation. He is occupied only with the fringes of things. Even as a one-eyed cow that, walking in a circle, follows ever the outskirts, so is the Samaṇa Gotama. Why forsooth, householder, if the Samaṇa Gotama were to come to this assembly, with a single question only could we settle him ; yea, methinks we could roll him over like an empty pot. Now then the lord the Exalted One, the Arahant Buddha Supreme, has arrived among us ; show ye him as not at home in an assembly ; show him to be as a one-eyed cow walking in a circle ; with your single question settle him now, roll him over methinks like an empty pot.

When he had thus said, Nigrodha sat silent and annoyed, with hunched back and drooping head, brooding and dumbfounded.

21. Now when the Exalted One perceived the state he was in, he said : Is it true, Nigrodha, that you made this speech ?

[54] It is true, lord, that I made that speech, so foolish was I, so stupid, so wrong.

¹ Buddhaghosa imputes to Sandhāna the charitable intention of so forcing Nigrodha's hand as to bring about the Buddha's forgiveness of his insolent assertion (§ 5). By overthrowing this banner of conceit he would cause Nigrodha to reap lasting benefit.

What think you of this, Nigrodha? Have you ever heard it said by Wanderers who were venerable, aged, your teachers and teachers of your teachers, thus: They who in past ages were Arahants, Buddhas Supreme, forsooth, those Exalted Ones, when they were met and assembled, used to talk with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish talk of various kinds, to wit, talk of kings, robbers, and the like,¹ or speculative talk about existence and non-existence, as you and your teachers do now? Or did they say: Thus were those Exalted Ones wont to haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where the breezes from the pastures blow, yet which were hidden from the eyes of men, meet for self-communing, even as I do now?

Lord, I have heard it said by Wanderers who were venerable, aged, our teachers, and teachers of our teachers, thus: They who in past ages were Arahants, Buddhas Supreme, not theirs was it, when met and assembled, to talk with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish talk of various kinds . . . or speculative talk about existence and non-existence, even as I do now in my own persuasion, but theirs was it to haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where breezes from the pastures blow, yet which were hidden from the eyes of men, meet for self-communing, even as the Exalted One does now.

You yourself, Nigrodha, being intelligent and advanced in years, has not this occurred to you? Enlightened is the Exalted One; he teaches the religion of Enlightenment. Self-mastered² is the Exalted One; he teaches the religion of Self-mastery. Calm is the Enlightened One; he teaches the religion of Calm. Saved is the Enlightened One, [55] he teaches the

¹ The whole list of subjects (p. 33) is to be understood.

² Lit., tamed.

religion of Salvation.¹ At peace is the Enlightened One ; he teaches the religion of Peace.²

22. When this was said, Nigrodha the Wanderer spake thus to the Exalted One :³ An offence has overcome me, lord, foolish and stupid and wrong that I am, who spoke thus about the Exalted One. May the Exalted One accept it of me, lord, that do so acknowledge it as an offence, to the end that in future I may restrain myself.

Verily, Nigrodha, it was an offence that overcame you in acting thus, foolish and stupid and wrong that you were, in that you spake thus of me. And inasmuch as you, Nigrodha, looking upon it as an offence, confess according to your deeds, we accept your confession. For that, Nigrodha, is custom in the discipline of the Ariyans, that whosoever looks upon his fault as a fault, and rightfully confesses it, shall in the future attain to self-restraint.

But I, Nigrodha, say this to you :⁴ Let a man of intelligence come to me, who is honest, candid, straightforward—I will instruct him, I will teach him the Norm. If he practise according as he is taught, then to know himself and to realize even here and now that supreme religion and goal, for the sake of which⁵ clansmen go forth from the household life into the homeless state, will take him seven years. Nay, Nigrodha, let be the seven years. If he practise according as he is taught, then to know for himself and realize even here and now that supreme religion and goal, for the sake of which clansmen go forth from

¹ Lit., crossed over, and crossing over, a figure applied always to the Four Floods (sensuality, renewed existence, speculative opinion, ignorance) which overwhelm mankind in everlasting living. Asl., p. 49. On the form of the sentences, cf. *Paṭisambhidā-magga* I, p. 126 f., On the Great Pity of a Tathāgata.

² *Parinibbāna*—i.e., says the Comy., the driving away for mankind of all the Corruptions (*kilesa*'s). For the Ten Corruptions, see *Bud. Psych. Ethics*, pp. 327 ff.

³ Cf. above, I, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. M. II, 44.

⁵ Cf. above, I, p. 240.

the household life into the homeless state, will take him six years, five years, four years, three years, two years, one year . . . six months . . . five [56] months, four, three, two months, one month, half a month. Nay, Nigrodha, let be half a month. Let a man of intelligence come to me, honest, candid, straightforward ; I will instruct him, I will teach him the Norm, and if he practise according as he is taught, then to know for himself and to realize that supreme religion and goal, for the sake of which clansmen go forth from the household life into the homeless state, will take him seven days.

23. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samāṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to get pupils ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let him who is your teacher be your teacher still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : the Samāṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to make us secede from our rule ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let that which is your rule be your rule still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samāṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to make us secede from our mode of livelihood ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let that which is your mode of livelihood be so still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samāṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to confirm us as to such points of our doctrines as are wrong, and reckoned as wrong by those in our community ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let those points in your doctrines which are wrong and reckoned as wrong by those in your community, remain so still for you. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samāṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to detach us from such points in our doctrines as are good, reckoned as good by those in our community ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let those points in your doctrines which are good, reckoned to be good by those in your community, remain so still.

Wherefore, Nigrodha, I speak thus, neither because I wish to gain pupils, nor because I wish to cause

seceding from rule, nor [57] because I wish to cause seceding from mode of livelihood, nor because I wish to confirm you in bad doctrines, or detach you from good doctrines. But, O Nigrodha, there are bad things not put away, corrupting, entailing birth renewal, bringing suffering, resulting in ill, making for birth, decay and death in the future. And it is for the putting away of these that I teach the Norm, according to which if ye do walk, the things that corrupt shall be put away, the things that make for purity shall grow and flourish, and ye shall attain to and abide in, each one for himself even here and now, the understanding and the realization of full and abounding insight.

24. When he had thus said, the Wanderers sat silent and annoyed, with hunched back and drooping head, brooding and dumbfounded, so were their hearts given over to Māra.

Then the Exalted One thought: Every one of these foolish men is pervaded by the Evil One, so that to not even one of them will the thought occur: Come, let us now live the holy life taught by the Samaṇa Gotama, that we may learn to know it. What does an interval of seven days matter?

Then the Exalted One having uttered his Lion's Roar in the park Queen Udumbarikā had assigned to the Wanderers, rose up and went through the air, and alighted on the Vulture's Peak. And then, too, the householder Sandhāna returned to Rājagaha.

(The Udumbarikā Sīhanāda-Suttanta is ended.)

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CAKKAVATTI-SĪHANĀDA SUTTANTA.

ASOKA states in his Edicts that it was the horrors of actual warfare, as brought to his notice during his conquest of Kalinga, that led him to the propagation, in those Edicts, of the Dhamma—the Norm—as the only true conquest. So the Buddha is represented in this Suttanta as setting out his own idea of conquest (not without ironical reference to the current ideas), and then as inculcating the observance of the Dhamma—the Norm—as the most important force for the material and moral progress of mankind.

The whole is a fairy tale. The personages who play their part in it never existed. The events described in it never occurred. And more than that: a modern writer, telling a story to emphasize a moral, would always, like the creator of the immortal Dr. Teufelsdröckh, endeavour to give probability, vraisemblance, to the characters and events of his tale. Here the very opposite would seem to be the case. Recourse is had rather to the shock of improbability. This is in accord with the procedure in other cases (for instance, in the story of Sharp-tooth the Priest; or in that of the Riddles of the God¹). The point of the moral—and in this fairy tale the moral is the thing—is the Reign of Law. Never before in the history of the world had this principle been proclaimed in so thorough-going and uncompromising a way. But of course it is not set out in such arguments as we find in modern treatises on ethics or philosophy. The authors are not writing a monograph on history or ethics. They are preaching a gospel, and their method is to state their view, and leave the hearer to accept it or not, just as he pleases.

The view was, so to speak, in the air at that time. The whole history of religion, in India as elsewhere, had been the history of a struggle between the opposing ideas, or groups of ideas, that may be summed up by the words Animism and Normalism.

¹ Kūṭadanta and Sakka-Pañha.

Animism has now become a well-known term. It is based on the very ancient hypothesis of a soul—a subtle, material homunculus, or manikin, supposed to dwell in the heart of a man. This afforded what seemed a simple and self-evident explanation of many mysterious things. When in his dream a man saw another, whom, when the dreamer woke, he knew to have been dead, he at once concluded, on the evidence of the dream, that the person he saw in his dream was still alive. It is true he had seen the body dead. But it was self-evident that a something, he knew not what, but very like the body, was still alive. He did not reason much about it, or stay to weigh the difficulties involved. But he was much too frightened of it to forget it. Once formed, the hypothesis was widely used. When a man awoke in the morning, after hunting all night in his dreams, and learnt from his companions that his body had been there all the time, it was, of course, his soul that had been away. In a similar way, death and trance and disease could be ascribed to the absence of the soul. Souls were believed to wander from body to body. Animals had souls, even things had souls, if they were uncanny, or when they seemed to have life and motion and sound. The awe-inspiring phenomena of nature were instinctively regarded as the result of spirit action; and rivers, plants, and stars, the earth, the air, and heaven, became full of souls of gods, each of them in fashion as a man, and with the passions of a man.

But wide-reaching as this hypothesis was, it could not cover everything. From the earliest times of which we have any record we find, in India as elsewhere, quite a number of religious beliefs and ceremonies which were not explained, and could not be explained by the hypothesis of a soul. In other words, they are not animistic. The first impression we get is that of the bewildering variety of such beliefs. But they can be arranged, with more or less exactitude, into overlapping groups—and behind all the groups can be discerned a single underlying principle. That principle is the belief in a certain rule, order, law. We have no word for such a belief in English; and this, since the theory is as important, in the ancient Indian religions, as Animism, is a pity. I have suggested, in my lectures on Comparative Religion in Manchester, to call it Normalism.

Of course the men who held the beliefs, and practised the ceremonies so named, had no clear conception of the theory of Normalism, just as they had no clear conception of the theory of Animism. But they unmistakably held the view that things happened, effects were brought about, without



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or the mythology of the priests ; and it refers only incidentally to other beliefs, unconnected with gods, of great importance as a factor in religion and daily life.

This conclusion might be justified as rendered necessary by a critical consideration of the simple, known facts as to the composition of the anthology we call the Rig Veda. It is confirmed by the discovery in later Vedic books, especially in the manuals of domestic rites, of customs and beliefs, that must evidently go back to the Rig Veda period (though not referred to in that collection); and even of one or two such cases that certainly go back to an earlier period still. We have space here for only one or two sample instances, and even they can only be treated in the merest outline.

Take the case of *Rita*. The meaning of the word would seem to have passed through some such evolution as motion, rhythmic motion, order, cosmic order, moral order, the right. In those slowly moving ages a long period must be postulated for the growth and consolidation of such ideas. The word is found, incidentally mentioned, at the end of its career, in the Avesta and the Veda. It must have been in full use before the Persian Aryans had separated from the Indian Aryans. The idea may therefore with reasonable probability be traced back to the third millennium before Christ. The use of the word died out in India before the time of the rise of Buddhism. Of the pre-Buddhistic Upanishads it occurs only in one—the *Taittirīya*. In the peroration to that work *Rita* is placed above, before the gods. The word occurs, it is true, in three or four isolated passages of post-Buddhistic works, but these are archaisms. It has not been traced in either the Buddhist or the Jain canonical literature.

The process of the gradual decline in the use of an abstract word is precisely analogous to the process of the gradual decay and death of a god.¹ The word covers not one idea only, but a number of connotations. The implications involved in it are constantly, though imperceptibly, changing. Sooner or later one or other phase of it overmasters the others, and some new word or words, emphasizing some one or other of the various connotations of the older word, come gradually into use as more adequate or more clear. When that process is complete, the older word is dead. But it lives again in the newer word, or words, that have taken its place, and would never have been born or thought of unless the older word had previously lived. It was so with *Rita*—a broader and deeper conception than the Greek *Moirā* ; and

¹ See Buddhist India, p. 234.

more akin to the Chinese Tao. Like these, Rita was never personified, and it lives again in the clearer and more definite (though still very imperfect) phrases of the Suttanta before us now.

The case of Rita is by no means unique. I have elsewhere discussed at some length another case, that of Tapas or self-mortification, austerity.¹ It was held in India from Vedic times onwards that tapas (originally burning glow, but afterwards used of fasting and other forms of self-mortification) worked out its effects by itself, without the intervention of any deity. This is only the more remarkable since it is almost certain that in India, as elsewhere, the ecstatic state of mind which rendered such austerity possible was originally often regarded as due to the inspiration of a spirit. But it is, so far as I know, never mentioned that the supernatural effects of the austerity were due to the spirit from whom the inspiration came. The effects were due to the austerity itself. Very often indeed there was no question of any deity's help in the determination to carry out the self-torture—just as in the case of the pujāris at the ghats in modern India.

Even the very sacrifice itself—made to gods, supposed to give sustenance and strength to gods, accompanied by hymns and invocations addressed to gods—was not entirely free from such Normalistic ideas. The hymns themselves already contain phrases which suggest that their authors began to see a certain mystic power over the gods in a properly conducted sacrifice. And we know that afterwards, in the Brāhmaṇas, this conception was carried to great lengths. So also we have evidence of a mystic power, independent of the gods, in the words, the verses, that accompany the sacrifice. And it is no contradiction of this that we find thus mystic power itself deified and becoming, indeed, in the course of centuries of speculation, the highest of the gods. And it is significative, in this connection, that the string of Behaspati's bow is precisely Rita.

It would be tedious (and it would also, after the above instances, be unnecessary, I trust) to quote the very numerous other instances in Vedic works of a slighter character and less importance, showing the existence of a theory of life the very opposite of Animism. They are naturally only quite incidental in the Rig Veda itself, and more and more frequent as the books get later, being most numerous in the Sūtra

¹ Dialogues of the Buddha I, 209-218. See also Oldenberg, *Religion du Veda* (R. Henry), 344-347.

period. Many of these can be classed under one or other of the various meanings given by anthropologists to the ambiguous and confusing word Magic¹—the magic of names, or numbers, or propinquity, or likeness, or association, or sympathy, and so on. Many will also be found in the long list of practices from which it is said in the Sīlas (one of the very earliest of our Buddhist documents, earlier than the Pitakas) that the Samaṇa Gotama refrains.²

The above suffices to show something of the position of Normalism in pre-Buddhistic India. Our present Suttanta shows the stage it had reached in the period of the early Buddhists. It is a stage of great interest—differing, as it does, from the line of development followed by Normalism in other countries.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

¹ For some of these divergent and contradictory meanings see Proceedings of the Oxford Congress of Religions, 1908.

² Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I, pp. 16-30.

XXVI. CAKKAVATTI-SĪHANĀDA SUTTANTA.¹

(*The Lion-roar on the Turning of the Wheel.*)

WAR, WICKEDNESS, AND WEALTH.

[58] THUS have I heard :

1. The Exalted One was once staying in the land of the Magadhese at Mātulā. Now there the Exalted One addressed the brethren,² saying : Brethren ! And they made answer : Lord ! The Exalted One spake thus :

Live ye as islands³ unto yourselves, brethren, as refuges unto yourselves, taking no other as your refuge ; live with the doctrine (the Norm), as your island, with the Norm as your refuge, taking no other as your refuge.

But how, brethren, does a brother live as an island unto himself, as a refuge unto himself, taking no other as his refuge ? how does he live with the Norm as his island, with the Norm as his refuge, taking no other refuge ?

Herein,⁴ brethren, a brother as to the body, as to the feelings, as to thought, as to ideas,⁵ continues so to look upon these that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, that he may overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. Thus, brethren, does a brother live as an island unto himself . . . with the Norm as his . . . refuge, taking no other as his refuge.

¹ This and the next Suttanta have been excellently translated into German by R. Otto Franke, in his selections from the Dīgha Nikāya, Göttingen, 1913, pp. 260 ff.

² Twenty in number. Comy.

³ Dīpa, lamp, or island Buddhaghosa here takes to mean island : as an island in the midst of the ocean make self the *terra firma*. Cf. above, II, 100.

⁴ As above, II, 327 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 325.

Keep to your own pastures,¹ brethren, walk in the haunts where your fathers roamed.² If ye thus walk in them the Evil One will find no landing-place, no basis of attack. It is precisely by the cultivation of good qualities that this merit grows.

[59] 2. Long, long ago, brethren, there was a sovran overlord named Strongtyre, a righteous king ruling in righteousness,³ lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven precious things. His were these seven precious things, to wit, the Wheel, the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the House-father, the Counsellor. More than a thousand sons also were his, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy.⁴ He lived in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it, not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness.

3. Now, brethren, after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, King Strongtyre commanded a certain man, saying: If thou shouldst see, sirrah, that the Celestial Wheel has sunk a little, has slipped down from its place, bring me word.

Even so, sire, replied the man.

Now after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years that man saw that the Celestial Wheel had sunk, had slipped down from its place. On seeing that he went to King Strongtyre and said: Know, sire, for a truth that thy Celestial Wheel has sunk, has slipped down from its place.

¹ Gocara : cattle-range.

² Pettike visaye: or your native beat. This injunction forms the moral in the Jātaka of the Quail and the Falcon (II, 59). It must have been an old story, for it is told already (not as a Jātaka) in Saṃyutta V, 146, 147. The parable must have been familiar in the oldest Buddhist period and should be added to the list given in Buddhist India, p. 195.

³ On the omission here of an anointed Kshatriya, see II, 199, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. II, 13.

Then King Strongtyre, brethren, let the prince his eldest son be sent for, and spake thus :

Behold, dear boy, my Celestial Wheel has sunk a little, has slipped down from its place. Now it has been told me : If the Celestial Wheel of a Wheel-turning King shall sink down, shall slip down from its place, that king has not much longer to live. I have had my fill [60] of human pleasures ; 'tis time to seek after divine joys. Come, dear boy, take thou charge over this earth bounded by the ocean. But I, shaving hair and beard, and donning yellow robes, will go forth from home into the homeless state.

So, brethren, King Strongtyre, having in due form established his eldest son on the throne, shaved hair and beard, donned yellow robes and went forth from home into the homeless state. But on the seventh day after the royal hermit had gone forth, the Celestial Wheel disappeared.¹

4. Then a certain man went to the king, the anointed warrior, and told him, saying : Know, O king, for a truth, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared !

Then that king, brethren, the anointed warrior, was grieved thereat and afflicted with sorrow. And he went to the royal hermit and told him, saying : Know, sire, for a truth, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared.

And the anointed king so saying, the royal hermit made reply : Grieve thou not, dear son, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared, nor be afflicted. For no paternal heritage of thine, dear son, is the Celestial Wheel. But verily, dear son, turn thou in the Ariyan turning of the Wheel-turners.² [Act up to the noble ideal of duty set before themselves by the true sovrans of the world.]³ Then it may well be that if thou carry

¹ Like the extinguished flame of a lamp. Comy.

² I.e. do good (make good karma) as I did, and earn the Wheel. Cf. the Great King of Glory's reflection, II, 218.

³ It is impossible to render the pregnant phrase into intelligible English without a paraphrase. There is a play upon the words vatta, and Ariya. Vatta means turning, but also duty

out the Ariyan duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch, and on the feast of the full moon thou wilt go with bathed head to keep the feast on the chief upper terrace, lo! the Celestial Wheel will manifest itself with its thousand spokes, its tyre, navel, and all its parts complete.

[61] 5. But what, sire, is this Ariyan duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch?

This, dear son, that thou, leaning on the Norm [the Law of truth and righteousness]¹ honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it, being thyself a Norm-banner, a Norm-signal, having the Norm as thy master, shouldst provide the right watch, ward, and protection for thine own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for brahmins, and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds. Throughout thy kingdom let no wrongdoing prevail. And whosoever in thy kingdom is poor, to him let wealth be given.

And when, dear son, in thy kingdom men of religious life, renouncing the carelessness arising from the intoxication of the senses, and devoted to forbearance and sympathy, each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self, shall come to thee from time to time, and question thee concerning what is good and what is bad, what is criminal and what is not, what is to be done and what left undone, what line of action will in the long run work for weal or for woe, thou shouldst hear what they have to say, and thou shouldst deter them from evil, and bid them take up what is

(the way one ought to turn). Franke has *Widme dich der hohen Cakkavatti-Pflicht*. On the threefold meaning of Ar(i)yan—racial, ethical, and æsthetic—see Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, 49, 50. On the new meaning here put into the curious word Wheel-turner, see Introduction.

¹ The Norm is *Dhamma*. We must coin a word for this. Both French and Germans have a better word in *droit* and *Recht*, each of which means both law and right. See Mrs. Rhys Davids above, II, 325, and *Buddhism* (1912), 227. The whole passage in the Pali is a striking outburst on the superiority of right over might, on the ideal of empire as held by the early Buddhists. Its eloquence has suffered much in our translation.



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Then, brethren, all they that were enemy kings in the region of the East became vassals to the king, the Wheel-turner.

7. Then, brethren, the Celestial Wheel, plunging down into the Eastern ocean, rose up out again, and rolled onwards to the region of the South . . . [and there all happened as had happened in the East. And in like manner the Celestial Wheel, plunging into the Southern ocean, rose up out again and rolled onward to the region of the West . . . [63] and of the North; and there too all happened as had happened in the South and West].

Then when the Celestial Wheel had gone forth, conquering over the whole earth to its ocean boundary, it returned to the royal city, and stood, so that one might think it fixed, in front of the judgment hall at the entrance to the inner apartments of the king, the Wheel-turner, lighting up with its glory the façade of the inner apartments of the king, the sovran of the world.

8. And a second king, brethren, also a Wheel-turning monarch . . . and a third . . . and a fourth . . . and a fifth . . . and a sixth . . . and a seventh king, a victorious war-lord, after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, commanded a certain man, saying:

If thou shouldst see, sirrah, that the Celestial Wheel has sunk down, has slid from its place, bring me word.

Even so, sire, replied the man.

Now after many years, after many hundred years,

¹ *Yathābhuttam bhujātha*. But see above, II, 203, and Franke, op. cit., 263. To enjoy this paragraph as it deserves the reader should bear in mind the kind of method of which it is a parody, the laws that would be made, say, by an Assyrian or Hun conqueror, with a motto of frightfulness, for his conquered foes. *Samyutta* I, 10 (Kindred Sayings I, 15, n. 1) has a similar play on the various meanings of *bhūtā*.

after many thousand years, that man saw that the Celestial Wheel had sunk down, had become dislodged from its place. And so seeing he went to the king, the war-lord, and told him.

[64] Then that king did [even as Strongtyre had done]. And on the seventh day after the royal hermit had gone forth, the Celestial Wheel disappeared.

9. Then a certain man went and told this to the king. . . . Then the king, the anointed Kshatriya, was grieved at the disappearance of the Wheel, and afflicted with grief. But he did not go to the hermit-king to ask concerning the Ariyan Duty of a sovran war-lord. By his own ideas, forsooth, he governed his people; and they so governed, differently from what they had been, did not prosper as they used to do under former kings who had carried out the Ariyan duty of a sovran king.

Then, brethren, the ministers and courtiers, the finance officials, the guards and doorkeepers, and they who lived by sacred verses¹ came to the king, the anointed warrior, and spake thus: [65] Thy people, O king, whilst thou governest them by thine own ideas, differently from the way to which they were used when former kings were carrying out the Ariyan duty, prosper not. Now there are in thy kingdom ministers and courtiers, finance officers, guards and custodians, and they who live by sacred verses—both all of us and others—who keep the knowledge of the Ariyan duty of a sovran king. Lo! O king, do thou ask us concerning it; to thee thus asking will we declare it.

10. Then, brethren, the king, the anointed warrior, having made the ministers and all the rest sit down together, asked them about the Ariyan duty of a sovran war-lord. And they declared it unto him. And when he had heard them, he did provide the due watch and ward and protection, but on the destitute he

¹ M a n t a s s ' ā j i v i n o—that is, the magicians, brahmins.

bestowed no wealth. And because this was not done, poverty became widespread.¹

When poverty was thus become rife, a certain man took that which others had not given him, what people call by theft. Him they caught, and brought before the king, saying : This man, O king, has taken that which was not given him, and that is theft.

Thereupon the king spake thus to the man : Is it true, sirrah, that thou hast taken what no man gave thee, hast committed what men call theft ?

It is true, O king.

But why ?

O king, I have nothing to keep me alive.

[66] Then the king bestowed wealth on that man, saying : With this wealth, sirrah, do thou both keep thyself alive, maintain thy parents, maintain children and wife, carry on thy business, and keep up such alms for holy men as shall be of value in the realms above, heavenly gifts, the result whereof shall be happiness here and rebirth in the heavenly worlds.

Even so, O king, replied the man.

11. Now another man, brethren, took by theft what was not given him. Him they caught and brought before the king, the anointed Kshatriya, and told him, saying : This man, O king, hath taken by theft what was not given him.

And the king [spoke and did even as he had spoken and done to the former man].

12. Now men heard, brethren, that to them who had taken by theft what was not given them, the king was giving wealth. And hearing they thought : Let us then take by theft what has not been given us.

¹ It should be noticed that this king is apparently doing his best—what he thinks is best—and yet that his action leads to long-continued and disastrous results. It is as if a man, doing his best, goes under a tree for protection during a storm, and is struck by lightning attracted by the tree. The cosmic law, the Dhamma, the Norm, acts on in the realm of morals as it does in the realm of physics. The law is inexpugnable, *res inexorabilis*. If the law is not observed, the consequences are inevitable.

Now a certain man did so. And him they caught and charged before the king, the anointed Kshatriya, [67] who [as before] asked him why he had stolen.

Because, O king, I cannot maintain myself.

Then the king thought : If I bestow wealth on anyone soever who has taken by theft what was not given him, there will be hereby an increase of this stealing. Let me now put a final stop to this, inflict condign punishment on him, have his head cut off!

So he bade his men saying : Now, look ye! bind this man's arms behind him with a strong rope and a tight knot, shave his head bald, lead him around with a harsh sounding drum, from road to road, from crossways to crossways, take him out by the southern gate, and to the south of the town, put a final stop to this, inflict on him the uttermost penalty, cut off his head.

Even so, O king, answered the men, and carried out his commands.

13. Now men heard, brethren, that they who took by theft what was not given them, were thus put to death. And hearing, they thought : Let us also now have sharp swords made ready for ourselves, and them, from whom we take what is not given us [68]—what they call theft—let us put a final stop to them, inflict on them the uttermost penalty, and cut their heads off.

And they gat themselves sharp swords, and came forth to sack village and town and city, and to work highway robbery. And them whom they robbed they made an end of, cutting off their heads.

14. Thus, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute poverty grew rife; from poverty growing rife stealing increased, from the spread of stealing violence grew apace, from the growth of violence the destruction of life became common, from the frequency of murder¹ both the span of life in those beings and their comeliness also wasted away, so that,

¹ Some MSS. include lying in this series.

of humans whose span of life was eighty thousand years, the sons lived but forty thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, a certain man took by theft what was not given him and [even as those others was accused before the king and questioned if it was true that he had stolen].

Nay, O king, he replied, thus deliberately telling a lie.

15. Thus, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew rife . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . until lying grew common. [69] And from lying growing common both the span of life in those beings and the comeliness of them wasted away, so that of humans whose span of life was forty thousand years, the sons lived but twenty thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter life-span, a certain man took by theft what was not given him. Him a certain man reported to the king, the anointed Kshatriya, saying: Such and such a man, O king, has taken by theft what was not given him—thus speaking evil of him.

16. And so, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew rife . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . lying . . . evil speaking grew abundant. And from evil speaking growing abundant, both the life-span of those beings and also the comeliness of them wasted away, so that, of humans whose life-span was twenty thousand years, the sons lived but ten thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, some were comely and some were ugly. And so those who were ugly, coveting them that were comely, committed adultery with their neighbours' wives.

17. Thus from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . lying . . . evil speaking . . . immorality grew rife. And from the increase of immorality, both the life-span of those beings and also the comeliness of

them wasted away, so that, of humans whose life-span was ten thousand years, the sons lived but five thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, two things increased, abusive speech and idle talk. And from these two things increasing, both the life-span of those beings and the comeliness of them wasted away, so that, of humans whose life-span was five [70] thousand years, some sons lived but two and a half, some but two, thousand years.

Among humans of a life-span of two thousand years and a half, covetousness and ill-will waxed great. And thereby . . . the sons lived but a thousand years.

Among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, false opinions grew. And thereby the life-span of those beings and the comeliness of them wasted, so that, of humans whose span of life was a thousand years, the sons lived but five hundred years.

Among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, three things grew apace: incest, wanton greed, and perverted lust. Thereby the life-span of those beings and their comeliness wasted, so that, of humans whose span of life was five hundred years, some sons lived but two and a half centuries, some only two centuries.

Among humans of a life-span, brethren, of two and a half centuries, these things grew apace—lack of filial piety to mother and father, lack of religious piety to holy men, lack of regard for the head of the clan.¹

18. Thus, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew great . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . lying . . . evil speaking . . . adultery . . . [71] abusive and idle talk . . . covetousness and ill-will . . . false opinions . . . incest, wanton greed and perverted lust . . . till finally lack of filial and religious piety and lack of regard for the head of the clan grew great. From these things growing, the

¹ Kula-seṭṭha, not to be confused with gaḥapati, the head of the family.

life-span of those beings and the comeliness of them wasted, so that, of humans whose span of life was two and a half centuries, the sons lived but one century.

19. There will come a time, brethren, when the descendants of those humans will have a life-span of ten years. Among humans of this life-span, maidens of five years will be of a marriageable age. Among such humans these kinds of tastes (savours) will disappear : ghee, butter, oil of tila, sugar, salt. Among such humans kudrūsa grain¹ will be the highest kind of food. Even as to-day, rice and curry is the highest kind of food, so will kudrūsa grain be then. Among such humans the ten moral courses of conduct will altogether disappear, the ten immoral courses of action² will flourish excessively ; there will be no word³ for moral among such humans—far less any moral agent. Among such humans, brethren, they who lack filial [72] and religious piety, and show no respect for the head of the clan—'tis they to whom homage and praise will be given, just as to-day homage and praise are given to the filial-minded, to the pious and to them who respect the heads of their clans.

20. Among such humans, brethren, there will be no [such thoughts of reverence as are a bar to inter-marriage with] mother, or mother's sister, or mother's sister-in-law, or teacher's wife, or father's sister-in-law.⁴ The world will fall into promiscuity, like goats and sheep, fowls and swine, dogs and jackals.

Among such humans, brethren, keen mutual enmity will become the rule, keen ill-will, keen animosity, passionate thoughts even of killing, in a mother towards her child, in a child towards its mother, in a father towards his child and a child towards its father, in

¹ Cf. Milinda II, 267. It is a kind of rye. Franke compares it with Sanskrit *koraduṣa*.

² Given in the Vibhanga, p. 391. They are very nearly those referred to above.

³ Neither term—*kusalan tināmaṇ*—nor concept—*paññatti-mattam pi*—says Buddhaghosa.

⁴ Lit. wives of *garu*'s (*guru*'s). The Comy. interprets this to mean wives of little father or great father—i.e. wives of father's brothers, younger and older.



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lived but one decade, there will be children who will live for twenty years.

22. Then this, brethren, will occur to those beings : Now we, because we have gotten into good ways, increase in length of life and comeliness. Let us now do still more good. Let us now abstain from taking what is not given, let us abstain from adultery, let us now abstain from lying, let us now abstain from evil speaking, let us now abstain from abuse and from idle talk, let us now abstain from covetousness, from ill-will, from false opinions, let us now abstain from the three things—incest, wanton greed and perverted desires ; let us now be filial towards our mothers, and our fathers, let us be pious toward holy men, let us respect the heads of clans, yea, let us continue to practise each of these good things.

So they will practise these virtues, [. . . down to . . .] filial piety, religious piety, respect to heads of clans. And because of the good they do they will increase in length of life, and in comeliness, so that the sons of them who lived but twenty years, will come to live forty years. And the sons of these sons will come to live eighty years ; their sons to 160 years ; their sons to 320 years ; their sons to 640 years ; their sons to 2,000 years ; their sons to 4,000 years ; their sons to 8,000 years ; their sons to 20,000 years ; their sons to 40,000 [75] years ; and the sons of those that lived 40,000 years will come to live 80,000 years.

23. Among humans living 80,000 years, brethren, maidens are marriageable at 500 years of age. Among such humans there will be only three kinds of disease—appetite, non-assimilation and old age. Among such humans, this India¹ will be mighty and prosperous, the villages, towns and royal cities will be so close that a cock could fly from each one to the next.² Among

¹ Jambudīpa, this world (loko at Anguttara, I 159).

² Kukkuṭa-sampātikā, lit. cock's-flightish. R. Morris discusses this phrase in vain, J.P.T.S., 1885, p. 38. At Divyāvadāna, p. 316, the editors (in the Index) give it up and suggest reading kakura. Franke here translates 'resembling flocks of birds.' Compare also Vinaya IV, 131. Buddhaghosa says here

such humans this India—one might think it a Waveless Deep¹—will be pervaded by mankind even as a jungle is by reeds and rushes. Among such humans the Benares of our day² will be named Ketumatī, a royal city, mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded and well fed. Among such humans in this India there will be 84,000 towns, with Ketumatī the royal city at their head.

24. Among such humans, brethren, at Ketumatī the royal city, there will arise Sankha, a Wheel-turning king, righteous and ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters, conqueror, protector of his people, possessor of the seven precious things. His will be these seven precious things, to wit, the Wheel, the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the House-father, the Councillor. More than a thousand also will be his offspring, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He will live in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness.

25. At that period, brethren, [76] there will arise

that another reading, *kukkuṭa-sampādikā* is also possible in the sense of within a cock's walk, which amounts to much the same thing as the translation adopted above.

¹ *Avīci*. The *tertium quid* of this comparison is obscure. The Waveless Deep was, in later books, one of the purgatories. We, in this twentieth century, may well think a country so densely populated a purgatory. But the authors of our document are evidently speaking in praise, not disparagement of the density of the population. Can the Waveless Deep, in this connexion, have been originally used in that sense? Buddhaghosa naturally explains it so, but that is not conclusive. The word does not occur in the four Nikāyas except in this passage (which recurs at *Anguttara* I, 159). It does not occur in the list of the purgatories given in the *Sutta Nipāta* (pp 121-7) and *Samyutta* I, 154. It is found in a poem in the *Itivuttaka* (No. 89), which recurs in the *Vinaya* (II, 203), and in the *Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi*, § 1,281. But the history of *Avīci* and of the purgatory idea in India has yet to be written. In *Vis. Magga* *avīci*=disintegration (p 449).

² *Ayaṇ Bārāṇasī*. As the discourse was said to have been delivered in Magadhā, the allusion must have been rather to the city as contemporary than to any contiguity in space. But perhaps the story may have had its origin among the *Kāśīs*.

in the world an Exalted One named Metteyya, Arahant, Fully Awakened, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed as a guide to mortals willing to be led, a teacher for gods and men, an Exalted One, a Buddha, even as I am now. He, by himself, will thoroughly know and see, as it were face to face, this universe, with its worlds of the spirits, its Brahmās and its Māras, and its world of recluses and brahmins, of princes and peoples, even as I now, by myself, thoroughly know and see them. The truth [the Norm] lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, will he proclaim, both in the spirit and in the letter, the higher life will he make known, in all its fulness and in all its purity, even as I do now. He will be accompanied by a congregation of some thousands of brethren, even as I am now accompanied by a congregation of some hundreds of brethren.

26. Then, brethren, King Sankha will raise up again the fairy palace which the King Great Panāda had had built.¹ And therein will he dwell. But afterwards he will give it away, hand it over as a gift to recluses and brahmins, to the destitute, wayfarers and beggars. And he himself, cutting off hair and beard, will don the yellow robes, and leave his home for the life that is homeless under Metteyya the Exalted One, the Arahant fully awakened. And he, having thus left the world, will remain alone and separate, earnest, zealous and master of himself. And ere long he will attain to that supreme goal for the sake of which clansmen go forth from the [77] household life into the homeless state; yea, that supreme goal will he, while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realize and to know!

27. Live as islands unto yourselves, brethren, as refuges unto yourselves, take none other as your refuge, live with the Norm as your island, with the Norm as your refuge, take none other as your refuge.

¹ See the passages quoted in Psalms of the Brethren, p. 130. It had been sunk in the Ganges at Payāga.

But how does a brother live as an island unto himself, as a refuge unto himself, taking none other as his refuge? How does he live with the Norm as his island, with the Norm as his refuge, taking none other as his refuge?

Herein a brother, as to the body, as to feelings, as to thought, as to ideas, continues so to look upon these that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, that he may overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. Thus is it, brethren, that a brother lives as an island and as a refuge unto himself . . . with the Norm as an island and as a refuge, having no other refuge.

28. Keep to your own pastures, brethren, walk in the haunts where your fathers roamed. If ye so walk, ye shall grow in length of years, ye shall grow in comeliness, ye shall grow in happiness, ye shall grow in wealth, ye shall grow in power.

And what is the meaning of length of years to a brother? Herein that a brother practises the Four Roads to Iddhi,¹ to wit, action, effort, and concentration applied to desire, to energy, to [the whole] consciousness, and to investigation. From practising and developing these Four Roads, he may, if he so desire, live on for an æon, or the remainder of an æon. This is the meaning of length of years to a brother.

• And what is the meaning of comeliness to a brother? Herein, that a brother live in the practice of right conduct, restrained according to the Rules of the Order, perfect in behaviour and habitude; he sees danger in the least of the things he should avoid and, taking the precepts² on himself, he trains himself therein. This is comeliness for a brother.

And what is the meaning of happiness for a brother? Herein, that a brother estranged from lusts, aloof from evil dispositions, enters into and remains in the First Jhāna—a state of zest and ease born of detachment, application and persistence of attention going on the while. Then suppressing all application and persist-

¹ Cf. II, 128 f.

² Cf. I, 79.

ence of attention, he enters into and abides in the Second Jhāna, a state of zest and ease, born of the serenity of concentration, wherein the mind is lifted up alone, and the heart grows calm within. And into the Third Jhāna he enters and abides . . . and into the Fourth. This is happiness for a brother.

And what is the meaning of wealth for a brother? Herein that a brother abides letting his mind fraught with love pervade one quarter of the world, and so too the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, and altogether does he continue to pervade with love-burdened thought, abounding, sublime, and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill will. And he lets his mind fraught with pity pervade . . . the world . . . fraught with sympathy . . . with equanimity . . . This is wealth for a brother.

And what is the meaning of power for a brother? Herein, that a brother, by destruction of the deadly taints, enters into and abides in that untainted emancipation of mind and of insight, which he by himself has both known and realized.¹ This is power for a brother.

I consider no power, brethren, so hard to subdue as the power of Māra. But this merit [the merit of these four groups of ethical concepts, beginning at Right Conduct, and culminating in Arahantship]² expands, brethren, by the taking up into oneself of that which is good.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Glad at heart the brethren rejoiced at the words of the Exalted One.

(Here ends the Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta.)

¹ That is to say, the Fruition of Arahantship. Comy.

² This is added from Buddhaghosa. He does not think that the merit referred to is the conquest of Māra. That follows from the destruction of the mental intoxications. See above, I, 92, and § 1 of this Suttanta.

XXVII. AGGAÑÑA SUTTANTA.¹

A BOOK OF GENESIS.

[80] Thus have I heard :

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Sāvattthī, in the East Park, at the mansion of the Mother of Migāra.² Now at that time Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja were passing their probation among the brethren, desiring to become bhikkhus.³ Then at eventide the Exalted One, having arisen from his meditations, had come down from the house, and was walking to and fro in the open air, in the shade of the house.

2. Now Vāseṭṭha saw this, and on seeing it he told Bhāradvāja, adding : Let us go, friend Bhāradvāja, let us approach the Exalted One, for perchance we might have the good fortune to hear from the Exalted One a talk on matters of doctrine.

Even so, friend, Bhāradvāja made reply. So Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja went and approached the Exalted One, and having saluted him, they walked after him as he walked to and fro.

3. Then the Exalted One said to Vāseṭṭha : [81] You, Vāseṭṭha, being brahmins by birth and family, have gone forth from a brahmin family, your home,

¹ On the subject of this Suttanta see Introduction to I, 105 f.

² Visākhā. Buddhaghosa gives an account of her and her mansion, built for the Order, which is much shorter, but in agreement with the full narrative contained in the Dhammapada Comy. I, 334 ff. The vast majority of houses were in the oldest Buddhist period in North India what we should now call huts. We hear only of a very few such pāsādas or mansions. Tradition describes this one as a bungalow with one upper storey. In the Mahā-sudassana (above, Vol. II) we have a description of the most glorious palace the early Buddhists could think of. It is a modest affair. The archæological evidence is discussed in Buddhist India, pp. 63-77, Figs. 3-11.

³ The Comy. identifies these two with the two brahmins of the Tevijja Suttanta (above, I, 301) and the Vāseṭṭha Suttas of Majjhima, Sutta 98, and Sutta-Nipāta, Sutta 35.

into the homeless life. Do not the brahmins blame and revile you ?

Yea, verily, lord, the brahmins do blame and revile us with characteristic abuse, copious, not at all stinted.

But in what words, Vāsetṭha, do they so blame you ?

The brahmins, lord, say thus : The brahmin class¹ is the best.

But in what terms, Vāsetṭha, do the brahmins blame and censure you to this extent ?

The brahmins, lord, say thus :

Only a brahmin is of the best social grade ; other grades are low. Only a brahmin is of a clear complexion ; other complexions are swarthy. Only brahmins are of pure breed ; not they that are not of the brahmins. Only brahmins are genuine children of Brahmā, born of his mouth, offspring of Brahmā, created by Brahmā, heirs of Brahmā. As for you, you have renounced the best rank, and have gone over to that low class—to shaven recluses, to the vulgar rich, to them of swarthy skins, to the footborn descendants. Such a course is not good, such a course is not proper, even this, that you, having forsaken that upper class, should associate with an inferior class, to wit, with shaveling friar-folk, menials, swarthy of skin, the off-scouring of our kinsman's heels. In these terms, lord, do the brahmins blame and revile us with characteristic abuse, copious, not at all stinted.

4. Surely, Vāsetṭha, the brahmins have quite forgotten the past (the ancient lore) when they say so ? On the contrary, brahminees, the wives of brahmins, are known to be fertile, are seen to be with child [82], bringing forth and nursing children. And yet it is these very womb-born brahmins who say that . . . brahmins are genuine children of Brahmā, born from his mouth ; his offspring, his creation, and his heirs ! By this they make a travesty² of the nature of Brahmā.

¹ V a ṇ ṇ a. Literally, colour, which never means caste. See above, I, 99 ff.

² A b b h ā c i k k h a n t i B r a h m ā n a ṇ. The verb often means to misrepresent another's opinions (Majjh. I, 368 ; Dīgha I,



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become free because he has perfected knowledgè¹—he is declared chief among them, and that in virtue of a norm (a standard), and not irrespective of a norm. For a norm, Vāsetṭha, is

the best among this folk²
both in this life and in the next.³

8. The following, Vāsetṭha, is an illustration for understanding how a norm is the best among this folk both in this life and in the next. King Pasenadi of Kosala is aware that the Samaṇa Gotama has gone forth from the adjacent⁴ clan of the Sākiyas. Now the Sākiyas are become the vassals of King Pasenadi. They render to him homage and respectful salutation, they rise and do him obeisance, and treat him with ceremony. Now, just as the Sākiyans treat King Pasenadi of Kosala, [84] so does the king treat the Tathāgata. For he thinks: Is not the Samaṇa Gotama well born? Then I am not well born. The Samaṇa Gotama is strong; I am weak. He is attractive, I am not comely; the Samaṇa Gotama has great influence, I have but little influence. Now it is because the king honours a norm, reveres a norm, regards a norm, does homage

¹ Sammā hetunā kāraṇena jānitvā vimutto (Comy.).

² Imasmiṃ loke ti attho; the world's inhabitants. The verse from which this is quoted is given in full at the end of this Dialogue, § 32.

³ We take dhamma here (the word rendered norm, standard) in the sense attributed to it by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her discussion of this passage in Buddhism (Home University Library) pp. 235 ff. The remarkable utterance we find in this passage is only one of many in which the Normalism (as distinct from Animism) of the Buddhist position is emphasized. There is nothing metempirical about it. It is the cosmic law which is the Norm or standard, by which alone superiority or inferiority is to be judged.

⁴ We read anantarā, not anuttaro. See note in text: The Comy. has the following: anantarā ti antara-vira-hitā (or vihitā), attano kulena sadisā ti attho. It agrees better with the context, which does not call for such a word as anuttaro.

to a norm, holds sacred a norm, that he renders homage and respectful salutation to the Tathāgata, rising and doing him obeisance, and treating him with ceremony.¹ By this illustration may it be understood how a norm is

the best among this folk
both in this life and in the next.

9. You, Vāseṭṭha, who, differing all of you in birth, in name, in clan and family, have gone forth from home into the homeless life, may be asked: Who are ye? Then do ye reply: We be Samaṇas who follow him of the sons of the Sākiyans. He, Vāseṭṭha, whose faith in the Tathāgata is settled, rooted, established and firm, a faith not to be dragged down by recluse or brahmin, by deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world, well may he say: I am a veritable son of the Exalted One, born from his mouth, born of the Norm, created by the Norm, heir of the Norm. And why? Because, Vāseṭṭha, these are names tantamount to Tathāgata: Belonging to² the Norm, and again, belonging to the highest,³ and again, one with the Norm,⁴ and again, one with the Highest.

10. There comes a time,⁵ Vāseṭṭha, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long, long period, this world

¹ See M. II, 112, 120, where the homage paid is of the humblest.

² Dhammakāyo. Lit. having a Norm-body. Buddhaghosa says: why is the Tathāgato said to have a Norm-body? Because having devised the Three-Piṭaka-Buddha-word by his mind he conducts it forth by his speech. Therefore his body from having Normness (dhammatā) is considered as the Norm, and is so called. And just because of this Norm-bodyness, he has an excellent body, for Norm is called brahma in the sense of best, supreme, excellent . . . thus far the Exalted One having spoken in terms of values, goes on to speak in those terms by another method, beginning, There comes a time, etc.

³ Brahma—i.e. says the Comy. brahma in the sense of best (seṭṭhaṭṭhena).

⁴ Lit. Norm-become—i.e. says the Comy. of-the-nature-of-the-Norm (Dhamma-sabhāvo).

⁵ This paragraph occurs in Vol. I, p. 30, verbatim, as to the former half, fuller as to the latter half.

passes away. And when this happens, beings have mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance; and there they dwell, made of mind, feeding on rapture, self-luminous, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus they remain for a long, long period of time. There comes also a time, Vāsetṭha, when sooner or later this world begins to re-evolve. When this happens, beings who had deceased from the World of Radiance, usually [85] come to life as humans.¹ And they become made of mind, feeding on rapture, self-luminous, traversing the air, continuing in glory, and remain thus for a long, long period of time.

11. Now at that time, all had become one world of water, dark, and of darkness that maketh blind. No moon nor sun appeared, no stars were seen, nor constellations, neither was night manifest nor day, neither months nor half-months, neither years nor seasons, neither female nor male. Beings were reckoned just as beings only. And to those beings, Vāsetṭha, sooner or later after a long time, earth with its savour was spread out in the waters. Even as a scum forms on the surface of boiled milky rice that is cooling, so did the earth appear. It became endowed with colour, with odour, and with taste. Even as well-made ghee or pure butter, so was its colour; even as the flawless honey of the bee, so sweet was it.

12. Then, Vāsetṭha, some being of greedy disposition,² said: Lo now! what will this be? and tasted the savoury earth with his finger. He thus, tasting, became suffused with the savour, and craving entered into him. And other beings, following his example, tasted the savoury earth with their finger. They thus, tasting, became suffused with the savour, a craving entered into them. Then those beings began to feast on the savoury earth, breaking off lumps of it with their hands. And

¹ Lit. come to 'hereness' which the Comy. explains as humanity. The description of them is scarcely human, but their birth, says Buddhaghosa, is *opapātika*. See I, 201, n. 3. Cf. Ambapāli's birth, Psalms of the Sisters, 120.

² Greedy in his previous birth, remarks the Comy.

from [86] the doing thereof the self-luminance of those beings faded away. As their self-luminance faded away, the moon and the sun became manifest. Thereupon star-shapes and constellations became manifest. Thereupon night and day became manifest, months too and half-months, the seasons and the years. Thus far then, Vāsetṭha, did the world evolve again.

13. Now those beings, Vāsetṭha, feasting on the savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued thus for a long long while. And in measure as they thus fed, did their bodies become solid, and did variety in their comeliness become manifest. Some beings were well favoured, some were ill favoured. And herein they that were well favoured despised them that were ill favoured, thinking : We are more comely than they ; they are worse favoured than we. And while they through pride in their beauty thus became vain and conceited, the savoury earth disappeared. At the disappearance of the savoury earth, they gathered themselves together and bewailed it : Alas for the savour ! alas for the savour ! Even so now when men having gotten a good savour say : Ah, the savour of it ! ah, the savour of it ! they do but follow an ancient primordial saying, not recognizing the significance thereof.

14. Then, Vāsetṭha, when the savoury earth [87] had vanished for those beings, outgrowths appeared in the soil. The manner of the rising up thereof was as the springing up of the mushroom,¹ it had colour, odour and taste ; even as well-formed ghee or fine butter so was the colour thereof, and even as flawless honeycomb so was the sweetness thereof. Then those beings began to feast on these outgrowths of the soil. And they, feasting on them, finding food and nourishment in them, continued for a long long while. And

¹ Ahicchattako. Literally snake-hood, but that this was used idiomatically for a kind of mushroom shaped like a snake's hood appears from Jātaka II, 95 and Udāna, p. 81, note. The Sanskrit lexicons give the names of several other plants called snake-hood, and the plant here meant is not certain. We do not know whether mushrooms are found at all in North India.

in measure as they thus fed and were thus nourished, so did their bodies grow ever more solid, and the difference in their comeliness more manifest, some becoming well favoured, some ill favoured. Then they that were well favoured despised them that were ill favoured, thinking : We are more comely than they ; they are worse favoured than we. And while they, through pride in their beauty, thus became vain and conceited, these outgrowths of the soil disappeared. Thereupon creeping plants ¹ appeared, and the manner of the growth thereof was as that of the bamboo, and they had colour, odour and taste. Even as well-made ghee or fine butter so was the colour thereof ; even as flawless honeycomb so was the sweetness thereof.

15. Then, Vāseṭṭha, those beings began to feast on the creepers. And they, feasting on them, feeding on them, nourished by them, continued so for a long long while. And in measure as they thus fed and were nourished did their bodies wax more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness increase, [88] so that, as before, the better favoured despised the worst favoured. And while those, through pride in their beauty, became vain and conceited, the creepers disappeared. At the disappearance thereof they gathered themselves together and bewailed, saying : Verily it was ours, the creeper ! Now it has vanished away ! Alas and O me ! we have lost ! Even so now when men, being asked what is the matter, say : Alas and O me ! what we had that have we lost ! they do but follow an ancient primordial saying, not recognizing the significance thereof.

16. Then, Vaseṭṭha, when the creepers had vanished for those beings, rice appeared ripening in open spaces,²

No powder had it and no husk.

[Pure,] fragrant and clean grained.³

¹ Baḍaḷatā. A beautiful creeper of sweet taste, says Buddhaghosa.

² Akatṭha-pāko. According to the Comy. springing up in land free from jungle.

³ R. O. Franke is probably right in supposing that we have

Where of an evening they gathered and carried away for supper, there next morning the rice stood ripe and grown again. Where in the morning they gathered and carried away for breakfast, there in the evening it stood ripe and grown again. No break was to be seen [where the husks had been broken off].

Then those beings feasting on this rice in the clearings, feeding on it, nourished by it, so continued for a long long while. And in measure as they, thus feeding, went on existing, so did the bodies of those beings become even more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness more pronounced. In the female appeared the distinctive features of the female,¹ in the male those of the male. Then truly did woman contemplate man too closely, and man, woman. In them contemplating over much the one the other, passion arose and burning entered their body. They in consequence thereof followed their lusts. And beings seeing them so doing threw, some, sand, some, ashes, [89] some, cowdung, crying: Perish, foul one! perish, foul one! How can a being treat a being so? Even so now when men, in certain districts, when a bride is led away, throw either sand, or ashes, or cowdung, they do but follow an ancient enduring primordial form, not recognizing the significance thereof.

17. That which was reckoned immoral at that time, Vāsetṭha, is now reckoned to be moral. Those beings who at that time followed their lusts, were not allowed to enter village or town either for a whole month or even for two months. And inasmuch as those beings at that time quickly incurred blame for immorality, they set to work to make huts, to conceal just that immorality.

here a fragment of an old ballad, and should therefore add 'pure' s u d d h o. See below, § 18. There are quite a number of such apparent fragments of verse in the prose texts. See the notes of Vinaya Texts I, 149, and Buddhist Suttas (S.B.E.), p. 107. The apparent verse is here (as often) very poor verse.

¹ Those who had been women in a previous birth, explains Buddhaghosa.

Then Vāseṭṭha, this occurred to some being of a lazy disposition : Lo now ! why do I wear myself out fetching rice for supper in the evening, and in the morning for breakfast ? What if I were to fetch enough rice for supper and breakfast together ? So he gathered at one journey enough rice for the two meals together.

Then some being came to him and said : Come, good being, let us go rice-gathering. That's not wanted, good being, I have fetched rice for the evening and morning meal. Then the former followed his example and fetched rice for two days at once, saying : So much, they say, will about do. Then some other being came [90] to this one and said : Come, good being, let us go rice-gathering. And he : Never mind, good being, I have fetched rice enough for two days. [And so, in like manner, they stored up rice enough for four, and then for eight days.]

Now from the time, Vāseṭṭha, that those beings began to feed on hoarded rice, powder enveloped the clean grain, and husk enveloped the grain, and the reaped or cut stems did not grow again ; a break became manifest [where the reaper had cut] ; the rice-stubble stood in clumps.

18. Then those beings, Vāseṭṭha, gathered themselves and bewailed this, saying : Evil customs, sirs, have appeared among men. For in the past, we were made of mind, we fed on rapture, self-luminous, we traversed the air in abiding loveliness ; long long the period we so remained. For us sooner or later, after a long long while the savoury earth had arisen over the waters. Colour it had, and odour and taste. We set to work to make the earth into lumps, and feast on it. As we did so our self-luminance vanished away. When it was gone, moon and sun became manifest, [91] star-shapes and constellations, night and day, the months and half-months, the seasons and the years. We enjoying the savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral customs became rife among us,



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20. Now those beings, Vaseṭṭha, gathered themselves together, and bewailed these things, saying : From our evil deeds, sirs, becoming manifest, inas-much as stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known, what if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished ? But we will give him in return a proportion of the rice.

[93] Then, Vaseṭṭha, those beings went to the being among them who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable and said to him : Come now, good being, be indignant at that whereat one should rightly be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will contribute to thee a proportion of our rice.

And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice.

21. Chosen by the whole people, Vāseṭṭha, is what is meant by Mahā Sammata ;¹ so Mahā Sammata (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase to arise [for such an one].² Lord of the Fields is what is meant by Khattiya ; so Khattiya (Noble) was the next expression to arise. He charms the others by the Norm—by what ought (to charm)—is what is meant by Rāja ; so this was the third standing phrase to arise.

Thus then, Vaseṭṭha, was the origin of this social circle of the Nobles, according to the ancient primordial phrases [by which they were known]. Their origin was from among those very beings, and no others ; like unto themselves, not unlike ; and it took

¹ Mahā Sammata. Name of a famous king in the beginning of time, who was the first king of the Solar race, and the legendary ancestor of many lines of kings (among others of the kings of the Sākiya clan).

² Akkhara, the enduring, came later on to mean letter. At the end of § 16 we have rendered it form (of speech). Cf. § 18.

place according to the Norm [according to what ought to be, justly], not unfittingly.¹

For, Vāsetṭha :

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this world and in the next.²

22. Now it occurred, Vāsetṭha, to some of those beings, as follows : Evil deeds, sirs, have become manifest among us, inasmuch as stealing, censure, lying, punishment can be noticed, and banishment. Let us now put away from us evil and immoral customs. And they put away from them such customs. [94] They put away (bāhenti) evil, immoral customs, Vāsetṭha, is what is meant by Brahmins, and thus was it that Brahmins became the earliest standing phrase [for those who did so]. They, making leaf huts in woodland spots, meditated therein. Extinct for them the burning coal, vanished the smoke, fallen lies pestle and mortar ; gathering of an evening for the evening meal, of a morning for the morning meal, they go down into village and town and royal city, seeking food. When they have gotten food, back again in their leaf-huts they meditate. When men saw this, they said :

¹ No adhammena. The argument is that there was no tribal difference, no difference of blood, between them and all the rest. They were selected, set apart, for the performance of certain duties, and they were so selected, not arbitrarily, but according to their real fitness for the post. Each of them fulfilled the Ideal of a noble, which included, not only righteousness, but also other things. As will be seen, there was also an ideal, a standard, a Norm, for each of the other groups.

² The etymologies in this paragraph are purely fanciful ; and as a matter of fact the historical order in which the three words are said to have arisen is exactly reversed. Rājā is the oldest of the three—belonging, as it does, to the oldest Aryan stock of words, and being found in Latin and Welsh. Khattiya is the next, and Mahā Sammata is the youngest of all. But it would show a strange ignorance of history to complain of this. Such plays upon words are common to all ancient literatures. Scientific etymology is a growth of yesterday. The author or authors of this passage (and of all similar ones) were thinking, of course, not of etymology, but of what they regarded as matter of the highest import.

These good beings, having made unto themselves leaf-huts in the forest region, meditate therein. For them burning coal is extinct, smoke is known no more, pestle and mortar have fallen from their hands ; they gather of an evening for the evening meal, of a morning for the morning meal, and go down into village and town and royal city seeking food. When they have gotten food, back again in their leaf-huts they meditate. They meditate (*jhāyanti*), *Vāseṭṭha*, is what is meant by the brooding one (*jhāyakā*). Thus was it that this was the second phrase that arose.

23. Now certain of those beings, *Vāseṭṭha*, being incapable of enduring this meditation in forest leaf-huts, went down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, making books.¹ When men saw this, they said : These good beings, being incapable of enduring meditation in forest leaf-huts, have gone down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, and there they make books. But they cannot meditate. Now, These meditate not, *Vāseṭṭha*, is what is meant by *Ajjhāyakā* (repeaters, viz., of the Vedas).

Thus this third phrase for such people came into use. At that time they were looked upon as the lowest ; now they are thought the best.

Such then, *Vāseṭṭha*, according to the ancient, yea, primordial, expressions by which they were known, was the origin of this social circle of the Brahmins.² [95] Their origin was from just those beings [above referred to] ; beings like unto themselves, not unlike ; [and it took place] according to the Norm [according to what ought to be, justly] not unfittingly.

For, *Vāseṭṭha*,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

¹ *Ganthe karontā ; tayo Vede abhisankharontā c'eva vācentā ca*, says the Comy.—compiling the three Vedas and teaching others to repeat them.

² *Brāhmaṇa-maṇḍalassāti Brāhmaṇa-gaṇassa*, says Buddhaghosa.



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26. Now there came a time, Vāseṭṭha, when some Khattiya, misprizing his own norm, went forth from home into the homeless life, saying : I will become a recluse. Some Brahmin too did the same, likewise some Vessa [96] and some Sudda, each finding some fault in his particular norm. Out of these four groups or circles, Vāseṭṭha, the company of the recluses came into being. Their origin was from just these beings like unto themselves, not different. And it took place according to a norm [a fitness, justly], not unfittingly.

For, Vāseṭṭha,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

27. Now a khattiya, Vāseṭṭha, who has led a bad life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are wrong, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, Purgatory.¹ And a Brahmin too . . . a Vessa too . . . a Sudda too, who has led a bad life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are wrong, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, Purgatory.

28. Again, Vāseṭṭha, a Khattiya . . . or Brahmin . . . or Vessa . . . or Sudda, who has led a good life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are as they should be, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in a happy, bright world.

29. Again, Vāseṭṭha, a Khattiya . . . a Brahmin, too [97] . . . a Vessa, too . . . a Sudda, too, who has lived a life both good and bad,² in deed, word and thought,

¹ Cf. II, 51.

² Lit. a double-doer, dvaya-kārī. Buddhaghosa's elaboration of this destiny in outline is of interest : There is no opportunity where both results may be incurred at the same moment. But one who has wrought much bad and slight good may be reborn as a Khattiya or Brahmin, because of that good, yet be

whose views of life are mixed, will, in consequence of his mixed views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death suffering both happiness and unhappiness.

30. Again, Vāseṭṭha, a Khattiya . . . a Brahmin, too . . . a Vessa, too . . . a Sudda, too, who is self-restrained in deed, word and thought, and has followed after the practice of the seven principles which are the Wings of Wisdom,¹ attains to complete extinction [of evil]² in this present life.

31. For, Vāseṭṭha, whosoever of these Four classes becomes, as a bhikkhu, an arahant, who has destroyed the intoxicants, who has done that which it behoved him to do, who has laid down the burden, who has won his own salvation, who has wholly destroyed the fetter of re-becoming, who through knowledge made perfect is free,—he is declared chief among them, in virtue of a norm, not in the absence of a norm. For, Vāseṭṭha,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

32. Now this verse, Vāseṭṭha, was spoken by Brahmā, the Eternal Youth:³

one-eyed or a hunchback or a cripple, or he may be worthy of a kingdom, yet be unable to come into his own. In another case, when he is dying, his good and bad karma attend him like two strong wrestlers, and the stronger bad karma prevailing, he is reborn as an animal, but, the good karma persisting, he becomes a state-elephant, or state-horse, or state-buffalo.

¹ These seven, in the ancient commentary, embedded in the text of the Vibhanga are explicitly limited to the seven Bojjhangas (p. 249; cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids's Preface, xiv; also A. III, 70, 71; IV. 351). In the present Comy. Buddhaghosa defines them as the thirty-seven, divided, as Four Satipatṭhānas, etc., into seven. But see below, p. 96, § 3, where the thirty-seven would surely have been called bodhipakkhiyā dhammā, instead of just kusālā, had the thirty-seven been so entitled, when the Dialogues were compiled.

² Kilesa-parinibbānena parinibbāti. Comy.

³ Recurs Vol. I, p. 122, and Saṃyutta I, 153; II, 284.

The Khattiya is the best among this folk
 Who put their trust in lineage.
 But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed,
 Is best of all 'mong spirits and men.

Now this stanza, Vāsetṭha, was well sung and not ill sung by Brahmā the Eternal Youth, well said and not ill said, full of meaning and not void thereof. I too, Vāsetṭha, say : [98]

The Khattiya is the best among this folk
 Who put their trust in lineage.
 But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed,
 Is best of all 'mong spirits and men.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Pleased at heart Vāsetṭha and Bhāradvāja rejoiced in what the Exalted One had said.

Here ends the Aggañña-Suttanta.



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doctrines . . . wisdom . . . mode of life and . . . liberty?

Not so, lord.

But at least then, Sāriputta, thou knowest that I now am Arahant, an Awakened One, comprehending my mind with thy mind, and aware that thus is the Exalted One's conduct, such is his wisdom, such his doctrine, such his mode of life, and such the liberty to which he has attained?

Not so, lord.

Lo! here, Sāriputta, no knowledge hast thou concerning Arahants, Awakened Ones, past, future or present. Why then forsooth are thy words so grand and bold? Why hast thou roared this all-comprehensive lion's roar?

2. Lord! no knowledge have I concerning the minds of past, future and present Arahants, Awakened Ones. I only know, lord, the lineage of the Norm.¹ Just as [101] a king, lord, might have a border-city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and towers, and with only one gate. And there might be a warden of the gate, discreet and clever and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only them that were known. And he, on patrolling in his sentry-walks over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where anything as small as a cat could get past. He would think: Whatever bulkier creatures either enter or leave this city, they all pass only by this gate. Only thus is it, lord, that I know the lineage of the Norm. They who in the long ages of the past were Arahants, Supremely Awakened Ones, putting away the five Hindrances, suppressing the corruptions of the mind by wisdom, with hearts well established in the four exercises for setting up mindfulness, thoroughly exercising themselves in the seven branches of enlightenment, have wholly awaked to the uttermost awakening. They who in the long ages of the future will be Arahants,

¹ Dhamm'anvayo. Or of the faith (II, 88. Cf. Samyutta II, 58). I.e., lit. what is in conformity with the Dhamma.

Supremely Awakened Ones, will do likewise. And the Exalted One too, who now, lord, is Arahant Supremely Awakened, he too hath done likewise.

It¹ happened one day, lord, [102] that I had come to the Exalted One to listen to the exposition of the Norm. And the Exalted One taught me doctrine, each point ever more excellent than the last, with comparison of the things of light and the things of darkness. Now while the Exalted One was teaching me the Norm, after this sort, even so I, understanding that Norm, perfected among doctrines one certain doctrine, namely, faith² in the Master. And I confessed in my heart: The Exalted One is supremely awakened; well taught by him is the Norm; blessed is the Order.

3. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassed: the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning righteous doctrines³; I mean the Four Exercises in setting up Mindfulness, the Four Supreme Efforts, the Four Roads to Saintship, the Five Moral Powers, the Five Forces, the Seven Branches of Enlightenment, the Aryan Eightfold Path [showing how] a bhikkhu by destruction of the intoxicants may

¹ According to Buddhaghosa on this passage Sāriputta is here alluding to the conversation between the Buddha and Sāriputta's nephew, Dīgha-nakha, recorded in Majjhima I, 497 foll. Dhammapāla in his commentary on Th. I, 995 says the same (see Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 341, 345). It was then that Sāriputta, listening to the talk, reached emancipation.

² Pasīdi. There is no English word that quite fits this or its variants pasādo, pasanno. They are expressions of the satisfaction akin to æsthetic gratification (Cf. B.P.E. 174, n. 3) felt by the believer in whom faith, confidence, amounts to a passion, akin to religious love.

³ Kusalesu dhammesu, afterwards called the thirty-seven bodhipakkhiyā dhamma (Cf. C. Rh. D. in Preface to Vibhanga; Compendium of Philosophy, 179, supra, Vol. II, 128). Buddhaghosa distinguishes under kusala the *Jātaka* meaning of that which makes for well-being (*ārogya*), as taught by commonsense, the *Suttanta* meaning or what is ethically right (*anavajja*), as here; and the *Abhidhamma* meaning, as that which is efficient (*kosalla*), makes for absence of pain (*niddaratha*), for happy results (*sukhavipāka*). Cf. The Expositor, pp. 48 f.; 83.

know and realize for himself, even in this life, sane and immune emancipation of intellect and intuition, and so attaining may therein abide. Unsurpassed, lord, is this concerning righteous doctrines. All this the Exalted One understands, and beyond what he understands there is nothing left to understand. Nor is there any other, whether he be recluse or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards righteous doctrines.

4. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassable, the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning our sense-experience,—how the six fields of sense are subjective and objective¹: sight and visible things, hearing and sounds, smell and odours, taste and sapid things, touch and tangible things, mind and mental objects. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning our sense-experience. All this the Exalted One understands, and beyond what he understands there is nothing left to understand. Nor is there any other, [103] whether he be recluse or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards our sense-experience.²

5. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassable: the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning descensions at rebirth:—That there are four modes in descension, thus:—one descends into the mother's womb unknowing,³ abides there unknowing, departs thence unknowing. This is the first mode. Next, one descends into the mother's womb knowingly, but persists there and departs thence unknowing. This

¹ Literally, of the self, and external. The former term includes more than our subjective. Bud. Psy., 141; B.P.E., 207, n. 1; Expositor, 60.

² This refrain is to be understood as repeated in full after each of the remaining fifteen sections of unsurpassables.

³ Comy: *Asampajāno ti ajānanto sammūḷho*. These four modes are held by Buddhaghosa to be the mental evolution at rebirth of (1) human beings generally; (2) the eighty great theras; (3) the two chief disciples of any Buddha, Pacceka-Buddhas, and Bodhisats; (4) omniscient Bodhisats (i.e., Bodhisats in their last rebirth) respectively.



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thought will he next be directing his mind. And however much one reveals that is so and not otherwise. This is the fourth mode. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning the modes of revealing [the mind of another].¹

7. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning degrees of discernment;² that there are four such degrees, namely: Some³ recluse or brahmin by means of ardour, of effort, of application, of strenuous earnestness, of careful concentration, reaches up to such rapture of thought that with rapt mind he meditates introspectively on just this bodily organism from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, as a hide-bound mass of manifold uncleanness, thus:—In this body⁴ are hairs, down, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bone, marrow, kidney, heart, liver, membrane, spleen, lungs, bowels, mesentery, stomach, fæces, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, saliva, snot, synovial fluid, urine. This is the first degree of discernment. Again, [105] lord, such a recluse or brahman, so rapt in thought, goes on to meditate after that on the human skeleton [as covered by] skin, flesh and blood. This is the second degree of discernment. Again, lord, he goes on after that to discern the unbroken flux of human consciousness⁵ established both in this world and in another world. This is the third degree of discernment. Again, lord, he goes on to discern the unbroken flux of human consciousness as not established either in this world or

¹ I.e., says the Comy., we divine, by the start made by practising jhāna, or other exercise for insight, how far in the four stages, and how far in the Four Paths, such and such a one will eventually attain to.

² Dassanasamāpatti.

³ Cf. Vol. I, p. 27.

⁴ This formula omits the last two of the equally classic formula in the Khuddakapāṭha: the Thirty-two-fold Mode—mattakāṇ, matthalungaṇ: head, brains.

⁵ Viññāṇasotaṇti viññāṇam eva. In this and the next degree, he distinguishes between the disposition of the worldling and the learner, on the one hand, and that of the Arahant on the other. Comy.

in another world.¹ This is the fourth degree of discernment. Unsurpassable is this, lord, concerning degrees of discernment.

8. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the classification of individuals²: that there are seven classes, to wit:—freed-both-ways, freed by insight, having bodily testimony, having gained the view, freed by confidence, follower of wisdom, follower of confidence. Unsurpassable, lord, are these terms for classes of individuals.

9. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One [106] teaches the Norm concerning endeavour:—that there are these seven factors of enlightenment, to wit, the factors of mindfulness, examination of doctrine, energy, zest, serenity, concentration and equanimity. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning endeavour.³

10. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the norm concerning rates of progress:—that there are four such rates of progress, to wit, when progress is difficult and intuition slow, when progress is difficult but intuition comes swiftly,⁴ when progress is easy but intuition is slow, when progress is easy and intuition comes swiftly. In the first case, progress is reckoned as bad both from difficulty and slowness; in the second case, progress is reckoned as bad from its difficulty. In the third case, progress is reckoned as bad from slowness. In the fourth case, progress is reckoned as excellent

¹ The consciousness namely of the Arahant, whom Karma and its consequences no longer affect. Comy.

² Puggala-paññattisu — as differing from the terms conventionally applied—viz., sattō, puggalo, nāro, poso. The seven qualifying terms are defined in the Puggala-paññatti, p. 14 f., and in the Visuddhi Magga, Paṭipadāññāṇadasana visuddhi-niddesa; cf. also Anguttara I, 73 f., and above, II, 68, 70.

³ It is most unusual to find the seven Bojjhangas called padhānas or efforts. Cf. p. 97, § 3.

⁴ Cf. Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, § 176 f.; Expositor, 243 f.

because of both ease and swiftness. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning rates of progress.

11. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning conduct in speech:—how one should not only use no speech associated with lying, but should also, in seeking to win his case, avoid calumnious,¹ abusive and contentious speech, speaking ever gently words of wisdom, worth treasuring up, and uttered in due season. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning conduct in speech.

12. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the ethical conduct of man:—how such a man should be true and believing, no trickster,² no droner out [of holy words for pay], no diviner, no exorcist, nor [107] hungering to add gain to gain, guarded as to the doors of his senses, abstemious in diet, a peacemaker, devoted to keeping vigil, unfaltering, apt to apply effort, contemplative, mindful, of seemly conversation,³ valiant to go, to endure and to think, not greedy, besides, for worldly pleasures, but heedful and sagacious. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning a man's ethical conduct.

13. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning modes of [receiving] instruction, namely, that there are four such modes: (1) The Exalted One knows through his own [method of] systematic thought,* that a given individual, when carrying out what he has been taught, by the complete destruction of Three Fetters, will

¹ Vebhūtiyaṇ [vācaṇ], paraphrased as bhedakāra-kavacaṇ, speech causing rupture, schism, division. Cf. Childers's Dict., s.v. and below, XXX, 2, 21.

² Cf. Dialogues, I, 15, § 20. These expressions are discussed in the Comy., *ibid.*, and in Visuddhi Magga, 23 f.

³ Kalyāṇapaṭibhāno, paraphrased as one who is proficient not only in utterance and in converse (vākkaraṇa-paṭibhāna-sampanno), but also in relevant or suitable (yutta-) converse, as was Thera Vangīsa, concerning whom see Psalms of the Brethren, 395 f.

* Paccattam yoniso manasikārā.



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dwelling-places (or births) in times gone by—in one birth, or in two, or three, or four, or five, or ten, or twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand, or in several hundred, or several thousand, or several hundred thousand births, to the effect that ‘There I had such and such a name, was of such and such a lineage and class, lived on such and such food, experienced such and such pains and pleasures [109], had such and such a span of years. And when I fell from thence I was reborn here’ :—thus does he recollect, both as to the manner thereof and in detail, his various dwelling-places in times gone by. And he says to himself : ‘The time that is gone by I know, whether the world was in process of evolution or of dissolution. But I know not the time for to come, whether the world will evolve or dissolve. Eternal is both soul and world, giving birth to nothing new, steadfast as a mountain-peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and though these living creatures transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet there is only that which is for ever and ever.’ This is the first Eternalist doctrine.

(2) Again, lord, some recluse or brahmin, by the same means, calls to mind his dwelling-places in the past for even greater periods, such as one, two, three, four, five, ten, or twenty pairs of world-evolution and dissolution. . . . And he too reflects : ‘The time that is gone by I know, both of the evolution and dissolution of the world, but I know not the time for to come, [110] whether the world will evolve or dissolve. Eternal is both soul and world, giving birth to nothing new, steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and though these living creatures transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet there is only that which is for ever and ever.’ This is the second Eternalist doctrine.

(3) Again, lord, some recluse or brahmin, by the same means, calls to mind his dwelling-places in the

past for even greater periods still, even up to forty world-systems evolving and dissolving. And he too draws the same inference. This is the third Eternalist doctrine.

Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning Eternalist doctrines.

16. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning knowledge of former dwelling-places: how some recluse or brahmin, by means of ardour, of exertion, of application, of earnestness, of careful thought, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought he calls to mind his various dwelling-places in times gone by, to wit, in one birth or more [111] up to even several myriads of world-evolutions and dissolutions:—‘There I had such and such a name, lineage, class, so was I nourished, such and for so long were the pleasures and pains I experienced.’ [He calls to mind that] deceasing thence he was reborn in such another place, where he was so-and-so, faring after such and such a sort; that deceasing thence he was reborn here. Thus does he recollect, both as to the manner thereof and in detail, his various dwelling-places in times gone by.

There are devas, lord, whose span of life is not to be reckoned either by counting or by computation,¹ and yet with whatever individuality they have previously existed, whether as corporeal or incorporeal, whether as percipient, non-percipient, or neither, there is reminiscence of former dwelling-place both as to the manner thereof and in detail. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning knowledge as to such reminiscences.

17. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning knowledge of the decease and rebirth of creatures. Thus some recluse or brahmin, by the means aforesaid, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought he sees with pure deva-eye, surpassing the sight of men,

¹ Explained in the Comy. as by addition [of units of time], or by mental estimate without division [of time].

beings as they de cease and are reborn ; he recognizes beings as mean or noble, as ill-favoured or well-favoured, as blest or wretched, passing on according to their deeds : Such and such worthy folk, ill-doers¹ in act, word and thought, revilers of the noble ones,² holding wrong views, acquiring karma resulting from wrong views, are reborn after death, at the dissolution of the body, in some unhappy state of suffering or woe. But such and such worthy folk, well-doers in act and word and thought, not revilers of the noble ones, holding right views, acquiring karma resulting from right views, are reborn after death, at the dissolution of the body, [112] in some happy state in heaven. Thus with the pure deva-eye, surpassing the sight of men, does he see beings deceasing and being reborn. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning knowledge of de cease and rebirth.

18. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning modes of supernormal power, that there are two modes, to wit :—(1) Supernormal power which is concomitant with the mental intoxicants and with worldly aims. This is called ignoble [power]. (2) Supernormal power which is not so concomitant. This is called noble [power]. And what, lord, is the former, the ignoble supernormal power ? When, lord, some recluse or brahmin, by the means aforesaid, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought he becomes able to enjoy divers modes of supernormal power :³—from being one he becomes multiform, from being multiform, he becomes one ; from being visible he becomes invisible ; he passes without hindrance to the further

¹ This passage occurs in Vol. I, 91, where, by the way, ill-doers has been accidentally omitted. Worthy folk : bhonto sattā. English idiom cannot reproduce the courteous *Messieurs* [*ces*] *êtres* of the Pali. Dr. Neumann uses the colloquial *lieben*, dear or good creatures. Cf. above [p. 47, n. 1].

² Ariyā : Buddhas and their leading disciples.

³ This, the accepted description of iddhi, occurs in the Kevaddha Suttanta, Vol. I, 277, and in all the Nikāyas.



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is painful, unworthy, unprofitable.¹ The Exalted One is able to obtain at will, with ease and in full measure, that earthly happiness of a loftier kind² which the Four Stages of Ecstasy afford.

If, lord, anyone were to ask me : What then, friend Sāriputta, have there ever been in times gone by other recluses or brahmins greater and wiser as to enlightenment than the Exalted One ? I should say No. What then, friend Sāriputta, will there come in future times other recluses or brahmins greater or wiser as to enlightenment than the Exalted One ? Thus asked, I should say No. [114] What then, friend Sāriputta, is there now any other recluse or brahmin greater or wiser as to Enlightenment than the Exalted One ? Thus asked, I should say No.

Again, lord, if I were asked : What then, friend Sāriputta, have there been in times gone by . . . will there be in future times other recluses or brahmins equal to the Exalted One, in the matter of Enlightenment ? I should say Yea. But if I were asked : Is there now any recluse or brahmin equal to the Exalted One in the matter of Enlightenment, I should say No. •

Again, lord, if I were asked : Why does the venerable Sāriputta thus acknowledge the superiority of one teacher, and not that of another ? Thus asked, I should say : In the presence of the Exalted One have I heard him say and from him have received, that, whereas in times gone by and in future times there have been, and will be other Supreme Buddhas equal to himself in the matter of Enlightenment, yet that in one and the same world-system³ there should arise two

¹ The two extremes of conduct as stated in the Buddha's First Sermon (Vin. Texts, I, 94 ; Saṃyutta, V, 421 ; cf. IV, 330 ; Buddhist Suttas (S.B.E., XI), 146 f.).

² Abhicetasikānaṃ, paraphrased as kāmāvacaracittāni atikkamitvā t̥hitānaṃ (j h ā n ā n a ṇ) : (ecstasies) persisting when thoughts belonging to sense-experience have been transcended. Lit., ultra-thoughtish.

³ Loka-dhātu. On the extent of a lokadhātu cf. Buddhaghosa here and on Vol. II, 263. On the doctrine cf. Vol. II, 263 : Milinda II, 47 f., a discussion referred to and re-discussed in our Comy.

Arahants Buddhas Supreme, the one neither before nor after the other :—that is impossible and unprecedented.¹ That cannot be.

Should I, lord, [115] answering my questioners thus, be stating the doctrine of the Exalted One, and not misrepresenting him by what is not fact? Should I be stating doctrine in conformity with the Norm, and would no orthodox disputant find occasion for blame herein?

Of a truth, Sāriputta, hadst thou been asked such questions and thus hadst answered, thou hadst stated my doctrine, and hadst not misrepresented me by what is not fact. Thou hast stated doctrine in conformity with the Norm, and no orthodox disputant could have found occasion for blame therein.

20. When they had thus spoken, the venerable Udāyin² said to the Exalted One: Wonderful, lord, marvellous, lord, is it to behold how self-contained, serene, and resigned is the Tathāgata, when he who is so mighty and powerful will not proclaim himself!³ If any Wanderers of independent doctrines were to discern in themselves even one of such matters, they would flourish around a banner because of it. Wonderful, marvellous is it to behold how self-contained, serene and resigned is the Tathāgata, when he who is so mighty and powerful will not proclaim his own virtues!

Take note of this then, Udāyin, that this is so; and that if Wanderers teaching independent doctrines were to discern in themselves even one such quality, they would flourish around a banner about it. Take note of this.

[116] 21. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Sāriputta:—Wherefore thou, Sāriputta,

¹ Anguttara I, 27, § 10; Vibhanga, 336.

² Of the three Theras so-called Lāḷudāyin, Kāḷudāyin, and the Great Udāyin this is the last named. Comy. Cf. Psalms of the Brethren, p. 228, with Jāt. I, 123, 446.

³ Attano guṇe na āvikarissati: will not reveal his own virtues. Comy.

shouldst often discourse on this matter to both brethren and sisters, laymen and lay sisters. Whatever foolish ones there be who will feel doubt and hesitation concerning the Tathāgata, when they have heard such discourse, even they too will banish their hesitation and their doubt.

On this wise did the venerable Sāriputta make known his faith before the Exalted One. Hence the title The Faith that Satisfied is another name for his confession.

Here ends the
Fifth Suttanta, The Faith that Satisfied.



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now wrecked as it was of his support¹ and without a protector.²

2. Now Cunda the Novice,³ having passed the rainy season at Pāvā, came to see the venerable Ānanda at Sāmāgama, and coming, saluted him and sat down beside him. So seated he said to the venerable Ānanda : Nāthaputta, sir, the Nigaṇṭha has just died at Pāvā. And he being dead, the Nigaṇṭhas have become disunited and divided into two parties, . . . quarrelling and wounding one another . . . so that even the lay disciples . . . show themselves shocked . . . so badly was their doctrine and discipline set forth and imparted . . . imparted as they were by one who was not supremely enlightened, and now they are wrecked of their support and without a protector.

Then said the venerable Ānanda to Cunda the Novice : Friend Cunda, this is a worthy subject to bring before the Exalted One. Let's go to him, and tell him about it.

Very good, sir, replied Cunda the Novice.

3. So the venerable Ānanda and Cunda the Novice sought out the Exalted One and saluting him, and sitting down beside him, told him about the Nigaṇṭhas.

[119] 4. (The Buddha :) Here, Cunda, we have a teacher who was not supremely enlightened, and a doctrine badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual to guide, not conducing to peace, imparted by one who was not supremely enlightened. In such a doctrine, moreover, the disciple does not come to master⁴ the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine,

¹ Bhinnathūpe, lit. having its stūpa broken—a metaphor, says the Comy., for foundation (platform, patitṭhā).

² Paṭisaraṇaṇ, lit. a resort, to whom, as B. elsewhere explains, all go for injunctions, etc. See Bud. Psy., 1914, p. 69.

³ Pronounce Choonda, the oo as in 'good.' According to Buddhaghosa this is none other than the youngest brother of Sāriputta (and of Revata), called in the Theragāthā Mahācunda. See Pss. of the Brethren, pp. 118 and 350 (where we have tentatively inferred that the Cundas were not identical).

⁴ Cf. for the following phrases Vol. II, 112.

nor to acquire correct conduct, nor to walk according to the precepts, but is perpetually evading that doctrine. To him one might say : Friend, thou hast got [thy gospel], and thou hast got thy opportunity.¹ Thy teacher is not supremely enlightened ; his Norm is badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual for guidance, not conducive to peace, not imparted by one supremely enlightened. Thou in that doctrine hast not mastered the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, nor acquired correct conduct, nor walkest thou according to those corollaries, but thou dost perpetually evade that doctrine. Thus, Cunda, both that teacher and that doctrine are shown blame-worthy, but the disciple is praiseworthy.

Now he who should say to such a disciple : Come, your reverence, practise even according to the doctrine taught and declared by your teacher ! both he who instigates, and he who is instigated, and he too who, being instigated, practises accordingly,—they all of them generate much demerit. And why ? Because their doctrine and discipline are badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual for guidance, not conducive to peace, not imparted by one supremely enlightened.

5. But consider, Cunda, where, the teacher not being supremely enlightened, and the doctrine being badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual for guidance, not conducive to peace, not imparted by one supremely enlightened, the disciple abides in that doctrine, practising the lesser corollaries following on the larger doctrine, acquiring correct conduct and, walking according to the precepts, perpetually conforms to that doctrine. To him one might say : Friend, thou hast been unlucky [in thy teacher], and in thy opportunity ; thy teacher is not supremely [120] enlightened ; thy doctrine is badly set forth and the like ; and thou . . . perpetually conformest to that

¹ Tassa te suladdhaṇ, lit. for thee [is] the well-gotten ; paraphrased as : for thee humanity (rebirth as human) is well gotten.

doctrine. By these words, Cunda, teacher and doctrine and disciple are all blameworthy: And he who should say : Verily his reverence¹ mastering the system will carry it to a successful end!—he thus commending and he who is commended and he who, thus commended, redoubles the energy he puts forth,—all they generate much demerit. And why? Because their doctrine and discipline have been badly set forth, badly imparted . . . by one who is not supremely enlightened.

6. But consider, Cunda, where the teacher is supremely enlightened, and the doctrine well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one supremely enlightened, but where the disciple in that norm has not mastered the lesser corollaries following on the larger doctrine, nor learnt to practise correct conduct, nor walks according to the precepts, but perpetually evades that doctrine. To him one might say :—Friend, thou hast not succeeded, thou hast missed thy opportunity. Thy teacher is supremely enlightened, and his doctrine is well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened, but thou hast not mastered [it] . . . but dost perpetually evade it? By these words, Cunda, teacher and doctrine are commended, but the disciple is held blameworthy. Now if one were to say to such a disciple :—Come, your reverence, practise in accordance with the doctrine taught and declared by your teacher!—he who instigated, he who was instigated, and he who being instigated practised accordingly, would all of them generate much merit. And why? Because that doctrine and discipline were well set forth, well imparted . . . by one who was supremely enlightened.

[121] 7. But consider, Cunda, where the teacher is supremely enlightened, the doctrine well set forth . . . and where the disciple has mastered [it] . . . and perpetually conforms to it. To him one might say :—

¹ Read *Addhâyas mā*.



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well proclaimed among men. Now has our teacher passed away! For such a teacher to die, Cunda, is a great affliction for his disciples.

9. But consider, Cunda, where a Teacher has appeared in the world who is Arahant, supremely enlightened; where a Norm has been well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened; and where the disciples have become proficient in the good Norm, and where the full scope of the higher life has become manifest to them, evident, with all its stages co-ordinated, and made a thing of saving grace, well proclaimed among men, when that teacher passes away. Now for such a teacher, Cunda, to die is not an affliction for his disciples. And why? 'A Teacher arose in the world for us, Arahant, supremely enlightened; and a Norm was well set forth, well imparted . . . by him. And we have become proficient in the good Norm, and the full scope of the higher life has become manifest to us, evident, with all its stages co-ordinated and made a thing of saving grace, well proclaimed among men. [123] Now is our Teacher passed away!' For such a Teacher to die, Cunda, is not an affliction to his disciples.

10. If a religious system be placed in these circumstances, Cunda, and there be none to take the lead who is a senior brother, experienced, of long standing in the order, of ripe age, arrived at years of discretion, then is that system by this circumstance imperfect. But if there is such an one, then is that system by this circumstance made perfect.

11. Again, if a religious system, Cunda, be placed in these circumstances, and one is found to take the lead who is a senior brother, experienced, of long standing in the Order, of ripe age, arrived at years of discretion, but there be no senior bhikkhus who are disciples, wise and well trained, ready and learned, who have won the goal of religion,¹ who are able to pro-

¹ Patta-yogakkhemā. 'Arahantship'—so the Comy. paraphrases.

pagate the truth, who, having well confuted uprisen opposing schools with their doctrines, are able to teach the Norm with saving grace: then is that system by this circumstance made perfect.

12. In so far, Cunda, as the holy life is furnished with these circumstances:—to wit, with such a leading elder, and with such senior bhikkhus, but if there be no bhikkhus of middle age or standing who are disciples, then is the holy life by this circumstance made imperfect. Or if it lack in certain other respects, it is to that extent imperfect, for instance, if there be no novices who are disciples, or senior¹ Sisters who are disciples, or [124] Sisters of middle standing who are disciples, or Sister novices who are disciples, or if there be no laymen who are disciples, householders of the white robe, holy livers,² or if there be none among those laymen who are wealthy,³ or if there be no laywomen who are disciples; householders of the white robe, holy livers, or if there be none among those laywomen who are wealthy, or if the system be not successful, prosperous, widespread and popular in its full extent, well proclaimed among men, or if the system be all this but have not attained the foremost place in public fame and support:—by any one such circumstance the system is rendered imperfect.

13. And contrariwise, by the presence of each and all these circumstances, [125] is that system rendered perfect.

14. But I, Cunda, have now arisen as a teacher in the world who am Arahant, supremely enlightened. And the Norm is well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened. And my true hearers are proficient in the good Norm, and the full scope of the holy life has become manifest to them, evident, with all its stages co-ordinated, and made a

¹ Therā (*sic*).

² Brahmācārino. Paraphrased as brahmācāriyavāsāṇaṃ vasamānā ariyasāvaka.

³ Wealthy converts (sotāpannā), qualifies Buddhaghosa.

thing of saving grace for them, well proclaimed among men.

But I, Cunda, the teacher am now grown old, many are the nights I have known, long is it since I went forth, I have reached full age, I have come to my journey's end.

15. Yet senior bhikkhus of mine are there, Cunda, who are disciples, wise and well trained, ready and learned, who have won the peace of the Arahant, who are able to propagate the good Norm, who when others start opposed doctrine, easy to confute by the truth, will be able in confuting it to teach the Norm and its saving grace.

And bhikkhus of middle age and standing now are there, Cunda; disciples of mine and wise. And novices now are there, Cunda, disciples of mine. And senior Sisters now are there, Cunda, disciples of mine. And Sisters of middle age and standing now are there, Cunda, and novices also, disciples of mine. And laymen now are there, Cunda, householders of the white robe, men of holy life, disciples of mine; and among these are men of wealth. Laywomen now are there, Cunda, householders of the white robe, disciples of mine; [126] and among these are women of wealth. And my religion,¹ Cunda, is successful, prosperous, widespread and popular in all its full extent, well proclaimed among men.

16. To what extent, Cunda, there now are teachers arisen in the world, I cannot discern any teacher, who has attained to such a leading position in renown and support as I have. To what extent, Cunda, there now are Orders and companies arisen in the world, I cannot discern any one that has attained to such a leading position in renown and support as the Order of Bhikkhus. If any one, in describing a religion as in every way successful, in every respect complete, neither defective nor redundant, well set forth in all its full extent, were to be speaking rightly, it is this religion that he would be describing.

¹ Brahmachariya.



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had perceived, I made known to you ; which when ye have come together and have associated yourselves, ye are to rehearse, all of you, and not quarrel over, comparing meaning with meaning, and phrase with phrase, in order that this pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of love for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of devas and men ?

They are these :—The Four Onsets of Mindfulness, the Four Supreme Efforts, the Four Paths to Efficacy, the Five Powers, the Five Forces, the Seven [128] Factors of Enlightenment, the Ariyan Eightfold Path. These, O Cunda, are the truths which when I had perceived, I made known to you, and which, when ye have come together and have associated yourselves, ye are to rehearse, all of you, and not quarrel over, comparing meaning with meaning and phrase with phrase, in order that this pure religion may last long, and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of love for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of devas and men.¹

18. You, Cunda, thus met together in concord and in courtesy, suppose that a co-religionist expresses an opinion before the Chapter. Then if you judge that this honourable member has laid hold of the meaning wrongly, or is proposing a wrong form of words, ye are neither to approve of, nor to blame him. Unapproving, unblaming, ye are to address him thus :—Of this meaning, brother, either this is the phraseology or that : which fits it better ? Or :—of these phrases either this is the meaning, or that : which fits them

¹ This summary of Buddhism is word for word the same as that laid before the disciples on the Buddha's last journey (above II, 127 ff. The note there explains the details). It will be seen that the list amounts to thirty-seven items ; and they are often referred to in later books as the thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment, the *Bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammā* (p. 93 ; 97).

better? If he reply: Of this meaning, brother, just that phraseology is the more fitting, or, Of these phrases, brother, just that meaning fits them better, he is neither to be set aside nor upbraided. Neither setting him aside nor upbraiding him, ye are with careful attention to explain to him both meaning and phraseology.

19. Again, Cunda, suppose that a co-religionist expresses an opinion before the Chapter. Then if you judge that if this honourable member has laid hold of the meaning wrongly, but propagates [129] a right form of words, ye are neither to approve of, nor to blame him. Unapproving, unblaming, ye are to address him thus: Of these different phrases, brother, either this is the meaning or that: which fits them better? If he reply: Of these phrases, brother, just this meaning is the more fitting, he is neither to be set aside, nor to be upbraided. Neither setting him aside, nor upbraiding him, ye are thoroughly to explain to him, with careful attention, the right meaning.

20. So also must ye act, if ye judge that such a speaker has laid hold of the right meaning, but is propagating a wrong form of words; ye are thoroughly to explain to him, with careful attention, the right phraseology.

21. But if, Cunda, such a speaker say and mean what ye judge to be right, then saying Well said! ye should approve of and congratulate him. And so saying and doing, ye should thus address him: We are fortunate, brother, this is most fortunate for us that in your reverence we see a co-religionist so expert in the spirit and in the letter!

22. A new doctrine, Cunda, do I teach for subduing [130] the mental intoxicants that are generated even in this present life. I teach not a doctrine for the extirpating of intoxicants in the future life only, but one for subduing them now and also for extirpating them in the after-life.

Wherefore, Cunda, the raiment sanctioned by me

for you, let it suffice for the purpose of warding off cold, for warding off heat, for warding off the touch of gadfly and mosquito, of wind and sun and snakes.¹ The alms which are sanctioned by me for you, let that suffice to sustain the body in life, to keep it going, to prevent injury, to aid you in living the holy life, you taking thought that 'Thus shall I overcome the former sensation, nor cause new sensation to arise. So far shall I both be at ease and incur no blame.'² The lodging which is sanctioned by me for you, let that suffice for you to ward off cold, to ward off heat, to ward off the touch of gadfly and mosquito, of wind and sun and snakes, just for the purpose of avoiding the dangers of the climate and of enjoying seclusion. The provision in drugs and other necessities for sickness which is sanctioned by me for you, let that suffice you so far as it may ward off sensations of illness that have arisen and preserve your health.

23. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers holding other views than ours may say:—Those recluses who follow the Sākyan are addicted and devoted to a life of pleasure.³ Teachers alleging this, Cunda, should be answered thus: What, brother, is it to be addicted and devoted to pleasure? For there are many and manifold modes in which one may be so addicted and devoted.

There are four such modes, Cunda, which are low and pagan, belonging to the average majority, unworthy, not associated with good, not conducing to unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation, to peace, to higher knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. What are the four? Firstly, there is the case of the fool who takes his pleasure and finds gratification in slaying living creatures. Secondly, there is the case of [131] one who takes his pleasure and finds gratification in taking what is not given. Thirdly, there is the case

¹ Cf. Majjhima I, p. 10; Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E. XI, p. 303. Buddhaghosa refers to Visuddhi Magga for details.

² Cf. Dhammasangani, § 1,348.

³ Cf. above, p. 107, § 20.



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that ease whereof Ariyans declare : He that is calmly contemplative and aware, he dwelleth at ease, so does he enter into and abide in the Third Jhāna. Fourthly, by putting aside ease and by putting aside mal-aise, by the passing away of the joy and the sorrow he used to feel, [132] he enters into and abides in the Fourth Jhāna, rapture of utter purity of mindfulness and equanimity, wherein neither ease is felt nor any ill. These four modes of being addicted and devoted to pleasure, Cunda, conduce to utter unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation, to peace, to insight, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. If then it happen, Cunda, that Wanderers teaching other doctrines should declare : The Sākyan recluses live addicted and devoted to *these* four modes of pleasure, to them ye should answer Yea. Rightly would they be speaking of you, nor would they be misrepresenting you by what is not fact, by what does not exist.

25. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers teaching other doctrines than ours may declare : For those who live addicted and devoted to *these* four modes of pleasure, brother, how much fruit, how many advantages are to be expected ? Them ye should answer thus : Four kinds of fruit, brother, four advantages are to be expected. What are the four ? Firstly, the case of a brother who by the complete destruction of the three fetters¹ becomes a Stream-winner, saved from disaster hereafter, certain to attain Enlightenment. Secondly, the case of a brother who by the complete destruction of three fetters has so diminished passion and hate and illusion that he has become a Once-Returner, and returning but once to this world will make an end of Ill. Thirdly, the case of a brother who, by the complete destruction of the five last fetters, will be reborn in another world, thence never to return, there to pass away. Fourthly, the case of the brother who, by the destruction of the mental Intoxicants, has come to know and realize for himself, even

¹ Cf. supra, p. 102, § 13 ; Vol. I, p. 200 f.

in this life, emancipation of intellect and emancipation of insight, and therein abides. These, brother, are the four kinds of fruit, the four advantages to be expected by those who are addicted and devoted to those four modes of pleasure.

26. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers [133] teaching other views than ours may declare: The Sākyan recluses are inconsistent in the doctrines they hold. To them thus declaring, this might be replied:—Brother, the Exalted One who knows, who sees, Arahant, supremely enlightened, hath taught and made known to his disciples doctrines not to be transgressed so long as life shall last. Just as a pillar of stone or iron, with base deep planted, well fixed, unshaking, unquivering, even so are those doctrines. The brother who is arahant, in whom the intoxicants are destroyed, who has lived the life, who has done his task, who has laid low his burden, who has attained salvation, who has utterly destroyed the fetter of rebirth, who is emancipated by the true gnosis, he is incapable of perpetrating nine things:—

1. He¹ is incapable of deliberately depriving a living creature of life.

2. He is incapable of taking what is not given so that it constitutes theft.

3. He is incapable of sexual impurity.

4. He is incapable of deliberately telling lies.

5. He is incapable of laying up treasure for indulgence in worldly pleasure as he used to do in the life of the house.

6. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through partiality.

7. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through hate.

8. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through stupidity.

9. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through fear.

¹ Cf. below Sangīti, p. 225 (x); Anguttara IV, 370.

These nine things the arahant in whom the mental intoxicants are destroyed, who has lived the life, whose task is done, whose burden is laid low, who has attained salvation, who has utterly destroyed the fetter of becoming, who is emancipated by the true gnosis is incapable of perpetrating.

[134] 27. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers who hold other views than ours may declare : Concerning the past Gotama the Recluse reveals an infinite knowledge and insight, but not so concerning the future, as to the what and the why of it. [If they were to say so], then those Wanderers would fancy, like so many silly fools, that knowledge and insight concerning one kind of thing are to be revealed by knowledge and insight engaged upon another kind of thing. Concerning the past, Cunda, the Tathāgata has cognition reminiscent of existences. He can remember as far back as he desires. And concerning the future there arises in him knowledge born of Enlightenment¹ to this effect : This is the last birth ; now is there no more coming to be.

28. If, O Cunda, the past mean what is not true, what is not fact, what does not redound to your good, concerning that the Tathāgata reveals nothing.² If the past mean what is true, what is fact, but what does not redound to your good, concerning that the Tathāgata reveals nothing. If the past mean what is true, what is fact, and what does redound to your good, concerning that the Tathāgatā knows well the time when to reveal it. [And the same is to be understood as regards the future and the present.]

[135] And so, O Cunda, concerning things past, future and present the Tathāgata is a prophet³ of the hour, a prophet of fact, a prophet of good,

¹ Buddhaghosa explains this as *bodhimūle jātaṃ* : evolved, or born, at the root of the Bo-tree.

² Or, does not answer (*ṇa vyākaroṭi*).

³ Literally, declarer, or speaker of (*-vāḍi*).



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[136] by the Exalted One. Or they may say : Does a Tathāgata not exist after death? . . . or does a Tathāgata neither exist nor not exist after death, . . . or does he both exist and not exist after death? Is this true, is any other view absurd? They are then to be answered in the same words.

31. But it may happen, Cunda, that they may ask : But why, brother, is this not revealed by Gotama the Recluse? They are thus to be answered : Because, brother, it is not conducive to good, nor to true doctrine, nor to the fundamentals of religion, nor to unworldliness, nor to passionlessness, nor to tranquillity, nor to peace, nor to insight, nor to enlightenment, nor to Nibbāna. Therefore is it not revealed by the Exalted One.

32. It may happen, Cunda, that they may ask : But what, brother, is revealed by Gotama the Recluse? They are thus to be addressed :—This is Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One. This is the Cause of Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One. This is the Cessation of Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One. This is the Path leading to the Cessation of Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One.

[137] 33. It may happen, Cunda, that those Wanderers may ask : But why, brother, is just that revealed by the Exalted One? They so asking are to be thus addressed :—Because that, brother, is fraught with Good, that belongs to the Norm, that is fundamental to religion, and conduces to absolute unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation [of ill], to peace, to insight, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. Therefore is it revealed by the Exalted One.

34. Those comments on views concerning the beginning of things, Cunda, which have been revealed by me to you even as they should be revealed :—as they should not be revealed shall I thus reveal them unto you?¹ And those comments on views concerning

¹ Read, for n o, v o, as in the following similar phrase.

the end or the beginnings of things, which have been revealed by me to you even as they should be revealed :— as they should not be revealed shall I thus reveal them unto you ?

There are, Cunda, some recluses and brahmins who believe and profess one or another of the following views ; saying : This alone is true, any other opinion is absurd :—

The soul and the world are eternal. . . .

The soul and the world are not eternal. . . .

The soul and the world are neither. . . .

The soul and the world are both. . . .

The soul and the world are self-made. . . .

The soul and the world are made by another. . . .

The soul and the world are both self-made and made by another. . . .

[138] The soul and the world are neither, having come into being fortuitously.¹

Or they believe and profess one or other of these same views concerning pleasure and pain.²

35. Now, Cunda, to those recluses and brahmins, who believe and profess any one of these views I go and say thus : Is this so, friend ? And if they reply : ' Yes ! This alone is true, any other view is absurd ' I do not admit their claim. Why is this ? Because persons hold different opinions on such questions. Nor do I consider this [or that] view on a level with my own,³ let alone higher. 'Tis I who am higher, that is with regard to exposition.⁴

36. And thus I say regarding each of these opinions aforesaid. [139] Concerning all these comments concerning the beginning of things, I have revealed to you what should be revealed ; shall I then reveal to you what should not be revealed ?

37. And what, Cunda, are the comments concerning

¹ Cf. above, I, 186-188.

² Cf. Saṃyutta ii., 19 f.

³ Attano sama-samaṇ. That is, says the Comy., on a level of knowledge (ñāṇena).

⁴ Adhipaññatti.

the things after this life, both which should be revealed and which should not be revealed?

There are, Cunda, certain recluses and brahmins who believe and profess one or other of the following views and say regarding it: That alone is true, any other view is absurd:—

The soul becomes after death of visible shape free from infirmity. . . .

It becomes invisible. . . .

It becomes both visible and invisible. . . .

It becomes neither visible nor invisible. . . .

[140] It becomes conscious. . . .

It becomes unconscious. . . .

It becomes both. . . .

It becomes neither. . . .

The soul is abolished, destroyed, does not come to be after death.

38. Now, Cunda, to those recluses and brahmins, who believe and profess any one of these views, I go and say, as before:—Is this even as you say, friend? And if they reply: ‘This alone is true, any other view is absurd,’ I do not admit that. And why is this? Because persons hold different views on such questions. Nor do I consider this or that view on a level with mine own, let alone higher. ’Tis I who am higher, that is with regard to exposition.

39. And thus I say regarding all those opinions aforesaid. Concerning all these comments concerning the things after this life, I have revealed to you [141] what should be revealed; shall I then reveal to you what should not be revealed?

40. For the expungeing of all these comments on opinions concerning the beginning and the hereafter of things, and for getting beyond them, Cunda, I have taught and laid down¹ the Four Onsets of Mindfulness:—what are the Four?² Herein, let a brother, as to the body, continue so to look upon the body that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, that he may

¹ Paññattā.

² Vol. II, 327.



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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LAKKHANA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta is a very interesting instance of the method, so often followed in the Dialogues, of pouring new wine into the old bottles.¹

The brahmins had inherited a very ancient speculation (or, if that expression be preferred), a religious belief, in a mystic man, to whose dismemberment the origin of the world, and of all that is in the world, had been due. Such a theory is not, however, exclusively Aryan. Relics of it, in its most savage ferocity, are found as far off as the South Seas, and lie hidden under the grotesque details of the myth of Osiris. It is strange indeed that any such relics should have survived. For this idea runs counter to all the numerous cosmogonies that arose out of the later polytheisms. In India we have the most ancient presentation of it in the well-known *Puruṣa-Sūkta*—a hymn now incorporated, it is true, in one of the latest portions of the *Rig Veda*, but preserving the memory of a trend of thought earlier, no doubt, than the cult of most of the Vedic gods. We owe a debt of gratitude to the brahmin compilers of this anthology that they should have thought it worth while to include a conception so foreign to the rest of the collection.

The dismemberment of the Man is here ascribed to the gods. It is they who slay him and cut him up, and sacrifice him. From the pieces are produced (we are not told how) various things that gods need—metres in which they may be praised; animals to be sacrificed to them; men to perform the sacrifices; the earth and sky, the moon and the sun. As the gods are made in the image of men, it is scarcely probable that this bizarre idea could have arisen except among people who believed that a human sacrifice would bring advantage to the tribe. Of course the victim of the gods, before there were any men, was no ordinary man. He was a mythic monster of a man with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, as suitable a victim for the gods as a captive enemy would be for men. So say the

¹ Compare on this method what has been said above, I, 206-208.

opening verses ; afterwards the Man is treated as if he were the usual shape. It is therefore quite possible that the beginning of the hymn is by one author and the rest by another.

Notwithstanding its own incongruities, and its direct contradiction of other stories of creation, this one survived. A hymn of the Atharva (X, 2) returns to the subject. The mythic Man loses in that hymn his thousand heads and eyes and feet, but the purpose of the hymn is to identify him quite clearly and completely with Brahmā, the new personification of the magic words of the sacrifice, the new name for a Spirit of the universe. Thus do new gods absorb the old.

There is another mythical Man in the pre-Buddhistic literature, who is also identified with Brahman. He creates all this out of himself. But he is not a sacrificial victim ; and the long account of how he does it does not identify him with the Man of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*.¹

There is yet a third Man to be considered—the man in the eye, and in the mirror, and in many other things—the subject of the well-known passage incorporated in two Upanishads, and therefore older than either.² This third Man is simply the animistic soul.

Which of these three is the one referred to in our *Sutta*? It is necessary before we attempt to answer this question to see what the Pali evidence says. It is unfortunately very little, but not without importance. In the first place there are several passages where brahmins of good standing are represented as claiming this theory of natal marks on the body of the superman as part of their stock of hereditary knowledge.³ It is true that when the whole list of such knowledge is given, this theory of marks is put at the end as if it were the least of all in importance. Nevertheless, if this statement be correct for the period of the rise of Buddhism, and for the localities mentioned, then it follows that the theory is not a Buddhist one at all: it is brahmin. And the information is just what we should expect—certain brahmins, in their capacity as augurs and soothsayers, had worked out a theory of such marks, and handed it on to their pupils. It must be recollected that there was then, in the valley of the Ganges, no astrology ;

¹ See Rh. D.'s *Theory of Soul in the Upanishads*, J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 79.

² *Bṛihad. Ār. Up.* I, 4.

³ *Dīgha* I, 89, 114, 120 ; *Anguttara* I, 163 ; *Majjhima* II, 136 ; *Sutta Nipāta*, 690, 1000 ; *Milinda*, 10 ; *Divyāvadāna*, 620.

and that in one of the very oldest of their documents—in the Sīlas—the Buddhists had expressly condemned all sorts of augury and soothsaying practised for gain by some samaṇas and by brahmins.¹ This particular form of soothsaying is there mentioned.

Secondly the Buddhists had a theory of the superman, the Mahā-purisa. It is only mentioned incidentally in a few passages; but it was there. Thus at Saṃyutta V, 158 when Sāriputta asks the Buddha what the saying, 'the superman' means, he is answered as follows:

It is by emancipation of mind that I call a man superman. Without that emancipation there is no superman. And how is one thus emancipated? With regard to his body, his feelings, his mind and his ideas he continues to be so master of them by insight that, ardent, self-possessed and mindful, he overcomes both the dejection and the hankering common in the world. So doing his mind is purified, emancipated, free from mental intoxications.

Again at Anguttara II, 35 a brahmin, known by his epithet of Vassakāra, the Rain-maker, calls on the Buddha. He is most probably the same rain-maker as the one who afterwards became notorious as the spy and traitor who brought about the destruction and slaughter of the Licchavis. He says that they (the priests) call a man endowed with four qualities a very wise man, a superman (a Mahā-purisa). Those qualities are (1) That he is learned. (2) That he is a good expositor of the meaning of what he has learnt by heart. (3) That he has a good memory. (4) That he is expert and untiring in everything a layman has to do, and can search out expedients for doing and carrying through anything that has to be done.

The answer, put into the mouth of the Buddha by the early Buddhists, amounts to this:—

Very well. It is not for me to express approval or disapproval. That you know best. I also call a man of four qualities very wise, a superman. And what are those qualities? (1) He concerns himself with the advantage and the welfare of the great masses of the people, many are the folk he has established in the Ariyan system—that is in the beauty of righteousness as set forth in the Ariyan Path. (2) He can think about a thing, or not, just as he wishes; he can harbour an aspiration, or not, just as he wishes. Thus is he master of his mind in the trends of thought. (3) He can enter at his pleasure without toil or trouble into the four ecstasies that are beyond thought and yet pertain

¹ See above, I, 15-19.



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never take to it? Can it be possible that this Suttanta was not without influence in keeping alive among the Buddhists their sane dislike to all the animist arts of soothsaying?

It would seem that the more learned and influential brahmins shared this feeling. They have preserved very little of the details of such arts. And on these particular marks they have nothing to say. Most of the marks are so absurd, considered as marks of any human, that they are probably mythological in origin, and three or four seem to be solar. Our Suttanta seems gravely ironical in the contrast it makes between the absurdity of the marks and the beauty of the ethical qualities they are supposed, in the Suttanta, to mean. And Buddhaghosa makes pathetically futile efforts to bring some sense into them. It is quite evident that his traditional forerunners have understood them as little as he does himself.

XXX. LAKKHAṆA SUTTANTA.

THE MARKS OF THE SUPERMAN.

[142] THUS have I heard:—

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Sāvattthī, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park, the Jeta-Vana. And there the Exalted One addressed the Brethren, saying Bhikkhus! Yea, lord! they responded. And he said:—There are thirty-two special marks of the Superman,¹ brethren, and for the Superman possessing them two careers lie open, and none other.¹ If he live the life of the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, Ruler of the four quarters, Conqueror, Guardian of the people's good, Owner of the Seven Treasures. His do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Housefather treasure, the Adviser treasure making the seventh. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, champions, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, is established not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. But if such a boy go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless State, he becomes Arahant, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.

2. And what, brethren, are the Thirty-two Marks of the Superman, wherewith endowed [143] two careers lie open to him and none other:—that of a Monarch, Turner of the Wheel . . . that of Buddha Supreme?

(1) He hath feet with level tread. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of the Superman.

(2) Moreover beneath, on the soles of his feet, wheels appear thousand-spoked, with tyre and hub, in every

¹ On the following formula cf. the Buddha-legend in The Sublime Story Suttanta, Vol. II, 13 f., and explanatory foot-notes; also above, p. 60; below, p. 165.

way complete and well divided. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of the Supermān.

- (3) He has projecting heels. That this is so, *etc.*
- (4) He is long in the fingers and toes. . . .
- (5) Soft and tender in hands and feet. . . .
- (6) With hands and feet like a net. . . .
- (7) His ankles are like rounded shells. . . .
- (8) His legs are like an antelope's. . . .
- (9) Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand. . . .
- (10) His male organs are concealed in a sheath. . . .
- (11) His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold. . . .
- (12) His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body. . . .
- [144] (13) The down on it grows in single hairs one to each pore. . . .
- (14) The down on his body turns upward, every hair of it, blue black in colour like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right. . . .
- (15) He has a frame divinely straight. . . .
- (16) He has the seven convex surfaces. . . .
- (17) The front half of his body is like a lion's. . . .
- (18) There is no furrow between his shoulders. . . .
- (19) His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree: the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms is equal to his height. . . .
- (20) His bust is equally rounded. . . .
- (21) His taste is supremely acute. . . .
- (22) His jaws are as a lion's. . . .
- (23) He has forty teeth. . . .
- (24) Regular teeth. . . .
- (25) Continuous teeth. . . .
- (26) The eyeteeth are very lustrous. . . .
- (27) His tongue is long. . . .
- (28) He has a divine voice like the karavīka bird's. . . .
- (29) His eyes are intensely blue. . . .
- (30) He has eyelashes like a cow's. . . .



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and without blemish. As Monarch, what doth he get? He is not liable to obstruction from any human foe with hostile intent. As Monarch this doth he get. If he leave the House for the Homeless State, he becomes Arahant, Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil of the world. As Buddha what doth he get? He is not liable to obstruction from any foe or adversary within or without, out of lust or hate or illusion, whether recluse or brahmin or deva or Māra [147] or Brahmā or anyone in all the world. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

6. Concerning it this was said :—

*With heart intent on speaking truth,
On righteous ways and self-restraint,
Curbing of sense and conduct pure,
On virtue's hearth and holy feast,
On open hand and gentle life,
Harming no creature, shunning force :—
So fared he ever and a day,
And high resolve upon him took.
He by that karma passed to heaven¹
To share in bliss and ravishment ;
Thence when he fell, reborn as man,
Lo ! 'twas with even-treading feet
He came and touched the lap of earth.
Interpreters together met
Declared : No obstacle can rise
For him who treads with level foot.
Dwell he among the laity,
Or leave the world as Wanderer,
This doth that sign betoken clear.
If of the House a dweller he,
Unhindered shall he hold his way,
By foemen ; he shall overcome
All others, he shall rout the foe.*

¹ Divam; v.l. tidivam: the next world, the world of devas, or that region of it called Tusita (blissful). Cf. below, § 15, Nandana.

*No human power can bid him stay,
So works in him his Karma's fruit.*

*Or if, so treading, he doth fare
Forth from the world as Wanderer,¹
With vision clear and wholly fain
Worldly ambitions to forswear,
Chief among men, and peerless he
Never i' faith comes back to birth.
This is for him the natural law.²*

7. Whereas in whatsoever former births, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, [148] lived for the weal of the great multitudes, dispeller of dread and of panic, purveyor of just protection and wardenship and giver of supplies, he, by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquires this mark of the Superman, to wit: beneath on the soles of his feet wheels appear, thousand-spoked, with tyre and hub, in every way complete and well divided.

8. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He hath a great retinue; many are they that surround him:—brahmin householders, townsmen and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatories in chief³ and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. If he leave the House for the Homeless State, he

¹ Lit. if he enter the state of going forth (pabbajjam upeti)—i.e., leaving a worldly career for religion. On the term Wanderer see Rh. D., Buddhist India, 141 ff.

² Cf. Vol. II, p. 8, n. 3: esa hi tassa dhammatā. This is his nature (ayaṇ sabhāvo), the Cy. here adds.

³ Bhogiyā. See above, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 1, and below, § 17. Cf. M. III, 133; J. VI, 344.

becomes . . . Buddha Supreme. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He hath a great retinue; many are they that surround him: bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

9. Concerning it this was said:—

*In bygone years, in earlier births,
As man, to many bringing weal,
Dispelling dread and quaking fear,
Zealous to ward, to shield, to fend,
[149] He by that Karma passed to heaven
To share in bliss and ravishment.
Thence when he fell, reborn as man,
Wheels upon his two feet are found,
With tyre complete and thousand spokes.
Interpreters together met
Declared when they beheld the boy
With marks of merit, hundredfold:
Ever surrounded will he be
By liegemen, foe-subduer he;
For lo! the wheels with tyres complete.
If, bearing these, he fare not forth
As Wanderer, he turns the Wheel
And rules the earth, where princes' all
And nobles yield him fealty,
Attending him, the mighty one.
And if, so marked, he forth do fare
Leaving the world as Wanderer
With vision clear and wholly fain
Worldly ambitions to forswear,
Devas and men and demons all,
Asuras, Sakkas, Rakkhasas,
Nāgas, Gandhabbas, Garudas,
Fourfooted beasts, all on him wait:—
Peerless, by devas and by men
Revered, so great and glorious he.*

10. Whereas in former birth, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata,



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[151] *By those three marks of man supreme
 They tell the boy long-lived will be.
 If a layman he grow to be,
 Long years his life will be maintained,
 And longer yet if from the world
 He goeth forth as Wanderer,
 Lord over self, life he maintains
 To practise saintly gifts and power.¹
 Wherefore 'tis said those three marks be
 The token of longevity.*

13. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata then being human, became a giver of choice, well-flavoured, tasty, dainty foods, both hard and soft, and drinks, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquires this Mark of the Superman, to wit : he has the seven convexes. Seven are these : on both hands, on both feet, on both shoulders and on the trunk.

14. Endowed with this mark, if he dwell in the House he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get ? Choice well-flavoured food, tasty dainty drinks. As Monarch, this doth he get. If he . . . become Buddha . . . being Buddha what doth he get ? Choice well-flavoured food, tasty dainty drinks. As Buddha this doth he get.

[152] This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

15. Concerning it this was said :—

*Giver was he of divers foods,
 And essences peerless in taste.
 Through seemly act, in Nandana,²
 Celestial grove, he revelled long.*

¹ Iddhimā vasippatto hutvā. Comy. Cf. the same pair of terms in Milinda, p. 82.

² Cf. Kindred Sayings, I, 9; n 1.

*On earth arrived, the sevenfold swell
 He bore, on softly rounded limbs.
 And skilled diviners then declared,
 Fine food and drink would be his lot.
 Nor for the layman's life alone
 Was clearly there the token shown,
 Even if he as Wanderer
 The world forsook, they said, that he,
 Cleaving all layman's bonds, e'en then
 Foremost in gifts of food would be.*

16. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became popular to the people by the four bases of popularity,¹ to wit, by giving, by kindly speech, by sagacious conduct and by impartiality, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and by the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two [153] marks of the Superman, to wit, soft and tender hands and feet, and the hands and feet (reticulated) like a net.

17. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He hath well affected attendants, well affected to him are brahmin house-fathers, townsfolk and countryfolk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. If he become . . . Buddha, . . . as Buddha what doth he get? Well affected are his attendants, well affected to him are bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

¹ These are also stated below, p. 183, XXXIII, XL; in Anguttara II, 32, 248; cf. Jāt. V, 330; J.P.T.S., 1909, 31.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.
18. Concerning it this was said :—

*By fourfold act and exercise :—
By liberal hand, by conduct wise,
By kindly speech, by just intent—
Winning the hearts of many folk,
Holding such parts in honour high,
He went to bright and blessed worlds.
Deceased again and hither come,
Exceeding soft his hands and feet,
And bearing net-like meshes fine ;
And passing loveliness is his,
Pleasant to see :—such gifts he hath,
This wondrous youth while yet a babe.*

[154] *Disposer of the obedient crowd¹
Around him, lo ! on earth he dwells
Of kindly speech, and ever fain
For others' weal and happiness :—
Thus doth he practise virtues fair.
And if all wealth of worldly joys
He doth renounce, then Conqueror
Of self to common folk he talks
Of righteousness. And when they hear
With joyful hearts, responsive to
His word, they follow righteousness—
The greater duties and the less.*

19. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tāthāgata, then being human, became one who spoke to the multitude on their good, on righteousness, explaining to the multitude, became a bearer of welfare and happiness to living creatures, a celebrant of righteousness, he, by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two marks of the

¹ We should probably read *parijan' assa vovidheyyo*.



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22. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became a zealous learner in craft, trade or science, in conduct or action, saying : What can I quickly learn, quickly understand, quickly acquire, nor long suffer toil? he, by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this mark of the Superman, to wit : legs like an antelope's.

23. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? Whatsoever things are worthy of a Monarch, the appanage, the treasures, the belongings of a Monarch, these doth he quickly acquire. As Monarch this doth he get. As Buddha what doth he get? Whatsoever things are worthy of a recluse, the appanage, the treasures, the belongings of a recluse, these doth he quickly acquire. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

24. Concerning it this was said :

*In arts and crafts, in life, in deed,
How he may learn to know with ease :—
This was his wish [157]; where none was harmed,
Swiftly he learnt, nor laboured long.
That karma wrought, with happy fruit,
Shapely and fair the limbs he gets,
And sweetly set in spiral curl
On delicate skin the down goes up.
Antelope-legged is such a man,
'Tis said, and further : 't is the sign
Of swiftly won prosperity.
As by each several downy tip,
Swiftly he comes by heart's desire,
If from the world he go not forth.
But if, so marked, he forth do fare
Leaving the world as Wanderer,
With vision clear and wholly fain*

*Worldly ambitions to forswear,
All that his fit belongings are,
That doth he find accordingly.
And quick, when on his course sublime.*

25. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata then being human, drew nigh and questioned recluse or brahmin, saying: What, sir, is good? What is bad? What is right, what wrong? What ought I to do, or not to do? What when I have done it will long be for my unhappiness . . . or for my happiness? he, by the doing and by the accumulation of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, [158] his skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body.

26. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch, what doth he get? Great wisdom will be his, nor is anyone therein equal to him, nor superior to him amongst those who have worldly wealth. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? Great wisdom will be his, and wisdom in many fields, and the wisdom of a glad heart, and the wisdom of swift thought, and the wisdom of discrimination and the wisdom of revulsion.¹ Nor is

¹ This curious formula, used also by Ānanda of Sāriputta (Kindred Sayings, I, 87), by the Buddha himself of Sāriputta (M. III, 25) and of any believer (S., V, 376 f.; cf. A., I, 45), is explained word for word at some length by Buddhaghosa. Great wisdom is grasp of central doctrines. In the next, knowledge proceeds continually respecting many and divers doctrines. The next seems to be knowing the joy both of insight and achievement in ethical and religious exercise. In the antepenultimate term, *javana* is both swiftly going, and intellect in action. It is here applied to grasping the three signs of all living aggregates (*khandhā*). The penultimate refers to detection and extirpation of evil; the last to horror of evil. The contrast between this notable list and the absurdity and in-

anyone equal to him or superior in wisdom among all beings. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

27. Concerning it this was said :—

*In days gone by, in former births,
All fain to know, a questioner,
He waited oft on saintly men,
Eager to listen and to learn.
And with a heart intent on good,¹
Heeded discourse anent the good.
By deeds thus done in wisdom's quest,
Fine skin is his, as man reborn.
Diviners of the signs at birth
Declared : 'tis he will know and see
Full subtle meanings and mystery.
If one so marked leave not the world,
The Wheel he'll turn and rule the earth.
And in such meanings as are taught
And among them that grasp them none
Will equal, none will him excel.
[159] But if so marked he forth do fare,
Leaving the world as Wanderer,
With vision clear and wholly fain
Worldly ambitions to forswear,
He may attain the height supreme
Of wisdom, yea, Enlightenment
'Tis his to win, with powers of mind
So boundless and so excellent.*

28. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, lived without wrath, full of serenity,² and even when much had been said, fell not foul of anyone, was neither angry, nor malign,

significance of the *mark* of popular superstition is characteristic of this whole Suttanta.

¹ Attha is here, by Buddhaghosa, opposed to dosa, resentment or evil, with which so many set out to question others. But the double sense of good and meaning cannot be reproduced.

² Absence of despair or exasperation. Comy.



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31. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, reunited long-lost with long-bereaved¹ relatives, friends and comrades, reunited mother with child and child with mother, father [161] with child and child with father, brother with brother, brother with sister and sister with brother, making them as one, causing them to rejoice, he, by the doing and by the accumulation of that karma, . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his male organs were concealed in a sheath.

32. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? Abundant children will be his, more than a thousand sons, heroes, victors vigorous of frame, crushers of the host of the enemy. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha, what doth he get? Abundant children will be his, for thousands of children will he have, heroes, champions, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter that was spoken of by the Exalted One.

33. Concerning it this was said :—

*In bygone days, in former births
Lost ones to those who long had sought,
Kinsfolk and friends to friends he brought,
Made them at one and made them glad.
By such deeds he to heaven fared
To share in bliss and ravishment.
Thence falling, born once more on earth,
His organs in a sheath were veiled.*

[162] *Abundant offspring such will have,
More than a thousand sons are his,
Heroes and champions, quelling foes,*

¹ The Comy. conceives him as a ruler, organizing rescue-work of this kind within and without the city.

*Greeting with words of filial love,
They are the layman's joy and pride.
But if he fare as Wanderer,
Yet greater will his offspring be,
Children obedient to his word.
So be he layman or Wanderer
This mark such benefit portends.*

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER II.

2. 1. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, was sincerely desirous of contemplating the good will of the folk, knew what each man was like,¹ himself recognized each, and knew his reputation and how he differed from others, and thus distinguishing, he judged 'This one deserves that, and this one again deserves that,'—he, by the doing and by the accumulation of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, his proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree; and standing without bending, he can touch and rub his knees with both hands.

2. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what [163] doth he get? Rich is he, of great fortune, of great wealth, full is the treasure-house of much gold and silver, of many goods, of coin and corn. As Monarch, this doth he get. . . . As Buddha, what doth he get? Rich is he, of great fortune, of great wealth. And this is his plenteous currency:—faith, morality, modesty, discretion, learning, renunciation, wisdom. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.
3. Concerning it this was said :

*Seeking alway the folk's good will
Once did he wisely men appraise,
Weighed them in judgment, criticized,
Each by himself: He's worthy that,
Detecting where each one excelled.*

¹ Read (with Buddhaghosa) *samaṇ jānāti* for *saṇjañāti*.



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or loss, he suffers no loss in faith, in morals, in learning, in renunciation, in wisdom ; he does not fail of success in anything. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

6. Concerning it this is said :—

*In faith, in morals, teaching, wisdom, right,
And charity and other goodly things ;
In coin and corn, fallow and field, in wife
And children and fourfooted things ; kinsfolk
And friends, connections, strength and comeliness
And happiness :—how shall my neighbour lose
Nowise in these ? this was his wish, and thus
Their profit to achieve, his strong desire.
Handsome with lion-fronted body born,
No furrow in his back, and rounded front,
By karma wrought in bygone days, well stored,
Lo ! for him now the birth-sign this shall be¹
Of fortune blest, immunity from loss.
As layman he shall thrive in corn and coin,
In family, and in fourfooted beasts ;
As Wanderer possessing naught, he wins
* Enlightenment supreme and unsurpassed,
That perfect sphere where failure entereth not.*

[166] 7. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, acquired the habit of harming no creatures,² either by hand or clod or scourge or sword, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was reborn in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining this world as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his taste is supremely acute ; of anything on the tip [of the tongue] sensations of taste are produced in the throat and are diffused everywhere.

¹ Pubbanimittam assa taṇ. . . .

² Referred to in Milinda 319.

8. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? He experiences little of illness or suffering, he is possessed of good digestion, of an equable temperature, neither too hot nor too cold. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He experiences little of illness or suffering, he is possessed of good digestion, of an equable temperature, neither too hot nor too cold, equable, of patience in exertion. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

9. Concerning it this was said :—

*No living thing he harmed, by hand, by scourge,
By clod, by sword, by any murderous death,
By bonds or threats, no injury he wrought.
Therefore in blissful bourne he reaped the fruit
Of happiness, found happy things for deeds.
Reborn on earth, he gets most delicate sense,
[167] Erect taste-bearers planted well [in throat.]
And so the seers expert declared of him :
This man shall plenteously happy be.
Live he as layman or as Wanderer,
This is the thing betokened by the mark.*

10. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, acquired the habit of looking not askance nor obliquely nor furtively, but with upright candid and lofty mind contemplating people with affectionate eyes, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, when the body perished was reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, his eyes are intensely blue and he has eyelashes like a cow.

11. Endowed with these marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? The people

love to see him ; he is popular among, and beloved by brahmin householders, town and country folk, [168] treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs¹ and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get ? The people love to see him ; he is popular among, and beloved by bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas and Gandhabbas. As Buddha, this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.
12. Concerning it this was said :—

*With glance not furtive nor askance
Nor downward casting, but as one
Whose upright, candid lofty mind
Looked on the people lovingly,
Resulting fruit in blessed worlds
'Twas his t' experience and enjoy.
Here born again, his lashes long
As cow's, and eyes of deep dark blue,
Most fair to see, wise augurs said,—
Expert such signs t' interpret well,—
A babe with eyes so rare and fine
Betokens popularity.
Dear to the eyes of many folk,
As layman will he live beloved ;
[169] And if not lay, but Wanderer,
Loved as the healer of their griefs.*

13. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became leader among men in goodness, foremost in virtuous deed and word and thought, in dispensing gifts, in conformity to morals, in attending religious festivals, in filial duties, in honouring recluses and brahmins, in deferring to the head of the family, and in other and sundry righteous observances, he by the doing and by

¹ Here and in following §§ bhogiyā is substituted for bhojakā. The Siamese ed. reads bhogikā.



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16. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away lying, felt revulsion at lies, became truth-speaker, bound to truth, trustworthy, consistent, breaking his word to no one, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence, and attaining this life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, down growing in separate hairs, all over his body ; and between the eyebrows a hairy mole, white and like soft cotton-down.

17. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get ? The people conform to his wishes, brahmin householders, town and [171] country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch, this doth he get. As Buddha, what doth he get ? The people conform to his wishes, bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha, this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

18. Concerning it this was said :—

*True was his promise in past births ;
Sincere his word,* he shunned the false ;
A breaker of his troth to none,
He pleased by truth, consistency.
White, lustrous, soft as cotton-down
A mole was seen betwixt his brows ;
And from each pore but one hair grew
About his skin :—so was he made.
When many versed in signs were met,
They saw the marks and thus declared :
With mole and hairs well-placed like these,
Him will the people all obey,*

* Advejjavāco.

*As layman they will look to him,
So far above by past wrought deeds.
As Buddha they will look to him,
Naught owning, Wanderer supreme.*

19. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away abusive speech, revolted against abusive speech, what he heard here not repeating elsewhere, to raise a quarrel against people here ; and what he heard elsewhere not repeating here, to raise a quarrel against people there :—thus becoming a binder together of those who are divided, [172] or fostering those who are friends, a peacemaker, lover of concord, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace,¹ he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, he had forty teeth, and they were in unbroken rows.

20. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? Those about him are not to be divided against themselves,² among brahmin householders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. As Buddha what doth he get? A following that may not be divided against itself, either of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, gods and men, Asuras, Nāgas. Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter spoken of by the Exalted One:

21. Concerning it this was said :—

*No speaker he of slanderous words,
Provoking breach of friendship, growth*

¹ The passage occurs in Vol. I, 4 f.

² Abhejja. See Mil. 359.

*Of breach, and fostering strife,
 Embittering unseemly brawls,
 Parent of rupture 'twixt good friends.
 That which he uttered made for peace,
 Engendered binding what was broke,
 [173] With power to scatter people's brawls,
 In folk at one he found delight.
 Resulting fruit in blessed worlds
 'Twas his t' experience and enjoy.
 Back on this earth, his teeth grew close,
 Two score, in even rank unbroke.
 If trained to arms he will become
 Lord of the soil, and those he rules
 Will be a gentle, peaceful folk.
 But if from lusts and blemish free,
 He shall become a Wanderer,
 Rangèd¹ and firm his band shall be.*

22. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away rough language, revolted from rough language, and became an habitual speaker of whatsoever words are blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people,² he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, his tongue is very long, and he has an exquisite voice like that of the karavīka-bird.

23. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? A voice that commands attention;³ all take his words to heart, brahmin house-

¹ Anugatā. The Comy. does not help in this unusual application of the word. The regularity of the teeth seems to call for some corresponding meaning.

² This is from the Silas, above, Vol. I, p. 5.

³ Buddhaghosa paraphrases ādeyya-vāco by gahetabbavacanō, one having speech that is to be taken hold of, grasped. Cf. Vin. Texts III, 186, n. 3; Milinda I, 166, n. 2.



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world. . . . Deceasing thence, and attaining this life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his jaws were as a lion's.

26. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He cannot be overthrown by any human foe or adversary whatever. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He cannot be overthrown by any foes or things inimical within or without, out of lust or hate or illusion, by recluse or brahmin, by deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

27. Concerning it this was said :—

*Not idle talk nor foolishness
Framed by confused thought was his.
Things mischievous he brushed away ;
For all men's good and weal he spoke,
[176] So doing, hence deceased, in heaven
He reaped the fruit of deeds well done.
Once more deceased, reborn on earth,
His was a jaw resembling that
Of chief of twice-twayfooted things.¹
He, as a monarch, sure will be
Lord over men impregnable,
A sovran over sons of men,
Of mighty power, like unto head
Of devas' city, Indra's self,
The leader of celestial hosts.
Heroes demonic or divine
Will find him hard to overthrow.
Such will he be, so will he prove
In layman's life, throughout the earth.²*

¹ This quaint phrase for a lion is only met with in this passage.

² Literally, as to the quarters, their opposites and intervening points. The Comy. passes over these lines, nor remarks on the absence of the Buddhological complement. This last omission is quite remarkable.

28. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away wrong livelihood, maintained himself by right livelihood, revolted from cheating with scales, bronzes or measures, from deceiving by bribery, cheating and fraud, from maiming, murder, putting in bonds, highway-robbery, dacoity and violence¹; he by the doing [177] and by the accumulation of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining this life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, even and very lustrous teeth.

29. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, ruler of the four quarters, Conqueror, Guardian of the people's good, Owner of the Seven Treasures. His do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel-treasure, the Elephant-treasure, the Horse-treasure, the Gem-treasure, the Woman-treasure, the Steward-treasure, the Adviser-treasure² making the seventh. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, champions, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean-bounds, an earth void of barrenness, pitfalls or jungle, mighty, prosperous, secure, fortunate, without blemish, is established not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. As Monarch what doth he get? Pure in heart are his attendants, pure-hearted are his brahmin, householders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get.

30. But if he go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless State, he becomes Arahant, a

¹ This passage is taken from the Silas, translated in Vol. I, 6.

² A sort of vizier. See note at II, 208.

Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.
As Buddha what doth he get? Pure in heart are his
attendants, pure-hearted are bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs,
lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras,
Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

31. Concerning it this was said :—

*Wrong livelihood he laid aside :
And shaped a course just, pure and right.
[178] Things mischievous he brushed away ;
For all men's good and weal he worked.
Happy rewards he learnt in heaven,
Works had he wrought the skilled and wise
Praise ever highly ; hence his lot
To share in bliss and ravishment,
In devas' city like the chief.
Thence falling, gaining man's estate,
By fruit residual of good,¹
He thus wins evenness of teeth,
Fine lustre too and purity.
Then the assembled augurs said,
Chief among men in wisdom's lore :
Pure will the folk around him be
Whose teeth so even, bright and pure
And lustrous as bird's plumage shine.
To him, as prince and governor
Of the great earth, all men shall be
Pure-hearted, waiting upon him.
The people shall not be oppressed
By violence, for they shall seek
The general good and happiness.
But if as Wanderer he lives,
Then free from evil, lusts all quenched,
And rolling back the [murky] Veil,
And pain gone by and weariness,*

¹ The na at the beginning of this pada cannot be read as negating the following phrase. It is a corrupt reading, and the last word of the previous line ca vi ya is probably part of the same corruption.



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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SIGĀLOVĀDA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta has been translated into English by Grimblot in *Sept Suttas Palis* (Paris, 1876), by Gogerly, J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, 1847, and by R. C. Childers in the *Contemporary Review*, London, 1876.¹ The latter entitled it *The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman*.

Childers doubtless sought to draw the eye of the general reader by a title borrowed from a well-known English classic. At this time of day we should look, under a claim so comprehensive, for some statement of political duties, for allusions to the senate and the forum, to affairs national and international. It is not enough to reply that these questions of wider ethics had not arisen. The *Saddhamma* was promulgated, it is true, in the kingdoms of autocrats like Pasenadi of Kosala, and Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha. But it was taught at the same time in the villages of the free clansmen of the Sākiyan, Koliyan, Licchavi and other republics. And among these the whole duty of the layman might well have included some corporate ideals of citizenship. There is certainly in one or two of the foregoing dialogues enough to show that Gotama could have uttered a discourse on such a theme. Either he judged that his listeners were not ready for it, or that the occasion did not call for it. Or it may be that his chroniclers, cut off from political interests, failed to preserve or edit such sayings. But possibly 'layman' is susceptible, at least in our day, of a wider implication than *gihī*, house-man. And hence 'whole duty' were better modified as 'whole domestic and social duty.'

Anyway, the Buddha's doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is here set forth in a domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive detail than elsewhere. In a Canon compiled by members of a religious order and largely concerned with the mental experiences and ideals of recluses, and with their outlook on the world, it is of great interest to find in it a Sutta entirely devoted to the outlook

¹ Cf. the abstract in Rhys Davids's *Buddhism*, London, 1907.

and relations of the layman on and to his surroundings. And the discourse was felt to possess this interest in the long past by Buddhaghosa, or by the tradition he handed on, or by both. In this Sutta, he writes, 'nothing in the duties of housemen is left unmentioned. This Suttanta is called the Vinaya of the Houseman. Hence in one who practises what he has been taught in it, growth is to be looked for, and not decay.' And truly we may say even now of this Vinaya, or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, so sane and wide is the wisdom that envisages them, that the utterances are as fresh and practically as binding to-day and here as they were then at Rājagaha. 'Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges, where the people were full of the kindly spirit of fellow-feeling, the noble spirit of justice which breathes through these naïve and simple sayings.'¹ Not less happy would be the village, or the family on the banks of the Thames to-day, of which this could be said.

The object of the young Sigāla's open-air matins will seem unfamiliar to the readers who are more accustomed to the names of Vedic deities surviving in the allusions scattered throughout these dialogues—to Brahmā and Prajāpati, Indra and Soma, Varuṇa and Isāna.² He was probably no brahmin, or we might have found him tending Agni's perpetual fire, or bathing his conscience clean in some stream of symbolical efficacy. The Commentary does not help us. The historical sense had not developed when the great commentators wrote, and they are incurious as to beliefs and rites that were possibly no longer alive at least in their own environment. It is a noteworthy instance of this that Buddhaghosa is silent regarding the deities just named, when he is commenting on the Tevijja-Suttanta, as well as on the string of tremendous attributes ascribed to Great Brahmā in the Kevaddha-Suttanta that comes before it. We may picture him as we would a mediæval Christian exegetist. In his milieu, Indian or Singhalese, a certain cosmology had long been traditional and orthodox. Outside it there were now other cults, pantheistic, polytheistic, atheistic. He doubtless held that discussion on the gods of these or older alien cults was as superfluous as discussion on Baal or Jupiter might have seemed to his Christian colleague. The only deva of whom, in the Kevaddha-Suttanta he has anything to say is Sakka (concerning whom the text is silent). And Sakka was just the quasi-human governor in the nearest, lowest heaven after earth.

¹ Rhys Davids (op. cit.), p. 148.

² Cf. I, 310.

For Buddhaghosa the heavens were filled, not with gods in our sense of the word, but, at least as to those mentioned in that Sutta, with devas who are one in kind with ourselves, and who will in due time become once more men and women on earth, such as they have already been times without number, unless they, in their upward way, have attained to the Never-returner's stage of advancement.

But we, more curious than the Commentators, may find evidence in Brahmanic literature that the quarters or regions of the external world (*disā*), or mighty spirits inhabiting them were invoked for protection generally, and especially in battle, for luck and against snakes, etc. In the Atharva-veda (III, 26, 27) are two of such *raksha mantras* (guarding runes) or *parittās*, as they are called by Buddhists (see the following Suttanta). Here we have the same six regions—viz., the four cardinal points, the fixed and the upward regions.

Ye gods that are in the Eastern quarter, missiles by name, of you there the arrows are fire! Do ye be gracious to us, do ye bless us! To you be there homage! To you there Hail! etc.¹

No. 27 identifies a god with each region, not the Four Kings of Buddhist cosmology² but Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Viśnu, Brihaspati. To their jaws the invoker consigns his enemies. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ five, and also seven *disā*'s as well as four are mentioned in rites. In the Grihya Sūtras⁴ the four quarters are to be worshipped in connection with certain rites. And so much self-anointing or contact with water is enjoined that the lay celebrant may well have had both hair and garments wet as Sigāla had.

Hence it may well be that there was nothing eccentric or even unusual in these orisons of the filially-minded 'householder's son,' as he is called. It is true that the Commentary speaks of his being asked, What are you doing? But the Master asks only, Why are you worshipping so the several quarters? If he was interrupted and shown a better channel for the sending forth of his votive gestures, this was because the hour had come when the Exalted One saw him. Saw him not then only, is the Comment, but at dawn already had the Teacher, surveying the world with the Buddha-vision, seen him so engaged and had decided that 'this day will I

¹ Whitney-Lanman translation, Harvard O. S. 7, p. 131 f.

² Cf. above II, 242, 259; next Suttanta.

³ S.B.E. XII, 382; XLIII, 277, 314.

⁴ S.B.E. XXIX, 320, cf. 232; XXX, 171, 194, 213, 278. These Sūtras contain the rules of Vedic domestic ceremonies. Grihya means houseness.



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ever the loved one feels, it is justifiable to render it often by love, thus taking the smaller concept up into the greater. Gotama frequently claims to feel this godlike emotion :—

Hitānukampī Sambuddho yad-aññaṇ anusāsati

*Love and compassion doth th' Enlightened feel
Towards another when he teacheth him.¹*

In the attitude of parent to child love is at bottom a tender compassion, a vibrant care to protect. So wife-love is largely motherly. Parent, wife, friend, master, teacher and *religieux* all rank, in Gotama's social Vinaya, and for that matter in that of India generally, as little gods, so great is the responsibility attaching to these six positions, so fine is the opportunity for exercising compassion, tender care, protection. In the six reciprocal aspects there is an element of childhood. The child under loving compassionate protection feels safe and confident as does the believing worshipper. And ideally, such childlike security and confidence is the attitude of student to teacher, husband to wife, friend to friend, servant to master.

C. A. F. R. D.

¹ Kindred Sayings I, 139 ; cf. 264.

XXXI. SIGĀLOVĀDA SUTTANTA.

THE SIGĀLA HOMILY.

[180] THUS have I heard:—1. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagaha in the Bamboo Wood at the Squirrels' Feedingground.

Now at this time young Sigāla,¹ a householder's son, rising betimes, went forth from Rājagaha, and with wet hair and wet garments and clasped hands uplifted, paid worship to the several quarters of earth and sky:—to the east, south, west, and north, to the nadir and the zenith.

2. And the Exalted One early that morning dressed himself, took bowl and robe and entered Rājagaha seeking alms. Now he saw young Sigāla worshipping and spoke to him thus:—

Why, young householder, do you, rising betimes and leaving Rājagaha, with wet hair and raiment, [181] worship the several quarters of earth and sky?

Sir, my father, when he was a-dying, said to me: Dear son, you should worship the quarters of earth and sky. So I, sir, honouring my father's word, reverencing, revering, holding it sacred, rise betimes and, leaving Rājagaha, worship on this wise.

• But in the religion of an Ariyan, young householder, the six quarters should not be worshipped thus.

How then, sir, in the religion of an Ariyan, should the six quarters be worshipped?

It would be an excellent thing, sir, if the Exalted One would so teach me the doctrine according to which, in the religion of an Ariyan, the six quarters should be worshipped.

¹ The MSS. call him Singālo, Sigālo (both variants of the Pāli for jackal) and Singālako, which has merely the affix of agency, of the adjective (cf. Greek -κος, Latin -cus) or of the diminutive. The Singhalese MSS. mostly read Sigāla.

Hear then, young householder, give ear to my words and I will speak.

So be it, sir, responded young Sigāla. And the Exalted One said :—

3. Inasmuch, young householder, as the Ariyan disciple has put away the four vices in conduct, inasmuch as he does no evil actions from the four motives,¹ inasmuch as he does not pursue the six channels for dissipating wealth, he thus, avoiding these fourteen evil things, is a coverer² of the six quarters; he has practised so as to conquer both worlds; he tastes success³ both in this world and in the next. At the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn to a happy destiny in heaven. What are the four vices of conduct that he has put away? The destruction of life, the taking what is not given, licentiousness, and lying speech. These are the four vices of conduct that he has put away.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 4. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

[182] *Slaughter of life, theft, lying, adultery :—
To these no word of praise the wise award.*

5. By which four motives does he do no evil deed? Evil deeds are done from motives of partiality, enmity, stupidity and fear. But inasmuch as the Ariyan disciple is not led away by these motives, he through them does no evil deed.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 6. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

*Whoso from partiality or hate
Or fear or dulness doth trangress the Norm,
All minishèd good name and fame become
As in the ebbing month the waning moon.*

¹ Thānāni. ² I.e., includes, embraces. ³ Āraddho.



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in marriage, for they would say that a man who is a gambler cannot afford to keep a wife.

12. Six, young householder, are the perils from associating with evil companions: any gambler, any libertine, any tippler, any cheat, any swindler, any man of violence is his friend and companion.

[184] 13. Six, young householder, are the perils of the habit of idleness:—he says, it is too cold, and does no work. He says, it is too hot, and does no work; he says, it is too early . . . too late, and does no work. He says, I am too hungry and does no work . . . too full, and does no work. And while all that he should do remains undone, new wealth he does not get, and such wealth as he has dwindles away.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 14. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again:—

*Some friends are bottle-comrades; some are they
Who [to your face] dear friend! dear friend! will say.
Who proves a comrade in your hour of need,
Him may ye rightly call a friend indeed.*

*Sleeping when sun has risen, adultery,
Entanglement in strife, and doing harm,
Friendship with wicked men, hardness of heart
These causes six to ruin bring a man.*

*Is he of evil men comrade and friend,
Doth he in evil ways order his life,
Both from this world and from the world to come
To woeful ruin such a man doth fall.*

*Dicing and women, drink, the dance and song,
Sleeping by day, prowling around at night,¹
Friendship with wicked men, hardness of heart:—
These causes six to ruin bring a man.*

*Playing with dice, drinking strong drink, he goes
To women dear as life to other men,
Following the baser, not th' enlightened minds,
He wanes as in the darker half the moon.*

¹ Lit. unseasonably.

*The tippler of strong drink, poor, destitute,
Athirst while drinking, haunter of the bar,
As stone in water so he sinks in debt ;
Swift will he make his folk without a name.*

[185] *One who by habit in the day doth sleep,
Who looks upon the night as time to arise,¹
One who is ever wanton, filled with wine,
He is not fit to lead a household life.*

*Too cold ! too hot ! too late ! such is the cry.
And so past men who shake off work that waits
The opportunities for good pass by.
But he who reckons cold and heat as less
Than straws, doing his duties as a man,
He nowise falls away from happiness.²*

15. Four, O young householder, are they who should be reckoned as foes in the likeness of friends ; to wit, a rapacious person, the man of words not deeds, the flatterer, the fellow-waster.

16. Of these the first is on four grounds to be reckoned as [186] a foe in the likeness of a friend :— he is rapacious ; he gives little and asks much ; he does his duty out of fear ; he pursues his own interests.

17. On four grounds the man of words, not deeds, is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend :— he makes friendly profession as regards the past ;³ he makes friendly profession as regards the future ; he tries to gain your favour by empty sayings ; when the opportunity for service has arisen he avows his disability.⁴

¹ B. paraphrases by *rattiṇ anuṭṭhāna-sīlena* : by habit rises not at night.

² These last six lines are identical (with one or two slight variations) with verses ascribed in Psalms of the Brethren, No. 74, to Mātanga.

³ Such as a supply of rice was put by for you ; we sat watching the road, but you did not come, and now it is gone bad. In the next case a present of corn is spoken of in the future. Comy.

⁴ Such as, you want a cart, and his has a wheel off, or a broken axle. Comy.

18. On four grounds the flatterer is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend :—he both consents to do wrong,¹ and dissents from doing right ;² he praises you to your face ; he speaks ill of you to others.

19. On four grounds the fellow-waster companion is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend :—he is your companion when you indulge in strong drinks ; he is your companion when you frequent the streets at untimely hours ; he is your companion when you haunt shows and fairs ; he is your companion when you are infatuated with gambling.

Thus spake the Exalted One. And (20) when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

*The friend who's ever seeking what to take,
The friend whose words are other than his deeds,
The friend who flatters, pleasing you withal.
The boon companion down the errant ways :—
These four are foes. Thus having recognized,
Let the wise man avoid them from afar
As they were path of peril and of dread.³*

[187] 21. Four, O young householder, are the friends who should be reckoned as sound at heart * :—the helper ; the friend who is the same in happiness and adversity ; the friend of good counsel ; the friend who sympathizes.

22. On four grounds the friend who is a helper is to be reckoned as sound at heart :—he guards you when

¹ With respect to taking life, etc., to whatever you propose to do, he consents saying : Good, friend, let's do it. With respect to right acts, the same method applies. Comy.

² The MSS. are equally divided between consents and dissents (anujānāti, nānujānāti). Childers translates as from anujānāti.

³ These verses are quoted at Jātaka II, 390, where Dr. Rouse has a charming version.

* Suhadā.



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*To him amassing wealth, like roving bee
 Its honey gathering [and hurting naught],¹
 Riches mount up as ant-heap growing high.
 When the good layman wealth has so amassed
 Able is he to benefit his clan.
 In portions four let him divide that wealth.
 So binds he to himself life's friendly things.²*

*One portion let him spend and taste the fruit.³
 His business to conduct let him take two.
 And portion four let him reserve and hoard;
 So there'll be wherewithal in times of need.*

27. And how, O young householder, does the Ariyan disciple protect the six quarters? The following should be looked upon as the six quarters:—parents as the east,⁴ [189] teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, friends and companions as the north, servants and work people as the nadir, religious teachers and brahmins as the zenith.

28. In five ways a child should minister to his parents as the eastern quarter:—Once supported by them I will now be their support; I will perform duties incumbent on them; I will keep up the lineage and tradition⁵ of my family; I will make myself worthy of my heritage.

¹ Thus Buddhaghosa prettily amplifies, taking the idea perhaps from Dhammapada, ver. 49.

² Mittāni. Cf. S. I, 214. The Comy. explains by mitte, friends.

³ Which portion is to serve for doing good? asks B. The first; with it he can both give gifts to *religieux* and the destitute, and can pay wages to weavers, bathmen, etc. [for personal services as distinct from trade dealings].

⁴ The symbolism is deliberately chosen: as the day in the East, so life begins with parents' care; teachers' fees and the South are the same word: *dakkhina*; domestic cares follow when the youth becomes man, as the West holds the later daylight; North is 'beyond,' so by help of friends, etc., he gets beyond troubles.

⁵ *Kula-vansa* implies both. B. explains it as not dissipating property, restoring, if need be, the family honour and integrity, and maintaining gifts to *religieux*.

In five ways parents thus ministered to, as the eastern quarter, by their child, show their love¹ for him :—they restrain him from vice, they exhort him to virtue, they train him to a profession,² they contract a suitable marriage for him, and in due time³ they hand over his inheritance.

Thus is this eastern quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

29. In five ways should pupils minister to their teachers as the southern quarter : by rising (from their seat, in salutation) by waiting upon them, by eagerness to learn,⁴ by personal service, and by attention when receiving their teaching.

And in five ways do teachers, thus ministered to as the southern quarter by their pupils, love their pupil :—they train him in that wherein he has been well trained ; they make him hold fast that which is well held ; they thoroughly instruct him in the lore of every art ; they speak well of him among his friends and companions. They provide for his safety in every quarter.

Thus is this southern quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

[190] 30. In five ways should a wife as western quarter be ministered to by her husband :—by

¹ *Anukampanti*, and so below. See p. 179, *n.* 1.

² To conveyancing, or as an accountant, etc., according to the family tradition. Comy.

³ Both on suitable occasions and at death.

⁴ Childers has obedience. This is quite wrong. Considering the enormous importance attached in the autocratic states and religious Orders of Europe to obedience, it is most worthy of notice that obedience does not occur in Buddhist ethics. It is not mentioned in any one of the 227 rules of the Buddhist Order. It does not occur in any one of the clauses of this summary of the ethics of the Buddhist layman, and it does not enter into any one of the divisions of the Eightfold Path nor of the thirty-seven constituent qualities of Arahantship. Hence no member of the Buddhist order takes any vow of obedience ; and the vows of a Buddhist layman ignore it. Has this been one of the reasons for the success of Buddhism ? It looked beyond obedience.

respect, by courtesy, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her, by providing her with adornment.

In these five ways does the wife, ministered to by her husband as the western quarter, love him:—her duties are well performed, by hospitality to the kin of both, by faithfulness, by watching over the goods he brings, and by skill and industry in discharging all her business.

Thus is this western quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

31. In five ways should a clansman minister to his friends and familiars as the northern quarter:—by generosity, courtesy and benevolence, by treating them as he treats himself, and by being as good as his word.

In these five ways thus ministered to as the northern quarter, his friends and familiars love him:—they protect him when he is off his guard,¹ and on such occasions guard his property; they become a refuge in danger, they do not forsake him in his troubles, and they show consideration for his family.

Thus is the northern quarter by him protected and made safe and secure.

32. In five ways does an Ariyan master² [191] minister to his servants and employees as the nadir:—by assigning them work according to their strength; by supplying them with food and wages; by tending them in sickness; by sharing with them unusual delicacies; by granting leave at times.³

In these ways ministered to by their master, servants and employees love their master in five ways:—they rise before him, they lie down to rest after him; they are content with what is given to them; they do

¹ See above § 22.

² Ayirakena or ayyirakena. B. is silent as to this unusual term. Cf. Jāt. II, 349. On the metathesis cf. Ed. Müller, Pali Gram., p. 49.

³ I.e., constant relaxation so that they need not work all day, and special leave with extra food and adornment for festivals, etc. Comy.



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*Makes welcome with kind words and generous heart,¹
And can he give sage counsels and advice,
And guide his fellows, he may honour win.*

*The giving hand, the kindly speech, the life
Of service, impartiality to one
As to another, as the case demands :—
These be the things that make the world go round²
As linchpin serves the rolling of the car.
And if these things be not, no mother reaps
The honour and respect her child should pay,
Nor doth the father win them through the child.
And since the wise rightly appraise these things,*
[193] They win to eminence and earn men's praise.*

When the Exalted One had thus spoken, Sigāla the young householder said this :—Beautiful, lord, beautiful! As if one should set up again that which had been overthrown, or reveal that which had been hidden, or should disclose the road to one that was astray, or should carry a lamp into darkness, saying They that have eyes will see! Even so hath the Truth been manifested by the Exalted One in many ways. And I, even I, do go to him as my refuge, and to the Truth and to the Order. May the Exalted One receive me as his lay-disciple, as one who has taken his refuge in him from this day forth as long as life endures.

Here ends the Sigālovāda Suttanta.

¹ = A pada in S. I, 34. There and here, with different illustrations, B. explains v ā d a ñ ñ u, makes welcome. . . .

² So B. : given these qualities the world goes round. Cf. the French adage : C'est l'amour, qui fait le monde à la ronde.

* Samavekkhanti.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ĀTĀNĀṬIYA SUTTANTA.

ON this Suttanta we have already commented incidentally in the preceding and the Mahā-Samaya Suttantas (II, 283). Here we wish very briefly to consider the position of these rakkaṇ's, parittās or prayers for safety in the Buddhist cult. Parittā (pari-trā) means protection, from a root trā, to rescue. It is a different word from the parittaṇ (paritra, limited, little) on which we have commented elsewhere.¹ And it is more often used than its synonym rakkaṇ, the term used here. A list of parittās is given in the Questions of King Milinda (trs. I, 231), and the sanction of their use is there made one of the horns of a dilemma, thus:—‘The Parittās were promulgated by the Blessed One, that is to say, the Ratana Sutta, the Khandha, Peacock, Banner-crest, Ātānāṭiya and Angulimāla Parittās. Now if a man may not escape death, the Parittā is useless; if the Parittā saves him, it is not true that he cannot escape death.’ All of these Parittās are translated into English. The Ratana is in the Khuddakapāṭha, translated by Childers,² and the Sutta-Nipāta³; the Peacock is the Jātaka verses so called⁴; the Banner-crest is in the Sakka-Saṃyutta⁵; and the Angulimāla may be read in the Theragāthā and the Majjhima-Nikāya.⁶ The Khandha parittā is in the Anguttara-Nikāya (II., 72) and in the Cullavagga of the Vinaya.⁷ In the last-named works it is said to be ‘allowed’ by the Buddha ‘as a watch, a guard, a protection for one’s self’ for the use of the Order. The occasion for this general injunction was the death of a member through snake-bite. The formula consists of a profession of amity towards the four tribes of snakes, an entreaty against injury from beasts, a prayer for the welfare of all beings. The profession of amity, according to Buddhist doctrine, was no mere matter of pretty speech.

¹ Bud. Psych. Ethics, p. 265, n. 1; 269, n. 3.

² J.R.A.S., Nov., 1869.

³ II, 1; S.B.E. X, p. 37 f.

⁴ Mora-Jātaka II, No. 159.

⁵ Kindred Sayings I, 283.

⁶ Vol. II, 104 f.; Pss. of the Brethren (probably only), verses 874-6.

⁷ Vinaya Texts III, p. 76. The Anguttara Sutta is termed Ahinda, ‘lord of snakes.’

It was to accompany and express a psychic suffusion of the hostile man or beast or spirit with benign, fraternal emotion—with *mettā*. For strong was the conviction, from Sutta and Vinaya to Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi-Magga*,¹ that 'thoughts are things,' that psychical action, emotional or intellectual, is capable of working like a force among forces. Europe may yet come round further to this Indian attitude.

The belief in the effective power to heal, or protect, of the *saccakiriya*, or asseveration of something quite true, is but another aspect of the work ascribed to the *parittā*.²

It may well be that Buddhism was compelled to adopt and then adapt, in the *parittā*, the *rakshamantras* dear to its converts. There was wisdom shown by the teachers of the new successful Dhamma in making friends out of certain traditions and prejudices very hard to overcome. In moments of vital peril any conceivable means are clutched at that may avail to save. And it is chiefly as a cry for help in sickness that the *parittā*-rite or *pirit* survives yet in Ceylon. The simple ritual is described in Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monarchism*, p. 240, and in Gogerly's *Ceylon Buddhism*, edited by A. S. Bishop, p. 327 ff.

But on the other hand there is an aspect under which these guarding runes are not alien to Buddhist doctrine, but are as much in harmony with it as is prayer with a theistic religion. This is not altogether because the agencies whose power to harm is deprecated are not, as in other cults, cursed and anathematized, but are blessed with good wishes, and suffused with an outgoing love. Though, for that matter, we cannot but linger for a moment to render homage to this wonderful vista of faith, wherein even the most malignant spirits and beasts were looked upon, not as hopelessly and eternally damned, but as erring unfortunates upon their age-long upward way, and capable of being doctored and softened by the lovely power of love. What we mean here is that the Buddhist's idea of the moral order reigning in the universe—an order or law which he called Dhamma—justifies him in the practice of the *parittā*. The kernel of Buddhist doctrine is insight into the moral cosmic order—into the eternal truth of Ill and of its arising and passing, and of the Path whereby it may be overpassed. But this order is not a finished, rigid, alien measure which may be

¹ Chapter IX, p. 313. According to the *Sāsanāṅkārā* quoted in Gray's *Buddhaghosuppatti*, p. 15, Buddhaghosa was about to write a Commentary on the *Parittās*, when he was sent to a greater work in Ceylon.

² See our article on Truth (Buddhist) *Ency. Religion and Ethics*.



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XXXII. THE ĀṬĀNĀṬIYA SUTTANTA.

THE WARD RUNE OF ĀṬĀNĀṬA.

THUS have I heard :—

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagaha on Vulture's Peak.

Now the Four Kings,¹ having set a guard, a screen, a patrol over the four quarters with a great army of Yakkhas, of Gandhabbas, of Kumbhaṇḍas, went to Vulture's Peak when night was far spent, lighting up the whole mountain with their effulgent beauty.² And there they saluted the Exalted One and sat down at one side. And of the [attendant] fairies³ some saluted only and sat down at one side, some exchanged greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took their seats on one side ; some saluted him with clasped hands, then sat down on one side ; some called out their name and family, then sat down on one side ; some sat down in silence.⁴

2. Then King Vessavana⁵ so seated spake thus to the Exalted One :

‘ Lord ! there are eminent fairies⁶ who do not believe in the Exalted One, and there are eminent fairies who do. There are also fairies of [195] middle and of inferior rank who do not believe in him, and there are

¹ On these see II, 242, 258, the ‘genii’ presiding over the four quarters of the firmament. ‘Great king’ is more literal than correct. Only a ‘mahārāja’ deserves to be rendered by king in our sense of the word.

² *I.e.*, of their luminous skin, says B., commenting here as on S. I, 1.

³ Y a k k h ā.

⁴ See the identical formula in II, 350.

⁵ King of the northern quarter ; ‘intimate with the Buddha, expert in conversation, well-trained, and hence the spokesman.’ Comy.

⁶ Fairy is y a k k h a. We have no legendary being whom the Pali word quite fits. See our note 1, Kindred Sayings I, p. 262. ‘Genie’ is fairly approximate. All these non-human creatures had bodies, hence ‘spirits’ is not very suitable.

fairies of middle and of inferior rank who do. But for the most part, lord, fairies do not believe in the Exalted One. Why is this?

‘The Exalted One teaches a code of abstaining from the taking of life, from theft, in chastity, lying and intemperance. But for the most part, lord, fairies do not abstain from any one of these things. To them such a code is distasteful and disagreeable.

‘Surely, lord, there are disciples of the Exalted One who haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is,¹ where breezes from the pastures blow, hidden from men, suitable for meditation. There do eminent fairies dwell, who have no faith in the word of the Exalted One. That they may find faith, may the Exalted One learn² the Āṭānāṭa³ ward-rune whereby both brethren and sisters of the Order, and laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease guarded, protected and unscathed?’

The Exalted One by his silence gave consent.

3. Then King Vessavana, noting the Exalted One’s consent, recited in that hour this ward-rune of Āṭānāṭa :—

*All glory to Vipassi, splendid seer !
To Sikkhī of the tender heart for all !
To Vessabhū ascetic, wholly pure !
[196] To Kakusandha, mill of Māra’s host !
To Koṇāgamana, perfected saint !
To Kassapa, in every way set free !
And to Angīrasa the splendid son
Of Sākiyas who hath taught the holy Norm
Defeating and dispelling every ill.⁴*

¹ Cf. Vol. II, 357; III, 35.

² The Buddha acquiesces as if he did not know this rakṣhamāntra (here called rakḥhaṇ). To safeguard the doctrine of his omniscience, the Commentary explains the king’s word as intended to create an opportunity for others to learn, Gotama lending the undertaking the prestige of his authority.

³ The Commentary calls this a town. Cf. below, p. 193.

⁴ Each attribute, writes B., is equally applicable to each of the Buddhas . . . all were Angīrasas because of the emission of rays.

*They too who here from passions freed¹ have pierced
E'en as it really is the truth of things,
Such souls of gentle speech, mighty, serene,
To GOTAMA give glory, Fount of Good²
To devas and to men, in wisdom's lore
And conduct versed, mighty, serene.*

4. *Whence cometh up the sun, Aditi's child,³
Orbèd and vast, e'en as he cometh up
Ceaseth the Shrouder:⁴ lo! the day, 't is said.
There too and thus they know the sounding deep,
The sea, the bourne of travelling waters, so
They call it 'Sea.' And looking hence⁵ we say
[197] This quarter is the East: the 'First' to come.⁶
Custodian of this quarter is a king,
With brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
Of the Gandhabbas, Dhatarattha named.
Attended by Gandhabbas he enjoys
Their songs and dances. Many are his sons
Of one name and the same, so have I heard.
Eighty and ten and one the tale of them,
Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
They too beholding Buddha, kin o' th' sun,
Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar.
'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
Glory to thee, thou highest among men!⁷
'Tis by thy goodness⁸ thou hast looked on us.*

¹ B. apparently interprets these (who are 'freed': nibbuta by the Nibbāna of the kilesas) as Arahants. But, he says, 'the Commentary' refers this and the next two lines to the Buddhas, and in the fourth line only understands 'the wise' to be meant.

² Hitaṇ, by the suffusion of love. Comy.

³ Aditīyā putto.

⁴ Saṇvarī, a name for night, e e e e found only in a later work: the Jātaka Comy. IV, 441⁶; ^{ls}VI, 243¹³.

⁵ Namely, from Mt. Sineru, or from where they were seated. Comy.

⁶ Purimā = both 'east,' and 'first' or 'former.'

⁷ Cf. Pss. of the Brethren, ver. 629, 1084, 1179. The Pali formula is the same in each passage.

⁸ These lines are not part of the formula elsewhere. 'By,



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*There too and thus they know the sounding deep,
 The sea, the bourne of travelling waters, so
 They call it 'sea.' And looking hence we say
 This quarter is the 'West,' the 'Last' to come.¹*
 [199] *Custodian of this quarter is a king,
 Of brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
 Of Nāgas, him Virūpakkha we name.
 Attended by the Nāgas he enjoys
 Their songs and dances. Many are his sons,
 Of one name and the same, so have I heard,
 Eighty and ten and one the tale of them;
 Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
 They too beholding Buddha, kin o' th' sun,
 Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar.
 'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
 Glory to thee, thou highest among men!
 'Tis by thy goodness thou hast looked on us.
 We, though we be not human, worship thee.'
 Full often have we heard the question asked,
 'The conqueror do ye worship, GOTAMA?'
 Therefore do we on this wise utterance make:
 'The conqueror we do worship, GOTAMA,
 In wisdom's lore and conduct thoroughly versed;
 The Buddha do we worship, GOTAMA!'*
 7. *Where Northern Kuru lies delectable,
 Where towers great Neru's² mountain beauteously,
 There do men live calling no goods their own,
 Nor as their chattels any womenkind.³
 No seed they scatter, nor in furrows led
 Are ploughshares. Of itself the ripened corn⁴
 Stands without toil of tilth for men to enjoy.
 The rice purged of red powder and of husk,
 [200] Sweet-scented, boiling on hot oven-stones:⁵*

¹ Pacchima is both 'West' and 'last.'

² Usually called Sineru.

³ So B. 'no woman property'; no 'mine-ness' which says 'this is my wife'; and no desire for possession.

⁴ Akattha-pāk imam sālīm is apparently the right reading.

⁵ So B. explains tuṇḍikīre.

Thus they [untoiling find and] eat their food.
 They make of kine a single-seated mount,¹
 And so they ride about the land; and eke
 Their flocks they use on this wise, women too
 And men, and maids and youths—these vehicles
 Mounting they ride about on every hand,
 Engaged upon the service of their king.
 And elephants they have to ride and horses too
 And cars celestial, and for the king
 And all his retinue state palanquins.
 Cities are theirs well built on airy base;
 Their names Ātānātā, Kusinātā,
 Parakusinātā and Nāṭapuriya,
 And Parakusitanātā, to the North [201]
 Kapīvanta and other cities too :—²
 Janogha and Ṇavanavatiya
 And Ambara-Ambaravatiya³
 Ālakamandā too, the royal residence.
 But where Kuvera⁴ dwells, their gracious king,
 Visānā is the citadel, and hence
 The name he goes by of Vessavaṇa.
 And these are they who take his embassies
 And make them known :—Tatolā, Tattalā,
 Tatotalā; Ojasi, Tejasi,
 Tatojasi and Sūro and Rāja
 Ariṭṭha too and Nemi. There too spreads
 The mighty sheet of water, Dharaṇī,
 Whence rain-clouds [drawing waters]⁵ pour them forth
 Whence showers rain down. And there too stands the
 hall
 Named Bhagalavati, where congregate
 The Yakkha sprites. And round about are trees

¹ Tam piṭṭhi abhiruyha is B.'s only explanation of the curious term ekakhuraṃ katvā.

² A pareṇa, Comy. aparabhāge. Not 'on the west,' as in Grimblot.

³ The double name of one city; so Comy.

⁴ According to tradition, he was in a former birth a very charitable sugar-growing brahmin.

⁵ So Comy. reading for yatto, yato.

*Bearing perpetual fruit ; their foliage
 Swarming with divers birds and jubilant
 With cry of peacock and of heron and the song
 Melodious of the kokilā. There too
 You hear the jīva-bird who calls ' Live ye !
 Live ye ! ' and he who sings ' O lift your hearts ! ' ¹
 [202] And many another bird of wood and lake ²
 With noisy parrots and the gentler song
 Of myna-birds and harpies called by men
 Rod-mannikins. Aye in her beauty lies
 The livelong day Kuvera's lotus-lake.
 And looking hence our people designate
 That quarter of the firmament as North.
 Custodian of this quarter is a king
 Of brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
 Of Yakkhas, by the name Kuvera known.
 Attended by the Yakkhas he enjoys
 Their songs and dances. Many are his sons,
 Of one name and the same, so have I heard.
 Eighty and ten and one the tale of them ;
 Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
 They too beholding Buddha kin o' the sun,
 Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar :
 Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat !
 Glory to thee, thou highest among men !
 ' Tis by thy goodness thou hast looked on us.
 We though we be not human worship thee.
 Full often have we heard the question asked :
 ' The conqueror do ye worship, GOTAMA ?'
 Therefore do we on this wise utterance make :
 ' The conqueror we do worship, GOTAMA,
 In wisdom's lore and conduct thoroughly versed,
 The Buddha do we worship, GOTAMA.'*

[203] 8. This, dear Sir, is the ward rune, whereby
 both brethren and sisters of the Order, and laymen
 and laywomen may dwell at ease, guarded, protected

¹ So the Comy.

² Kukutthaka, kuliraka, and pokkharasātaka are specified.



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Kinnughaṇḍu and Nighaṇḍu**
Panāda, Opamañña too,
Devasūta and Mātali.†
Cittasena the Gandhabba,*
Nala, Rāja,* Janesabha,**
Sātāgira Hemavata,**
Punṇaka, Karatiya, Gula.*
 [205] *Sīvaka,* Mucalinda too,*
Vessāmitta, Yugandhara,
Gopāla, Suppagedha too,
Hirī, Nettī and Mandiya,
*Pañcālacaṇḍa Ālavaka,**
Pajunna,† Sumana, Sumukha,
Dadhimukha, Maṇi,
Mānicara, Dīgha,
With these Serissaka.

These are the Yakkhas, the Greater Yakkhas, the commanders, the chief commanders, who should be invoked.

11. This, dear sir, is the ward rune whereby both brethren and sisters of the Order, and laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease, guarded, protected and unscathed.

‘Well, dear sir, now we take our leave; we have many duties, much to do.’

‘That, sires, is whenever you think fit.’

Then the Four Kings arose from their seat, and saluting the Exalted One passed round him by his right and there and then vanished. And the Yakkhas arose from their seat some following the procedure of the four kings, some exchanging with the Exalted One friendly and courteous [206] salutations, some stretching forth clasped hands, some announcing their name and family, some keeping silence. And so all there and then vanished.

12. And when the night had passed, the Exalted One addressed the brethren and told them all [§§ 1–11 inclusive here repeated.]

13. ‘Learn by heart, brethren, the Āṭānāṭa ward

rune, master it and recollect it. This rune, brethren, pertains to your good and by it brethren and sisters of the Order, laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease, guarded, protected and unscathed.'

Thus spake the Exalted One. The brethren were pleased and delighted at his words.

Here ends the Ātānāṭiya Suttanta.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SANGĪTI SUTTANTA.

AN English translation of this Suttanta by the Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala was published at Calcutta in 1904 by the Mahābodhi Society.

It and the following Suttanta, in concluding the Dīgha Nikāya, form for that work a novel departure. Novel, not because they are compiled as catechisms—we have already met with an exposition so compiled in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta, Vol. II, pp. 337-45, where there is a lengthy discourse, possibly an interpolation, by question and answer, on the so-called Four Aryan Truths, another in the Mahā Nidāna Suttanta (Vol. II, pp. 51-68), not to mention yet other dialogues which are in part catechetical. The novelty lies in this, that the materials are arranged on the plan observed at much greater length throughout the Fourth, or Anguttara Nikāya. This plan is not that of the first and second Nikāyas, which are professedly grouped according to length, nor that of the third Nikāya, where the grouping is more intelligently done, namely, according to subject. It is a grouping where the points or chief items brought forward are grouped numerically and in arithmetical progression. Recourse to it must have been on mnemonic grounds, grounds that would be of great importance in an unwritten mass of doctrine.

It is not equally obvious why the compilation of doctrinal items in this form should have been attributed to Sāriputta. In the Commentarial tradition of the procedure at the First Council, as told by Buddhaghosa,¹ in the Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, it is related that, whereas Ānanda was required to testify to the circumstances under which every Sutta in the Nikāyas was uttered, the other three Nikāyas were handed over to the disciples of (the late) Sāriputta, Mahā Kassapa (the president) and Anuruddha respectively. Thus it was the Majjhima that fell to the school of Sāriputta, and not the Anguttara, as we should have expected, had Sāriputta, in his teaching, always preferred the numerical method. Nor is his teaching more amply represented in the Suttas of the Anguttara than in those of

¹ Sumangala Vilāsini I, 15.



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Another pair of books, the Niddesas, though we class them as Commentaries, are practically Abhidhammā. And embedded in two of the other Nikāyas we have on the one hand Abhidhamma-talk in the two Vedalla-Suttas of the Majjhima (I, 299 f., though Buddhist tradition classes them under a Vedalla-anga), and on the other, these two lengthy Abhidhamma-lists in the Dīgha here presented.

The important Kashmirian Buddhist school of the Sabbatthivādins (Sanskrit: Sarvāstivādins), or 'Everything-exists-doctrinaires,' were so satisfied that the former of these two—the Sangīti Suttanta—was proper 'Advanced talk,' that they placed it, or their own version of it among the seven works which, according to Tibetan and Chinese translations, constituted their Abhidhamma books. It is variously classed as No. 2, 3 or 7, and in the Chinese recensions is still ascribed to Sāriputta. The Tibetan recensions father it on Mahā-kotṭhita, the Apostle who in the Majjhima is the speaker in the major Vedalla-Sutta. The episode that may possibly have stimulated Sāriputta or the compilers of the two Suttantas to lose no time in drawing up summarized doctrines—the death of the Jain leader and the subsequent disputes among that body—is repeated in the Sabbatthivādin recension. We are indebted for what we know of this recension to Professor J. Takakusu's admirable essay on 'The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma Books' in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1904-5. Space-limits prevented him from giving a full list of the summaries, but all he does give occur also in our Sangīti Suttanta. Some day a full comparison will be possible.

C.A.F.R.D.

[207] THUS have I heard :—

1. 1. The Exalted One was once making a tour in the country of the Mallas,¹ accompanied by a great company of the brethren, numbering about five hundred. And he arrived at Pāvā the Malla capital. There he resided in the mango-grove of Cunda the smith.²

2. Now at that time a new mote-hall of the Pāvā Mallas named Ubbhaṭaka³ had not long been built, and had not been occupied by recluse or brahmin or any human being whatever. And the Pāvā Mallas heard that the Exalted One on his tour had arrived with his following at Pāvā and was staying in Cunda's mango-grove. And they went to visit him, and saluting him sat down at one side. So seated they said to him :—

‘ Lord, a new mote-hall named Ubbhaṭaka has lately been built by us Mallas of Pāvā, and no recluse or brahmin or any human being whatever has yet occupied it. [208] Let, lord, the Exalted One be the first to make use of it. That it has first been used by the Exalted One will be for the lasting good and happiness of the Pāvā Mallas.’

The Exalted One by his silence assented.

3. When they marked his assent, they rose and saluted him, passing round by his right, and went to the mote-hall. They spread the whole hall with carpets, arranged seats, put a bowl of water ready, hung up an oil lamp, and returned to the Exalted One. Saluting

¹ The Mallas were an oligarchy of rājas. They are called rājas in the Comy.

² Cf. above, Vol. II, 137.

³ ‘Thrown-aloft-er.’ ‘So-called because of its height.’ Comy.

him and standing at one side they said : ‘ The whole mote-hall, lord, is spread with carpets, seats are arranged, a bowl of water has been placed ready, a lamp is hung up. And now, lord, whenever the Exalted One deems the time is fit. . . .’

4. Then the Exalted One dressed himself and taking bowl and robe he went with the company of brethren to the mote-hall. On arriving he bathed his feet, and entered the hall, and took his seat facing the east, leaning against the central pillar. The brethren also bathed their feet and entered the hall ranging themselves against the western wall and facing the east [209], behind the ‘Exalted One. The Pāvā Mallas also bathed their feet and entered the hall, ranging themselves against the eastern wall and facing the west with the Exalted One before them. Then the Exalted One far into the night discoursed on the doctrine to the Pāvā Mallas, instructing, enlightening, inciting and inspiring them.¹ And then he dismissed them saying : ‘ Lovely, Vāsetṭhas,² is the night. Do ye deem it time?’

‘ We do, lord,’ responded the Pāvā Mallas. And rising they saluted the Exalted One by the right and departed.

5. And presently the Exalted One, surveying the company of brethren wrapped in silence wherever they sat,³ called to the venerable Sāriputta : ‘ There is an absence, Sāriputta, of sloth and torpor in the company of brethren. Let a religious discourse occur to thee. My back is aching, I will stretch it.’

‘ So be it, lord,’ replied Sāriputta. Then the Exalted One, letting his robe be folded in four, took up the lion-posture on his right side, placing his feet

¹ B.’s comments on these four verbs in the *Soṇadanda Suttanta* (I, 159) should be compared with those on the same passage in *S. I*, 114, given in *Kindred Sayings I*, 140, *n.* 4.

² Apparently a leading family name among the Mallas both of Pāvā and the neighbouring village, Kusinārā. See *II*, 181.

³ Literally, ‘ wrapped in silence, wrapped in silence.’ ‘ Wherever he looked, there that part was silent.’ Comy.



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. . . and now wrecked of his support and without a protector.

[211] But to us, friends, the Norm has been well set forth and imparted by the Exalted One. It is effectual for guidance, conducive to self-mastery, and is imparted by one perfectly enlightened.¹ Herein there should be a chanting by all in concord, not a wrangling, that thus this holy life may persist and be long maintained. That may be for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for compassion on the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and of men.

[THE RECITAL.]

I.

8. What is the single doctrine?

All beings persist through causes. All beings persist through conditions.²

This 'single doctrine,' friends, has been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Hereon there should be a chanting in concord, not a wrangling, [212] that thus this holy life may persist and be long maintained. That may be for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for compassion on the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and of men.

II.

9. There are double doctrines, friends, which are perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Hereon there should be a chanting in concord

¹ Cf. above, p. 115 f.

² Cf. Khp. IV; A. V, 50, 55. The Dīgha alone gives the second aphorism. 'Cause': āhāra, usually meaning 'food,' is literally a thing 'adduced,' 'brought up.' Four kinds of āhāra are specified, e.g., S. II, 11 f.; below, 219—food, contact, purpose, consciousness (in connection with rebirth), all considered as so many causes, conditions, antecedents of 'result' or fruit. Hence āhāra in general can always be rendered by paṭṭaṇṇa. So B. 'Condition' = sankhāra: the karaṇa or doing, action, that leads to the result. Comy.

. . . for the good . . . of devas and of men :—Which are the doubles ?

- i¹. Mind^{1a} and body.
- ii. Ignorance and craving for rebirth.
- iii. False opinion as to (a) rebirth, (b) no rebirth.
- iv. Unconscientiousness and indiscretion.
- v. Conscientiousness and discretion.²
- vi. Contumacy and friendship with evil.³
- vii. Suavity and friendship with good.
- viii. Proficiency as to offences and restoration from them.
- ix. Proficiency as to attainments and recovery from them (viz. : as to Jhāna).
- x. Proficiency in elements⁴ and in understanding them.
- xi. Proficiency in the (twelve) spheres of sense and in the (twelve factors⁵ of the) causal formula.
- xii. Proficiency in assigning specific causes, and in eliminating elements that are not causal [in a specific effect].⁶

¹ With this list compare Anguttara I, 83 f., and below, XXXIV, 1, 3, etc.

^{1a} I.e. Nāma, by which in this connection the 'four incorporeal khandhas' (aggregates) are always meant. B. refers to the Visuddhi Magga for a detailed analysis (ch. xiv.).

² The former concerns one's own estimate of one's self, the latter the estimate of one's neighbours. Comy.

³ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 344.

⁴ The eighteen dhātus, those residual factors of our experience which cannot be expressed in more ultimate [subjective] terms (attanō sabhāvaṇ dhāretī ti dhātu), to wit, the three ultimates in each act of consciousness, object, or stimulus, re-acting organ [of sense or mind], resulting cognition.

⁵ The only apparent reason for linking these two is the common number.

⁶ The first of the 'ten powers' of a Tathāgata (M. I, 69 f.; A. V, 33 f.; Vibh. 335 f. Cf. Psalms of the Early Brethren I, p. 167, n. 1; II, 7, n. 1; Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 348) shared partly by disciples (Points of Controversy, 139 f.). 'Proficiency' (kusalatā) is, by B., defined as 'intelligence-with-understanding' (paññā-pajānana), further specialized in x.^a as learning, remembering, grasping, intuition, in x.^b as the last two *plus* reflection, in xi.^a as learning by heart, *plus* the last group, in xi.^b, understanding of procedure, in xii. as determining.

- [213] xiii. Rectitude and shamefacedness.¹
 xiv. Patience and gentleness.
 xv. Mildness of speech and courtesy.²
 xvi. Kindness³ and love.⁴
 xvii. Absence of mind⁵ and want of intelligence.
 xviii. Mindfulness and intelligence.
 xix. Unguardedness of faculties⁶ and intemperance in diet.
 xx. Guardedness of faculties and temperance in diet.
 xxi. The powers of judging and of cultivation.
 xxii. The powers of mindfulness and concentration.
 xxiii. Calm and insight.⁷
 xxiv. The causes [or signs]⁸ of calm and of mental grasp.⁹
 xxv. Mental grasp and balance.
 xxvi. Attainment in conduct and in [sound] belief.
 xxvii. Failure in conduct and in [sound] belief.¹⁰
 [214] xxviii. Purity in conduct and in belief.¹¹
 xxix. Purity in belief and the struggle according to the belief one holds.¹²
 xxx. Agitation over agitating conditions and the systematic exertion of one [thus] agitated.
 xxxi. Discontent in meritorious acts and perseverance in exertion.

¹ In Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1340, this term is not *la j j a v o* (defined as *h i r i b a l a ṇ*, § 30), but *m a d d a v o*.

² Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1343 f.

³ Literally, Not-hurting, defined as 'pity.'

⁴ Defined as purity of fraternal love (*m e t t ā*).

⁵ I.e., of mindfulness (*s a t i*), muddleheadedness. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1349.

⁶ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1345 f.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, § 1355 f.

⁸ *N i m i t t a*, on which see Points, 387 f. Refers to *J h ā n a*-practice.

⁹ Grasp = effort (*v i r i y a ṇ*). Comy.

¹⁰ *D i ṭ ṭ h i*, associated with *s a m p a d ā*, *s a m p a n n o*, is always used in this sense. Cf. Points, 269, *n.* 3. In the Comy. the contents of xxvii precede those of xxvi.

¹¹ Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1365 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 357, *n.* 2.



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[215] iv. Three kinds of fine conduct, to wit, in act, word and thought.

v. Three kinds of bad thoughts,¹ to wit, thoughts of sense-desire, of enmity, of cruelty.

vi. Three kinds of good thoughts, to wit, thoughts of renunciation,² of amity, of kindness.

vii. Three kinds of bad purposes . . . [as in v.].³

viii. Three kinds of good purposes . . . [as in vi.].

ix. Three kinds of bad notions . . . [as in v.].

x. Three kinds of good notions . . . [as in vi.].

xi. Three bad elements, to wit, of sense-desire, enmity, cruelty.

xii. Three good elements, . . . [as in vi.].

xiii. Other three elements, to wit, the sphere of sense-desire, that of the brahma-world, that of the higher heavens.⁴

xiv. Other three elements, to wit, the sphere of the brahma-world, that of the higher heavens, that of cessation.⁵

xv. Other three elements, to wit, low, medium and sublime spheres.⁶

[216] xvi. Three [directions of] craving, to wit, craving for the pleasures of this life, craving for life to come, craving for life to end.

¹ Vitakkā: an unspecialized expression in the Nikāyas; in Abidhamma, *inception* of cogitative activity. Cf. p. 213, 1.

² Nekkhamma. B. does not analyze this term. By the context it is the contrary of kāma (sense-desire). 'All good states are nekkhamma-dhātu.' Comy.

³ Sankappa. 'There is no difference in the meaning (content, attha) of sankappa and vitakka.' Comy. Cf. Compendium, p. 238.

⁴ Arūpadhātu. Here dhātu is used to mean the place reached in rebirths (āgataṭṭhānasmiṃ bhavena), says B., and describes the three in the terms used in Dhs. (Bud. Psy. Eth.), §§ 1281-6. It will be seen that the lowest (5) spheres are included in the universe of sense desire (kāma; below, xl, xli.).

⁵ Nibbāna is here referred to. Comy. Cf. below, xviii.

⁶ I.e., the twelve classes of bad thoughts (Bud. Psy. Eth., § 365, f.), all other worldly (secular) thoughts, and (3) the nine spiritual thoughts. Comy. In the 'Bahudhātuka Sutta' (M. III, 61 f.), dhātu's are enumerated in one category of 18, three of 6, one of 3, and one of 2.

xvii. Other three [directions of] craving, to wit, craving for life in the spheres of sense, for life in the brahma (rūpa) world, for life in the higher worlds.

xviii. Other three [directions of] craving :—craving for life in the lower spheres, for life in the higher spheres, for cessation.¹

xix. Three ‘fettters,’ to wit, the false opinion concerning individuality, doubt, inverted [judgment] as to rule and ritual.²

xx. Three intoxicants, to wit, the poisons³ of sensuality, future life and ignorance.

xxi. Three [planes of] rebirths, to wit, the universe of sense-desire, that of the lower and that of the higher worlds.

xxii. Three quests :—that of sensuous enjoyment, that of life renewed, that of [problems⁴ connected with] the religious life.

xxiii. Three forms [of conceit], to wit (1), ‘I am better than . . .,’ (2) ‘I am equal to . . .,’ (3) ‘I am worse than . . .’⁵

xxiv. Three periods, to wit, past, future, present.⁶

¹ Here taken in the sense of ‘for life to end’ (xvi.), the Ucccheda or Annihilationist view. See Vibhanga, 365 f., where the 3 threes are defined, and which B. quotes. B. concludes: ‘What did he teach in this section (xvi.-xviii.)? That under the aspect of lusting, all ideas of life are based on [what is termed] taṇhā, and as all taṇhā is permeated (pariyāditvā) by sensuous craving, he shows the other two forms as deduced (nīharitvā) from that.’ Cf. above, xiv.

² See Expositor i, 65. B.’s note on the first runs: belief in the actual existence of a kāya consisting in body and mind—i.e., of a soul (attā) in either of them.

³ ‘Āsava, in the sense of surrounding, or of flowing up to . . . e.g., from the eye (or sight) a flowing, percolating, rolling on into the object . . . Abhidhamma, adding diṭṭhi (erroneous opinion), gives four.’ Comy. Cf. Dhs., §§ 1096-1100, and above, p. 175, n. 1.

⁴ Brahmācariyesanā—i.e., eschatological problems, concerning the soul and its beginning, nature, and ending (antagāhikā diṭṭhi). See Vibh., p. 366.

⁵ See Vibh. 367; S. I, 12 (20); III, 48. The first form, says B., besets kings and recluses; the second, the king’s officials; the third form is characteristic of servants (?).

⁶ Addhā. The Four Nikāyas use addhānaṇ, e.g., A. V. 32; S. I, 140. B. distinguishes between the religious and philo-

xxv. Three limits, to wit, individuality,¹ its rising, its cessation.²

xxvi. Three [modes of] feelings, to wit, pleasant, painful and neutral feeling.

xxvii. Three states of suffering, to wit, pain, conditioned existence, change.³

[217] xxviii. Three 'heaps,' to wit, that of wrongdoing entailing immutable evil results, that of well-doing entailing immutable⁴ good results, and that of everything not so determined.

xxix. Three doubts,⁵ to wit, doubts, perplexity, inability to decide, dissatisfaction concerning past, future and present.

xxx. Three things which a Buddha⁶ has not to guard against: a Buddha, friends, is pure in conduct whether of act, or speech, or thought. There is no misdeed of any kind concerning which he must take good care lest another should come to know of it.

xxxi. Three obstacles,⁷ to wit, lust, hate, illusion.

sophical denotation of a d d h ā (Suttanta-, Abhidhamma-pariyāyā). In the former, 'the present' refers to one span of life; 'the past' is time prior to this span of life; 'the future' is time after decease from this life. In the latter, the present is any threefold instant (nascent, static, cessant); past and future precede and follow that.

¹ S a k k ā y o. 'The five aggregates (body and mind) of grasping.' Comy.

² 'The discontinuance, extinction (n i b b ā n a) of both.' Comy.

³ The first d u k k h a t ā is painful feeling, the second is neutral feeling, but is our oppressed awareness of the tyranny of birth, old age, and dissolution. The third is pleasant feeling, but with the accompanying sense of liability to be plunged into sorrow. Such is the substance of B.'s comment.

⁴ N i y a t a: certain, fixed. The first are the crimes enumerated in Points, 80, n. 5; cf. p. 177, n. 1; the second, the fourfold Path and its fruits. On 'heap' see op. cit. XXI, 7.

⁵ B. reads t a m ā for k a n k h ā: 'obfuscations.'

⁶ T a t h ā g a t a, here clearly meaning a Buddha, at least according to commentarial tradition, since B. proceeds to show the little difference in the case of 'other Arahants,' who needed to take care. He instances the conduct of Sāriputta in the 'Cātuma-sutta,' M. I, 459, explaining the latter's motive. Cf. Ang. IV, 82, where the 'friends' is omitted.

⁷ Literally, 'somewhats.' The secondary meaning is para-



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some devas and some reborn to [one of the four] evil destinies. (2) There are beings who have desires for that which [they have] created ; such are the devas so called (Nimmānaratī), who having created one thing after another are in subjection to such desires. (3) There are beings who have desires for the creations of others ; and get these into their power ; such are the devas¹ so called (Paranimmita-vāsavattī).

xli. Three happy rebirths .—(1) There are beings, friends, who [in a former birth] having continually produced, dwell now in happiness ; such are the devas of the Brahmā group. (2) There are beings who are soaked and steeped in happiness, full of it, pervaded by it. They from time to time pour forth ecstatic utterance saying : ‘ Oh the bliss of it ! Ah what happiness ! ’ Such are the Radiant Devas.² (3) There are beings who are similarly filled with happiness . . . pervaded by it : they, serenely blissful, experience only sublime [219] happiness. Such are the Luminous Devas.³

xlii. Three kinds of knowledge : that of the learner, that of the adept, that of him who is neither.

xliii. Other three kinds of knowledge :—knowledge that is thought out, knowledge that is learned (from another), knowledge that is gained by [cultural] development.⁴

xliv. Three kinds of armour :—that of doctrine learnt, that of detachment,⁵ that of knowledge.

xlvi. Three faculties :—that of coming to know the unknown, that of knowing, that of perfected knowledge.⁶

¹ These two curiously named groups are the highest stages of life in the ‘ sensuous universe.’ Cf. below, p. 241.

² Devā Ābhassarā. Cf. Kindred Sayings, p. 144, and Compendium, p. 138.

³ Subhakiṇha devas ; ninth in the Rūpa worlds. For tesan taṇ yeva the Comy. reads te santam eva, santam meaning paṇitaṇ.

⁴ Cf. Bud. Psy., p. 130.

⁵ Detachment of body (solitude), of mind (purity), and from the conditions of rebirth. Comy.

⁶ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., §§ 296, 364a, 555 ; Vibh., p. 124 ; P.P., p. 2 ; Yam. II, 61.

xlvi. Three kinds of vision, to wit, the eye of flesh, the heavenly eye, the eye of insight.¹

xlvii. Three courses of training, to wit, the higher morality, the higher mental training, the higher insight.²

xlviii. Three [branches of] culture, to wit, the culture of sense-impressions,³ of mind, of insight.

xlix. Three supreme things, to wit, that of vision, that of procedure, that of freedom.⁴

l. Three species of concentration⁵ :—that of mental application followed by sustained thought, that of sustained thought without mental application, that of concentration without either.

li. Other three species of concentration :—concentrative insight into ‘emptiness,’ ‘signlessness,’ ‘end of baneful longing.’⁶

lii. Three purities, to wit, of action, speech and thought.

[220] liii. Three factors of the anchorite,⁷ to wit, a certain attitude respecting conduct, respecting speech, respecting thought.

liv. Three proficiencies, to wit, proficiency as to progress, regress, and the means of success.⁸

lv. Three intoxications, to wit, the pride of health, the pride of youth, the pride of life.

lvi. Three dominant influences [on effort]; to wit, the influence of self-[criticism], the influence of the community, the influence of spiritual things.

¹ Cf. *Iti-vuttaka*, § 61.

² Cf. A. I, 235; *Buddhism* (by Mrs. Rhys Davids), 1912, p. 199 f.

³ *Kāyo*, usually, in *Abidhamma*, referring to the psycho-physical mechanism of sense. Culture is literally making to become, developing.

⁴ B. refers these to categories of Path, Fruit, and *Nibbāna*, with alternative assignments.

⁵ *Samādhi*. Cf. M. III, 162; S. IV, 360; A. IV, 300; *Compendium* 95.

⁶ Cf. *Bud. Psy. Eth.*, p. 91 f.; *Compendium* 216.

⁷ *Moneyyāni*: *munibhāva* *karā dhammā*. Comy.

⁸ *Āyo*, *apāyo*, *upāyo*: derivatives from *i*, to go. The second more usually covers all evil rebirth.

lvii. Three bases of discourse, to wit (1) discourse may be concerned with the past :—‘ Such things were in the past ’ ; (2) discourse may be concerned with the future :—‘ So will it be in time to come,’ or (3) with the present :—‘ So has it come to pass at the present day.’

lviii. Three branches of wisdom, to wit, knowledge of one’s former lives, knowledge of the decease and rebirth of beings, knowledge in the destruction of the ‘intoxicants.’¹

lix. Three states, to wit, deva-consciousness, the divine states, the Ariyan state.²

lx. Three wonders, to wit, the wonder of mystic power, the wonder of manifestation, the wonder of education.³

These triple states, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha supreme. Here should there be a chanting in concord by all, not a wrangling . . . for . . . the happiness of devas and men.

IV.

[221] 11. Fourfold doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha supreme. Here should there be a chanting in concord by all, not a wrangling . . . for . . . the happiness of devas and of men. Which are these ?

i. Four applications of mindfulness,⁴ to wit :—Herein, friends, let a brother as to the body . . . as

¹ Or Āsava’s. On the annexation, with the meanings above given, of the adjective te-vijjo, see Psalms of the Sisters, 26, n. 2. B. exegetically paraphrases vijjā as tamaṇ vijjhaṭi, pierces the gloom, i.e., of the unknown.

² The first is the conscious experience of the ‘Eight Attainments’ or Jhānas, the second that of the Four Exercises in sublime emotion (cf. I, p. 317 f.), the third is that of the Fruitions.

³ See I, p. 277 f.

⁴ See Vol. II, p. 327 f.



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no less in the nighttime, and thus, with open and unmuffled consciousness, creates a radiant luminous mind. (3) is the understanding of each feeling, or perception, or thought, as they severally arise, remain present and vanish. (4) is the keeping watch over the five aggregates of grasping, as they rise and cease :—‘ This is material . . . this is the appearance of something material . . . this is its vanishing, and so on.’

vi. Four ‘infinitudes,’¹ to wit :—Herein, brethren, a brother lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of love . . . pity . . . sympathy in joy . . . equanimity, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus [224] the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere does he continue to pervade with heart . . . far-reaching, grown great and beyond measure, free from anger and ill-will.

vii. Four Jhānas of Arūpa-consciousness, to wit² :—Herein, brethren, a brother, by passing beyond the consciousness of matter; by the dying out of the sensation of resistance, by paying no heed to the idea of difference, at the thought : ‘ space is infinite !’ attains to and abides in the conceptual sphere of space as infinite. (2) Having wholly transcended this, at the thought : ‘ Infinite is consciousness !’ he attains to and abides in the conceptual sphere of consciousness as infinite. (3) Having wholly transcended this, at the thought : ‘ It is nothing !’ he attains to and abides in the conceptual sphere of nothingness. (4) Having wholly transcended this, he attains to and abides in the sphere of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.

viii. Four Bases of Conduct³ :—Herein, brethren, a brother judges that a certain thing is to be habitually pursued, another thing is to be endured, another to be avoided, another to be suppressed.

¹ Called ‘divine states’ (*Brahma vihārā*) in lix. of the Triple Doctrines. See Vol. II, p. 219 f.; *Visuddhi Magga*, p. 320.

² Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, 117 f.; *Bud. Psy. Eth.*, §§ 265 f.; *Dial.*, I, 249 f.; II, 119 f.

³ Cf. R. Morris in *J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 71, on the term *a p a s s e n a*.

ix. Four Ariyan lineages. Herein, brethren, a brother is content with whatever robes [he may have], commends contentment of this kind, and does not try to gain robes in improper unsuitable ways. And he is not dismayed if he gain no robe, but when he has gained one, he is not greedy, nor infatuated nor overwhelmed; he wears it heedful lest he incur evil and understanding its object. Finally, by this contentment as to any garment, he neither is puffed up nor disparages others. Now he that is expert, not slothful, heedful, mindful, [225] is called, brethren, a brother who is true to the ancient distinguished lineage of the Ariyans.

The same is he who is similarly content with his alms, and with his lodging.

Lastly, brethren, the brother who, having the love both of eliminating on the one hand, and of developing on the other, loves both to eliminate and to develop, in loving both, neither is puffed up, nor disparages others. He that is herein expert, not slothful, heedful, mindful, is called a brother who is true to the ancient distinguished lineage of the Ariyans.

x. Four exertions,¹ to wit, self-control, eliminating, developing, safe-guarding. What is the first? Herein, brethren, when a brother sees an object with the eye, and is not entranced by the general appearance or the details of it, [226] but sets himself to restrain that which might give occasion for bad, wicked states, covetousness, dejection to flow in over him were he to dwell unrestrained as to the faculty of sight, and to keep watch over that faculty, and attains to mastery over it . . . and similarly as to the other four senses and mind, such an effort is called exertion in self-control.² (2) What is exertion in elimination? Herein, brethren, a brother, when a sensual, malign, or cruel thought has arisen, will not endure it, but puts it away, suppresses, exterminates it and makes it non-existent. Such an

¹ P a d h ā n a ṇ, here paraphrased by u t t a m a - v i r i y a ṇ.

² Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1347.

exertion is called exertion in elimination. (3) What is exertion in developing? Herein, brethren, a brother cultivates each of the seven factors of enlightenment¹ which are based upon detachment, upon passionlessness, upon cessation, and wherein is maturity² of self-surrender.³ This is called exertion in development. (4) What is exertion in safe-guarding? Herein, brethren, a brother keeps pure and genuine⁴ an auspicious object of concentrated imagination when it has arisen, [such as] one of the contemplations of foul things. This is called exertion in safe-guarding.

xi. Four knowledges,⁵ to wit, knowledge of the Doctrine, knowledge in its corollaries, knowledge of what is in another's consciousness,⁶ and popular knowledge.⁷

[227] xii. Other four knowledges, to wit: knowledge regarding suffering, genesis, cessation, path.

xiii. Four factors in 'Stream-attainment,' to wit, intercourse with the good, hearing the good doctrine, systematized⁸ attention, practice in those things that lead up to the doctrine and its corollaries.

xiv. Four factors of his state who has attained the stream. Herein, brethren, the Ariyan disciple has an

¹ Or 'wings of wisdom,' i.e., mindfulness, investigation of doctrine, energy, zest, serenity, rapt contemplation, equanimity.

² All synonyms, says B., for Nibbāna.

³ B. repeats this rendering of *vossagga-pariṇāmi* in commenting on S. I, 88 (K.S., p. 113, n. 3). Surrender means both giving up and plunging in (after Nibbāna).

⁴ So B.: *sodhati*. The text merely repeats *anurakkhati*.

⁵ Of this category, (1) and (2) occur in S. II, 57 f. There they are described respectively as the 'four truths' applied to 'decay and death,' and this tradition as loyally held and to be held. Vibhanga, 329 f., gives the four, describing (1) as understanding the four paths and their fruits, and (2) as tradition of the four truths respecting suffering as loyally held, etc. B. here quotes Vibh., but defines (1) as the four truths.

⁶ For *pariccheda* - read (as in B. and Vibh.) *paricce-*. B.: *paresaṇ citta-paricchede ñāṇaṇ*. But he reads *paricce* in the text.

⁷ Cf. *Milinda i*, 226.

⁸ On *yoniso* as thus rendered, cf. K.S. I, 131, and in Index.



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either in connection with material qualities, or with [a co-efficient of] feeling, or perception or volitional complexes. In connection with any of these as an instrument, as an object of thought, as a platform, as a seat of enjoyment, it attains to growth, increase, abundance.¹

xix. Four ways of going astray,² to wit, through partiality, hate, illusion, fear.

xx. Four uprisings of craving. Brethren, craving arises in a brother because of raiment, alms, lodging, and dainty foods.³

xxi. Four rates of progress, to wit, when progress is difficult and intuition slow, when progress is difficult but intuition comes swiftly, when progress is easy, but intuition is slow, and when progress is easy, and intuition comes swiftly.⁴

[229] xxii. Other four modes of progress, to wit, exercise without endurance, with endurance, with taming (of faculties), with calm.⁵

xxiii. Four divisions of doctrine, to wit, [when the highest things are attained by an attitude of] (1) disinterestedness, or (2) amity, or (3) perfect mindfulness, or (4) perfect concentration.⁶

xxiv. Four religious undertakings:—(1) one that brings present suffering and in the future painful consequences; (2) one that brings present suffering and in

¹ Cf. S. III, 53, where B.'s comment is fuller: consciousness, functioning by the other four khandhas, eventuates in action; action (karmā) entails rebirth, hence increase or propagation of consciousness.

² Agatim gacchati, literally, he goes to a not-going, or wrong going, or impasse. See above, XXIX, § 26; XXXI, 5.

³ Bhavābhavo, existence-nonexistence, is an idiomatic expression for future life or annihilation, e.g. Sutta-Nipāta, 496 (and Comy.); or higher or lower rebirth, Psalms of the Brethren, verse 784. Here, according to B., it means oil, honey, ghee, etc.

⁴ See XXVIII, § 10.

⁵ I.e., when engaged in concentration (samādhi), are cold and other hardships endured? Are sensuous thoughts tolerated? Comy.

⁶ Namely, when jhāna, insight, a Path, a Fruit, Nibbāna is reached. Comy.

the future happy consequences ; (3) one that brings present pleasure and in the future painful consequences ; (4) one that brings present happiness and in the future happy consequences.¹

xxv. Four bodies of doctrine, to wit, morals, concentrative exercise, insight,² emancipation.

xxvi. Four powers, to wit, energy, mindfulness, concentration, insight.

xxvii. Four resolves, to wit, to gain insight, to win truth, to surrender [all evil], to master self.

xxviii. Four modes of answering questions, to wit, the categorical reply, the discriminating reply, the counter-question reply, the waived question.³

[230] xxix. Four kinds of action, to wit, that which is dark with dark result, that which is bright with bright result, mixed, with mixed result, that which is neither, with neither kind of result, and conduces to the destruction of karma (action).⁴

xxx. Four matters to be realized,⁵ to wit, former lives, to be realized by clear mentality ;⁶ decease and rebirth, to be realized by the 'heavenly eye' ; the eight deliverances, to be realized by all the mental factors ;⁶ destruction of intoxicants, to be realized by insight.⁷

¹ (1) is the course followed by ascetics (*acela k a s*) ; (2) is that of the religious student handicapped by passions but tearfully persevering ; (3) is that of the sensualist ; (4) that of the recluse in the Order, even though he be lacking in comforts. Comy.

² Read *p a ñ ñ ā* - for *p u ñ ñ ā*.

³ B. says these are discussed in the 'Mahāpadesa kathā.' This is apparently not the sermon on the 'four Mahāpadesa' in A. II, 167, nor the brief summary (as above) in A. II, 46, but the sermon on the 'Tīṇi Kathāvatthūni,' in A. I, 197. There is apparently no Mahāpadesa kathā in the Dīgha.

⁴ Dark and bright are meant ethically and eschatologically ; a parallel pair of terms : *t a m o*, *j o t i*, is used in K.S. I, 118 f., and below, xlix. The fourth alternative is [mental activity in] Fourfold Path-knowledge.

⁵ I.e., by making them present to the eye (*p a c c a k k h a k a r a ṇ e n a*) and acquiring them. Comy. Cf. below, 253, x.

⁶ I.e., by all co-nascent factors in the *n ā m a k ā y o*, or mind-group, at any given moment.

⁷ By knowledge of the fruit of Arahantship.

xxxi. Four floods, to wit, sensual desires, life renewed, error, ignorance.

xxxii. Four bonds . . . (same as xxxi).

xxxiii. Four bond-loosenings, to wit, from sensual desires, etc. (as in xxxi).

xxxiv. Four knots, to wit, the body-knots¹ of covetousness, of malevolence, of inverted judgment as to rule and ritual, and of the inclination to dogmatize.

xxxv. Four graspings,² to wit, the laying hold of sensual desires, of error, of rules and rites, of the soul-theory.

xxxvi. Four matrices, to wit, the matrix of birth by an egg, the viviparous matrix, the matrix of moist places, and rebirth as deva.

[231] xxxvii. Four classes of conception at rebirth.³ Herein, brethren, one person descends into the mother's womb unknowing, abides there unknowing, departs thence unknowing. This is the first class of conception. Next, another person descends deliberately, but abides and departs unknowing. Next another person descends and abides deliberately, but departs unknowing. Lastly, another person descends, abides and departs deliberately.

xxxviii. Four methods of acquiring new personality, to wit, (1) in which our own volition works, not another's, (2) in which another's volition works, not ours, (3) in which both our own and another's volition work, (4) in which the volition of neither works.⁴

xxxix. Four modes of purity in offerings, to wit, (1) when a gift is purely made on the part of the giver, but not purely received; (2) when a gift is made pure by the recipient, not by the giver; (3) when the gift is

¹ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 305, n. 1. B. repeats the same comment in both Commentaries.

² In other words, 'takings, seizings.' Comy.

³ Cf. above XXVIII, § 5.

⁴ The second of these is illustrated by the slaughter of an animal by a butcher. The other three cases are referred to the decease and rebirth of the devas referred to in Vol. I, pp. 32 and 33, and of other devas respectively.



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xlvi. Other four individuals. Herein, brethren, (1) a certain person whose conduct makes for his own good, not for that of others; (2) another whose conduct makes for others' good, not his own; (3) another's conduct makes for neither; (4) another's conduct makes both for his own good and for that of others.¹

xlix. Other four individuals, to wit, (1) living in darkness and bound for the dark; (2) living in darkness and bound for the light; (3) living in the light and bound for the darkness; (4) living in the light and bound for the light.²

1. Other four individuals, to wit, the unshaken recluse, the blue lotus recluse, the white lotus recluse, the exquisite recluse.³

These fourfold doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows . . . (as on p. 204, § 8) . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

Here endeth the first portion for recitation.

V.

2. 1. There are Fivefold Doctrines, friends, which have been perfectly declared by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, Arahant, Buddha supreme. Herein should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling . . . for the happiness of devas and men. Which are they?

i. Five aggregates, to wit, of material qualities, feeling, perception, volitional complexes, consciousness.

¹ B. instances (1) Thera Bākula (or Bakkula), who entered the Order at eighty (? too old to convert others), Psalms of the Brethren, p. 159. (2) Upananda, whose bad conduct hindered his own good, though as recluse he helped others, Vin. Texts, e.g., I, 321 f.; III, 392, n. 2. (3) Devadatta the schismatic, and (4) Great Kassapa (see Psalms of the Brethren, p. 359 f.).

² See above xxix.

³ Interpreted as those in the Four Paths.

ii. Five aggregates [regarded as vehicles] of grasping, to wit, as above. [234] . . .

iii. Five kinds of sensuous pleasures, to wit, the five kinds of sense-objects cognized severally through each sense as desirable, pleasant, agreeable, charming and lovely, bound up with sensuous desires and exciting the passions.

iv. Five ways of destiny, to wit, purgatory, the animal kingdom, the realm of the 'departed' (Petas), mankind, the devas.

v. Five forms of meanness,¹ to wit, in hospitality, in [monopolizing a ministering] family, in gains acquired, in beauty physical and moral, in [monopolizing learnt] truths.

vi. Five hindrances, to wit, sensuality, ill-will, sloth and torpor, excitement and worry, doubt.

vii. Five fetters as to lower worlds, to wit, error of permanent individual entity, doubt, wrong judgment as to rules and ritual, sensuality, malevolence.

viii. Five fetters as to upper [worlds], to wit, lust after rebirth in Rūpa [worlds], lust after rebirth in Arūpa [worlds], conceit, excitement, ignorance.

[235] ix. Five branches of moral training, to wit, abhorrence of murder, theft, in chastity, lying, and intemperance in drink.

x. Five impossibles, to wit, for an Arahant intentionally to take life, or to take what is not given, so as to amount to theft, or to commit sexual offences, or to lie deliberately, or to spend stored up treasures in worldly enjoyments, as in the days before he left the world.

xi. Five kinds of losses, to wit, of kinsfolk, of wealth, disease, loss of character, loss of sound opinions. No being, friends, because of any of the first three kinds of loss, is after death and bodily dissolution reborn to disaster, to evil destiny, to downfall, to purgatory. But this happens because of the last two kinds of loss.

¹ Macchariyam, implying also avarice, selfishness. Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1122 and n.; K.S., p. 27, § 2.

xii. Five kinds of prosperity, to wit, in kinsfolk, wealth, health, virtue, and sound opinion. No being, friends, because of any of the first three kinds, is after death and dissolution reborn to a happy destiny in a bright world. But this happens because of success in virtue and in winning sound opinions.

xiii. Five disasters to the immoral by lapse from virtuous habits. [236] Herein, friends,¹ an immoral person, having lapsed in virtuous habits, incurs, through want of industry, great loss of wealth. Secondly, an evil reputation as to his moral lapse spreads abroad. Thirdly, whatever assembly he attends, whether of nobles, brahmins, householders, members of a religious order, he comes in diffident and disturbed. Fourthly, he dies baffled and without assurance. Fifthly, on the dissolution of the body after death, he is reborn into an unhappy state, an evil destiny, a downfall, a purgatory.¹

xiv. Five advantages to the moral man through his success in virtuous conduct. Herein, friends, in the first place, he acquires through industry great wealth. Secondly, good reports of him spread abroad. Thirdly, whatever assembly he attends, whether of nobles, brahmins, householders, or members of a religious order, he enters confident and undisturbed. Fourthly, he dies with lucid and assured mind. Fifthly, he is reborn to a happy destiny in a bright world.

xv. Five points, friends, should be present inwardly to a brother who is desirous of chiding another. 'I will speak at a timely moment, not at an untimely moment.² I will utter what is true, not what is fictitious. I will speak mildly, not roughly. I will speak from a [237] desire for his good, not for his hurt. I will speak with love in my heart, not enmity.'

xvi. Five factors in spiritual wrestling. Herein,

¹ These two paragraphs form an address, or the outlines of one, given to the lay disciples at Pāṭaligāma. See II, 90 f.

² Not, e.g., in a public room, assembly, refectory; at the mid-day rest he should seek opportunity, saying, 'I should like to speak to the reverend brother,' but not in the case of anyone uttering slander. Comy.



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order, the second, third and fourth barrennesses. When he is offended with his fellow-disciples, vexed, agitated, sterile towards them, he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, etc.¹

xx. Five bondages of the mind. Herein, brethren, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for sense-desires, of desire, fondness, thirst, fever, craving for them, he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion. In the same way, when a brother has not got rid of the passion, desire, fondness, thirst, fever, craving for his own person,² or again for external objects, he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion. Fourthly, if a brother have eaten as much as his stomach can hold,³ and then abides given over to the ease of repose, of turning from this side to that,⁴ of sloth . . . and, fifthly, [239] if a brother have adopted the religious life with the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the deva-groups, thinking : —By these rules or by these rites or by these austerities or by this religious life I shall become a greater, or a lesser deva ;⁵ he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion.

xxi. Five faculties,⁶ to wit, those of the five senses.

xxii. Other five faculties, to wit, that of pleasure, of pain, joy, grief, indifference.

xxiii. Other five faculties, to wit, that of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, insight.

xxiv. Five elements tending to deliverance. Herein,

¹ See Bud. Suttas (S.B.E. XI), p. 223 f., also for following section (XX.) : translation of the Cetokhila Sutta, Majjhima I.

² Kāye. Attano kāye, is the comment. Kāyo means the whole personal aggregate, not the physical factor only ; all that is ajjhattam, in distinction to the next bondage, where rūpe is explained as bahiddhā : 'external' to self.

³ Cf. Psalms of the Brethren, ver. 935, n. 1 ; J.P.T.S., 1886, 150.

⁴ The Comy. reads passa not phassa, and explains as above. Cf. Psalms of the Brethren, ibid.

⁵ B. explains as mahesakkho, appesakkhovā.

⁶ Indriyāni, lit. controlling powers.

friends, when a brother is contemplating sensuous desires, his heart does not leap forward to them, nor rest complacent in them, does not choose them.¹ But when he is contemplating renunciation of them, his heart leaps forward, rests complacent in it, chooses it. [240] This frame of mind he gets well in hand, well developed, well lifted up, well freed and detached from sense-desires. And those intoxicants, those miseries, those fevers which arise in consequence of sense-desires, from all these he is freed, nor does he feel that sort of feeling. This is pronounced to be the first deliverance. Similarly for the other four elements, namely, from ill will, cruelty, external objects and individuality. [241]

xxv. Five occasions of emancipation. Herein, friends, when the Master, or a reverend fellow-disciple teaches the Norm to a brother, according as the teaching is given, the listener comes to know both the matter of the doctrine, and the text of the doctrine.² And gladness springs up in him, and in him gladdened zest springs up; his mind enraptured, the faculties³ become serene; with serenity comes happiness, and of him thus happy the heart is stayed and firm.⁴ This is the first occasion. In the next place, a brother has a similar experience not from hearing the Master or a reverend fellow-disciple teach, but while himself teaching others the Norm in detail, as he has learnt and got it by memory. . . . This is the second occasion. In the third place, a brother has a similar experience, not on those first two occasions, but when he is reciting the doctrines of the Norm in detail as he has learnt and got them by memory. . . . [242] This is the third occasion. In the fourth place, a brother has a similar experience, not on those first three occasions, but when he applies his thought to the Norm as he has

¹ Na vimuccati nādhimuccati.

² 'Matter' and 'text' are in the Comy. pāli-attham and pāliṃ.

³ Kāyo here = nāmakāyo, 'mental group.' Comy.

⁴ 'By the samādhī of the fruit of arahantship.' Comy. Cf. Vol. I. 84, § 75. This sentence is repeated after each of the five.

learnt and got it by memory, and sustains protracted meditation on it and contemplates it in mind. . . . This is the fourth occasion. Finally, a brother has a similar experience, not on those first four occasions, but when he has well grasped some given clue to concentration,¹ has well applied his understanding, has well thought it out, has well penetrated it by intuition *. . . . [243] This is the fifth occasion.

xxvi. Five thoughts by which emancipation² reaches maturity, to wit, the notion of impermanence, the notion of suffering in impermanence, the notion of no-soul in suffering, the notion of elimination, the notion of passionlessness.

These fivefold doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

VI.

2. There are sixfold doctrines, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the 'Exalted One who knows . . . for the happiness of devas and men. Which are they ?

i. Six fields of personal experience, to wit, sight, sound, smell, taste, touch and mind.

ii. Six external fields [of objects of experience], to wit, sights, sounds, smells, tastes, tangibles, phenomena.³

iii. Six groups of consciousness,⁴ to wit, visual, auditory, olfactory, sapid, tactual and perceptual-and-conceptual consciousness.⁵

iv. Six groups of contacts, to wit, visual and other sensory contact, and impact on the mind.

v. Six groups of feeling on occasion of sensory

¹ Samādhī nimittaṇ. On nimittaṇ see Points of Controversy, p. 387 f.

* Suppaṭividdhaṇ paññāya.

² I.e., Arahantship. Comy.

³ Dhammā: the co-ordinated impressions of sense, and all mental objects.

⁴ Kāya. See above, p. 229, n. 3.

⁵ Mano-viññāṇaṇ.



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without rupture or flaw, are consistently practised, unblemished, making a man free, commended by the wise, unperverted, and conducing to rapt concentration,¹ and he, so virtuous, [246] dwells openly and privately among his fellow-disciples, that is an occasion of fraternity, causing affection and regard, and conducing to concord, absence of strife, harmony, union. Lastly, when a brother lives with his religious life [guided by] that Ariyan, safe-guiding belief, which leads him who so lives to the perfect destruction of sorrow,—when he thus equipped lives among his fellow-disciples publicly and in private, that is an occasion of fraternity . . . like the foregoing.

xv. Six roots of contention. Herein, friends, take a brother who gets angry and cherishes rancour, and in this mood becomes irreverent and insolent toward the Master, the Norm, the Order, and does not accomplish the training. Such an one stirs up contention in the Order, and that contention is fraught with ill and misery for multitudes, with disadvantage, ill and sorrow for devas and men. If you, friends, should discern such a root of contention among yourselves or in other communities, then should ye strive to get just that evil root of contention eliminated. And if ye do not discern any such root, so work that it may not come to overwhelm you in the future. Such is the eliminating, such is the future averting of that evil root of contention. The other five roots of contention are (2) when a brother conceals others' good deeds,² and is hypocritical . . . (3) is envious and mean . . . (4) is deceitful and crafty . . . (5) is full of evil wishes and false opinions . . . [247] (6) is infatuated with his own opinion, clutching it tenaciously and is loth to renounce it.

xvi. Six elements, to wit, those of extension, cohesion, heat and mobility [in matter], space and consciousness.³

¹ See above 219, xiv, (4).

² So B. *pa resam guṇamakkhana*. . . .

³ The primary meaning of the first four is earth, water, fire,

xvii. Six elements tending to deliverance. Herein, friends, a brother might say : ‘ Lo ! I have developed mental emancipation by love, [248] I have multiplied it, made it a vehicle, and a base. I have brought it out, accumulated and set it well going. Nevertheless malevolence persistently possesses my heart.’ To him it should be said : ‘ Not so ! Say not so, your reverence ! Do not misrepresent the Exalted One ! It is not well to calumniate the Exalted One ! Surely he would not say this was so ! This is a baseless and uncalled-for statement, friend. Things cannot be as you say. Emancipation of the heart through love, brother, this is how you become delivered from malevolence. In the same way a brother might wrongly complain that after cultivating emancipation of the heart through pity, he was still possessed by cruelty, or that after cultivating emancipation of the heart through sympathetic joy, or through equanimity, he was still possessed by disgust, and passion respectively. [249] Next, friends, a brother might say : ‘ Lo ! I have developed mental emancipation from the power of any object to catch the fancy and incite lust,¹ I have multiplied that emancipation, made it a vehicle and a base, I have brought it out, accumulated and set it well going. Nevertheless my mind still pursues seductive objects. Or again he may say : ‘ Lo ! the notion “ I am ” is offensive to me ! I pay no heed to the notion “ This ‘ I ’ exists ! ” Nevertheless doubts and queries and debating² still possess my mind.’ To these answer should be made as before. He should be assured that such cannot really be the case ; that it is by emancipating the heart through equanimity, or again, through the expulsion of the conceit of the

air. In Abhidhamma, the meaning is as stated. B. paraphrases by (1) *patitṭhā*, the more usual interpretation being *kakkhallaṭṭa*, or hardness (v. B.P.E. 241, n. 1), (2) *ābandhanā*, or binding, (3) *paripācanā*, or maturing, (4) *vitthambanā*, or unstable, (5) *asamphutṭhā*, or intangible. Cf. p. 219, xvi.

¹ A cumbrous rendering of the elusive words *a-nimittā cetovimutti*. See above, p. 230, n. 1.

² *Sallāpaṃ*.

existence of an 'I,' that he becomes delivered from lust, [250] and from doubts and queries and debatings.

xviii. Six unsurpassable experiences, to wit, certain sights, certain things heard, certain gains, certain trainings, certain ministries, certain memories.

xix. Six matters for recollection, to wit, the Buddha, the Norm, the Order, the moral precepts, renunciation, the devas.¹

xx. Six chronic² states.² Herein, friends, a brother on occasion of any of the five kinds of sensation, as well as on that of any impression or idea, is neither delighted nor displeased, but remains equable, mindful and deliberate.

xxi. Six modes of heredity.³ Herein, friends, some persons being reborn in dark circumstances [251] lead dark lives, others so born lead bright lives, and others so born bring Nibbāna to pass, which is neither dark nor bright.⁴ Again, others born in bright circumstances lead bright lives, or dark lives, or bring Nibbāna to pass, which is neither dark nor bright.

xxii. Six ideas conducing to Nibbāna, to wit, the idea of impermanence, of ill in impermanence, of soullessness in ill, of elimination of passionlessness, of cessation.

These six triple doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

VII.

3. There are Sevens in the Doctrine, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who

¹ These, says B., are fully explained in the Visuddhi Magga P.T.S. ed. i., pp. 197-228.

² *Satata*. In his Comy. on A. II, 198, B. explains by *nicca*, *nibaddha*.

³ *Abhijātiyo*, explained as *just-jātiyo*, which means equally birth and social status.

⁴ B. takes 'dark,' 'bright,' when applied to *birth* to mean 'obscure,' 'high born'; when applied to life and conduct, to *mean* 'demeritorious,' 'meritorious.' Nibbāna involves the transcendence of merit and demerit. Cf. Kindred Sayings, I, pp. 118-20; above, p. 221, xxix; 224, xlix.



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ix. Seven powers, to wit, the power of faith, energy, conscientiousness, discretion, mindfulness, concentration, insight.¹

x. Seven stations of consciousness.² There are beings, brethren, who are diverse both in body and in mind, such as mankind, certain devas and some who have gone to an evil doom. This is the first station (or persistence) for [re-born] consciousness.³ Other beings are diverse of body, but uniform in mind, such as the devas of the Brahma-world, reborn there from [practice here of] first [Jhāna].

Others are uniform in body, diverse in intelligence, such as the Radiant Devas. Others are uniform both in body and in intelligence, such as the All-Lustrous Devas.⁴ Others there are who, by having passed wholly beyond all consciousness of matter, by the dying out of the consciousness of sense-reaction, by having turned the attention away from any consciousness of the manifold and become conscious only of 'space as infinite' are dwellers in the realm of infinite space. Others there are who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite space and become conscious only of consciousness as infinite are dwellers in the realm of infinite consciousness. Others there are who, having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite consciousness, and become conscious only that 'there is nothing whatever,' are dwellers in the realm of nothingness. Such are the remaining stations of consciousness.

xi. Seven [types of] persons worthy of offerings, to wit, the freed-both-ways, [254] the freed by insight, they who have bodily testimony, they who have won

¹ Cf. 1, 11, xxvi, and pp. 102, 127 of text.

² Cf. 1, 11, xviii; Vol. II, p. 66.

³ Viññāṇaṭṭhiti, rendered resting-place of cognition in Vol. II, p. 66.

⁴ Two of the Rūpa spheres, 'above' that of the Brahmās, 'below' the Pure Abodes (cf. 5, xvii.). Cf. above, I, 30 f.; III, 26, 82. The last four are the Arūpa devas.

the view, they who are freed by confidence, the followers of wisdom, and the followers of confidence.¹

xii. Seven kinds of latent bias,² to wit, the bias of sensual passion, of enmity, of false opinion, of doubt, of conceit, of lust for rebirth, of ignorance.

xiii. Seven fetters, to wit, compliance, opposition, false opinion, doubt, conceit, lust for rebirth, ignorance.

xiv. Seven rules for the pacifying and suppression of disputed questions that have been raised,³ to wit, the proceeding face to face must be performed, the proceeding for the consciously innocent must be performed, the proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind must be performed, the proceeding on confession of guilt must be carried out, the proceeding by a majority of the Chapter, or the proceeding for the obstinate, or the proceeding by covering over as with grass.

These 'sevens in the Doctrine,' friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

Here endeth the Second Portion for Recitation.

VIII.

3. 1. There are 'Eights in the Doctrine,' friends, [*similarly*] set forth. . . . Which are they?

i. Eight wrong factors of character and conduct,⁴ to wit, wrong views, intention,⁵ speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration.

¹ See above, p. 101.

² 'They continue sedent, in the sense of something not got rid of,' is B.'s definition of *anusaya's*.

³ See Vin. Texts I, 68, where illustrative references are given in the Cullavagga (*ibid.*, Vol. III).

⁴ Lit. 'wrongnesses' and in (ii.) 'rightnesses' (the 'Ariyan Eightfold Path'), elsewhere called *magga*, *kummagga* (wrong path), *paṭipadā* and *paṭipatti*. Cf. S., V, 18, 23: Vibh. 373, etc., etc.

⁵ Sometimes rendered 'aspiration'; a synonym of *vitakka*. Application of the mind to an object or mental 'contriving' must be understood.

[255] ii. Eight right factors of character and conduct, to wit, right views, right intentions, etc. . . . right concentration.

iii. Eight types of persons worthy of offerings, to wit, one who has 'attained the stream' [or First Path]. One who has worked for the realizing of the Fruit of stream-attainment. One who is a Once-returner. One who has worked for the realizing of the Fruit of Once-returning. One who is a Never-returner. One who has worked for the realizing of the Fruit of Never-returning. One who is Arahant. One who has worked for the realizing of Arahantship.

iv. Eight bases of slackness. Herein, friends, (1) let a brother have some work to do. He thinks: 'There's that work I have to do, but the doing of it will tire me. Well then, I shall lie down.' He lies down; he stirs up no energy to finish that which is not done, to accomplish the unaccomplished, to realize the unrealized. (2) Or he has been working, and thinks: 'I have been working, and the doing of my work has tired me. Well then, I shall lie down.' He lies down . . . (*with the same results*). (3) Or he has to make a journey, and he thinks (as above) that it will tire him and lies down . . . (*with the same results*). (4) Or he has gone on his journey, and reflects (as in [2]) that he is tired and lies down. . . . (5) Or he tours about a village or township for alms and does not obtain his fill of poor or rich food, and thinks: 'I've gone about village, about township for alms [256] and have not obtained my fill of poor or rich food. This body of me is tired and good for naught. Well then, I'll lie down.' . . . (*with the same results*). (6) Or he tours about . . . for alms and does obtain his fill of poor or rich food and thinks: 'I've gone about . . . for alms and have obtained my fill of poor or rich food. This body of me is heavy and good for naught, seems to me like a load of soaked beans. Well then, I'll lie down' . . . (*with the same results*). (7) Or in him some slight ailment has arisen, and he thinks: In this state it is fit I lie down. . . . (8) Or he has recovered from illness, has



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‘ he will give to me ’; (5) because one thinks ‘ giving is blessed ’; (6) because one thinks ‘ I cook ; these do not cook ; it is not fit that I who cook should give nothing to those who do not cook ’; (7) because one thinks : ‘ from the giving of this gift by me an excellent report will spread abroad ’; (8) because one wishes to adorn and equip one’s heart.¹

vii. Eight rebirths due to giving gifts. Herein, friends, (1) a certain person gives a gift to a recluse or brahmin in the shape of food, drink, raiment, vehicle, wreaths, perfumes and ointments, bedding, dwelling and lights. That which he gives, he hopes to receive in his turn. He sees a wealthy noble or brahmin or householder surrounded and attended by, and enjoying the five forms of sensuous pleasures. And he thinks : ‘ Ah ! if only I may be reborn at the dissolution of the body after death as one amongst wealthy nobles, or brahmins, or householders ! ’ This thought he holds fixed, firmly established, and expands it. This thought set free in a lower range, and not expanded to anything higher, conduces to rebirth within that range. [259] And this, I affirm, only in the case of a moral person, not of one who is vicious. The mental aspiration, friends, of a moral person succeeds because of its purity.²

(2) Another person giving similar gifts, and similarly hoping, may have learnt thus : ‘ Devas in the realm of the four kings of the firmament³ are long-lived, splendid in appearance and lead a blissful existence.’ He aspires to be reborn among them, and holds the thought fixed. . . . This . . . conduces to rebirth within that [lower] range. And this, I affirm, only in the case of a moral person. . . . The mental aspiration, brethren, of a moral person⁴ succeeds because of its purity.

¹ Namely, in studying for calm and insight, forgiving softens the heart in both donor and recipient. Comy.

² I.e., its being unmixed, single-minded.

³ Cf. preceding Suttanta passim.

⁴ Omitted in the text.

(3-7) Or one so giving may have learnt similar lore about other heavens:—the Three-and-Thirty gods, the Yāma, the Tusita, the Nimmānarati, the Paranimita-vasavatti gods, or (8) about the gods of the Brahma world he may have learnt in similar terms. He thinks: ‘Ah! would that after death I might be reborn as one among them!’ That thought he holds fixed, that thought he firmly establishes, that thought he expands. That thought set free in a lower range,¹ and not expanded to anything higher, conduces to rebirth within that range. And this, [260] I affirm, only in the case of a moral person, not of one who is vicious, in the case of one who has got rid of the passions, not of one still beset by them. The mental aspiration, friends, of a moral person succeeds because it is void of lustful passion.²

viii. Eight assemblies, to wit, those of nobles, brahmins, householders, religious orders, four-king devas, Three-and-Thirty devas, Māra devas and Brahma devas.³

ix. Eight matters of worldly concern, to wit, gains and losses, fame and obscurity, blame and praise, pleasures and pains.

x. Eight positions of mastery.⁴ (1) When anyone pictures to himself some material feature of his person

¹ All rebirth in other worlds, from the Nibbāna or Arahant point of view, was low in range. But the Brahma world was also lowest in the Rūpa heavens. Only in the upper Rūpa worlds could Parinibbāna be obtained, when not accomplished on earth.

² Got rid of, remarks B., either by the Paths or by the Attainments (Jhāna). Charitable giving alone cannot secure rebirth in Brahma world. But as an adornment to the mind studying calm and insight, they make thought tender, and then, exercise in the Brahma-vihāra emotions (I, 317, f., § 76) can lead to such a rebirth.

³ There is no comment on the absence of parisā's in other worlds. Presumably it is because no such assemblies are recorded in the Suttas, nor mention of any hierarchy or government, as e.g., in Dial. I, 281; II, 242 f., 293 (21), etc.

⁴ See II, 118. The ‘positions’ refer to induction of the Jhāna consciousness. Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., §§ 204-246; Expositor, ch. xi.

and sees [corresponding] features in others, lovely or ugly, as small, transcending this [object] he is aware of doing so, [thinks] 'I know, I see.' (2) Or when he has the same experience, but sees those features not as small, but as infinitely great, and nevertheless transcending this [object], and is aware of doing so, [thinks]: 'I know, I see!' (3, 4) Or when he sees the features in others similarly and transcends the consciousness of them, without first picturing any material feature of his own. . . . (5) Or when without the personal preliminary, he sees external shapes of indigo, [261] indigo in colour, indigo in visible expanse, indigo in lustre, as is the ummā flower, or a Benares muslin delicately finished on both sides . . . (6) or shapes of yellow . . . as is the kaṇikāra flower, or Benares muslin . . . (7) or shapes of red . . . as is the bandhujīvaka flower, or Benares muslin . . . (8) or shapes of white . . . as is the morning star, or Benares muslin . . . transcends this [object] and is aware of doing so, [thinks]: 'I know, I see!'

xi. Eight deliverances,¹ to wit, (1) he, picturing any material feature of himself, sees such material features [as they really are]. (2) Not picturing any such, [262] he sees material features external to his own. (3) He decides that it is beautiful.² (4) By passing wholly beyond all consciousness of material qualities, by the dying out of the awareness of sensory reaction, by the unheeding of any awareness of difference, he enters into and abides in that rapt ecstasy which is a consciousness of infinite space. (5) By passing wholly beyond such a sphere of consciousness, he enters into and abides in that rapt ecstasy which is a consciousness of the infinitude of consciousness itself. (6) By passing wholly beyond such a sphere of consciousness, he enters into and abides in that rapt

¹ Or releases, or emancipations (cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 63), or 'stages' of the same (Dial. II, 119). These are also jhāna-incidents. Cf. above, p. 216, vii.

² Namely, the kaṣiṇa, or abstracted bare colour or lustre in the object selected, wherewith to induce self-hypnosis.



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the sphere of the 'unconscious devas.'¹ (6) There are beings who having passed wholly beyond awareness of material qualities, by the dying out of sensory reaction, by unheeding the awareness of difference, have attained to the sphere of infinite space with a consciousness thereof. (7-9) Similarly other beings have attained to the sphere of infinite consciousness, of nothingness, of neither consciousness nor yet unconsciousness.²

iv. Nine untimely unseasonable intervals for life in a religious order. [264] (1) A Tathāgata, friends, is born into the world, Arahant Buddha Supreme. The Norm is taught, quenching [the passions], extinguishing [the passions],³ leading to enlightenment, declared by the Well-Farer. And this person is reborn at that time in purgatory . . . (2) or in the animal kingdom . . . (3) or among the Petas . . . (4) or Asuras . . . (5) or in some longlived deva community . . . (6) or he is reborn in the border countries among unintelligent barbarians, where there is no opening for members of the Order or lay-brethren . . . (7) or he is reborn in the middle countries, but he holds wrong opinions and has perverted vision, holding that gifts,⁴ offerings, oblations are as naught, for there is no fruit nor result of deeds well or ill done; [265] there are no parents nor birth without them; there are no recluses or brahmins in the world who have attained the highest, leading perfect lives, and who, having known and realized each for himself the truth as to this and the next world, do reveal it. (8) Or though reborn at the time in the Middle countries, he is stupid, dull, or deaf and dumb, unable to know whether a matter has been well said or ill said. (9) Or finally, friends, a Tathāgata has not arisen in the world as Arahant Buddha Supreme, the

¹ Assuming as the Buddhist does, that in Jhāna ecstasy, terrestrial consciousness was exchanged for other-world consciousness, he was logically driven to assume also a *source* for the abnormal state of mind supervening in complete trance.

² As above 3, 1, xi.

³ Kilesā. So B.

⁴ See above, II, 73.

Norm is not taught . . . as revealed by the Well-Farer ; and this person is [in that interval] reborn in the Middle country, is intelligent, bright of wit, not deaf-mute, able to know whether a matter has been well said or ill said. This is the ninth untimely, unseasonable period for living in a religious order.

v. Nine successional states, to wit, the Four Jhānas [of Rūpa-world consciousness], the Four Jhānas of Arūpa-world consciousness, [266], and complete trance.¹

vi. Nine successional cessations, thus:—Taking each of the foregoing nine in order, by the attainment of (1) First Jhāna, sensuous perceptions cease, (2) Second Jhāna, applied and sustained thought ceases, (3) Third Jhāna, zest ceases, (4) Fourth Jhāna, respiration ceases, (5) by the perception of infinite space, perception of material things ceases, (6) by the perception of infinite consciousness, perception of infinite space ceases, (7) by the perception of nothingness, perception of infinite consciousness ceases, (8) by the perception that is neither conscious nor yet unconscious, perception of nothingness ceases, (9) by the cessation of perception and feeling, perception that is neither conscious nor yet unconscious ceases.

These Nines in the Doctrine, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One, etc. . . . Herein should there be chanting by all in concord. . . .

X.

3. There are Tens in the Doctrine, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Here should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling . . . for the happiness of devas and men Which are the tens ?

i. Ten doctrines conferring protection.² (1) Herein,

¹ Cf. above 1, 11, iv., and 3, 1, xi. (4-8).

² Lit. protector-making. For (1), cf. Dial. I, 317. 'Self-control prescribed,' etc., is pātimokkha-samvara.

friends, a brother is virtuous, lives self-controlled according to the self-control prescribed in the Vinaya, he has entered on a proper range of conduct, he sees danger in the least of the things he should avoid, he adopts and trains himself in the precepts. [267] (2) He learns much, and remembers and stores up what he has learnt. Those doctrines which, excellent at the start, in the middle, at the end, in the letter and in their contents, declare the absolutely perfect and pure religious life, these he learns to a great extent, bears them in mind, treasures them by repetition, ponders them in mind, penetrates them by intuition.¹ (3) He is a friend, an associate, an intimate of men of good character. (4) He is affable, endowed with gentleness and humility; he is patient and receives admonition with deference. (5) Where there are duties to be done for the seniors among his fellow-disciples, he therein is industrious, not slothful, and exercises forethought in methods for discharging them, is capable of accomplishing, capable of organizing. (6) And furthermore, friends, he loves the doctrine, the utterance of it is dear to him,^{1a} he finds exceeding joy in the advanced teaching of both Doctrine and Discipline.² [268] (7) Furthermore, friends, he is content with necessities of any quality, whether it be raiment, alms, lodging, drugs and provision against sickness. (8) Furthermore, friends, he is continually stirring up effort to eliminate bad qualities, evoke good qualities, making dogged and vigorous progress in good things, never throwing off the burden. (9) Furthermore, friends, he is mindful,

¹ See Vin. Texts III, 50, on these qualifications for a bhikkhu juryman, and the footnote.

^{1a} Piya-sa-mu-dā-hā-ro, concerning which term Childers was doubtful, is thus expanded by B.: 'he listens intently (sa-kka-c-ca-m) when another discourses and longs to teach others.' Cf. Mil. II, 237.

² Abhidhamme Abhivinaye. B., by alternative exegeses, shows these terms are used vaguely. The former may mean the third Piṭake(?), or the doctrine of the Paths and Fruits. The latter may mean the Khandhaka-Parivāra, or the *end* of the Vinaya—self-mastery. Cf. Sumangala-Vilāsini I, 18.



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[270] (4) What are the four bases of observance? Herein a brother judges that something is to be (1) habitually pursued, (2) endured, (3) avoided, (4) suppressed.

(5) How does he become 'one who has put away sectarian opinions?'¹ All those many opinions of the mass of recluses and brahmins which are held by individuals as dogmas :—all these he has dismissed, put away, given up, ejected, let go, eliminated, abandoned.

(6) How is he one whose questing is utterly given up? He has eliminated the questing after worldly desires, the questing for rebirth, the questing for religious life.²

(7) How is he candid in his thoughts? He has eliminated occupying his mind with sensual or malicious or cruel ideas.

(8) How does he tranquillize the activity of the body? Because of eliminating the being affected pleasurable or painfully, because of the dying out of previous impressions as joyful or sorrowful, he attains to and abides in a state of neutral feeling, of very pure indifference and mental lucidity, namely, the state called Fourth Jhāna.

(9) How does he become well emancipated in heart?³ He becomes emancipated in heart from passion, hate, and illusion.

(10) How does he become well emancipated in intellect?³ He understands his emancipated condition, namely, in the thought: Passion . . . hate . . . illusion for me are eliminated, cut off at the root, become as a palmtree stump, become non-existent, unable to grow again in future.⁴

¹ A curious use of *sacca* (fact or truth). 'This view, that view is true! Thus *pāṭīyekkaṃ gahitāni . . .*' Comy.

² Cf. above, p. 209, xxii.

³ The distinctive replies given in the case of *citta* and *paññā* should be noted.

⁴ This No. v., which is a Sutta in the Anguttara (v., 29), is presumably the Ariya-vasāni, one of the five Dhamma-teachings recommended for study in Asoka's Bhabra edict. Cf. Rh. Davids, *Buddhist India*, 169.

[271] vi. Ten qualities belonging to the adept, to wit, the right (or perfect) views, intentions, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration, insight and emancipation as held by adepts.¹

These Tens in the Doctrine, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees. Here should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling, in order that the holy life may live and be long established. Thus will it be for the welfare, for the happiness of multitudes, a kindness to the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and men.

4. Now when the Exalted One had arisen he addressed the venerable Sāriputta, saying : ‘ Excellent, Sāriputta, excellent ! Excellently, Sāriputta, have you uttered the scheme of chanting together² for the brethren.’

These things were spoken by the venerable Sāriputta. The Master signified his assent. The brethren were pleased and delighted with the venerable Sāriputta’s discourse.

Here endeth the Suttanta of the
Chanting in Concord.

¹ That is, these factors in their case are ‘ connected with fruition.’ The ‘ views’ and ‘ insight’ are understanding (or intellect, *paññā*) exercised on two sorts of occasion (*ṭhāṇa*). To avoid multiplying footnotes, references have not been given to all the parallels in the other Nikāyas, of the foregoing summarized doctrines. References, especially to one Nikāya, the Anguttara, will be found in Dr. J. E. Carpenter’s edition of the text.

² *Sangītipariyāyan ti sāmaggikāraṇaṃ*. Comy.

THUS have I heard :

1. 1. The Exalted One was once staying at Campā,² on the banks of Lake Gaggarā, with a great company of the brethren, about five hundred in number. There the venerable Sāriputta addressed them, saying, 'Friends, brethren!' 'Yes, friend,' responded the brethren. And the venerable Sāriputta spake thus :—

In groups from one to ten will I declare
The Norm, that so ye may Nibbāna win,
That ye may make an end of ill and pain,
That ye may be from every bond set free.

I.

2. There is One thing,³ friends, that helpeth much, One thing that is to be developed, One that is to be understood, One that is to be eliminated, One that belongs to disaster, One that leads to distinction, One that is hard to penetrate, One that is to be brought to pass, One that is to be thoroughly learnt, One that is to be realized.

i. *Which One thing helpeth much?* Zeal in things that are good.

ii. *Which One thing is to be developed?*⁴ Mindfulness with respect to the bodily factors, accompanied by pleasurable feeling.

iii. *Which One thing is to be understood?* Contact as a condition of intoxicants (Āsavas) and of grasping.

¹ This is not a literal rendering. Plus-up-to-ten is a little nearer, but uncouth. So we have not tried to be literal.

² Pronounced Champā.

³ Dhamma. Anything as presented to the mind is a dhamma. We have no parallel word.

⁴ Or 'made to grow' (vaḍḍhetabbō = bhāvetabbō).



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[274] iv. *Which Two are to be eliminated?* Ignorance and the craving for rebirth.

v. *Which Two belong to decline?* Contumacy and friendship with evil.

vi. *Which Two lead to distinction?* Suavity and friendship with good.

vii. *Which Two are hard to penetrate?* That which is the condition, the cause of the corruption of beings, and that which is the condition, the cause of their purification.

viii. *Which Two are to be brought to pass?* Insight into extinction, and insight into not coming to be.

ix. *Which Two are to be thoroughly learnt?* Two elements, to wit, the Conditioned and the Unconditioned.¹

x. *Which Two are to be realized?* Supernormal knowledge² and emancipation.

Now these Twofold things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, and perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

III.

4. There are Three Things which help much, etc.
. . . which are to be realized.

i. *Three*³ . . . *which help much*:—intercourse with noble-minded persons, hearing the good Doctrine, progress in doctrine and minor doctrines.

ii. *Three* . . . *which are to be developed*:—the three modes of concentrative thought, to wit, mental application followed by sustained thought, sustained thought without mental application, concentrative thought without either.

¹ 'Made by causes, the five aggregates; not so made, Nibbāna.' Comy.

² 'Vijjā here means the threefold lore' (an annexed Brahmanic term). Comy. Cf. above, p. 214, lviii. ff., and below, x.

³ The ten questions are to be read as repeated here and below.

[275] iii. *Three . . . which are to be understood*:—three modes of feeling, to wit, pleasurable, painful, and neutral feeling.

iv. *Three . . . which are to be eliminated*:—three cravings, to wit, sensual, worldly craving, craving for rebirth, craving to end life.¹

v. *Three . . . which belong to decline*:—three roots of demerit, to wit, greed, hate, illusion.

vi. *Three . . . which lead to distinction*:—three roots of merit, to wit, disinterestedness, love, intelligence.

vii. *Three . . . which are hard to penetrate*:—three elements of deliverance, to wit, renunciation:—this is the escape from all worldly desires; the immaterial:—this is the escape from material things; but whatever has become, is conditioned, has arisen from a cause:—the escape from that is cessation.²

viii. *Three . . . which are to be brought to pass*:—three knowledges, to wit, as to the past, the future and the present.

ix. *Three . . . which are to be thoroughly learnt*:—three elements, to wit, the element³ of sensuous desires, of Rūpa, of Arūpa.⁴

x. *Three . . . which are to be realized*:—three branches of wisdom,⁵ to wit, intuition of former births, intuition of the deceases and rebirths of beings, intuition of the extinction of 'intoxicants.'

[276] Now these Three Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

¹ Lit. becoming-craving and contra-becoming craving. Cf. above 1, 10, xvi.

² B.'s comments are purely exegetical. He calls the three escapes the Path of the Non-returner, the Path, and the Fruit of Arahantship respectively.

³ I.e., conditions. See above 2, ix.

⁴ I.e., the three spheres of existence, described in Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 334.

⁵ In text *verbatim*, as on p. 214, lviii. See the six, p. 257 f.

IV.

5. There are Four Things, friends, that help much, that are to be developed . . . that are to be realized.

i. *Four . . . that help much*:—four ‘wheels,’¹ to wit, the orbit of a favourable place of residence, the orbit of association with the good, perfect adjustment of one’s self, the cycle of merit wrought in the past.

ii. *Four . . . to be developed*:—the Four Applications of Mindfulness,² to wit:—Herein, friends, a brother as to the body, feelings, thought, and ideas, continues so to look upon [each of these four groups], that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, and can suppress both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

iii. *Four . . . to be understood*:—the Four Nutriments,³ to wit, solid nutriment, gross or subtle; contact as second, the purposes of the mind as third, [rebirth-] consciousness as fourth.

iv. *Four . . . to be eliminated*:—the Four Floods of sensuous desires, re-becoming, erroneous opinions, ignorance.

v. *Four . . . belong to decline*:—the Four Bonds . . . (similar to iv.).

vi. *Four . . . lead to distinction*:—the Four Detachments, to wit, detachment from each of the four Attachments or Bonds (v.).

[277] vii. *Four . . . are hard to penetrate*:—the Four Concentrations, to wit, that leading to decline, that leading to maintenance, that leading to distinction, that leading to Nibbāna.

viii. *Four . . . to be brought to pass*:—the Four knowledges,⁴ to wit, knowledge of the Doctrine, know-

¹ Cakkāni, says B., are of five kinds: wheels of wood, as in a carriage; circlets of gems; the [symbolic] wheel of Dhamma (righteousness or law); the fourfold range of postures (standing, walking, sitting, lying); the vehicles or means of success (sampaṭṭi), as here.

² Cf. Vol. II. p. 327 f.; above, p. 214 (i.).

³ Cf. p. 219 (xvii.).

⁴ Cf. above, p. 218 (xi.).



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v. *Five . . . belonging to decline* :—the five spiritual barrennesses, to wit, doubt, in the Master, etc., mutual discord.¹

vi. *Five . . . belonging to distinction* :—the five spiritual faculties, to wit, faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, insight.

vii. *Five . . . hard to penetrate* .—the five elements favourable to deliverance, to wit, detachment from sensuous desires, ill will, cruelty, external objects and individuality.²

viii. *Five . . . to be brought to pass* :—the fivefold intuition of perfect concentration,³ to wit :—As a personal experience the intuition arises that (1) ‘this rapture is both a present happiness and a future result of happiness;’ (2) ‘this rapture is Ariyan, is unworldly;’ (3) [279] ‘this rapture is not a pursuit of any but the noblest men;’⁴ (4) ‘this rapture is good, excellent, has won tranquillization, has attained to mental uplift and concentration,⁵ and is not instigated nor opposed nor foiled;’⁶ (5) ‘this rapture I myself with mental clarity attain, and from it with mental clarity emerge.’

ix. *Five . . . to be thoroughly learnt* :—the five occasions of emancipation . . . (as on p. 229, xxv.).

x. *Five . . . to be realized* :—the five bodies of doctrine, to wit, morals, concentrative exercise, insight, emancipation, knowledge and insight requisite for emancipation.⁷

Now these Five Things are genuine, true, thus, not

¹ As in p. 227.

² Detailed as on p. 228 (xxiv.).

³ *Samādhī* (includes all the stages preliminary to ecstasy). Cf. ii.

⁴ *Akapuriso*, ‘to wit Buddhas, supermen, etc.’

⁵ Of this phrase *ekodibhāvādhigato* B. remarks : ‘because the rapture has been attained by mental uplift, etc., or because of mental uplift, etc., having been attained.’

⁶ On *sasankhāra* see Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 34, n. 1. Of *vāritavato* the readings in MSS. of the Comy. vary as much as those in the text. The only comment is *paccanīkadhamme gatattā*.

⁷ Cf. the four on p. 221.

otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

VI.

7. There are Six Things that help much, that are to be developed . . . realized.

i. *Six . . . that help much*:—the six occasions of fraternal living . . . [280] (*detailed as on p. 231*).

ii. *Six . . . to be developed*:—The six matters for recollection . . . (*detailed as on p. 234*).

iii. *Six . . . to be understood*:—the six (organs of sense or) fields of personal experience . . . (*detailed as on p. 230, i.*).

iv. *Six . . . to be eliminated*:—the six groups of cravings . . . (*detailed as on p. 231*).

v. *Six . . . belong to decline*:—the six forms of irreverence . . . (*detailed* *ibid.* ix.).

vi. *Six . . . belong to distinction*:—the six forms of reverence . . . (*detailed* *ibid.*).

vii. *Six . . . hard to penetrate*:—the six elements tending to deliverance . . . (*detailed as on p. 233*).

[281] viii. *Six . . . to be brought to pass*:—the six chronic states . . . (*detailed as on p. 234*).

ix. *Six . . . to be thoroughly learnt*:—the six unsurpassable experiences:—(*detailed* *ibid.*).

x. *Six . . . to be realized*:—the six superknowledges. Herein, friends, a brother (1) enjoys the wondrous gift¹ in its various modes:—being one, he becomes many . . . he becomes . . . invisible; he goes without obstruction through a wall . . . solid ground . . . on water . . . in the sky . . . he reaches with the body up to the heaven of Brahmā; (2) by deva-hearing, purified, surpassing that of men, he hears sounds both heavenly and human, far and near; (3) by his mind he understands the minds of other beings, other persons; he discerns the passionate mind as passionate . . . the freed mind as freed, the unfree mind as unfree; (4) he recalls to mind the various temporary

¹ *Iddhi* (Vol. I, 88 f.; cf. above, p. 253, x.).

states as he lived in days gone by, namely, one birth, or more . . . in all their details and their modes ; (5) with the deva-sight, purified, surpassing that of men, he discerns the pageant of beings faring according to their deeds ; (6) he lives in the attainment, the personal knowledge and realization, through the extinction of the intoxicants, of sane and immune freedom of heart and mind.

Now these Six Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

VII.

[282] 8. There are Seven Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Seven . . . that help much* :—the seven treasures, to wit :—faith . . . insight . . . (*as detailed on p. 235*).

ii. *Seven . . . to be developed* :—the seven factors of enlightenment, to wit, mindfulness . . . equanimity . . . (*as detailed ibid.*).

iii. *Seven . . . to be understood* :—the seven stations of consciousness :—(1) there are beings, brethren, who are diverse both in body and in mind . . . (*as detailed on p. 236*).

iv. *Seven . . . to be eliminated* :—the seven forms of latent bias, to wit, the bias of sensual passion . . . of ignorance (*as detailed on p. 237*).

v. *Seven . . . belonging to decline* :—the seven vicious qualities, to wit, want of faith . . . of insight (*as detailed on p. 235*).

vi. *Seven . . . belonging to increase* :—the seven virtuous qualities, to wit, *the opposites of the foregoing*.

[283] vii. *Seven . . . hard to penetrate* :—the seven qualities of the good, to wit, knowledge of the doctrine . . . of individuals (*as detailed ibid.*).

viii. *Seven . . . to be brought to pass* :—the seven perceptions, to wit, that of impermanence . . . of cessation (*as detailed ibid.*).

ix. *Seven . . . to be thoroughly understood* :—the



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perfecting those that have been attained. Herein, friends, (1) one dwells near the Master, or near a fellow-disciple occupying the place of teacher, whereby he is strongly established in conscientiousness, prudence, love, and respect. [285] (2) Under such circumstances he approaches his teachers from time to time and asks and considers, saying: 'Lord, how is this? What does this mean?' And to him those reverend ones reveal what is hidden, make plain what is obscure, and dispel any doubts in perplexing matters. (3) When he has heard their doctrine, he succeeds in obtaining a double serenity,¹ that of body and of mind. (4) Moreover, friends, a brother, virtuous, habitually self-restrained with the self-restraint of the Canon law, proficient in behaviour and propriety,² seeing danger in the smallest offence, undertakes to train himself in the stages of the training. This is the fourth. . . . (5) Moreover, friends, a brother having learnt much, bears what he has heard in mind and stores it up. And whatever doctrines, lovely in the beginning, in the middle, at the end, both in the letter and in the spirit, commend a religious life that is absolutely fulfilled and made quite pure, those doctrines are by such a brother much learnt, remembered, treasured by repetition, pondered in mind, well penetrated by intuition.³ This is the fifth. . . . (6) Moreover, friends, a brother is habitually stirring up energy for the elimination of bad qualities, the evoking of good qualities, indomitable, strongly progressing and never shirking with respect to what is good. This is the sixth. . . . [286] (7) Moreover, friends, he is clear-minded, supremely heedful and discriminating, noting and remembering what has long since been done and spoken. This is the seventh. . . . (8) Moreover, friends, a brother is habitually contemplating the rise and passing away of the five aggregates of grasping, to wit: 'Such is the material [aggregate], such its cause, its cessation.'

¹ V ū p a k ā s a. We have not elsewhere met with this word.

² G o c a r a: range, proper limits in thought and conduct.

³ Cf. above, p. 246. (2); cf. 230*.

Similarly for the four mental aggregates. This is the eighth condition, the eighth cause of such as conduce to attaining that wisdom in the fundamentals of religious life which have not been attained, to multiplying, expanding, developing, perfecting those that have been attained.

ii. *Eight to be developed*:—the Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right views, intentions, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration (*p.* 238, ii.).

iii. *Eight to be understood*:—the eight matters of worldly concern, to wit, gains and losses . . . (*as detailed on p.* 241).

iv. *Eight to be eliminated*:—[287] the eight wrong factors of character and conduct . . . (*as detailed on p.* 237).

v. *Eight . . . belonging to decline*:—the eight bases of slackness:—Herein, friends, let a brother have some work to do . . . (*as detailed on p.* 238).

vi. *Eight . . . belonging to distinction*:—the eight bases of setting afoot an undertaking:—Herein, friends, let a brother have some work to do . . . (*as detailed on p.* 239).

vii. *Eight . . . hard to penetrate*:—the eight untimely, unseasonable intervals for life in a religious order . . . (*as detailed on p.* 244, *but omitting the fourth*:—‘rebirth as Asura’).

viii. *Eight . . . to be brought to pass*:—the eight thoughts of a superman.¹ This Norm¹ is for one of little wants, not for one of great wants; for one who is serenely content, not for the discontented; for one who is detached,² not for one who is fond of society; for one who is energetic, not for the slacker; for one who has presence of mind, not a confused mind; for one whose mind is concentrated, not distracted; for one who has insight, not for the unintelligent; for one who delights

¹ The first seven are said to have been excogitated by the Thera Anuruddha. The Buddha adds the eighth, and repeats them all as a sermon to the Order. A. IV (a misprint in our text gives III), 229.

² ‘As to body, mind and the conditions for rebirth.’ Cōmy.

not in conceit, craving and opinion,¹ not for one who delights therein.

ix. *Eight to be thoroughly learnt*:—the eight positions of mastery . . . (as detailed on p. 241).

[288] x. *Eight to be realized*:—the eight deliverances . . . (as detailed on p. 242).

Now these Eight Things are genuine, true . . . perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

IX.

2. There are Nine Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Nine that help much*:—the nine states of mind and body which are rooted in orderly thinking²:—To one so thinking, gladness arises, in him gladdened, rapture arises, his mind enraptured the body is satisfied, one whose body is thus appeased is at ease, he being happily at ease, the mind is stayed, with mind thus stayed, concentrated, he knows he sees [things] as they really are, and he thus knowing thus seeing turns in repulsion, repelled he becomes passionless; hence he is set free.

ii. *Nine to be developed*:—the nine factors in wrestling for utter purity, to wit, the purification of morals, of the mind, of views, the purification of escaping from doubt, that of intuition and insight into what is the [genuine] path, and what is not, that of intuition and insight into progress, the purification which is intuition and insight, that which is understanding, that which is emancipation.³

¹ Expansion of *papañca*. This term is by the Commentators usually analyzed into these three, the term itself being left unequated.

² Cf. above, pp. 229, 251, vi.

³ On the later scheme of this 'purity,' cf. Compendium, p. 210 f. Here the first seven are given, the eighth is omitted (*paññā* occurs only twice in the book), the ninth is developed separately. B.'s sparse comments agree with the definitions, p. 212 f., but he refers the reader to Visuddhi Magga for more, also to the 'Ratha-Vinīta,' presumably M. I, Sutta 24, especially p. 147. The last two he calls the fruition of Arahantship. The Visuddhi Magga is an expansion of just these nine heads.



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ix. *Nine to be thoroughly learnt*:—the nine successional states, to wit, the Four Jhānas . . . (*detailed as on pp. 123, 215*).

x. *Nine to be realized*:—the nine successional cessations . . . (*detailed as on p. 245*).

Now these Nine Things are genuine, true . . . perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

X.

3. There are Ten Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Ten that help much*:—the ten doctrines conferring protection. (1) Herein, friends, a brother is virtuous, lives self-controlled . . . (*as detailed on p. 245 f.*).

ii. *Ten that must be developed*:—the ten objects for self-hypnosis . . . (*as detailed on p. 247*).

iii. *Ten that must be understood*:—the ten areas [of sense-contact],¹ to wit, the five organs of special sense and the five kinds of sense-objects.

iv. *Ten that must be eliminated*:—the ten wrong factors [of character and conduct], to wit, wrong views, wrong purposes, wrong speech, action and livelihood, wrong effort, mindfulness and concentrative practice, wrong knowledge, wrong emancipation.²

v. *Ten belonging to decline*:—the ten bad channels of action, to wit, taking life . . . (*as detailed on p. 247*).

[291] vi. *Ten belonging to distinction*:—the ten good channels of action, . . . to wit, the opposites of the ten in v.).

vii. *Ten hard to penetrate*:—the ten Ariyan methods of living. Herein, friends, a brother has got rid of five factors . . . (*as detailed ibid.*).

viii. *Ten that must be brought to pass*:—the ten perceptions, to wit, perception of ugliness, of death, of passionlessness, . . . (*as detailed on p. 263*), and of cessation.

¹ Or 'fields,' or 'spheres,' Āyatanaṇi. Cf. Expositor I, 186.

² Cf. the first eight, p. 237.

ix. *Ten to be thoroughly learnt* :—the ten causes of wearing away :—by right views wrong views are worn away ; whatever manifold bad and wicked qualities, proceeding from those wrong views, take shape, they are worn away in you. And many good qualities, caused by right views, become developed and brought to perfection. The same wearing away is wrought by the other nine factors of the tenfold Path¹ on the opposed nine wrong factors of character and conduct.²

[292] x. *Ten to be realized* :—the ten qualities of the adept, to wit, the ten factors (*detailed on p. 249, vi.*).

Now these Ten Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

Thus spake the venerable Sāriputta. And pleased in mind those brethren delighted in his words.

Here endeth the Dasuttara-Suttanta.

[ENVOI]

*To compass utter end of ill ;
To bring to pass true happiness ;
Haven ambrosial to win
Under the Sovereign of the Norm.*

Here endeth the Dīgha Nikāya or
Long-[Sutta]-Collection.

¹ Cf. x.

² Cf. iv.

APPENDIX.

NAMES IN ĀTĀNĀṬIYA SUTTANTA.

[NOTE.—In the list of names, p. 195, § 10, those who in the Canon are elsewhere met with as specifically Yakkhas, or as Gandhabbas *only* are marked *. Those who are also met with as Vedic gods are marked †.]

† Inda, Dial. I, 310, cf. II, 299, called Indra, II, 308 (in Saṅyutta I, 206, Petavatthu II, 9, 65, 66, we meet with an Inda-ka Yakkha).

† Soma, Dial. I, 310; II, 290.

† Varuna, Dial. I, 310; II, 290; S. I, 219.

Bhāradvāja (?); in Dial. I, 304 an ancient brahmin Rishi.
Cf. Vin. Texts II, 130.

† Pajāpati, Dial. I, 310; II, 308; S. I, 219.

Candana, Dial. II, 288; M. III, 199; S. I, 53; IV, 280.

* Kāmasettha, Dial. II, 288 (misprinted in Dial. II, 288 as Rāma°).

* Kinnughandu, Dial. II, 288.

* Nighandu, Dial. II, 288.

Panāda, Dial. II, 288, cf. above, p. 76; Psalms of the Brethren, 130; other references *ibid.*, *n.* 1.

Opamañña, Dial. II, 288.

Devasūta.

Mātali, Dial. II, 288; S. I, 221 f.; Jāt. I, 202; V, 383, 397.

* Cittasena, Dial. II, 288.

* Naḷa, Dial. II, 288.

* Suro Rājā (? Suro *and* Rājā).

* Janesabha, Dial. II, 288.

* Sātāgira, Sn., ver. 153 f.

* Hemavata, Sn., ver. 154 f.

* Puṇṇaka, Jāt. VI, 255 f.

Karatiya.

Gula.

* Sīvaka, S. I, 211; Vin. Texts III, 181 f.

Mucalinda, in Vin. Texts I, 80 a nāga king.

Vessāmitta, Dial. II, 287; in I, 304 an ancient brahmin Rishi.



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 Wanderers (paribbājaka), 109, 122 f., 141, *n.* 1; park, 33

Ward runes, guardian spells, 185 f., 189 f.
 Wealth, evolution of, etc., 65 f.; spiritual=love, etc., 76
 Wearing away, 265
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 Well-awareness, 215
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 Wheel, celestial, 60 f., 137 f.; orbit, 254
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 Wisdom (bodhi), wings or parts of, 91. See Enlightenment; (paññā), 149, 259; (vijjā), 214. See also Insight, Intuition, Knowledge, Understood
 Women not 'chattels,' 192
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Work, 239, 261. See Karma
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 Worlds, of the Three-and-Thirty, etc., 17, 241; Radiant, etc., 26, 82 f., 212, 236; unconscious, 30 f.; Brahmā, 26, 241; evolution of, 82 f.; theories of, 129; Pure Abodes, 227
 Worthy persons, 236, 238
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 Yakkhas, 188 f.; mostly not moral, 189
 Yang and Yin, 55
 Yugandhara, 196
 Zeal, 250

II.—PALI WORDS DISCUSSED IN FOOTNOTES OR HERE.

Akālika, 10, n. 5
 Attā, n. 2
 Advejjhavāco (p. 160): advejjha-kathāya parisuddhakathāya kathita-bhāvaṃ assa sadevako loko iminā kāraṇena jānatū ti. Cf. Buddhavaṃsa, ii., 110: advejjhavadanā Buddhā. = advaidhya (E. Müller, Pali Gram., 54)
 Adhipaññatti (p. 138). *Practically identical in meaning with paññatti, and sixfold*:—khandha, dhātu, āyatana, indriya, sacca, puggala. Comy.
 Anudhamma = anurūpadhamma (XII., 16).
 Anukampati, 171
 Anusaya, 237, n. 2
 Antaggahikā diṭṭhi, 41, n. 2
 Abhicetasika, 108, n. 2
 Abhidhamme abhivinaye, 246, n. 3
 Abhejja, cf. A. I, 124
 Asani-vicakka, 40, n. 2.
 Avīci, 73, n. 1
 Ahicchattako, 83, n. 1
 Ākāśānañca. *When Jhāna is meant, construe the sentence as ākāśānañca āyatanaṃ assā ti ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ. When object is meant, construe*:—ākāśānañcam eva āyatanaṃ, or ākāśānañca taṃ āyatanañcā ti ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ. (Comy.)

Āghātaṃ bandhati=kopaṇ uppādeti, 243
 Āpāthakanisādi, 40, n. 3
 Āraddho: paritosito ceva nipphādito ca (p. 174)
 Āsava, 175, n. 1, 209, n. 3
 Āsādimhase, 15, n. 1
 Āhāra, 204, n. 2, 219
 Ekakhuraṇ katvā, 193, n. 1
 Ekodibhāva, 123, n. 2, 256, n. 5
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 Kiñcana, 210, n. 7
 Kukkuṭasampātikā, 72, n. 2
 Kusala, 27, n. 3
 Kusalatā, 205, n. 6
 Catukunṭiko, 11, n. 4
 Thānaṃ ti kāraṇaṃ, 174; cf. 249, n. 1. Cf. Sum. V. i., 112
 Tiracchānakathā, 33, n. 2
 Tuṇḍikīra, 192, n. 5
 Diṭṭhisampanno, 206, n. 10
 Dīpa, 59, n. 3
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 Dhammakāyo, 81, n. 2

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 Dhammanvayo, 96, *n.* 1
 Dhammapadāni, 220
 Dhātu, 205, *n.* 4, 208, *n.* 4, *n.* 6,
 251, *n.* 7

Nāmaṇ, 205, *n.* 2
 Niddesa, 235, *n.* 3
 Nibbāna, 208, *n.* 5
 Nibbuti=kilesanibbāna, 190, *n.* 1
 Nimittaṇ, 206, *n.* 8
 Niyata, 210, *n.* 4
 Nirodha as vibhava, 209, *n.* 1
 Necayika, 18, *n.* 1
 Nekkhamma, 208, *n.* 2

Paccattam yoniso manasikāro
 ti attanō upāyamanasikārena (p.
 102; cf. p. 2)
 Paccupaṭṭhātabba, 171
 Paññattā ti ṭhapitā. Comy.
 Paññā, 249, *n.* 1
 Paṭibhānavā, 183, *n.* 1
 Paṭibhāno, 102, *n.* 3
 Paṭisaraṇa, 112, *n.* 2
 Padhāna, 217, *n.* 1
 Papañca, 262, *n.* 1
 Pariyāyam akāsi (p. 7). Cf. Sum.
 Vil. I, 36. *Pariyāyo here prob-*
ably means kāraṇam. In Mil.
219 (trs. II, 15) kāraṇaṇ karoti is
rendered 'to bring (land) into
use.' In Saṅyutta I, 17 pariyāyo,
'matter,' is by the Comy. para-
phrased by kāraṇaṇ (K.S. I, 27)
 Paripuṇṇa-sankappo, 39, *n.* 2
 Pasādo, pasanno, pasīdi, 97, *n.* 2
 Piyasamudāhāro, 246, *n.* 1
 Puggala, 223, *n.* 5

Bodhipakkhiyā dhammā, 93, *n.* 1 ;
 97, 120
 Brahma, 81, *n.* 2, 223, *n.* 5
 Brahmācariyesanā, 209, *n.* 4
 Brahmācārino, 117, *n.* 2
 Bhavābhavo, 220, *n.* 3

Bhonto sattā, 47, *n.* 1
 Mittāni, 180, *n.* 2
 Mutaṇ, 127, *n.* 2, 223, *n.* 4
 Meraya. *It is worthy of note that*
meraya comprises four āsavas,
extracted from flowers, fruits,
honey and molasses, and fifthly
the āsava which is sambhāra-
saṅyutto. Cf. Childers s.v. sam-
bhāra
 Moneyyāni, 213, *n.* 7

Yoniso, 218, *n.* 8

Lokadhātu, 108, *n.* 3

Vijanavātāni, 35, *n.* 1
 Vijjā, 207, *n.* 1
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n. 1
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 Sankappa, 208, *n.* 3, 237, *n.* 5
 Sankhāra, 204, *n.* 2 ; °ā, 211, *n.* 3 ;
 cf. 220 ; āneñjābhi°, 211, *n.* 3^a
 Sangītipariyāyo, 249, *n.* 2
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 Saññā, 263, *n.* 3
 Satata, 234, *n.* 2
 Sadattho, p. 79, *n.* 3
 Sappaṭihīrakataṃ, 115, *n.* 1
 Samavekkhati : *in* Comy. samapek-
 khati=sammā pekkhati, (p. 184)
 Sārāṇiyā (dhammā), 231. *On the*
double meaning see Childers s.v.
 Cf. Dial. II, 85 (XXXIII, 2, 2, xiv.)
 Sukha, 123, *n.* 1
 Suppaṭividhaṇ=suṭṭhu paccak-
 khaṇ kataṇ, 230
 Suhadā ti sundarahadayā, 178



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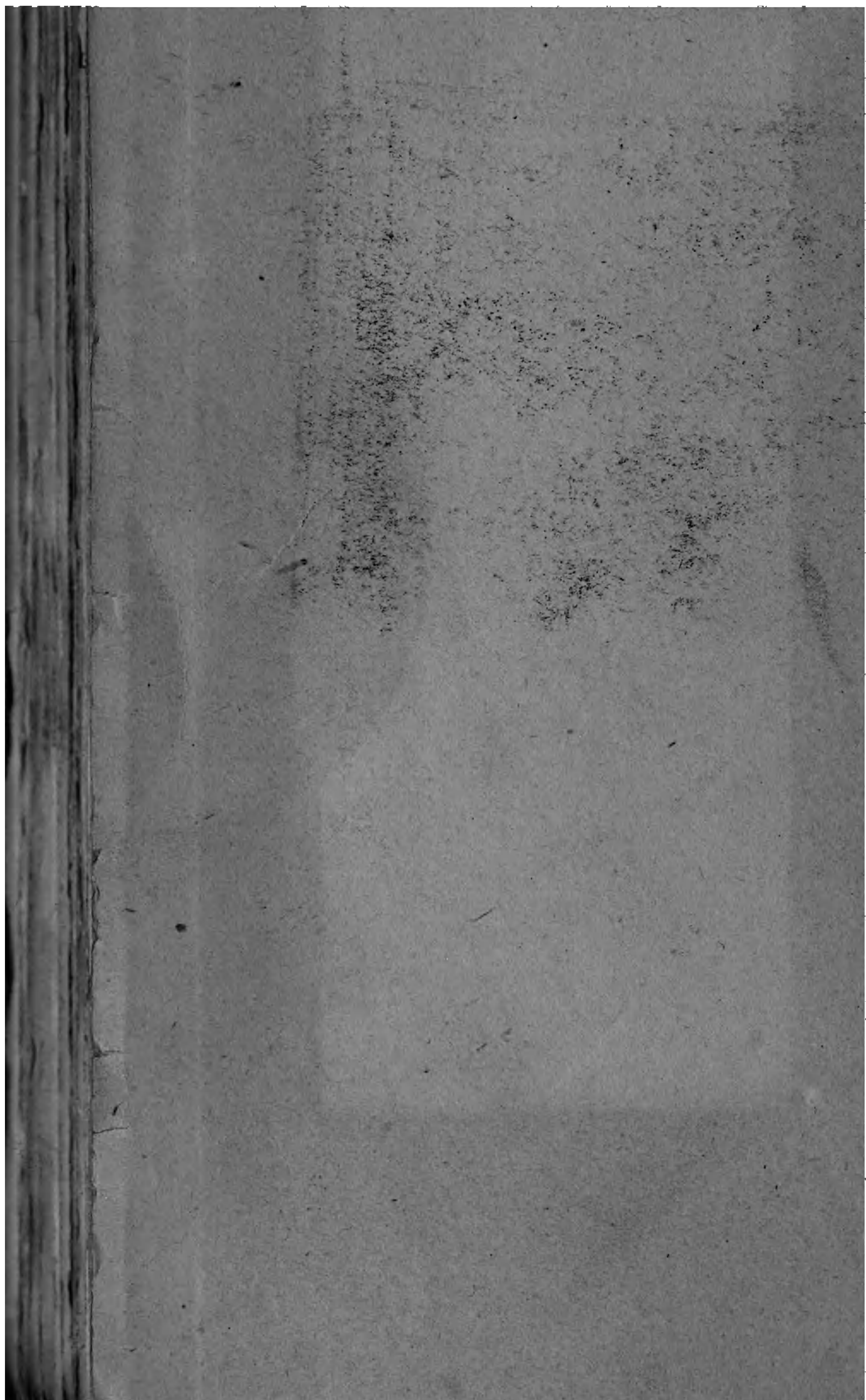
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