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THE INCEPTION OF DISCIPLINE AND THE VINAYA NIDĀNA

Being a Translation and Edition of the Bāhiranidāna of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā, the Vinaya Commentary

by

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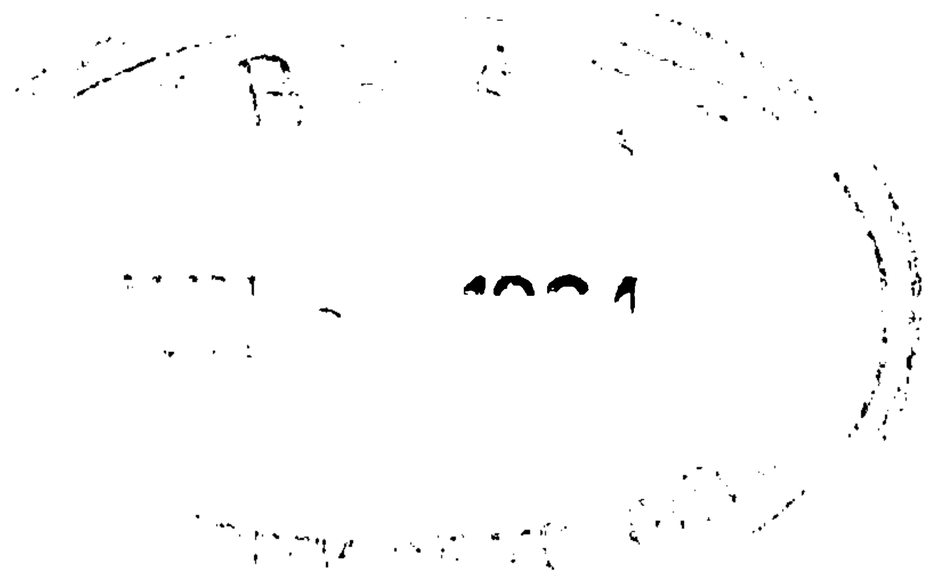

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE ix

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION xi

The Inception of Discipline

I. THE PREAMBLE

1. The Proem 1
2. The Tabulation 2

II. THE FIRST GREAT CONVOCATION

3. Mahākassapa kindles the Enthusiasm of the Monks . . 3
4. The Selection of Monks for the Convocation . . . 4
5. Ānanda 5
6. Rājagaha, the Venue of the Convocation 6
7. The Monks journey to Rājagaha 6
8. Ānanda's Visit to Savatthi 7
9. The Repairs to the Eighteen Great Monasteries . . . 8
10. Ajātasattu builds a Pavilion 8
11. Ānanda attains Arahatship 9
12. Ānanda enters the Convocation Hall 10
13. Upāli elected to recite the Vinaya 11
14. Upāli recites the Vinaya 11
15. Ānanda recites the Dhamma 13
16. The Classification of the Teaching : the Tabulation . . 14
17. The Uniformity in Sentiment 14
18. The Division into Dhamma and Vinaya 14
19. The Division into the First, Intermediate and Last Words . 14
20. The Division into Piṭakas 15
21. The Definition of Vinaya 16
22. The Definition of Dhamma 16
23. The Definition of Abhidhamma 17
24. The Significance of the Term Piṭaka 18
25. The Content of the Three Piṭakas—I 19
26. The Content of the Three Piṭakas—II : Training, Avoidance, Profundity 20
27. The Fourfold Profundity 20
28. The Three Modes of Learning 21
29. Success or Failure in the Learning 22
30. The Division into Nikāyas 24

PAGE

31. The Division into Aṅgas 25
32. The Division into Units of the Dhamma 26
33. The Conclusion of the Recital 26

III. THE SECOND GREAT CONVOCATION

34. The Meaning of the Tabulation 27
35. The Succession of Teachers in Jambudīpa 28
36. Upāli, Dāsaka, Soṇaka 28
37. Siggava to Moggaliputta 29
38. The Second Convocation 29
39. The Great Brahma Tissa 31
40. Siggava and Caṇḍavajji 32

IV. THE THIRD GREAT CONVOCATION

41. The Brahmin Moggali 33
42. The Buddha-manta 34
43. Moggaliputta Tissa learns the Dhammavinaya . . . 36
44. Asoka's Supernatural Powers 37
45. The Offering of the Gaze 38
46. The Feeding of the Mendicants 39
47. The Novice Nigrodha 39
48. Asoka wins Faith in the Dhamma 40
49. Asoka builds 84,000 Monasteries 43
50. The Festival of Dedication 44
51. An Heir of the Dispensation 44
52. Mahinda and Saṅghamittā ordained 45
53. The Elder Kontiputta Tissa 46
54. The Entry of Heretics into the Order 46
55. The Interruption of the Uposatha 47
56. The Viceroy Tissa enters the Order 48
57. The Minister's misguided Act 50
58. The King seeks Moggaliputta Tissa's Aid 50
59. The Arrival of the Elder at Pāṭaliputta 51
60. Moggaliputta Tissa's Miracle. 52
61. The Elder clears the King's Doubt 53
62. The Restoration of the Purity of the Dispensation . . 54

V. THE SUCCESSION OF TEACHERS

63. The Succession of Teachers in Tambapaṇṇi 55
64. The Despatch of the Missions 56
65. Majjhantika in Kasmīra-Gandhāra 57
66. Mahādeva in Mahiṃsaka Maṇḍala 59
67. Rakkhita in Vanavāsi 59
68. Dhammarakkhita in Aparanta 59
69. Mahādhammarakkhita in Mahāraṭṭah. 59
70. Mahārakkhita in the Yona Kingdom 60

Contents

		PAGE
71.	Majjhima in the Himalayan Region	60
72.	Soṇa and Uttara in Suvaṇṇabhūmi	60
73.	Mahinda visits his Kinsmen	61
74.	Mahinda awaits his Departure to Tambapaṇṇi	62
75.	Mahinda arrives at the Cetiyapabbata	63
76.	The Succession of Rulers	63
77.	Devānampiyatissa meets Mahinda	64
78.	The Exchange of Gifts	65
79.	Devānampiyatissa meets Mahinda's Companions	67
80.	The Riddle of the Mango Tree	67
81.	Devānampiyatissa wins Faith in the Dhamma	68
82.	Mahinda preaches the Dhamma	69
83.	The Discourse in the King's Palace	69
84.	The Founding of the Mahāvihāra	71
85.	The First Rains-Residence	72
86.	Ariṭṭha (1) enters the Order	73
87.	The King undertakes to build a Thūpa	73
88.	Sumana obtains Relics	74
89.	The King receives the Relics	75
90.	The Buddha Kakusandha	76
91.	The Buddha Koṇāgamana	77
92.	The Buddha Kassapa	77
93.	The Building of the Thūpa	78
94.	The Enshrinement of the Relics	79
95.	Ariṭṭha (2) despatched as Envoy to Pāṭaliputta	80
96.	Saṅghamittā decides to go to Tambapaṇṇi	81
97.	The Golden Vase	81
98.	The Great Bodhi plants itself in the Vase	83
99.	The Dedication of the Sovereignty of Jambudīpa	84
100.	The Great Bodhi reaches Tāmalitti	85
101.	The Departure of the Great Bodhi	86
102.	The Great Bodhi reaches Anurādhapura	86
103.	The Young Bodhi Trees	88
104.	Sites of Future Monuments	89
105.	The Roots of the Dispensation	90
106.	The Vinaya Recital	91
107.	The Conclusion of the External Story of the Vinaya	92

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 94

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION 95

GENERAL INDEX 119

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES 126

LIST OF UNTRANSLATED PALI WORDS 131

Samantapāsādikāya Bāhiranidānaṃ

PAGE

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES 134

I. SAṂVAṆṆANĀYA ĀRAMBHO 135

II. PAṬHAMAMAHĀSAṄGĪTĪVAṆṆANĀ . . . 138

III. DUTIYAMAHĀSAṄGĪTĪVAṆṆANĀ . . . 157

IV. TATIYAMAHĀSAṄGĪTĪVAṆṆANĀ 162

V. ĀCARIYAPARAMPARĀVAṆṆANĀ 180

INDEX TO PALI TEXT 215

PREFACE

I have taken the liberty of contracting the phrase Vinayassa Bāhiranidānaṃ (Smp. 107) to Vinayanidāna in using the title " Inception of Discipline " in this book. The text on which the translation is based is printed as the second part of this book. The text is essentially based on the Sinhalese edition of the Samantapāsādikā by Baddegama Piyaratana and Välivițiye Sorata Nāyaka Theras, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest, Vol. XXVII, and the Pali Text Society's edition by Takakusu and Nagai. Other available printed editions of the text have been compared in re-editing the text. It was not considered necessary to go to manuscripts, as a representative number of them has been consulted by the previous editors and the variant readings noted. It has been necessary to differ from the P.T.S. edition in a number of instances. A minor departure from earlier editions is the division of the text into numbered paragraphs. However, it has not been possible to confine each numbered paragraph to a single topic as the topics themselves merge into one another. Even if this had been possible, it would have unnecessarily multiplied the paragraphs into an unwieldy number for a short text of this nature. It is hoped that this division, as well as the inclusion, in square brackets, both in the translation and the text, of the page numbers of the P.T.S. edition, will be useful to the reader for ready reference.

The present translation of the Bāhiranidāna was more or less completed as far back as 1956, but for various reasons its publication had to be delayed. I had earlier requested Dr. G. C. Mendis to write an historical introduction from a historian's point of view. His retirement from the University of Ceylon and the consequent departure from Peradeniya finally resulted in the idea being given up. He, however, made available to me a manuscript containing a translation to part of the Bāhiranidāna. Wherever possible it was made use of. I thank him for suggesting to me to make this translation, particularly on account of its being a useful source-book for the early history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

My sincere thanks are due to Miss I. B. Horner, M.A., President of the Pali Text Society, for giving me every encouragement and assistance and for carefully reading through the manuscript and making many valuable suggestions and supplying a good deal of information which has now been included in the notes to the translation. I also thank her for kindly agreeing to publish this work in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series. My thanks are also due to Dr. L. S. Perera of the University of Ceylon, and Mr. D. T. Devendra, of the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Peradeniya, who have helped me with some important topographical details of ancient Anuradhapura.

The Bāhiranidāna

The Bāhiranidāna is the introductory chapter to Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā, the Commentary to the Vinaya Piṭaka. This introduction is primarily meant to explain the Nidāna, the "inception" or "origin" of the Vinaya. The author is anxious that no relevant detail, however insignificant, is left out in his description of the Nidāna. The long analysis of the classification of the Teachings (Smp. 16 ff.), the laborious details regarding Moggaliputta Tissa (Smp. 39 ff.), the Asoka legend (Smp. 44 ff.), the description of the missions sent out after the Third Convocation (Smp. 64 ff.), the Conversion of Ceylon (Smp. 73 ff.), and all the episodes connected with it, form but important links in the narrative dealing with the Nidāna of the Vinaya. His aim is to establish the authenticity of the Vinaya before proceeding to compile its commentary. Buddhaghosa first defines the term Vinaya as the entire Vinaya Piṭaka as known to him. He next introduces his mātikā, "tabulation" for the exposition as a preliminary step, before dealing with the actual text of the Vinaya: Vuttaṃ yena yadā yasmā dhāritaṃ yena câbhataṃ, yatthappatiṭṭhitaṃ c'etaṃ . . . "By whom it was said, when and for what reason, held by whom, where it was established . . ." (Smp. 2). In providing the answers to the six items in the tabulation Buddhaghosa has furnished us with a great deal of information which has hitherto not been presented in such comprehensive manner, though the introductory chapters to the Sumaṅgalavilāsnī and Atthasālinī cover more or less the same ground from the angle of the Sutta and the Abhidhamma respectively, while the Chronicles discuss them from altogether a different angle. He has deemed it fit that each of these topics in the tabulation should have a satisfactory explanation, especially for the sake of clarity and easy comprehension. In answer to the question, "by whom was the statement, *tena kho pana samayena Buddho bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharati* . . ." made, he proceeds to give a complete account of the Convocation itself "for the sake of

familiarity with the source" (Smp. 3 ff.). After the account of the rehearsal of the Dhammavinaya he gives a disquisition on the classification of the Word of the Buddha defining the content and character of each of the units in the classification (Smp. 16 ff.). This discussion is, with some difficulty, incorporated in the story of the Recital as it does not harmonize with the general trend of the narrative, but is joined to it with the words, "Thus this Word of the Buddha which is uniform in sentiment . . . was rehearsed together . . . and not only this, but other divers distinctions in compilation to be met with in the Three Piṭakas . . . have been determined when it was thus rehearsed together in seven months" (Smp. 33). It hardly has any bearing on the narrative proper, but is primarily designed to show the relationship in which the various component parts of the Canon stand to one another. Ultimately Buddhaghosa traces the Vinaya, as well as the rest of the sayings of the Buddha in their present form, to the First Great Convocation and explains the meaning of the words, "by whom was it said, when and for what reason?" (Smp. 34). In dealing with the significance of the words, "by whom this was retained in mind, handed down by whom and established in whom" he traces the history of the Vinaya from the Tathāgata (Smp. 35), in successive stages, to each of the three Convocations and finally to the Vinaya Recital of Mahā-Ariṭṭha in Ceylon under the presidentship of Mahinda (Smp. 106). His primary aim is to establish that it is the Vinaya in its pristine purity (amissa) that he is commenting upon. Therefore it is imperative that the stages by which it has reached him should be traced. The succession of Teachers from Upāli brought it down to the time of the Second Convocation and the Theras "again rehearsed the entire Dhamma and the Vinaya . . . even in the same manner as it was rehearsed by the Elder Mahākassapa" (Smp. 38).

The account of the Third Great Convocation is given in even greater detail than the first two. The Elders who held the Second Recital foresaw that an even greater calamity than the ten indulgences of the Vajjiputtakas would befall the Dispensation in Dhammâsoka's reign and were compelled to take adequate steps to meet the situation when the calamity would arise (Smp. 39 ff.). Much space is devoted to Moggaliputta Tissa

before coming to Asoka (at Smp. 44 ff.). The wealth of legendary details has but little bearing on the actual Nidāna of the Vinaya except to show the conditions that necessitated the Third Great Convocation. The King's conversion, his services to the Dispensation, his anxiety to become an " heir " of the Dispensation, and the lavish gifts he showered on the Saṅgha are described at length (Smp. 48 ff.). The interruption of the Uposatha due to heretics who had furtively entered the Order for personal gains (Smp. 55) and the King's abortive attempt to revive it through his minister Mahādeva (Smp. 57) and the consequent remorse and doubt that led to his seeking Moggaliputta Tissa's aid to remove his doubt and stabilize the Dispensation as well (Smp. 58 ff.) are all significant episodes in the story of the Third Convocation. The Elder clears the King's doubt absolving him from all responsibility of his minister's misguided act (Smp. 61). The purification of the Dispensation begins with the King himself learning the Teaching from the Elder and putting the heretics and the monks to a simple test by asking them the question, " What teaching did the Perfectly Enlightened One expound ? " The heretics all to a man answer making the Buddha responsible for each one of their theories leaving the King in such a state of mental confusion that when the true monks reply that the Buddha was an exponent of the analytical doctrine the King has to seek confirmation from Moggaliputta Tissa even in spite of the earlier instruction he has had from the Elder. At this preliminary meeting designed to ensure the purity of the Dispensation, the King plays a prominent rôle in uniting the Saṅgha by disrobing the heretics giving them white garments (in order to remove all outward emblems of their monkhood—cp. Dpv. vii, 53), and expelling them for good from the Saṅgha (uppabbājesi), so that in later years in reminiscent mood he could allude to this incident in his Minor Pillar Edicts of Sārnāth, Kosāmbi, and Sāñci (Smp. 62, n. 4). The Saṅgha is cleansed of the undesirable elements and the King requests the monks to hold the Uposatha. The Uposatha that was interrupted for seven years is held again. Moggaliputta Tissa not being content with the mere physical expulsion of the heretics from the Saṅgha through the intervention of the

temporal authority, refutes all heretical theories by reciting, in the assembly, the Kathāvatthu so that the defeat of the heretics is doubly assured even at an intellectual level. Next, 1,000 monks recite together the Dhamma and the Vinaya in the self-same manner as it was done at the two previous Convocations (Smp. 62).

The rest of the narrative though entitled " The Succession of Teachers ", covers a much wider range of subjects than does each of the four previous sections in the Bāhiranidāna. It starts with the succession of Teachers from Upāli in India to Siva in Ceylon to a date reckoned as " the present day " by the Porāṇa tradition on which Buddhaghosa has based his account (Smp. 63). It is in dealing with the story connected with the succession of Teachers that the nine missions sent out by Moggaliputta Tissa to the " Border Districts " are described (Smp. 64 ff.). The validity of all formal acts of the Saṅgha in the respective regions is assured by sending groups of five monks each, the minimum required for conferring the higher ordination in a border district. The mission to Ceylon is discussed in great detail (Smp. 73 ff.) and covers about a third of the story in the Bāhiranidāna. The important episodes in it are : the arrival of Mahinda (Smp. 75), the Conversion of Devānampiyatissa (Smp. 81), his envoys to the court of Pāṭaliputta (Smp. 78, 95 f.), the founding of the Mahāvihāra (Smp. 84), the building of the Thūpârāma (Smp. 93), the coming of Saṅghamittā and the Great Bodhi (Smp. 96–103), and the Vinaya Recital of Mahā-Ariṭṭha (Smp. 106). In giving the date of Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon as 236 years after the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha a chronological list of kings of Magadha and Ceylon is recorded dating events that took place in Ceylon from the regnal years of the contemporary Indian kings (Smp. 76). Mahinda entrusts the burden of the preservation and continuity of the Dispensation by " making its roots descend deep " into the soil of Laṅkā when he has found in Mahā-Ariṭṭha a competent person to learn the Vinaya and teach it in the Island (Smp. 105). It is Ariṭṭha's successors who handed down the Vinaya to the so-called " present day ". The authenticity of the Vinaya is thus established and the mātikā is fully explained once the External Story connected

with the Vinaya is narrated. After this Buddhaghosa is free to proceed to his exposition of the Vinaya.

The Mahāvihāra Tradition

This, very briefly, is what the Bāhiranidāna deals with. Leaving aside the many interesting problems that arise from its contents, which have already been dealt with by others in some form or another with reference to the Samantapāsādikā or the Pali Chronicles, a few words about the Samantapāsādikā itself are necessary at this stage, while some of the problems connected with the Bāhiranidāna can be taken up for discussion later on.

The prologue and the colophon of the Samantapāsādikā furnish us with a good deal of information. Buddhaghosa's own words in the opening stanzas eloquently speak of the commentary he is about to compile. As is usually the case with all his commentaries, it is by no means an original exegesis, but a restatement of the material available to him in the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā, for, in his own words it is a navasaṅgahitavaṇṇanā, "a re-compiled commentary" (Smp. P.T.S., 1414). His implicit faith in the pubbâcariyā ," the teachers of yore," and his reliance on their authority in his exposition of the Vinaya are clearly expressed in his opening words (see Smp. 1, n. 1). Both in the prologue and in the colophon he acknowledges his indebtedness to the three main versions of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā, the Mahā (or Mūla)-Aṭṭhakathā, the Mahāpaccariya, and the Kurundi which he studied under the "wise Elder Buddhamitta who was proficient in the Vinaya" (Smp. P.T.S., 1415). This indebtedness to the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā is true of all his commentaries, for Buddhaghosa constantly refers to his commentaries being based on the earlier commentaries available in the language of the Island; e.g. in the colophons to the commentaries on the four prose Nikāyas the following hemistisches occur, among other parallel stanzas: sā hi Mahā-Aṭṭhakathāya sāram ādāya niṭṭhitā mayā, "for, it was compiled by me drawing the essence of the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā," and, Mūl 'aṭṭhakathāya sāram ādāya mayā imaṃ karontena, "while I was compiling this drawing the essence of the Mūla-Aṭṭhakathā," both of which refer to the Mahāvihāra version of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā.

There has been a great tradition of Vinaya learning in Ceylon from the time of its first recital under Mahinda (Smp. 106). It is the aim of the Bāhiranidāna to show the continuity of this tradition right up to the time of the finalization of the original documents on which the Samantapāsādikā is based. On account of the position of importance assigned to the Vinaya in the Theravāda in its development in Ceylon (see Smp. 1, n. 2), the views of its custodians are of utmost value as regards its correct interpretation. This is equally true as regards the interpretation of the Dhamma, for the learning in the Dhammavinaya, taken as a whole, is looked upon as a system that has evolved in the Mahāvihāra. The frequent statements in the colophons to the commentaries on the Four Āgamas, samayaṃ pakāsayantī Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ (with minor variations, and also in other commentaries attributed to Buddhaghosa), " advancing the corpus of traditional views of the Mahāvihāra Fraternity," or other frequent statements in the prologues to the Āgama Commentaries, such as,

> Samayaṃ avilomento therānaṃ theravaṃsappadīpānaṃ
> sunipuṇavinicchayānaṃ Mahāvihārâdhivāsīnaṃ,
> hitvā punnappunâgatam atthaṃ atthaṃ pakāsayissāmi ;

" I shall expound the meaning (thereof) avoiding repetitions of exegeses, not contradicting the corpus of traditional views of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, of profoundly mature judgments, the shining lamps of the lineage of Elders " can equally apply in the case of the Vinaya Commentary. The Jātakaṭṭhakathā (also attributed to Buddhaghosa), in its prologue states, " I will declare the exposition of the meaning of the Jātaka basing it on the method of discourse of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra " (JA. i, 1, stt. 10 f.). A similar statement is made in the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, the Commentary on the Pātimokkha (p. 1, st. 6). In the Atthasālinī, Buddhaghosa stresses the purity of the views of the Mahāvihāra : " (I shall make my exposition) illustrating the unconfused judgments of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra which are uncontaminated by the views of other Sects " (DhsA., 2, st. 16). It is apparent that the system evolved in the Mahāvihāra through the centuries was so comprehensive and thorough that it was jealously

guarded by its custodians and won the admiration of men of the calibre of Buddhaghosa. That aspect of the Mahāvihāra tradition pertaining to the Vinaya concerns us here, and further, the Mahāvihāra being a centre of Vinaya learning, the authoritative statements of the vinayadhara monks were faithfully handed down from generation to generation and formed an integral part of the " samaya " of the Mahāvihāra. These monks were the scholiasts or the schoolmen of the Theravāda in Ceylon and were responsible for the tradition that was crystallized in the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā and played the most significant rôle in the evolution of these commentaries until they were recast and remoulded by Buddhaghosa. Further " growth " was arrested as a result of Buddhaghosa's rewriting them in Pali. Evidence is not lacking for the survival of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā even after Buddhaghosa and the other Commentators that followed, though they finally went into oblivion in due course. The statement that they were burned in a huge bonfire (Buddhaghosuppatti, 7) is merely a figurative way of stating that they no longer served any purpose. The disappearance of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā is looked upon by writers as a great blow to the development of Sinhalese literature. However that may be, it is decidedly the fruits of the endeavours of the " teachers of yore " in some finalized form that were available to Buddhaghosa when he started compiling his Commentaries and paved the way for the perfect commentarial literature in Pali available to-day, perhaps unrivalled by that of any other School of Buddhism.

The terms Aṭṭhakathika and Aṭṭhakathâcariya mentioned in a large number of Commentaries (see EHBC, 14, nn. 9–11) directly refer to these teachers (the banners of the Mahā-vihāra—Smp. 1, st. 7), who contributed to the growth of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā. The judgments of these " Sons of the Enlightened One " were taken into consideration when commentaries were written in the past (Smp. 1, st. 13) while incorrect statements such as those found in the Andhaka (in great abundance !) and genuine scribes' errors (pamādalekha, Smp. 1, st. 14) in the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā (e.g. at Smp. P.T.S., 311) are dispensed with. A good example of this can be seen (at Smp. P.T.S., 495 f.) in the comments on the conditions

under which a monk suffers " Defeat " when he lays claims to transcendental attainments. The opinion of the Elder Phussadeva is cited but is immediately dismissed as " even his pupils rejected his view ". He adds in his comments that a monk does not suffer Defeat when he acknowledges the attainment of analytic insight excluding that pertaining to the transcendental sphere. Next he quotes the Saṅkhepa as stating that even if one lays claims to atthapaṭisambhidā, the first item among the fourfold analytic insight, one suffers Defeat, whereas this is contradicted by the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā. It goes to the extent of saying that one does not suffer Defeat even if one declares one's attainment of cessation. The statement made in the Mahāpaccariya and its abridged version Saṅkhepa, that when a monk discloses his attainment of cessation in order to lead another to infer that he is an Arahant or an Anāgāmī, and if the latter infers so, then he is guilty of the pārājika offence (Defeat), should, according to Buddhaghosa, be carefully examined before it is accepted. He further adds that the Saṅkhepa states that a monk does not suffer Defeat if he refers to his attainments reached in previous existences, but jestingly adds that its statement regarding the present existence too is rejected (why talk about past existences !). The views of eminent Theras who differed from the interpretations of the recognized Commentaries such as the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, e.g. Mahāpaduma (Smp. P.T.S., 283, 454, etc. in all twenty-seven references) and views expressed by other eminent Theras recorded as being accepted by commentaries, e.g. the Ceylon monk (first century A.C.), Mahāsumma's interpretation of a Vinaya rule accepted by the Andhakaṭṭhakathā (Smp. P.T.S., 646, etc., twenty-four references), are also taken into consideration. Adikaram (EHBC, 81) observes that Buddhaghosa, in the Samantapāsādikā pays great tribute to the views of both Mahāpaduma and Mahāsumma : " There are instances where Mahāpaduma's expositions are considered to be as authoritative as those given in the Mahāpaccarī, Kurundi, and Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā. . . . Different views and interpretations of the Vinaya as put forward by these two theras occur very frequently in the Samantapāsādikā." The views of Teachers often referred to in Buddhaghosa's Commentaries invariably

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tradition attributing the earliest exegetical activity in Ceylon to Mahinda when he furnished explanations to the Teachings in the language of the Island. He naturally interpreted the Word of the Buddha in a spoken idiom intelligible to the people. The Sinhalese Prakrit of the third century B.C. could have been quite akin to some of the Prakrit dialects current in Aryan India at the time, especially to those of the Western group of Prakrits, and to Sauraseni and Mahinda's own Āvanti. This similarity, to some extent, can be established by comparing the language of the earliest known inscriptions of Ceylon [1] with Asokan Pali and the early dramatic and literary Prakrits. By the fifth century A.C., after a lapse of nearly six and a half centuries, when Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon, the extant exegetical tradition, both recorded and oral, was in a language that was no longer intelligible to "monks from overseas", and differed considerably from the idiom of the Pali Canon, as may be seen from recorded specimens of the Sinhalese Prakrit of this period. Hence, in Buddhaghosa's opinion it was necessary to translate the then available commentaries into Pali. In doing so he pays tribute to the Sinhalese language calling it a manoramā bhāsā, "a delightful language." He says in the prologues to the commentaries on the Four Āgamas, in the Atthasālinī (and in the Dhammpadaṭṭhakathā) that he will expound the meaning "having divested it of the Sihaḷa language, a delightful language as it is, and translate it into the flawless idiom compatible with the mode of expression in the Texts". Thus Buddhaghosa's reason for translating the Sinhalese Commentaries was to make their contents available to monks outside Ceylon as well.

Another important reason for not only translating but for recording in a fixed form, the commentarial tradition of the Mahāvihāra was prompted by historical circumstances. As pointed out by Adikaram (EHBC, 94), with the first signal of danger arising from the Abhayagiri Fraternity the Mahāvihāra monks hastened to record in writing the Pali Texts even without the reigning monarch Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya's (43 and

[1] The dialect peculiarities can be seen for purposes of comparison even in later inscriptional Sinhalese and the earliest literary Sinhalese which represents the Apabhraṃsa stage of development in Indo-Aryan.

29–17 B.C.) support, in far away Ālokavihāra in the Mātula District in the central hills, away from the capital where it would have attracted the King's direct attention.[1] The rift with the Abhayagiri Fraternity widened as time went on and more and more new sects appeared in course of time, the majority of them having affiliations with the Abhayagiri. A few subsequent kings were definitely hostile to the Mahāvihāra, the worst among them being Mahāsena (A.C. 334–361) who persecuted the Mahāvihāra monks. While the bitter memories of scarcely half a century earlier were fresh in the minds of the Mahāvihāra monks, Mahānāma the reigning king too was lukewarm towards the Mahāvihāra and supported the Abhayagiri Fraternity (Mhv. xxxvii, 212) while he was persuaded by his Queen to help the Mahāvihāra as well. It was necessary for the Mahāvihāra Fraternity to consolidate their position and preserve their " samaya " against the constant onslaughts of their opponents, who more often than not had support from their fellow monks from India. The half-century that followed Mahāsena's reign would have given the Mahāvihāra Fraternity time to reinforce themselves and close their ranks for self-preservation. It was as a result of the fulfilment of the wishes of the monks, who scarcely half a century earlier underwent such indignities at the hands of their opponents who were actively supported by the reigning monarch in their sinister task of harassing the Mahāvihāra monks, that the body of knowledge held sacred by them should at last be put down in some fixed form, translated into the language of the Canon itself to impart to it a greater dignity, sanctity, and authority so that it should be handed down to posterity. The presence of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon was an opportunity too good to be missed, and furthermore, there was every indication that the dark events in Mahāsena's day could recur, if there was an equally sinister figure as Saṅghamitra, among their opponents, to spark off such a conflagration. The pictures painted by Buddhaghosa in his colophons when referring to the King and country are rather dismal. He is glad that he has completed the Samantapāsādikā within one year, unhindered, in a world

[1] *Vide* ibid., 79, for a summary of the causes that led to the writing down of the Canon.

troubled by many dangers (Smp. P.T.S., 1416) and repeats in his Commentaries to the works of the Abhidhamma, the exhortation, " Even as the good kings in days gone by cherished their subjects may the King too cherish them righteously even as his own offspring." The last few years of Mahānāma's reign [1] may have given him some indication of the difficult days that were to follow two years after his death, though at the time everything looked peaceful.[2] The repeated exhortation may be taken either as a mere formal statement or as an indirect indication that all was not well with Ceylon and that the country was not governed well. All these factors taken together show that the time was ripe for recording the commentaries in a more precise form than the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā.

Another reason given by Buddhaghosa for rewriting the commentaries in Pali is his desire to secure the stability of the Good Teaching (saddhammaṭṭhitikāma). This should be considered as the chief reason why the Pali Commentaries were written. In fact, Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon at a very opportune time in the history of the Mahāvihāra. His work actually symbolizes a process in the codification, as it were, of the Mahāvihāra tradition and what matters more is the actual writing of the Commentaries rather than the Commentator himself.

From the foregoing remarks, Buddhaghosa's rôle as editor and translator is quite clear. He was convinced of the purity of the Mahāvihāra tradition, and it was all that mattered to him so that he strove to maintain it at all costs. His editorial activity was centred on the correct interpretation of the Word of the Buddha from the Theravāda point of view. The conflicting traditions before him did not deter him from his task. He, in fact, seems to have revelled in them as he separated the various strands in order to discover the correct interpretation of the Theriya tradition.[3] His aim was to give explanations and interpretations maintaining a consistent point of view. The serious restrictions under which he had to work

[1] According to the colophon Smp. was completed in the twenty-first year of his reign which was to end in just over a year—Mhv. xxxvii, 247.
[2] cp. jayasaṃvacchare, Smp. P.T.S., 1416.
[3] The limitations imposed upon him are analysed in PLC 93 f.

(as pointed out elsewhere) [1] are best indicated in his own words in the Visuddhimagga (Vism. 522), when he says that in explaining the proposition avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā, he had to abide by the universe of discourse of the Vibhajjavādins, not cast aspersions on the views of the "Teachers", not be inconsistent with his own thesis, not trespass on the views of dissentient Schools, not reject the Sutta, be in conformity with the Vinaya, see to the broad guiding principles and so on. This is further illustrated by the prologue to the Samantapāsādikā itself. The results of his labours are unrivalled by any single writer on the Buddha's teachings and there is none to equal him where the volume of output is concerned.

Sources of the Samantapāsādikā

There is no further necessity to dilate on the topic of Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā in view of the lucid details given by Malalasekera (PLC, 91 f.) and Adikaram (EHBC, 10 ff.). The Mahā- or Müla-Aṭṭhakathā is acknowledged as the chief source of the Samantapāsādikā (thirty-nine references), while Mahāpaccarī (ninety-four references), Kurundi (sixty-seven references), Andhaka (thirteen references), Saṅkhepa (nine references), and Paccari (referring to either Mahāpaccarī or Saṅkhepa—one reference) [2] are extensively consulted. The sources Buddhaghosa refers to in his prologue are actually those in his order of preference. He pays open tribute to the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā while the Andhakaṭṭhakathā comes in for a good deal of criticism in the Samantapāsādikā. Though it is customary for him to give more weightage to the interpretations of the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, instances of his showing preference to explanations in other Commentaries over this one are not rare (see EHBC, 11 ff.). In three instances the Saṅkhepa is referred to in association with the Mahāpaccarī (as cited in EHBC 12, n. 9) which throws some light on its identity as the Cullapaccari. It is rather strange that the Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā referred to by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries on works of the Sutta and Abhidhamma Piṭakas, e.g. VibhA. 334,

[1] UCR, xvii, 1–2, p. 2.
[2] See the index to the Sinhalese edition of Smp. Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series.

Pj. i, 97, hardly plays any significant part as a source of the Samantapāsādikā where it is to be most expected. This may perhaps be due to the fact that it was *not* an independent Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā by itself, but formed a part of each of the recognized versions of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā to the whole Canon. When Buddhaghosa refers to the Samantapāsādikā in his other Commentaries he is quite specific, while the term Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā by itself does not refer to *his* Commentary on the Vinaya. The reference at Pj. ii, 340 to a Khandhakaṭṭha-kathā is to be placed in the same category as pointing to a part of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā, while the reference at Pj. i, 97 to the Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā leaves us in no doubt as to its nature, for it actually refers to the story of the First Convocation which is nearer to the version found at Vin. ii, 284 ff. rather than to the versions found in the introductions to the Commentaries of the first work of each of the Piṭakas. This, besides giving an indication as to how the accounts of the first two Councils were included in the Vinaya Cullavagga as its last two khandhakas, further lends support to the inference that this Vinaya-Aṭṭha-kathā was not an independent Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā as Adikaram (EHBC, 13) contends but was a part of each of the recognized versions of these commentaries just as Khandhakaṭṭhakathā formed a constituent of it. Further investigation is necessary to arrive at a more definite conclusion as the material on which these inferences are made is very meagre.

Dates of Buddhaghosa's Works

Coming to the question of the date of Samantapāsādikā in relation to that of his other works, we are faced with con-flicting data. If its colophon is to be accepted without any questioning the only work that can be dated with accuracy is the Samantapāsādikā itself, but this leaves us in the serious predicament of trying to reconcile with its date the statement at Mhv. xxxvii, 246, which seems to suggest that Buddha-ghosa returned to India, having accomplished his task in Ceylon, during Mahānāma's reign itself and not after his death which is said to have taken place a little over a year after the completion of the Samantapāsādikā. The colophon (Smp. P.T.S. 1415) states :

Pālayantassa sakalaṃ Laṅkādīpaṃ nirabbudaṃ
raññno Sirinivāsassa sirīpālayasassino
samavīsatime kheme jayasaṃvacchare ayaṃ
āraddhā, ekavīsamhi sampatte pariniṭṭhitā ;

"This work, undertaken exactly in the twentieth victorious and peaceful [1] year when the glorious and renowned King Sirinivāsa was reigning unhindered over the whole of the Island of Laṅkā, was completed with the arrival of the twenty-first regnal year." The same king is referred to as Sirikuḍḍa in the colophon to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā and is identified as Mahānāma.[2] Taking his date of accession as A.C. 409 the Samantapāsādikā is to be dated, according to the colophon, to A.C. 429–430. The Visuddhimagga is to be assigned to a date prior to A.C. 429 as it was the first work of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon and this is supported not only by tradition but also by references to it in practically all of his Commentaries. Further, unlike some of his Commentaries which mutually refer to each other, the Visuddhimagga makes no mention of his Commentaries in Ceylon. The references in the Visuddhimagga to Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā, and Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā are not to his own commentaries but to those belonging to the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā which he studied before he wrote this work.[3]

The Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, the Commentary on the Pātimokkha, frequently refers to the Samantapāsādikā [4] often with the statement : vitthāro pana Samantapāsādikāya Vinayasaṃvaṇṇāya vuttanayen'eva veditabbbo, "And the explanation should be understood as stated in the exposition of the Vinaya in the Samantapāsādikā." It is more or less certain that the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī was posterior to the Samantapāsādikā ; and since it is the Commentary on the Pātimokkha it is quite probable that its compilation followed immediately after that of the Samantapāsādikā. We are not at all in this happy

[1] Contrast this with the next stanza and also the statement in Paramatthadīpanī (Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā) :

Yathā rakkhiṃsu porāṇā surājāno tath'ev'imaṃ
rājā rakkhatu dhammena attano va pajaṃ pajaṃ.

[2] See PLC 96.
[3] See PLC 87.
[4] Pp. 50, 51, 54, 58, 62, 110, 159, 168, 193.

position when we come to the question of the relative chronology between the Samantapāsādikā and Buddhaghosa's Commentaries to works of the Sutta and Abhidhamma Piṭakas as the references are reciprocal. The Commentaries to the four Āgamas refer to the Samantapāsādikā, while each of the Commentaries to the succeeding work of the Piṭakas refers to the work or works that preceded it. Thus Sumaṅgalavilāsnī (DA. iii, 981, 1000, 1043) refers to the Samantapāsādikā ; Papañcasūdanī (MA. i, 198, 199 ; iii, 45, 106) to Samantapāsādikā and (i, 2 ; v, 24) to Sumaṅgalavilāsinī ; Sāratthappakāsinī (ii, 37, 145) to Samantapāsādikā, (i, 3, 348) to Sumaṅgalavilāsnī, and (i, 13 ; ii, 45) to Papañcasūdanī ; Manorathapūraṇī (AA. iii, 334 ; iv, 136 f.) to Samantapāsādikā, (i, 3 ; iii, 285) to Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, and (AA. i, 15) to Papañcasūdanī. The Samantapāsādikā in turn refers to Sumaṅgalavilāsnī (p. 115, Sinh. ed.), and Papañcasūdanī (pp. 115, 644, 721, Sinh. ed.). It is quite probable that some of these references were inserted by Buddhaghosa later on into works already completed. This would not have been a difficult thing to do as the number of copies made during his brief stay in Ceylon could have been not many.

The fewer number of references in the Samantapāsādikā to the Āgama Commentaries [1] may perhaps be indicative of the fact that it was the earlier work though there is no definite proof of their chronological relationship, particularly when we take into account the date given in the colophon and the Mahāvaṃsa reference to Buddhaghosa's departure to India. The Papañcasūdanī (MA. ii, 30), Sāratthappakāsinī (SA. ii, 45), and Manorathapūraṇī (AA. v, 16) refer to Sammohavinodanī while the latter in turn (VibhA. 43, 396, 410, 479) mentions Atthasālinī as the Commentary that should take precedence over it. This would normally indicate that the Vinaya and Abhidhamma Commentaries were anterior to the Āgama Commentaries and that the commentaries to the works of each of the Piṭakas were composed in the order in which those works are classified in the Canon. The mutual references in Samantapāsādikā (Smp. P.T.S., 150) and Atthasālinī (DhsA. 97 f.) are

[1] See Sinh. ed., pp. 96, 765.

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other four works [1] that are attributed to Buddhaghosa were his, their compilation too would have to be assigned to the period after the Samantapāsādikā. This would leave us in the predicament of assigning all these works to the brief period between the King's twenty-first regnal year and his death which took place after he had reigned for twenty-two years. If the information in these two sources is correct, there is no alternative inference but to say that Buddhaghosa worked at several commentaries simultaneously. This would easily explain the cross-references in the several works while the absence of references to commentaries on works that follow in each of the Piṭakas in the Canonical arrangement presupposes that commentaries to works of each of the Piṭakas were written strictly in the order in which these works occur in the Canon.

Other Commentaries attributed to Buddhaghosa

This scheme has not taken into account the other commentaries attributed to Buddhaghosa, viz. Paramatthajotikā (KhA and SnA), Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, and Jātakaṭṭhakathā. The prologue to Paramatthajotikā states that the author sets out to comment on the Khuddakas which he differentiates from the Khuddaka Nikāya: Khuddakāni nāma Khuddakanikāyassa ekadeso, Khuddakanikāyo nâma pañcanikāyānaṃ ekadeso, "The Khuddakas constitute one part of the Khuddaka Nikāya and the Khuddaka Nikāya a part of the Five Nikāyas." He next refers to the "greater" Khuddaka Nikāya as enumerated in the Bāhiranidāna (Smp. 31). It is possible that the term Khuddakas is meant to refer to Khuddakapāṭha and Sutta Nipāta as the Commentaries to both these works go by the same name Paramatthajotikā, while the other two Commentaries on works from the Khuddaka Nikāya which are attributed to Buddhaghosa have no separate names of their own, but are merely called Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā and Jātakaṭṭhakathā. The colophons to the Commentaries to Khuddakapāṭha and Sutta Nipāta do not provide any additional information except that the usual postscript is appended. Adikaram (EHBC 7 f.) doubts the authenticity of the tradition which attributes the Paramatthajotikā to Buddhaghosa and

[1] KhA., SnA., DhA., JA.

gives his reasons for it, briefly examining the two works which comprise the Paramatthajotikā. He even doubts whether the two Commentaries in it were the work of the same author and suggests that the commentator Buddhaghosa to whom the works are attributed may be the Elder by that name mentioned in the Atthasālinī (DhsA. 1, st. 8) and Sammohavinodanī (VibhA. 523) at whose request these works were compiled.

The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā in its prologue mentions that the excellent commentary found in the language of the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, handed down from generations does not serve the purpose of others (i.e. foreign monks), and that Buddhaghosa is translating it into Pali at the request of the Elder Kumārakassapa(DhA. i, 1, stt. 5, 7), while the colophon adds that he wrote it when living in the storeyed dwelling of King Sirikuḍḍa (i.e. Mahānāma) in the monastery which was caused to have been erected by the grateful Emperor (DhA. iv, 235, st. 2). The stanza does not make it clear whether King Sirikuḍḍa and the Emperor are one and the same. In spite of this, the authorship of this commentary remains doubtful (see PLC 96 ff. for a detailed discussion), though there is yet a possibility, in spite of the difference in language and style between this work and Buddhaghosa's major commentaries, that it may be by him.

The next work, Jātakaṭṭhakathā, too is attributed to Buddhaghosa, but it is extremely doubtful whether it was by him (see PLC 117 ff.). The prologue seems to suggest that Buddhaghosa was its author as it follows the usual pattern of the prologues to his works and points out that the commentary will be based on the tradition of the Mahāvihāra : Jātakassa atthavaṇṇanaṃ Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ vācanāmagganissitaṃ bhāsissaṃ (JA i, 1, st. 10 f.). But indirectly a greater antiquity is claimed for this work than any of the other works of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon, if Buddhamitta, who is mentioned in the prologue, was the teacher under whom Buddhaghosa studied the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā (Smp. P.T.S., 1415), for no other work goes so far back as to mention Buddhamitta's preceptor. It is very unlikely that the other Buddhamitta, his fellow-resident at Mayūrapaṭṭana (MA. v, 109) would have had his

preceptor in Ceylon. The two monks Atthadassi and Buddhamitta (of the Mahāvihāra) and Buddhadeva "of keen intellect belonging to the Mahiṃsāsaka Sect" (st. 7) jointly request the author to compile this work. This creates another problem of how a monk belonging to a rival School to the Mahāvihāra could reconcile himself with the Mahāvihāra tradition. Thus the prologue, in the face of all these contradictions, appears spurious and looks like an attempt of a later writer to invest it with more authenticity than was really necessary to show that it was Buddhaghosa's. The colophon too is quite different from what is usually found in Buddhaghosa's works and consists of a long patthanā which by no stretch of imagination could have come from Buddhaghosa's pen. The absence of the usual postscript is also very significant. The reference in the Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā (Pj. ii, 357) to the Nidānakathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā may or may not refer to this version, for it might as well refer to the version in the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā on which the extant work is based.[1] The Manorathapūraṇī closes the last important chapter in Buddhaghosa's literary career, and aptly bears that name to commemorate the fulfilment of his heart's desire to compile commentaries to all the Four Āgamas (see the colophon, AA. v, 98 f.). In spite of the doubts cast on these works regarding their authorship, if a date is to be assigned to them, it has to be after the date of the Manorathapūraṇī. No chronological arrangement is possible except to say that Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā preceded the Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā and that these two preceded Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā and Jātakaṭṭhakathā. Geiger (*Pali Language and Literature*, p. 32) states that the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is later than the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, but gives no reasons for saying so.

In our search for further corroborative evidence we have to turn to the colophons of the works which are definitely known to be Buddhaghosa's, even though the information given in them cannot solve the question of relative chronology. The stereotyped postscript is of no value at all as it can very well belong to a subsequent scribe. The colophon to the

[1] Smp. Sinh. ed., p. 179, refers to a Jātaka Nikāya along with the four prose Nikāyas.

Jātakaṭṭhakathā, which is the only one besides that to Samantapāsādikā which could have provided some useful information, cannot be relied upon. The colophon of Visuddhimagga says that the work was written on the invitation of a monk named Saṅghapāla, of whom nothing else is known. The names of theras who figure in the colophons to the other works (summarized in EHBC, 5 ff.) are not of much help unless something precise is known about them. Even here, the formal request to write these books could have been made long before the actual commencement of the works concerned. Thus, Buddhamitta's request to write the commentary to the Majjhima Nikāya was made at Mayūrapaṭṭana, and Jotipāla's to write the commentary to the Saṃyutta Nikāya was made perhaps at Kāñcī. It was probably the same Jotipāla, Buddhaghosa's fellow-resident, who requested him both at Kāñcī and in the Mahāvihāra to write the commentary to the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Buddhamitta, under whom he studied the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā, was different from his old friend by that name of his Kāñci days. It is the former Buddhamitta who is also referred to as Buddhasiri in the Bāhiranidāna (see Smp. 1, n. 5). The writer of the prologue to the Jātakaṭṭhakathā also refers to the same Elder when he mentions the name along with that of his preceptor Atthadassi.

Sources of the Bāhiranidāna

Coming back to the Bāhiranidāna, a few words regarding its style and arrangement are necessary at this stage. As these are to some extent determined by the nature of the sources of which it is a somewhat faithful translation, a brief reference should be made to them in passing, though there seems to be hardly anything to be added to what has already been said by Oldenberg (the Dīpavaṃsa, edition and translation, pp. 2 ff.), Geiger (the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, pp. 43 ff., the Mahāvaṃsa, English translation, pp. ix ff.), and Malalasekera (Vaṃsatthappakāsinī–Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā, i, pp. lvi ff.). What has been said with reference to these works applies to some extent to the Bāhiranidāna as well, for all these works are based on practically the same source-material with a few modifications and changes necessitated by the aim in view and the

individual taste of their respective authors. Opinion differs as to what this source-material was as regards details though fundamentally there is a certain degree of agreement. Oldenberg identifies the Porāṇā, Porāṇaṭṭhakathā, and Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa as referring to one and the same source. He holds that this formed the historical introduction to the Sinhalese Commentary of the Mahāvihāra, the Mahā or Mūla Aṭṭhakathā, and that it was an essential constituent part of the latter " composed in order to give the dogmatical contents of the latter the indispensable historical foundation ". Geiger's view is that there was an ancient independent chronicle belonging to the Mahāvihāra bringing the historical records down to Mahāsena's reign, the rewritten Pali version of which is the present Mahāvaṃsa. This he compares to the medieval monastic chronicles of Europe (ibid., p. 64). Malalasekera agrees with him and identifies it with the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa and points out that originally this chronicle formed an historical introduction to the Canonical commentary and dealt only with the following items :

> Dīpâgamanaṃ Buddhassa dhātu ca bodhiyâgamaṃ
> saṅghâcariyavādañ ca dīpamhi sāsanâgamaṃ
> narindâgamanaṃ vaṃsaṃ . . .

" The Buddha's visits to the Island, the arrival of the relic(s), and of the Bodhi, the (doctrinal) tradition of the leading Elders of the Saṅgha, the establishment of the Dispensation in the Island, the coming of the King and the genealogy . . ." (Dpv. i, 1). Later it incorporated extraneous matter and developed into an independent compilation, whose custodians were the Mahāvihāra monks (ibid., lviii). He adds that the historical tradition grew by various stages by the inclusion of new material as time went on and that it was added on to the already existing Porāṇa-aṭṭhakathā (ibid., lix). The already existing Porāṇa-aṭṭhakathā were the Commentaries to the Canon. Perhaps the introductions to Buddhaghosa's Commentaries to the first book of each of the Piṭakas (Smp., DA, DhsA) may be helpful in determining those portions of the original Porāṇa-aṭṭhakathā, as unnecessary historical details of the Island have no relevance to his purpose which was to

establish the genuineness of the Textual and Commentarial tradition in Ceylon.

Thus many of the problems connected with the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa regarding additional information not found in the Commentarial introductions do not arise in the case of the Bāhiranidāna which has a limited aim in view. Furthermore, its historical introduction is purely from the point of view of the Vinaya tradition and nothing else, while the list of kings and the chronological details (at Smp. 76) are merely incidental. Here, too, it does not proceed beyond Devānampiyatissa, while the Vinaya tradition is traced as far as the date indicated by the phrase yāva ajjatanā (about first century A.C.), through a succession of Vinaya teachers. Whether there was an independent chronicle, or whether the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā were prefixed with an introduction which from time to time was augmented to include events up to Mahāsena's reign, it can be said without any degree of doubt that the portion covered by the Bāhiranidāna did certainly belong to the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā to the Canon as " the indispensable foundation " of the Vinaya is discussed in it. In giving the historical foundation of the Vinaya, Buddhaghosa has skilfully woven together into the narrative much relevant information, e.g. the classification of the Teachings, etc., which may or may not have been found in the sources, and most probably not in the context in which it is presented in the Bāhiranidāna as well as in the introductions to Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and Atthasālini. This historical background portrayed the continuity of the Vinaya as far as the sources would go. All the events that are found recorded in the chronicles coming after the date of the source materials of the Bāhiranidāna, as well as the historical data not relevant in establishing the genuineness of the Textual and Commentarial tradition in Ceylon, should be treated as " foreign " to the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā on the Canon. They are, however, quite appropriate in the Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa (or Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa) and other Porāṇa sources outside the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā and other allied recensions of the Sinhalese Commentaries on the Tipiṭaka. This would naturally lead us to the inference that the sources of the Pali Commentaries and those of the Chronicles were

distinct though not necessarily independent and that the latter included all that was necessary for their purpose from among the sources of the former.

Buddhaghosa's rôle, as well as that of Mahānāma, the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, was to translate the available material into Pali (see Mhv. Ṭikā, i, 36, etc., loc. cit., pp. lvi). As the Ṭīkā states, the Mahāvaṃsa was a faithful rendering of the original Sinhalese source-material with the only change that it was put into Pali verse. Compared with the previous clumsy attempt at versification in the Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa stands out as a work of considerable poetic achievement though it falls short of the elegant poetry of the Canonical metrical literature. The fact that it was a metrical rendering could have placed certain restrictions and limitations on the author as regards presenting a faithful rendering of the original material. In the case of the Bāhiranidāna there were no such restrictions, and undoubtedly one may suppose that it is even more faithful to the original Sinhalese source than the more elegant literary product, the Mahāvaṃsa. It is partly on this basis that minor discrepancies in some proper names between the Bāhiranidāna and the Chronicles are to be explained, e.g. Issaranimmāṇa, Kāliṅgakula, Pakuṇḍaka, Tavakka, etc. (see notes to Translation). However, the word-for-word similarity between wholesale passages of the Bāhiranidāna and the Chronicles (see Geiger, the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, 106 ff.) shows that there were no wide divergences between them. This similarity does not presuppose the fact that the chronologically later work was based on the earlier work, but that they go back to a common tradition. Where actual quotations are made from the Dīpavaṃsa they are duly acknowledged in the Bāhiranidāna whereas the passages taken wholesale from the Porāṇā [1] are acknowledged as such and the fact that the Dīpavaṃsa too had incorporated them is ignored.

The Style and Arrangement of the Bāhiranidāna

As stated earlier, the style and arrangement of the Bāhiranidāna is to a great extent determined by the nature of its

[1] Both the Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa and Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā to the Tipiṭaka were interspersed with Pali verse. See Malalasekera, Mhv. Ṭīkā, I, lvi ff.

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However, this literary skill is not seen to best advantage in the actual commentarial portions of his Commentaries, but in his original work Visuddhimagga, the introductory chapters to his Commentaries, and the long exegetical remarks and narrative portions of his works. In the case of the Bāhiranidāna, its faithfulness to the older Porāṇa source, in the bulk of the narrative, has not given Buddhaghosa much opportunity to show his literary skill at its best. Yet, where he has deviated from the sources, his true genius as a writer of elegant Pali is quite evident. The best examples of Buddhaghosa occasionally exercising great freedom when he cuts himself away from the sources are seen in a few scattered descriptive passages in the Bāhiranidāna, e.g. the description of the pavilion erected by Ajātasattu (Smp. 10), of Asoka's supernatural powers (Smp. 44), Majjhantika's conversion of Kasmīra-Gandhāra (Smp. 65), Soṇa and Uttara in Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Smp. 72), etc. Some of these descriptions betray a remarkable affinity to the highly ornate descriptive prose of Classical Sanskrit of this period. The nature of the material to be dealt with is such that Buddhaghosa had very little opportunity of proving his ability as a " creative " writer, but the few available examples are a sufficient indication of his ability in this direction. Furthermore, some idea of his analytic and synthetic treatment of highly abstruse points of doctrine, his logical reasoning and proneness to abstraction, best seen in the Visuddhimagga, can be gained from his remarks on the classification of the Buddha's teachings, especially those at Smp. 25 ff.

The narrative prose of the Bāhiranidāna can be classed among the best of its category in Pali literature and compares very favourably with the best in Indian literature. It can claim for itself this distinction not only for its clarity, simplicity, and vigour, but also due to its effective presentation, while at the same time closely adhering to the main theme, the Nidāna of the Vinaya. In spite of his rôle as commentator, Buddhaghosa reveals himself as a great writer of narrative prose. This is amply illustrated by the manner in which the episodes of Tissa (Smp. 39 ff.), Nigrodha (Smp. 47 f.), Tissa, Asoka's brother (56 ff.), the conversion of the Border Districts (Smp. 65 ff.), the Great Bodhi (Smp. 97 ff.), etc., are presented.

All these episodes are skilfully woven into the main narrative with the greatest ease and at no stage do they appear forced or laboured. He makes subsequent reference to an earlier statement by giving details to justify it, e.g. end of Smp. 18, Handa mayaṃ āvuso dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyāma . . . at Smp. 4 ; Smp. 48, Rājā sīhapañjare ṭhito . . . at the top of Smp. 47, etc. He carries this simple device further by resorting to the so-called " flash-back " style in order to explain an incident or introduce a new figure in the narrative, e.g. Smp. 47, 56, 97 ff., etc. He does so in order to avoid a break in the main narrative and often connects up the episode with an introductory phrase such as, Tatrâyaṃ ānupubbīkathā (Smp.47, 64), Ko panâyaṃ Nigrodho nāma (Smp. 47), Tissatthero nāma na yo vā so vā (Smp. 56), etc. Compared with the chronological sequence in which events are recorded in the Chronicles, this manner of narrating a story appears to be rather unusual, but it is doubtful whether it was peculiar to Buddhaghosa, for this difference between the Samantapāsādikā and the Chronicles may reflect some significant fact as regards their sources. As stated earlier, the Samantapāsādikā and the Chronicles have drawn from two different sources (not necessarily independent) and the main narrative in the Samantapāsādikā perhaps reflects the introductory portion of the Vinayaṭṭhakathā of the Sihaḷa Aṭṭhakathā while the supplementary material drawn from other Porāṇa sources, including those on which the Chronicles were based, was included in the narrative as additional information. The difference in sources is perhaps a plausible explanation of the unusual " flash-back " style of the Bāhiranidāna. On the other hand, it may equally be said that there is nothing new in this technique and that it goes back even to the Canon, e.g. bhūtapubbaṃ bhikkhave imissā yeva Sāvatthiyā . . . etc., and is the rule in the Jātaka literature in narrating the past story, e.g. atitaṃ āhari. Whatever its origin, the narration of a story in historical sequence is not considered as an essential element in the Bāhiranidāna, whereas the Chronicles try to maintain it as far as possible. The scant attention paid to it in the Bāhiranidāna even tends to confuse the reader. For example, the legend of the Nāga King Kāla appears earlier in the narrative (Smp. 45) and

mention is made of King Asoka paying homage to the image of the Buddha created by him, while his conversion is mentioned later on (Smp. 48). Asoka's reference to the Dhamma as "ovāda" in his conversation with Nigrodha before his conversion, on the other hand, is meant to impress on the reader Asoka's unfamiliarity with Buddhism. (See Smp. 81, n. 2 for parallel instances.) Yet, as regards chronology the Bāhiranidāna is consistent within itself, e.g. see the chronological details of Asoka's reign given at Smp. 52, 53, 56, 74, etc.

The Bāhiranidāna is seen to follow the usual style of Pali Canonical writings when it intersperses a large number of stanzas along with the prose. Many of these stanzas resemble stanzas occurring in the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, but are identical in a few instances only. Except where actual quotations are made from the Dīpavaṃsa, the rest is to be traced to the Pali stanzas of the Porāṇas, already referred to, which these works incorporated, either in the form in which they occurred in the different versions of the old Aṭṭhakathā, or with a few modifications to suit their literary style.

Another feature the Bāhiranidāna shares with all the works of Buddhaghosa is the frequent allusion to Canonical Texts and quotations from them to substantiate his statements, especially in his exegetical remarks, e.g. Smp. 28.

Among the contents of the Bāhiranidāna there are several topics of great interest, the most important of which are the accounts of the Three Councils and the traditions pertaining to them. As this subject has been exhaustively dealt with from various angles, expressing conflicting views, it is not proposed to take it up here, nor have any observations of a controversial nature been made in the notes to the *Inception of Discipline*. The incidental information given in these accounts requires more careful examination than making generalizations on the Councils themselves, which are too vast a topic to be taken up here. A few observations have been made in the notes about the traditional classifications of the Teachings (Smp. 16 ff.). The Succession of Teachers in India (Smp. 35) and in Ceylon

(Smp. 63) is a very fruitful field for investigation, and the work already done so far by scholars in this field requires to be carried on with patient toil in order that the ācariya-paramparā should have some meaning instead of its remaining a mere list. The observations made on Asoka's associations with Buddhism in the light of the data available in the Pali sources should help the reader to reassess the so-called "Buddhist" edicts of Asoka which have hitherto been neglected; the tendency so far has been to treat the edicts and the Pali sources as things apart shedding no mutual light on one another. A fresh examination of the historicity of the missions sent out after the Third Council and Asoka's relations with the kingdoms over which his "dhammavijaya" extended is also necessary. His connexions with Ceylon, too, require more careful examination, particularly in view of the two envoys sent by Tissa, his second consecration, and the adoption of the Mauryan title Devānampiya which was later adopted by several Sinhalese Kings (see *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, 142). It is not within the scope of a book of this nature to treat adequately any one of these problems.

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THE INCEPTION OF DISCIPLINE OR THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE VINAYA COMMENTARY CALLED SAMANTAPĀSĀDIKĀ

Homage to the Exalted One, the worthy and fully awakened.

I—The Preamble

1. I pay homage to that Lord of great compassion who underwent severe hardships for a long period which cannot be reckoned even in terms of crores of aeons and brought pain upon himself for the sake of the welfare of the world. 1.

I pay homage to the exalted Dhamma, the resort of the awakened, which tears asunder the tangle of defilements such as that of ignorance, not understanding which, the world of beings goes from existence to existence. 2.

I prostrate myself before the worthy Saṅgha, the field for those in quest of merit, which is endowed with the virtues of morality, concentration, wisdom, and insight into emancipation. 3.

I have won an incessant flow of merit by my adoration of the Triad of Gems which in this manner is most worthy of reverence; and by its power I have surmounted all obstacles. 4.

Placing reliance in the greatness of the teachers of yore [1] I shall expound the uncontaminated Code of Discipline by the survival of which is assured the mainstay of the Dispensation of the Sage of great stability though He exists no more.[2] 5.

Readily have the pre-eminent teachers of yore who have washed away the stains of defilements with the water of their wisdom, [2] being endowed with analytical knowledge arising from their clear wisdom and being adept in the exposition of the Good Teaching— 6.

and who are like unto the banners of the Mahāvihāra,[3] expounded to us the Discipline of the higher life with clear examples and divers methods as adopted by the noble Sambuddha, the Enlightened One. 7.

But on account of the fact that this exposition had been done in the language of the Island of Siha̱la,[4] and since the monks overseas cannot understand the meaning thereof 8.

I shall now begin this exposition in conformity with the method of treatment found in the Sacred Texts, recollecting well the request made by the Elder named Buddhasiri.[5] 9.

And in commencing the exposition I shall practically base it on the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā [6] as well as the Mahāpaccariya [7] without discarding the relevant statements and the rulings given in the recognized commentaries such as the Kurundi [8]; and thenceforth I shall proceed with the correct exposition of the Tradition of the Elders [9] embodied therein. 10–11.

May the Elders and monks both young and middling with devotion at heart and holding in high esteem the Teaching of the Tathāgata who is the guiding lamp of the Dhamma, hearken unto me. 12.

The Buddha has declared both the Dhamma and the Vinaya which his Sons [10] came to know likewise. Since, in the past,[11] commentaries were written without ignoring their judgments, 13.

[3] I shall therefore avoid the incorrect statements (scribes' errors) handed down in those commentaries, for the final authority here are the men of learning who have the highest esteem for the methods of training.[12] 14.

Thence giving up recourse to a different tongue,[13] condensing protracted exegesis, without excluding any formal decision nor deviating from the method of exposition found in the textual tradition even in a small measure— 15.

this exposition should be studied with care as it will offer explanations in harmony with the Suttas (discourses) taking into account the statements of those who are well versed in the Suttantas.[14] 16.

2. Since it is said here that I would expound the Vinaya, the term Vinaya itself should be first defined; and hence it is said that the entire Vinaya Piṭaka is meant by the term Vinaya here. Here is its tabulation for purposes of exposition:

By whom it was said, when, for what reason, held by whom,

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among the Order of monks to bring about a rehearsal of the Dhamma and Vinaya and further reflected,[8] " It may be that the occasion would arise for evil-minded monks to think that the Sacred-word is such that its Teacher is no more, to form factions and before long make the Good Teaching disappear for ever. As long as the Dhamma and Vinaya endure, so long will the Sacred-word be such that its Teacher has not passed into oblivion. And so has the Exalted One said,[9] ' O Ānanda, the Dhamma and the Vinaya that I have declared to you [**5**] and laid down before you (respectively) that itself will be your teacher after my demise.' It behoves me to rehearse the Dhamma and Vinaya so that the Dispensation would endure and remain for long. Since I have been honoured with equality in the use of robes by the Exalted One saying,[10] ' Kassapa, you may wear my patch-work hempen robes which I no longer use,' and also honoured by placing me on an equal footing with Himself with reference to transcendental attainments [11] consisting of the categories such as the sixfold higher knowledge [12] and the ninefold successive modes of abiding [13] with such statements as,[14] ' O monks, as long as he wishes, Kassapa can enter and abide in the first jhāna (spiritual rapture) being detached from sensual pleasures, etc.', what other unindebtedness will there be unto me as such ? Has not the Exalted One conferred upon me this unique honour of considering me as the protector of the lineage of His Good Teaching even as a king would his own son as the perpetuator of his dynasty by conferring upon him his armour and regal splendour ? "

4. For it has been said,[1] " Thereupon the venerable Mahākassapa addressed the monks, ' On one occasion, friends, I had set out on the high road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a large company of monks, about five hundred in number.' " In this manner the entire Section dealing with Subhadda [2] should be understood in detail.

[**6**] Subsequently he said,[3] " Let us, friends, rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya : in the past what was contrary to the Dhamma and the Vinaya prevailed, the Dhamma and the Vinaya were disregarded ; those who held views contrary to the Dhamma and the Vinaya held sway while those who

professed the Dhamma and the Vinaya were powerless." [4] The monks rejoined, " If that be so, Sir, may the Elder select the monks (for the Convocation)."

The Elder rejected many hundreds and thousands of monks in the categories of worldling, Stream-Entrant, Once-Returner, Non-Returner, and Dry Visioned Arahant [5] and canker-waned Arahant, all of whom were versed in the Teachings consisting of the entire ninefold Dispensation of the Teacher and chose 499 canker-waned monks who alone were proficient with regard to the learning in all aspects of the Teachings in the entire Three Baskets, had attained mastery in analytical knowledge, were of no mean achievement, and for the greater part were classified by the Exalted One as an expert each in his field in the distinct spheres of the threefold knowledge.[6] Regarding them it has been said,[7] " Thereupon the venerable Mahākassapa selected five hundred Arahants less one."

5. Why did the Elder make the number fall short by one ? To make room for the venerable Elder Ānanda. It was not possible to hold the Convocation with or without that venerable one, for he was yet a Learner [1] with his (spiritual) task yet unaccomplished. Therefore it was not permissible to have him at the Convocation. Since there was no section whatsoever of the Teachings of the Lord of Ten Powers commencing with the discourses and mixed prose and verse utterances [2] which he himself had not learned from the Exalted One, it was equally not possible to hold it without him. This being so, even though he was yet a Learner he would have to be selected by the Elder on account of the great service that might be rendered by him at the rehearsal of the Dhamma ; but the reason for his not [7] being selected was to absolve himself (Kassapa) of the blame of others.

The Elder had great confidence in the venerable Ānanda, so much so, that even after grey hair started appearing on his head, he used to look upon him as a lad and address him, " And Oh ! this lad has not understood even this little." (Had he been chosen) the monks would have subjected him to hostile criticism, saying that the Elder had chosen Ānanda who was endowed with the analytic insight of but a Learner in preference

to many monks who had reached perfection and were also endowed with analytic insight in conformity with it, and would think that in this instance he was prejudiced in his favour as this venerable one was born of the Sakya Clan and was the Tathāgata's cousin, being the son of his father's younger brother. While avoiding that censure by others he (purposely) did not select him, reflecting (at the same time) that it was not possible to hold the rehearsal without Ānanda (but) he would accept him only on the express wish of the monks.

Thereupon the monks themselves begged of the Elder on Ānanda's behalf; for it has been said [3]: "The monks spoke thus to Venerable Mahākassapa, 'Yonder Venerable Ānanda, Sir, even though he is yet a Learner, is incapable of going on a wrong course through desire, ill-will, fear, or delusion [4]; he has mastered much of the Dhamma and the Vinaya under the Exalted One. Therefore, Sir, may the Elder nominate Venerable Ānanda as well.'" Thereupon Venerable Mahākassapa selected Venerable Ānanda as well. There were thus 500 Elders including that venerable one who was selected on the express wish of the monks.

6. It then occurred to the Elder monks,[1] "Where shall we rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya?" Thereupon it again occurred to them, [8] "Food is plentiful at Rājagaha,[2] and lodgings are easy to obtain there. Well then, let us rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya spending the Rains-residence [3] at Rājagaha, and let not other monks enter upon the Rains-residence there." Why did they think in this manner? (Their idea was:) "Perhaps some undesirable individual may come into the midst of the monks and disturb this gigantic undertaking of ours." Then the venerable Mahākassapa made an announcement followed by a formal Act of the Order.[4] It should be understood as stated in the Section dealing with the Convocation.[5]

7. A fortnight had elapsed since the time of the passing away of the Tathāgata in perfect Nibbāna when seven days were spent in sacred festivities [1] and a further seven days in paying homage to the relics and so on. And the Elder Mahākassapa,

considering that one and a half months of the summer were yet remaining and that the day for entering upon the Rains-residence [2] was fast drawing nigh, took with him half the number of the Order of monks saying, " Friends, we shall repair to Rājagaha," and went in one direction. The Elder Anuruddha took with him the other half and went by a different route.

8. On the other hand, the Elder Ānanda, taking with him the bowl and the robe of the Exalted One and being attended by a company of monks went on a missionary tour in the direction of Sāvatthi [1] in his eagerness to repair to Rājagaha visiting Sāvatthi first.[2] Wherever the Elder Ānanda went, there was great lamentation to the effect, " O Sir, Venerable Ānanda, where have you left the Teacher that you are coming here ? " In due course the Elder arrived at Sāvatthi ; the lamentation there was great, as it had been on the day of the passing away of the Exalted One in perfect Nibbāna. Thereupon the venerable Ānanda consoled the populace with a discourse on the Dhamma dealing with transciency and, entering the Jeta Grove opened the door of the Fragrant Chamber which used to be the dwelling of the Lord of Ten Powers, shifted the couch and seats, dusted them, swept the Fragrant Chamber, [9] threw away the rubbish of withered flowers and garlands, brought back the couch and the seats and placed them in their former places and did all the ministrations which he would have done when the Exalted One had been alive. Then the Elder took a purgative in milk on the following day in order to allay the humours of his body which were disturbed on account of the excessively sedentary life he had led from the time of the passing away of the Exalted One in perfect Nibbāna,[3] and remained indoors in the monastery. He referred to it when he told the young brahmin messenger [4] whom Subha the brahmin had sent, " Young man, it will not suit me today. I have taken some medicine. Perhaps I shall come to-morrow." On the following day, he went accompanied by the Elder Cetaka as his attendant monk and, when questioned by Subha the brahmin, preached the tenth sutta of the Dīghanikāya called Subhasutta.[5] After that the Elder supervised the repairs to the broken and shattered portions of the Jetavana Monastery

and, when the day for entering upon the Rains-residence drew near, went to Rājagaha. Likewise, the Elders Mahākassapa and Anuruddha took with them the entire company of monks and went to Rājagaha itself.

9. At that time there were eighteen great monasteries at Rājagaha. And all of them were soiled with the cast-off and accumulated rubbish. For, at the time of the passing away of the Exalted One in perfect Nibbāna all the monks took each his bowl and robe and went away deserting the monasteries and cells. The Elders there, in order to honour the request of the Exalted One and to escape the adverse criticism of members of heretical schools, thought of repairing the dilapidations during the first month. For, should the heretics say, "The disciples of the Recluse Gotama looked after their monasteries while their Teacher was alive; now that he has passed away in perfect Nibbāna, they have deserted them," it is said that they thought so to escape the blame from them.

[**10**] And so it has been said [1]: It then occurred to the Elder monks, "Friends, the Exalted One has praised the effecting of repairs to dilapidations. So let us, friends, during the first month, repair the dilapidations and assemble to rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya during the second month."

10. On the following day they went and stood at the palace gates. King Ajātasattu came forth, saluted them and inquired from them why they had come and what they expected him to do. The Elders intimated their need of labour to effect the repairs to the dilapidations in the eighteen great monasteries. "Very well, Sirs," said the King and gave artisans. The Elders had all the monasteries repaired during the first month and informed the King, "Great King, the repairs to the monasteries are completed, we now wish to rehearse the Dhamma and Vinaya."

"Very well, Sirs, do so with full confidence. Mine is the wheel of command, let yours be the Wheel of the Dhamma. Command of me, Sirs, whatever you wish me to do."

"A place for the monks who make the rehearsal of the Dhamma to assemble, Great King."

"Where shall I build it, Sirs?"

"It is meet you erect it at the entrance to the Sattapaṇṇi Cave on the side of the mountain Vebhāra,[1] Great King."

"So be it, Sirs," said King Ajātasattu and had a pavilion erected, resembling the handiwork of Vissakamma,[2] with well apportioned walls, pillars, and stairways, adorned with divers decorative designs of garlands and creepers, as though surpassing the splendour of the royal palace, or mocking with derision the glory of divine mansions, like unto a veritable abode of Sirī [3] or a unique emporium, or a world of delight to the birds—the eyes of devas and men—or like a conglomeration of the choice essence of all that the eye should see; [**11**] and decorated it like the abode of Brahma,[4] with its floor well laid out and ornamented with variegated decorative motifs of many kinds of flowers resembling a floor of polished crystal inlaid with gems of many colours and with a delightful overflowing canopy with manifold festoons of flowers suspended from it. In that large pavilion he spread out 500 rugs which were permissible for use [5] for the 500 monks, prepared a seat for the president at the southern end facing the North and a seat for the preacher in the centre of the pavilion facing the East, a seat worthy even of the Buddha, the Exalted One; and placing there a fan inlaid with ivory he sent word to the Order of monks: "My task, Sirs, is done."

11. And at that time some monks, referring to the venerable Ānanda said, "There is a monk here in this assembly who goes about emanating the smell of raw flesh." The Elder heard it and was greatly perturbed thinking that there was no other monk in that assembly of monks who went about emanating the smell of raw flesh, and that undoubtedly they were saying so referring to him. Some other monks told the venerable Ānanda that the assembly was to meet the following day and that he was but a Learner with his (spiritual) task yet unaccomplished and that it was not proper for him to go to the assembly, and further, that he should strive with diligence.

Thereupon,[1] the venerable Ānanda having reflected that the assembly was to meet the following day and that it did not become him to enter the assembly whilst yet being a Learner,

spent the greater part of the night in mindfulness as to the body, and at day-break, descended from the *caṅkama*-walk, entered the monastery, and inclined his body with the idea of lying down. Scarcely had his feet left contact with the floor and before his head had reached the pillow, during that interval his mind was released from the cankers with no further clinging to the material substratum. For, this Venerable One [**12**] had spent the time out of doors pacing up and down (in meditation) and, being unable to reach any higher attainment, he reflected, "Has not the Exalted One told me,[2] 'Ānanda, you have done merit in the past. Engage yourself in striving, you will soon be released from the cankers.' Buddhas never err in their pronouncements. I have over-exerted myself in my effort, in consequence of which my mind was tending towards distraction. Let me therefore abate the rigour of my exertions." [3] Saying so he came down from the *caṅkama*-walk, washed his feet standing at the place for washing the feet, entered the monastery, sat down on his couch and stretched himself on it thinking of resting awhile. His two feet left the floor and his head had not yet reached the pillow. During this interval his mind was released from the cankers with no further clinging to the material substratum; the Elder attained arahatship remaining in a position outside the four postures. Therefore, when it is asked what monk attained arahatship in this Dispensation neither lying down, sitting, standing, nor pacing up and down one should answer that it is the Elder Ānanda.

12. Thereupon, on the following day, the Elder monks, having finished their meal, arranged their bowls and robes and assembled in the convocation hall. But the Elder Ānanda who was desirous of intimating his attainment of arahatship did not go with the monks. The monks seating themselves in their respective seats in order of seniority, sat down leaving a place for the Elder Ānanda. And when some asked for whom that seat was left they were told that it was for Ānanda. And in answer to the question, "Where has Ānanda gone?" (it should be said thus:—) At that time the Elder thought that it was then the time for him to go. [**13**] Then displaying his supernatural power he dived into the earth and showed himself

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[**14**] " At Vesālī,[3] Sir."
" In connexion with whom ? "
" In connexion with Sudinna, son of Kalandaka."
" In connexion with what subject ? "
" In connexion with sexual intercourse." [4]

Then the venerable Mahākassapa questioned the venerable Upāli on the subject of the first Pārājika, the occasion, the person, the rule, the corollaries, and on what constitutes an offence and what does not. In the same way as of the first, then of the second, the third, and of the fourth Pārājika he asked about the subject and so on and what did not constitute an offence. The Elder Upāli explained whatever he was asked.

Then having classified accordingly these four Pārājika entitled the chapter on the Pārājika, they established as thirteen the thirteen Saṅghâdisesa. They established the two rules called the Aniyata, the thirty rules called the Nissaggiyapācittiya, the ninety-two rules called the Pācittiya, the four rules called the Pāṭidesanīya, the seventy-five rules called the Sekhiya, and the seven rules for the settlement of questions that have arisen.[5]

Thus having classified accordingly the Mahāvibhaṅga, they established the eight rules in the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga entitled the chapter on the Pārājika. They established as seventeen the seventeen (Saṅghâdisesa) rules, the thirty rules as the Nissaggiyapācittiya, the 166 rules as the Pācittiya, the eight rules as the Pāṭidesanīya, the seventy-five rules as the Sekhiya, and the seven rules for the settlement of questions that have arisen.[6] [**15**] Having thus classified the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga even in the same manner they established the Khandhaka and the Parivāra.

Thus was made the compilation of the Vinaya Piṭaka [7] which consists of the Vibhaṅga of both categories, the Khandhaka and the Parivāra. The Elder Mahākassapa questioned on everything and the Elder Upāli explained. At the conclusion of the explanation of the questions the 500 Arahants rehearsed together in a group according to the exact way in which the compilation had been fixed. On the conclusion of the compilation of the Vinaya the Elder Upāli placed aside the fan

inlaid with ivory, descended from the preacher's seat, saluted the older monks, and sat in the seat assigned to him.

15. Having rehearsed the Vinaya, the venerable Mahā-kassapa, wishing to rehearse the Dhamma, asked the monks, "Whom shall we place in charge in rehearsing the Dhamma?" The monks replied, "Let us make the Elder Ānanda to be in charge."

Thereupon [1] the venerable Mahākassapa announced to the Order of monks, "Friends, may the members of the Order listen to me. If it is agreeable to the members of the Order, I shall question Ānanda on the Dhamma." The venerable Ānanda, too, announced to the Order of monks, "May it please the venerable members of the Order to listen to me. If it is agreeable to the members of the Order, I shall explain the Dhamma when questioned by the venerable Mahākassapa." Then [2] the venerable Ānanda rose from his seat, arranged his robe over one shoulder, saluted the Elder monks (i.e. those who were his seniors), and sat in the preacher's seat taking in his hand the fan inlaid with ivory. The Elder Mahākassapa questioned the venerable Ānanda on the Dhamma, "Friend [3] Ānanda, where was the Brahmajāla [4] preached?"

[**16**] "Sir, at the King's palace at Ambalaṭṭhikā, between Rājagaha and Nālandā." [5]

"In connexion with whom?"

"Suppiya the wandering ascetic and the brahmin youth Brahmadatta."

"On what subject?" [6]

"On praise and blame."

And in such wise did the venerable Mahākassapa question the venerable Ānanda on the occasion and the person. (Again he asked),

"Friend Ānanda, where was the Sāmaññaphala [7] preached?"

"Sir, at Jīvaka's Mango Grove at Rājagaha."

"With whom?"

"With Ajātasattu, son of the Videhan princess."

Thereupon the venerable Mahākassapa questioned the venerable Ānanda on the occasion of the Sāmaññaphala, and the person. And in the self-same manner he questioned him on all five Nikāyas.

The five Nikāyas [8] are, Dīghanikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya, Aṅguttaranikāya, and Khuddakanikāya. Here Khuddakanikāya means the rest of the sayings of the Buddha excluding the four Nikāyas. The venerable Elder Upāli explained the Vinaya therein [9] and the Elder Ānanda the remaining sections of the Khuddakanikāya and the four Nikāyas.

16. All this forms the word of the Buddha which should be known as uniform in sentiment,[1] twofold as the Dhamma and the Vinaya, threefold according to the first, intermediate, and last words, and similarly as Piṭakas (Baskets), fivefold according to the Nikāyas (Collections), ninefold according to the Aṅgas (Factors), and forming 84,000 divisions according to the Units of the Dhamma.

17. How is it uniform in sentiment ? During the interval of forty-five years from the time He realized the unique and perfect Enlightenment until he passed away in the element of Nibbāna being free from clinging to the material substratum, whatever the Exalted One has said either as instruction to devas, men, nāgas, yakkhas, and other beings or on reflection, has but one sentiment and that is emancipation. Thus it is uniform as regards sentiment.

18. [17] How is it twofold as the Dhamma and the Vinaya ? All this, in its entirety, is reckoned as the Dhamma and the Vinaya. Herein the Basket of the Discipline is the Vinaya, the rest of the word of the Buddha is the Dhamma.[1] Hence was it stated [2] : " Let us, friends, rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya," and " I shall question Upāli on the Vinaya and Ānanda on the Dhamma." Thus it is twofold as the Dhamma and the Vinaya.

19. How is it threefold according to the first, intermediate, and last words ? All this, in its entirety, has the three divisions as the first words of the Buddha, the intermediate words and the last words. Herein, the stanzas [1] :

" For many births have I run my course in saṃsāra

seeking with no success the builder of the house; painful is birth again and again.

" Thou art seen O builder of the house, thou shalt not build the house again. All thine beams are broken, the ridge-pole shattered. The mind that is divested of all things material has attained the destruction of all craving ":

form the first words of the Buddha. Some say that it was the Stanza of Joy in the Khandhaka beginning with,[2] " When indeed, phenomena manifest themselves " (which formed the first words). It should be known that this is a Stanza of Joy which arose in Him as he contemplated on the causal modes with a happy frame of mind after the attainment of Omniscience on the first day of the lunar fortnight. The statement that He made on the eve of His passing away in perfect Nibbāna,[3] " Now then monks, I address you, all component elements have decay inherent in them, apply yourselves diligently," forms the last words of the Buddha. What has been said during the interval between these two (statements) form the intermediate words of the Buddha. Thus it is threefold according to the first, intermediate, and last words.

20. [**18**] How is it threefold according to the Piṭakas ? Indeed, all this, in its entirety, has the three divisions as the Vinaya-piṭaka, the Suttantapiṭaka, and the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Therein, having brought together all that has been both rehearsed and not [1] at the First Convocation, both Pātimokkha, the two Vibhaṅga, the twenty-two Khandhaka, and the sixteen Parivāra, it is called the Vinayapiṭaka.

The collection of the thirty-four suttas beginning with Brahmajāla called the Dīghanikāya, that of 152 suttas beginning with Mūlapariyāya called the Majjhimanikāya, that of 7,762 suttas beginning with Oghataraṇasutta called the Saṃyuttanikāya, that of 9,557 suttas beginning with the Cittapariyādānasutta called the Aṅguttaranikāya, and the Khuddakanikāya [2] consisting of the fifteen works : Khuddaka-pāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta, Vimāna-vatthu, Petavatthu, Thera- and Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidā, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, and Cariyāpiṭaka, are called the Suttantapiṭaka.

Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññattı, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka, and Paṭṭhāna constitute the Abhidhammapiṭaka.

21. Herein,

Because it contains manifold distinctive modes of practices and restrains both bodily and verbal acts, the Vinaya is called so by those who are adept in the purport of the Discipline.

Here the word "manifold" is used with reference to the divisions such as the injunctions of the fivefold Pātimokkha,[1] the seven classes of offences beginning with the Pārājika,[2] the Mātikā,[3] and the Vibhaṅga. They have become distinctive on account of the application of corollaries [4] which serve the purpose of relaxing rigid rules. [19] It regulates body and speech as it prohibits physical and verbal transgressions. Therefore it is called Vinaya on account of the diversity of means, the distinctive practices, and the disciplining of the body and speech. Therefore this has been said for the sake of expediency in bringing out the connotation of the term :

Because it contains manifold distinctive modes of practices and restrains both bodily and verbal acts, the Vinaya is called so by those who are adept in the purport of the Discipline.

22. And the next :

Because it points out meanings, expresses them clearly, fulfils them, flows with meanings, affords perfect protection, and shares the properties of a thread, Sutta is given the name Sutta.

For it conveys meanings which are diversified as subjective, objective, and the like. Here the meanings are clearly expressed as they have been declared in accordance with the intentions of those who are amenable to discipline. Here it fulfils the meanings in the same manner as when it is said that corn yields a harvest. It flows with meaning in the same manner as when it is said that the cow yields abundant milk. It has been said that it protects and guards them well. It shares the properties

of a thread even as a plumb-line serves as a measure to the carpenters : even so is this to the wise, as when flowers strung together with a thread are neither scattered nor dispersed. Likewise, by means of this the meanings have been grasped. Therefore this has been said for the sake of expediency in bringing out the connotation of the term :

Because it points out meanings, expresses them clearly, fulfils them, flows with meanings, affords perfect protection, and shares the properties of a thread, Sutta is given the name Sutta.

23. [**20**] And the other :

Since here are found conditions which possess growth and their own characteristics, are revered and differentiated and said to be excellent—on account of these it is called Abhidhamma.

And this prefix *abhi* is seen to denote growth, possession of own characteristics, reverence, differentiation, and excellence. Therefore it has come to be used in the sense of growth in statements such as,[1] " acute and painful sensations come upon me, they do not recede." In statements such as [2] " all those memorable nights that had been set apart ", it is used in the sense of own characteristics ; in statements such as [3] " king of kings, Inda among men ", in the sense of reverence ; in statements such as [4] " capable of being disciplined in the fundamental tenets of the Dhamma and the essential rules of the Vinaya ", in the sense of differentiation. It means (that they are able to master) the Dhamma and the Vinaya without confusing either with the other. In statements such as [5] " in surpassing splendour ", it is used in the sense of excellence. Herein, as stated in expressions such as [6] " he develops the path for the arising of form ", or [7] " he lives suffusing one quarter with thoughts of love ", phenomena which have reached a state of development have been referred to. On account of their being characterized by sense-data and so forth according to such attributes as [8] " visual object and auditory object ", they possess their own characteristics. According to such designations as [9] " conditions pertaining to a Learner, to a

Man Perfected and those that are transcendental", it is implied that they are revered and are worthy of reverence. On account of their true state being delimited in such manner as [10] "there arises contact and there arise sensations" and so forth, they are differentiated. They are called phenomena of excellence in statements such as [11] "states waxed great, states immeasurable, states incomparable", and so forth. Therefore this has been said for the sake of expediency in bringing out the connotation of the term :

> Since here are found conditions which possess growth and their own characteristics, are revered and differentiated and said to be excellent—on account of these it is called Abhidhamma.

24. Whatever has been not specifically implied, it is expressed in,

> Those versed in the meaning of the term Piṭaka, used it with reference to learning and a vessel. By combining (the two meanings) the three (divisions) commencing with the Vinaya should be known so.

[**21**] In signifying learning it is called a piṭaka in statements such as [1] "not by including in a piṭaka" and so forth. In statements such as [2] "Then a man might come along bringing with him a hoe and a basket" it signifies some kind of vessel. Therefore,

> Those versed in the meaning of the term Piṭaka, used it with reference to learning and a vessel. By combining (the two meanings) the three (divisions) commencing with the Vinaya should be known so.

Hence having thus formed a compound with the noun piṭaka in both meanings, it is called the Vinayapiṭaka as the Piṭaka is the Vinaya on account of its being the learning and as it embraces the differentiated meanings. And so, in the very same manner as stated above, the Suttapiṭaka is the Sutta which is the Piṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka is the Abhidhamma which is the Piṭaka. In this manner should these three, commencing with Vinaya, be known. Having understood them thus, again for the sake of expediency in bringing out in divers ways the significance of these Piṭakas :

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to the sixty-two heretical theories [2]; and the third, discourse on the distinction between Name and Form as in it is discussed the differentiation of Name and Form which is diametrically opposed to lust and other evil tendencies.

26. It should be known that in these three are the threefold training, the threefold avoidance, and the fourfold profundity. Hence the training in the higher morality is specifically discussed in the Vinayapiṭaka, the training in higher thought in the Suttapiṭaka, and the training in higher wisdom in the Abhidhammapiṭaka. In the Vinayapiṭaka is taught the avoidance of transgression, as transgression in defilements is diametrically opposed to morality; in the Suttapiṭaka the avoidance of prepossession, as prepossession is diametrically opposed to concentration; in the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the avoidance of latent bias, as latent bias is diametrically opposed to wisdom. In the first is the categorical avoidance of defilements and in the others the avoidance consisting of elimination and eradication. In the first is the avoidance of the defilement of misconduct: in the others that of the defilements of craving and misbelief. And in each of them the fourfold profundity [1] of the Dhamma, of the meaning, of the exposition, and of the comprehension, should be known. Herein the Dhamma is the Sacred Texts, the meaning is its precise meaning, the exposition is the verbal preaching of the Sacred Texts which have been established in the mind, and the comprehension is the correct understanding of the Sacred Texts and the meaning of the Sacred Texts. And in these three (Piṭakas) [23] the Dhamma, the meaning, the exposition, and the comprehension are difficult of access to men of little wit and providing no basis of support even as the great ocean is to hares and such animals; and hence they are profound. In this manner, herein, should the fourfold profundity too of each one of them be understood.

27. Another explanation: *Dhamma* signifies cause; for it is said,[1] "The knowledge of the cause is the analytical knowledge of the Dhamma." *Attha* signifies the result of the cause; for it is said,[2] "The knowledge of the result of the cause is

the analytical knowledge of the meaning." *Desanā* signifies exposition. It also implies the verbal expression of the Dhamma according to its true nature. *Paṭivedha* signifies realization in a worldly and in a transcedental sense : an exposition in its proper sphere, without confusion, in conformity with the essential significance of the phenomena and with the nature of the meanings and the comprehension of the expositions in accordance with their general trend.

Now, on account of whatever is characterized as Dhamma or Attha in these Piṭakas, of the exposition which elucidates the meaning in accordance with that meaning which has to be announced to the listeners and precedes knowledge, of all that which consists of penetrative knowledge herein and is considered as unequivocal realization, and of its being difficult of access providing no basis of support to men of feeble intellect who have not accumulated any meritorious deeds, even as the great ocean is to hares and such animals, the fourfold profundity herein should be known in this manner.

[**24**] To this extent are the reasons for stating the following stanza :

> One should explain their divisions of sayings incorporating admonitions and discourses that suit the occasions, as well as of moral training, avoidance, and the profundity.

28. But in,

> One should also elaborate on all topics such as the division of the learning and how and under what conditions a monk attains whatever (there may be of) success or failure,

the threefold division of the learning in these three Piṭakas should be observed. The modes of learning are three (in number) : that which may be compared to the water-snake, that which aims at release, and the mode of learning of a treasurer. Here, what has been wrongly grasped, and learned by heart for the reproach of others is comparable to the simile of the water-snake : regarding which it is said,[1] "Even as, O monks, a man who is in need of a water-snake, who seeks for one and goes about searching for one, were to see a large water-snake, he would seize it by the coils or tail, and that water-snake

were to turn round and bite him in the hand or arm or any other part of his body, he would, in consequence of that undergo death or pain amounting to death. What is the reason for it ? O monks, it was due to the improper handling of the water-snake. Even in the same way, O monks, some foolish men in this world commit to memory the Dhamma consisting of sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, jātaka, abbhutadhamma, and vedalla.[2] Having committed to memory the Dhamma, they do not examine with intelligence the significance of those teachings. As they do not examine intelligently their significance those teachings do not arouse comprehension. They commit the teachings to memory for the sake of censuring others and freeing themselves of others' blame. They do not experience that purpose for the sake of which (the virtuous) master the Dhamma. Those teachings which have been wrongly grasped by them are conducive to their disadvantage and misery for a long time. What is the reason for it ? O monks, it is due to the wrong comprehension of the teachings."

[**25**] Whatever has been well grasped, and perfected, desiring the fulfilment of the aggregate of moral precepts themselves, not with the purpose of censuring others—it brings about release. Regarding this it is said,[3] " Those teachings being well grasped by them are conducive to their advantage and happiness for a long time. What is the reason for it ? O monks, it is due to their correct comprehension of the teachings."

Again, whatever a canker-waned sage who has understood the aggregates, rid himself of the defilements, developed the path, pierced through the state of mutability, and realized cessation, accomplishes solely for the purpose of guarding the line of continuity and protecting the linage, this is the mode of learning of a treasurer.

29. But the monk who is faring along well in the Vinaya, on account of his attainment of virtue arrives at the threefold knowledge, which is stated therein in accordance with their analytical treatment. He who is faring along well in the Sutta, on account of his attainment of concentration arrives at the sixfold higher knowledge, which is stated therein in accordance

with their analytical treatment. He who is faring along well in the Abhidhamma, on account of his attainment of wisdom arrives at the fourfold analytic insight, which is stated therein in accordance with their analytical treatment. Thus, he who is faring along well in them, in due course arrives at the attainments consisting of this threefold knowledge, sixfold higher knowledge, and fourfold analytic insight.

On the other hand, he who is faring ill along in the Vinaya is not aware of the blameworthiness of the physical contact and the like which arise in association with those forbidden objects which are excluded from the prescribed categories of pleasant contact with (specified types of) carpets, garments for outer wear and the like.[1] For it is said,[2] "I understand the Dhamma declared by the Exalted One that certain practices have been said to be harmful by the Exalted One, and the person who indulges in them (considers them) as incapable of bringing harm upon him." Consequently he arrives at evil conduct. [**26**] He who is faring ill along in the Sutta accepts the wrong thing, not knowing the correct significance, as it is stated in such passages as,[3] "These four individuals, O monks, are seen existing," and so on. Regarding this it has been said,[4] "On account of his wrong grasp, he accuses me, harms himself, and enters on much evil." Consequently he arrives at wrong views. He who is faring ill along in the Abhidhamma over-rides the thoughts on the nature of things and thinks even of what should not be reflected on. Consequently he arrives at confusion of mind. For it has been said[5]: "These four topics should not be reflected on, O monks, they should not be thought of, for he who thinks of them would be subjected to madness and vexation." Thus, he who is faring ill along with reference to those, in due course, sustains great loss consisting of evil conduct, wrong views, and confusion of mind. To this extent are the reasons for also stating the following stanza:

> One should also elaborate on all topics such as the division of the learning and how and under what conditions a monk attains whatever (there may be of) success or failure.

In this manner should the Piṭakas be known in their divers aspects: and in accordance with them the word of the Buddha should be understood as being threefold.

30. How is it fivefold according to the division into Nikāyas ? All this falls into the fivefold division : Dīghanikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya, Aṅguttaranikāya, and Khuddakanikāya.

Therein, what is the Dīghanikāya ?

The thirty-four suttas commencing with Brahmajāla arranged in three vaggas (groups).

The thirty-four long suttas whose arrangement is in three vaggas is called the Dīghanikāya, the first in serial order.

And why is it called the Dīghanikāya ?

On account of the fact that it is a collection and a resting place for suttas long in measure (it is so termed), and it is called a nikāya as all of them are placed together as a collection. [27] In statements such as,[1] " O monks, I do not see any other group that is so variegated as creatures of the animal kingdom, as the kingdom of those that go prone and of those that live in the mud," are found examples both from the doctrinal aspect and popular usage. Thus should the connotation of the term nikāya be understood even with reference to the others.

What is the Majjhimanikāya ?

The 152 suttas of medium length commencing with the Mūlapariyāyā Sutta and arranged in fifteen vaggas.

That which contains 150 suttantas and two other suttas, comprising fifteen vaggas is called the Majjhimanikāya.

What is the Saṃyuttanikāya ?

The 7,762 suttas commencing with the Oghataraṇa Sutta and classified under such topics as the Devatā Saṃyutta.

Seven thousand suttas and 700 of them as well as sixty-two suttantas—this is the Saṃyutta collection.

What is the Aṅguttaranikāya ?

The 9,557 suttas commencing with the Cittapariyādana, the " Summary Grasping of the Mind ", which occur as one factor in excess of each preceding one.

Nine thousand suttas and 500 suttas and fifty-seven other suttas form the number in the Aṅguttara.

What is the Khuddakanikāya ?

The rest of the word of the Buddha including the entire Vinaya Piṭaka, the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and the fifteen

divisions commencing with the Khuddakapāṭha enumerated earlier,[2] leaving aside the four nikāyas.[3]

[28] The rest of the word of the Buddha, excluding these four nikāyas such as the Digha, is considered the Khuddakanikāya.

Thus it is fivefold according to (the division into) Nikāyas.

31. How is it ninefold according to (the classification into) Aṅgas ?

All this is comprised under the ninefold division : sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, jātaka, abbhutadhamma, and vedalla.

Herein, the twofold Vibhaṅga, the Niddesas, the Khandhaka, the Parivāra, Maṅgala, Ratana, Nālaka, and Tuvaṭaka Suttas of the Sutta Nipāta and other sayings of the Tathāgata bearing the name sutta should be known as Sutta (Discourses).[1]

All the suttas containing stanzas should be known as Geyya (Recitation), particularly the entire Sagātha-vagga (Chapter with Stanzas) in the Saṃyutta.[2]

The whole of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, suttas which contain no stanzas and any other (sayings from the) word of the Buddha not included in the other eight Aṅgas[3] should be known as Veyyākaraṇa (Expositions).

The Dhammapada, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, and sections entirely in verse in the Sutta Nipāta which are not designated as suttas should be known as Gāthā (Stanzas).[4]

The eighty-two suttantas containing stanzas which were prompted by an awareness of joy should be known as Udāna (Utterances of Joy).[5]

The 112 suttantas which have been handed down prefixed with the statement, " For this has been said by the Exalted One," should be known as Itivuttaka (Thus Saids).[5]

The 550 Birth Stories commencing with Apaṇṇaka should be known as Jātaka (Birth Stories).[6]

All the suttantas connected with wonderful and marvellous phenomena handed down with words to such effect as, " O monks, these four wonderful and marvellous qualities are seen in Ānanda," should be known as Abbhutadhamma (Marvellous Phenomena).[7]

[**29**] All the suttantas requested to be preached as a result of repeated attainment of wisdom and delight, such as Culla-vedalla, Mahāvedalla, Sammādiṭṭhi, Sakkapañha, Saṅkhāra-bhājaniya, and Mahāpuṇṇama Suttas [8] and others should be known as Vedalla (Analyses).[9] Thus it is ninefold according to (the classification) into Aṅgas.

32. How is it eighty-four thousandfold according to the Dhammakkhandhas (Units of the Dhamma) ?

All this, the entire word of the Buddha has 84,000 divisions according to the Units of the Dhamma as laid down in the following manner [1] :

> I have taken 82,000 from the Buddha, and 2,000 from the monks : and these are the 84,000 extant Units of the Dhamma.

Herein, a sutta with a unitary application is one Unit of the Dhamma. Whatever is of multiple application, the number of Units of the Dhamma in it depends on the number of topics of application. In metrical compositions the question and the answer form two different Units of the Dhamma. In the Abhidhamma, each analysis of a triad or a dyad or the analysis of each thought-process forms a separate Unit of the Dhamma. In the Vinaya, there are the subjects for rules, tabulations, analysis of terms, secondary conditions of guilt,[2] and of innocence and the demarcation of the threefold delimiting factors of offences.[3] Herein, each category should be understood as a separate Unit of the Dhamma. Thus it has 84,000 divisions according to the Units of the Dhamma.

33. Thus, this word of the Buddha which is uniform in sentiment taken as a whole (without division), and consists of such divisions as the Dhamma and the Vinaya in the divisions such as those into two and so forth, has been laid down as, " This is the Dhamma and this is the Vinaya, these are the first, intermediate, and final sayings of the Buddha, these are the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma Piṭakas, these are the Nikāyas from Digha to Khuddaka, these are the nine Aṅgas commencing with Sutta and these are the eighty-four thousand Units of the Dhamma," was rehearsed together by the assembly

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this statement the meaning of these words, " By whom was this statement made, and when was it said ? " has been expressed.

And now, here is told (the significance of), " Wherefore it has been said ? " Since the Venerable One was asked the occasion by the Elder Mahākassapa, it should be known that it has been so declared by the venerable Elder Upāli, in order to explain this occasion from the beginning, at the time of the First Great Convocation when he said this for this reason. And so with this statement the meaning of these terms of tabulation, " By whom said, when and for what reason " has been explained.

35. Now, this is said to express the significance of the words : " By whom this was retained in mind, handed down by whom, established in whom, and having next delcared the procedure." And it states by whom the Vinaya Piṭaka—adorned as it is with the " Occasion " expressed in words to the effect,[1] " At that time the Buddha, the Exalted One was living at Verañjā "—has been retained in mind, by whom handed down, and in whom established. Firstly, from the beginning, it has been retained in mind by the venerable Elder Upāli having learned it under the Exalted One, and directly from him, even before the passing away of the Tathāgata in perfect Nibbāna, by many thousands of monks such as those possessing the six-fold higher knowledge, and after the passing away of the Tathāgata in perfect Nibbāna, by the Elders who made the compilation of the Dhamma under the leadership of Mahākassapa.

The meaning of " By whom was it handed down ? " is that it was firstly handed down in Jambudipa till the Third Convocation by a succession of teachers commencing with the Elder Upāli. [**32**] And this is the succession of teachers [2] :

> Upāli, Dāsaka, as well as Soṇaka, similarly Siggava and Tissa Moggaliputta—these five victorious ones,
>
> Transmitted the Vinaya in the glorious (is)land of Jambusiri in unbroken succession up to the time of the third rehearsal.

36. For, the venerable Upāli learned this Vinaya tradition,

this lineage of the Vinaya, this legacy of the Vinaya directly under the Exalted One and established it in the heart of many monks. Among those individuals who learned the Vinaya under the Venerable One and attained perfection of knowledge in the Vinaya, the number of worldlings, Stream-Entrants, Once-Returners, and Non-Returners has transcended all reckoning; and there were exactly 1,000 canker-waned Arahants. And the Elder Dāsaka was his own Saddhivihārika.[1] He received it from the Elder Upāli and in the same way gave instruction in the Vinaya. The number of worldlings and others who studied the Vinaya under this Venerable One too and attained perfection of knowledge in the Vinaya has transcended all reckoning; of canker-waned Arahants alone there were 1,000. Next, the Elder Sonaka was the Saddhivihārika of the Elder Dāsaka. He too learned it from his preceptor the Elder Dāsaka and in the same way gave instruction in the Vinaya. The number of worldlings and others who studied it under that Venerable One too and attained perfection of knowledge in the Vinaya has transcended all reckoning; of canker-waned Arahants alone there were 1,000.

37. And the Elder Siggava was the Saddhivihārika of the Elder Sonaka. He too studied the Vinaya under his preceptor the Elder Sonaka and took the rôle of the Chief in office among a thousand Arahants. Again, the worldlings, Stream-Entrants, Once-Returners, Non-Returners, as well as canker-waned Arahants [**33**] who studied under that Venerable One and attained perfection of knowledge in the Vinaya were not (to be) limited as so many hundred or so many thousand. It is said that there was a very large number of monks in Jambudipa at that time. And the influence of the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa will be clearly seen from the Third Convocation. It should be known that in this manner the Vinaya Piṭaka was first handed down in Jambudipa until the Third Convocation by this succession of teachers.

38. In order to know well the Second Convocation this procedure should be understood. For when,

Those 500 Elders, including Kassapa and others who were

effulgent and canker-waned and devoid of attachment, rehearsed the Good Teaching, making it shine everywhere, remained till the end of their life-time and passed away in Nibbāna like lamps with oil consumed ;

as days and nights were passing by, one by one, in due course,[1] when it was a hundred years since the passing away of the Exalted One in perfect Nibbāna, the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī proclaimed at Vesālī these ten indulgences[2]: It is permissible to use salt in a horn, to eat when the sun has turned two digits after noon, to go into the village for alms a second time, to hold separate uposatha[3] meetings within the same simā,[4] to pass a formal act of the Order awaiting the sanction of the others, to follow precedent in practices, to drink whey after meals, to drink unfermented liquor, to use rugs not of the prescribed length if they have no fringe, and to accept gold and silver. King Kālâsoka, son of Susunāga[5] was on their side.

At that time the venerable Yasa, son of Kākaṇḍaka who was on his sojourns in the land of the Vajjīs came to hear that the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī had put forward ten indulgences, and soon arrived at Vesālī thinking to himself, "It does not become me to remain indifferent hearing the danger that is to befall the Dispensation of the Lord of Ten Powers : let me check the propounders of this heresy [**34**] and make the Dhamma shine." Thereupon the venerable Yasa, son of Kākaṇḍaka took up his residence in the Gabled Hall in the Great Wood near Vesālī.

And at that time the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī, on the day of the uposatha, filled a bronze vessel with water, placed it in the midst of the Order of monks, and began to say to the lay devotees of Vesālī who came there, "Friends, give a kahāpaṇa[6] to the Order, even half a kahāpaṇa, even a quarter or even a māsaka :[7] it will be of use to the Order to procure requisites." All that, as far as the statement[8] that at this rehearsal of the Vinaya there were exactly 700 monks, neither less nor more, and that therefore this Second Convocation was called that of the Seven Hundred,[9] should be mentioned. In this manner, at that assembly 1,200,000 monks gathered together urged by the venerable Yasa. In their midst, those

ten indulgences were decided on by the Elder Sabbakāmī who, being questioned by the venerable Revata, explained the Vinaya, and the dispute was thus settled.[10]

Next,[11] the Elders who wished to rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya afresh, selected 700 monks versed in the Three Piṭakas and possessing analytic insight ; and making them sit in conclave at Vālukârāma in Vesālī, cleansed the Dispensation of every impurity and they again rehearsed the entire Dhamma and the Vinaya separately as piṭakas, nikāyas, aṅgas, and Units of the Dhamma even in the same manner as it was rehearsed by the Elder Mahākassapa. This convocation was concluded in eight months.

What is commonly held in the world as,

That of the Seven Hundred as it was done by 700, and also called the Second by reason of the one that was held earlier ; is verily this : [12]

Well known among those Elders by whom this rehearsal was done were those Saddhivihārikas of the Elder Ānanda, Sabbakāmī, Sāḷha, Revata, Khujjasobhita, [**35**] Yasa, and Sāṇasambhūta, Elders who had themselves seen the Tathāgata.

These two, Sumana and Vāsabhagāmī, should be known as the Saddhivihārikas of Anuruddha, who had themselves seen the Tathāgata.

Further, those Elders by whom the Second Recital was rehearsed, all of them had laid aside their burden, done their duty and were cankerless.

This is the Second Convocation.

39. Having thus finished rehearsing this Second Recital, those Elders who were investigating whether a calamity of this nature would, in the future, befall the Dispensation foresaw thus : " In the hundred and eighteenth year from now, the King named Dhammâsoka will appear in Pāṭaliputta and reign over the whole of Jambudipa. He will win faith in the Dispensation of the Buddha and bestow upon it great material gains and honour. Consequently, heretics coveting gain and honour will enter the Order in the Dispensation and propound each his

own philosophical dogma. In this manner a great calamity will befall the Dispensation."

Thereupon it so occurred to them, " When this calamity has arisen will we be able to meet the situation or not ? " And all of them, realizing that they themselves would not live to see it, surveyed the whole of the human world and the six heavenly regions of the sensuous plane,[1] and not being able to perceive any one who would be able to settle this dispute, beheld in the world of Brahma, the Great Brahma named Tissa whose span of life there was drawing to a close and who had developed the path for birth in a higher Brahma-world.

Perceiving this it so occurred to them : " If we should make an effort to induce him to be born in the world of men, for certain, [**36**] he would take birth [2] in the family of the Brahmin Moggali. Next, with his curiosity aroused for the mantas [3] he will go forth from home and enter the Order. Having thus entered the Order he will learn the entire word of the Buddha, attain analytic insight, subdue the heretics, give his judgment on the dispute and stabilize the Dispensation."

They went to the world of Brahma and spoke thus to the Great Brahma Tissa, " One hundred and eighteen years from now, a great calamity will befall the Dispensation. While surveying the whole world of men and the six heavenly regions of the sensuous plane we did not see any one able to stabilize the Dispensation, but in our search in the world of Brahma we saw your worthy self. It would be well, O good Sir, if you will give us the assurance that you will be born in the world of men and stabilize the Dispensation of the Lord of Ten Powers."

When this was said, the Great Brahma who was overjoyed and fired with enthusiasm at the thought that indeed he would have the ability to stabilize the Dispensation by purifying it of the calamity that would arise in it, gave them the assurance saying, " So be it." The Elders having accomplished their task in the world of Brahma came back again.

40. And at that time there were two young monks called the Elder Siggava and the Elder Caṇḍavajji, who were newly ordained, were versed in the Three Piṭakas, and gained analytic insight and were canker-waned. They did not take part in the

settlement of that dispute. The Elders said to them, " Friends, you did not give us your assistance in the settlement of this dispute. And let this be your punishment for it : The Brahma named Tissa will take birth in the family of the brahmin Moggali. Let one of you take him away and admit him into the Order, let the other teach him the word of the Buddha " ; and all of them remained till the end of their span of life and

Those Elders of great psychic power, headed by Sabbakāmi, blazed forth in the world like columns of fire and became extinct.[1]

[37] And verily, those canker-waned Elders who had reached full mastery (over themselves) and developed analytic insight, made the second rehearsal, purified the Dispensation, and paved the way for the purity of the Good Teaching even for the future and finally were overpowered by the way of impermanence.

Thus knowing the contemptible nature and unassailability of the way of impermanence let the wise man endeavour to reach that immortal state which is everlasting.

With this is concluded the description of the Second Convocation in all its aspects.

IV—The Account of the Third Great Convocation

41. Now Tissa the Great Brahma passed away from the world of Brahma and took birth in the house of the brahmin Moggali. From the day he took birth, the Elder Siggava too continued for seven years to visit the brahmin's house for alms. Not on a single day did he receive even a ladleful of gruel or a spoonful of rice. Then one day, at the end of seven years he received the mere word, " Your pardon Sir, go on." On the same day, the brahmin too who was returning home having attended to some business outside saw the Elder going the opposite way and asked him, " O good recluse, did you visit our home ? "

" Yes, brahmin, we went thither."
" Did you receive anything there ? "
" Yes, brahmin, we did receive."

He went home and inquired, " Did you give anything to that recluse ? "

" We gave nothing whatever."

On the following day, the brahmin seated himself right on the doorway thinking to himself, " Today I will put the recluse to shame for lying." And on this second day, the Elder came to the door of the brahmin's house. On seeing the Elder the brahmin said to him, " Without receiving anything from our house yesterday, you said that you did receive. Is it becoming of you to utter falsehood ? " The Elder replied, " Brahmin, for seven years we have not been honoured at your house even with the mere words, ' Your pardon Sir, go on,' but yesterday I received this mere word. Hence I spoke in that manner taking into account this act of courtesy."

The Brahmin reflected, " These (recluses) having received but a courteous greeting express their thanks to us for having received it. [**38**] In what manner will they not praise us if they receive anything else in the form of hard and soft food ? " and was pleased, and had a spoonful of food, together with curries suitable for it, given to him from the food prepared for his use, and said that he would be receiving that quantity of alms every day. He was highly impressed by the composure of the Elder who continued to visit him from the following day onwards, and begged of the Elder to partake of his meals in his house for all time. The Elder accepted the invitation, and every day, at the end of his meal on his visit there, preached the word of the Buddha a little at a time before he departed.

42. As for the young brahmin, even at the age of sixteen, he had gained proficiency in the three Vedas. There is no one else who may sit on or lie down on the seat or couch used by a pure being who has come down from the world of Brahma. When he visits his teacher's house they cover his bed and seat with a white cloth and keep them apart hanging them up.

The Elder thought, " The time is now come to admit the youth into the Order. Though I have been coming here for a long time no conversation has ever taken place with the youth. It would be expedient now if it were to take place by this means, on account of his divan," and went to the house and

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the Order under him. I wish to enter the Order under him and learn the manta." And his parents gave him their permission, thinking, " Let our son even enter the Order and learn the mantas ; after he has learned them he will come back to us " ; and said to him, " Son, you may receive it."

43. The Elder admitted him into the Order and, first of all, acquainted him with the topics of meditation on the thirty-two parts of the body.[1] Doing his preliminary exercises with regard to them, before long, he established himself in the fruit of the Stream-Entrant stage. The Elder next thought, " The novice has attained the fruit of the Stream-Entrant stage, it is now impossible for him to turn back from the Dispensation. If I should assign to him more elaborate topics of meditation, he would attain arahatship and would evince no keenness to learn the word of the Buddha. Now is the tine to send him to the Elder Caṇḍavajji."

Subsequently he said to him, " Come novice, go to the Elder and learn the word of the Buddha. Inquire after his health on my behalf and say to him, ' Sir, my preceptor sent me to you.' When you are asked the name of your preceptor say, ' Sir, he is the Elder Siggava.' When he asks you what his name is say, ' Sir, my preceptor knows your name.' "[2]

Saying, " Very well, Sir," the novice Tissa took leave of the Elder by reverentially circumambulating him, and in due course, went before the Elder Caṇḍavajji and saluting him stood respectfully aside. The Elder asked, " Novice, from where do you come ? " He replied, " My preceptor, Sir, sent me to you."

" What is the name of your preceptor ? "

" Sir, he is the Elder Siggava."

" And what is my name ? "

" Sir, my preceptor knows your name."

" Then put away your bowl and robe."

Saying, " So be it, Sir," the novice [**41**] put away the bowl and robe ; and on the following day swept the cell and provided water and a tooth cleaner.

The Elder swept over again the place that had been swept, brought fresh water throwing away that water, and took

another tooth-stick removing that tooth-stick. He did this for seven days and on the seventh day questioned him again. Once again the novice spoke in the manner he had spoken in before. The Elder realized for certain that he was the brahmin and asked him, " What is your purpose in coming here ? "

" Sir, to learn the word of the Buddha."

Saying, " Novice, then you may learn it," the Elder initiated him into the word of the Buddha from the following day onwards. Whilst yet being a novice, Tissa mastered together with the commentary, the entire word of the Buddha with the exception of the Vinaya Piṭaka. When he had received the higher ordination, even before he had spent the first Rains-residence, he had become proficient in the Three Piṭakas.

The teacher and the preceptor having established the entire word of the Buddha in the hands of the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa, remained till the end of their span of life and passed away in perfect Nibbāna. And at a subsequent date the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa developed the topics of meditation, and having gained arahatship imparted the Dhamma and Vinaya to many.

44. And at this time King Bindusāra had one hundred sons. Asoka killed all of them except Prince Tissa who was born of the same mother.[1] Whilst carrying on his campaigns against them he reigned for four years without being anointed king ; and at the end of the four years he was consecrated as the sole ruler of Jambudipa in the 218th year after the passing away of the Tathāgata in perfect Nibbāna.[2] [**42**] By virtue of his consecration the following supernatural royal powers accrued to him : His sway extended over a region of a yojana below the great earth and a similar region above in the sky. Daily, the deities brought to him sixteen pots of water in eight pingoes [3] from the lake Anotatta,[4] of which, after he had won faith in the Dispensation, he gave eight pots to the Order of monks, two pots to the monks versed in the Three Piṭakas numbering about 60,000, two pots to his chief queen Asandhimittā, and he himself used four pots. There is in the Himalayas a variety of tooth-stick called nāgalatā,[5] smooth and soft and full of sap. Daily, the deities brought these as well, and they

served as the daily tooth-cleaners to the King, the Queen, 16,000 (women) dancers and 60,000 monks.

And daily, the deities brought for him medicinal myrobalan fruits, golden coloured medicinal gall-nuts, and sweet smelling and juicy ripe mangoes. In the same way, they brought from the Chaddanta lake [6] inner and outer garments of the five colours, yellow silken cloth for wiping the hand, and celestial drink. And daily the Nāga Kings brought for him from the Nāga realm perfumed ointments, silken cloth for his outer garments interwoven with jasmine flowers without using thread, and costly unguents. [**43**] Parrots brought daily, 9,000 vāhas [7] of sāli rice grown in the Chaddanta lake; and rats removed the husk so that not one grain was broken; and on all occasions this grain was meant for the King's use. Bees made honey. In forges and other places (of work) bears swung the hammers. The cuckoos came forth warbling in sweet tones and paid homage to the King.

45. The King who was endowed with these supernatural powers, one day sent a golden chain to bind the Nāga king called Kāla [1] whose span of life is an aeon and who had had the opportunity of seeing four Buddhas in person; and he had him brought before him, and seating him on a worthy divan beneath the white parasol of state made offering of flowers of many hundred colours sprung both on land and water, as well as with flowers of gold. Making 16,000 (women) dancers decked in all their finery to stand around him on all sides he requested him, "Firstly, set before these eyes of mine the form of the Perfectly Enlightened One, the Exalted Universal Monarch of the Good Teaching." And beholding the form of the Buddha created by him, decked with all the eighty minor marks scattered all over his body, arisen through the power of his merit and resembling an expanse of water adorned with red, blue, and white lotuses in full bloom on account of the splendour of the thirty-two characteristics of a Great Being,[2] or like the expanse of the heavens resplendent with the suffusion of the clear radiance from the clusters of rays from myriads of stars, or which resembled the peak of a golden mountain surrounded by flashes of lightning and rain-bows with the sheen of the

twilight glow on them on account of the splendour of the fathom-deep halo of the interwoven rays of the diversified colours consisting of blue, yellow, red, and others around him, [**44**] radiant with the graceful head dazzling with the splendour of the bright pinnacle of rays consisting of many colours, and like an unguent to the eyes of the hosts of brahmas, devas, human beings, nāgas, and yakkhas ; and for seven days, he made what is known as the offering of his gaze.[3]

46. After he received his consecration, for three years, the King, it is said, supported an outside heretical sect, and in his fourth year gained faith in the Dispensation of the Buddha.[1] As for his father Bindusāra, he was an adherent of Brahmanism. He established the constant feeding of brahmins, heretical teachers born of the brahmin caste, and white-robed wandering ascetics, numbering about 60,000.

Asoka, who likewise continued at his palace, the gift of alms that was performed by his father, one day, as he stood at his lion-window,[2] saw them eating and conducting themselves in a manner bereft of all composure, with unrestrained faculties and with undisciplined bodily movements, and he thought, " It is worth investigating and making this gift to a suitable recipient." Having thus reflected, he said to his ministers, " Go, fellows, and bring hither to my palace recluses and brahmins whom each one of you considers worthy, for we wish to give alms." Replying to the King, " So be it, Sire," the ministers brought various classes of white-robed wandering ascetics, religious mendicants, naked ascetics, and others and announced, " These, Sire, we deem holy."

The King, thereupon, had various types of high and low seats prepared at his palace, and inviting them to come, said to all of them who came, " Sit down on any seat suitable for each one of you." [**45**] Some of them sat down on comfortable seats, others on seats of plank. Seeing this the King realized that there was no inner substance in them, and he gave them hard and soft food agreeable to them and sent them away.

47. As time thus went by, one day, standing at his lion-window he saw the novice Nigrodha [1] walking by the royal courtyard,

restrained, self-controlled, with senses guarded and endowed with deportment in his movements. And who is this Nigrodha ?

He is the son of Prince Sumana, the eldest son of King Bindusāra. And here follows the story from the beginning : It is said that during King Bindusāra's dotage Prince Asoka gave up the principality of Ujjeni which was assigned to him and came and took the whole city under his control and captured Prince Sumana. On the very same day, Princess Sumanā, Prince Sumana's wife, had completed the full period of pregnancy. She went away in disguise ; and while she was on her way through a Caṇḍāla village she heard the words, " Come hither Sumanā," uttered by the deity who had made a banyan tree growing hard by the house of the Caṇḍāla chieftain his abode and she went thither (up to the deity).

By his supernatural power the deity created a hut [2] and gave it to her requesting her to live in it. She entered that hut. Even on the day she went away she gave birth to a son. As he had received the protection of the deity of the banyan (nigrodha) tree she gave him the name Nigrodha. The Caṇḍāla chieftain, from the day he saw her, began to attend on her regularly looking upon her as the daughter of his lord.[3] The Princess lived there for seven years.

[46] The Prince Nigrodha too reached the age of seven years. At this time the Elder Mahāvaruṇa, an Arahant who was living there, seeing the latent potentialities of the child thought, " This child is now seven years old, it is time to admit him into the Order " ; and sending word to the Princess, he admitted Prince Nigrodha into the Order. The Prince attained arahat-ship in the tonsure-hall itself. One day, after he had attended to his bodily ablutions early in the morning, he performed his duties to the teacher and the preceptor, and taking the bowl and robe set out with the intention of visiting the home of his mother, a lay-devotee. And the place of residence of his mother had to be reached by entering the city through the southern gate and going through the heart of the city and emerging from the eastern gate.

48. At this time, Asoka the righteous monarch, was pacing up and down at the lion-window facing the East. Even at this

moment Nigrodha reached the royal courtyard, with his senses controlled, mind pacified, and looking but a yoke's distance ahead. Therefore it is said : " One day, standing at his lion-window he saw the novice Nigrodha walking by the royal courtyard, retrained, self-controlled, with senses guarded and endowed with deportment in his movements." [1] Seeing him, it so occurred to him, " All these people are confused in mind and are like the perturbed deer ; but this child is not confused in mind, his gaze ahead and around and the movement of his limbs to and fro are exceedingly pleasant ; for surely, within him there is bound to be some transcendental virtue " ; and at the mere sight (of him) the King's mind was pleased with the novice and there arose love towards him.

Why ?

It is said that in the past, when they were doing good works together, he was born as a merchant, as the King's eldest brother.[2] For it is said,[3]

[47] By living in constant association in the past or through affection in the present, there thus arises this love like a lotus in the water.

The King with love arisen for him and with great esteem for him, despatched his ministers saying, " Summon this novice." As he saw that they were delaying long he again sent two or three others in order to hasten his arrival.

The novice came along with his usual measured gait. The King said, " Select a suitable seat and sit down." He looked around this way and that and ascertaining that there were no other monks present at the time, went up to the royal divan over which was hoisted the white parasol of state and made a sign for the King to take his bowl. The moment the King saw him going up to the divan he reflected, " Now, even today, this novice will be the lord of this house." Giving the bowl into the hands of the King, the novice ascended the divan and sat down. The King offered him all the various preparations of food such as gruel and hard food which had been prepared for his own use. The novice accepted the food, both hard and soft, sufficient only for his sustenance. At the end of the meal the King asked, " Do you know the instruction given you by the Teacher ? "

"Great King, I know some aspect of it."

"Preach it to me too, my dear."

"Very well, Great King," said he, and preached, in order to arouse the King's joy, the Chapter on Diligence in the Dhammapada [4] which was most suited to him. And the King, even as he heard the words,[5] "Diligence is the path to immortality and indolence is the path of Death," said, "I have understood it, my dear, do conclude it." At the end of the discourse which kindled his joy he said, "I will, my dear, give you eight appointed meals." The novice replied, "Great King, I will give these to my preceptor."

"And pray, my dear, who is this preceptor that you speak of?"

"Great King, it is he who urges me on and makes me remember when he sees my repeated wrong behaviour."

"I will, my dear, give you eight other meals."

[48] "Great King, I will give these to my teacher."

"And pray, my dear, who is this teacher that you speak of?"

"Great King, it is he who establishes me in the principles (dhammā) in which one should have a training in this Dispensation."

"It is well, my dear, I will give you eight other meals."

"Great King, these I will give to the Order of monks."

"And pray, my dear, what is this Order of monks that you speak of?"

"Great King, it is they on whom depend the ordination and higher ordination of my preceptor and my teacher and of me."

The King was exceedingly delighted and said, "I will give you eight further meals, my dear."

The novice accepted, saying, "So be it," and on the following day, entered the royal palace taking with him thirty-two other monks and partook of his meals there. The King said, "Let thirty-two other monks in addition accept alms with you tomorrow"; and in this manner, day by day, he made the number increase and discontinuing the meals for the 60,000 brahmins, wandering ascetics, and others, and, on account of his devotion to the Elder Nigrodha, established the continual feeding of 60,000 monks at his inner apartments.

And the Elder Nigrodha established the King together with his followers in the Three Refuges and in the five moral precepts

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50. Seven days later, surrounded by his fourfold army consisting of many hundred thousands decked in all their ceremonial attire, he went to the monastery parading through the city which had been gaily dressed by the eager multitudes who were anxious to make the city excel in splendour the glory of the royal city of Amaravati [1] in heaven, and went and stood amidst the Order of monks.

And at that time there had assembled eighty crores of monks and 9,600,000 nuns. Among these monks the canker-waned alone numbered 100,000. It thus occurred to them, "If the King were to obtain an unobstructed view of the service he was rendering, he would win faith to a greater extent in the Dispensation of the Buddha." [**50**] They then performed a miracle called the Unveiling of the World. As the King surveyed the four directions, remaining at Asokârāma, he saw up to its ocean limits Jambudipa right round him and also beheld the 84,000 monasteries resplendent with the magnificent ceremonies connected with the festival of dedication.

Seeing this splendour he was overcome with great joy and fervour; and reflecting whether such joy and fervour had arisen to any one else before, he asked the Order of monks, "Sirs, who has made great sacrifice to the Dispensation of the Lord of Ten Powers, our saviour of the world? And whose sacrifice is considered the greatest?" The Order of monks entrusted the responsibility (of answering) to the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa. The Elder replied, "Great King, even during the life-time of the Tathāgata there was no other giver of requisites like you. Your sacrifice alone is great." When the King heard the Elder's words, with his body incessantly permeated with great joy and fervour, he thought, "And so there is no giver of requisites like me, great is my sacrifice, and I am said to support the Dispensation with material gifts! This being so am I or am I not an heir of the Dispensation"?

51. Then he asked the Order of monks, "Am I Sirs, an heir of the Dispensation?" The Elder Moggaliputta who heard this statement of the King, perceiving the inherent sufficing qualifications (for arahatship) of Mahinda, the King's son, thought, "If this Prince were to enter the Order there would be

great progress for the Dispensation"; and spoke thus to the King, "Great King, not indeed with this alone have you become an heir of the Dispensation, but you will only be designated as a giver of requisites or as a servitor. For, Great King, even he who gives a heap of requisites measuring from the earth to the world of Brahma, is not designated as an heir of the Dispensation."

"Then Sir, how does one become an heir of the Dispensation?"

"Great King, he who, [**51**] whether rich or poor, has his own begotten son enter the Order, he, O Great King, is called an heir of the Dispensation." When it was said thus, King Asoka reflected, "And so, even with this sacrifice I have made I have not become an heir of the Dispensation!" and in his desire to be an heir of the Dispensation, looked about this way and that and saw Prince Mahinda standing nearby. Seeing him it so occurred to him, "Even though I have been eager to invest him with the office of Viceroy from the day Prince Tissa [1] entered the Order, now methinks, ordination is better (for him) than Viceregal splendour."

Then he said to the Prince, "My son, will you be able to join the Order?" As for the Prince, he was naturally inclined to seek ordination ever since the day Prince Tissa entered the Order, and hearing the words of the King he was exceedingly delighted and replied, "Sire, I will enter the Order, admit me into the Order and you become an heir of the Dispensation."

At this time, the King's daughter Saṅghamittā too was standing at the same place. And her husband, the Prince called Aggibrahmā had entered the Order along with the Viceroy, Prince Tissa. The King saw her and said, "My child, will you too be able to join the Order?"

"Yes father, I am able."

Having obtained the consent of his children, the King was overjoyed and spoke thus to the Order of monks, "Sirs, admit these children into the Order and make me an heir of the Dispensation."

52. The Order (of monks) approved of the King's request and admitted the Prince into the Order appointing the Elder

Moggaliputta Tissa as preceptor and the Elder Mahādeva [1] as teacher and gave the higher ordination with the Elder Majjhantika [2] as teacher. At that time, it is said, the Prince had completed his twentieth year. Even within the precincts of the simā [3] for the higher ordination, he attained arahatship gaining the fourfold analytic insight.[4] The teacher of the Princess Saṅghamittā was the Elder (-nun) Āyupālī and the preceptor was the Elder (-nun) Dhammapālī. [52] At this time Saṅghamittā was eighteen years of age. The moment she entered the Order, even within the precincts of the simā they established her in the training in moral precepts. At the time of the ordination of the two of them the King was in the sixth year after consecration.[5]

Thereupon the Elder Mahinda, from the time he received the higher ordination, studying the Dhamma and the Vinaya under his preceptor, within three years learnt the complete Tradition of the Elders consisting of the works of the Three Piṭakas together with their commentaries handed down at the two Convocations, and became the leader among a thousand monks, resident-pupils of his preceptor.

53. By this time Asoka the righteous monarch was in the ninth year of his consecration. And even during the eighth year of the King's consecration the Elder Kontiputta Tissa [1] who was wandering about following the observance of begging his requisites [2] did not receive a handful of ghee for the treatment of his ailment, and with his span of life reduced by the intensity of his disease he admonished the Order of monks to be diligent, and seated cross-legged in mid-air entered the element of fire and passed away in perfect Nibbāna. The King heard of this incident, paid all due honour to the Elder, and exclaiming, " Even during my reign the requisites of the monks are so rare ! " he had tanks constructed at the four gateways of the city and filling them with medicaments had them dispensed.

54. At that time, it is said, the King had a daily revenue of 500,000, of which 400,000 were collected at the four gates and 100,000 at the hall of justice. Of this the King spent

100,000 daily for the Elder Nigrodha, 100,000 for offerings of incense and garlands at the cetiyas built in honour of the Buddha, 100,000 for the Dhamma—it served the purpose of procuring the four requisities for learned monks well versed in the Dhamma—100,000 for the Order of monks and the other 100,000 to provide medicines at the four gates.[1] In this manner [**53**] there arose great gain and honour to the Dispensation. The heretics, whose gain and honour had dwindled to the extent of their failing to obtain even food and clothing, gained admission to the Order in the Dispensation in their eagerness for gain and honour, and each propounded his philosophical dogmas claiming them to be the Dhamma and the Vinaya. And those who failed to gain admission to the Order, themselves shaved off their hair, and wearing yellow robes wandered about in monasteries intruding at the uposatha [2] and "Invitation" (pavāraṇā) [3] ceremonies and at formal Acts of the Order [4] and of the Chapter.[5] The monks did not perform the uposatha ceremony in their company.

55. Thereupon the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa handed over the leadership of the Chapter to the Elder Mahinda, thinking, "Now this dispute has arisen, it will soon be aggravated; and it is not possible to settle it living in their midst"; and wishing to abide at peace as he was wont to, he retired to the hill near Ahogaṅgā.[1]

And in spite of the heretics being subjected to censure by the Order of monks with regard to the Dhamma and the Vinaya and the Teaching of the Master, they gave rise to divers forms of upheavals, stains, and thorns in the Dispensation, as they did not conform to the principles laid down in accordance with the Dhamma and the Vinaya. Some of them tended the sacrificial fire, some subjected themselves to the heat of the five fires,[2] some worshipped the sun following its movements in the sky, while others made a determined effort to destroy the Dhamma and the Vinaya.

At that time the Order of monks held neither the uposatha nor the "Invitation" with them. The uposatha at Asokârāma was interrupted for seven years. They informed the King too of this matter. The King commanded a minister to go to the

monastery and settle the dispute and revive the uposatha.[3] This minister who had not the courage to ask questions of the King in turn, approached the other ministers and asked them, " The King has despatched me charged with the duty of going to the monastery to settle the dispute and revive the uposatha. How is this dispute to be settled ? " [54] They replied, " We are inclined to believe that what the King intended was that all those who did not perform the uposatha should be slain even as those who quell an uprising in the frontier districts execute the culprits." [4] Then the minister went to the monastery, and summoning an assembly of the Order of monks, told them, " I have been sent by the King to see that the uposatha is held. Sirs, hold now the uposatha." The monks replied that they would not hold the uposatha in the company of the heretics. The minister began cutting off their heads with his sword, starting from the seat of the seniormost Elder.

56. And the Elder Tissa saw this minister who was committing this misguided act. The Elder Tissa was a person of no mean consequence ; he was Prince Tissa, the King's brother, born of the same mother. The King, after his consecration, appointed him Viceroy. One day,[1] on one of his visits to the forest he saw a large herd of deer disporting themselves in delightful gambol. On seeing them it so occurred to him, " These deer that feed on mere grass play about thus, but what manner of agreeable sport will these recluses not indulge in,[2] eating delicious food at the royal household and sleeping in comfortable beds ? " He returned from there and told the King about this reflection of his.

Thinking : " The Prince feels remorse for no reason ; and it would be well if I convinced him in this manner," the King, one day, pretended to be very angry over something or another and said to him, " Come hither, accept the kingship for seven days : after that I will put you to death " ; and threatening him with impending death he made him realize that fact. And as for the Prince, he did not bathe at leisure, neither ate nor slept, and his body became miserably emaciated as he kept on thinking that they would kill him after seven days. Thereupon

the King asked him, " Why are you reduced to this condition ? "

" For fear of death, Sire."

" Look you, seeing death that is due within a fixed time-limit [**55**] you are not yourself and do not enjoy life. How can the monks rejoice observing death which is intrinsically connected with in-breathing and out-breathing ? " Thenceforth the Prince gained faith in the Dispensation.

And again one day, while roaming in the forest, when he had set out on a deer-hunt, he saw the Elder Mahādhammarakkhita, a Yona,[3] who was seated and being fanned by a lordly elephant with the branch of a sāla-tree. He was delighted on seeing this and thought to himself, " When, indeed, will I too be able to enter the Order like this great Elder ? Will that day ever come to pass ? " The Elder perceived his reflection, and while he was looking on rose into the air and, descending on the surface of the lotus lake at Asokârāma, began to bathe making his robe and upper robe float in mid-air. The Prince was exceedingly delighted when he beheld the Elder's supernatural powers ; and turned back wishing to enter the Order that very day and announced to the King, " Sire, I wish to enter the Order."

Though he begged of him in many ways, the King was unable to keep him back. He had the road leading to Asokârāma decorated, and making the Prince attire himself in festive garb, conducted him to the monastery, led in procession by the army in festive array. Hearing that the Viceroy would enter the Order many monks prepared bowls and robes. The Prince made his way to the hall of meditation, and together with a thousand men entered the Order under the Elder Mahādhammarakkhita. There was no limit to the number of those who entered the Order following the Prince's example.

The Prince entered the Order during the fourth year of the King's consecration.[4] Further, there was another Prince named Aggibrahmā, a nephew of the King, Saṅghamittā's husband. Saṅghamittā bore him an only son.[5] [**56**] Having heard that the Viceroy had entered the Order, he too went up to the King and begged of him, " Sire, I too wish to enter the Order." Receiving the King's permission, " Enter the Order, dear child," he entered the Order on the same day.

In this manner should be known the Elder Tissa the younger brother of the King, whose entry into the Order was followed by that of a band of Khattiyas of great splendour and opulence.

57. He saw the minister who was thus committing this misguided act and reflected, " The King will not send him to kill the Elders. Assuredly, this minister must be acting under a misapprehension " ; and he himself went and sat down in the seat nearest to him.[1] Recognizing the Elder, and not having the courage to bring his weapon down upon him he went back and announced to the King, " Sire, I have beheaded so many monks who were not willing to hold the uposatha ; and then came the turn of the venerable Elder Tissa. What shall I do ? " The moment the King heard this he reprimanded him, " You villian, did I sent you to kill the monks ? " And with his body burning with anguish he hastened to the monastery and asked the Elder monks, " Venerable Sirs, this minister has thus acted contrary to my commands. On whom will the evil devolve ? "

Some Elders replied, " He has acted at your command. The evil is yours." Some replied, " This evil belongs to both of you." And some others asked, " Was there, Great King, the intention in you that he should go and kill the monks ? "

" No Sirs, I sent him with all good intentions that the Order of monks might hold the uposatha being united."

" If you had good intentions, no evil belongs to you, but it devolves on the minister."

58. The King was perplexed with doubt and asked, " Sirs, is there any monk who can cut off this doubt of mine and stabilize the Dispensation ? "

" There is, Great King, the Elder named Moggaliputta Tissa. [**57**] He is able to cut off this doubt and stabilize the Dispensation."

And on the same day the King sent four preachers of the Dhamma, each attended by a thousand monks, and four ministers, each attended by a thousand men, to conduct the Elder to him.

They went and said, " The King summons you." The Elder

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Then the King, as soon as he heard that the Elder had come, went to the bank of the Ganges, waded into the river, and going forward to meet him reached the Elder when the water was knee-deep and gave his hand to the Elder so that he could descend from the boat. The Elder held the King by the right hand. Seeing this,[2] the sword-bearers drew forth their swords from the scabbards thinking of cutting off the Elder's head. Why? It was customary among ruling clans that whosoever holds the king's right hand shall have his head cut off with a sword. The King saw their shadow only and said, "I enjoy no peace of mind for the past wrongs done to the monks. Do not do the Elder any harm." And why did the Elder hold the King by his hand? Since he had been invited by the King for the purpose of asking a question, he therefore held him (by the right hand) treating him as his resident-pupil.

60. The King conducted the Elder to his park, and placing three sets of guards all round outside, he himself washed the Elder's feet, smeared them with oil, and sat near him; and in order to test whether the Elder was capable of removing his doubt and stabilizing the Dispensation by settling the dispute that had arisen, he said to him, "Sir, I am desirous of seeing a miracle."

"Great King, which miracle do you wish to see?"

"Sir, the earth quake."

"Great King, do you wish to see the whole earth tremble, or only a region?"

"Which of them, Sir, is more difficult?"

"Which, Great King, is the more difficult to move—all the water in a bronze bowl filled with water, or only a part of it?"

"A part of it, Sir."

"Even in the same way, Great King, it is more difficult to make a part of the earth to tremble."

"Then, Sir, I wish to see a part of the earth tremble."

[**59**] "If that be so, Great King, at an interval of a yojana in every direction let a chariot be placed on the eastern side with one wheel standing inside the boundary, let a horse stand on the southern side with two feet inside the boundary, let a man stand on the western side with one foot resting within

the boundary and let a bowl of water be placed on the boundary on the northern side with half of it resting within the boundary."

The King had this done. The Elder entered the fourth jhāna which has higher knowledge as its basis, and emerging from it made a resolution of will that the earth should tremble to the extent of a yojana for the King to see. The wheel of the chariot that stood within the boundary on the eastern side shook, the other did not; in the same way, the feet of the horse and the man which were within the boundary on the southern and western sides respectively, shook, together with half their bodies; on the northern side, the water of that half of the bowl which stood within the boundary shook and the rest remained still.

61. The King saw this miracle and came to the conclusion that the Elder was capable of stabilizing the Dispensation, and questioned him about his own remorse, "Sir, I despatched a minister asking him to go to the monastery to settle the dispute and make the uposatha held. He went to the monastery and put to death so many monks. To whom does this evil belong?"

"What, Great King, was it your intention that he should go to the monastery and kill the monks?"

"Not so, Sir."

"If, Great King, you had no such intention, the evil is not yours."

Thereupon the Elder convinced the King on this matter with the following discourse [1]: "O monks, I say that volition is action. Having willed one does a deed physically, verbally, or mentally." [**60**] In order to elucidate this meaning he quoted the Tittira Jātaka [2]: In the past, O Great King, a decoy partridge asked an ascetic [3]:

> "Many are the beings that come with the thought, 'Here is seated our kinsman.' My mind is in doubt regarding whom the consequent action affects."

The ascetic replied, "Is there the thought in you that those birds should come to you, guided by your voice or seeing your form, and be trapped and killed?" "No Sir," replied the partridge. Thereupon the ascetic assured him, "If the thought

was not in you, no evil belongs to you. Action affects him only that wills and not him who wills not."

If the mind harbours no evil, no consequent action affects it. Evil does not smear the virtuous man of meagre cares.[4]

62. In this manner the Elder reassured the King : and living there in the King's park itself for seven days, he instructed the King on the Teaching.[1] On the seventh day, the King had the Order of monks assembled at Asokârāma and having had an enclosure of screens put round, he sat within that enclosure, and separately grouping together monks who held divergent views, and summoning each group of monks, asked, " What teaching did the Perfectly Enlightened One propound ? " Then the eternalists replied that He was an eternalist. The qualified eternalists, the propounders of the theory of finiteness and infinitude, the eel-wrigglers, casuists, those who held theories of conscious existence, non-conscious existence, neither conscious nor non-conscious existence, [**61**] annihilationists and those who professed Nibbāna of this life also replied (in accordance with their view).[2] Since the King had already studied the Teaching [3] he realized that they were not monks but heretics belonging to other schools ; and giving them white garments he expelled them from the Order.[4] They numbered 60,000 in all.

He next summoned the remaining monks and asked, " What teaching did the Perfectly Enlightened One expound ? "

" Great King, He was an exponent of the analytical doctrine (Vibhajjavāda)." [5]

When it was said thus the King asked the Elder, " Did the Perfectly Enlightened One expound the analytical doctrine ? "

" Yes, Great King."

Thereupon the King said, " Sir, the Dispensation is now pure ; let the Order of monks hold the uposatha " ; and giving them his protection he entered the city. The Order, in perfect harmony, assembled and held the uposatha.[6] In that assembly were 6,000,000 monks. At that meeting the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa recited the treatise Kathāvatthu refuting the heretical theories. Even as the Elders Mahākassapa and Yasa son of Kākaṇḍaka rehearsed the Dhamma and the Vinaya, he too selected, out of the monks numbering 6,000,000 who were

well versed in the learning of the Three Piṭakas and were of profound analytic insight and possessed of the threefold knowledge, 1,000 monks, and rehearsing the Dhamma and the Vinaya he purified the Dispensation of all stains and held the Third Convocation. At the end of the rehearsal the earth trembled in many ways. This rehearsal was concluded in nine months. What is commonly known in the world as :

> Has been held by a thousand monks, and hence is called "Pertaining to One Thousand"; and, on account of the earlier two, is also called "The Third"
> —this is the Third Convocation.

V—The Account of the Succession of Teachers

63. Whatever we have said to the effect, "It has been handed down firstly in Jambudipa up to the Third Convocation, by the succession of teachers commencing with the Elder Upāli"[1]; has been said to this extent for the purpose of answering this question, "By whom has it been handed down?" [**62**] And here follows the succession of teachers[2]:

> Upāli, Dāsaka, as well as Soṇaka, similarly Siggava and Tissa Moggaliputta—these five victorious ones
> Transmitted the Vinaya in the glorious (is)land of Jambusiri, in unbroken succession up to the time of the third rehearsal.

And to this extent is its meaning declared. And after the time of the third rehearsal it has been brought to this Island by Mahinda and others. Having learned it from Mahinda, for some time, it was handed down by the Elder Ariṭṭha and others : and it should be known that from that time up to the present day[3] it has been handed down by the succession of teachers who constituted their own line of resident-pupils. For as the Porāṇas[4] say[2]:

> Thereupon Mahinda, Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya and Sambala . . . and the learned Bhadda—
> These sinless sages of great wisdom came hither from Jambudipa. They taught the Vinaya Piṭaka in Tambapaṇṇi. They also taught the five Nikāyas and the seven (Abhidhamma) treatises.

Then the wise Ariṭṭha and the learned Tissadatta, the skilled Kālasumana, the Elder named Digha . . . and the learned Dīghasumana,

And another Kālasumana, the Elder Nāga, Buddharakkhita, the wise Elder Tissa and the learned Elder Deva,

And another wise Sumana proficient in the Vinaya, Cūlanāga of great learning, unassailable as an elephant,

[**63**] The Elder named Dhammapālita, and Rohaṇa revered by the virtuous, his pupil named Khema of great wisdom and learned in the Three Piṭakas,

Who in his wisdom shone with great splendour in the Island, like the king of the stars, Upatissa the wise, Phussadeva the great orator,

And another wise Sumana, he of great learning named Phussa, the great orator Mahāsīva proficient in all the contents of the Piṭaka,[5]

And again another wise Upâli skilled in the Vinaya, Mahānāga of great wisdom, proficient in the tradition of the Good Teaching,

And again the wise Abhaya skilled in all the contents of the Piṭaka, the wise Elder Tissa proficient in the Vinaya,

His pupil named Puppha of great wisdom and of much learning, who while protecting the Dispensation had established himself in Jambudipa,

The wise Cūlâbhaya proficient in the Vinaya, the wise Elder Tissa skilled in the tradition of the Good Teaching,

Cūladeva the wise, proficient in the Vinaya and the wise Elder Siva skilled in all the contents of the Vinaya—

These nāgas (sinless sages) of great wisdom, knowing the Vinaya and skilled in the path, proclaimed the Vinaya Piṭaka in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi.

64. And here follows the story connected with it [1]:

It is said that the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa [2] conducted the Third Rehearsal of the Dhamma and thought thus: "Where will the Dispensation be firmly established in the future?" As he reflected it so occurred to him, "It will be firmly established in the border districts." Handing over the responsibility to various groups of monks, he sent those monks in these

respective directions : he sent the Elder Majjhantika [3] to the kingdom of Kasmīra-Gandhāra [4] saying, "You go to that kingdom and establish the Dispensation there." Making the same request he sent the Elder Mahādeva [5] to the principality of Mahisaka, the Elder Rakkhita to Vanavāsi, [**64**] the Elder Dhammarakkhita, the Yona, to the Western Lands, the Elder Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha, the Elder Mahārakkhita to the Yona World,[6] the Elder Majjhima [7] to the districts bordering the Himalayas, the Elders Soṇaka and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, and his own co-resident pupil, the Elder Mahinda, together with the Elders Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, saying, " You go to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi and establish the Dispensation there." And all of them, as they went to the respective districts, took with them four companions each considering that a chapter of five was sufficient to confer the higher ordination in the border districts.[8]

65. And at this time, a Nāga King named Aravāḷa [1] created a hail-storm [2] during the harvesting season in the land of Kasmīra-Gandhāra and had the grain carried down to the great ocean. The Elder Majjhantika rose into the air at Pāṭaliputta and alighting on the lake Aravāḷa in the Himalayas continued to walk up and down, stand upon, sit down and recline on the surface of the lake Aravāḷa. The Nāga youths saw him and announced to Aravāḷa the Nāga King, " Great King, a shaven headed recluse draped in a yellow patch-work garment of tattered rags pollutes our water." Forthwith the Nāga King was overcome with anger ; and going forth he beheld the Elder, and not being able to restrain his rage he created many terrors in the sky. Winds blew vehemently from every direction, trees were uprooted, mountain-peaks were shattered, thunder roared, lightning flashed, thunderbolts crashed, water streamed forth as though the sky were rent asunder, [**65**] and Nāga youths congregated assuming hideous shapes : and he himself emitted smoke, blazed forth and unleashed torrents of weapons and intimidated the Elder with harsh words such as, " Who is this shaven-headed recluse draped in a yellow patch-work garment of tattered rags ? " and

commanded the Nāga hosts, " O come, capture this monk, bind him, exterminate him." [3] The Elder warded off all these terrors with his own psychic powers and said to the Nāga King : [4]

> Should even the whole world together with the deities come and terrify me it would not be sufficient to produce in me fear and dismay.
>
> Great Nāga, even if you were to raise up the whole earth together with its oceans and mountains and hurl it upon me, You will not be able to produce in me fear and dismay. But on the other hand, O Lord of Nāgas, there would result vexation to you alone.

When this was said, the Nāga King with his powers subdued and efforts turned fruitless became sad and dejected. The Elder, with a doctrinal discourse befitting the occasion, instructed him, incited him, fired him with enthusiasm, and gladdened him, and along with his 84,000 Nāgas established him in the Three Refuges and in the five precepts. And many other dwellers in the Himalayas, Yakkhas, Gandhabbas, and Kumbhaṇḍas who listened to the Elder's discourse were established in the Refuges and precepts. And the Yakkha Pañcaka together with the Yakkhinī his wife,[5] as well as 500 sons were established in the fruit of the first stage. Thereupon the Elder Majjhantika addressed all the Nāgas, Yakkhas, and Rakkhasas and said to them [6] :

> From this day, no longer give rise to anger as before, do not destroy crops, for beings desire happiness. Extend love to creatures and let men live happily.

[**66**] And all of them replied to the Elder, " Very well, Sir," and conducted themselves as instructed. And on that very day the time for paying homage to the Nāga King was due. Then the Nāga King had his jewelled throne brought to him and had it prepared for the Elder. The Elder sat on the throne ; and the Nāga King stood there fanning the Elder. The inhabitants of Kasmīra-Gandhāra who came at that time saw the Elder, and thinking, " The Elder possesses greater supernatural powers than our Nāga King," venerated the Elder himself and sat down. The Elder preached to them the Āsīvisopama Suttanta.[7] At the end of the discourse there resulted the

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fruits of the paths, and 13,000 entered the Order. In this manner he established the Dispensation there.

> The sage Mahādhammarakkhita went to Mahāraṭṭha and converted the multitude by preaching a jātaka, a Birth Story.[3]

70. And the Elder Mahārakkhita went to the Yonaka Kingdom [1] and converted the Yona-World with a discourse on the Kālakârāma Suttanta [2] and gave the ornaments of the fruits of the paths to 37,000 in excess of 100,000 beings; and 10,000 entered the Order under him. Even in this manner he established the Dispensation there.

> Then the sage Mahārakkhita went to the Yonaka Kingdom and converted the Yonas by means of the Kālakârāma Sutta.[3]

71. [**68**] And again, the Elder Majjhima,[1] together with the Elders Kassapagotta,[2] Alakadeva,[3] Dundubhissara,[4] and Mahādeva [5] went to the districts bordering the Himalayas and converted that district by preaching the Dhammacakkappavattana Suttanta [6] and conferred the treasures of the fruits of the paths on eighty crores of beings. These five Elders converted five kingdoms, and about 100,000 entered the Order under each one of them. In this manner they established the Dispensation there.

> The Elder Majjhima went to the Himalayas and converted hosts of Yakkhas by preaching to them the Dhammacakkappavattana, the "Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma".[7]

72. The Elder Soṇaka, with the Elder Uttara, went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[1] At that time a Rakkhasī was in the habit of coming out of the sea and devouring all the children born in the royal family. That very day, a child was born in the royal family. The people saw the Elder and thinking that he was a companion of the Rakkhasas went forth to attack the Elder taking their weapons with them. The Elder asked, "Why do you come towards me armed with your weapons?" They replied, "Rakkhasas devour all the children born in the royal

family. You are their companions." The Elder said, "We are not the companions of Rakkhasas; we are monks who abstain from the destruction of life (etc.) and from drinking intoxicants and we subsist on one meal a day, we are of virtuous conduct and of good moral habits." At that very moment, the Rakkhasī, with her retinue, came out of the sea thinking of devouring the child born in the royal family. The people saw her and, overcome with fear, cried out, "Sir, here comes the Rakkhasī." The Elder created phantoms twice as large as the Rakkhasas and with those phantoms [**69**] encircled the Rakkhasī and her retinue on either side, placing them in the centre. She and her retinue thought, "Assuredly this place has been obtained [2] by them, and we will become their prey"; and so all the Rakkhasas fled in haste in fear. The Elder drove them out of sight and secured the protection of the land on all sides. By preaching the Brahmajāla Suttanta [3] he converted the large multitude that had assembled there on that occasion and established them in the Refuges and the precepts. Hereat there resulted the realization of the Dhamma to 60,000 people, 3,500 young men of family and 1,500 young women of family entered the Order. In this manner he established the Dispensation there. Thenceforth they gave the name Soṇuttara to the children born in the royal family.

Soṇa and Uttara of great psychic power, having gone to Suvaṇṇabhūmi and driven away the goblins preached the Brahmajāla, the "Perfect Net".[4]

73. And the Elder Mahinda who was requested by his preceptor and the Order of monks [1] to go to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi and establish the Dispensation, reflected, "Is it or is it not the time for me to go to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi?" As he investigated, it occurred to him that the time was not ripe. What considerations made him think so? (He saw that) Muṭasīva [2] was in his dotage; and therefore he thought, "This king is old. He is not capable of receiving this [3] and establishing the Dispensation firmly. Soon his son Devānampiyatissa will be reigning, he will be able to receive it and establish the Dispensation firmly. Indeed, it would be well if we were to visit our kinsmen until that time comes. Perhaps we may or

may not have the opportunity of again returning to this district." Having thus reflected, he saluted the preceptor and the Order of monks and setting out from Asokârāma and going on his sojourns in the District of Dakkhiṇagiri [4] following a circuitous route from the city of Rājagaha, in the company of those four Elders Iṭṭhiya and others, the novice Sumana, son of Saṅghamittā [70] and the lay disciple Bhaṇḍuka, he spent six months visiting his kinsmen. And in due course he arrived at the city of Vedisa,[5] the residence of his mother.

74. It is said that Asoka, on his way to Ujjeni,[1] when he had been appointed ruler of that district, in his early youth, arrived at the city of Vedisa and accepted the hand of the daughter of the alderman Deva.[2] Even on that day she conceived and later gave birth to Prince Mahinda at Ujjeni.

When the Prince was fourteen years old the King was consecrated ruler.[3] At that time, she, his mother, was living in the home of her parents. Therefore it is said: In due course he arrived at the city of Vedisa, the residence of his mother. Devi, the Elder's mother seeing that the Elder had arrived, saluted at his feet with head bent low, gave him alms and conducted him to the Great Monastery of Vedisagiri built by her. Seated in the monastery, the Elder thought, "Our duty here is done, is it now the time to visit the Island of Laṅkā?" He further thought, "Let Devānampiyatissa first undergo the consecration [4] sent by my father, let him hear the virtues of the Triad of Gems, let him set out from the city in order to celebrate the festival [5] and climb the peak Missaka;[6] then will I meet him there." And after that he spent a further month there. On the elapse of that month all of them assembled on the uposatha day of the full moon of the month of Jeṭṭhamūla [7] and considered whether it was the time for them to visit the Island of Tambapaṇṇi or not. Hence the Porāṇā have said [8]:

> Then there was the Elder named Mahinda, a leading Elder in the Saṅgha, (and there were also) the Elders Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla, and Sambala,
>
> [71] The novice Sumana of sixfold higher knowledge and of great psychic power; the seventh among them was the

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year of Udayabhadda's reign Paṇḍuvāsadeva ascended the throne in this Island. In the twentieth year of King Nāgadāsaka's reign there, Paṇḍuvāsadeva died here having reigned for thirty years. In the same year a Prince named Abhaya became king of this Island. In the seventeenth year of King Susanāga's reign there, twenty years had been completed in King Abhaya's reign. And in the twentieth year of Abhaya's reign, a rebel named Pakuṇḍakâbhaya [3] seized the kingdom. In the sixteenth year of Kālâsoka's reign there, seventeen years had been completed in Pakuṇḍakâbhaya's reign. These seventeen years, together with the previous one year,[4] form eighteen years. In the fourteenth year of Candagutta's reign there, Pakuṇḍakâbhaya died here, and King Muṭasīva ascended the throne. In the seventeenth year of the righteous King Asoka's reign there, King Muṭasīva died here and King Devānampiyatissa ascended the throne.

After the passing away of the Sambuddha, the Enlightened One in perfect Nibbāna, Ajātasattu reigned for twenty-four years, [73] Udayabhadda sixteen years, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa eight years, Nagādāsaka twenty-four years, Susunāga eighteen years, and his son (Kāla) Asoka twenty-eight years, and Asoka's sons the ten brothers who ascended the throne reigned for twenty-two years. After them the nine Nandas (reigned for) also twenty-two years, Candagutta twenty-four years, and Bindusāra twenty-eight years. At the end of his reign, Asoka ascended the throne, reigned for four years without being consecrated, and in the eighteenth year after his consecration the Elder Mahinda established himself in this Island. In accordance with this succession of rulers it should be thus known that he established himself in this Island in the 236th year after the Perfectly Enlightened One had passed away in perfect Nibbāna.

77. And on this day, in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi there was a festival called the festival of the asterism of Jeṭṭhamūla. The King had the holiday proclaimed, and commanding his ministers to conduct the festivities, set out from the city with a retinue of 40,000 men ; and wishing for the sport of a deer-hunt wended his way to the Missaka mountain. Then a tutelary

divinity of that hill who wished to show the Elders to the King assumed the form of a ruddy deer and walked about in the vicinity pretending to be eating grass and leaves. The King saw it, and thinking that it was not proper to shoot it then, unguarded as it was, twanged his bow-string. The deer began to run along the road leading to Ambatthala.[1] Chasing the deer close behind, the King climbed Ambatthala itself. The deer too disappeared not far from the Elders. When the Elder Mahinda saw the King close at hand coming towards him, he made a resolution of will, "Let the King see me alone and not the others," and said aloud, "Tissa, O Tissa, come hither!" Upon hearing it the King thought, "No one born in this Island is capable of addressing me by name. [74] But this shaven-headed recluse draped in a yellow patch-work garment of tattered rags addresses me by my name. Who can he be, a human being or a non-human?"[2] The Elder said,[3]

> "Great King, we are monks, disciples of the King of the Dhamma who have come here from Jambudipa with consideration for you yourself."

78. At that time the great King Devānampiyatissa and the righteous monarch Asoka were friends who had not seen each other. By the potency of the merits of the great King Devānampiyatissa, three bamboo shoots about the size of chariot poles sprang up in a thicket of bamboos at the foot of the mountain Chātaka[1]; one of them was known as the "creeper-sapling", the second as the "flower-sapling", and the other as the "bird-sapling." Of these, the creeper-sapling was of a silver colour; the creeper that grew decorating it appeared to be golden in colour. And there appeared on the flower-sapling, flowers of blue, yellow, red, white, and dark colours with clearly marked stalks, petals, and filaments. On the bird-sapling there appeared figures of birds such as swans, fowls, and pheasants as well as various kinds of four-footed animals as though they were alive. And so it has been said in the Dīpavaṃsa[2]:

> There were three bamboo shoots at the foot of the Chāta mountain. The silver-sapling was white and the creeper appeared to be of gold.

Whatever flowers there were of colours such as blue, such were they that appeared on the flower-sapling ; and on the bird-sapling were arrayed birds in their natural form.

[**75**] From the ocean too there arose to him manifold treasures such as pearls, gems, and lapis-lazuli. Eight varieties of pearl arose in Tambapaṇṇi—the horse-pearl, the elephant-pearl, the chariot-pearl, the myrobalan-pearl, the bracelet-pearl, the finger-wrapping-pearl, the kakudha [3]-fruit-pearl, and the natural pearl. He sent those saplings and these pearls and many other treasures as gifts to Asoka, the righteous monarch. Asoka was pleased and sent him the five ensigns of royalty : the parasol of state, the yak-tail fan, the sword, the diadem, and the golden sandals and gifts of many other articles required for the consecration, namely, the conch shell, water from the Ganges, perfumed bath-powder,[4] ear ornaments, a water jar, a ceremonial vessel with markings in the auspicious direction,[5] a palanquin, a young girl,[6] a ladle, a pair of garments which required no washing, a cloth for wiping the hands, yellow sandalwood, reddish clay, ointment, gall-nut, and myrobalan.[7] And so it has been said in the Dīpavaṃsa [8] :

A yak-tail fan, a diadem, a parasol, a sword, sandals, a turban, a golden chain, a water jar, and a vessel with markings auspicious-wise—

A palanquin, a conch, ear-ornaments, a pair of garments which required no washing, a golden bowl, a ladle, a valuable cloth for wiping the hands ;

Water from the lake Anotatta, a maiden most noble,[6] yellow sandalwood, [**76**] reddish clay and ointments brought by the Nāgas—

Gall-nut and myrobalan, precious heavenly medicine, 60,000 waggonloads of perfumed sāli-rice brought to him by the parrots : all this his deserts of past good deeds, did the renowned Asoka send.

He sent not only this material gift but also the following message of the Dhamma [9] :

I have sought the refuge of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha, and proclaimed lay discipleship in the Dispensation of the Son of the Sakyas.[10]

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" Leaving aside this mango tree and the other mango trees, are there, Great King, other trees ? "

" Yes Sir, there are, but they are not mango trees."

" Leaving out those mango trees and the other trees that are not mango, is there any other tree ? "

" This mango tree alone, Sir."

" Good, Great King, you are wise."

" Great King, have you any kinsmen ? "

" Yes, Sir, they are many in number."

" Besides them, are there any who are not your kinsmen, Great King ? "

" Those who are not my kinsmen, Sir, are many more than my kinsmen."

" Leaving aside your kinsmen and those who are not your kinsmen, Great King, is there any one else ? "

" Yes, Sir, I myself."

" Good, Great King, a person himself is neither his kinsman nor non-kinsman."

81. Thereupon the Elder, realizing that the King was intelligent and would be able to understand the Dhamma, preached the Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta.[1] At the end of the discourse, together with his 40,000 followers, the King established himself in the Three Refuges. Exactly at this moment the King's food [**78**] was brought to him. Even as he was listening to the discourse the King knew [2] that it was not permissible for them to eat at that time, and thinking that it was wrong to eat without asking them he asked, " Sirs, will you eat ? "

" Great King, food is not permissible for us at this time." [3]

" Sirs, at what time is it permissible ? "

" Starting from dawn till mid-day, Great King." [4]

" Sirs, let us go to the city."

" No, Great King, we will reside even here."

" Sirs, if you will live here, let the child come with me."

" Great King, this child has attained the fruits [5] and understood the instruction and is an aspirant for ordination who will presently enter the Order."

The King, saying, " If that be so, Sir, I will send you a chariot tomorrow, come riding in it," saluted him and departed.

82. Scarcely had the King departed than the Elder addressed the novice Sumana, " Come hither, Sumana, proclaim the time for listening to the Dhamma."

" Sir, how far shall I make the announcement heard ? "

" In the whole Island of Tambapaṇṇi."

" Good, Sir," said the novice, and having entered the fourth jhāna [1] which has higher knowledge as its basis, he emerged from it and with mind concentrated, thrice announced the time for listening to the Dhamma, making it heard, by virtue of his resolution of will, throughout the whole Island of Tambapaṇṇi. The King heard this announcement and sent a messenger to the Elders inquiring whether they were in any danger. They replied, " No misfortune has befallen us. We have announced the time for listening to the Dhamma, and we wish to preach the word of the Buddha." Hearing the novice's proclamation, terrestrial deities repeated the announcement and in this manner the proclamation reached as far as the world of Brahma.[2] As a result of this proclamation there arose a large assembly of deities. Seeing the large assembly of deities, the Elder preached the Samacitta Suttanta.[3] At the end of the discourse there resulted the realization of the Dhamma to countless deities. [79] Many Nāgas and Supaṇṇas were established in the Refuges. As was (the size of) the assembly of deities when the Elder Sāriputta preached this suttanta, so it was when the Elder Mahinda preached it.

83. Then after that night had passed, the King sent a chariot for the Elders. The charioteer halted the car on the roadside and said to the Elders, " Sirs, the chariot is brought, board it so that we may set out." The Elders said, " We will not board the chariot ; you may go, we will come later." And rising into the air they descended on the site of the Paṭhamakacetiya,[1] to the east of Anurādhapura. Because it was built at the place where the Elders first alighted, this cetiya was called the Paṭhamakacetiya. The King issued a command to the ministers through his charioteer to arrange a pavilion within the palace.

Overcome with great joy, all of them immediately arranged an exceedingly delightful pavilion. The King further reflected, "While discoursing on the code of moral precepts yesterday, the Elder said that the use of high and comfortable couches was not permissible.[2] Will the venerable ones sit in these seats or not?" While he was thus reflecting that charioteer reached the city-gate. There he saw that the Elders had arrived before him and were draping themselves with the outer robe, having already tied on their belts. Seeing them, he was overcome with great fervour, and coming back, he reported to the King, "Sire, the Elders are come." The King asked, "Did they board the chariot?" He replied, "No, Sire, they did not; but they set out after me and have arrived at the eastern gate before me." Learning that they did not board the chariot and realizing that the venerable ones would then on no account accept high couches, the King issued instructions, "If that be so, my men, prepare seats for the Elders in the manner floor-carpets are arranged," and went the opposite way to greet them. The ministers first laid down a mat [3] on the floor and then laid on it many-coloured spreadings of fleecy counterpanes and so on.

The soothsayers saw this and explained, "They are now firmly rooted in the soil; they [**80**] will be the masters of the Island of Tambapaṇṇi." The King went up and saluted the Elders. Taking the bowl from the Elder Mahinda's hand he conducted the Elders to the city with great honour and reverence and led them to his palace. Seeing the seats that were arranged, the Elder sat down thinking that their Message would be established throughout the Island of Laṅkā, as widespread and calm as the earth. The King himself personally waited on the Elders and regaled them with various kinds of delicacies both hard and soft and, sending for the 500 ladies of the court led by the Princess Anulā so that they might greet, pay homage to, and honour the Elders, he sat respectfully aside. His meal over, the Elder preached the Petavatthu, the Vimānavatthu, and the Saccasaṃyutta [4] to the King and his courtiers showering upon them the treasures of the Dhamma. Having listened to that discourse on the Dhamma by the Elder those 500 women realized the fruit of Stream-Entrantship.

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night was spent the King himself visited the Elder and, having asked him whether he had slept well, inquired, "Sir, is an ārāma permissible (for the use of) the Order of monks?" The Elder replied, "Great King, it is permissible," and further cited this sutta,[4] "O monks, I sanction the use of an ārāma." The King was pleased, and taking a golden water-jar he poured the water of dedication on the Elder's hand and gave the pleasure-grove Mahāmegha. Simultaneously with the pouring of the water of dedication the earth trembled.[5] This was the first occasion when the earth trembled at the Mahāvihāra. The King was frightened and asked the Elder, "Sir, why did the earth tremble?"

"Fear not, Great King, the Dispensation of the Lord of Ten Powers will be established in this Island; and this is the place where the first monastery will be. This is the prognostication of it."

The King was exceedingly delighted. Even on the following day, the Elder took his meal in the palace itself and preached the Anamataggiyas (the Inconceivable Ends) [6] in the Nandana Grove. The day after that he preached the Aggikkhandhopama Sutta.[7] In this manner he preached for seven days, bringing about the realization of the Dhamma to 8,500 people. Thenceforth [82] the Nandana Grove received the name Joti Grove as it became the centre from which the radiance of the Dispensation became manifest.

85. And on the seventh day the Elders preached the Mahā-Appamāda Sutta [1] to the King in the inner apartments of the palace and returned to Cetiyagiri [2] itself. Thereupon the King asked the ministers, "The Elder gives admonition of deep meaning. Is it that he is ready to go?" The ministers replied, "Sire, the Elder came of his own accord without being invited by you and it may be that he will go away without your permission." Thereupon the King, mounted on his chariot and with his two Queens made to sit with him, journeyed to Cetiyagiri in great regal splendour. Arriving there greatly fatigued, he himself went up to the Elders, making the Queens retire aside. The Elder asked him, "Wherefore, Great King, do you come being so fatigued?"

"Sir, it is in order to find out whether it is your intention now to go away; for the last admonition you gave us was of great significance."

"Great King, it is not our intention to go; but, Great King, the time is now come for entering upon the Rains-residence, and with reference to it a monk should know where he should spend the Rains-residence."

86. On the same day, the minister named Ariṭṭha [1] with fifty-five elder and younger brothers, stood near the King and said to him, "Sire, we wish to enter the Order under the Elders." The King gave them his consent saying, "Very well, my men, enter the Order," and entrusted them to the Elder. The Elder admitted them into the Order the same day. All of them attained arahatship even while in the hall of tonsure. And that very instant the King too ordered work to begin on the erection of sixty-eight cells around the courtyard of the Kaṇṭakacetiya,[2] and returned to the city. [83] Those Elders too converted the royal family including the ten brothers [3] and spent the Rains-residence at Cetiyagiri giving admonition to the people. At that time there were sixty-two [4] Arahants spending the first Rains-residence at Ceityagiri.

87. And [1] now the venerable Mahāmahinda having spent the Rains-residence and performed the Invitation ceremony (at the end of the rains), on the uposatha day of the full moon of Kattikā, said to the King, "Great King, it is a long time since we have last seen the Perfectly Enlightened One, we have lived as destitutes. We [2] wish to go to Jambudipa." The King asked, "Sir, I have provided you with the four requisites and these people are established in the Three Refuges on account of you. Wherefore are you dissatisfied?"

"Great King, it is a long time since we have seen the Perfectly Enlightened One; and there is no object here which we can show devotion and reverence to, pay respectful salutation and homage to; therefore are we disappointed."

"But Sir, have you not said that the Perfectly Enlightened One has passed away in perfect Nibbāna?"

"Great King, even though He has passed away in perfect Nibbāna, his bodily relics, however, remain."

"I now realize, Sir, that you are greatly eager for the establishment of a thūpa. I will build a thūpa; may you first select a suitable site. Yet, Sir, where shall we obtain relics?" [3]

"Discuss it with Sumana, Great King."

"Good, Sir," said the King, and going up to Sumana he asked him, "Where shall we now obtain relics?" Sumana replied, "Great King, do not be anxious, have the streets cleaned and decorated with banners, streamers, full pitchers, and such articles and take upon yourself the uposatha vows in the company of your retinue and go towards the Mahānāga Pleasure-grove [4] in the evening, attended by your full train of musicians, together with the state elephant adorned with all its paraphernalia, with the white parasol of state hoisted above it. Assuredly [**84**] you will obtain the relics there." The King agreed saying, "So be it."

The Elders returned to Cetiyagiri. Thereat the Elder Mahinda told the novice Sumana, "Novice, return to Jambudipa, go to your grandfather Asoka the righteous monarch and tell him on my behalf, 'Great King, your friend Devānampiyatissa who has gained faith in the Dispensation of the Buddha wishes to erect a thūpa; and it is known that you have relics in your possession. Give me some of them.' [5] Taking these you next go to Sakka, the king of the deities, and tell him, 'Great King, it is said that you possess two relics, the right eye-tooth and the right collar-bone. Of these you continue to honour the tooth-relic, but give me the collar-bone.' And tell him further, 'Great King, why do you remain indifferent having sent us to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi?'" [6] Accepting the words of the Elder saying, "So be it, Sir," and taking his bowl and robe, Sumana immediately rose into the air and descending at the gate of Pāṭaliputta went to meet the King and conveyed the message to him.

88. The King was pleased, and taking the bowl from the novice's hand smeared it with perfumes and returned it to him filling it with relics which resembled lovely pearls. Taking it

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There was a mighty earthquake right to the ocean-limits (to celebrate the fact) that a relic of the Perfectly Enlightened One should be enshrined in a border country. Deities and men were overjoyed. Thus producing joy in deities and men by the splendour of supernatural power,

The Great Hero [2] came here from the world of the deities on the full moon day of the fourth month (of Kattikā) [3] and was established on the elephant's frontal.

Then this great elephant, surrounded by a band of numerous musicians and honoured with exceedingly magnificent offerings, walked backwards facing the west as far as the eastern gate of the city, and entering the city by the eastern gate, [**86**] left the city by the southern gate while great homage was paid to it by the entire city, and arriving at the place called Mahejavatthu [4] situated to the east of the Thūpârāma, stopped there again facing the Thūpârāma.[5]

90. By this time there was already at Thūpârāma a site where sacred objects used by three previous Perfectly Enlightened Ones were enshrined.[1] It is said that in the past, this Island was known as Ojadīpa : the king was called Abhaya and his city Abhayapura. The Cetiyapabbata was known as Devakūṭapabbata and the Thūpârāma as Paṭiyârāma. At that time the Exalted One Kakusandha had appeared in the world. His disciple named Mahādeva, together with a thousand monks, established himself on Devakūṭa as did the Elder Mahinda on Cetiyapabbata. At this time the people in Ojadīpa met with utter disaster and ruin through a fever. And the Exalted One Kakusandha, as he surveyed the world with his eye of enlightenment saw those beings brought to utter disaster and ruin ; and when he had seen this, he went there attended by 40,000 monks. By his supernatural power the fever was allayed instantaneously. When the epidemic subsided the Exalted One preached the Dhamma and there resulted the realization of the Dhamma to 84,000 beings. The Exalted One gave his sacred water-pot (with strainer) and departed. Enshrining it they built a cetiya at Paṭiyârāma. Ministering to the Island with his counsel, Mahādeva lived there.

91. Again, during the time of the Exalted One Koṇāgamana this Island was known as Varadīpa: the king was called Samiddha and his city Vaḍḍhamāna. [87] The mountain was called Suvaṇṇakūṭa. At that time in Varadīpa there was a drought resulting in famine and failure of crops. People met with utter disaster and ruin through disease consequent on hunger. And the Exalted One Koṇāgamana, as he surveyed the world with his eye of enlightenment saw those beings brought to utter disaster and ruin; and when he had seen this he went there attended by 30,000 monks. By the supernatural power of the Buddha there arose a torrential downpour of rain and there was an abundance of food. The Exalted One preached the Dhamma and there resulted the realization of the Dhamma to 84,000 beings. The Exalted One stationed on the Island the Elder named Mahāsumana together with a following of a thousand monks and departed, presenting his belt. Enshrining it they built a cetiya.

92. Again, during the time of the Exalted One Kassapa this Island was known as Maṇḍadīpa [1]: the king was called Jayanta, his city Visāla, and the mountain Subhakūṭa. At this time in Maṇḍadīpa there was a great dispute. Involved in quarrels and controversies many people met with utter disaster and ruin. And the Exalted One Kassapa, as he surveyed the world with his eye of enlightenment saw those beings brought to utter disaster and ruin; and when he had seen this, he went there attended by 20,000 monks, and settling the dispute he preached the Dhamma to them. There resulted the realization of the Dhamma to 84,000 beings. The Exalted One stationed on the Island the Elder named Sabbananda together with a following of a thousand monks and departed, presenting his bathing mantle. Enshrining this too they built a cetiya.

Thus at Thūpârāma stood the cetiyas to the three previous Buddhas.[2] They perish with the disappearance of the Teaching, the site only remains. Therefore it is said: Already by this time at Thūpârāma was the site where sacred objects used by the three previous Perfectly Enlightened Ones were enshrined. When the cetiyas have perished the spot [88] remains, by the power of the deities, concealed with various shrubs having

branches covered with thorns, so that no one may desecrate it with rubbish, impurities, dirt, and filth.

93. Thereupon [1] the King's officers went in front of the elephant and cleared the ground cutting down all the shrubs and making it as even as the palm of the hand. The elephant went up and stood facing that spot at the place of the Bodhi tree situated to the west of it. Then they attempted to take down the relic from the elephant's forehead. The elephant did not allow it to be taken down. The King asked the Elder, "Wherefore, Sir, does not the elephant allow the relic to be taken down?"

"Great King (it thinks that) it is not proper to take down what has been once placed upon it." [2]

At that time the Abhayavāpi [3] had gone dry, the earth around it was caked and lumps of clay could be easily removed. The people quickly brought clay from there and made a heap to the height of the elephant's frontal globe. And at the same time they began making bricks for building the thūpa. Until all the bricks were ready the great elephant spent a few days standing in the elephant-stall at the place of the Bodhi tree by day, and walking around the place of the construction of the thūpa at night. Having had the site filled in, the King asked the Elder, "In what manner, Sir, should the thūpa be built?"

"Great King, in the shape of a heap of paddy." [4]

"So be it, Sir," said the King, and having had the thūpa constructed knee-high (to the level of the platform),[5] he held a great festival in honour of taking down the relic. The whole city and the country assembled to witness the ceremony in honour of the relic. When that large multitude had assembled, the relic of the Lord of Ten Powers rose into the sky from the elephant's frontal, to the height of seven palm trees and performed the twin-miracle.[6] From the different sides of the relic streams of water of six colours and columns of fire issued forth. There took place a miracle which resembled the one performed by the Exalted One at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree at Sāvatthi.[7] [89] Indeed, this was not by the power of the Elder, nor by the power of the deities, but by the power of the

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500 youths each, coming from villages such as Dvāramaṇḍala.[9] All those from within and without the city who entered the Order numbered 30,000. When the thūpa was completed, the King, the King's brothers, and the Queens each severally made offerings causing astonishment even to the deities, Nāgas, and Yakkhas. When the ceremony of paying homage to the relic was over and the wonderful relic enshrined, the Elder Mahinda returned to the Mahāmegha Pleasure-grove and took up his residence there.

95. At that time the Princess Anulā became desirous of entering the Order and told the King about it. On hearing her words the King spoke thus to the Elder, "Sir, the Princess Anulā wishes to enter the Order, admit her into the Order."

"Great King, it is not permissible for us to admit womenfolk into the Order.[1] But there lives at Pāṭaliputta my sister the Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā. Send for her. Further, Great King, the Bodhi of three previous Perfectly Enlightened Ones has stood in this Island[2] and it is meet that the Bodhi of our Exalted One which diffuses clusters of dazzling rays should be established here. Therefore despatch a message so that Saṅghamittā will come here bringing with her the Bodhi."

"So be it, Sir," said the King, and accepting the word of the Elder, and holding a conference with his ministers, he said to his nephew Ariṭṭha,[3] "Will you be able to go to Pāṭaliputta and bring the venerable Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā together with the Bodhi?"

"I will be able, Sire, if you will approve of my entering the Order."

[**91**] "Go, my dear, and bring the Elder(-nun) and (afterwards) enter the Order."

Bearing the messages of the Elder and the King, he went to the port of Jambukola,[4] embarked in a ship, crossed the ocean, and arrived at Pāṭaliputta all in one day by virtue of the resolution of will of the Elder. And the Princess Anulā herself, together with 500 maidens and 500 ladies of the court, took up their abode in a convent which they had had erected in a certain quarter of the city, having taken upon themselves the ten precepts and wearing yellow robes.

96. The self same day Ariṭṭha went and presented the King's message. He added, "Sire, your son, the Elder Mahinda has charged me with this message, 'The Princess Anulā, wife of the brother of your friend King Devānampiyatissa wishes to enter the Order: send the venerable Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā to admit her into the Order, and with the venerable lady send the Great Bodhi.'" And thus having conveyed the Elder's message he went to the Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā and said, "Venerable lady, your brother the Elder Mahinda sends me to you with the message that the Princess Anulā the wife of King Devānampiyatissa's brother, together with 500 maidens and 500 ladies of the court, wishes to enter the Order, and he requests you to go there and admit them into the Order." [1] She immediately went before the King in great haste and said, "Great King, my brother the Elder Mahinda has sent me a message to the effect that the Princess Anulā the wife of the King's brother, together with 500 maidens and 500 ladies of the court, wishes to enter the Order. He looks forward to my coming. Great King, I will go to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi."

The King said, "My dear, my son the Elder Mahinda and my grandson the novice Sumana have gone to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi reducing me to the plight of a man with hands cut off. [92] The grief that arises in me because of not seeing them is allayed when I look at your face. Please, my dear, do not go."

"Great King, I hold my brother's words dear. And Anulā the royal princess, accompanied by a thousand women, greatly anxious to enter the Order, eagerly awaits me. Great King, I will go."

"If that be so, my dear, take the Great Bodhi when you go."

97. How did the King come to possess the Great Bodhi?

Some time prior to then, even before Sumana's visit for the purpose of removing the relics, the King was eager to send the Great Bodhi to the Island of Laṅkā. Debating within himself as to how he should send the Great Bodhi which it was not fitting to cut with a weapon, and not being able to find a method, he asked the minister named Mahādeva. He replied, "Sire, there are many wise monks." On hearing this the King offered a meal to the Order of monks, and at the end of the

meal asked the Saṅgha, " Sirs, should the Bodhi of the Exalted One go to the Island of Laṅkā or not ? " The Saṅgha referred the question to the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa. The Elder replied, " Great King, the Great Bodhi should go to the Island of Laṅkā ; " and related the five great resolutions of will of the Exalted One. What are the five ? [1]

Lying in His death-bed prior to passing away in perfect Nibbāna, it is said, the Exalted One made the first resolution of will, " The great King Asoka will go to remove the Great Bodhi in order to have it established in the Island of Laṅkā. Then let the southern branch of the Great Bodhi sever of itself and plant itself in a golden vase." This was His first resolution of will. He next made the resolution of will, " Even at the time of planting itself there, let the Great Bodhi enter a bank of snowy clouds and remain there." This was the second resolution of will. He next made the resolution of will, " On the seventh day, when it plants itself again in the golden vase, having descended from the bank of snowy clouds, let it emit the six-hued rays from its leaves and fruits." This was the third resolution of will. He also made the resolution of will, " Let the right collar-bone, on the day of its enshrining in the cetiya at Thūpârāma perform the twin-miracle." This was the fourth resolution of will. He finally made the resolution of will, " Let a doṇa measure [2] of my relics, at the time of their enshrining in the Mahācetiya in the Island of Laṅkā, [93] assume the form of the Buddha, rise into the air and perform the twin-miracle." This was the fifth resolution of will.

When he heard of these five great resolutions of will, the King was pleased in mind and, clearing the road from Pāṭaliputta to the Great Bodhi,[3] he had brought to him a large quantity of gold for making a golden vase. At the same time the deity Vissakamma, knowing the King's thoughts, appeared before him disguised as a smith. Seeing him the King said, " My man, take this gold and make a vase."

" Have you in mind its size, Sire ? "

" Make it as you know best, my man."

Saying, " So be it, Sire, I will make it," he took the gold and fashioning it with his hand, by his supernatural power, made a golden vase nine cubits in circumference, five cubits in height,

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circular line on the stem three inches above the marking at the bottom. Then instantaneously appearing as bumps ten large roots emerged. Again, at intervals of three inches above it he made nine other circular markings. From them too ninety roots emerged (each) having become ten bumps. The first ten large roots grew to a length of four inches only and the others emerged interwoven like the netting over a gabled window. Seeing the extent of those miracles, the King, standing on the jewelled stool itself, clasped his hands together and cheered aloud, the many thousands of monks shouted approval with cries of "Bravo!", the entire royal army cheered vehemently and waved a thousand garments aloft, the devas, from the terrestrial deities right to the hosts of Brahma, [**95**] applauded with cries of "Bravo!" As the King stood there with clasped hands, his body completely pervaded with joy on beholding this miracle, the Great Bodhi with its hundred roots planted itself in the golden vase. The ten large roots remained touching the surface of the golden vase, the other ninety, growing in due course, embedded themselves in the perfumed muddy-soil.[3]

99. Thus even as the Great Bodhi planted itself in the golden vase, the mighty earth trembled, loud peals of thunder roared in the sky, and it was one tumultuous uproar resounding from the surface of the earth as far as the world of Brahma, with the dancing of the mountains, the shouts of approval of the deities, the exclamations of the Yakkhas, the incantations of praise of the Asuras, the clapping of hands of the Brahmas, the roar of the rain-clouds, the cries of four-footed animals, the songs of birds and the display of the individual skill of each one of the musicians. From each of the fruits on the five branches the six-hued rays emitted making the universe appear as though covered with roof-beams made of jewels and reached as far as the world of Brahma. From that instant, for seven days, the Great Bodhi remained concealed in a bank of snowy-clouds and no one was able to see the Great Bodhi. Descending from the jewelled stool, the King, for seven days, caused offerings to be made to the Great Bodhi. On the seventh day, the snow and the six-coloured rays from all the quarters turned

back and entered the Great Bodhi itself. When the snowy-clouds had disappeared and the vault of heaven become clear, the Great Bodhi, [96] complete with trunk, branches, and twigs, adorned with the five fruits and standing in the golden vase became visible.

On beholding the Great Bodhi, the King, with joy and rapture arisen within him through those miracles, consecrated it thinking of honouring the young Great Bodhi with the sovereignty of all Jambudipa and remained for seven days in the vicinity of the Great Bodhi. The Great Bodhi first planted itself in the golden vase in the evening of the Invitation day [1] in the bright fortnight of the month of Pubbakattikā.[2] Seven days having passed (while the Great Bodhi was) in the snowy-cloud and seven days for its consecration, the uposatha day of the dark fortnight arrived and the King, in one day only, entered Pāṭaliputta and placed the Great Bodhi at the foot of the Eastern Great Sāla tree [3] on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kattikā. On the seventeenth day of its planting itself in the golden vase fresh shoots sprouted on the Great Bodhi. The King, pleased on seeing them too, again consecrated the Great Bodhi honouring it with the sovereignty of all Jambudipa. The novice Sumana who had gone there on the full moon day of Kattikā to obtain relics saw the Kattikā festival offerings to the Great Bodhi.

100. Thus it was with reference to the Great Bodhi which was brought from its platform and placed at Pāṭaliputta that he said, " If that be so, my dear, take the Great Bodhi and go." She agreed to it saying, " So be it."

For the purpose of guarding the Great Bodhi the King gave eighteen families of royal clan,[1] eight families each of ministers, brahmins, wealthy householders, herdsmen, Taracchas,[2] and natives of Kāliṅga,[3] and for the purpose of sprinkling water he gave eight golden and eight silver vessels; and placing the Great Bodhi together with its retinue, on board a ship in the Ganges, [97] and himself departing from the city and crossing the Viñjhā forest [4] he arrived in due course at Tāmalitti [5] in seven days. On the way, deities, Nāgas, and men paid the highest homage to the Great Bodhi. The King too,

keeping the Great Bodhi on the sea-shore for seven days, offered to it the great sovereignty of all Jambudipa. This is the third time that he dedicated the rulership of Jambudipa.

101. Having thus offered the great sovereignty the righteous monarch Asoka, on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Maggasira,[1] raised the Great Bodhi and placed it on board the ship, wading into the water up to his neck. Telling the Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā to embark with her retinue, he spoke thus to the minister Ariṭṭha, " I have, my dear, thrice honoured the Great Bodhi with the sovereignty of all Jambudīpa, and descended neck-deep into the water whilst sending it to my friend; let him too honour the Great Bodhi in the self-same way." Thus he gave his message to his friend, and lamenting, " Behold, there goes the Great Bodhi-tree emitting a glow of glorious rays of the Lord of Ten Powers ! " he stood there with his hands clasped and shedding tears. And the ship too, with the Great Bodhi placed upon it, even while the great King was looking on, sped over the surface of the great ocean. The waves of the mighty ocean became calm to the distance of a yojana all round, lotuses of the five colours blossomed, heavenly music resounded in the sky, and exceedingly splendid offerings were made from the sky by the tutelary divinities of the waters, the highlands, trees, and the like. The Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā, in the guise of a supaṇṇā [2] scared away hordes of Nāgas in the great ocean. Those Nāgas who were terrified came back again, and beholding its splendour begged of the Elder(-nun) and carried the Great Bodhi to the abode of the Nāgas, and for seven days [98] made an offering of the Nāga kingdom and placed it on the ship again. The same day the ship arrived at the port of Jambukola. And the great King Asoka who was overcome by the pangs of separation from the Great Bodhi, weeping and lamenting gazed on as long as it was within his range of vision and then turned back.

102. And the Great King Devānampiyatissa, acting in accordance with the words of the novice Sumana, beginning on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Maggasira, had the road from the northern gate to the port of Jambukola cleared and decorated; and on the day of setting

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sixteen families took the Great Bodhi and reverentially placed it on the ground. Scarcely had the Great Bodhi been released from their hands than it rose into the sky to a height of eighty cubits and emitted the six-hued rays. The magnificent rays spread over the entire Island and penetrated as far as the world of Brahma above.

103. Ten thousand people with faith kindled at the sight of the miracle performed by the Great Bodhi developed insight in gradual order, gained arahatship, and entered the Order. Until sunset the Great Bodhi remained in the sky ; after sunset it established itself upon the earth, under the asterism of Rohiṇi.[1] With the establishing of the Bodhi, the great earth shook to its ocean-limits. Once it had established itself, the Great Bodhi, for seven days, remained enclosed within a bank of snowy clouds hidden to the view of the people. On the seventh day the sky was clear of clouds. The six-hued rays flashed radiant and dazzling. The trunk of the Great Bodhi, the branches and [**100**] the five fruits were visible.[2]

The Elder Mahinda, the Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā, and the King, accompanied by their retinues, went to the place of the Great Bodhi. Inhabitants from all parts of the Island gathered there in large numbers. Even while they were looking on, one fruit on the northern branch ripened and fell from the branch. The Elder held out his hand and the fruit came to rest on his hand. The Elder gave it to the King saying, " Plant it, Great King." The King accepted it ; and scattering scented earth in a golden vase and filling it with perfumed muddy-soil, he planted it and placed it near the Great Bodhi. Even while every one was looking, eight Bodhi-tree saplings four cubits high sprang up. Seeing this wondrous happening the King made an offering of his white parasol of state to the young Bodhi-trees and consecrated them. They planted one of these Bodhi-trees at the port of Jambukola in the place where the Great Bodhi had been set down at the time of its arrival, one at the entrance to the village of the brahmin Tavakka,[3] one at the Thūpârāma, one at the Issaranimmāṇa Monastery,[4] one at the place of the Paṭhamacetiya, one at Cetiyapabbata, one at Kācaragāma [5] in the province of Rohaṇa, and the eighth at

Candanagāma [6] likewise in the province of Rohaṇa. From the seeds of the remaining four fruits they planted thirty-two Bodhi saplings in ārāmas situated at intervals of a yojana from one another.

When the Great Bodhi of the Lord of Ten Powers, which was like a banner of the Dhamma, was thus established for the benefit and well-being of inhabitants throughout the Island for generations from son to grandson, [**101**] the Princess Anulā together with a thousand womenfolk consisting of 500 maidens and 500 ladies of the court entered the Order under the Elder(-nun) Saṅghamittā, and before long, together with her followers, gained arahatship. The King's nephew Ariṭṭha [7] too, together with 500 men entered the Order under the Elder, and before long, together with his followers attained arahatship.

104. Then one day, the King, when he had venerated the Great Bodhi, was going on his way to the Thūpârāma with the Elder. When he reached the place where the Lohapāsāda [1] was to stand, people brought him flowers. The King gave the flowers to the Elder. The Elder honoured the site of the Lohapāsāda with flowers. No sooner did the flowers fall on the ground than there was a great earthquake. The King asked, "Wherefore, Sir, did the earth tremble?"

"In this place, Great King, in the future, there will arise an uposatha hall for the Saṅgha. This is the prognostication of it."

Continuing his journey with the Elder, the King reached a place called the Ambaṅgaṇa [2] where a mellow, sweet-smelling, and succulent ripe mango of exceedingly delightful taste was brought to him. The King offered it to the Elder so that he might partake of it. Then and there, the Elder ate it and said, "Have this planted just here." The King took the mango stone and having had it planted in that very place, sprinkled water over it. Simultaneously with the planting of the mango-seed the earth shook. The King asked, "Wherefore, Sir, did the earth tremble?"

"In this place, Great King, in the future, there will be a place of assembly for the Saṅgha named Ambaṅgaṇa. This is the prognostication of it."

The King scattered eight handfuls of flowers there and

venerated (the place); and continuing his journey with the Elder arrived at the place of the Mahācetiya. Champak flowers were brought to him there, and these the King gave to the Elder. The Elder honoured the site of the Mahācetiya with the flowers and paid homage, and immediately the great earth shook. The King asked, "Wherefore, Sir, did the earth tremble?"

"In this place, Great King, in the future, a unique and mighty thūpa will be erected in honour of the Buddha, the Exalted One. [**102**] This is a prognostication of it."

"I myself will build it, Sir."

"Not so, Great King, you have much work other than this, but your descendant,[3] the King named Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya, will have it erected.

105. The King then replied, "If my descendant, Sir, will build it, it is as good as done by me," and he had a stone pillar twelve cubits high brought to him, and having the words, "Let Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya, the descendant of Devānampiyatissa, build a thūpa at this spot," inscribed, he set it up there, venerated the place and asked the Elder, "Is the Dispensation, Sir, now established in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi?"

"The Dispensation, Great King, is established, but its roots have not yet descended deep."

"When, Sir, will the roots have descended?"

"When, Great King, a youth born in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, of parents belonging to the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, enters the Order in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, learns the Vinaya in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi itself and teaches it in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, then indeed, will the roots of the Dispensation have descended."[1]

"But, is there, Sir, such a monk?"

"There is, Great King, the monk named Mahā-Ariṭṭha who is capable of carrying out this task."

"What, Sir, should be done by me in this matter?"

"Great King, it behoves you to build a pavilion."

"So be it," said the King, and at the spot where Meghavaṇṇâbhaya the minister was to build a pariveṇa,[2] by means of his royal powers, he caused the erection of a pavilion resembling that built by the great King Ajātasattu at the time

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remaining. And they indeed, in that assembly with the Great Mahinda at their head :

[**104**] The sixty-eight great Elders, disciples of the King of the Dhamma, each one the leader of a separate group, who had reached pre-eminence were gathered together.

They who had destroyed their cankers, gained mastery over themselves, were endowed with the threefold higher knowledge, skilled in psychic phenomena, and had realized the highest end gave admonition to the King.

Showing him the light and illuminating this earth, the great sages flamed forth like columns of fire and were extinguished.

After their passing away in perfect Nibbāna, others too, the pupils of those Elders, Tissadatta, Kālasumana, Dīghasumana, and others as well as the co-resident-pupils of the Elder Mahā-Ariṭṭha and the co-resident pupils of those co-resident pupils—the successive generation of teachers thus mentioned above,[3] have handed down this Vinaya Piṭaka to the present day.[4] Therefore it is said : Starting from the time of the Third Convocation, it was first brought to this Island by Mahinda and others ; learning it under Mahinda it was, for a short period, handed down by the Elder Ariṭṭha and others, and from that time to the present day it was handed down by the succession of teachers who were their successive generations of co-resident pupils.

107. Where was it established ? It should be known that it was established among individuals who were intent on training and were endowed with great mindfulness, courage, and endeavour, were modest and scrupulous, by whom it is retained to perfection both as regards the text and as regards its meaning, like oil poured into a crystal vessel, even a drop of which does not flow out. Therefore, in order to establish the Vinaya, a monk who is intent on training should consider the advantages arising from the learning of the Vinaya and the complete study of the Vinaya. Here are the advantages arising from learning the Vinaya : A person who is proficient in Vinaya-learning stands in the relationship of a father or mother to clansmen who have gained faith in the Dispensation ; for on

them depend their ordination and higher ordination, the discharge of the major and minor obligations and their skill in good conduct and resort (for alms). Besides, on account of his Vinaya-learning his code of moral precepts will be well guarded and protected, he becomes an arbiter to those who by nature are scrupulous,[1] he goes about amidst the assembly of monks with confidence and checks firmly his adversaries in accordance with the Dhamma. [**105**] He is faring along for the persistence of the Good Teaching. Therefore has the Exalted One said [2]: "These O monks, are the five advantages accruing to a person adept in the Vinaya: His own code of moral precepts is well guarded and protected and so on and finally he is faring along for the persistence of the Good Teaching." And besides, whatever good qualities which have restraint as their basis that have been declared by the Exalted One, a person adept in the Vinaya is heir to them, on account of the fact that these qualities are based on the Vinaya. And so it has been declared by the Exalted One [3]: "Vinaya leads to restraint and restraint to absence of remorse, the absence of remorse leads to delight, and delight to joy, joy leads to impassibility and impassibility to ease, ease leads to concentration and concentration to knowledge and insight with correct perspective, knowledge and insight with correct perspective leads to revulsion and revulsion to detachment, detachment leads to emancipation, emancipation to knowledge and insight into emancipation, knowledge and insight into emancipation leads to perfect Nibbāna free from the material substrata. Discussion, deliberation, intensive study and lending attentive ear are for this purpose, namely, the emancipation of mind without the material substrata." Therefore, one should strive hard for learning the Vinaya.

In so far as whatever tabulation has been laid down for the purpose of the exposition of the Vinaya, therein as [4]:

> By whom it was said, when, for what reason, held by whom, handed down by whom, where it was established: having thus explained this procedure,

the meaning of the above stanza has been so far explained. The account of the External Story connected with the Vinaya has been fully explained as intended.

Here ends the Account of the External Story.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The Pali Texts referred to are the editions of the Pali Text Society. The references to the text and translation of this edition are by paragraph numbers and when the P.T.S. edition is referred to, the page number is followed by the letters P.T.S.

A.	Aṅguttara Nikāya
AA.	Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūraṇī)
AGI	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India
ASC	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon
Bdhgh.	Buddhaghosa
BI	Buddhist India
CJSc	The Ceylon Journal of Science
Cp.	Cariyāpiṭaka
Cvg.	Cullavagga Vinaya (Vin. ii)
D.	Dīgha Nikāya
DA.	Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, *see* Sum.
desid.	desiderative
Dh.	Dhammapada
DhA.	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā
Dhs.	Dhammasaṅgaṇi
DhsA.	Dhammasaṅgaṇi Aṭṭhakatha (Althasālinī)
DPPN	The Dictionary of Pali Proper Names
Dpv.	Dīpavaṃsa
Divy.	Divyāvadāna
EHBC	The Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon
It.	Itivuttaka
JA.	Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā
JCBRAS	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JPTS	Journal of the Pali Text Society
Kh.	Khuddakapāṭha
KhA.	Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā)
Kvu.	Kathāvatthu
M.	Majjhima Nikāya
MA.	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī)
Mhv.	Mahāvaṃsa
Mvg.	Mahāvagga Vinaya (Vin. i)
Miln.	Milinda Pañha
Pj.	Paramatthajotikā
PLC	The Pali Literature of Ceylon
P.T.S.	The Pali Text Society
PTS	The Pali Text Society's Pali–English Dictionary
Pv.	Petavatthu
S.	Saṃyutta Nikāya
SA.	Saṁyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsinī)
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
Sinh.	Sinhalese
Smp.	Samantapāsādikā
Sn.	Sutta Nipāta
SnA.	Sutta Nipāta Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā)
st.	stanza
subst.	substantive
Sum.	Sumaṅgalavilāsnī, *see* DA.
Th. 1	Theragāthā
Th. 2	Therīgāthā
Thūp.	Thūpavaṃsa
UCR	The University of Ceylon Review

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[8] So named as it was compiled at Kurundivelu Vihāra in Ceylon ; *vide* PLC, 92 ; EHBC, 12. Mhv. xlii, 15, refers to a Kurunda Monastery in Aggabodhi I's reign, and it may probably be the same, but different from Kurundavāsoka Vihāra built by Khallāṭanāga ; Mhv. xxxiii, 32, s.v., DPPN.

[9] The Theravāda (as opposed to the Ācariyavāda, " The Tradition of the Teachers," i.e. heresy), was held in high esteem and was the absolute authority. See st. 14. It traces its ācariyaparamparā, " Succession of Teachers " to Upāli, the first of the Vinayadharas. See Smp. 63.

[10] The Sakyaputtiyā samaṇā, " Ascetics of the Sakyan Order " ; i.e. the Saṅgha.

[11] This may even include the commentaries of Canonical antiquity such as the Niddesas, etc., but essentially the works recognized as Commentaries extant in Bdhgh.'s day are meant here. Bdhgh. generously dismisses the wrong interpretations as clerical errors—pamādalekha.

[12] Sikkhā also may refer to the sikkhāpadāni, the precepts embodied in the Vinaya Code.

[13] i.e. different from the language of the Texts.

[14] The terms sutta and suttanta are used indiscriminately as may be seen from this stanza and Smp. 30. The longer suttas, however, are usually given the name suttanta, and often the term sutta refers to a type of discourse as given in the Navaṅga division, (Smp. 31), while generally speaking, individual suttas and groups of suttas are called suttantas. The teachers versed in the suttas, i.e. implying the Sutta Piṭaka, are called Suttantikā.

2. [1] i.e. Tena samayena Buddho bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharati. See Smp. 2, n. 2.

[2] The opening words of Pārājikapāli, Vin. iii, 1.

[3] Vin. ii, 284 ff.

3. [1] The Sinhalese month of Vesak. See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 2, n. 3.

[2] The Malla Country was divided into two separate provinces with capitals at Kusinārā and Pāvā respectively, situated not very far from each other, and the two branches of Mallas were looked upon as two distinct groups. They were separate claimants to Buddha's relics—D. ii, 165. Malla, though small, was included in the sixteen Mahājanapadas. See also Rhys Davids, BI, 26 ; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India (AGI), 493 ff., 497 f., 712.

[3] Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, Vin. i, 10 ff., S.v, 420 ff.

[4] The last disciple converted by the Buddha shortly before the Parinibbāna, D. ii, 148 ff.

[5] See Mhv. Ṭīkā i, 142, for explanation.

[6] Better known as Buḍḍhapabbajita and different from the earlier Subhadda.

[7] D. ii, 162 ; Vin. ii, 284.

[8] Not at Vin. ii, XI.

[9] D. ii, 154.

[10] S. ii, 221.

[11] See also Etadaggapāli A. i, 23 ff., where he is described as the highest among those disciples of the Buddha who inculcate punctiliousness.

[12] The six branches of higher knowledge or supernormal insight are enumerated at D. iii, 281, and elsewhere in the Canon as :

iddhividha : psychic powers,
dibbasota : clairaudience,
cetopariyañāṇa : knowledge of others' thoughts,
pubbe nivāsânussati : recollection of past lives,
dibbacakkhu : divine eye,
āsavakkhayañāṇa : knowledge leading to the destruction of the fluxes.

[13] They consist of the four jhānas, the four āyatanas and saññāvedayita-nirodha and are enumerated at D. iii, 265, etc. ; jhāna s.v., PTS.
[14] S. ii, 198.

4. [1] This and the subsequent quotations are from the Vinaya Cullavagga account of the First Council ; Vin. ii, 284 ff.
[2] This refers to the section commencing with para. 2 at Vin. ii, 284.
[3] ibid., 285, para. 1.
[4] The traditional explanation of *pure* here is " before " and not " formerly " ; and the trsl. then should read : Let us, friends, rehearse the Dhamma and the Vinaya before what is contrary to the Dhamma and the Vinaya shine forth and the Dhamma and the Vinaya are disregarded, before those who hold views contrary to the Dhamma and the Vinaya hold sway while those who profess the Dhamma and the Vinaya become powerless. See also Vin. ii, trsl. (The Book of the Discipline, 5 ; SBB xx, p. 394), which agrees with the traditional interpretation. To my mind *pure* here is a simple adverb of time meaning " in the past " ; and besides, pure . . . dippati and pure . . . paṭibāhīyati look more like the historic present rather than having the conditional meaning as forced by the traditional interpretation. Smp. is silent on this.
[5] Their awakening of wisdom is spontaneous ; cp. aññā ārādhitā mayā, etc., and the spontaneous utterances of Theras and Therīs in Th. 1 and Th. 2. Khīṇâsavas are of two categories : sukkhavipassaka and samatha-yānika. The latter category develop jhānapādakavidassanā making use of the jhānas as a basis for the attainment of analytic insight whereas the former can dispense with the jhānas.
[6] *Vide* Etadaggapāli, A. i, 23 ff.
[7] Vin. ii, 285.

5. [1] A sekha (subst. from sikkhati, desid. of root *śak* " to be able ") is a trainee on the path to Arahatship, i.e. he is one among the first seven categories of the aṭṭha ariyapuggalā ; an asekha is one who requires no further training as he has become an Arahant. He is described as katakicca, as opposed to sa-karaṇīya, " one whose task is yet unaccomplished."
[2] Sutta and Geyya are the first two aṅgas in the Navaṅga division explained at Smp. 31.
[3] Vin. ii, 285.
[4] These are the four agati, the wrong courses of action.

6. [1] cp. Vin. ii, 285.
[2] Capital of Magadha, s.v., DPPN, *vide* Rhys Davids, BI, 36 f. Cunningham, AGI, 535.
[3] The observance of the Vassa was an institution common to all ascetic sects in India. The rainy months from Āsāḷhi to Kattikā (see Geiger, Mhv. trsl., 2, n. 3) were spent in quiet contemplation in peaceful surroundings. See Vin. i, 137 ff. The Book of the Discipline 4, SBB xiv ; Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism. See also Smp. 7, n. 2.
[4] When the subject is of a more important nature it becomes ñatti-catuttha, where the ñatti gains formal ratification after the resolution has been passed thrice by unanimous assent.
[5] See Vin. ii, 285 : Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo saṅghaṃ ñāpesi . . . etc. dealing with the First Council.

7. [1] i.e. to pay homage to the remains of the Tathāgata and perform the ceremonies connected with the cremation and other funeral obsequies.

[2] Two days are prescribed for the vassûpanāyika : (1) purimikā, the day after the Āsāḷhi full moon, and (2) pacchimikā, a lunar month later ; Vin. i, 137. Here the former is meant, i.e. exactly two months after the Parinibbāna.

8. [1] Capital of Kosala, s.v., DPPN, *vide* BI, 25, 40 ; AGI, 467 ff.
[2] His love for the Tathāgata prompted Ānanda to visit His residence which he left together with the Buddha when He undertook His last memorable journey.
[3] Ānanda himself was quite advanced in years, and the lack of his normal exercise when he personally attended on the Buddha may have affected his health.
[4] The name of the messenger was Todeyyaputta : *vide* Subha Sutta, D. i, 204 ff.
[5] D. i, 204–210.

9. [1] Vin. ii, 286. The details that precede this paragraph are not found in the Cullavagga account.

10. [1] The Sattapaṇṇi Cave named after a sattapaṇṇi tree (*Aristonia scholaris*) growing nearby, was situated on the slope of Vebhāra Hill, one of the five main peaks on the range of mountains skirting the hill-girt city of Rājagaha. See AGI, 531, where Cunningham identifies it as the present Son Bhāṇḍār Cave, s.v., DPPN.
[2] The divine architect, Tvaṣṭṛ of Vedic mythology. *Vide* J. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, s.v. Viśvakarman.
[3] Lakkhī or Lacchī, Skr. Lakṣmī, the goddess of Prosperity ; Dowson, ibid., s.v. Lakṣmī.
[4] The highest god of the Hindu pantheon ; Dowson, ibid., s.v.
[5] Prescribed by the Vinaya as permissible.

11. [1] Vin. ii, 286, para. 2.
[2] D. ii, 144.
[3] Not in Vin. ii, XI ; cp. the parable of the lute, Vin. i, 182.

12. [1] There are various accretions in subsequent texts regarding this incident. The Chinese sources have greatly enlarged the story, while some of the bhāṇakas say that it was through the key-hole that Ānanda came in ! See Mhv. iii, 29 (and Ṭīkā, i, 148), Jotipathena vā.

13. [1] See Smp. 1, n. 2. Even as early as the time of the finalizing of the Cullavagga account of the Council, the Vinaya appears to have been considered more important than the Dhamma though it is not explicitly stated there. This seems to be a special development in the Theravāda with its emphasis on paṭipatti, and whenever pariyatti gains precedence over paṭipatti, a period of decay in the Sāsana is generally reflected as may be seen from its subsequent history in Ceylon. *Vide* W. Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 158 ff.
[2] This apparently is different from dhuraggāha, Smp. 106, n. 1 ; cp. Mhv. iii, 30 (Ṭīka, i, 148), dhurandhare.
[3] A. i, 25.
[4] Vin. ii, 286, para. 3.
[5] Mahākassapa uses the appellative āvuso, " friends," as he is the most senior Elder, while Upāli, though himself a very senior Elder, addresses the assembly as bhante, " Sirs," as there were others senior to him present.
[6] Not at Vin. ii, XI.

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he unwittingly reproduces the tradition in which the Khuddaka has no real status.

16. [1] cp. Ud. 56.

18. [1] This explanation too makes room for the inclusion of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka under Dhamma.
[2] Somewhat parallel to the statement at Vin. ii, 285, but not identical. See Smp. 4.

19. [1] Dh. 153–4 ; cp. Th. 1, 183cd–4c.
[2] Vin. i, 2, also Ud. 1.
[3] D. ii, 156.

20. [1] Bdhgh., on the one hand, recognizes that many sayings of the Buddha had escaped the attention of the Saṅgītikārakas, and, on the other, that many additions to the collections were made at a date subsequent to that of the Council.
[2] Here the extant Khuddaka collection is given with no reference to the statement at Smp. 30 : What is the Khuddakanikāya ? The rest of the sayings of the Buddha including the entire Vinaya Piṭaka, the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and the fifteen divisions commencing with the Khuddakapāṭha enumerated earlier, leaving aside the four Nikāyas. The Dīghabhāṇakas, however, include the Khuddaka Nikāya under the Abhidhamma. The whole problem has been carefully analysed by J. Dhirasekera in UCR, xv, 3–4, in his paper : Buddhaghosa and the Tradition of the First Council.

21. [1] See I. B. Horner, Book of the Discipline, 1, xi ff. (SBB, x).
[2] Enumerated earlier at Smp. 14.
[3] The tabulated summary of Vinaya rules.
[4] i.e. additional enactments or supplementary rules.

23. [1] S.v, 80 : Bojjhaṅga Sutta.
[2] M. i, 20 : Bhayabherava Sutta.
[3] Sn. 553c ; Sela Sutta.
[4] Vin. i, 68 ; cp. Vin. i, 64 ; D. iii, 267 ; M. i, 472.
[5] Vv. i, 9, 1.
[6] Dhs. 97.
[7] D. ii, 186.
[8] Dhs. 27.
[9] cp. Dhs. 184.
[10] Dhs. 17 ; 23.
[11] cp. Dhs. 185 ; 225.

24. [1] A. i, 189 : Kālāma Sutta.
[2] M. i, 127 ; Kakacūpama Sutta.
[3] Threefold training (tisso sikkhā), threefold avoidance (tīṇi pahāṇāni) and fourfold profundity (catubbidho gambhīrabhāvo) are discussed below at Smp. 26.

25. [1] The cpd. saṃvarāsaṃvara = saṃvara + saṃvara, like phalāphala.
[2] *Vide* D. i, 12 ff. and trsl. (Dialogues of the Buddha, i, SBB). A brief summary of the sixty-two views is found in E. J. Thomas' History of Buddhist Thought, 74 ff. Also see B. M. Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Systems of Indian Philosophy.

26. [1] This is different from Catupaṭisambhidā, the fourfold analytic insight discussed at Smp. 29.

27. [1] Vibh. 294 ff.
[2] Vibh. 294 ff.

28. [1] M. i, 133 f. ; Alagaddūpama Sutta.
[2] The division into nine Aṅgas is enumerated here. See explanation at Smp. 31.
[3] M. i, 134.

29. [1] Vin. iv, 170 ff.
[2] M. i, 130 : Alagaddūpama Sutta.
[3] A. ii, 85 ff.
[4] M. i, 133.
[5] A. ii, 80.

30. [1] S. iii, 137.
[2] At Smp. 20.
[3] See Smp. 15, n. 9.

31. [1] All these are given as examples of Sutta, as representative of a type of discourse coming under this particular description. They cannot be classified under a precise division as piṭaka, nikāya, vagga, khandhaka, or bhāṇavāra. The texts mentioned here are (1) Vin. iii, iv ; (2) Culla and Mahā Niddesas forming the eleventh book of the Khuddaka Nikāya (according to the Ceylon division) ; (3) Vin. i, ii ; (4) Vin. v ; (5) Sn. Nos. 16, 13, 37, and 52 respectively, representing no uniform class of teaching except that the entire Vinaya Piṭaka is included. The better known suttantas of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas find no mention here, though individual pieces from a " Nipāta of Suttas " (Sn.) are included here. Judging from these examples and those that follow for the other eight Aṅgas, it appears that the real significance of the early Navaṅga Division, whose existence is echoed even in the words of the Tathāgata (M. i, 133 ; A. ii, 103, etc.) has been lost by the time Bdhgh. began to record the Theravāda commentarial tradition. The more precise division into Piṭakas and other subdivisions has ousted all the other divisions and classifications.
[2] The opening chapter of S. Geyya (from root *gai* " to sing "), judging from the explanation given here, seems to represent the " ākhyāna-type " containing stanzas interspersed with narrative prose. Unless there is an early confusion as to what geyya should be, the explanation here seems to be highly inadequate. If some discrimination is made against the narrative prose, restricting Canonical status to the stanzas only, there is some justification for the explanation.
[3] The phrase, " not included in the other eight Aṅgas," further points to the Commentator's lack of familiarity with this ninefold classification.
[4] There is perfect justification for Dh., Th. 1, and Th. 2 to be designated as gāthā, but the criterion for judging whether a particular piece in Sn. is sutta or gāthā is highly nebulous, except perhaps if Bdhgh. is taken very literally, when the Vatthugāthā of Nālaka and Rāhula Suttas and the whole of the Pārāyaṇa Vagga together with the Vatthugāthā and the epilogue are alone considered as gāthā. This appears to be highly unsatisfactory and is perhaps far from what Bdhgh. meant. There seems to be no clear line of demarcation between sutta and gāthā, except that prose is excluded from gāthā.
[5] The extant collections, perhaps unknown during the life-time of the Buddha, and probably finalized centuries later are conveniently identified with the Aṅgas bearing the same names. There are many udānas not only of the Buddha but also of his disciples and lay disciples, scattered all over the Pali Canon outside this meagre collection of eighty-two suttantas. So also are the quotations from Buddha's words found repeated in other discourses often prefixed with the statement, " For it has been said . . ." (and sometimes with no such introduction), which have failed to find a place in the Itivuttaka collection of 112 suttantas.

[6] As in the case of the Udāna and the Itivuttaka there is no justification for equating the Aṅga called Jātaka with the extant Jātaka collection numbering about 550 stories. Firstly, the stories themselves have no Canonical status, which is reserved for the Jātakapāli, the stanzas, only. Secondly, there is no reason why Jātakas of Canonical antiquity such as those incorporated in other suttantas, e.g. Kūṭadanta and Mahāgovinda Suttas in D., should be excluded. The definition given here is highly arbitrary.

[7] The example given here is not a suttanta by itself but a short discourse incorporated in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (D. ii, 145). Entire suttantas are hard to find though examples for abbhutadhamma are plentiful in the Canon.

[8] M. i, 299 ff.; M. i, 292 ff.; M. i, 46 ff.; D. ii, 263 ff.; M. iii, 99 ff.; M. iii, 115 ff., respectively.

[9] Two of the examples given have the title Vedalla and the explanation is based on the word *veda* which is very faithfully rendered as "wisdom" though one would rather prefer "ecstacy" or "exhilarating joy" for it; cp. vedajāta. It seems rather strange that the list of twelve Aṅgas at Mahāvyutpatti 62, has substituted Vedalla with Vaipulya. This is a clear indication that the Mahayanists had already lost the significance of the term and found it necessary to substitute it with a more familiar term. For the Theravādins, at least, the memory of the term remained, and by the time of the Commentarial epoch attempts were made to revive meanings of unfamiliar terms in the light of the then-current tradition. Hence a curious secondary derivative of veda (whether it be wisdom or ecstacy) is conceived of whereas even the method of subtle analysis found in the six suttas quoted as examples has not touched a familiar chord. To my mind vedalla means "subtle analysis" coming from an older vaidārya from vi and root *dṝ* "to tear apart"; hence, "analyse or break down into fundamentals." Hence Vedalla should be rendered as "Analyses".

32. [1] Th. 1, 1024.

[2] The fuller reading favoured by Burmese Texts: atthi antarâpatti, "there are secondary conditions of guilt," atthi āpatti, "there are the offences," atthi anāpatti, "there are the no-offences," makes better sense, but the pattern of the Vinaya rules in the Sutta Vibhaṅga to which the description applies, does not include āpatti here, whereas it is found along with the rule itself. After padabhājaniya comes antarâpatti followed by anāpatti.

[3] The threefold category of offence pertaining to each ancillary Vinaya rule covered by antarâpatti is stated in the Vinaya; e.g. Pācittiya 36 on anatirittabhojana at Vin. iv, 84: Pavārite pavāritasaññī anatirittena khādanīyena vā bhojanīyena vā abhihaṭṭhuṃ pavāreti āpatti pācittiyassa; pavārite vematiko . . . āpatti dukkaṭassa; pavārite apavāritasaññī . . . anāpatti. The tikapariccheda is to be seen in the three conditions pavāritasaññī, vematiko, and apavāritasaññī. This is the general pattern of the threefold delimiting factors or determining factors. Following the above rule is given the ancillary rule about yāmakālika, etc., which is followed by apavārite pavāritasaññī āpatti dukkaṭassa, apavārite vematiko āpatti dukkaṭassa, apavārite apavāritasaññī anāpatti. Here too the tikapariccheda is observable. Next follow various conditions of anāpatti. Each of these categories comes under any one or more of the three dvāras, kāya, vacī, and mano, and it is not necessary for all the three dvāras to function with regard to every offence.

34. [1] Vin. iii, 1.

35. [1] ibid.

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Jalogikappa involves a Pācittiya offence of indulging in spirits and liquors, Vin. iv, 108–110.

Adasaka-nisīdana involves a Pācittiya offence pertaining to the use of rugs larger than those of prescribed dimensions, Vin. iv, 170–1.

Jātarūpapaṭiggahaṇa is a Nissaggiya-pācittiya offence involving the acceptance of gold and silver, Vin. iii, 236 ff.

[11] The Cullavagga account ends with the judgment passed on the ten indulgences and refers to the whole Council as the Recital of the Vinaya at which 700 monks, neither less nor more were present; Vin. ii, 307. The First Council too is called a Recital of the Vinaya at Vin. ii, 292. There is no separate mention here of a rehearsal of the Dhamma and the Vinaya afresh, though this silence by itself provides no clue as to the proceedings of the Council after the ten indulgences were decided on. The concluding stanzas of Vin. ii are evidently later additions and the reference to the Rehearsal there has no bearing on the actual account.

[12] Dpv. iv, 49cd–51, and Mhv. iv, 56 ff.

39. [1] The six deva worlds pertaining to the sensuous plane are enumerated as: Cātummahārājika, Tāvatiṃsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmāṇarati, and Paranimmitavasavatti.

[2] Lit. "take conception in."

[3] "Sacred formulae," also "charms, hymns, incantations", etc. *Vide* Smp. 42.

40. [1] Lit. "passed away in Nibbāna," cp. khīṇasnehapadīpā va, Smp. 38; nibbanti dhīrā yathâyaṃ padīpo, Sn. 235.

42. [1] This is the stereotyped formula describing the accomplishments of a learned brahmin, as explained at DA. i, 247, etc. by Bdhgh.

[2] i.e. in his normal course of studies.

[3] Yam. ii, 1.

43. [1] Kh. No. 3.

[2] Evidently it is considered discourteous to mention one's teacher's name in his presence. As a rule, even at the present day, the teacher is never addressed by his name, nor is his name mentioned in his presence; cp. Miln. 14 f. for a similar instance. Also at Vin. i, 92, Ānanda refuses to mention Mahākassapa's name on account of the esteem in which he held him, "garu me thero."

44. [1] See Mhv. v, 19 ff. and Dpv. vii for parallels to Smp. 44–62. The tradition that he killed all his brothers but one is not supported by the edicts of Asoka which make reference to his brothers, e.g. RE, v. Also *vide* B. M. Barua, Asoka and his Inscriptions, i, 35 ff. The next statement regarding his consecration has confirmation in all the dated edicts of Asoka. P. H. L. Eggermont, The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya, 69 ff. has attempted to establish that Asoka underwent a second consecration after his conversion to Buddhism at the end of the vassa after the completion of the seventh year of his reign, i.e. eighth regnal year, in order to celebrate the event; ibid., 42, n. 3.

[2] *Vide* Geiger, Mhv. trsl. xxii ff.; Eggermont, ibid., 4 ff.

[3] Carrying poles.

[4] Lake situated in the Himavat with ever cool water; an-ava-tap-ta, "never heated up."

[5] PTS suggests that this is the same as the nāga-latā-rukkha or nāga-rukkha, "the iron-wood tree," out of which wood the Buddha's tooth-stick was made, DhA. ii, 211. The description given above does not seem to agree with the rough, hard, and sap-free wood known as the iron-wood. Sinh. *nā*.

[6] The home of the "Six-tusked" (chad-danta) elephant, and one of the seven great lakes of the Himavat.
[7] A wagon-load.

45. [1] s.v., DPPN.
[2] See Lakkhaṇa Sutta, D. iii, 142 ff.
[3] cp. the animisalocanapūjā, JA, i, 77.

46. [1] The Brahmagiri Edict i, the Rūpnāth and Maski Edicts refer to his conversion and progress in the Sāsana, but they are themselves not dated by Asoka, unlike the majority of his other edicts. For reasons given by Hultzsch, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, xliv, Eggermont (ibid., 68) concludes: "So on the date of the Minor Rock Edicts there is only this certainty that they were engraved before the Rock Edicts, i.e. the *annus ante quem* of the Minor Rock Edicts is the 11th expired year of Asoka's reign. So the Minor Rock Inscriptions must have been engraved in the 10th year of Asoka's reign or before." Also *vide* ibid. 69 ff., 180 ff., for his full discussion on the date of Asoka's conversion and a summary of the chronology of Asoka's reign. Smp. is found to be in support of other evidence as regards the date of Asoka's conversion.
[2] The balcony-window probably with a trellis work.

47. [1] Asoka's accession to the throne and Nigrodha's birth are more or less simultaneous, and on the evidence of Smp., Asoka's conversion took place in the eighth year of his reign. Northern Buddhist accounts state that it was the Elder Upagupta who converted Asoka.
[2] Lit. a hall, Mhv. v, 42, has gharakam.
[3] For want of a better word the Pali phrase is translated literally. The English "mistress" has deteriorated very badly semantically!

48. [1] See Smp. 47 beginning.
[2] See Mhv. v, 49 ff.
[3] J, No. 173; JA, ii, 235.
[4] Dh. 21 ff.
[5] Dh. 21ab.
[6] i.e. converted them as ordinary lay-disciples (upāsakā) with no pretensions to spiritual attainments; puthujjana, "common man, worldling."

49. [1] The four elementary needs of a bhikkhu: robes, food as alms, lodgings, and medicines; see Vin. i, 58 f.
[2] See Smp. 31–2.
[3] The word navakamma usually signifies khaṇḍaphullapaṭisaṅkharaṇa, "renovations," as at Smp. 10, but in this context it definitely means new works or new undertakings.

50. [1] s.v., DPPN.

51. [1] Asoka's uterine brother according to Smp. 44, 56.

52. [1] Apostle to Mahisamaṇḍala, see Smp. 64.
[2] Apostle to Kasmira-Gandhāra, see Smp. 64.
[3] The special enclosure meant for the ceremony. See also Smp. 38, n. 3.
[4] See Smp. 26, n. 1.
[5] cp. Mhv. v, 209. *Vide* Eggermont, ibid., 180 ff.

53. [1] See Mhv. v, 212–227; also Smp. 71, n. 2. Can he be Kassapagotta's brother?
[2] Bhikkhācāravatta probably refers to the third dhutaṅga the piṇḍapātikaṅga, and may include dhutaṅgas 4 and 7 as well. *Vide* Vism. 66 ff., but Mhv. v, 217 merely refers to it as piṇḍāya caraṃ.

54. [1] There is no parallel passage corresponding to Smp. 54, beginning, to this place, in the Mhv. account. The narrative continues from here at Mhv. v, 228.

[2] See Smp. 38, n. 2.

[3] s.v., PTS. The " Invitation " ceremony performed at the termination of the Vassa. See Smp. 6, n. 2, also I. B. Horner, The Book of the Discipline 4 (SBB), Introduction.

[4] Saṅghakamma, " a formal act performed by the Order of Bhikkhus in solemn conclave " and generally sanctioned as ñattidutiya or ñatti-catuttha, the resolution gaining formal ratification by unanimous assent and preceded by one or three announcements respectively. See Vin. i, 123, and the explanation in trsl. SBE, xxii and SBB, xiv.

[5] Gaṇakamma apparently is restricted to a smaller group " chapter " originally consisting of ten or more for an upasampadā ceremony (Vin. i, 58) and later modified to five, a vinayadhara bhikkhu and four others (Vin. i, 197). The two groups saṅgha and gaṇa, and puggala (Vin. ii, 170) are in descending numerical order. In Vinaya terminology gaṇakamma does not play a significant part.

55. [1] Mhv. v, 233 says " further up the Ganges ".

[2] With four fires kindled in the four directions and the noonday sun overhead.

[3] See Mhv. v, 236 ff.

[4] Mhv. omits this conversation.

56. [1] The two episodes that follow are placed earlier in Mhv. See Mhv. v, 154–172.

[2] The emphasis at Mhv. v, 155, is different :

Migā pi evaṃ kīlanti araññe tiṇagocarā
na kīḷissanti kiṃ bhikkhū sukhâhāravihārino.

Geiger renders it as, " Even the gazelles sport thus joyously, who feed on grass in the wild. Wherefore are not the bhikkhus joyous and gay, who have their food and dwelling in comfort ? " I do not agree with the reading in T. kīva nāma kīḷikaṃ, " how much sport indeed."

[3] Probably the same as Yonakadhammarakkhita who was despatched as the missionary to Aparanta (see Smp. 68), and not Mahādhamma-rakkhita who was sent to Mahāraṭṭha. For Yona *vide* Smp. 64, n. 3 ; Mhv. trsl., 85, n. 5 ; 194, n. 3, with references. Mhv. v, 161, has Mahā-dhammarakkhita.

[4] Mhv. v, 171.

[5] Named Sumana. See Mhv. v, 169 f.

57. [1] See Mhv. v, 241, to the end of the chapter which is more or less a summary of Smp. 57–62.

58. [1] Forbidden to monks and nuns ; cp. Vin. i, 191 ; iv, 338 f., etc.

[2] Used as rug, etc. ; cp. Vin. i, 192 ff.

59. [1] Not at Mhv. v ; cp. Queen Māyā's dream of a white elephant before she conceived the Bodhisatta, JA. i, 50.

[2] This episode too is missing in Mhv.

61. [1] A. iii, 415. No parallel in Mhv. v from here to end of Smp. 61.

[2] J. No. 319 ; JA. iii, 64 ff.

[3] J. st. 580 ; JA. iii, 64 ff.

[4] J. st. 581 ; JA. iii, 64 ff., cp. v, 264.

62. [1] The term samayaṃ means " philosophy or system of philosophy ", but Mhv. v, 265, is more specific in referring to it as sambuddhasamayaṃ, " the teaching of the Perfectly Enlightened One," while Dpv. vii, 53, merely uses the word sāsana. Samaya can equally refer to the outside

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Antigonas Gonatas of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus all of whom are mentioned in RE, xiii. There is every possibility that Asoka's dhamma-vijaya extended far beyond his immediate neighbours in the north-west, i.e. the Bactrian provinces of Arachosia and Kabul (see Mhv. xxix, 39—Yonanagara Alasandā), as in the case of the south. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, Asoka, 161 ff., where he adduces various reasons for the influence of Buddhism over Western Asia, and poses the question : Can there be the slightest doubt that the spread of Buddhism to Western Asia was due to Asoka's missionary activities ?

[7] Dpv. viii, 10, reads,

Kassapagotto ca yo thero Majjhimo Dundubhissaro
Sahadevo Mulakadevo Himavante yakkhagaṇaṃ pasādayuṃ,

agreeing with Smp. 71 though there is a slight discrepancy in the exact spelling of the names. Cunningham, The Bhilsa Topes, 119 ff., 287 ff., 316–17, refers to inscriptions on relic urns which mention the names of Majjhima, Kassapagotta, and Dundubhissara (Dadabhisāra in the inscription, Durabhisara Dpv. Oldenberg's ed.). See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. xx. Cunningham identifies Dadabhisara with the district and not the Elder.

[8] Anujānāmi bhikkhave sabbapaccantimesu janapadesu vinayadharapañcamena gaṇena upasampadaṃ, Vin. i, 197.

65. [1] The Aravāḷa episode cp. Mhv. xii, 9 ff. ; cp. also the Mārayuddha, JA, i, 72 ff.

[2] Lit. created a rain called hail-rain.

[3] Lit. smoke him out.

[4] Mhv. xii, 16–18.

[5] Mhv. xii, 21, gives the yakkha's name as Paṇḍaka and his wife's Hāritā. All of them attained sotāpattiphala.

[6] Mhv. xii, 22–3ab.

[7] S. iv, 172 ff. ; A. ii, 110 ff.

[8] cp. Dpv. viii, 4.

66. [1] See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 84, n. 5.

[2] M. iii, 178 ff. ; A. i, 138 ff.

[3] cp. Dpv. viii, 5 ; Mhv. xii, 29.

67. [1] See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 84, n. 7.

[2] S. ii, 178 ff., 187 ff. ; iii, 149 ff., 151 ff.

[3] cp. Dpv. viii, 6 ; Mhv. xii, 31.

68. [1] Within Asoka's Empire. See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 85, n. 1.

[2] A. iv, 128 ff.

[3] cp. Dpv. viii, 7 ; Mhv. xii, 34.

69. [1] The Mahārāṣṭra.

[2] J. No. 544 ; JA. vi, 219 ff.

[3] cp. Dpv. viii, 8 ; Mhv. xii, 37.

70. [1] See Smp. 64, n. 4. There is sufficient corroborative evidence to establish the historicity of some at least of these missions though not all of them are in that happy position. The contents of RE, xiii, should be taken in conjunction with this tradition. See also Smp. 64, n. 6.

[2] A. ii, 24.

[3] cp. Dpv. viii, 9 ; Mhv. xii, 39.

71. [1] See Smp. 64, n. 6.

[2] The name is given as Kāsapagota Hemavatâcariya, Kotiputa Kāsapagota Hemavatâcariya, and Gotiputa Kāsapagota in three relic urn inscriptions. See Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, 119 ff., 287 ff., 316–17. Cunningham takes Kotiputa and Gotiputa as two distinct Elders, not taking into account the change of g > k in north-western Pkr. dialects.

[3] Dpv. viii, 10 and Mhv. Ṭīkā i, 317, give his name as Mulakadeva.
[4] Dpv., loc. cit. (Oldenberg's ed.) gives his name as Durabhisara, v.l. Dundubhissara, Mhv. Ṭīkā i, 317, Dundubhissaratthera, and relic urn inscription, Dadabhisara.
[5] Dpv. loc. cit., Sahadeva. Also see v. ll.
[6] Vin. i, 10 ff., S.v, 420 ff.
[7] cp. Dpv. viii, 10 ; Mhv. xii, 41.

72. [1] See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 86, n. 2.
[2] i.e. adhiggahita, " taken possession of, possessed."
[3] D. i, 1 ff.
[4] cp. Dpv. viii, 11 ; Mhv. xii, 44 ff.

73. [1] The fact that a lengthy independent account of the mission to Ceylon is given in all the Pali sources, by reason of its importance from the Ceylon point of view, does not necessarily imply that Moggaliputta had nothing to do with the mission though no reference is made to him in the fuller account. In fact, every one of the missions is described with an independent introduction with no particular reference to the Council nor to Moggaliputta Tissa after making, at the outset, the general statement that Moggaliputta Tissa requested each group of monks to go to their assigned country. The statement that several monks at Asokârāma reminded Mahinda that it was the time to establish the Sāsana in Ceylon (Dpv. xii, 7 ff.) and requested him to go, should be taken along with Dpv. viii, 1 ff. A short delay is inevitable prior to undertaking a journey of this nature as elaborate preparations were necessary for the despatch of each of the missions, and in the case of a journey overseas it is to be expected all the more. By taking Dpv. xii, 7 ff. with no reference to Dpv. viii, 1 ff. one would naturally fall into the error of dissociating the Ceylon mission from Moggaliputta Tissa, as Eggermont 36 ff. has done, as it presents a completely different picture. Smp. records here the request of both Moggaliputta Tissa and the Order of monks. Also see Mhv. xiii, 1.
[2] According to Mhv. he reigned for sixty years (307–247 B.C.) and was responsible for the laying out of the Mahāmeghavana which came to play an important part in the history of the Sāsana in Ceylon. He ascended the throne in the fourteenth year of Candagutta's reign in India. Devānampiyatissa was his second son.
[3] i.e. the message of the Dhamma.
[4] There seems to be a good deal of confusion regarding the location of this district, but the details here appear to be correct ; also *vide* DPPN s.v. There is nothing at Mhv. xiii, 5, to justify Geiger's identification of it as " a vihāra in Ujjenī " (Mhv. trsl. 88, n. 3), as the stanza that follows refers to Mahinda next going to Vedisa which is actually situated between Kosambī and Ujjenī. Hence Dakkhiṇagiri has to be located beyond Rājagaha on the way to Vedisa. Probably a trade route from Pāṭaliputta through Rājagaha and Dakkhiṇagiri connected the great southern trade route to Patiṭṭhāna which ran through Vedisa, Ujjenī and Māhissatī. Mahinda and his companions naturally followed this route and arrived at Vedisa. According to Pj. II, 136 it is the hilly district south of Rājagaha.
[5] Vedisa also called " the Forest City " (Sn. 1011), is identified as Bhilsa in Gwalior State. See Cunningham, The Bhilsa Topes, and Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 88, n. 4.

74. [1] Asoka was Viceroy at Avanti during his father Bindusāra's reign. Its capital was Ujjenī not far from modern Ujjain in Gwalior State. See Geiger, Mhv. trsl., 29, n. 1.
[2] Dpv. vi, 16, and Mhv. xiii, 9, do not give the name of the seṭṭhi, but mention the daughter's name as Devī, as given below. Note the verb aggahesi, " seized," in the text.

[3] This is consistent with the statement at Smp. 52 that at the time of Mahinda's ordination at the age of twenty, the King was in the sixth year after consecration.

[4] The second consecration of Devānampiyatissa is often looked upon as a "Buddhist" consecration. Eggermont, The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya, 25 ff., attempts to prove, on the evidence from Dpv. that Asoka celebrated his conversion to Buddhism by undergoing a second consecration. The interpolated stanza Dpv. vi, 24, according to him "suggests that the whole story of the conversion is a commentary on the second anointment of Asoka". He next concludes, "This view has the advantage of making it conceivable why Asoka sent the necessaries for a second anointment to King Devānampiya Tissa . . . (whose) . . . double coronation is analogous to Asoka's." See also Smp. 78, n. 7.

[5] The festival of the Jeṭṭhamūlanakkhatta (see Smp. 77) or the Anurādhajeṭṭhanakkhatta, according to Dpv. xi, 44, was celebrated as a public holiday. The King's celebration of the festival took the form of a deer-hunt, but Mahinda purposely avoids mentioning it as he would be a party to the contemplated pāṇavadha of the King if it forms a part of his resolution of will.

[6] This was the earlier name of Mihintale which was changed to Cetiya-pabbata or Cetiyagiri after Devānampiyatissa's construction of dwellings for monks there. See Smp. 75. Mihintale is situated 8 miles to the east of Anuradhapura. See C. W. Nicholas, JCBRAS, New Series, vi, 1959. The Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon.

[7] The name of the month is given here as Jeṭṭhamūla, "the commencement of Jeṭṭha," though the usual name for the month following Vesākha it Jeṭṭha (Sinh. month of Poson, now reckoned as May-June). Also cp. Mhv. xiii, 14.

[8] cp. Dpv. xii, 12–13, 38–9.

[9] The grandson of Mahinda's mother, Devī's sister. Mhv. xiii, 16.

75. [1] s.v., DPPN. See also C. Godage's monograph : The Place of Indra in Early Buddhism, UCR, iii, 1.

[2] See Mhv. xiii, 15 ; Dpv. xii, 17 ff., 29 f.

[3] Dpv. xii, 20, byākataṃ c'assa nāgassa ; Mhv. xiii, 15, Sambuddhenâpi vyākato.

[4] The stanzas are almost identical with Dpv. xii, 35–7 ; cp. Dpv. xii, 14 ; Mhv. xiii, 6 ff.

[5] The reading at Dpv. xii, 35, Vedisagiriye (for -girimhi) ramme makes better sense. The translations, "in Vedisagiri in Rājagaha," or "in Vedisagiri and in Rājagaha," would both be wrong in the context. The older reading *ramme* in Dpv. fits in beautifully with the Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre of these verses in addition to giving the correct meaning. Or should Rājagaha here be taken as "royal mansion" ?

[6] Dpv. xii, 37, 41, have Missakakūṭamhi for kūṭamhi. The name Missaka there serves the purpose of a gloss as it cannot be included in the metre. Mhv. xiii, 20, has Sīlakūṭa. See footnote in text, and Smp. 77, n. 1.

[7] All this embellishment is missing at Mhv. xiii, 19 f.

76. [1] Regarding problems of chronology see Geiger, Mhv. trsl. xxii ff. with references, G. C. Mendis, UCR, v, 1 (1947) ; Eggermont, chapter II ; S. Paranavitana, UCR, xviii, 3–4 (1960).

[2] cp. Dpv. xi, 8 ff., Mhv. iv, 1 ff. See tables, Geiger, Mhv. trsl. xli, xlvi.

[3] Lit. "Abhaya the Crook". Smp. consistently uses the name Pakuṇḍaka but Dpv. gives both Pakuṇḍa xi, 1 ff. (or Pakuṇḍaka xi, 12, etc.), and Paṇḍuka x, 9, while Mhv. has only Paṇḍuka. The earlier sobriquet may have been subsequently changed to a less pungent one, after his consecration, and, in the Mhv. he has become "Abhaya the Pale" (fair-skinned ?).

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[9] Dpv. xii, 5–6 ; cp. Mhv. xi, 34–5.
[10] See Asoka's Brahmagiri Edict i, Rūpnāth and Maski Edicts, which are now dated as having been issued in the tenth regnal year, in which he says that he has been a lay disciple for two and a half years and so on. Also *vide* A Reference to the Third Council in Asoka's Edicts ?, UCR, xvii, 3–4.
[11] See Geiger, Mhv. trsl. xix.

79. [1] Mhv. xi, 40, refers to his first consecration as having taken place on the first day of the bright half of Maggasira while Dpv. xi, 14, refers to it in a different way : " under the asterism of Āsāḷhi in the second winter month ; " but in both cases it fell five months before the uposatha day of Vesākha. See also Eggermont, 31 ff. ; Geiger, Mhv. trsl. xxxi ff., who have attempted to fix the exact date with various kinds of data.
[2] See last st. at Smp. 78.
[3] Dpv. xii, 52 ; cp. Mhv. xiv, 10.
[4] Mahinda awaited the arrival of the King's followers to reveal the presence of the rest of his party lest the King be frightened at the sight of too many unfamiliar figures.
[5] Dpv. xii, 56 ; cp. Mhv. xiv, 14.

80. [1] For Smp. 80–3, cp. Mhv. xiv, 15 to end of chapter.

81. [1] M. i, 175 ff., see also Dpv. xii, 57 : " suttantaṃ Hatthipadaṃ."
[2] It is rather significant that the King *knew* that it was not permissible for monks to eat after midday. One who is totally unacquainted with the daily life of bhikkhus would not have known it. It is very unlikely that he would have learned all this from his envoys who had returned from Asoka's court but recently. Also at Smp. 87 the King realizes that the Thera is eager to have a cetiya built when he merely mentions that Buddha's bodily relics remain. These and several other stray references in the Pali accounts which their monastic authors have failed to suppress, point to the fact that Buddhism was not unknown in Ceylon prior to its official introduction by Mahinda. See EHBC, 46 ff. for further data. It is unsatisfactory to explain this minor detail as an anachronism.
[3] Vin. iv, 85.
[4] Vikāla is defined at Vin. iv, 86.
[5] i.e. anāgāmiphala.

82. [1] Jhāna, s.v., PTS. See references where the jhānas are discussed fully as regards theory and practice.
[2] cp. the description at the end of the preaching of the Dhammacakka, Vin. i, 11 ff.
[3] A. i, 64 ff.

83. [1] A cetiya in Anuradhapura, untraced to date in the ruins, though popularly identified with the ruins now known as the Padhānacetiya. It is tentatively located in the map attached to Memoir I of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, along the ancient road from the eastern gate of the city to Mihintale, slightly south-east of Nakhā Vehera and between Malvatu Oya (Kadambanadī) and the Hālpānu Āla (D. T. Devendra).
[2] Included in the dasasikkhāpada, Kh. No. 2.
[3] The word in the text is taṭṭikā, and is explained at Smp. 357 (P.T.S.) : tālapaṇṇehi vā vākehi vā katataṭṭikā, i.e. woven from palm-leaf or fibrous bark.
[4] S.v, 414 ff.
[5] Hatthisālā, not identified.
[6] See Smp. 102, n. 2.
[7] M. iii, 178 ff. ; A. i, 138 ff.
[8] See Mhv. xv, 1 ff. for parallels to Smp. from here.

[9] The park situated outside the southern wall of the city and extending as far as the Mahāmeghavana. It is bounded on the west by the Abhayavāpī and on the east by the Kadambanadī. The Thūpârāma and the Mahāthūpa are situated within this park. It was renamed Jotivana after the conversions effected there by Mahinda. See Smp. 84, Mhv. xv, 202. See also C. W. Nicholas, Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon, JCBRAS, 1959, New Series, vi, 127 ff.

[10] S. iv, 172 ff.; A. ii, 110 ff., but Dpv. xiii, 13, Mhv. xv, 4 differ, and mention the Bālapaṇḍitasuttanta, M. iii, 163; S. ii, 23 ff.; A. i, 101 ff.

84. [1] Lit. The Grove of the Mighty Rain Cloud. It was laid out by Muṭasīva and named so on account of an unseasonal downpour at the time of the selection of the site; Mhv. xi, 2 f. It lay further south of the Nandanavana (Smp. 83, n. 9). The Mahāvihāra was founded there by Devānampiyatissa. In dedicating the Mahāmeghavana to the Saṅgha it was renamed Tissârāma; Dpv. xiii, 33. For a full description of the dedication see Dpv. xiii, 18 ff., and for the religious edifices built there, Mhv. xv. See also Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 77, n. 1, and C. W. Nicholas, ibid.

[2] cp. the full description of a sāruppa senâsana at Vin. i, 39. The account of the dedication of Veḷuvana by Bimbisāra has been freely drawn upon, and is faithfully rendered into verse, with additions, in describing the dedication of the Mahāmeghavana at Dpv. xiii, 18 ff.; and Mhv. xv, 17, actually cites the acceptance of the Veḷuvanârāma.

[3] Mhv. xv, 10, adds that the cetiya built at the spot where the Elders turned back was called the Nivattacetiya. Also see C. W. Nicholas, ibid., p. 137.

[4] Vin. i, 39.

[5] So also in the description of the acceptance of the Veḷuvana at JA, i, 85.

[6] S. ii, 178 ff., 187 ff.

[7] A. iv, 128 ff.

Mhv. xv, 195 ff. states that on the fifth day, i.e. the day after he preached the Anamataggiya, the Thera preached the Khajjanīya Suttanta, probably the Sīha Suttanta of the Khajjanīya Vagga; S. iii, 86 ff. (See Geiger, Mhv. trsl., 111, n. 4); that on the sixth day, the Gomayapiṇḍi Sutta, S. iii, 143 fl., and on the seventh day, the Dhammacakkappavattana, Vin. i, 10 ff. In the first of the two independent accounts in Dpv. commencing at xiv, 8, the suttas that are said to have been preached by Mahinda at the Nandanavana are Aggikkhandha and Āsīvisūpama, and in the second account at xiv, 41 ff., Āsīvisūpama, Anamataggiya, Cariyāpiṭaka, Gomayapiṇḍi, and Dhammacakka which " he preached repeatedly there itself in the Great Nandana, and for seven days he preached with this suttanta ".

85. [1] There are several discourses called Appamāda Sutta and it is not easy to say which one was referred to as Mahā-appamāda Sutta. *Vide* Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 31, n. 3; s.v., DPPN. Smp. fails to mention that the Dhammacakkappavattana was preached on the seventh day at the Nandanavana. See previous note. Smp. and Mhv. xvi, 3 agree as regards Mahā-appamāda Sutta but not Dpv. xiv, 53 which mentions Mahāsamaya Suttanta.

[2] Same as Cetiyapabbata or Missakapabbata (Mihintale). See Smp. 74, n. 6.

86. [1] There are two Ariṭṭhas if we are to accept the sequence of the narrative in Smp. and the chronicles. See also Adikaram, EHBC, 53 f. Both Dpv. and Mhv. refer to the minister (Mahā) Ariṭṭha as Devānampiyatissa's first envoy to the imperial court of Pāṭaliputta (Dpv. xi, 29 ff.; Mhv. xi, 20 ff.). Mhv. further refers to him as the King's nephew. Both chronicles again refer to him as Mahā Ariṭṭha, the King's nephew (Dpv. xiv, 68 ff.;

Mhv. xvi, 10 ff.) in describing his entry into the Order with fifty-five others who are described as his " brothers ". It is, however, rather curious to note that Smp. omits the epithet Mahā and refers to him as Ariṭṭha here, though one of the two Ariṭṭhas is again referred to as Mahā-Ariṭṭha later on (Smp. 105, 106). Further, he is not called the King's nephew at Smp. 86 and the King addresses him and his fifty-five brothers as bhaṇe, " my men ", instead of the usual tātā, " my dears," as one would expect; see Smp. 95 where he addresses the other Ariṭṭha as tāta. The name of the second envoy who was despatched to bring Saṅghamittā and the Bodhi tree is consistently given as Ariṭṭha and not as Mahā-Ariṭṭha in all three sources: Dpv. xv, 82 ff., Ariṭṭho nāma khattiyo; Mhv. xvii, 1 ff., the minister Ariṭṭha, the King's nephew; Smp. 95, the King's nephew. On the evidence of Mhv. and Dpv. Adikaram's contention (ibid.), that the two ministers named Ariṭṭha were brothers and that the older of the two was called Mahā-Ariṭṭha and the younger plain Ariṭṭha may be accepted though the indirect evidence from the Smp. seems to make the issue highly complicated. In Smp. Ariṭṭha (1) was no relation of the King, while the reference to Mahā-Ariṭṭha as a mere bhikkhu at Smp. 105, when his name is suggested as a suitable candidate to receive the Vinaya and teach it in Ceylon, is intended to point to the more junior of the two Ariṭṭhas in the Sāsana. He is, however, referred to as an Elder in the next section. Ariṭṭha (1) was already an arahant according to the last sentence of Smp. 86. See note 4 below. All three sources agree that the envoy sent to bring Saṅghamittā was the King's nephew, who later entered the Order with 500 others and (not a mere fifty-five !) in keeping with his royal status. Further, in two instances in Mhv. (xviii, 13; xix, 12) it is the second Ariṭṭha who is referred to as Mahā-Ariṭṭha, while all other references either clearly point to Ariṭṭha (1) as Mahā-Ariṭṭha or can be interpreted as such. Evidently, the earlier chronicle Dpv. (and Smp.) recognized the fact that there were two Ariṭṭhas while the author of Mhv. has forgotten the sequence of events in the narrative and confused one Ariṭṭha with the other. The two names cannot refer to one and the same individual if the above sequence is correct, but if not, the second envoy has to be identified with the first. If that be so, the suggestion that the story of the arrival of Saṅghamittā with the Bodhi tree and that of Mahinda refer to the first propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon (Eggermont, 56 ff.) will have to be taken seriously into consideration. On the other hand, from the evidence of Smp. there is nothing to prevent one from identifying Ariṭṭha (2) with Mahā-Ariṭṭha on the ground (1) that he alone was the King's nephew, (2) he was not a bhikkhu of long experience, and (3) that the important office of custodianship of the Vinaya is best entrusted to one connected with the royal family. Buddhaghosa appears to have been convinced that Ariṭṭha (2) was Mahā-Ariṭṭha though nowhere does he explicitly state so. The evidence from Smp. is of an inferential nature and may be even termed an argument from silence while the positive information in Dpv. and Mhv., in spite of the two discrepancies referred to above in the latter, appears to indicate that Ariṭṭha (1) was Mahā-Ariṭṭha.

[2] On the Missakapabbata. The ruins of some of these cells, some partly restored, are to be seen to the present day. The Kaṇṭakacetiya too is partly renovated by the Ceylon Archaeological Department. All this lies on a plateau further south-west of Ambatthala. See Smp. 77, n. 1.

[3] The ten sons of Muṭasīva of whom Devānampiyatissa was the second. See list at Dpv. xi, 6; viii, 75, and Smp. 94, n. 7.

[4] Dpv. xiv, 80; Mhv. xvi, 17 also agree with the number sixty-two. The number of monks was sixty-three and Bhaṇḍuka is earlier referred to as an āgataphala (Smp. 81, n. 5), while Sumana was yet a novice as may be seen from Smp. 87.

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[4] In Badulla, capital of the Uva. There is no reference to it in Dpv. and Mhv. in this connexion.

[5] Built by Saddhātissa, Mhv. xxxiii, 10. *Vide* Mhv. trsl. 8, n. 1. See C. W. Nicholas, ibid., 24 ff.

[6] The places mentioned at Dpv. ii, 53 ff. are Kalyāṇī, the sites of the Dīghavāpicetiya, the Bodhi tree at Mahāmeghavana, and the Meghavanârāma, and those at Mhv. i, 71 ff. are Kalyāṇī, Sumanakūṭa, the foot of the Sumanakūṭa (later called Divāguhā), Dīghavāpi, and the sites of the Mahāmeghavanârāma, the Mahābodhi, the Mahāthūpa, the Thūpârāma, and the Silācetiya (the core of the Abhayagiri—Dpv. xix, 16 ?), while Smp. mentions three of the places common to both lists and Mahācetiya (-thūpa) and Thūpârāma in common with the Mhv. list, and Mutiyaṅgaṇa Cetiya is not found in either of the above.

[7] Mhv. xvii, 57, refers to him as Mattābhaya, the King's younger brother as distinct from his elder brother Abhaya who appears at the head of the list of ten brothers with two Tissas, Devānampiya and Sūra as second and ninth, and Mattābhaya comes fifth in the list. This is no other than Mattābhaya as he is referred to later by that name at Smp. 106 as having been the dhuraggāha at Mahā Ariṭṭha's Vinaya Recital. See also Smp. 86, n. 3.

[8] Also called Cetāvigāma, Mhv. xvii, 59, a village situated to the south of the city.

[9] Other places mentioned at Mhv. xvii, 59 f. are Vihārabīja, Gallakapīṭha and Upatissagāma. Dvāramaṇḍala was a village near the Cetiyapabbata, Mhv. xxiii, 23. There is at present a village called Doramaṇḍoluwa in the Anurādhapura District. See also W. Rahula, ibid., p. 22.

95. [1] See Vin. ii, 271 ff.

[2] See Smp. 102.

[3] See Smp. 86, n. 1.

[4] A seaport in North Ceylon, probably Sambilturai near Kankesanturai in Nāgadīpa (Jaffna Peninsula). See H. W. Codrington, JCBRAS, 1923. It appears to have been the principal port of the Anurādhapura Kingdom, especially in its intercourse with the countries in the Bay of Bengal. The earlier port of Mahātittha on the north-west carried on trade with the countries on the western seaboard of India and the lands on the Arabian Sea. It was often used by invaders from the Malabar Coast, e.g. Bhalluka—Mhv. xxv, 79, seven Damila usurpers—Mhv. xxxiii, 39. See also Mhv. xi, 23, 38. Jambukola was five days' journey from Anurādhapura and seven days' voyage to Pāṭaliputta (Mhv. Ṭīkā, i, 303). See C. W. Nicholas, ibid., 83 ; s.v., DPPN.

96. [1] Additional line : And thus he informed her, " Your brother the Elder Mahinda has sent me here." See footnote in text.

97. [1] cp. Mhv. xvii, 46 ff.

[2] A dry measure made of wood for measuring corn, etc. Four āḷhakas = one doṇa. See Rhys Davids, Ancient Measures of Ceylon.

[3] i.e. from Pāṭaliputta to Gayā. See Cunningham, AGI, 521 ff.

98. [1] Probably a reference to his bhoja-rājāno, " feudatory kings."

[2] The eight cardinal points.

[3] It is perhaps due to the fact that the Bodhi tree is a cutting (and not a seedling) that it has not grown to the usual gigantic proportions of other Bo trees to be seen in India and Ceylon. In spite of its age of nearly 2,200 years it is a dwarf among Bo trees. See also Smp. 103, n. 1.

99. [1] The last day of the Vassa. See Smp. 54, n. 3.

[2] i.e. Assayuja, Sept.-Oct. The Sinh. month of Vap.

[3] s.v., DPPN.

100. [1] Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 128, translates it as, "eighteen persons from royal families and eight from families of ministers . . . etc.," though the text does not indicate it. See also Smp. 102, n. 3.

[2] "The Hyena Tribe"—Geiger, Mhv. trsl. 128, n. 2. According to him both names Taraccha and "Kuliṅga", Mhv. xix, 2, are of totemistic origin. These two names appear quite out of place both in the shorter list of seven groups in Smp. and the longer list in Mhv. which adds weavers, potters, families representative of all the trade-guilds, nāgas, and yakkhas. Mhv., in addition to changing Kāliṅga to Kuliṅga, replaces kuṭumbikakula with seṭṭhikila. Taraccha appearing after gopa may suggest that the name stood for some occupation (hunters ?) while Kuliṅga, if the Mhv. rendering is correct, can mean "fowlers" who hunt with the kuliṅga or kuliṅka bird, like those who hunt with the falcon, a bird of the same family as the sparrow-hawk (kuliṅka).

[3] All Smp MSS. and printed editions agree on the reading Kāliṅga.

[4] Not to be confused with the Vindhya mountains which lie further west.

[5] Identified with modern Tamluk, then situated on the Ganges estuary.

101. [1] November-December, Sinh. month of Unduvap.

[2] A winged mythical creature, deadly foe of serpents, cp. garuḍa.

102. [1] Also called Samuddapaṇṇasālā, Mhv. xix, 26, with v. 11. Samuddâsannasālā, "Hall by the Sea," Samuddāsanasālā, "the Hall by the Sea where it Reposed," and explained in the next stanza, "The edifice that was erected there to commemorate the miracle (referred to in the text, both Smp. and Mhv.) came to be known here (in Ceylon) as the Samuddapaṇṇasālā." But according to Smp. the Samuddasālā was outside Anurādhapura. Thūp. 53 agrees with Smp. If the Mhv. tradition is correct, it should refer to another edifice and not to this one. See also C. W. Nicholas, ibid., p. 83.

[2] i.e. five flowers with lāja, "Dalbergia arboria" as the fifth in the usual phrase lāja-pañcamāni pupphāni, s.v. PTS lāja. The traditional Sinhalese explanation of lāja is puffed paddy.

[3] Smp. 100 speaks of eighteen families of royal clan and eight each of six other groups while Mhv. xix, 1 ff. has a few more additions. See Smp. 100, n. 1. It is difficult to explain the number sixteen, given also at Mhv. xix, 31, and lower down in this section in Smp. Probably the two numbers reflect two different traditions, the smaller number representing the earlier one. Mhv. xix, 67, which refers to the eight seṭṭhi families only, presents still another problem.

[4] As Asoka himself did. See Smp. 99, 100.

103. [1] Rohiṇī is the ninth asterism corresponding to the constellation Tauri with its five stars. From the above description it is to be inferred that the Great Bodhi was planted together with the vase. This perhaps may be another explanation of its stunted growth. See Smp. 98, n. 3.

[2] See Smp. 97, 99.

[3] Mhv. consistently gives the name as Tivakka. This village was situated along the road to Jambukola—Mhv. xix, 37.

[4] In all other Pali sources the name occurs as Issarasamaṇârāma, "The Monastery for Monks from the Nobility," and not Issaranimmāṇa, "Built by the King (or Chieftains)," Mhv. xx, 14 f., also explains the two names Issarasamaṇârāma and Vessagiri. It is identified by S. Paranavitana, CJSc (Sec. G), Vol. ii, 182, as the monastery now popularly known as the Vessagiriya though the set of ruins on the banks of the Tissavāpi (Tisāväva) which Geiger too has mentioned in Mhv. trsl. 133, n. 2, at present bears the name Isurumuṇiya. Popular identifications of places in Anuradhapura are often liable to error in view of the jungle tide that

swept over the city for over six centuries prior to the commencement of restoration work in 1890. Paranavitana identifies the Issarasamaṇa Vihāra (also called Kassapagiri) from lithic records of the sixth century A.C. *in situ* (Vessagiriya Inscriptions Nos. 606–609). He also refers to rock inscriptions of about the first century A.C., found at Vessagiriya which refer to the place as Isiramaṇa, "Hermits' Delight" which he thinks represents the earlier name whose learned but inaccurate restoration in the Chronicles is Issarasamaṇa, while modern Isurumuni is a natural development of the former. There, however, is still a possibility of the popular identification being correct if the sixth century inscription followed those of the first century in interpreting Isiramaṇa as Issarasamaṇa for the term Isiramaṇa is certainly a more elegant cpd. in Pali than Issarasamaṇa and the Chroniclers would certainly have preferred it if it was known to them. The sixth century inscription is more reliable as the term Isiramaṇa may have been an epithet and not a name. He next attempts to identify the other set of ruins, now known as Isurumuṇiya, as an ancient Megha-giri-vihāra (Artibus Asiae, Vol. xvi, 1953, pp. 181 f.). See also C. W. Nicholas, ibid., 148.

[5] Modern Kataragama on the right bank of the Māṇik-gaṅga.

[6] Not identified (Handuṅgama ?).

[7] See Smp. 86, n. 1.

104. [1] See Mhv. xxvii, with Geiger's notes and references in trsl., C. W. Nicholas, ibid., 133 f., s.v. DPPN. The reference at Mhv. xv, 205, attributing a Lohapāsāda to Devānampiyatissa, also at Mhv. Ṭīkā, ii, 364, has led most secondary sources to state that this king built the first Lohapāsāda which was rebuilt several times afterwards after the many vicissitudes it underwent.

[2] Lit. The Mango Courtyard, not identified ; s.v. DPPN.

[3] Lit. grandson. Mhv. xv, 169 also calls him nattā, but explains the relationship as Devānampiyatissa's brother Mahānāga's great-great-grandson.

105. [1] See EHBC, 56.

[2] Pariveṇa, perhaps in the later meaning of College. Meghavaṇṇâbhaya was the faithful minister of King Mahāsena (A.C. 325–352) who rebelled against him for destroying the Mahāvihāra but was later reconciled when the King undertook to restore it. Mhv. xxxvii, 29, refers to several pariveṇas built by Meghavaṇṇâbhaya. In addition to the pariveṇas of his minister, the King built several edifices at the Mahāvihāra ; see Mhv. xxxvii, 17 ff.

106. [1] Lit. "he who has taken the yoke upon himself," i.e. the responsibility of handing down the Vinaya tradition.

[2] Vin. iii, 1.

[3] See the Account of the Succession of Teachers, Smp. 63, for the full list.

[4] The list of Teachers is not brought up to date to the time of Bdhgh., but stops short at a point where the Porāṇa tradition and other sources of the Pali Commentaries, like the Sīhaḷa-aṭṭhakathā were finalized. See Smp. 63, n. 3, and the Introduction.

107. [1] Lit. well-conducted.

[2] cp. A. v, 2 ; 312.

[3] Vin. v, 164.

[4] See Smp. 2.

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charge, to place in, 13, 15
chariot, 81–3, 85 ; *see* carriage
chief in office, 37, 106
circumambulate, 43, 98
circumstances, adapted to, 25
cloisters, *see* caṅkama, Pali Index.
clouds, snowy, 97, 99, 103
collar-bone, 87, 88, 93, 97
collection, *see* compilation, -s, 16
command, the wheel of, 10
commentary, 2, 43 ; commentaries, 1, 52
compilation, 14 *passim* ; *see* saṅgaha *and* saṅgīti (recital), Pali Index
composure, 41, 46
comprehension, 26
concentration, 1, 26, 29, 107
condition(s), 23 ; of innocence, 32 ; secondary, of guilt, 32 ; pile of, 25 ; transcendental, 23
conduct, virtuous, 72
confusion of mind, 29
connotation, 21–3
consecration ; articles required for the, 78 ; Asoka's, *see* Asoka ; Devānampiyatissa's, 74, 79 ; of the Great Bodhi, 98, 99 ; of the young Bodhi trees, 103
constructions, new, 49n
contact, 23
convent, 95
conversion, Asoka's, *see* Asoka ; of the Border Kingdoms, 64 ff. ; of Ceylon, 73 ff. ; Devānampiyatissa's, 81
convert, to, 67–72, 75, 86
(Convocation) of the Elders (Therikā), 33 ; pertaining to the Five Hundred, 33 ; pertaining to the One Thousand, 62 ; of the Seven Hundred, 38
Convocations, 33 ff., 38 ff., 62 ff.
Convocation(s), the, 38, 52, 53 ; the (first), 5 ; the First, 20 ; the First Great, 2, 3, 33, 34 ; of the Five Hundred, the Section Dealing with, 2n ; the Great, 105 ; the Second, 38, 40 ; Section dealing with the, (i.e., the first), 6n ; the Third, 35, 37, 62, 63, 64, 106
convocation hall, 12 ; *see* dhammasabhā
corollaries, 14, 21n
couch (of the brahmin youth), 42 ; high and comfortable, 83
course, the wrong, 5n
court, ladies of the, 83, 95, 96, 103
criticism, hostile, 5

D

day, to the present, 63n, 65, 106
death, connected with in-breathing and out-breathing, 56
dedication, festival of, 49 ; water of, 84
deer-hunt, 56, 77
defilements, the stains of, 1, 26, 28
deity (deities), 47 *passim* ; assembly of, 82 ; king of, 87, 88 ; lord of, 75, 87, 88 ; of the realm of Brahma, 98 ; terrestrial, 82 ; world of, 39, 89 ; *see* divinity *and* deva, devatā, in Pali Index.
delight, 31, 107
delusion, 5
deportment in movements, 47, 48
desire, 5
destitutes, to live as, 87
detachment, 107
Dhamma, *see* Pali Index *and* Proper Names ; the fundamental tenets of the, 23 ; the realization of the, 65 *passim* ; Units of the, 16, 32, 33, 38, 49 ; the Wheel of the, 3n, 10, 71
digits, two, 38
diligence, 11, 19, 48, 53
disciple(s), 13, 77–9, 90, 106 ; the lay, 73, 74
Discipline, 1 ; adept in the purport of, 21 ; amenable to, 22 ; the Basket of, 18 ; *see* vinaya and cpdd., Pali Index ; the Code of, 1
discourse(s), 1, 5, 24, 25, 27, 31, 48, 61, 65 ff., 81–3 ; *see* sutta ff., kathā *and* desanā, Pali Index ; doctrinal, 65 ; on transciency, 8
Discourse (Sutta, the Aṅga), 31n
Dispensation, 1, 3 *passim* ; *see* sāsana, Pali Index ; the heir of the, 50, 51 ; the mainstay of the, 1n ; the roots of the, 105 ; of the Buddha, 13, 39, 46, 48, 50, 98 ; of the Lord of Ten Powers, 50 ; of the Teacher, 53 ; the Ninefold, 4
dispositions, divers, 25
dispute, 38, 40, 55, 60, 92
distraction, 11
districts, border, *see* border
divan, 42 *passim* ; *see* pallaṅka, Pali Index
divinity, tutelary, 77, 101
Doctrine, the Analytical, 62 ; *see* Vibhajjavāda, Proper Names
dogma, philosophical, 39, 54
doṇa measure, 97n
doubt, 58, 60

dream (Asoka's), 59
duty done, 38
dyad, 32

E

earthquake, 60, 84, 89, 94, 99, 103, 104, 106 ; *see* mahābhūmicāla *and* paṭhavikampana, Pali Index
ease, 107
eel-wrigglers, 62
effort, 11
ego, 25
Elder(s), 1–12 *passim* ; *see* thera, Pali Index ; (Mahinda) 52, 55, 64, 73–7 79–87, 90, 93-5, 103–7 ; (Moggaliputta), 37, 43, 50–2, 55, 58–64 ; leader of a group, 98 ; leading, in the Saṅgha, 3, 74 ; the sixty-eight Great, 106 ; the Tradition of the, 1, 52
Elder(-nun), 51, 95 *passim* ; (Saṅghamittā) 95, 96, 101, 103
element, component, 19 ; of Nibbāna, 3, 17, 106
elephant, the state, 83, 87–9
elephant's frontal, 89
elephants' stall, 83, 93
emancipation, 1, 107 ; knowledge and insight into, 107 ; the taste of, 17 ; of mind, 107
Enlightenment, the Perfect, 17 ; the eye of, 75, 90–2
end, the highest, 106
eternalists, 62 ; the qualified, 62
ethics, popular, 25
etymology, 42
evil, 57, 61
evil-conduct, 29
exegesis, protracted, 1
exercises, preliminary, 43
exertion, 11
existence, theory of, (1) conscious, 62 ; (2) non-conscious, 62 ; (3) neither conscious nor non-conscious, 62
existence to existence, 1
expediency, 21–3
expert, 4 *passim* ; *see* etadagga, Pali Index
exposition, 1, 2, 26, 27 ; method of, 1
Expositions, 31 ; (Veyyākaraṇa, the Aṅga), *see* Pali Index
eye-tooth, 82, 88

F

factions, 3
Factors, 16
faculties, 46
failure, 24, 28, 29
families, eight, of ministers, 100 ; eighteen of royal clan, 100n ; sixteen noble, 102n
fan inlaid with ivory, 10, 13–15
fear, a factor among the four wrong courses, 5
festival, 74, 93 ; *see* dedication
festivities, 77 ; sacred, 7n
fifties, groups of, 33
finiteness, theory of, 62
fire, the sacrificial, 55
fires, the five, 55n
floor-carpets, 83
flowers of the five colours, 83, 102n
food, when permissible, 81
food and raiment, 54
form, the arising of, 23
friends who had not seen each other, 78
fruits, attained the, 81 ; of the Bodhi tree, 99, 103 ; of the First Stage, 65 ; of the path, 69–71 ; of Stream-Entrantship, 43, 83

G

gain and honour, 39, 54
garments, 29, 78 ; to wave aloft, 98 ; white, 62 ; yellow patch-work, 65, 77
gate-keeper (Devānampiyatissa as), 102
gaze, the offering of, 45
Gems, the Triad of, 1, 74
gifts, to Asoka from Devānampiyatissa, 78 ; of Asoka to D., 78 ; *see* dhammapaṇṇākāra, Pali Index
glossaries, 42
goblins, 72
gold and silver, the acceptance of, 38
Great Being, characteristics (32) of, 45 ; the minor marks (80) of, 45
group, leader of, 106

H

habitation, human, 76
habits, good moral, 72
hail-storm, 65
hall (of justice), 54 ; of meditation, 56 ; of tonsure, 47, 86
halo, 45
heresy, propounders of, 38
heresies, the refutation of, 25
heretical schools, the criticism of, 9 ; sects, outside, 46 ; theories, 62 ; the sixty-two, 25n ; teachers born of the brahmin caste, 46

heretics, 9, 39, 54, 55, 62
hide, the piece of, 58
humours, 8

ignorance, 1
ill-will, a factor among the four wrong courses, 5
immortality, 48
impassibility, 107
impermanence, 40
individual, undesirable, 6
indolence, 48
Indulgences, the Ten, 38
infinitude, the theory of, 62
influence, 37, *see* ānubhāva, Pali Index
injunctions, 21; authoritative, 25; the exposition of, 25
insight, analytic, 4, 29, 38–40, 42, 52, 62; in gradual order, 103; of a learner, 5; of one perfected, 5; the fourfold, 29
insight into the Dhamma, 66; into emancipation, 1
instruction, 17, 48; understood the, 81
intention(s), 22, 57, 61
intercourse, sexual, 14
intoxicants, drinking of, 72
Invitation, the (ceremony), 54n, 55; day, 87, 99n, 106
Island, the (i.e. Laṅkā), 63, 75–7, 84, 94, 102, 103, 106

J

Jātaka, the Aṅga, 31n
joy, 48, 89, 98, 102, 107; and fervour, 50, 89, 98, 99
Joy, the Stanza of, 19
Joy, the Utterance of (Udāna, the Aṅga), 31n
judgment(s), 1, 39

K

kindred topics, 33; sections, 33
King, the (Asoka), 44–6, 48–62, 74, 87, 88, 96–101; (Devānampiya-tissa), 75, 77–87, 89, 93–5, 102–6
kings, consecrated, 98n
kinsmen, 61, 73; the question on, 80
knowledge, 27; analytical, 1, 4, 27, 29, 38–40, 42, 52, 62; the higher, 3n, 29, 55, 60, 82; *see* abhiññā, Pali Index; higher, the sixfold, 35; *see* chaḷabhiññā; penetrative, 27; the threefold, 4n, 29, 62, 106; and insight, 107; of others' minds, 79

L

labour, 10
language of the Island, 1n
lay-devotee, 47
Learner, 5n, 11; the analytic insight of a, 5; conditions pertaining to a, 23
Learning, 4, 13, 24, 28, 29; the divisions of, 28, 29; men of, 1; the three modes of, 28; of the Three Piṭakas, 62; of the Vinaya, 13, 107
legacy, 36
life, the higher, 1; the destruction of, 72
lineage, 36; the protector of the, 3
lion-window, 46n–8
liquor, unfermented, the indulgence in, 38
lists, of contents, 33; stanzas containing, 33
lore, traditional, 42
lotus-shower, 89n
love, 23, 48, 65
lust, 25

M

mango, ripe, 104
mango-tree, the riddle of, 80
Marvellous Phenomena, 31n; (Abbhutadhamma, the Aṅga), *see* Pali Index
mastery, 40, 106
mat, 83n
Mātikā, 21n, *see* Pali Index
meal, to subsist on one, a day, 72
meaning, 22, 26, 27; differentiated, 24
means, the diversity of, 21
medicaments, 53
medicines, 54
meditation, topics of, 43
mendicants, religious, 46
merit, 11, 45, 48, 78, 106; the field of, 1; flow of, 1
meritorious deed, 27
Message, 83; *see* sāsana, Pali Index
metrical compositions, 32
mind, pacified, 47, 48; concentrated, 82; the emancipation of, 107
mindfulness as to the body, 11

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preceptor, 43, 47, 48, 52, 73
precepts, 28, 48, 49, 72; *see* moral precepts (sīla), the ten, 95
pre-eminent, 13
pregnancy, 47
principles, 48
profundity, 24, 26, 27; the fourfold, 26n, 27
pupils, resident, 52, 59, 63, 106; co-resident, 36n–8, 64, 106
purgative in milk, 8

Q

qualifications, sufficing, 55; inherent sufficing, 51
Queens, the two (Devānampiya-tissa's), 85
questions, the settlement of, 14

R

Rains-residence, 6n, 7n, 8, 43, 85–7
raw-flesh, the smell of, 11
rays, the glorious, 101, 102; six-hued, 97, 99, 102, 103
reality, in accordance with, 25
realization, 27; unequivocal, 27; of the Dhamma, 65, 67, 72, 82–4, 90–2
recital, *see* saṅgīti *and* cpdd., Pali Index
Recital, the Second, 38, 39
Recitation (Geyya, the Aṅga), 31n; *see* Pali Index
recluse, 41, 42, 46; shaven-headed, 65, 77
Recluse, the Great, 3
reflexion, 17
refuge, to seek, 78
Refuges (The Three), 48, 65, 72, 78, 81, 82, 87
regions, the six heavenly, 39n
rehearsal, *see* saṅgaha, Pali Index
Rehearsal, the Third, 64
release, 28
relic(s), 87–9, 93, 94, 97; the casket of, 89; the ceremony in honour of, 93, 94; pay homage to, 7
remissness of conduct, 21, 25
remorse, the absence of, 107
repairs, 8; of dilapidations, 9, 10
repetitions, 33
reproach, 28
requisites, 28, 51, 53, 87; the four, 49n, 54; the giver of, 50, 51
resort (for alms), 107
restraint, 25, 107
revulsion, 107
ritual, 42
robe(s), 43, 56, 83; the outer, 83; upper, 56; yellow, 54, 94, 95; aglow with the yellow, 65, 79; to arrange over one shoulder, 13, 15; to wear yellow (i.e. heretics), 54
royal grounds (rājavatthu), 102
royalty, ensigns of, 78
ruddy-deer, 77
rugs, 10n, 38
rule, 14; -s, rigid, 21
rulers, the succession of, 76

S

Sacred-word, 3
sacrifice, 50, 51
sage(s), 69, 70, 106; breeze hallowed by, 65, 79; sinless (nāga), 63, 65, 74, 88
Sage of great stability, 1
salt in horn (the indulgence), 38
sanction, 38
Saṅghādisesa, 14
saplings (the three bamboo-), 78; Bodhi-tree, 103
Saviour, 50; *see* World
screens, an enclosure of, 62
seat, preacher's 10, 13–15, 106; president's, 10, 14
Sekhiya, 14
self-controlled, 47, 48
seniority, the order of, 12
sensations, 23
sense-data, 23
senses, controlled, 48; guarded, 47, 48
sentiment, uniformity in, 16, 17
service, 50
sīmā, 38n, 52n; *see* Pali Index
Sons (of the Buddha), 1n
sooth-sayers, 83
sovereignty of Jambudīpa, the dedication of the, 99–101; of Tambapaṇṇi, the dedication of the, 102
speech, *see* body and speech
stains (of the Dispensation), 62
Stanzas (Gāthā, the Aṅga), 31n, *see* Pali Index
state, immortal, 40; -s, waxed great, immeasurable, incomparable, 23
statements, incorrect, 1
Stream-Entrant, 4, 36, 37, 43, 83
striving, 11

subject (vatthu), 14, 15, 32, 34
subjective, 22
substratum, free from the material, 3, 11, 17, 106, 107
success, 24, 28, 29
sun-worship, 55
Sutta, Suttanta, *see* Pali Index; versed in the, 1
sword-bearers, 59

T

tabulation, 2, 21, 32, 34, 107
tanks filled with medicaments, 53
task yet unaccomplished, 5, 11
teacher, 42, 43, 47, 48, 52 (Pali, ācariya); -s, heretical, *see* heretics, ff.; of yore, 1n; the succession of, 35, 37, 63, 106
Teacher, the (Satthā), *see* Proper Names
Teaching(s), the, 1, 3–5, 55, 92, 94; *see also* sāsana, Pali Index (samaya), 62; the Exalted Universal Monarch of the Good, 45; the Good, 1, 3, 38, 40, 63, 107; of the Master, 55
teachings, 28; adapted to circumstances, 25; the exposition of popular, 25; necessitated by transgression, 25; set out in accordance with reality, 25
tendencies, latent, 27
terms, the analysis of, 32
Texts, Sacred, 1, 14, 26; and meaning, 107
thought-process, 32
Thus Saids (Itivuttaka, the Aṅga), 31n; *see* Pali Index
tongue, different, In
tooth cleaner, 43, 44; stick, 43
tour, missionary, 8
tradition, textual, 1
training, *see* sikkhā, Pali Index
training, the methods of, 1n; individual intent on, 107; the threefold, 26
transgressions, 25, 26; physical and verbal, 21, 106
treasurer, the mode of learning of a, 28
treasures (Devānampiyatissa's), 78; of the Dhamma, to shower upon, 83
Treatises, the seven (Abhidhamma), 63
triad, 32
truth, the absolute, 25; ultimate, 25; he who had visioned the, 74
Twin-miracle, 93, 97

U

undertaking, gigantic, 6
upheavals in the Dispensation, 55
uposatha, 38n *passim*; *see* Pali Index; -hall, 104; the day of the, 87, 99
uprising, frontier, 55
Utterance, mixed prose and verse, 5n *passim*; *see* Recitation, *and* geyya, Pali Index

V

vase, golden, 97–9, 103
Viceroy (Prince Tissa), 51, 56
views, divergent, 62; perverse, 25; wrong, 29; *see also* heretical
Vinaya and cpdd., *see* Pali Index; the essential rules of the (abhivinaya), 23; the learning of the, 13, 107; the legacy of the, 36; the lineage of the, 36; the perfection of knowledge in the, 36, 37; the retention of the, 13; tradition, 36; in the Khuddakanikāya, 15n
virtues, 1, 29; transcendental, 48
volition, 61

W

water-snake, the simile of the, 28
water-strainer, 90
whey, the indulgence in, 38
will, to, 61; resolution of, 42, 60, 77, 82, 93, 95, 97; the five great resolutions of, 97; determination of, 42, 95, 97
wisdom, 1, 26, 31
wish, the express, 5
womenfolk, to admit, into the Order, 95
World of Brahma, *see* Brahma, Proper Names
world of men, 39
World, the Lord of the, 3; the Saviour of the, 50; the Unveiling of the, 50

Y

yellow-robe, *see* robe

INDEX II

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

A

Abhaya (1), Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Abhaya (2), king of Ceylon, 76
Abhaya (3), king of Ojadīpa, 90
Abhaya (4), Devānampiyatissa's brother, 94n; *see* Mattābhaya
Abhaya (5), *see* Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya
Abhayapura, capital of Ojadīpa, 90
Abhayavāpi, 93n
Abhidhammapiṭaka, 20, 24–6, 30, 31, 33
Aggibrahmā, Asoka's son-in-law, 51, 56
Aggikkhandhūpama Suttanta, 68n, 84
Ahogaṅgā, 55n
Ajātasattu, 10, 15, 76, 105
Alakadeva, missionary to the Himalayan region, 71n
Amaravatī, 50n
Ambalaṭṭhikā, 15
Ambaṅgaṇa, 104n
Ambatthala, 77n
Anamatagga, -ggiya, 67, 84n; -pariyāya, 67n
Ānanda, the Elder, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11–13, 15, 18, 31, 38
Aṅguttaranikāya, 15, 20, 30, 33
Anotatta, the lake (Anotattadaha), 44n, 78
Anulā, the Princess (Anulādevī), 83, 95, 96, 103
Anurādhapura, 75, 83, 93, 102
Anuruddha (1), the Elder, 7, 8, 38
Anuruddha (2), king of Magadha, 76
Apadāna, 20
Apaṇṇakajātaka, 31
Aparanta, 64, 68n; -ka, 68; *see* Western Lands
Appamādavagga, 48; *see* Diligence, the Chapter on
Aravāḷa (1), the lake, 65
Aravāḷa (2), the Nāga King, 65n
Ariṭṭha (1), 63, 86n, 106; *see* Mahā-Ariṭṭha
Ariṭṭha (2), 95, 96, 101, 103; *see* 86n
Asandhimittā, Asoka's Queen, 44
Āsīvisopama Suttanta, 65n, 83
Asoka (1), 44, 46–8, 51–3, 74, 76, 78, 79, 87, 88, 97, 101; *see also* Dhammāsoka, the King *and* General Index
Asoka (2), 76; *see* Kālāsoka
Asoka Monastery, the Great (Asokamahāvihāra), 49, 55, 56, 62, 73; *see* the next
Asokârāma, 48, 49, 50
Āyupālī, the nun, 52

B

Bhadda, Mahinda's companion, 63; *same as the next*
Bhaddasāla, 64, 74
Bhagavā, *see* Exalted One
Bhaṇḍuka, the lay companion of Mahinda, 73, 74
Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, 14
Bindusāra, 44, 46, 47, 76
Bodhi, the Bodhi Tree, 75, 93, 95, 97, 103
Bodhi, the young Bodhi-trees, 103
Bodhi, the Great, 94–104
Brahma, 10n, 39–42, 45, 51, 82, 98, 99, 102
Brahma, the abode of, 10
Brahma, the world of, 39–42, 51, 82, 99, 102
Brahma, the deities of the hosts of, 98
Brahmadatta, the brahmin youth, 15
Brahmajāla, 15n, 20, 30, 72; *see* the next
Brahmajāla Suttanta, 72
Buddha, 1, 2, 10, 11, 32, 34, 35, 45, 54, 78, 79, 91, 104, 106; *see also* Enlightened One.
Buddha, the Dispensation of the, 13, 39, 46, 48, 50, 98
Buddha, the form of the, 97
Buddha, the power of the, 90, 93
Buddha, the word of the (*or* sayings of), 15, 16, 18, 19, 29–33, 39–41, 43, 82
Buddhas, 11, 45, 92, 93; *see also* Enlightened One(s) *and* the Previous Enlightened Ones
Buddha-manta, 42
Buddharakkhita, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Buddhasiri, the Elder, 1
Buddhavaṃsa, 20

C

Candagutta, 76
Candanagāma, 103n
Caṇḍavajji, the Elder, 40, 43

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Itivuttaka, 20, 31
Iṭṭhiya, Mahinda's companion, 63, 64, 73-5

J

Jambudīpa, 35, 37, 39, 44, 48, 50, 63, 75–7, 79, 87, 98–101; *see* Jambusiri
Jambukola, 95n, 101–3
Jambusiri, the (is)land of (Jambusirivhaya dīpa), 35, 63; *see* Jambudīpa
Jātaka, 20, 31
Jayanta, king of Maṇḍadīpa, 92
Jeta Grove, 8; *see the next*
Jetavana Monastery, 8
Jeṭṭhamūla, the month, 74; the asterism (nakkhatta), 77
Jīvaka's Mango Grove (-ambavana), 15
Joti Grove (-vana), Nandanavana renamed, 84

K

Kācaragāma, 103n
Kākaṇḍakaputta, *see* Yasa
Kakusandha, the Buddha, 90, 102
Kāla, the Nāga King, 45
Kālakārāma Suttanta, 70n
Kālāsoka, 38, 76; *see* Asoka (2)
Kālasumana, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63, 106
Kāliṅga, the natives of (Kāliṅgakula), 100
Kalyāṇicetiya, 94n
Kaṇṭakacetiya, 86n
Kasmīra-Gandhāra, 64, 65
Kassapa, the Buddha, 92, 102
Kassapa, the Elder, *see* Mahākassapa
Kassapagotta, missionary to the Himalayan region, 71n
Kathāvatthu, 20, 62
Kattikā, the month, 87, 99
Khandhaka, 14, 19, 20, 31
Khattiya, 56, 68
Khema, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Khuddakanikāya, 15, 20n, 30, 33
Khuddakapāṭha, 20, 31
Khujjasobhita, Ānanda's saddhivihārika, 38
Koṇāgamana, the Buddha, 91, 102
Kontiputtatissa, the Elder, 53
Kurundi, 1n
Kusinārā, 3n, 4
Kūṭāgārasālā, *see* Gabled Hall

L

Laṅkā, the Island of, 74, 83, 97, 98; *see also* Tambapaṇṇi *and* the Island (General Index)
Lohapāsāda, 104n
Lord of great compassion, 1; of Ten Powers, 5 *passim*; *see* dasabala in Pali Index; of the World, 3
Lands, the Western, 64, 68n; *see* Aparanta

M

Maccu, *see* Death
Maggasira, the month, 101, 102
Mahā-appamāda Sutta, 85n
Mahā-ariṭṭha, 63, 86n, 105, 106; *see also* Ariṭṭha (1)
Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, 1n
Mahābodhi, *see* Bodhi and Bodhi, the Great
Mahābrahmā, *see* Tissa (6)
Mahācetiya, 94n, 97, 104
Mahādeva (1), Mahinda's ācariya at ordination and missionary to Mahiṃsakamaṇḍala, 52n, 64n, 66
Mahādeva (2), companion of Majjhima (v.l., Sahadeva), 71n
Mahādeva (3), Buddha Kakusandha's disciple, 90
Mahādeva (4), Asoka's minister, 97
Mahādhammarakkhita, missionary to Mahāraṭṭha, 64, 69
Mahākassapa, the Elder, 3–8, 13–5, 33–5, 38, 62
Mahā-Mahinda, 87, 106; *see* Mahinda
Mahāmegha Pleasure-grove (-van'nyyāna), 84, 102; *see* Meghavana
Mahānāga, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Mahānāga Grove (-vana), 89; *see the next*
Mahānāga Pleasure-grove (-van'uyyāna), 87, 88, 102
Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka, 69n
Mahāpaccariya, 1n
Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta 31n
Mahārakkhita, missionary to the Yonaka Kingdoms, 64, 70
Mahāraṭṭha, 64, 69
Mahāsaṅgīti, *see* Convocation, the Great (General Index)
Mahāsirīsabodhi, *see* Sirīsabodhi, the Great
Mahāsiva, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Mahāsumana, disciple of Buddha Koṇāgamana, 91

Mahāvaruṇa, the Arahant, Nigrodha's ācariya, 47
Mahāvibhaṅga, 14
Mahāvedalla Sutta, 31n
Mahāvihāra, 1n, 84
Mahejavatthu, 89n
Mahinda, 51, 52, 55, 63, 64, 73–7, 82, 83, 87, 88, 90, 94, 103, 106; *see also* Mahā-Mahinda *and* the Elder (General Index)
Mahisa, Mahisaka, Mahiṃsaka- (maṇḍala *and* raṭṭha), 64, 66
Majjhantika, Mahinda's ācariya at higher ordination and missionary to Kasmīra-Gandhāra, 52n, 64, 65
Majjhima, missionary to the Himalayan region, 64n, 71
Majjhimanikāya, 15, 20, 30, 33
Malla, 3
Maṇḍadīpa, 92n
Maṅgala Sutta, 31n
Mattābhaya, Devānampiyatissa's brother, 106; *see* Abhaya (4)
Meghavana Park, 84; Pleasure-grove, 94; *see* Mahāmeghavana
Meghavaṇṇābhaya, the minister, 105
Missaka mountain (-pabbata), 74, 75, 77, 83, 84; *see* Cetiyapabbata *and* Cetiyagiri
Moggali, the brahmin, 39–41
Moggaliputta Tissa, the Elder, 35, 37, 43, 50–2, 55, 58, 62–4, 97
Mulakadeva, *see* Alakadeva
Mūlapariyāya Sutta, 20, 30n
Muṇḍa, king of Magadha, 76
Muṭasīva, king of Ceylon, 73n, 75, 76
Mutiyaṅgaṇacetiya, 94n

N

Nāga, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Nāgadāsaka, king of Magadha, 76
Nālandā, 15n
Nālaka Sutta, 31n
Nalerupucimanda, 106
Nandana Grove (-vana), 83, 84; *see the next*
Nandana Pleasure-grove (-van'nyyāna), 83, 84; *see* Joti Grove
Nandas, Nine, 76
Niddesa, 20, 31
Nigrodha, the novice, 47, 48, 54
Nigrodha Bodhi, 102

O

Oghataraṇa Sutta, 20, 30
Ojadīpa, 90

P

Pācīnamahāsāla, *see* Sāla, Eastern Great
Pakuṇḍaka, Pakuṇḍakābhaya, 76n
Pañcaka (v.l., Paṇḍaka), 65
Paṇḍuvāsadeva, 76
Pārājika, the Chapter on (-kaṇḍa), 14
Parivāra, 14, 20, 31
Pāṭaliputta, 39, 50, 59, 65, 87, 95, 97–100
Paṭhamakacetiya, 83n, 103
Paṭhamakattikā, 106; *see also* Pubbakattikā
Paṭisambhidāmagga, 20
Paṭiyārāma, 90
Paṭṭhāna, 20
Pāvā, 4
Petavatthu, 20, 83
Phussa, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Phussadeva, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Pubbakattikā, 99; *see* Paṭhamakattikā
Puppha, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63

R

Rājagaha, 6n, 7–9, 15, 73, 75
Rakkhita, missionary to Vanavāsi, 64, 67
Ratana Sutta, 31
Revata, the Elder, 38
Rohaṇa, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Rohaṇa, the province of (-janapada), 103
Rohiṇī, the asterism (-nakkhatta), 103

S

Sabbakāmī, the Elder, 38, 40
Sabbananda, disciple of Buddha Kassapa, 92
Saccasaṃyutta, 83
Sagātha-vagga, 31
Sahadeva, *see* Mahādeva (2)
Sakka, lord of the deities, 75, 87, 88; the king of the d., 87, 88
Sakkapañha Sutta, 31
Sakyan Clan, 5
Sakyas, the Son of the, 78
Sāla, Eastern, Great (Pācīnamahāsāla), 99
Sāḷha, Ānanda's saddhivihārika, 38
Samacitta Suttanta, 82n
Sāmaññaphala Sutta, 15

Sambala, Mahinda's companion, 63, 64, 74
Sambuddha, the Enlightened One, 1, 76
Samiddha, king of Varadīpa, 91
Sammāditṭhi Sutta, 31n
Samuddasālā, 102n
Saṃyutta Collection (-saṅgaha), classification into groups of kindred topics, 33
Sāṇasambhūta, Ānanda's saddhivihārika, 38
Saṅgha 1, *passim*; *see* Saṅgha ff., Pali Index, *and* Order, General Index
Saṅghamittā, the Elder (-nun), 51, 52, 56, 73, 95, 96, 101, 103
Saṅkhārabhājaniya Sutta, 31n
Sāriputta, the Elder, 82
Sattapaṇṇi Cave, 10n
Satthā, *see* the Teacher
Sāvatthi, 8n, 93
Siggava, Vinaya teacher of India, Moggaliputta's preceptor, 35, 37, 40, 41, 43, 63
Sīha, Vijaya's father, 76
Sīhaḷa, the Island of (-dīpa), 1
Sirī, 10n
Sirīsa Bodhi, the Great, 102
Sīva, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Soṇaka (1), Vinaya teacher of India, 35–7, 63
Soṇaka (2), missionary to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, 65, 72
Soṇa and Uttara (Soṇuttarā), missionaries to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, 72
Subha, the brahmin, 8
Subhadda (1), the wandering ascetic, 3n
Subhadda (2), the Buḍḍhapabbajita, 3n; the Section dealing with (Subhaddakaṇḍa), 4n
Subhakūṭa, 92
Subha Sutta, 8n
Sudinna, son of Kalandaka (K-putta), 14
Sumana (1), Anuruddha's saddhivihārika, 38
Sumana (2), Asoka's brother, 47
Sumana (3), the novice, 73, 74, 82, 87, 88, 96, 97, 99, 102
Sumana (4), Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Sumana (5), another Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Sumanā, wife of Sumana (2), 47
Suppiya, the wandering ascetic, 15
Susunāga, 38n, 76
Suttanipāta, 20, 31
Suttantapiṭaka, 20; *see the next*
Suttapiṭaka, 24–6, 33
Suvaṇṇabhūmi, 64, 72
Suvaṇṇakūṭa, 91

T

Tāmalitti, 100n
Tambapaṇṇi, 63, 64, 73–8, 82, 83, 87, 88, 93, 94, 96, 102, 105; *see* Laṅkā
Taraccha, 100n
Tathāgata, 1, 5, 7, 31, 35, 38, 44, 50; the sayings of the T., 31
Tavakka, the village of the brahmin, 103
Teacher, the (Satthā), 3, 4, 7–9, 48, 106
Theragāthā, 20, 31
Theravāda, 1, 52
Therīgāthā, 20, 31
Thūpārāma, 89, 90, 92, 94, 97, 103–6
Tipiṭaka, 4 *passim*; *see* Pali Index, s.v., and Baskets, General Index
Tissa (1), Asoka's brother, 44, 51, 56, 57
Tissa (2), Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Tissa (3), another Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Tissa (4), still another Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Tissa (5), 77; *see* Devānampiyatissa
Tissa (6), the Great Brahma, 39–41
Tissa (7), *see* Moggaliputta Tissa
Tissadatta, Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63, 106
Tittira Jātaka, 61
Tuvaṭaka Sutta, 31

U

Udāna, 20, 31
Udayabhadra, king of Magadha, 76
Udumbara Bodhi, 102
Ujjeni, 47, 74n
Upāli (1), the Elder, 2, 13, 14, 18, 34–6, 63
Upāli (2), Vinaya teacher of Ceylon, 63
Upatissa, king of Magadha, 76
Upavattana, the Sāla Grove, 3
Uttara, missionary to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, 64, 72
Uttiya, companion of Mahinda, 63, 64, 74

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BUDDHAGHOSÂCARIYASSA SAMANTAPĀSĀDIKĀ NĀMA VINAY'AṬṬHAKATHĀYA BĀHIRANIDĀNAṂ

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

T. Samantapāsādikā, Vol. I, edited by J. Takakusu and M. Nagai, Pali Text Society, London, 1924.

P. Samantapāsādikā nāma Vinayaṭṭhakathā, edited by Ven. Baddegama Piyaratana and Ven. Välivitiye Sorata, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest, Vol. XXVII, Colombo, 1929.

O. The Historical Introduction to Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā, in the Vinaya Piṭakaṃ, Vol. III, edited by Herman Oldenberg, London, 1881.

E. Samantapāsādikā nāma Vinayasaṃvaṇṇanā, Vol. I, U. P. Ekanāyaka, Colombo, 1915.

V. Samantapāsādikā, Vol. I, Ven. K. Siri Visuddhi, Kosgoḍa, 1933.

Ay. Vinaya Samantapāsādikāy'atthayojanā, Paññāsekhara Mahā Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1924.

Sp. Siamese printed text of Samantapāsādikā.

Bp. Burmese printed text of Samantapāsādikā.

Sum. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Vol. I, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, Pali Text Society, London, 1886.

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Yasmiṃ ṭhite sāsanam aṭṭhitassa
patiṭṭhitaṃ hoti susaṇṭhitassa,
taṃ vaṇṇayissaṃ vinayaṃ amissaṃ
nissāya pubbâcariyânubhāvaṃ. 5

Kāmañ ca pubbâcariyâsabhehi
ñāṇambuniddhotamalâsavehi
[2] visuddhavijjāpaṭisambhidehi
saddhammasaṃvaṇṇanakovidehi, 6

Sallekhiye no sulabhûpamehi
Mahāvihārassa dhajûpameḥi,
saṃvaṇṇito 'yaṃ vinayo nayehi
cittehi sambuddhavaranvayehi. 7

Saṃvaṇṇanā Sīhaḷadīpakena [1]
vākyena esā pana saṅkhaṭattā,
na kiñci atthaṃ abhisambhuṇāti
dīpantare bhikkhujanassa yasmā, 8

Tasmā imaṃ pāḷinayânurūpaṃ
saṃvaṇṇanaṃ dāni samārabhissaṃ,
ajjhesanaṃ Buddhasirivhayassa
therassa sammā samanussaranto. 9

Saṃvaṇṇaṃ tañ ca samārabhanto
tasmā [2] Mahā-aṭṭhakathaṃ sarīraṃ
katvā Mahāpaccariyaṃ tath'eva
Kurundināmâdisu vissutāsu, 10

Vinicchayo aṭṭhakathāsu vutto
yo yuttam atthaṃ apariccajanto,
tato pi antogadhatheravādaṃ
saṃvaṇṇanaṃ samma [3] samārabhissaṃ. 11

[1] T. Sīhara- ; all texts agree on Sīhala-.
[2] P.E.V. tassā.
[3] *metri causa*.

Taṃ me nisāmentu pasannacittā
therā ca bhikkhū navamajjhimā ca
dhammappadīpassa Tathāgatassa
sakkacca dhammaṃ patimānayantā.[1] 12

Buddhena dhammo vinayo ca vutto
yo tassa puttehi tatheva ñāto,
so yehi tesaṃ matim accajantā
yasmā pure aṭṭhakathā akaṃsu, 13

[3] Tasmā hi yaṃ aṭṭhakathāsu vuttaṃ
taṃ vajjayitvāna pamādalekhaṃ,
sabbam pi sikkhāsu sagāravānaṃ
yasmā pamāṇaṃ idha paṇḍitānaṃ. 14

Tato ca bhāsantaram eva hitvā
vitthāramaggañ ca samāsayitvā,
vinicchayaṃ sabbam asesayitvā
tantikkamaṃ kañci avokkamitvā, 15

Suttantikānaṃ vacanānam atthaṃ
suttânurūpaṃ paridīpayantī,
yasmā ayaṃ hessati vaṇṇanā pi
sakkacca tasmā anusikkhitabbā ti.[2] 16

2. Tattha : taṃ vaṇṇayissaṃ vinayan ti vuttattā vinayo tāva vavatthapetabbo, ten'etaṃ vuccati : vinayo nāma idha sakalaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ adhippetaṃ. Saṃvaṇṇanatthaṃ pan'assa ayaṃ mātikā :

Vuttaṃ yena yadā yasmā dhāritaṃ yena câbhataṃ,
yatthappatiṭṭhitañ c'etam etaṃ [3] vatvā vidhiṃ tato.

[1] T. paṭi-.

[2] T. p. 3, n. 3, observes : The Chinese translation, A.D. 498, omits the verses 6–16 chiefly referring to the Sīhala aṭṭhakathā, while it adds six other verses which are not found in Pali. The general purport is something like this : (I expound the meaning of Vinaya) "so that the Good Law may long remain in the world and all beings fully enjoy its benefit. By the merit of this I desire to dispel all evils (hat'antarāyo). If one wishes to keep the precept (sīla) one should keep it (until one is) freed from all sufferings." As to vv. 4 and 5, only the first half of 4 and the second half of 5 are reproduced in Chinese, though not precisely.

[3] T. Differences due to errors in printing will not be generally pointed out.

Tenâti ādipāṭhassa atthaṃ nānappakārato
dassayanto karissāmi vinayass' atthavaṇṇanan ti.

Tattha: vuttaṃ yena yadā yasmā ti idaṃ tāva vacanaṃ *tena samayena Buddho bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharatîti* evam ādivacanaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ. Idaṃ hi Buddhassa bhagavato attapaccakkhavacanaṃ na hoti, tasmā vattabbam [4] ev'[1]etaṃ, idaṃ vacanaṃ kena vuttaṃ, kadā vuttaṃ,[2] kasmā ca vuttan ti. Āyasmatā Upālittherena vuttaṃ, taṃ ca pana paṭhama-mahāsaṅgītikāle. Paṭhamamahāsaṅgīti nāma c'esā kiñcâpi Pañcasatikasaṅgītikkhandhake suvuttā,[3] nidānakosallatthaṃ pana idhâpi iminā nayena veditabbā.

Paṭhamamahāsaṅgītivaṇṇanā

3. Dhammacakkappavattanaṃ [4] hi ādiṃ katvā yāva Subhad-daparibbājakavinayanā katabuddhakicce Kusinārāyaṃ Upa-vattane [5] Mallānaṃ sālavane yamakasālānam antare Visākha-puṇṇamadivase paccūsasamaye anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbute bhagavati lokanāthe bhagavato parinibbāne [6] sannipatitānaṃ sattannaṃ bhikkhusatasahassānaṃ saṅghat-thero āyasmā Mahākassapo, sattâhaparinibbute bhagavati Subh-addena buḍḍhapabbajitena: alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha, sumuttā mayaṃ tena mahāsamaṇena, upaddutā ca homa, idaṃ vo kappati idaṃ vo na kappatîti, idāni pana mayaṃ yaṃ icchissāma taṃ karissāma, yaṃ na icchissāma na taṃ [7] karissāmâti vuttavacanaṃ anussaranto, ṭhānaṃ[8] kho pan'etaṃ vijjati yaṃ pāpabhikkhū: atītasatthukaṃ pāvacanan ti maññamānā pakkhaṃ labhitvā na cirass'eva saddhammaṃ antaradhāpeyyuṃ. Yāva ca dhammavinayo tiṭṭhati tāva anatītasatthukam eva pāvacanaṃ hoti. Vuttaṃ h'etaṃ

[1] P.E.V. omit ev'.
[2] T. omits.
[3] P.E.V. vuttā.
[4] O. commences here and proceeds as far as ācariyaparamparāya ābhatan ti at Smp. 106, but omits the lengthy discussion on the division and classification of the pāvacana, Smp. 19–33.
[5] Sum. Upavattaṃ.
[6] Sum. dhātubhājanadivase.
[7] T. taṃ na for na taṃ.
[8] Sum. adds here: edisassa ca saṅghasannipātassa puna dullabhabhāvaṃ maññamāno.

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khū anekasate anekasahasse ca vajjetvā tipiṭakasabbapariyattippabhedadhare paṭisambhidāppatte mahânubhāve yebhuyyena bhagavatā etadaggaṃ āropite tevijjâdibhede khīṇâsavabhikkhū yeva ek'ūnapañcasate pariggahesi. Ye sandhāya idaṃ vuttaṃ: atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo eken'ūnapañcaarahantasatāni uccinîti.

5. Kissa pana thero eken'ūnam akāsîti. Āyasmato Ānandattherassa okāsakaraṇatthaṃ. Tena h'āyasmatā sahâpi vinâpi na sakkā dhammasaṅgīti kātuṃ. So h'āyasmā sekho[1] sakaraṇīyo, tasmā saha[2] na sakkā. Yasmā pan'assa kiñci dasabaladesitaṃ suttageyyâdikaṃ[3] bhagavato[4] asammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ nāma n'atthi, tasmā vinâpi na sakkā. Yadi evaṃ sekho[1] pi samāno dhammasaṅgītiyā bahûpakārattā therena uccinitabbo assa. Atha kasmā na [7] uccinito ti. Parûpavādavivajjanato.

Thero hi āyasmante Ānande ativiya vissattho ahosi, tathā hi naṃ sirasmiṃ palitesu jātesu pi: na v'āyaṃ kumārako mattaṃ aññāsîti kumārakavādena vadati.[5] Sakyakulappasuto câyam āyasmā Tathāgatassa bhātā cūḷapituputto,[6] tatra hi bhikkhū chandâgamanaṃ viya maññamānā bahū asekhapaṭisambhidāppatte[7] bhikkhū ṭhapetvā Ānandaṃ sekhapaṭisambhidāppattaṃ[8] thero uccinîti upavadeyyuṃ. Taṃ parûpavādaṃ parivajjento: Ānandaṃ vinā saṅgīti na sakkā kātuṃ, bhikkhūnaṃ yevânumatiyā gahessāmîti taṃ na nccini.

Atha sayam eva bhikkhū Ānandass'atthāya theraṃ yāciṃsu. Yathâha: bhikkhū āyasmantaṃ Mahākassapaṃ etad avocuṃ: ayaṃ bhante āyasmā Ānando kiñcâpi sekho abhabbo chandā dosā bhayā mohā agatiṃ gantuṃ, bahu c'ānena[9] bhagavato

[1] P.Sp.V. sekkho.
[2] P.E.V. sahâpi.
[3] T. suttaṃ geyyâdikaṃ.
[4] Sum. omits up to paṭiggahitaṃ and has apaccakkhaṃ instead and adds after nāma natthi:

yathâha,

dvâsītiṃ Buddhato gaṇhiṃ dvesahassāni bhikkhuto,
caturāsīti sahassāni ye 'me dhammā pavattino.

See Smp. 32.
[5] T.O. ovadati.
[6] T.O. cūla-.
[7] P.E.V. asekkha-
[8] P.E.V. sekkha-.
[9] T.O. bahu vata tena, Vin. ii, XI, bahu ca tena.

santike dhammo ca vinayo ca pariyatto. Tena hi bhante thero āyasmantam pi Ānandaṃ uccinatûti. Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo āyasmantam pi Ānandaṃ nccini. Evaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ anumatiyā uccinitena tenâyasmatā saddhiṃ pañca therasatāni ahesuṃ.

6. Atha kho therānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ etad ahosi: kattha nu kho mayaṃ dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyeyyāmâti. Atha kho therānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ etad ahosi: Rājagahaṃ [8] kho mahāgocaraṃ pahūtasenāsanaṃ. Yannūna mayaṃ Rājagahe vassaṃ vasantā dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyeyyāma, na aññe bhikkhū Rājagahe vassaṃ upagaccheyyun ti. Kasmā pana tesaṃ etad ahosi. Idaṃ amhākaṃ thāvarakammaṃ koci visabhāgapuggalo saṅghamajjhaṃ pavisitvā ukkoṭeyyâti. Athâyasmā Mahākassapo ñattidutiyena kammena sāvesi. Taṃ Saṅgītikkhandhake vuttanayen' eva veditabbaṃ.

7. Atha Tathāgatassa parinibbānato sattasu sādhukīḷanadivasesu sattasu ca dhātupūjādivasesu vītivattesu aḍḍhamāso atikkanto. Idāni gimhānaṃ diyaḍḍho māso seso, upakaṭṭhā vassûpanāyikâti mantvā Mahākassapatthero: Rājagahaṃ āvuso gacchāmâti upaḍḍhaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ gahetvā ekaṃ maggaṃ gato. Anuruddhatthero pi upaḍḍhaṃ gahetvā ekaṃ maggaṃ gato.

8. Ānandatthero pana bhagavato pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā bhikkhusaṅghaparivuto Sāvatthiṃ gantvā Rājagahaṃ gantukāmo yena Sāvatthi tena cārikaṃ pakkāmi. Ānandattherena gatagataṭṭhāne mahāparidevo ahosi: bhante Ānanda kuhiṃ satthāraṃ ṭhapetvā āgato 'siti. Anupubbena pana Sāvatthiṃ anuppatte there,[1] bhagavato parinibbānadivase viya mahāparidevo ahosi. Tatra sudaṃ āyasmā Ānando aniccatādipaṭisaṃyuttāya [2] dhammiyā kathāya taṃ mahājanaṃ saññāpetvā Jetavanaṃ pavisitvā dasabalena vasitagandhakuṭiyā dvāraṃ vivaritvā mañcapīṭhaṃ nīharitvā pappoṭhetvā [3] gandhakuṭiṃ sammajjitvā milātamālākaca[9]varaṃ chaḍḍetvā mañcapīṭhaṃ atiharitvā puna yathāṭṭhāne ṭhapetvā bhagavato ṭhitakāle karaṇīyaṃ vattaṃ sabbam akāsi. Atha

[1] T.O. add ca. [2] T.O. aniccatāpaṭi-. [3] P.E. papphoṭetvā.

thero bhagavato parinibbānatoppabhuti ṭhānanisajjabahulattā ussannadhātukaṃ kāyaṃ samassāsetuṃ dutiyadivase khiravirecanaṃ pivitvā vihāre yeva nisīdi. Yaṃ sandhāya Subhena māṇavena pahitaṃ māṇavakaṃ etad [1] avoca: akālo kho māṇavaka, atthi me ajja bhesajjamattā pitā, app'eva nāma sve pi upasaṅkameyyāmâti. Dutiyadivase Cetakattherena pacchāsamaṇena gantvā Subhena māṇavena puṭṭho Dīghanikāye Subhasuttaṃ nāma dasamaṃ suttam abhāsi. Atha kho [2] thero Jetavanavihāre khaṇḍaphullapaṭisaṅkharaṇaṃ kārāpetvā upakaṭṭhāya vassûpanāyikāya Rājagahaṃ gato. Tathā Mahākassapatthero Anuruddhatthero ca sabbaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ gahetvā Rājagaham eva gato.

9. Tena kho pana samayena Rājagahe aṭṭhārasa mahāvihārā honti. Te sabbe pi chaḍḍitapatita-uklāpā ahesuṃ. Bhagavato hi parinibbāne sabbe bhikkhū attano attano pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā vihāre ca pariveṇe ca chaḍḍetvā agamaṃsu. Tattha therā bhagavato vacanapūjanatthaṃ titthiyavādaparimocanatthañ ca paṭhamaṃ māsaṃ khaṇḍaphullapaṭisaṅkharaṇaṃ karomâti cintesuṃ. Titthiyā hi evaṃ vadeyyuṃ: samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakā satthari ṭhite yeva vihāre paṭijaggiṃsu, parinibbute chaḍḍesun ti, tesaṃ vādaparimocanatthañ ca cintesun ti vuttaṃ hoti.

[**10**] Vuttam pi c'etaṃ: atha kho therānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ etad ahosi: bhagavatā kho āvuso khaṇḍaphullapaṭisaṅkharaṇaṃ vaṇṇitaṃ, handa mayaṃ āvuso paṭhamaṃ māsaṃ khaṇḍaphullapaṭisaṅkharaṇaṃ karoma, majjhimaṃ māsaṃ sannipatitvā dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyissāmâti.

10. Te dutiyadivase gantvā rājadvāre aṭṭhaṃsu. Ajātasattu rājā āgantvā vanditvā, kiṃ bhante āgata 'tthâti attanā kattabbakiccaṃ paṭipucchi. Therā aṭṭhārasamahāvihārapaṭisaṅkharaṇatthāya hatthakammaṃ paṭivedesuṃ. Sādhu bhante ti rājā hatthakammakārake manusse adāsi. Therā paṭhamaṃ māsaṃ [3] sabbavihāre paṭisaṅkhārāpetvā [4] raññho

[1] T.O. etaṃ.
[2] P.E.V. omit.
[3] T.O. paṭhamamāsaṃ.
[4] E. sabbavihārapaṭisaṅkharaṇaṃ kārāpetvā.

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gaccheyyan ti bahud eva rattiṃ kāyagatāya satiyâ [1] vitināmetvā rattiyā paccūsamayaṃ caṅkamā [2] orohitvā vihāraṃ pavisitvā [2] nipajjissāmîti kāyaṃ āvajjesi, dve [3] pādā bhūmito muttā, appattañ ca sisaṃ bimbohanaṃ,[3] etasmiṃ antare anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci. Ayaṃ hi āyasmā [**12**] caṅkamena bahi vītināmetvā visesaṃ nibbattetum asakkonto cintesi: nanu maṃ bhagavā etad avoca: katapuññho [4] 'si tvaṃ Ānanda padhānam anuyuñja, khippaṃ hohisi anāsavo ti. Buddhānañ ca kathādoso nāma n'atthi, mama accāraddhaṃ viriyaṃ, tena me cittaṃ uddhaccāya saṃvattati. Handâhaṃ viriyasamataṃ [5] yojemîti caṅkamā orohitvā pādadhovanaṭṭhāne ṭhatvā pāde dhovitvā vihāraṃ pavisitvā, mañcake nisīditvā thokaṃ vissamissāmîti kāyaṃ mañcake upanāmesi. Dve pādā bhūmito muttā, sisaṃ bimbohanam asampattaṃ. Etasmiṃ antare anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuttaṃ; catuiriyāpathavirahitaṃ therassa arahattaṃ ahosi.[6] Tena imasmiṃ sāsane anipanno anisinno aṭṭhito acaṅkamanto ko bhikkhu arahattaṃ patto ti vutte, Ānandatthero ti vattuṃ vaṭṭati.

12. Atha therā bhikkhū dutiyadivase katabhattakiccā pattacīvaraṃ paṭisāmetvā dhammasabhāyaṃ sannipatitā. Ānandathero pana attano arahattappattiṃ ñāpetukāmo bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ na gato. Bhikkhū yathābuḍḍhaṃ attano attano pattâsane [7] nisīdantā Ānandattherassa āsanaṃ ṭhapetvā nisinnā. Tattha kehic'āpi [8] etam āsanaṃ kassâti vutte, Ānandassâti. Ānando pana kuhiṃ gato ti. Tasmiṃ samaye thero cintesi: idāni mayhaṃ gamanakālo ti. Tato attano [**13**] ānubhāvaṃ dassento paṭhaviyaṃ nimujjitvā attano āsane yeva attānaṃ dassesi. Ākāsenâgantvā [9] nisīdîti pi eke.

13. Evaṃ nisinne tasmiṃ āyasmante Mahākassapatthero bhikkhū āmantesi: āvuso kiṃ paṭhamaṃ saṅgāyāma dhammaṃ vā vinayaṃ vâti. Bhikkhū āhaṃsu: bhante Mahākassapa, vinayo nāma Buddhasāsanassa āyu, vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṃ

[1] P.E.V. kāyagatāsatiyā.
[2–2] Vin. ii, XI, omits.
[3–3] The two phrases are interchanged in Vin. ii.
[4] T. -pañño evidently a printer's devil, all others -puñño.
[5] T.O. -samathaṃ.
[6] P.V. omit.
[7] T.O. āsane.
[8] T.O. kehici pi.
[9] T.O. ākāsena gantvā.

ṭhitaṃ hoti, tasmā paṭhamaṃ vinayaṃ saṅgāyāmâti. Kaṃ dhuraṃ katvâti. Āyasmantaṃ Upālin ti. Kiṃ Ānando nappahotîti. No nappahoti, api ca kho pana Sammāsambuddho dharamāno yeva vinayapariyattiṃ nissāya āyasmantaṃ Upāliṃ etadagge ṭhapesi : etadaggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vinayadharānaṃ yad idaṃ Upālîti. Tasmā Upālittheraṃ pucchitvā vinayaṃ saṅgāyāmâti. Tato thero vinayaṃ pucchanatthāya attanā 'va attānaṃ sammanni, Upālitthero pi vissajjanatthāya sammanni.

Tatrâyaṃ pāḷi : atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo saṅghaṃ ñāpesi : suṇātu me āvuso saṅgho. Yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ, ahaṃ Upāliṃ vinayaṃ puccheyyan ti. Āyasmā pi [1] Upāli saṅghaṃ ñāpesi : suṇātu me bhante saṅgho. Yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ, ahaṃ āyasmatā Mahākassapena vinayaṃ puṭṭho vissajjeyyan ti. Evaṃ [2] attānaṃ sammannitvā āyasmā Upāli uṭṭhāyâsanā ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā there bhikkhū vanditvā dhammâsane nisīdi dantakhacitaṃ vījaniṃ gahetvā.

14. Tato āyasmā [3] Mahākassapo therâsane nisīditvā āyasmantaṃ Upāliṃ vinayaṃ pucchi [4] : paṭhamaṃ āvuso Upāli pārājikaṃ kattha [5] [**14**] paññattan ti. Vesāliyaṃ bhante ti. Kaṃ ārabbhâti. Sudinnaṃ Kalandakaputtaṃ [6] ārabbhâti. Kismiṃ vatthusmin ti. Methunadhamme ti.

Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo āyasmantaṃ Upāliṃ paṭhamassa pārājikassa vatthum pi pucchi, nidānam pi pucchi, puggalam pi pucchi, paññattim pi pucchi, anupaññattim [7] pi pucchi, āpattim pi pucchi, anāpattim pi pucchi. Yathā ca paṭhamassa tathā dutiyassa tathā tatiyassa tathā catutthassa pārājikassa vatthum pi pucchi pe anāpattim pi pucchi. Puṭṭho puṭṭho Upālitthero vissajjesi.

Tato imāni cattāri pārājikāni Pārājikakaṇḍaṃ nāma idan ti saṅgahaṃ āropetvā ṭhapesuṃ [8] terasa saṅghādisesāni terasakan ti ṭhapesuṃ, dve sikkhāpadāni aniyatānîti ṭhapesuṃ, tiṃsasikkhāpadāni nissaggiyapācittiyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, dvenavutisik-

[1] Vin. ii, XI, omits. [2] P.E.V. add attanā va after evaṃ.
[3] T. omits. O. generally agrees with T. in most readings and will be referred to when only he differs from T.
[4] As at Vin. ii, 286. The next sentence is a summary of the rest of Vin. ii, XI, 1, 7.
[5] T. adds bhagavatā. [6] P.E.V. Kalandaputtaṃ.
[7] T. anuppaññattiṃ. [8] T. omits.

khāpadāni pācittiyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, cattāri sikkhāpadāni pāṭidesanīyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, pañcasattatisikkhāpadāni sekhiyānîti ṭhapesum, satta dhamme adhikaraṇasamathâti ṭhapesuṃ.

Evaṃ Mahāvibhaṅgaṃ saṅgahaṃ āropetvā Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅge aṭṭhasikkhāpadāni Pārājikakaṇḍaṃ nāma idan ti ṭhapesuṃ. Sattarasa sikkhāpadāni sattarasakan ti ṭhapesuṃ, tiṃsasikkhāpadāni nissaggiyapācittiyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, chasaṭṭhisatasikkhāpadāni pācittiyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, aṭṭha sikkhāpadāni pāṭidesanīyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, pañcasattati sikkhāpadāni sekhiyānîti ṭhapesuṃ, satta dhamme adhika[**15**]raṇasamathā ti ṭhapesuṃ. Evaṃ Bhikkhunīvibhaṅgaṃ saṅgahaṃ āropetvā eten' eva upāyena Khandhaka-Parivāre pi āropesuṃ.

Evam etaṃ sa-ubhatovibhaṅgakkhandhakaparivārena Vinayapiṭakaṃ saṅgahaṃ ārūḷhaṃ. Sabbaṃ Mahākassapatthero pucchi, Upālitthero vissajjesi. Pucchāvissajjanapariyosāne pañca arahantasatāni saṅgahaṃ āropitanayen' eva gaṇasajjhāyaṃ akaṃsu. Vinayasaṅgahâvasāne Upālitthero dantakhacitaṃ vījaniṃ nikkhipitvā dhammâsanā orohitvā buḍḍhe bhikkhū vanditvā attano pattâsane nisīdi.

15. Vinayaṃ saṅgāyitvā dhammaṃ saṅgāyitukāmo āyasmā Mahākassapo bhikkhū pucchi: dhammaṃ saṅgāyantehi kaṃ puggalaṃ dhuraṃ katvā dhammo saṅgāyitabbo ti. Bhikkhū: Ānandattheraṃ dhuraṃ katvâti āhaṃsu.

Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo saṅghaṃ ñāpesi: suṇātu me āvuso saṅgho. Yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ, ahaṃ Ānandaṃ dhammaṃ puccheyyan ti. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando saṅghaṃ ñāpesi: suṇātu me bhante saṅgho. Yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ, ahaṃ āyasmatā Mahākassapena dhammaṃ puṭṭho vissajjeyyan ti. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando uṭṭhāyâsanā ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā there bhikkhū vanditvā dhammâsane nisīdi dantakhacitaṃ vījaniṃ gahetvā. Mahākassapatthero Ānandattheraṃ dhammaṃ pucchi: Brahmajālaṃ āvuso Ānanda kattha bhāsitan ti. Antarā ca bhante [**16**] Rājagahaṃ antarā ca Nālandaṃ rājâgārake Ambalaṭṭhikāyan ti. Kaṃ ārabbhâti. Suppiyañ ca paribbājakaṃ Brahmadattañ ca māṇavakan ti. Kismiṃ [1] vatthusmiṃ. Vaṇṇâvaṇṇe ti.[1] Atha

[1–1] P.E.V. (also Vin. ii, 287) omit this question and answer.

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dhavacanaṃ pacchimabuddhavacanan ti tippabhedaṃ hoti. Tattha :

> Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbisaṃ,
> gahakārakaṃ gavesanto, dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ.
> Gahakāraka diṭṭho 'si puna gehaṃ na kāhasi,
> sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhitaṃ,
> visaṅkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagâti ;

idaṃ paṭhamabuddhavacanaṃ. Keci : yadā have pātubhavanti dhammâti Khandhake udānagāthaṃ āhu. Esā pana pāṭipadadivase sabbaññubhāvappattassa somanassamayañāṇena paccayâkāraṃ paccavekkhantassa uppannā udānagāthā ti veditabbā. Yam pana parinibbānakāle abhāsi : handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo vayadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādethâti idaṃ pacchimabuddhavacanaṃ. Ubhinnam antare yaṃ vuttaṃ etaṃ majjhimabuddhavacanaṃ.[1] Evaṃ paṭhamamajjhimapacchimavasena tividhaṃ.

20. [**18**] Kathaṃ piṭakavasena tividhaṃ. Sabbam pi h'etaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ Suttantapiṭakaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakan ti tippabhedam eva hoti. Tattha paṭhamasaṅgītiyaṃ saṅgitañ ca asaṅgītañ ca sabbam pi samodhānetvā, ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni, dve Vibhaṅgāni, dvāvīsati Khandhakāni, soḷasa Parivārâti idaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ nāma.

Brahmajālâdicatuttiṃsasuttasaṅgaho Dīghanikāyo, Mūlapariyāyasuttâdidiyaḍḍhasatadvesuttasaṅgaho Majjhimanikāyo, Oghataraṇasuttâdisattasuttasahassasattasatadvāsaṭ ṭhisuttasaṅgaho Saṃyuttanikāyo, Cittapariyādānasuttâdinavasuttasahassapañcasatasattapaññāsasuttasaṅgaho Aṅguttaranikāyo, Khuddakapāṭha - Dhammapada - Udāna - Itivuttaka - Suttanipāta - Vimānavatthu - Petavatthu - Thera[2] - Therīgāthā - Jātaka - Niddesa - Paṭisambhidā - Apadāna - Buddhavaṃsa - Cariyāpiṭakavasena paṇṇarasabhedo Khuddakanikāyo ti, idaṃ Suttantapiṭakaṃ nāma.

Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅgo, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamakaṃ, Paṭṭhānan ti idaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ nāma.

[1] P.E.V. add ti.

[2] P.E.V. Theragāthā.

21. Tattha :

Vividhavisesanayattā vinayanato c'eva kāyavācānaṃ,
vinayatthavidūhi ayaṃ vinayo vinayo ti akkhāto.

Vividhā hi ettha pañcavidha-Pātimokkh'uddesa-Pārājikâdisatta - āpattikkhandha - Mātikā - Vibhaṅgâdippabhedanayā ; *visesa*bhūtā ca daḷhīkammasithilīkaraṇappayojanā anuppañ[19]ñattinayā, kāyikavācasika-ajjhâcāranisedhanato c'esa kāyaṃ vācañ ca vineti, tasmā vividhanayattā visesanayattā kāyavācānañ ca vinayanato vinayo ti akkhāto. Ten' etam etassa vacanatthakosallatthaṃ vuttaṃ :

Vividhavisesanayattā vinayanato c'eva kāyavācānaṃ,
vinayatthavidūhi ayaṃ vinayo vinayo ti akkhāto ti.

22. Itaraṃ pana :

Atthānaṃ sūcanato suvuttato savanato ca sūdanato
suttāṇā suttasabhāgato ca suttaṃ [1] suttan ti akkhātaṃ.

Taṃ hi attatthaparatthâdibhede atthe sūceti, suvuttā c'ettha atthā veneyyajjhāsayânulomena vuttattā,[2] pasavati c'etaṃ atthe sassam iva phalaṃ, pasavatîti vuttaṃ hoti ; sūdati c'etaṃ dhenu viya khīraṃ, paggharatîti vuttaṃ hoti ; suṭṭhu ca ne tāyati, rakkhatîti vuttaṃ hoti ; suttasabhāgañ c'etaṃ,[3] yathā hi tacchakānaṃ suttaṃ pamāṇaṃ hoti evam etam pi viññūnaṃ, yathā ca suttena saṅgahītāni pupphāni na vikirīyanti na viddhaṃsīyanti [4] evam etena saṅgahītā atthā. Ten' etam etassa vacanatthakosallatthaṃ vuttaṃ :

Atthānaṃ sūcanato suvuttato savanato ca sūdanato,
suttāṇā suttasabhāgato ca suttaṃ [5] suttan ti akkhātan ti.

23. [20] Itaro pana :

Yaṃ ettha vuddhimanto salakkhaṇā pūjitā paricchinnā,
vuttâdhikā ca dhammā abhidhammo tena akkhāto.

Ayaṃ hi *abhi*saddo vuddhisalakkhaṇapūjitaparicchinnâdhikesu dissati. Tathā h'esa : bāḷhā me dukkhā vedanā abhikkamanti no paṭikkamantîti [6] ādisu vuddhiyaṃ āgato. Yā tā rattiyo abhiññātā abhilakkhitâti ādisu salakkhaṇe. Rājâbhirājā manujindo ti ādisu pūjite. Paṭibalo vinetuṃ abhidhamme

[1] E. omits.
[2] T. vuttatā.
[3] T. ca naṃ.
[4] T. viddhaṃsiyanti.
[5] E. omits.
[6] P.E.V. omit no paṭikkamanti.

abhivinaye ti ādisu paricchinne ; aññamaññaṃ saṅkaravirahite [1] dhamme ca vinaye câti vuttaṃ hoti. Abhikkantena vaṇṇenâti ādisu adhike. Ettha ca rūpûpapattiyā maggaṃ bhāveti, mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharatîti ādinā nayena vuddhimanto pi dhammā vuttā. Rūpârammaṇaṃ vā saddârammaṇaṃ vâti ādinā nayena ārammaṇâdīhi sallakkhaṇīyattā [2] salakkhaṇā pi. Sekhā dhammā asekhā dhammā lokuttarā dhammâti ādinā nayena pūjitā pi pūjârahâti adhippāyo. Phasso hoti vedanā hotîti ādinā nayena sabhāvaparicchinnattā paricchinnā pi. Mahaggatā dhammā appamāṇā dhammā anuttarā dhammâti ādinā nayena adhikā pi dhammā vuttā. Ten' etam etassa vacanakosallatthaṃ vuttaṃ :

> Yaṃ ettha vuddhimanto salakkhaṇā pūjitā paricchinnā,
> vuttâdhikā ca dhammā abhidhammo tena akkhāto ti.

24. Yaṃ pan' ettha avisiṭṭhaṃ [3] taṃ
> Piṭakaṃ piṭakatthavidū pariyattibhājanatthato āhu,
> tena samodhānetvā tayo pi vinayâdayo ñeyyā.

[**21**] Pariyatti pi hi : mā piṭakasampadānenâti ādisu piṭakan ti vuccati. Atha puriso āgaccheyya kuddālapiṭakaṃ ādāyâti ādisu yaṃ kiñci bhājanam pi. Tasmā :

> Piṭakaṃ piṭakatthavidū pariyattibhājanatthato āhu,
> tena samodhānetvā tayo pi vinayâdayo ñeyyâti.

Tena evaṃ duvidhatthena piṭakasaddena saha samāsaṃ katvā vinayo ca so piṭakaṃ ca pariyattibhāvato tassa tassa atthassa bhājanato câti Vinayapiṭakaṃ. Yathāvutten' eva nayena suttañ ca taṃ piṭakaṃ câti Suttapiṭakaṃ. Abhidhammo ca so piṭakaṃ câti Abhidhammapiṭakan ti, evam ete tayo pi vinayâdayo ñeyyā. Evaṃ ñatvā ca puna pi tesv eva piṭakesu nānappakārakosallatthaṃ :

> Desanāsāsanakathābhedaṃ tesu yathâraharaṃ,
> sikkhāppahāṇagambhīrabhāvañ ca paridīpaye.
>
> Pariyattibhedaṃ sampattiṃ vipattiṃ câpi yaṃ yahim,
> pāpuṇāti yathā bhikkhu tam pi sabbaṃ vibhāvaye ti.

[1] T. aññamañña-.
[2] E. salakkhaṇīyattā ; T. lakkhaṇīyattā.
[3] P. avasiṭṭhaṃ.

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dhammatthadesanāpaṭivedhā [1] yasmā sasâdīhi viya mahāsamuddo, mandabuddhīhi dukkhogāhā alabbhaneyyapatiṭṭhā ca, tasmā gambhīrā. Evaṃ ekam ekasmiṃ ettha catubbidho pi gambhīrabhāvo veditabbo.

27. Aparo nayo : dhammo ti hetu ; vuttaṃ h'etaṃ : hetumhi ñāṇaṃ dhammapaṭisambhidâti. Attho ti hetuphalaṃ ; vuttaṃ h'etaṃ : hetuphale ñāṇaṃ atthapaṭisambhidâti. Desanā 'ti paññatti ; yathādhammaṃ dhammâbhilāpo ti adhippāyo. Paṭivedho ti abhisamayo ; so ca lokiyo lokuttaro visayato asammohato ca atthânurūpaṃ dhammesu dhammânurūpaṃ atthesu paññatti, pathânurūpaṃ paññattīsu avabodho.

Idāni yasmā etesu piṭakesu yaṃ yaṃ dhammajātaṃ atthajātaṃ vā yo câyaṃ yathā yathā ñāpetabbo attho sotūnaṃ ñāṇassa abhimukho hoti tathā tathā tadatthajotikā desanā, yo c'ettha aviparītâvabodhasaṅkhāto paṭivedho sabbam p'etaṃ anupacitakusalasambhārehi duppaññehi sasâdīhi mahāsamuddo viya dukkhogāhaṃ alabbhaneyyapatiṭṭhañ ca, tasmā evam pi ekam ekasmiṃ ettha catubbidho pi gambhīrabhāvo veditabbo.

[**24**] Ettāvatā ca :

Desanāsāsanakathābhedaṃ tesu yathâraham,
sikkhāppahāṇagambhīrabhāvañ [2] ca paridīpaye ;

iti ayaṃ gāthā vuttatthā hoti.

28. Pariyattibhedaṃ sampattiṃ vipattiṃ câpi yaṃ yahiṃ
pāpuṇāti yathā bhikkhu tam pi sabbaṃ vibhāvaye ;

iti ettha pana tisn piṭakesu tividho pariyattibhedo daṭṭhabbo. Tisso hi pariyattiyo : alagaddūpamā nissaraṇatthā bhaṇḍâgārikapariyattîti. Tattha duggahitā upārambhâdihetu pariyāputā alagaddūpamā. Yaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ : seyyathâpi bhikkhave puriso alagaddatthiko alagaddagavesī alagaddapariyesanaṃ caramāno, so passeyya mahantaṃ alagaddaṃ, tam enaṃ bhoge vā naṅguṭṭhe vā gaṇheyya, tassa so alagaddo paṭiparivattitvā hatthe vā bābāya vā aññatarasmiṃ vā aṅgapaccaṅge ḍaseyya, so tato nidānaṃ maraṇaṃ vā nigaccheyya maraṇamattaṃ vā dukkhaṃ. Tam kissa hetu. Duggahītattā bhikkhave alagaddassa. Evam eva kho bhikkave idh' ekacce moghapurisā

[1] T. -desanā paṭivedhā.

[2] T. sikkhāpahāṇa-.

dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti suttaṃ pe vedallaṃ. Te taṃ dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇitvā tesaṃ dhammānaṃ paññāya atthaṃ na upaparikkhanti, tesaṃ te dhammā paññāya atthaṃ anupaparikkhataṃ na nijjhānaṃ khamanti ; te upārambhânisaṃsā c'eva dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti itivādappamokkhânisaṃsā ca ; yassa c'atthāya dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti, taṃ c'assa atthaṃ nânubhonti ; tesaṃ te dhammā duggahītā dīgharattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāya saṃvattanti. Taṃ kissa hetu. Duggahītattā bhikkhave dhammānan ti.

[**25**] Yā pana suggahītā sīlakkhandhâdipāripūriṃ yeva ākaṅkhamānena pariyāputā na upārambhâdihetu ayaṃ nissaraṇatthā. Yaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ : tesaṃ te dhammā suggahītā dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya saṃvattanti. Taṃ kissa hetu. Suggahītattā bhikkhave dhammānan ti.

Yaṃ pana pariññātakkhandho pahīṇakileso bhāvitamaggo paṭividdhâkuppo sacchikatanirodho khīṇâsavo kevalaṃ paveṇipālanatthāya vaṃsânurakkhaṇatthāya pariyāpuṇāti, ayaṃ bhaṇḍâgārikapariyattîti.

29. Vinaye pana suppaṭipanno bhikkhu sīlasampattiṃ nissāya tisso vijjā pāpuṇāti, tāsaṃ yeva ca tattha pabhedavacanato. Sutte suppaṭipanno samādhisampadaṃ nissāya cha abhiññā pāpuṇāti, tāsaṃ yeva ca tattha pabhedavacanato. Abhidhamme suppaṭipanno paññāsampadaṃ nissāya catasso paṭisambhidā pāpuṇāti, tāsaṃ ca tatth' eva pabhedavacanato. Evam etesu suppaṭipanno yathākkamaṃ imaṃ vijjāttayaṃ chaḷabhiññācatupaṭisambhidābhedaṃ sampattiṃ pāpuṇāti.

Vinaye pana duppaṭipanno anuññātasukhasamphassa-attharaṇapāpuraṇâdiphassasāmaññato paṭikkhittesu upādinnaphassâdisu anavajjasaññī hoti. Vuttam pi h'etaṃ : tathâhaṃ bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmi yathā ye 'me antarāyikā dhammā vuttā bhagavatā te paṭisevato nâlaṃ antarāyāyâti. Tato dussīlabhāvaṃ pāpuṇāti. [**26**] Sutte duppaṭipanno : cattāro 'me bhikkhave puggalā santo saṃvijjamānâti ādisu adhippāyaṃ ajānanto duggahītaṃ gaṇhāti. Yaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ : attanā duggahītena amhe c'eva abbhācikkhati attānañ ca khaṇati bahuñ ca apuññaṃ pasavatîti. Tato micchādiṭṭhitaṃ pāpuṇāti. Abhidhamme duppaṭipanno dhammacittaṃ atidhāvanto acinteyyāni pi cinteti. Tato

cittakkhepaṃ pāpuṇāti. Vuttaṃ h'etaṃ: cattār' imāni bhikkhave acinteyyāni, na cintetabbāni, yāṁ cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgi assâti. Evam etesu duppaṭipanno yathākkamena imaṃ dussīlabhāvamicchādiṭṭhitācittakkhepabhedaṃ vipattiṃ pāpuṇātîti. Ettāvatā,

> Pariyattibhedaṃ sampattiṃ vipattiṃ câpi yaṃ yahiṃ
> pāpuṇāti yathā bhikkhu tam pi sabbaṃ vibhāvaye ;

iti, ayam pi gāthā vuttatthā hoti. Evam pi nānappakārato piṭakāni ñatvā tesaṃ vasen' etaṃ Buddhavacanəṃ tividhan ti ñātabbaṃ.

30. Kathaṃ nikāyavasena pañcavidhaṃ. Sabbam eva c'etaṃ Dīghanikāyo, Majjhimanikāyo, Saṃyuttanikāyo, Aṅguttaranikāyo, Khuddakanikāyo ti pañcappabhedaṃ hoti.

Tattha katamo Dīghanikāyo. Tivaggasaṅgahītāni [1] Brahmajālâdīni catuttiṃsasuttāni.

> Catuttiṃs' eva suttantā tivaggo yassa saṅgaho
> esa Dīghanikāyo ti paṭhamo anulomiko.

Kasmā pan' esa Dīghanikāyo ti vuccati. Dīghappamāṇānaṃ suttānaṃ samūhato nivāsato ca, samūhanivāsā hi [27] nikāyo ti vuccanti. Nâhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekanikāyam pi samanupassāmi evaṃ cittaṃ yatha-y-idaṃ bhikkhave tiracchānagatā pāṇā, poṇikanikāyo,[2] cikkhallikanikāyo ti evam ādini c'ettha sādhakāni sāsanato ca [3] lokato ca. Evaṃ sesānam pi nikāyabhāve vacanattho veditabbo.

Katamo Majjhimanikāyo. Majjhimappamāṇāni pañcadasavaggasaṅgahāni Mūlapariyāyasuttâdīni diyaḍḍhasataṃ dve ca suttāni.

> Diyaḍḍhasatasuttantā dve ca suttāni yattha so
> nikāyo Majjhimo pañcadasavaggapariggaho.

Katamo Saṃyuttanikāyo. Devatāsaṃyuttâdivasena ṭhitāni Oghataraṇasuttâdīni satta suttasahassāni satta ca sutta satāni dvāsaṭṭhi ca suttāni.

> Satta suttasahassāni satta suttasatāni ca
> dvāsaṭṭhi c'eva suttantā eso Saṃyuttasaṅgaho.

Katamo Aṅguttaranikāyo. Ek'eka-aṅgâtirekavasena ṭhitāni

[1] T. -saṅgahāni. [2] T.E. poniki-. [3] T. omits.

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32. Kathaṃ dhammakkhandhavasena caturāsītisahassavidhaṃ. Sabbam eva c'etaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ :

Dvāsītiṃ Buddhato gaṇhiṃ dve sahassāni bhikkhuto
caturāsītisahassāni ye 'me dhammā pavattino ti ;

evaṃ paridīpitadhammakkhandhavasena caturāsītisahassappabhedaṃ hoti.

Tattha ekânusandhikaṃ suttaṃ eko dhammakkhandho. Yaṃ anekânusandhikaṃ tattha anusandhivasena dhammakkhandhagaṇanā. Gāthābandhesu pañhapucchanaṃ eko dhammakkhandho vissajjanaṃ eko. Abhidhamme ekam ekaṃ tikadukabhājanaṃ ekam ekañ ca cittavārabhājanaṃ ekam [1] eko dhammakkhandho. Vinaye atthi vatthu, atthi mātikā, atthi padabhājaniyaṃ, atthi antarâpatti,[2] atthi anāpatti, atthi tikaparicchedo.[3] Tattha ekam eko koṭṭhāso ekam eko dhammakkhandho ti veditabbo. Evaṃ dhammakkhandhavasena caturāsītisahassavidhaṃ.

33. Evam etaṃ abhedato rasavasena ekavidhaṃ, bhedato dhammavinayâdivasena duvidhâdibhedaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ saṅgāyantena Mahākassapapamukhena vasīgaṇena ayaṃ dhammo, ayaṃ vinayo, idaṃ paṭhamabuddhavacanaṃ, idaṃ majjhimabuddhavacanaṃ, idaṃ pacchimabuddhavacanaṃ, idaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ, idaṃ Suttapiṭakaṃ, idaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ, ayaṃ Dīghanikāyo pe ayaṃ Khuddakanikāyo, imāni suttâdīni navaṅgāni, imâni caturāsīti dhammakkhandhasahassāniti,[4] imaṃ pabhedaṃ vavatthapetvā 'va saṅgītaṃ.

[**30**] Na kevalaṃ ettakam eva aññam pi uddānasaṅgahavaggasaṅgaha - peyyālasaṅgaha - ekanipātadukanipātâdinipātasaṅgaha-saṃyuttasaṅgaha-paṇṇāsakasaṅgahâdiṃ anekavidhaṃ tīsu piṭakesu sandissamānaṃ [5] saṅgahappabhedaṃ vavatthapetvā evaṃ [6] sattahi māsehi saṅgītaṃ.

Saṅgītipariyosāne c'assa : idaṃ Mahākassapattherena dasabalassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassasahassaparimāṇaṃ kālaṃ pavattanasamatthaṃ katan ti sañjātappamodā sādhukāraṃ viya dadamānā ayaṃ mahāpaṭhavī udakapariyantaṃ katvā anekappakāraṃ kampi [7] saṅkampi sampakampi sampavedhi. Anekāni

[1] T. omits.
[2] Sum. āpatti ; Bp. adds atthi āpatti.
[3] T. tikacchedo ; P. paricchedo.
[4] T. -sahassānîti. Imaṃ.
[5] T. sandhissamānaṃ.
[6] O. resumes from here.
[7] P.E.V. omit.

ca acchariyāni pātur ahesun ti. Ayaṃ paṭhamamahāsaṅgiti nāma, yā loke :

Satchi pañcahi katā tena pañcasatâti ca,
thereh' eva katattā ca therikâti pavuccatîti.

Paṭhamamahāsaṅgīti niṭṭhitā.[1]

Dutiyamahāsaṅgītivaṇṇanā

34. Imissā pana paṭhamamahāsaṅgītiyā pavattamānāya vinayaṃ pucchantena āyasmatā Mahākassapena : paṭhamaṃ āvuso Upāli pārājikaṃ kattha paññattan ti evam ādivacanapariyosāne vatthum pi pucchi, nidānam pi pucchi, puggalam pi pucchîti ettha nidāne pucchite taṃ nidānaṃ āditoppabhuti vitthāretvā yena ca paññattaṃ yasmā ca paññattaṃ sabbam etaṃ kathetukāmena āyasmatā Upālittherena vuttaṃ : tena [**31**] samayena Buddho bhagavā Verāñjāyaṃ viharatîti sabbaṃ vattabbaṃ. Evam idaṃ āyasmatā Upālittherena vuttaṃ. Tañ ca pana paṭhamamahāsaṅgītikāle vuttan ti veditabbaṃ. Ettāvatā ca : idaṃ vacanaṃ kena vuttaṃ kadā ca vuttan ti etesaṃ padānaṃ attho pakāsito hoti.

Idāni : kasmā vuttan ti ettha vuccate. Yasmā ayam āyasmā Mahākassapattherena nidānaṃ puṭṭho tasmā pan' etaṃ [2] nidānaṃ āditoppabhuti vitthāretuṃ vuttan ti, evam idaṃ āyasmatā Upālittherena paṭhamamahāsaṅgītikāle vadantenâpi iminā kāraṇena vuttan ti veditabbaṃ. Ettāvatā ca : vuttaṃ yena yadā yasmâti imesaṃ mātikāpadānaṃ attho pakāsito hoti.

35. Idāni : dhāritaṃ [3] yena câbhataṃ, yatthappatiṭṭhitaṃ c'etam etaṃ vatvā vidhiṃ tato ti [3] etesaṃ atthappakāsanattaṃ idaṃ vuccati. Taṃ pan'etaṃ : tena samayena Buddho bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharatîti evam ādivacanapatimaṇḍitanidānaṃ [4] Vinayapiṭakaṃ kena dhāritaṃ kenâbhataṃ katthappatiṭṭhitan [5] ti vuccate. Ādito tāva idaṃ bhagavato

[1] T. omits this line.
[2] P.E.V. tena taṃ.
[3–3] This is given by T. as a stanza with a lacuna in pāda a ; cp. st. at Smp. 2 beginning : vuttaṃ yena yadā yasmā. All others have this sentence in prose.
[4] T. -paṭimaṇḍita- ; O. -pati-.
[5] T.O. kattha patiṭṭhitan ti.

sammukhā āyasmatā Upālittherena dhāritaṃ, tassa sammukhato aparinibbute Tathāgate chaḷabhiññâdibhedehi anekehi bhikkhusahassehi, parinibbute Tathāgate Mahākassapapamukhehi dhammasaṅgāhakattherehi.

Kenâbhatan ti, Jambudīpe tāva Upālittheram ādiṃ katvā ācariyaparamparāya yāva tatiyasaṅgīti tāva ābhataṃ. [**32**] Tatrâyaṃ ācariyaparamparā :

Upāli Dāsako c'eva Soṇako Siggavo tathā,
Tisso Moggaliputto ca pañc'ete vijitāvino,
paramparāya vinayaṃ dipe Jambusirivhaye
acchijjamānaṃ ānesuṃ tatiyo yāva saṅgaho.

36. Āyasmā hi Upāli imaṃ vinayavaṃsaṃ vinayatantiṃ vinayapaveṇiṃ bhagavato sammukhā uggahetvā bahunnaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ hadaye patiṭṭhāpesi. Tassa h'āyasmato santike vinayaṃ uggahetvā vinaye pakataññutaṃ pattesu puggalesu puthujjanasotāpannasakadāgāmi-anāgāmino gaṇanapathaṃ vītivattā, khīṇâsavānaṃ sahassam ekaṃ ahosi. Dāsakatthero pi tass'eva saddhivihāriko ahosi. So Upālittherassa sammukhā uggahetvā tath'eva vinayaṃ vācesi. Tassâpi āyasmato santike uggahetvā vinaye pakataññutaṃ pattā puthujjanâdayo gaṇanapathaṃ vītivattā, khīṇâsavānaṃ sahassam eva ahosi. Sonakatthero pana Dāsakattherassa saddhivihāriko ahosi. So pi attano upajjhāyassa Dāsakattherassa sammukhā uggahetvā tath'eva vinayaṃ vācesi. Tassâpi āyasmato santike uggahetvā vinaye pakataññutaṃ pattā puthujjanâdayo gaṇanapathaṃ vītivattā, khīṇâsavānaṃ sahassam eva ahosi.

37. Siggavatthero pi Sonakattherassa saddhivihāriko [1] ahosi. So pi attano upajjhāyassa Sonakat[1]therassa santike vinayaṃ uggahetvā arahantasahassassa dhuraggāho ahosi. Tassa panâyasmato santike uggahetvā vinaye pakataññutaṃ pattā puthujjanasotāpannasakadāgāmi-anāgāmino pi khīṇâsavâpi [**33**] ettakāni satānîti vā ettakāni sahassānîti vā aparicchinnā [2] ahesuṃ. Tadā kira Jambudīpe atimahābhikkhusamudayo [3] ahosi. Moggaliputtatissattherassa pana ānubhāvo tatiyasaṅgītiyaṃ pākaṭo bhavissati. Evam idaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ

[1–1] P.E.V. omit and read : saddhivihāriko therassa santike. . . .
[2] *Vide* T., p. 33, n. 1.
[3] P.E.V. -samūho.

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puṭṭhena Sabbakāmittherena vinayaṃ vissajjentena tāni dasa vatthūni vinicchitāni adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasamitaṃ.

Atha therā puna dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyissāmâti tipiṭakadhare pattapaṭisambhide sattasate bhikkhū uccinitvā Vesāliyaṃ Vālukârāme[1] sannisīditvā Mahākassapattherena saṅgāyitasadisam eva sabbaṃ sāsanamalaṃ sodhetvā puna piṭakavasena nikāyavasena aṅgavasena dhammakkhandhavasena ca sabbaṃ dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyiṃsu. Ayaṃ saṅgīti aṭṭhahi māsehi niṭṭhitā.

Yā loke :

Satchi sattahi katā tena sattasatâti ca
pubbe kataṃ upādāya dutiyā ti ca vuccatîti ;

sā panâyaṃ :

Yehi therehi saṅgītā saṅgīti tesu vissutā
Sabbakāmī ca Sāḷho ca Revato Khujjasobhito
[35] Yaso ca Sāṇasambhūto ete saddhivihārikā
therā Ānandattherassa[2] diṭṭhapubbā Tathāgataṃ.
Sumano Vāsabhagāmī ca ñeyyā saddhivihārikā
dve ime Anuruddhassa diṭṭhapubbā Tathāgataṃ.
Dutiyo pana saṅgīto yehi therehi saṅgaho
sabbe pi pannabhārā te katakiccā anāsavâti ;

ayaṃ dutiyasaṅgīti.

39. Evam imaṃ[3] dutiyasaṅgītiṃ saṅgāyitvā te therā : uppajjissati nu kho anāgate pi sāsanassa evarūpaṃ abbudan ti olokayamānā idaṃ addasaṃsu : ito vassasatassa upari aṭṭhārasame vasse Pāṭaliputte Dhammâsoko nāma rājā uppajjitvā sakala-Jambudīpe rajjaṃ kāressati.[4] So Buddhasāsane pasiditvā mahantaṃ lābhasakkāraṃ pavattayissati. Tato titthiyā lābhasakkāraṃ patthayamānā sāsane pabbajitvā sakaṃ sakaṃ diṭṭhiṃ paridīpessanti. Evaṃ sāsane mahantaṃ abbudaṃ uppajjissatîti.

Atha nesaṃ etad ahosi : kin nu kho mayaṃ etasmiṃ abbude uppanne sammukhā bhavissāma na bhavissāmâti. Atha sabb' eva tadā attano asammukhabhāvaṃ ñatvā : ko nu kho taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasametuṃ samattho bhavissatîti sakala-manussalokañ ca chakāmâvacaradevalokañ ca olokentā na

[1] T. Vāḷukā-
[2] P.E.V. Ānandatherassa.
[3] E. idaṃ.
[4] T. adds iti.

kañci [1] disvā Brahmaloke Tissaṃ nāma mahābrahmānaṃ addasaṃsu parittâyukaṃ uparibrahmalokûpapattiyā bhāvitamaggaṃ.

Disvāna nesaṃ etad ahosi: sace mayaṃ etassa brahmuno manussaloke nibbattanatthāya ussāhaṃ kareyyāma, addhā [**36**] esa Moggalibrāhmaṇassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahessati, tato ca mantehi palobhito nikkhamitvā pabbajissati, so evaṃ pabbajitvā sakalabuddhavacanaṃ uggahetvā adhigatapaṭisambhido hutvā titthiye madditvā taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchinitvā sāsanaṃ paggaṇhissatîti.

Te Brahmalokaṃ gantvā Tissaṃ mahābrahmānaṃ etad avocuṃ: ito vassasatassa upari aṭṭhārasame vasse sāsane mahantaṃ abbudaṃ uppajjissati, mayañ ca [2] sakalaṃ manussalokaṃ chakāmâvacaradevalokañ ca olokayamānā kañci sāsanaṃ paggahetuṃ [3] samatthaṃ adisvā Brahmalokaṃ vicinantā bhavantaṃ addasāma. Sādhu sappurisa manussaloke nibbattitvā dasabalassa sāsanaṃ paggaṇhituṃ [4] paṭiññaṃ [5] debîti. Evaṃ vutte mahābrahmā: ahaṃ kira sāsane uppannaṃ abbudaṃ sodhetvā sāsanaṃ paggahetuṃ samattho bhavissāmîti haṭṭhapahaṭṭho udagg'udaggo hutvā sādhûti paṭissuṇitvā paṭiññaṃ adāsi. Therā Brahmaloke taṃ karaṇiyaṃ tīretvā puna paccāgamiṃsu.

40. Tena kho pana samayena Siggavatthero ca Caṇḍavajjitthero [6] ca dve pi navakā honti daharabhikkhū tipiṭakadharā pattapaṭisambhidā khīṇâsavā, te taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ na sampāpuṇiṃsu.[7] Therā: tumbe āvuso amhākaṃ imasmiṃ adhikaraṇe no sahāyakā ahuvattha, tena vo idaṃ daṇḍakammaṃ hotu: Tisso nāma brahmā Moggalibrāhmaṇassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhissati, taṃ tumhākaṃ eko nīharitvā pabbājetu, eko Buddhavacanaṃ uggaṇhāpetûti vatvā sabbe pi yāvat āyukaṃ ṭhatvā:

Sabbakāmippabhutayo te pi therā mahiddhikā
aggikkhandhā va lokamhi jalitvā parinibbutā.
Dutiyaṃ saṅgahaṃ katvā visodhetvāna sāsanaṃ
[**37**] anāgate pi katvāna hetuṃ saddhammasuddhiyā;

[1] E. kiñei.
[2] E. omits.
[3] T. paggaṇhetuṃ.
[4] E. paggaṇhitvā dehîti
[5] E. omits paṭiññaṃ.
[6] T. Canda- throughout.
[7] T. pāpuṇiṃsu.

Khīṇâsavā vasippattā pabhinnapaṭisambhidā
aniccatāvasaṃ therā te pi nāma upâgatā.
Evaṃ aniccataṃ jammiṃ ñatvā durabhisambhavaṃ
taṃ pattuṃ vāyame dhiro yaṃ niccaṃ amataṃ padan ti.

Ettāvatā sabbâkārena dutiyasaṅgītivaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā hoti.[1]

Tatiyamahāsaṅgītivaṇṇanā

41. Tisso pi kho mahābrahmā Brahmalokā cavitā Moggali-brāhmaṇassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ aggahesi. Siggavatthero pi tassa paṭisandhigahaṇatoppabhuti[2] satta vassāni brāhmaṇassa gehaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Ekadivasam pi uluṅkamattaṃ vā yāguṃ kaṭacchumattaṃ vā bhattaṃ nâlattha. Sattannaṃ pana vassānaṃ accayena ekadivasaṃ: aticchatha bhante ti vacanamattaṃ alattha. Taṃ divasam eva brāhmaṇo pi bahiddhā kiñci karaṇīyaṃ katvā āgacchanto paṭipathe theraṃ disvā: bho pabbajita amhākaṃ gehaṃ agamitthâti[3] āha. Āma brāhmaṇa agamimhâti.[4] Api kiñei labhitthâti. Āma brāhmaṇa labhimhâti. So gehaṃ gantvā pucchi: tassa pabbajitassa kiñei adatthâti. Na kiñei adamhâti.

Brāhmaṇo dutiyadivase gharadvāre yeva nisīdi: ajja pabbajitaṃ musāvādena niggahessāmîti. Thero dutiyadivase brāhmaṇassa gharadvāraṃ sampatto. Brāhmaṇo theraṃ disvā'va evam āha: tumhe hiyyo amhākaṃ gehe kiñci aladdhā yeva, labhimhâti avocuttha. Vaṭṭati nu kho tumhākaṃ musāvādo ti. Thero āha: mayaṃ brāhmaṇa tumhākaṃ gehe sattavassāni, aticchathâti vacanamattam pi alabhitvā hiyyo, aticchathâti vacanamattaṃ labhimha. Ath' etaṃ paṭisanthāraṃ upādāya evam avocumhâti.

Brāhmaṇo cintesi: ime paṭisanthāramattam pi labhitvā: labhimhâti pasaṃsanti. Aññaṃ kiñei khādanīyaṃ[5] [38] bhojanīyaṃ[6] labhitvā kasmā nappasaṃsantîti pasīditvā attano atthāya paṭiyāditabhattato kaṭacchubhikkhaṃ tad upiyañ[7] ca vyañjanaṃ dāpetvā: imaṃ bhikkhaṃ sabbakālaṃ tumhe

[1] P. omits.
[2] T. -gahaṇato pabhuti.
[3] P.E.V. gehaṃ agamatthâti.
[4] T. agamamhâti.
[5] T. khādaniyaṃ.
[6] T. bhojaniyaṃ.
[7] T. tadūpiyañ.

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aham pi dāni taṃ ekaṃ pañhaṃ pucchāmi, vyākarissasi me ti. Āma bho pabbajita puccha, vyākarissāmîti.

Thero Cittayamake imaṃ pañhaṃ pucchi: yassa cittaṃ uppajjati na nirujjhati, tassa cittaṃ na nirujjhissati n'uppajjissati, yassa vā pana cittaṃ nirujjhissati n'uppajjissati, tassa cittaṃ uppajjati na nirujjhatîti. Māṇavo uddhaṃ vā adho vā sarituṃ asakkonto: kiṃ nāma bho pabbajita idan ti āha. Buddhamanto nāmâyaṃ māṇavâti. Sakkā panâyaṃ bho mayham pi dātun ti. Sakkā māṇava amhehi gahitapabbajjaṃ gaṇhantassa dātun ti.

[**40**] Tato māṇavo mātāpitaro upasaṅkamitvā āha: ayaṃ pabbajito Buddhamantaṃ nāma jānāti, na ca attano santike apabbajitassa deti. Ahaṃ etassa santike pabbajitvā mantaṃ uggaṇhissāmîti. Ath' assa mātāpitaro, pabbajitvā pi no putto mante gaṇhātu, gahetvā punâgamissatîti maññamānā: gaṇha puttâti anujāniṃsu.

43. Thero dārakaṃ pabbājetvā dvattiṃsâkārakammaṭṭhānaṃ [1] tāva ācikkhi. So tattha parikammaṃ karonto na cirass'eva sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāsi. Tato thero cintesi: sāmaṇero sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhito, abhabbo dāni sāsanato nivattituṃ. Sace pan' assâhaṃ kammaṭṭhānaṃ vaḍḍhetvā katheyyaṃ, arahattaṃ pāpuṇeyya, appossukko bhaveyya Buddhavacanaṃ gahetuṃ. Samayo dāni naṃ Caṇḍavajjittherassa [2] santikaṃ pesetun ti.

Tato naṃ āha: ehi tvaṃ sāmaṇera, therassa santikaṃ gantvā Buddhavacanaṃ uggaṇha. Mama vacanena ārogyaṃ puccha, evañ ca vadehi: upajjhāyo maṃ bhante tumhākaṃ santikaṃ pahiṇîti. Ko nāmo [3] te upajjhāyo ti ca vutte Siggavatthero nāma bhante ti vadeyyāsi. Ahaṃ ko nāmo [3] ti vutte evaṃ vadeyyāsi: mama upajjhāyo bhante tumhākaṃ nāmaṃ jānātîti.

Evaṃ bhante ti kho Tisso sāmaṇero theraṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā anupubbena Caṇḍavajjittherassa [2] santikaṃ gantvā vanditvā ekam antaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Thero [4]: sāmaṇera kuto [4] āgato 'siti āha. Upajjhāyo maṃ bhante tumhākaṃ

[1] T. dvatiṃsa-.
[2] T. Canda-.
[3] T. konāmo.
[4–4] T. Thero sāmaṇeraṃ pucchi: kuto. . . .

santikaṃ pahiṇîti. Ko nāmo [1] te upajjhāyo ti. Siggavatthero nāma bhante ti. Ahaṃ ko nāmo [1] ti. Mama upajjhāyo bhante tumhākaṃ nāmaṃ jānātîti.[2] Pattacīvaraṃ dāni paṭisāmehîti. Sādhu bhante ti sāmaṇero [**41**] pattacīvaraṃ paṭisāmetvā punadivase pariveṇaṃ sammajjitvā udakadantaponaṃ upaṭṭhapesi.[3]

Thero sammaṭṭhatthānaṃ [4] puna sammajji, taṃ udakaṃ chaḍḍetvā aññaṃ udakaṃ āhari, tañ ca dantakaṭṭhaṃ apanetvā aññaṃ dantakaṭṭhaṃ gaṇhi. Evaṃ satta divasāni katvā sattame divase puna pucchi. Sāmaṇero puna pi pubbe kathitasadisam eva kathesi. Thero : so vatâyaṃ brāhmaṇo ti sañjānitvā : kim atthaṃ āgato 'siti āha. Buddhavacanaṃ uggaṇhanatthāya bhante ti. Thero : uggaṇha dāni sāmaṇerâti vatvā punadivasatoppabhuti [5] Buddhavacanaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Tisso sāmaṇero 'va hutvā ṭhapetvā Vinayapiṭakaṃ sabbaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ uggaṇhi saddhiṃ aṭṭhakathāya. Upasampannakāle pana avassiko 'va samāno tipiṭakadharo ahosi.

Ācariy'upajjhāyā Moggaliputtatissattherassa hatthe sakalabuddhavacanaṃ patiṭṭhāpetvā [6] yāvat āyukaṃ ṭhatvā parinibbāyiṃsu. Moggaliputtatissatthero pi aparena samayena kammaṭṭhānaṃ vaḍḍhetvā arahattaṃ patto bahunnaṃ dhammavinayaṃ vācesi.

44. Tena kho pana samayena Bindusārassa rañño ekasataputtā ahesuṃ. Te sabbe Asoko attanā saddhiṃ ekamātikaṃ Tissakumāraṃ ṭhapetvā ghātesi. Ghātento cattāri vassāni anabhisitto 'va rajjaṃ kāretvā catunnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Tathāgatassa parinibbānato dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari aṭṭhārasame vasse sakala-Jambudīpe ekarajjâbhisekaṃ [**42**] pāpuṇi. Abhisekânubhāvena c'assa imā rāj'iddhiyo āgatā : mahāpaṭhaviyā heṭṭhā yojanappamāṇe āṇā pavattati, tathā upari ākāse, Anotattadahato aṭṭhahi kājehi soḷasa pānīyaghaṭe [7] divase divase devatā āharanti, yato sāsane uppannasaddho hutvā aṭṭhaghaṭe bhikkhusaṅghassa adāsi, dve ghaṭe saṭṭhimattānaṃ [8] sahassānaṃ tipiṭakadharabhikkhūnaṃ,[8] dve ghaṭe

[1] T. konāmo.
[2] P.E. omit ti.
[3] T. uṭṭhāpesi.
[4] P.E.V. sammajjitaṭṭhānaṃ.
[5] T. -divasato pabhuti.
[6] T. patiṭṭhapetvā.
[7] T. pāniya.
[8–8] E. -mattānaṃ tipiṭakabhikkhūnaṃ.

aggamahesiyā Asandhimittāya, cattāro ghaṭe attanā paribhuñji. Devatā eva, Himavante nāgalatādantakaṭṭhaṃ nāma atthi siniddhaṃ mudukaṃ rasavantaṃ, taṃ divase divase āharanti, yena rañño ca mahesiyā ca soḷasannañ ca nāṭakasahassānaṃ saṭṭhimattānañ ca bhikkhusahassānaṃ devasikaṃ dantaponakiccaṃ nippajjati.

Devasikam eva tassa devatā agadâmalakaṃ agadaharīṭakaṃ [1] suvaṇṇavaṇṇañ ca gandharasasampannaṃ ambapakkañ ca āharanti. Tathā Chaddantadahato pañcavaṇṇaṃ nivāsanapāpuraṇaṃ pītakavaṇṇaṃ hatthapuñchanapaṭṭakaṃ dibbañ ca pānakaṃ āharanti.[2] Devasikam eva pan'assa anuvilepanagandhaṃ,[3] pārupanatthāya asuttamayikaṃ sumanapupphapaṭaṃ, mahârahañ ca añjanaṃ nāgabhavanato nāgarājāno āharanti. [**43**] Chaddantadahe 'va [4] uṭṭhitassa sālino nava vāhasahassāni divase divase suvā āharanti, mūsikā nitthusakaṃ [5] karonti, eko pi khaṇḍataṇḍulo na hoti, rañño sabbaṭṭhānesu ayam eva taṇḍulo paribhogaṃ gacchati. Madhumakkhikā madhuṃ karonti. Kammārasālādīsu [6] acchā kūṭaṃ paharanti. Karavīkasakuṇā [7] āgantvā madhurassaraṃ vikūjantā rañño balikammaṃ karonti.

45. Imāhi iddhīhi samannāgato rājā ekadivasaṃ suvaṇṇasaṅkhalikabandhanaṃ pesetvā catunnaṃ Buddhānaṃ adhigatarūpadassanaṃ kappâyukaṃ Kālaṃ nāma nāgarājānaṃ ānayitvā setacchattassa heṭṭhā mahârahe pallaṅke nisīdāpetvā anekasatavaṇṇehi jalajathalajapupphehi suvaṇṇapupphehi ca pūjaṃ katvā sabbâlaṅkārapatimaṇḍitehi [8] soḷasahi nāṭakasahassehi samantato parikkhipitvā: anantañāṇassa tāva me saddhammavaracakkavattissa sammāsambuddhassa rūpaṃ imesaṃ akkhīnaṃ āpāthaṃ karohîti vatvā tena nimmitaṃ sakalasarīre vippakiṇṇapuññappabhāvanibbattâsīti-anuvyañjanapatimaṇḍitaṃ [9] dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇasassirīkatāya vikasitakamal'uppalapuṇḍarīkapatimaṇḍitam iva salilatalaṃ tārāgaṇarasmijālavisadavisphuritasobhāsamujjalam [10] iva

[1] T. -harītakaṃ.
[2] T. adds: pi nānāgandhaṃ.
[3] P.E. anulepana.
[4] T. ca.
[5] P.E. nitthusakaṇe.
[6] P.E. -sālāsu.
[7] T. karavika-
[8] P.E. add ca.
[9] P.E. -maṇḍitadvattiṃsa-.
[10] T. -rasmiṃ jāla-; P.E.V. -jālavisara-.

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kumārassa putto. Tatrâyaṃ ānupubbīkathā[1]: Bindusāra-raññño kira dubbalakāle yeva Asokakumāro attanā laddhaṃ Ujjenirajjaṃ pahāya āgantvāna sabbaṃ nagaraṃ attano hatthagataṃ katvā Sumanaṃ[2] rājakumāraṃ aggahesi. Taṃ divasam eva Sumanassa rājakumārassa Sumanā nāma rājadevī paripuṇṇagabbhā ahosi. Sā aññātakavesena nikkhamitvā avidūre aññataraṃ caṇḍālagāmaṃ sandhāya gacchantī jeṭṭha-kacaṇḍālassa gehato avidūre aññatarasmiṃ nigrodharukkhe adhivatthāya devatāya: ito ehi Sumane ti vadantiyā saddaṃ sutvā tassā samīpaṃ gatā.

Devatā attano ānubhāvena ekaṃ sālaṃ nimminitvā: ettha vasāhîti pādāsi. Sā taṃ sâlaṃ pāvisi. Gatadivase yeva[3] puttaṃ vijāyi. Sā tassa nigrodhadevatāya pariggahītattā[4] Nigrodho tv-eva nāmaṃ akāsi. Jeṭṭhakacaṇḍālo diṭṭhadiva-satoppabhuti[5] taṃ attano sāmidhītaraṃ viya maññamāno nibaddhavattaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Rājadhītā tattha satta vassāni vasi.

[**46**] Nigrodhakumāro pi sattavassiko[6] jāto. Tadā Mahā-varuṇatthero nāma eko arahā dārakassa hetusampadaṃ disvā tattha[7] viharamāno: sattavassiko dāni dārako, kālo naṃ pabbājetun ti cintetvā rājadhītāya ārocāpetvā Nigrodha-kumāraṃ pabbājesi. Kumāro khuragge yeva arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. So ekadivasaṃ pāto 'va sarīraṃ jaggetvā ācariy'upaj-jhāyavattaṃ katvā pattacīvaram ādāya: mātu-upāsikāya gehadvāraṃ gacchāmîti nikkhami. Mātunivesanaṭṭhānañ[8] c'assa dakkhiṇadvārena nagaraṃ[9] pavisitvā nagaramajjhena gantvā pācīnadvārena nikkhamitvā gantabbaṃ hoti.

48. Tena ca samayena Asoko dhammarājā pācīnadisâbhi-mukho sīhapañjare caṅkamati. Taṅkhaṇaṃ yeva Nigrodho rājaṅganaṃ sampāpuṇi sant'indriyo santamānaso yugamattaṃ pekkhamāno. Tena vuttaṃ: ekadivasaṃ sīhapañjare ṭhito addasa Nigrodhaṃ sāmaṇeraṃ rājaṅgaṇena gacchantaṃ dan-taṃ guttaṃ sant'indriyaṃ iriyāpathasampannan ti. Disvā pan'assa etad ahosi: ayaṃ jano sabbo pi vikkhittacitto

[1] T. anupubbikathā.
[2] P.E.V. add nāma.
[3] P.E.V. add ca.
[4] T. pariggahitattā.
[5] T. divasato pabhuti.
[6] T. satta vassiko.
[7] P.E.V. omit.
[8] T. mātu nivesana-.
[9] T.O. naṅgaraṃ.

bhantamigapaṭibhāgo, ayaṃ pana dārako avikkhittacitto [1] ativiya c'assa [2] ālokitavilokitaṃ sammiñjanapasāraṇañ ca sobhati, addhā etassa abbhantare lokuttaradhammo bhavissatîti, rañño saha dassanen'eva sāmaṇere cittaṃ pasīdi. Pemaṃ saṇṭhahi.

Kasmā. Pubbe [3] kira puññakaraṇakāle esa rañño jeṭṭhabhātā vāṇijako ahosi. Vuttam pi c'etaṃ :

[47] Pubbe va sannivāsena paccuppannahitena vā
evaṃ taṃ jāyate pemaṃ uppalaṃ va yathodake ti.

Atha rājā sañjātapemo sabahumāno etaṃ sāmaṇeraṃ pakkosathâti amacce pesesi. Te aticirāyantîti puna dve tayo pesesi, turitaṃ āgacchatûti.

Sāmaṇero attano pakatiyā yeva agamāsi. Rājā patirūpaṃ āsanaṃ ñatvā nisīdathâti āha. So ito c'ito ca viloketvā : n'atthi dāni aññe bhikkhûti samussitasetacchattaṃ rājapallaṅkaṃ upasaṅkamitvā pattagahaṇatthāya rañño ākāraṃ dassesi. Rājā taṃ pallaṅkasamīpaṃ upagacchantaṃ eva disvā cintesi : ajj' eva dāni ayaṃ sāmaṇero imassa gehassa sāmiko bhavissatîti. Sāmaṇero rañño hatthe pattaṃ datvā pallaṅkaṃ abhirūhitvā nisīdi. Rājā attano atthāya sampāditaṃ sabbaṃ yāgukhajjakabhattavikatiṃ upanāmesi. Sāmaṇero khādaniyabhojaniyaṃ [4] attano yāpanīyamattam [5] eva sampaṭicchi. Bhattakiccâvasāne rājā āha : satthārā tumhākaṃ dinnovādaṃ [6] jānāthâti.

Jānāmi [7] mahārāja ekadesenâti. Tâta, mayham pi naṃ kathehîti. Sādhu mahārājâti rañño anurūpaṃ Dhammapade Appamādavaggaṃ anumodanatthāya abhāsi. Rājâ pana : appamādo amatapadaṃ pamādo maccuno padan ti sutvā 'va : aññātaṃ tāta pariyosāpehîti āha. Anumodanâvasāne : aṭṭha te tāta dhuvabhattāni [8] dammîti âha. Sāmaṇero âha : etāni ahaṃ upajjhāyassa dammi mahārājâti. Ko ayaṃ tāta upajjhāyo nāmâti. Vajjā-vajjaṃ disvā codetā sāretā mahārājâti. Aññāni pi te tāta aṭṭha dammîti [48]. Etāni ācariyassa dammi mahārājâti. Ko ayaṃ tāta ācariyo nāmâti. Imasmiṃ sāsane sikkhitabbakadhammesu patiṭṭhāpetā mahārājâti. Sādhu tāta

[1] P.E.V. avikkhitto.
[2] P.E.V. omit c'.
[3] T. adds pi.
[4] P.E.V. omit.
[5] P.E.V. -mattakam eva.
[6] T. dinna-ovādaṃ.
[7] P.E.V. jānāma.
[8] P.E.V. dhurabhattāni.

aññāni pi te aṭṭha dammîti. Etāni bhikkhusaṅghassa dammi mahārājâti. Ko ayaṃ tāta bhikkhusaṅgho nāmâti. Yaṃ nissāya mahārāja amhākaṃ ācariy'upajjhāyānañ ca mamañ ca pabbajjā ca upasampadā câti.

Rājā bhiyyosomattāya tuṭṭhacitto āha: aññāni pi te tāta aṭṭha dammîti. Sāmaṇero sādhûti sampaṭicchitvā punadivase dvattiṃsa bhikkhū gahetvā rāj'antepuraṃ pavisitvā bhattakiccaṃ akāsi. Rājā: aññe pi dvattiṃsa bhikkhū tumhehi saddhiṃ sve [1] bhikkhaṃ gaṇhantûti eten'eva upāyena divase divase vaḍḍhāpento saṭṭhisahassānaṃ brāhmaṇaparibbājakâdinaṃ bhattaṃ upacchinditvā antonivesane saṭṭhisahassānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ niccabhattaṃ paṭṭhapesi Nigrodhatthere gaten'eva pasādena.

Nigrodhatthero pi rājānaṃ saparisaṃ tīsu saraṇesu pañcasu ca sīlesu patiṭṭhāpetvā Buddhasāsane pothujjanikena pasādena acalappasādaṃ katvā patiṭṭhāpesi.

Puna rājā Asokârâmaṃ nāma mahāvihāraṃ kārāpetvā saṭṭhisahassānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ niccabhattaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Sakala-Jambudīpe caturāsītiyā nagarasahassesu [2] caturāsīti vihārasahassāni kārāpesi caturāsītisahassacetiyapatimaṇḍitāni, dhammen'eva no adhammena.

49. Ekadivasaṃ kira rājā Asokârāme mahādānaṃ datvā saṭṭhisahassa-saṅkhassa [3] bhikkhusaṅghassa majjhe nisajja saṅghaṃ catuhi [4] paccayehi pavāretvā imaṃ pañhaṃ pucchi: bhante bhagavatā desitadhammo nāma kittako hotîti. Aṅgato mahārāja navaṅgāni,[5] khandhato caturāsītidhammakkhandhasahassanîti. Rājā dhamme pasīditvā ekam ekaṃ dhammakkhandhaṃ ek'ekavihārena pūjessāmîti, [**49**] ekadivasam eva channavutikoṭidhanaṃ vissajjetvā amacce āṇāpesi: etha bhaṇe ekam ekasmiṃ nagare ekam ekaṃ vihāraṃ kārāpentā caturāsītiyā nagarasahassesu [2] caturāsītivihārasahassāni kārāpethâti, sayañ ca Asokârāme Asokamahāvihāratthāya kammaṃ paṭṭhapesi.

Saṅgho Indaguttattheraṃ nāma mahiddhikaṃ mahânubhāvaṃ khīṇâsavaṃ navakammâdhiṭṭhāyakaṃ adāsi. Thero yaṃ

[1] P.E.V. yeva.
[2] T.O. naṅgara.
[3] P. omits -saṅkhassa.
[4] T.O. catūhi.
[5] P.E. navā aṅgāni.

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mahā, ahaṃ kira deyyadhammena sāsanaṃ paggaṇhāmi.[1] Kiṃ panâhaṃ evaṃ sati sāsanassa dāyādo homi na homîti.

51. Tato bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pucchi: bhavāmi nu kho ahaṃ bhante sāsanassa dāyādo ti. Tato Moggaliputtatissatthero rañño idaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā rājaputtassa Mahindassa upanissayasampattiṃ sampassamāno: sace ayaṃ kumāro pabbajissati sāsanassa ativiya vuddhi bhavissatîti cintetvā rājānaṃ etad avoca: na kho mahārāja ettāvatā sāsanassa[2] dāyādo hoti, api ca kho paccayadāyako ti vā upaṭṭhāko[3] ti vā saṅkhaṃ gacchati. Yo pi hi mahārāja paṭhavito yāva Brahmalokaparimāṇaṃ paccayarāsiṃ dadeyya so pi sāsane dāyādo ti saṅkhaṃ na gacchatîti. Atha kathaṃ carahi bhante sāsanassa dāyādo hotîti. Yo hi koci mahārāja [**51**] aḍḍho vā daḷiddo[4] vā attano orasaṃ puttaṃ pabbājeti, ayaṃ vuccati mahārāja dāyādo sāsanassâti. Evaṃ vutte Asoko rājā: ahaṃ kira evarūpaṃ pariccāgaṃ katvā pi n'eva sāsanassa dāyādabhāvaṃ patto 'sin[5] ti sāsane dāyādabhāvaṃ patthayamāno ito c'ito ca viloketvā addasa Mahindam kumāram[6] avidūre thitam. Disvā pan'assa etad ahosi: kiñcâpi ahaṃ imaṃ kumāraṃ Tissakumārassa pabbajitakālatoppabhuti[7] oparajje patiṭṭhāpetukāmo,[8] atha kho oparajjato pi pabbajjā va uttamâti.

Tato kumāraṃ āha: sakkhissasi tvaṃ tāta pabbajitun ti. Kumāro pana pakatiyā pi Tissakumārassa pabbajitakālatoppabhuti[7] pabbajitukāmo va rañño vacanaṃ sutvā ativiya pāmojjajāto[9] hutvā āha: pabbajāmi deva, maṃ pabbājetvā tumhe sāsane dāyādā[10] hothâti.

Tena ca samayena rājadhītā Saṅghamittā pi tasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne ṭhitā hoti. Tassā ca sāmiko Aggibrahmā nāma kumāro uparājena Tissakumārena saddhiṃ pabbajito hoti. Rājā taṃ[11] disvā āha: tvam pi amma pabbajituṃ sakkhissasîti. Sādhu tāta sakkomîti. Rājā puttānaṃ manaṃ labhitvā pahaṭṭhacitto bhikkhusaṅghaṃ etad avoca: bhante ime dārake pabbājetvā maṃ sāsane dāyādaṃ karothâti.

[1] T.O. add iti.
[2] T.O. omit.
[3] T.O. upaṭṭhāyako.
[4] T. daliddo.
[5] T.O. omit.
[6] T.O. Mahindakumāraṃ.
[7] T.O. kālato pabhuti.
[8] E. patiṭṭhapetukāmo.
[9] T.O. pāmujja-.
[10] T.O.E. dāyādo.
[11] P.E.V. naṃ.

52. Saṅgho raññho vacanaṃ sampaṭicchitvā kumāraṃ Moggaliputtatissattherena upajjhāyena Mahādevattherena ca ācariyena pabbājesi.[1] Majjhantikattherena ācariyena upasampādesi. Tadā kira kumāro paripuṇṇavīsativasso va hoti. So tasmiṃ yeva upasampadāsīmāmaṇḍale [2] saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Saṅghamittāya pi rājadhītāya ācariyā Āyupālittherī nāma, upajjhāyā pana Dhammapālittherī nāma ahosi. [**52**] Tadā Saṅghamittā aṭṭhārasavassā [3] hoti. Taṃ pabbajitamattaṃ tasmiṃ yeva sīmāmaṇḍale sikkhāya patiṭṭhāpesuṃ. Ubhinnaṃ pabbajitakāle rājā chavassâbhiseko hoti.

Atha Mahindatthero upasampannakālatoppabhuti [4] attano upajjhāyass'eva santike dhammañ ca vinayañ ca pariyāpuṇanto dve pi saṅgītiyo ārūḷhaṃ tipiṭakasaṅgahītaṃ sâṭṭhakathaṃ [5] sabbaṃ theravādaṃ [6] tiṇṇaṃ vassānaṃ abbhantare uggahetvā attano upajjhāyassa antevāsikānaṃ sahassamattānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pāmokkho ahosi.

53. Tadā Asoko dhammarājā navavassābhiseko hoti. Raññho pana aṭṭhavassâbhisekakāle yeva Kontiputtatissatthero [7] vyādhipaṭikammatthaṃ bhikkhācāravattena āhiṇḍanto pasatamattaṃ sappiṃ alabhitvā vyādhibalena parikkhīṇâyusaṅkhāro bhikkhusaṅghaṃ appamādena ovaditvā ākāse pallaṅkena nisīditvā tejodhātuṃ samāpajjitvā parinibbāyi. Rājā taṃ pavattiṃ sutvā therassa sakkāraṃ katvā : mayi nāma rajjaṃ kārente evaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ paccayā dullabhâti nagarassa [8] catusu dvāresu pokkharaṇiyo kārāpetvā bhesajjassa pūrāpetvā dāpesi.

54. Tena kira samayena Pāṭaliputtassa catusu dvāresu cattāri satasahassāni, sabhāyaṃ satasahassan ti divase divase pañca satasahassāni raññho uppajjanti ; tato rājā Nigrodhattherassa devasikaṃ satasahassaṃ vissajjesi,[9] Buddhassa cetiye gandhamālâdīhi pūjanatthāya satasahassaṃ, dhammassa satasahassaṃ, taṃ dhammadharānaṃ bahussutānaṃ catupaccayatthāya upanīyati, saṅghassa satasahassaṃ, catusu

[1] E. pabbajjāpesi.
[2] P.E.V. upasampadāmaṇḍale.
[3] T.O. aṭṭhārasa vassāni.
[4] T.O. -kālato pabhuti.
[5] T.O. saṭṭhakathaṃ.
[6] T.O. sabbattheravādaṃ.
[7] P. Kuntaputta- ; E. Kontaputta-.
[8] T.O. naṅgarassa.
[9] P.E. vissajeti.

dvāresu bhesajjatthāya satasahassaṃ. Evaṃ sāsane uḷāro [**53**] lābhasakkāro nibbatti. Titthiyā parihīnalābhasakkārā antamaso ghāsacchādanam pi alabhantā lābhasakkāraṃ patthayamānā sāsane pabbajitvā sakāni sakāni diṭṭhigatāni: ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo ti dīpenti. Pabbajjaṃ alabhamānā pi sayam eva muṇḍetvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā vihāresu vicarantā uposatham pi pavāraṇam pi saṅghakammam pi gaṇakammam pi pavisanti. Bhikkhū tehi saddhiṃ uposathaṃ na karonti.

55. Tadā Moggaliputtatissatthero: uppannaṃ dāni idaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ, taṃ na cirass'eva kakkhalaṃ bhavissati, na kho pan'etaṃ sakkā imesaṃ majjhe vasantena vūpasametun ti Mahindattherassa gaṇaṃ niyyādetvā [1] attano [2] phāsukavihārena viharitukāmo Ahogaṅgāpabbataṃ [3] agamāsi.

Te pi kho titthiyā bhikkhusaṅghena dhammena vinayena satthusāsanena niggayhamānā pi dhammavinayânulomāya paṭipattiyā asaṇṭhahantā [4] anekarūpaṃ sāsanassa abbudañ ca malañ ca kaṇṭakañ ca samuṭṭhāpesuṃ. Keci aggiṃ paricaranti, keci pañcatāpe tappanti,[5] keci ādiccaṃ anuparivattanti, keci dhammañ ca vinayañ ca vobhindissāmâti paggaṇhiṃsu.

Tadā bhikkhusaṅgho na tehi saddhiṃ uposathaṃ vā pavāraṇaṃ vā akāsi. Asokârāme satta vassāni uposatho upacchijji. Raññho pi etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. Rājā ekaṃ amaccaṃ āṇāpesi: vihāraṃ gantvā adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasametvā uposathaṃ kārāpehîti. Amacco rājānaṃ paṭipucchituṃ avisahanto aññe amacce upasaṅkamitvā āha: rājā maṃ vihāraṃ gantvā adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasametvā uposathaṃ kārāpehîti pahiṇi. Kathan nu kho adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasammatîti.[6] Te [**54**] āhaṃsu: mayaṃ evaṃ sallakkhema: yathā nāma paccantaṃ vūpasamentā core ghātenti evam evaṃ ye uposathaṃ na karonti te mārāpetukāmo rājā bhavissatîti. Atha so amacco vihāraṃ gantvā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ sannipātetvā āha: ahaṃ raññā, uposathaṃ kārāpehîti pesito, karotha dāni bhante uposathan

[1] P.E.V. nīyādetvā.
[2] P.E.V. attanā.
[3] P. Ahogaṅga-.
[4] T.O. asandhahantā.
[5] Bp. pañcâtapena tāpenti; E. tāpenti.
[6] T.O. vūpasamatîti.

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Asokârāmagamanīyaṃ maggaṃ alaṅkārāpetvā kumāraṃ chaṇavesaṃ gāhāpetvā alaṅkatāya senāya parivārāpetvā vihāraṃ nesi. Yuvarājā kira pabbajissatîti sutvā bahū bhikkhū [1] pattacīvarāni paṭiyādesuṃ. Kumāro padhānagharaṃ gantvā Mahādhammarakkhitattherass' eva santike pabbaji saddhiṃ purisasatasahassena. Kumārassa pana anupabbajitānaṃ [2] gaṇanaparicchedo n'atthi.

Kumāro raññho catuvassâbhisekakāle pabbajito. Ath'añño pi raññho bhāgineyyo Saṅghamittāya sāmiko Aggibrahmā nāma kumāro atthi. Saṅghamittā tassa ekam eva puttaṃ vijāyi. [**56**] So pi: yuvarājā pabbajito ti sutvā rājānaṃ upasaṅkamitvā: aham pi deva pabbajissāmîti yāci. Pabbaja tātâti ca raññā anuññāto taṃ divasam eva pabbaji.

> Evaṃ [3] anupabbajito [4] uḷāravibhavena khattiyajanena,[5] raññho kaṇiṭṭhabhātā Tissatthero ti viññeyyo.

57. So taṃ amaccaṃ tathā vippaṭipannaṃ disvā cintesi: na rājā there māretuṃ [6] pahiṇeyya, addhā imass'ev'etaṃ amaccassa duggahītaṃ bhavissatîti gantvā sayaṃ tassa āsanne āsane nisīdi. So theraṃ sañjānitvā satthaṃ nipātetuṃ avisahanto gantvā raññho ārocesi: ahaṃ deva uposathaṃ kātuṃ anicchantānaṃ ettakānaṃ nāma bhikkhūnaṃ sīsāni pātesiṃ, atha ayyassa Tissattherassa paṭipāṭi sampattā, kin ti karomîti. Rājā sutvā 'va: are, kiṃ pana tvaṃ mayā bhikkhū ghātetuṃ pesito ti tāvad ev'assa [7] sarīre uppannaḍāho hutvā vihāraṃ gantvā there bhikkhū pucchi: ayaṃ bhante amacco mayā anāṇatto va evaṃ akāsi, kassa nu kho iminā pāpena bhavitabban ti.

Ekacce therā: ayaṃ tava vacanena akāsi, tuyh'etaṃ pāpan ti āhaṃsu. Ekacce: ubhinnam pi vo etaṃ pāpan ti āhaṃsu. Ekacce evaṃ āhaṃsu: kiṃ pana te mahārāja atthi cittaṃ, ayaṃ gantvā bhikkhū ghātetûti. N'atthi bhante, kusalâdhippāyo ahaṃ pesesiṃ, samaggo bhikkhusaṅgho uposathaṃ karotûti. Sace tvaṃ kusalâdhippāyo, n'atthi tuyhaṃ pāpaṃ, amaccass'ev'etaṃ pāpan ti.

[1] T. bahubhikkhū. [2] P.E. anupabbajitakānaṃ. [3] T.O. give st. in prose.
[4] T.O. -pabbajita-ulāra-. Most texts agree on -pabbajito to conform to the Āryā metre.
[5] T.O. khattiyajātena. [6] P.E.V. mārāpetuṃ. [7] P.E.V. omit assa.

58. Rājā dveḷhakajāto āha: atthi nu kho bhante koci bhikkhu mam' etaṃ dveḷhakaṃ chinditvā sāsanaṃ paggahetuṃ samattho ti. Atthi mahārāja Moggaliputtatissatthero nāma, [**57**] so te imaṃ dveḷhakaṃ chinditvā sāsanaṃ paggaṇhituṃ samattho ti. Rājā tadah'eva cattāro dhammakathike ek'ekaṃ bhikkhusahassaparivāraṃ cattāro ca amacce ek'ekaṃ purisasahassaparivāraṃ: theraṃ gaṇhitvā āgacchathâti pesesi.

Te gantvā: rājā pakkosatîti āhaṃsu. Thero nâgacchi.[1] Dutiyam pi kho rājā aṭṭha dhammakathike aṭṭha ca amacce sahassasahassaparivāre yeva pesesi: rājā bhante pakkosatîti vatvā gaṇhitvā 'va āgacchathâti. Te tath'eva āhaṃsu. Dutiyam pi thero nâgacchi.[1] Rājā there pucchi: ahaṃ bhante dvikkhattuṃ pahiṇiṃ, kasmā thero nâgacchatîti. Rājā pakkosatîti vuttattā mahārāja nâgacchati,[2] evaṃ pana vutte āgaccheyya: sāsanaṃ bhante osīdati, amhākaṃ sāsanaṃ paggaṇhanatthāya sahāyakā hothâti. Atha rājā tathā vatvā soḷasa dhammakathike soḷasa ca amacce sahassasahassaparivāre pesesi. Bhikkhū ca paṭipucchi: mahallako nu kho bhante thero daharo nu kho ti. Mahallako mahārājâti. Vayhaṃ vā sivikaṃ vā abhirūhissati[3] bhante ti. Nâbhirūhissati[3] Kuhiṃ bhante thero vasatîti. Upari Gaṅgāya mahārājâti. Rājā āha: tena hi bhaṇe nāvāsaṅghāṭaṃ bandhitvā tattha theraṃ nisīdāpetvā dvīsu pi[4] tīresu ārakkhaṃ saṃvidhāya theraṃ ānethâti. Bhikkhū ca amaccā ca therassa santikaṃ gantvā raññño sāsanaṃ ārocesuṃ. Thero sutvā: yaṃ[5] kho ahaṃ mūlato paṭṭhāya sāsanaṃ paggaṇhissāmîti pabbajito 'mhi, ayaṃ dāni me so kālo anuppatto ti cammakhaṇḍaṃ gaṇhitvā 'va uṭṭhahi.

59. Atha [**58**] thero sve Pāṭaliputtaṃ sampāpuṇissatîti rattibhāge rājā supinaṃ addasa. Evarūpo supino ahosi: sabbaseto hatthināgo āgantvā rājānaṃ sīsato paṭṭhāya parāmasitvā dakkhiṇahatthe aggahesi. Punadivase rājā supinajjhāyake pucchi: mayā evarūpo supino diṭṭho, kiṃ me bhavissatîti. Eko taṃ mahārāja samaṇanāgo dakkhiṇahatthe gaṇhissatîti.[6] Atha[7] rājā tāvad eva: thero āgato ti sutvā

[1] T.O. nâgañchi.
[2] T.O. add iti.
[3] P.E.V.-ruhissati.
[4] T.O. ca.
[5] T.O. ayaṃ.
[6] P.E. add āha.
[7] P.E.V. omit.

Gaṅgātīraṃ gantvā nadiṃ otaritvā abbhuggacchanto jāṇumatte udake theraṃ sampāpuṇitvā therassa nāvāto otarantassa hatthaṃ adāsi. Thero rājānaṃ dakkhiṇahatthe aggahesi. Taṃ disvā asiggāhakā [1] therassa sisaṃ pātessāmâti kosato [2] asiṃ abbāhiṃsu. Kasmā. Etaṃ kira cārittaṃ rājakulesu, yo rājānaṃ hatthe gaṇhāti tassa asinā sisaṃ pātetabban ti. Rājā chāyaṃ yeva disvā āha: pubbe pi ahaṃ bhikkhūsu viraddhakāraṇā [3] assāsaṃ [4] na vindāmi, mā kho there virajjhitthâti. Thero pana kasmā rājānaṃ hatthe aggahesîti. Yasmā raññā pañhaṃ pucchanatthāya pakkosāpito tasmā: antevāsiko me ayan ti aggahesi.

60. Rājā theraṃ attano uyyānaṃ netvā bāhirato tikkhattuṃ parivārāpetvā ārakkhaṃ ṭhapetvā sayam eva therassa pāde dhovitvā telena makkhetvā therassa santike nisīditvā: paṭibalo nu kho thero mama kaṅkhaṃ chinditvā uppannaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasametvā sāsanaṃ paggaṇhitun ti vīmaṃsanatthāya: ahaṃ bhante ekaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ daṭṭhukāmo ti āha. Katamaṃ [5] pāṭihāriyaṃ daṭṭhukāmo 'si mahārājâti. Paṭhavikampanaṃ bhante ti. Sakalapaṭhavikampanaṃ daṭṭhukāmo 'si mahārāja udāhu [6] padesapaṭhavi[**59**]kampanan ti. Kataraṃ pan'ettha bhante dukkaran ti. Kin nu kho mahārāja kaṃsapātiyā udakapuṇṇāya sabbaṃ udakaṃ kampetuṃ dukkaraṃ udāhu upaḍḍhan ti. Upaḍḍhaṃ bhante ti. Evam eva kho mahārāja padesapaṭhavikampanaṃ dukkaran ti. Tena hi bhante padesapaṭhavikampanaṃ passissamâti. Tena hi mahārāja samantato yojane yojane puratthimāya disāya ekena cakkena sīmaṃ akkamitvā ratho tiṭṭhatu, dakkhiṇāya disāya dvīhi pādehi sīmaṃ akkamitvā asso tiṭṭhatu, pacchimāya disāya ekena pādena sīmaṃ akkamitvā puriso tiṭṭhatu, uttarāya disāya upaḍḍhabhāgena sīmaṃ akkamitvā ekā udakapāti [7] tiṭṭhatûti. Rājā tathā kārāpesi. Thero abhiññāpādakaṃ catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā [8] vuṭṭhāya: rājā passatûti yojanappamāṇaṃ paṭhavicalanaṃ adhiṭṭhahi. Puratthimāya disāya rathassa antosīmāya ṭhito 'va pādo [9] cali, itaro na cali, evaṃ dakkhiṇapacchimadisāsu assapurisānaṃ

[1] T.O. asiggāhā.
[2] T.O. kosito.
[3] T.O. viruddhakāraṇā.
[4] P.E.V. assādaṃ.
[5] T.O. kataraṃ.
[6] T.O. omit.
[7] T.O. udakapātī.
[8] P.E.V. add tato.
[9] T.O. cakkapādo.

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bhikkhusamūhaṃ pakkosāpetvā pucchi : kiṃvādī sammāsambuddho ti. Tato sassatavādino : sassatavādîti āhaṃsu ; ekaccasassatikā - pe [1] - antânantikā - pe - amarāvikkhepikā - pe - adhiccasamuppanikā - pe - saññīvādā - pe - asaññīvādā - pe - [**61**]n'evasaññīnâsaññīvādā - pe - ucchedavādā - pe - diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā : diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādîti [2] āhaṃsu. Rājā paṭhamam eva samayassa uggahītattā [3] : na ime bhikkhū, aññatitthiyā ime ti ñatvā tesaṃ setakāni vatthāni datvā uppabbājesi.[4] Te sabbe pi saṭṭhisahassā ahesuṃ.

Ath'aññe bhikkhū pakkosāpetvā pucchi : kiṃvādī bhante sammāsambuddho ti. Vibhajjavājī mahārājâti. Evaṃ vutte rājā theraṃ pucchi : vibhajjavādī bhante sammāsambuddho ti. Āma mahārājâti. Tato rājā : suddhaṃ dāni bhante sāsanaṃ, karotu bhikkhusaṅgho uposathan ti ārakkhaṃ datvā nagaraṃ [5] pāvisi. Samaggo saṅgho sannipatitvā uposathaṃ akāsi. Tasmiṃ sannipāte saṭṭhibhikkhusatasahassāni ahesuṃ. Tasmiṃ samāgame Moggaliputtatissatthero parappavādaṃ maddamāno Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṃ abhāsi. Tato saṭṭhisatasahassasaṅkhāsu [6] bhikkhūsu uccinitvā tipiṭakapariyattidharānaṃ pabhinnapaṭisambhidānaṃ tevijjâdibhedānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ sahassam ekaṃ gahetvā yathā Mahākassapatthero ca Kākaṇḍakaputto Yasatthero ca dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyiṃsu, evam eva dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyanto sabbaṃ sāsanamalaṃ visodhetvā tatiyasaṅgītiṃ akāsi. Saṅgītipariyosāne anekappakāraṃ paṭhavī akampittha. Ayaṃ saṅgīti navahi māsehi niṭṭhitā. Yā loke :

> Katā bhikkhusahassena tasmā sāhassikâti [7] ca,
> purimā dve upādāya tatiyâti ca vuccatîti ;

ayaṃ tatiyasaṅgīti.

Ācariyaparamparāvaṇṇanā

63. Ettāvatā ca : kenâbhatan ti etassa pañhassa vissajjanatthaṃ yad avocumha : Jambudīpe tāva Upālittheraṃ ādiṃ

[1] T.O. omit -pe- throughout.
[2] T.O. omit.
[3] T.O. uggahitattā.
[4] T.O. upapabbājesi.
[5] T.O. naṅgaraṃ.
[6] T.O. -saṅkheyyesu.
[7] T.O. sahassikā.

katvā [**62**] ācariyaparamparāya yāva tatiyasaṅgīti tāva ābhataṃ. Tatrâyaṃ ācariyaparamparā :

Upāli Dāsako c'eva Soṇako [1] Siggavo tathā,
Tisso Moggaliputto ca pañc'ete vijitāvino,
paramparāya vinayaṃ dipe Jambusirivhaye
acchijjamānaṃ ānesuṃ tatiyo yāva saṅgaho ti ;

tass'attho ettavatā pakāsito [2] hoti. Tatiyasaṅgahato pana uddhaṃ imaṃ dīpaṃ Mahindâdīhi ābhataṃ. Mahindato uggahetvā kañci [3] kālaṃ Ariṭṭhattherâdīhi ābhataṃ, tato yāva ajjatanā tesaṃ yeva antevāsikaparamparābhūtāya [4] ācariyaparamparāya ābhatan ti veditabbaṃ. Yathâhu porāṇā :

Tato Mahindo Iṭṭhiyo Uttiyo Sambalo pi ca
. . . . . .[5] Bhaddanāmo ca paṇḍito ;
Ete nāgā mahāpaññā Jambudipā idhâgatā :
vinayaṃ te vācayiṃsu piṭakaṃ Tambapaṇṇiyā.
Nikāye pañca vācesuṃ satta c'eva pakāraṇe.[6]
Tato Ariṭṭho medhāvī Tissadatto ca paṇḍito
visārado Kālasumano thero ca Dīghanāmako
. . . . . .[5] Dīghasumano ca paṇḍito.
Punar eva [7] Kālasumano Nāgatthero ca Buddharakkhito,
Tissatthero ca medhāvī Devatthero ca paṇḍito.
Punar eva Sumano medhāvī vinaye ca visārado,
bahussuto Cūlanāgo [8] gajo 'va duppadhaṃsiyo.
[**63**] Dhammapālitanāmo [9] ca Rohaṇo [10] sādhupūjito,
tassa sisso mahāpaññho Khemanāmo tipeṭako.
Dīpe tārakarājā 'va paññāya atirocatha,
Upatisso ca medhāvī Phussadevo mahākathī.[11]
Punar eva [7] Sumano medhāvī Phussanāmo [12] bahussuto,
mahākathī Mahāsīvo piṭake sabbattha kovido.
Punar eva [7] Upāli medhāvī vinaye ca visārado,
Mahānāgo mahāpaññho saddhammavaṃsakovido.
Punar eva Abhayo [13] medhāvī piṭake sabbattha kovido,

[1] T.O. Sonako.
[2] P.E. add va.
[3] E. kiñci.
[4] T. -parampara-.
[5] Lacuna of a pāda. E.T.O. do not take this into account in the arrangement of the stanza.
[6] P. pakaraṇe (with no metrical lengthening).
[7] P.E.V. punad eva.
[8] E. Cūla-.
[9] T.O. Dhammapālināmo.
[10] T.O. Rohaṇe.
[11] P.E.V. mahākavi.
[12] P.E.V. Puppha.
[13] T.O. Sahayo.

Tissatthero ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.
Tassa sisso mahāpaññño Pupphanāmo bahussuto,
sāsanaṃ anurakkhanto Jambudīpe patiṭṭhito.
Cūlâbhayo [1] ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado,
Tissatthero ca medhāvī saddhammavaṃsakovido.
Cūladevo [1] ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado
Sīvatthero ca medhāvī vinaye sabbattha kovido.
Ete nāgā mahāpaññā vinayaññū [2] maggakovidā,
vinayaṃ dipe pakāsesuṃ piṭakaṃ Tambapaṇṇiyâti.

64. Tatrâyaṃ ānupubbīkathā [3]:

Moggaliputtatissatthero kira imaṃ tatiyadhammasaṅgītiṃ [4] katvā evaṃ cintesi: kattha nu kho anāgate sāsanaṃ suppatiṭṭhitaṃ bhaveyyāti. Ath'assa upaparikkhato etad ahosi: paccantimesu kho janapadesu sāsanaṃ suppatiṭṭhitaṃ bhavissatîti. So tesaṃ tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ bhāraṃ katvā te te bhikkhū tattha tattha pesesi. Majjhantikattheraṃ Kasmīragandhāraraṭṭhaṃ pesesi: tvaṃ etaṃ raṭṭhaṃ gantvā ettha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpehîti. Mahādevattheraṃ tath'eva vatvā Mahisakamaṇḍalaṃ [5] pesesi, Rakkhitattheraṃ Vanavāsiṃ, [**64**] Yonakadhammarakkhitattheraṃ Aparanṭakaṃ, Mahādhammarakkhitattheraṃ Mahāraṭṭhaṃ, Mahārakkhitattheraṃ Yonakalokaṃ, Majjhimattheraṃ Himavantapadesabhāgaṃ, Soṇakattherañ [6] ca Uttarattherañ ca Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ, attano saddhivihārikaṃ Mahindattheraṃ Iṭṭhiyattherena [7] Uttiyattherena Sambalattherena Bhaddasālattherena ca saddhiṃ Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ pesesi: tumhe Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ gantvā ettha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpethâti. Sabbe pi taṃ taṃ disābhagaṃ gacchantā attapañcamā agamaṃsu: paccantimesu janapadesu pañcavaggo gaṇo alaṃ upasampadakammāyâti maññamānā.

65. Tena kho pana samayena Kasmīragandhāraraṭṭhe sassapākasamaye Aravāḷo [8] nāma nāgarājā karakavassaṃ nāma vassaṃ vassāpetvā sassaṃ harāpetvā mahāsamuddaṃ pāpeti.[9] Majjhantikatthero [10] Pāṭaliputtato vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā

[1] E. Cūḷa-
[2] T. vidayaññū (a misprint ?).
[3] T. ānupubbi- ; O. anupubbi-.
[4] T.O. tatiyaṃ dhamma-.
[5] P.E.V. Mahiṃsaka-.
[6] T.O. Souaka-.
[7] T.O. Iddhiya- throughout.
[8] T.O. Aravālo.
[9] T.O. pāpesi.
[10] P.E. add pana.

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Majjhantikatthero sabbe pi nāgayakkharakkhase āmantetvā evam āha :

Mā dāni kodhaṃ janayittha ito uddhaṃ yathā pure
sassaghātañ ca mâkattha [1] sukhakāmā hi pāṇino ;
karotha mettaṃ sattesu, vasantu manujā sukhan ti.

[**66**] Te sabbe [2] : sādhu bhante ti therassa [3] paṭissutvā [4] yathânusiṭṭhaṃ paṭipajjiṃsu. Taṃ divasam eva ca nāgarājassa pūjāsamayo hoti. Atha nāgarājā attano ratanamayaṃ palaṅkaṃ āharāpetvā therassa paññāpesi. Nisīdi thero pallaṅke. Nāgarājā pi theraṃ vījayamāno samīpe aṭṭhāsi. Tasmiṃ khaṇe Kasmīragandhāraraṭṭhavāsino [5] āgantvā [6] theraṃ disvā : amhākaṃ nāgarājato pi thero mah'iddhikataro ti theram eva vanditvā nisinnā. Thero tesaṃ Āsīvisopamasuttantaṃ [7] kathesi. Suttapariyosāne asītiyā pāṇasahassānaṃ dhammâbhisamayo ahosi, kulasatasahassañ ca [8] pabbaji. Tatoppabhuti [9] ca Kasmīragandhārā yāva ajjatanā kāsāvapajjotā isivātaparivātā [10] eva.

Gantvā Kasmīragandhāraṃ isi Majjhantiko tadā,
ruṭṭhaṃ [11] nāgaṃ pasādetvā mocesi bandhanā bahûti.

66. Mahādevatthero pi Mahiṃsakamaṇḍalaṃ gantvā Devadūtasuttaṃ kathesi. Suttapariyosāne cattālīsapāṇasahassāni dhammacakkhuṃ paṭilabhiṃsu, cattālīsaṃ yeva pāṇasahassāni pabbajiṃsu.

Gantvāna raṭṭhaṃ Mahisaṃ [12] Mahādevo mah'iddhiko,
codetvā devadūtehi mocesi bandhanā bahûti.[13]

67. Rakkhitatthero [14] Vanavāsiṃ gantvā ākāse ṭhatvā Anamataggapariyāyakathāya Vanavāsike pasādesi. Kathāpariyosāne pana [15] saṭṭhisahassānaṃ dhammâbhisamayo ahosi, [**67**] sattatiṃsasahassamattā pabbajiṃsu, pañcavihārasatāni patiṭṭhahiṃsu. Evaṃ so tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.

Gantvāna Rakkhitatthero Vanavāsiṃ mah'iddhiko
antalikkhe ṭhito tattha desesi Anamataggiyan ti.

[1] T.O. mā kattha. [2] P.E.V. add pi. [3] E. adds vacanaṃ.
[4] P.E. paṭisuṇitvā. [5] T. -gandhāraṭṭha-. [6] T.O. āgataṃ.
[7] P.Sp.E. -suttaṃ. [8] T.O. omit. [9] T.O. tato pabhuti.
[10] P.E.V. -paṭivātā. [11] E. raṭṭhaṃ. [12] P.E.V. Mahiṃsaṃ.
[13] T. The arrangement of st. is different.
[14] T.O. add ca. [15] P.E.V. pan'assa.

68. Yonakadhammarakkhitatthero pi Aparantakaṃ gantvā Aggikkhandhūpamasuttantakathāya Aparantake pasādetvā sattatiṃsapāṇasahassāni dhammâmataṃ pāyesi. Khattiyakulato yeva purisasahassaṃ pabbaji, samadhikāni ca cha itthisahassāni. Evaṃ so tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.

Aparantaṃ vigāhitvā Yonako Dhammarakkhito,
Aggikkhandhūpamen'ettha pasādesi jane bahûti.

69. Mahādhammarakkhitatthero pana Mahāraṭṭhaṃ gantvā Mahānāradakassapajātakakathāya Mahāraṭṭhake pasādetvā caturāsītipāṇasahassāni maggaphalesu patiṭṭhāpesi, terasa sahassāni pabbajiṃsu. Evaṃ so tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.

Mahāraṭṭhaṃ isi [1] gantvā so Mahādhammarakkhito,
jātakaṃ kathayitvāna pasādesi mahājanan ti.

70. Mahārakkhitatthero pi Yonakaraṭṭhaṃ gantvā Kālakârāmasuttantakathāya Yonakalokaṃ pasādetvā sattatiṃsasahassâdhikassa pāṇasatasahassassa maggaphalâlaṅkāraṃ adāsi, santike c'assa dasasahassāni [2] pabbajiṃsu. Evaṃ so pi tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.

Yonaraṭṭhaṃ [3] tadā gantvā so Mahārakkhito isi,
Kālakârāmasuttena te pasādesi Yonake ti.

71. [**68**] Majjhimatthero pana Kassapagottattherena Alakadevattherena Dundubhissarattherena Mahādevattherena [4] ca saddhiṃ Himavantapadesabhāgaṃ gantvā Dhammacakkappavattanasuttantakathāya taṃ desaṃ pasādetvā asītipāṇakoṭiyo maggaphalaratanāni paṭilābhesi. Pañca pi c'ete [5] therā pañcaraṭṭhāni pasādesuṃ. Ekam ekassa santike satasahassamattā pabbajiṃsu. Evaṃ te tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesuṃ.

Gantvāna Majjhimatthero Himavantaṃ pasādayi,
yakkhasenaṃ pakāsento Dhammacakkappavattanan ti.

72. Soṇakatthero [6] pi saddhiṃ Uttarattherena Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ agamāsi. Tena ca samayena tattha ekā rakkhasī samuddato nikkhamitvā rājakule jāte jāte dārake khādati.

[1] E. isī.
[2] T.O. dasasahassā.
[3] T.O. Yonaka-.
[4] T.O. Sahadeva-.
[5] P.E.V. pañca pi ca te.
[6] T.O. Sonaka-; P.E. Soṇatthero.

Taṃ divasam eva ca rājakule eko dārako jāto hoti. Manussā theraṃ disvā: rakkhasānaṃ sahāyako eso ti maññamānā āyudhāni [1] gahetvā theraṃ paharitukāmā [2] āgacchanti.[3] Thero: kiṃ tumhe āyudhahatthā [4] āgacchathâti āha. Te āhaṃsu: rājakule jāte jāte dārake rakkhasā khādanti, tesaṃ tumhe sahāyakâti. Thero: na mayaṃ rakkhasānaṃ sahāyakā, samaṇā nāma mayaṃ viratā pāṇâtipātā -pe- viratā majjapānā ekabhattikā sīlavanto kalyāṇadhammâti āha. Tasmiṃ yeva ca khaṇe sā rakkhasī saparivārā samuddato nikkhami: rājakule dārako jāto, taṃ khādissāmîti. Manussā taṃ disvā: esā bhante rakkhasī āgacchatîti bhitā viraviṃsu. Thero rakkhasehi dviguṇe [5] attabhāve nimminitvā tehi attabhāvehi taṃ rakkhasiṃ [69] saparisaṃ majjhe katvā ubhosu passesu parikkhipi. Tassā saparisāya etad ahosi: addhā imehi imaṃ [6] ṭhānaṃ laddhaṃ bhavissati, mayaṃ pana imesaṃ bhakkhā bhavissāmâti, sabbarakkhasā bhitā [7] vegasā [8] palāyiṃsu. Thero pi te yāva adassanaṃ tāva palāpetvā dīpassa samantato ārakkhaṃ [9] ṭhapesi. Tasmiñ ca samaye sannipatitaṃ mahājanakāyaṃ Brahmajālasuttāntakathāya pasādetvā saraṇesu ca sīlesu ca patiṭṭhāpesi. Saṭṭhisahassānaṃ pan'ettha dhammâbhisamayo ahosi; kuladārakānaṃ aḍḍhuḍḍhāni sahassāni pabbajiṃsu, kuladhītānaṃ diyaḍḍhasahassaṃ. Evaṃ so tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi. Tatoppabhuti [10] rājakule jātadārakānaṃ Soṇuttaranāmam [11] eva karonti.

> Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gantvāna Soṇ'uttarā [11] mahiddhikā,
> pisāce niddhamitvāna Brahmajālaṃ adesayun ti.

73. Mahindatthero pana: Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ gantvā sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpehîti upajjhāyena ca bhikkhusaṅghena ca ajjhiṭṭho cintesi: kālo nu kho me Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ gantuṃ no ti. Ath'assa vīmaṃsato: na tāva kālo ti ahosi. Kiṃ pan'assa disvā etad ahosi. Muṭasīvarañño mahallakabhāvaṃ. Tato cintesi: ayaṃ rājā mahallako, na sakkā imaṃ gaṇhitvā sāsanaṃ paggahetuṃ; idāni pan'assa putto Devānampiyatisso rajjaṃ kāressati, taṃ gaṇhitvā sakkā bhavissati

[1] T.O. āvudhāni. [2] T.O. pariharitukāmā. [3] T.O. gacchanti.
[4] T.O. āvudha-. [5] T.O. diguṇe. [6] P.E.V. idaṃ.
[7] T.O. omit. [8] T.O. vegena. [9] T.O. rakkhaṃ.
[10] T.O. tato pabhuti. [11] T.O. Sonuttara-.

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75. Tadā Sakko devānam indo Mahindattheraṃ upasaṅkamitvā etad avoca: kālakato bhante Muṭasīvarājā, idāni Devānampiyatissamahārājā rajjaṃ kāreti. Sammāsambuddhena ca tumhe vyākatā: anāgate Mahindo nāma bhikkhu Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ pasādessatîti. Tasmāt iha vo bhante kālo dīpavaraṃ gamanāya, aham pi vo sahāyo bhavissāmîti. Kasmā pana Sakko evam āha. Bhagavā kir'assa bodhimūle yeva Buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ oloketvā anāgate imassa dīpassa sampattiṃ disvā etam atthaṃ ārocesi. Tadā tvam pi sahāyo bhaveyyāsîti ca āṇāpesi. Tasmā evam āha. Thero tassa vacanaṃ sampaṭicchitvā attasattamo Vedisapabbatā [1] vehāsaṃ uppatitvā Anurādhapurassa puratthimadisāya [2] Missakapabbate patiṭṭhahi, yaṃ pan'etarahi Cetiyapabbato ti pi sañjānanti. Tenâhu porāṇā:

> Vedisagirimhi [3] Rājagahe vasitvā timsarattiyo
> kālo 'va [4] gamanassâti gacchāma [5] dīpam uttamaṃ.
> Palinā [6] Jambudīpāto haṃsarājā va ambare
> evam uppatitā therā nipatiṃsu nag'uttame.
> Purato puraseṭṭhassa pabbate meghasannibhe,
> patiṭṭhahiṃsu [7] kūṭamhi [7] haṃsā va nagamuddhanîti.

76. [72] Evaṃ Iṭṭhiyâdīhi [8] saddhiṃ āgantvā patiṭṭhahanto ca āyasmā Mahindatthero sammāsambuddhassa parinibbānato dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari chattiṃsatime vasse imasmiṃ dīpe patiṭṭhahîti veditabbaṃ.[9] Ajātasattussa hi aṭṭhame vasse sammāsambuddho parinibbāyi. Tasmiṃ yeva vasse Sīhakumārassa putto Tambapaṇṇidīpassa ādirājā Vijayakumāro imaṃ dīpam āgantvā manussavāsaṃ akāsi. Jambudīpe Udayabhadrassa [10] cuddasame vasse idha Vijayo kālam akāsi. Udayabhadrassa [10] pañcadasame vasse Paṇḍuvāsadevo [11] nāma imasmiṃ dipe rajjaṃ pāpuṇi. Tattha Nāgadāsakaraññho [12] vīsatime vasse idha Paṇḍuvāsadevo tiṃsavassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā [13] kālam akāsi. Tasmiṃ yeva ca [14] vasse Abhayo nāma rājakumāro imasmiṃ dipe rajjaṃ pāpuṇi. Tattha Susunāgaraññho sattarasame vasse idha Abhayaraññho vīsati [15]

[1] E. Vediyaka-; T.O. Vedisaka-. [2] P.E. -disāyaṃ. [3] E. Vediya-.
[4] T.O. ca. [5] T.O. gacchāmi. [6] P. palitā; E. phalinā.
[7] P.E.V. patiṃsu silakūṭamhi. [8] T.O. Iddhiya-. [9] P.E.V. veditabbo.
[10] P.E. -bhaddassa. [11] P.E.V. -vāsudevo. [12] T.O. Nāgadassaka.
[13] See T., p. 72, n. 11. [14] T.O. omit yeva ca. [15] T.O. vīsaṃ.

vassāni paripūriṃsu. Atha Abhayassa vīsatime vasse Pakuṇḍakâbhayo nāma dāmariko rajjaṃ aggahesi. Tattha Kālâsokassa soḷasame vasse idha Pakuṇḍakâbhayassa sattarasa vassāni paripūriṃsu. Tāni heṭṭhā ekena vassena saha aṭṭhārasa honti. Tattha Candaguttassa cuddasame vasse idha Pakuṇḍakâbhayo kālam akāsi ; Muṭasīvarājā rajjaṃ pāpuṇi. Tattha Asokadhammarājassa sattarasame vasse idha Muṭasīvarājā kālam akāsi ; Devānampiyatisso rajjaṃ pāpuṇi.

Parinibbute ca pana [1] sambuddhe Ajātasattu catuvīsati vassāni rajjaṃ kāresi, Udayabhadro [2] [**73**] ca soḷasa, Anuruddho ca Muṇḍo ca aṭṭha,[3] Nāgadāsako [4] catuvīsati, Susunāgo aṭṭhārasa, tass'eva putto Asoko [5] aṭṭhavīsati, Asokassa puttā [6] dasabhātukarājāno dvevīsati vassāni rajjaṃ kāresuṃ. Tesaṃ pacchato nava Nandā dvevīsatim eva, Candagutto ca [7] catuvīsati, Bindusāro aṭṭhavīsati.[8] Tassâvasāne Asoko rajjaṃ pāpuṇi.[9] Tassa pure abhisekā cattāri, abhisekato aṭṭhārasame vasse imasmiṃ dipe Mahindatthero patiṭṭhito. Evam etena rājavaṃsânusārena veditabbam etaṃ [10] : sammāsambuddhassa parinibbānato dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari chattiṃsatime vasse imasmiṃ dipe patiṭṭhahîti.

77. Tasmiñ ca divase Tambapaṇṇidīpe Jeṭṭhamūlanakkhattaṃ nāma nakkhattaṃ [11] hoti. Rājā nakkhattaṃ ghosāpetvā : chaṇaṃ karothâti amacce āṇāpetvā cattālīsapurisasahassaparivāro nagaramhā nikkhamitvā yena Missakapabbato tena pāyāsi migavaṃ kīḷitukāmo. Atha tasmiṃ pabbate adhivatthā ekā devatā : raññho there dassessāmîti rohitamigarūpaṃ gahetvā avidūre tiṇapaṇṇāni khādamānā viya carati. Rājā taṃ [12] disvā : ayuttaṃ dāni pamattaṃ vijjhitun ti jiyaṃ poṭhesi. Migo Ambatthalamaggaṃ gahetvā palāyituṃ ārabhi. Rājā piṭṭhito anubandhanto Ambatthalam eva abhiruhi.[13] Migo pi therānaṃ avidūre antaradhāyi. Mahindatthero rājānaṃ avidūre āgacchantaṃ disvā : mamaṃ yeva rājā passatu, mā itare ti adhiṭṭhahitvā : Tissa Tissa ito ehiti āha. Rājā sutvā

[1] P.E.V. omit.
[2] P.E.V. -bhaddo.
[3] T.O. aṭṭhārasa ; Mhv. iv, 3, aṭṭha, also Ch. (See T., p. 73, n. 2.).
[4] T.O. Nāgadassako.
[5] P.E.V. Kalâsoko.
[6] P.E. puttakā.
[7] P.E.V. omit.
[8] T.O. aṭṭhavīsaṃ.
[9] E. kāresi.
[10] T.O. eva taṃ.
[11] P.E. omit.
[12] T.O. omit.
[13] T.O. abhirūhi.

cintesi: imasmiṃ dipe jāto maṃ Tissâti [1] nāmaṃ [74] gahetvā ālapituṃ samattho nāma n'atthi. Ayaṃ pana chinnabhinnapaṭadharo bhaṇḍukāsāvavasano maṃ nāmena ālapati. Ko nu kho ayaṃ bhavissati manusso vā amanusso vâti. Thero āha:

Samaṇā mayaṃ mahārāja dhammarājassa sāvakā,
tav'eva [2] anukampāya Jambudipā idhâgatâti.

78. Tena ca samayena Devānampiyatissamahārājā [3] ca Asokadhammarājā ca adiṭṭhasahāyakā honti. Devānampiyatissamahārājassa ca puññânubhāvena Chātakapabbatapāde ekamhi veṇugumbe [4] tisso veṇuyaṭṭhiyo [4] rathayaṭṭhippamāṇā uppajjiṃsu: ekā latāyaṭṭhi nāma, ekā pupphayaṭṭhi nāma, ekā sakuṇayaṭṭhi nāma. Tāsu latāyaṭṭhi sayaṃ [5] rajatavaṇṇā hoti, taṃ alaṅkaritvā uppannalatā kañcanavaṇṇā khāyati. Pupphayaṭṭhiyaṃ pana nīlapītalohitâvadātakāḷavaṇṇāni [6] pupphāni suvibhattavaṇṭapattakiñjakkhāni hutvā khāyanti. Sakuṇayaṭṭhiyaṃ haṃsakukkuṭajīvañjīvakâdayo [7] sakuṇā nānappakārāni ca [8] catuppadāni [9] sajīvāni viya khāyanti. Vuttam pi c'etaṃ Dīpavaṃse [10]:

Chātapabbatapādamhi veṇuyaṭṭhi [4] tayo ahu,
setā rajatayaṭṭhī ca [11] latā kañcanasannibhā.
Nīlâdi yādisaṃ puppham pupphayaṭṭhimhi tādisaṃ,
sakuṇā sakuṇayaṭṭhimhi sarūpen' eva saṇṭhitāti.

[75] Samuddato pi 'ssa muttamaṇiveḷuriyâdi-anekavihitaratanaṃ [12] uppajji. Tambapaṇṇiyaṃ pana [13] aṭṭha muttā uppajjiṃsu: hayamuttā, gajamuttā, rathamuttā, āmalakamuttā, valayamuttā, aṅguliveṭhakamuttā, kakudhaphalamuttā, pākatikamuttâti. So tā [14] yaṭṭhiyo tā ca muttāyo [15] aññañ ca bahuṃ ratanaṃ Asokassa dhammarañño paṇṇākāratthāya pesesi. Asoko pasīditvā tassa pañcarājakakudhabhaṇḍāni pahiṇi: chattaṃ, cāmaraṃ, khaggaṃ, moliṃ, ratanapādukaṃ,[16] aññañ ca abhisekatthāya bahuvidhaṃ

[1] E. adds Tissa again.
[2] T.O. tam eva.
[3] T.O. -tisso mahārājā.
[4] P. velu-.
[5] P.E.V. omit; T.O. (latāyaṭṭhi) yaṃ.
[6] P.E.V. -lohit 'odāta.
[7] T. kaṃsa- for haṃsa-; T.O. -jīvajīvakâdayo.
[8] T.O.E. omit.
[9] E. pakkhiganāni.
[10] See references in Trsl.
[11] E. va.
[12] P.E.V. -vihitaṃ ratanaṃ.
[13] T.O. omit.
[14] P.E.V. add ca.
[15] P. muttā.
[16] T.O. ratanaṃ pādukaṃ.

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āgatâti tāvad eva āvudhaṃ nikkhipitvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ kathayamāno. Yathâha :

> Āvudhaṃ nikkhipitvāna ekam antaṃ upāvisi,
> nisajja rājā sammodi babuṃ atthûpasaṃhitan ti.

Sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ ca kurumāne yeva tasmiṃ tāni pi cattālīsapurisasahassāni āgantvā taṃ parivāresuṃ. Tadā thero itare pi cha jane dassesi. Rājā disvā : ime kadā āgatâti [77] āha. Mayā saddhiṃ yeva mahārājâti. Idāni pana Jambudīpe aññe pi evarūpā samaṇā santîti. Santi mahārāja, etarahi Jaṃbudīpo kāsavapajjoto isivātaparivāto.[1] Tasmiṃ,

> Tevijjā iddhippattā ca cetopariyāyakovidā
> khīṇâsavā arahanto [2] bahū Buddhassa sāvakâti.

80. Bhante kena āgata'tthâti. N'eva mahārāja udakena na thalenâti. Rājā ākāsena āgatâti aññāsi. Thero : atthi nu kho rañño paññāveyyattiyan [3] ti vīmaṃsanatthāya āsannaṃ [4] ambarukkaṃ ārabbha pañhaṃ pucchi : Kiṃnāmo ayaṃ mahārāja rukkho ti. Ambarukkho nāma bhante ti. Imaṃ pana mahārāja ambaṃ muñcitvā añño ambo [5] atthi n'atthîti. Atthi bhante aññe pi bahū ambarukkhāti. Imañ ca ambaṃ te ca ambe muñcitvā atthi nu kho mahārāja aññe rukkhâti. Atthi bhante, te pana na ambarukkhâti. Aññe ambe ca anambe ca muñcitvā atthi pana añño rukkho ti. Ayam eva bhante ambarukkho ti. Sādhu mahārāja paṇḍito'si.

Atthi pana te mahārāja ñātakâti. Atthi me bhante bahū janâti. Te muñcitvā aññe keci aññātakā pi atthi mahārājâti. Aññātakā bhante ñātakehi bahutarâti. Tava ñātake ca aññātake ca muñcitvā atth'añño koci mahārājâti. Aham eva [6] bhante ti. Sādhu mahārāja, attā nāma attano n'eva ñātako na aññātako ti.

81. Atha thero : paṇḍito rājā sakkhissati dhammaṃ aññātun ti Cūlahatthipadopamasuttaṃ kathesi. Kathāpariyosāne rājā tisu saraṇesu patiṭṭhahi saddhiṃ cattālīsāya pāṇasahassehi.

[1] P.E.V. -paṭivāto.
[2] T.O. arahantā.
[3] T.O. -veyyattikan.
[4] T.O. āsanna-amba-.
[5] E. aññe ambā.
[6] T.O.E. omit.

Taṃ khaṇañ ñeva [1] raññho bhattaṃ [78] āharīyittha. Rājā [2] suttaṃ suṇanto yeva [2] evaṃ aññāsi: na imesaṃ imasmiṃ kāle bhojanaṃ kappatîti. Apucchitvā [3] pana bhuñjituṃ ayuttan ti cintetvā: bhuñjissatha bhante ti pucchi. Na mahārāja amhākaṃ imasmiṃ kāle bhojanaṃ kappatîti. Kasmiṃ kāle bhante kappatîti. Aruṇ'uggamanato paṭṭhāya yāva majjhantikasamayā mahārājâti. Gacchāma bhante nagaran ti. Alaṃ mahārāja idh'eva vasissāmâti. Sace bhante tumhe vasatha ayaṃ dārako āgacchatûti. Mahārāja ayaṃ dārako āgataphalo viññātasāsano pabbajjâpekho [4] idāni pabbajissatîti. Rājā: tena hi bhante sve rathaṃ pesissāmi, taṃ abhiruhitvā āgaccheyyāthâti [5] vatvā vanditvā pakkāmi.

82. Thero acirapakkantassa raññho Sumanasāmaṇeraṃ āmantesi: ehi tvaṃ Sumana dhammasavaṇassa kālaṃ ghosehîti. Bhante kittakaṃ ṭhānaṃ sāvento ghosemîti. Sakalaṃ Tambapaṇṇidīpan ti. Sādhu bhante ti sāmaṇero abhiññāpādakaṃ catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā vuṭṭhāya adhiṭṭhahitvā samāhitena cittena sakalaṃ Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ sāvento tikkhattuṃ dhammasavaṇassa kālaṃ ghosesi. Rājā taṃ saddaṃ sutvā therānaṃ santikaṃ pesesi: kiṃ bhante atthi koci upaddavo ti. N'atth' amhākaṃ koci upaddavo [6] dhammasavaṇassa kālaṃ ghosāpayimha, Buddhavacanaṃ kathetukāma 'mhâti. Tañ ca pana sāmaṇerassa saddaṃ sutvā bhummā devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ, eten' upāyena yāva Brahmalokā saddo abbhuggañchi. Tena saddena mahādevatāsannipāto ahosi. Thero [7] mahantaṃ devatāsannipātaṃ disvā Samacittasuttantaṃ kathesi. Kathāpariyosāne asaṅkheyyānaṃ devatānaṃ dhammâbhisamayo ahosi, bahū [79] nāgā ca supaṇṇā ca saraṇesu patiṭṭhahiṃsu. Yādiso va [8] Sāriputtattherassa imaṃ suttantaṃ kathayato devatāsannipāto ahosi tādiso Mahindattherassâpi jāto.

83. Atha tassā rattiyā accayena rājā therānaṃ rathaṃ pesesi. Sārathi [9] rathaṃ ekam ante ṭhapetvā therānaṃ ārocesi:

[1] P.E.V. add ca. [2] P. Rājā suttantaṃ suṇanto; E. Rājā ca suttantaṃ, etc.
[3] T.O. āpucchitvā. [4] P. -pekkho.
[5] T.O. āgaccheyyathâti. [6] T.O. add ti.
[7] T.O. add ca. [8] T.O. omit.
[9] P. sārathī.

āhaṭo bhante ratho, abhirūhatha [1] gacchissāmâti. Therā : na mayaṃ rathaṃ abhirūhāma,[1] gaccha tvaṃ, pacchā mayaṃ āgacchissāmâti vatvā vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā Anurādhapurassa puratthimadisāyaṃ Paṭhamakacetiyaṭṭhāne [2] otariṃsu. Taṃ hi cetiyaṃ therehi paṭhamaṃ otiṇṇaṭṭhāne katattā yeva Paṭhamakacetiyan [2] ti vuccati. Rājā pi sārathiṃ pesetvā : antonivesane maṇḍapaṃ paṭiyādethâti amacce āṇāpesi. Tāvad eva sabbe haṭṭhatuṭṭhā ativiya pāsādikaṃ maṇḍapaṃ paṭiyādesuṃ. Puna rājā cintesi : hiyyo thero sīlakkhandhaṃ kathayamāno uccāsayanamahāsayanaṃ na kappatîti āha. Nisīdissanti nu kho ayyā āsanesu na nisīdissantîti. Tass'evaṃ cintayantass'eva so sārathi nagaradvāraṃ sampatto. Tato addasa [3] there paṭhamataraṃ āgantvā kāyabandhanaṃ bandhitvā cīvaraṃ pārupante. Disvā ativiya pasannacitto hutvā āgantvā raññho ārocesi : āgatā deva therâti. Rājā : rathaṃ ārūḷhâti pucchi. Na ārūḷhā deva, api ca mama pacchato nikkhamitvā paṭhamataraṃ āgantvā pācīnadvāre ṭhitâti. Rājā : ratham pi nârūhiṃsûti sutvā, na dāni ayyā uccāsayanaṃ [4] sādiyissantiti cintetvā, tena hi bhaṇe therānaṃ bhummattharaṇasaṅkhepena āsanāni paññāpethâti vatvā paṭipathaṃ agamāsi. Amaccā paṭhaviyaṃ taṭṭikaṃ [5] paññāpetvā upari kojavakâdīni vicitrattharaṇāni [6] paññāpesuṃ.

Uppādapāṭhakā [7] disvā : gahitā dāni imehi paṭhavī, ime [**80**] Tambapaṇṇidīpassa sāmikā bhavissantîti vyākariṃsu. Rājā pi gantvā there vanditvā Mahindattherassa hatthato pattaṃ gahetvā mahatiyā pūjāya ca sakkārena ca there nagaraṃ pavesetvā antonivesanaṃ pavesesi. Thero āsanapaññattiṃ disvā : amhākaṃ sāsanam sakala-Laṅkādīpe paṭhavī viya patthaṭaṃ [8] niccalaṃ ca hutvā patiṭṭhahissatîti cintento nisīdi. Rājā there paṇītena khādanīyena bhojanīyena [9] sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā, Anulādevīpamukhāni pañca itthisatāni therānaṃ abhivādanaṃ pūjāsakkārañ ca karontûti [10] pakkosāpetvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi. Thero bhattakiccâvasāne raññho saparijanassa dhammaratanavassaṃ

[1] E. abhiruh-.
[2] T.O. Paṭhamacetiya.
[3] P.E. addassa.
[4] E. adds mahāsayanaṃ ; P. adds uccāsayanamahāsayanaṃ.
[5] T.O. taddhikaṃ.
[6] Sp.Bp. citra-.
[7] P. uppāta-
[8] T.O. patthataṃ.
[9] T.O. khādaniyena bhojaniyena.
[10] T.O. karontîti.

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gahetvā therassa hatthe udakaṃ pātetvā Mahāmeghavan 'uyyānaṃ[1] adāsi. Saha udakapātena paṭhavī kampi. Ayaṃ Mahāvihāre paṭhamo paṭhavikampo ahosi. Rājā bhīto theraṃ pucchi : kasmā bhante paṭhavī kampatîti. Mā bhāyi mahārāja, imasmiṃ dipe dasabalassa sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhahissati, idañ ca [2] paṭhamaṃ vihāraṭṭhānaṃ bhavissati, tass' etaṃ pubbanimittan ti. Rājā bhiyyosomattāya pasīdi. Thero punadivase pi rājagehe yeva bhuñjitvā Nandanavane Anamataggiyāni kathesi. Punadivase Aggikkhandhopamasuttaṃ kathesi. Eten'eva upāyena satta divasāni kathesi, desanāpariyosāne [3] aḍḍhanavamānaṃ pāṇasahassānaṃ dhammâbhisamayo ahosi. Tato [**82**] paṭṭhāya [4] Nandanavanaṃ sāsanassa jotipātubhāvaṭṭhānan ti katvā Jotivanan ti nāmaṃ paṭilabhi.[5]

85. Sattame pana divase therā antepure rañño Mahā-appamādasuttaṃ kathayitvā Cetiyagirim eva agamaṃsu. Atha kho rājā amacce pucchi : thero amhe gāḷhena ovādena ovadati, gaccheyya nu kho ti. Amaccā : tumhehi deva thero ayācito sayam eva āgato, tasmā tassa anāpucchā [6] gamanam pi bhaveyyâti āhaṃsu. Tato rājā rathaṃ abhirūhitvā dve ca deviyo āropetvā Cetiyagiriṃ agamāsi mahaccā [7] rājânubhāvena. Gantvā deviyo ekam antaṃ apakkamāpetvā sayam eva [8] therānaṃ samīpaṃ upasaṅkamanto ativiya kilantarūpo hutvā upasaṅkami.[9] Tato naṃ thero āha : kasmā tvaṃ mahārāja evaṃ kilamamāno āgato ti. Tumhe mama gāḷhaṃ ovādaṃ datvā idāni gantukāmā nu kho ti jānanatthaṃ bhante ti. Na mayaṃ mahārāja gantukāmā, api ca vassûpanāyikakālo nāmâyaṃ mahārāja, tatra samaṇena ca [10] vassûpanāyikaṭṭhānaṃ ñātuṃ vaṭṭatîti.

86. Taṃ divasam eva Ariṭṭho nāma amacco pañcapaṇṇāsajeṭṭhakaṇiṭṭhabhātukehi [11] saddhiṃ rañño samīpe ṭhito āha: icchāma mayaṃ deva therānaṃ santike pabbajitun ti. Sādhu bhaṇe pabbajassûti [12] rājā anujānitvā theraṃ sampaṭicchāpesi.

[1] T.O. -vana-uyyānaṃ.
[2] P.E.V. omit.
[3] T.O. omit.
[4] P.E.V. add ca.
[5] T.O. labhi.
[6] T.O. add va.
[7] E. mahacca ; P.V. mahañca.
[8] T.O. omit.
[9] T.O.E. omit *and* tato next.
[10] P.E. omit.
[11] P. paṇṇāsāya jeṭṭha-.
[12] E. pabbajjassūti.

Thero tad ah'eva pabbājesi. Sabbe khuragge yeva arahattaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu. Rājā pi kho taṅkhaṇaṃ yeva Kaṇṭakacetiyaṅgaṇaṃ parikkhipitvā aṭṭhasaṭṭhiyā [1] lenesu kammaṃ paṭṭhapetvā nagaram eva agamāsi. Te pi [**83**] therā dasabhātikasamākulaṃ rājakulaṃ pasādetvā mahājanaṃ ovadamānā Cetiyagirimhi vassaṃ vasiṃsu. Tadā Cetiyagirimhi paṭhamavassaṃ upagatā dvāsaṭṭhi arahanto ahesuṃ.

87. Athâyasmā Mahāmahindo vutthavasso pavāretvā Kattikapuṇṇamāyaṃ uposathadivase rājānaṃ etad avoca: mahārāja, amhehi ciraditṭho sammāsambuddho, anāthavāsaṃ [2] vasimha, icchāma Jambudīpaṃ gantun ti. Rājā āha [3]: ahaṃ bhante tumhe catūhi paccayehi upaṭṭhahāmi, ayañ ca mahājano tumhe nissāya tīsu saraṇesu patiṭṭhito, kasmā tumhe ukkaṇṭhitâti. Ciraditṭho no mahārāja sammāsambuddho, abhivādana-paccuṭṭhāna-añjalikamma-sāmīcikammakaraṇaṭṭhānaṃ n'atthi, tena'mha [4] ukkaṇṭhitâti. Nanu bhante tumhe avocuttha: parinibbuto sammāsambuddho ti. Kiñcâpi mahārāja parinibbuto, atha khv assa sarīradhātuyo tiṭṭhantîti. Aññātaṃ bhante thūpapatiṭṭhānaṃ tumhe ākaṅkhathâti, karomi bhante thūpaṃ, bhūmibhāgaṃ dāni vicinātha. Api ca bhante dhātuyo kuto lacchāmâti. Sumanena saddhiṃ mantehi mahārājâti.

Sādhu bhante ti rājā Sumanaṃ upasaṅkamitvā pucchi: kuto dāni bhante dhātuyo lacchāmâti. Sumano āha: apposukko tvaṃ mahārāja vīthiyo sodhāpetvā dhajapatākapuṇṇaghaṭâdīhi alaṅkārāpetvā saparijano uposathaṃ samādiyitvā sabbatālâvacare upaṭṭhapetvā maṅgalahatthiṃ sabbâlaṅkārapatimaṇḍitaṃ kāretvā [5] upari c'assa setacchattaṃ ussāpetvā sāyaṇhasamaye Mahānāgavan'uyyānâbhimukho yāhi. Addhā etasmiṃ [6] [**84**] ṭhāne dhātuyo lacchasîti. Rājā,[7] sadhûti sampaṭicchi.

Therā Cetiyagirim eva agamaṃsu. Tatrâyasmā Mahindatthero Sumanasāmaṇeraṃ āha: gaccha tvaṃ sāmaṇera, Jambudīpe tava ayyakaṃ Asokaṃ [8] dhammarājānaṃ upasaṅkamitvā mama vacanena evaṃ vadehi: sahāyo te mahārāja

[1] E.Bp. dvāsaṭṭhiyā; Mhv. xvi, 10, aṭṭhasaṭṭhi-. [2] T.O. anāthavassaṃ.
[3] T.O. omit. [4] P.E.V. 'mhe.
[5] P.E.V. kārāpetvā. [6] P.E.V. tasmiṃ.
[7] T.O. Sa rājā. [8] E. Asokadhamma-.

Devānampiyatisso Buddhasāsane pasanno thūpaṃ patiṭṭhāpetukāmo, tumhākaṃ kira hatthe dhātuyo atthi, taṃ me dethâti. Taṃ gahetvā Sakkaṃ devarājānaṃ upasaṅkamitvā evaṃ vadehi: tumhākaṃ kira mahārāja hatthe dve dhātuyo atthi, dakkhiṇadāṭhā [1] dakkhiṇ'akkhakañ ca, tato tumhe dakkhiṇadāṭhaṃ pūjetha, dakkhiṇ'akkhakaṃ pana mayhaṃ dethâti. Evañ ca naṃ vadehi: kasmā tvaṃ mahārāja amhe Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ pahiṇitvā pamajjitthâti. Sādhu bhante ti kho Sumano therassa vacanaṃ sampaṭicchitvā tāvad eva pattacīvaram ādāya vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā Pāṭaliputtadvāre oruyha rañño santikaṃ gantvā tam [2] atthaṃ ārocesi.

88. Rājā tuṭṭho sāmaṇerassa hatthato pattaṃ gahetvā gandhehi ubbaṭṭetvā varamuttasadisānaṃ dhātūnaṃ pūretvā adāsi. So taṃ gahetvā Sakkaṃ devarājānaṃ upasaṅkami. Sakko devarājā sāmaṇeraṃ disvā'va [3]: kiṃ bhante Sumana āhiṇḍasîti āha. Tvaṃ mahārāja amhe Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ pesetvā kasmā pamajjasîti. Nappamajjāmi bhante, vadehi kiṃ karomîti. Tumhākaṃ kira hatthe dve dhātuyo atthi dakkhiṇadāṭhā ca dakkhin'akkhakañ ca, tato tumhe dakkhiṇadāṭhaṃ pūjetha, dakkhiṇ'akkhakaṃ pana mayhaṃ dethâti. Sādhu bhante ti kho Sakko devānam indo yojanappamāṇaṃ [4] maṇithūpaṃ ugghāṭetvā [5] dakkhiṇ'akkhakadhātuṃ nīharitvā Sumanassa adāsi. So taṃ gahetvā Cetiyagirimhi yeva patiṭṭhāsi. Atha kho Mahindapamukhā sabbe pi te mahānāgā [85] Asokadhammarājena dinnadhātuyo Cetiyagirimhi yeva [6] patiṭṭhāpetvā dakkhiṇ'akkhakaṃ ādāya vaḍḍhamānakacchāyāya Mahānāgavan'uyyānam agamaṃsu.

89. Rājā pi kho sāmaṇerena [7] vuttappakāraṃ pūjāsakkāraṃ katvā hatthikkhandhavaragato sayaṃ maṅgalahatthimatthake setacchattaṃ dhārayamāno Mahānāgavanaṃ sampāpuṇi. Ath' assa etad ahosi: sace ayaṃ sammāsambuddhassa dhātu, chattaṃ apanamatu,[8] maṅgalahatthī jannukehi bhūmiyaṃ patiṭṭhahatu, dhātucaṅgoṭakaṃ mayhaṃ matthake patiṭṭhātûti.[9] Saha rañño citt'uppādena chattaṃ apanami, hatthī

[1] P.E.V. add ca.
[2] P.E.V. etaṃ.
[3] P. omits. va.
[4] E. -pamāṇamaṇi-.
[5] P.E.V. ugghāṭāpetvā.
[6] E. omits.
[7] T.O. Sumanena.
[8] T.O. apanetu.
[9] P.E. patiṭṭhahatûti.

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Disvā cattālīsāya bhikkhusahassehi parivuto agamāsi. Tassânubhāvena tāvad eva pajjarako vūpasanto. Roge vūpasante bhagavā dhammaṃ desesi ; caturāsītipāṇasahassānaṃ [1] dhammâbhisamayo ahosi. Bhagavā dhammakarakaṃ [2] datvā pakkāmi. Taṃ anto pakkhipitvā Paṭiyârāme cetiyaṃ akaṃsu. Mahādevo dīpaṃ anusāsanena [3] pālayanto vihāsi.[3]

91. Koṇāgamanassa [4] pana bhagavato kāle ayaṃ dipo Varadīpo nāma ahosi, rājā Samiddho [5] nāma, nagaraṃ Vaḍḍhamānaṃ [87] nāma, pabbato Suvaṇṇakūṭo nāma. Tena kho pana samayena Varadīpe dubbuṭṭhikā hoti dubbikkhaṃ dussassaṃ. Sattā chātakarogena anayabyasanaṃ [6] āpajjanti. Addasā kho Koṇāgamano [4] bhagavā Buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ olokento te satte anayabyasanam [6] āpajjante. Disvā timsabhikkhusahassaparivuto agamāsi. Buddhânubhāvena devo sammādhāraṃ anuppavecchi.[7] Subhikkhaṃ ahosi. Bhagavā dhammaṃ desesi, caturāsītiyā pāṇasahassānaṃ dhammâbhisamayo ahosi. Bhagavā bhikkhusahassaparivāraṃ Mahāsumanaṃ nāma theraṃ dipe ṭhapetvā kāyabandhanaṃ datvā pakkāmi. Taṃ anto pakkhipitvā cetiyaṃ akaṃsu.

92. Kassapassa pana bhagavato kāle ayaṃ dipo Maṇḍadīpo nāma ahosi, rājā Jayanto nāma, nagaraṃ Visālaṃ nāma, pabbato Subhakūṭo nāma. Tena kho pana samayena Maṇḍadipe mahāvivādo hoti. Bahū sattā kalahaviggahajātā anayabyasanaṃ [6] āpajjanti. Addasā kho Kassapo bhagavā Buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ olokento te satte anayabyasanam [6] āpajjante. Disvā vīsatibhikkhusahassaparivuto āgantvā vivādaṃ vūpasametvā dhammaṃ desesi. Caturāsītiyā pāṇasahassānaṃ dhammâbhisamayo ahosi. Bhagavā bhikkhusahassaparivāraṃ Sabbanandaṃ nāma theraṃ dipe patiṭṭhāpetvā udakasāṭikaṃ datvā pakkāmi. Taṃ [8] anto pakkhipitvā cetiyaṃ akaṃsûti.

Evaṃ Thūpârāme purimakānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ Buddhānaṃ cetiyāni patiṭṭhahiṃsu. Tāni sāsanantaradhāne [9] nassanti, ṭhānamattaṃ avasissati. Tasmā vuttaṃ : tena ca samayena Thūpâ-

[1] P.E. catur āsītiyā pāṇa-.
[2] Bp. -karaṇaṃ.
[3] P.E.V. anusāsanto vihāsi.
[4] T.O.E. Konā-.
[5] Bp.Sp. Samiddhi.
[6] T.O. -vyasanaṃ.
[7] T.O. anupavecchi.
[8] T.O. add pi.
[9] P.E.V. -dhānena.

rāme purimakānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ sammāsambuddhānaṃ paribhoga-cetiyaṭṭhānaṃ hotîti.[1] Tad etaṃ vinaṭṭhesu [88] cetiyesu devatânubhāvena kaṇṭakasamākiṇṇasākhehi nānā gacchehi parivutaṃ tiṭṭhati : mā naṃ koci ucciṭṭhâsucimalakacavarehi sandūsesîti.

93. Ath'assa hatthino purato purato gantvā rājapurisā sabbe gacche chinditvā bhūmiṃ sodhetvā taṃ hatthatalasadisaṃ akaṃsu. Hatthināgo gantvā taṃ ṭhānaṃ purato katvā tassa pacchimadisābhāge bodhirukkhaṭṭhāne aṭṭhāsi. Ath'assa matthakato dhātuṃ oropetuṃ ārabhiṃsu. Nāgo oropetuṃ na deti. Rājā theraṃ pucchi : kasmā bhante nāgo dhātuṃ oropetuṃ na detîti. Ārūḷhaṃ mahārāja oropetuṃ na vaṭṭatîti.

Tasmiñ ca kāle Abhayavāpiyā udakaṃ chinnaṃ hoti, samantā bhūmi phalitā hoti, su-uddharā mattikāpiṇḍā. Tato mahājano sīghasīghaṃ [2] mattikaṃ āharitvā hatthikumbhappamāṇaṃ vatthum akāsi. Tāvad eva ca thūpakaraṇatthaṃ iṭṭhikā kātuṃ ārabhiṃsu. Yāva iṭṭhikā na pariniṭṭhanti tāva hatthināgo katipāhaṃ divā bodhirukkhaṭṭhāne hatthisālāyaṃ tiṭṭhati, rattiṃ thūpapatiṭṭhānabhūmiṃ pariyāyati. Atha vatthuṃ cināpetvā rājā theraṃ pucchi : kīdiso bhante thūpo kātabbo ti. Vīhirāsisadiso mahārājâti. Sādhu bhante ti rājā jaṅghappamāṇaṃ thūpaṃ cināpetvā dhātu-oropanatthāya mahāsakkāraṃ kāresi. Sakalanagarañ ca janapado ca dhātumahaṃ [3] dassanatthaṃ sannipati. Sannipatite ca pana tasmiṃ mahājanakāye dasabalassa dhātu hatthikumbhato sattatālappamāṇam vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā yamakapāṭihāriyaṃ dassesi. Tehi tehi [4] dhātuppadesehi channaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ udakadhārā ca aggikkhandhā ca pavattanti. Sāvatthiyaṃ Gaṇḍambamūle [5] bhagavatā dassitapāṭihāriya[89]sadisam eva pāṭihāriyaṃ ahosi. Tañ ca kho n'eva therânubhāvena na devatânubhāvena, api ca kho Buddhânubhāven'eva. Bhagavā kira dharamāno 'va adhiṭṭhāsi : mayi parinibbute Tambapaṇṇidīpe Anurādhapurassa dakkhiṇabhāge purimakānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ Buddhānaṃ paribhogacetiyaṭṭhāne mama dakkhiṇ'akkhakadhātupatiṭṭhānadivase yamakapāṭihāriyaṃ hotûti.

[1] Bp. ahosîti.
[2] Bp.Sp. sīghaṃ sīghaṃ.
[3] P. -mahadassanatthaṃ.
[4] E. tehi once only.
[5] E. Gaṇḍambarukkhamūle.

Evaṃ acintiyā Buddhā Buddhadhammā acintiyā acintiye [1] pasannānaṃ vipāko hoti acintiyo ti.

94. Sammāsambuddho kira imaṃ dīpaṃ dharamānakāle pi tikkhattuṃ agamāsi. Paṭhamaṃ yakkhadamanatthaṃ ekako 'va āgantvā yakkhe dametvā: mayi parinibbute imasmiṃ dīpe sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhahissatîti Tambapaṇṇidīpe rakkhaṃ karonto tikkhattuṃ dīpaṃ āvijjhi. Dutiyaṃ mātulabhāgineyyānaṃ nāgarājūnaṃ damanatthāya ekako 'va āgantvā te dametvā agamāsi. Tatiyaṃ pañcasatabhikkhuparivāro āgantvā Mahācetiyaṭṭhāne ca Thūpârāmacetiyaṭṭhāne ca mahābodhipatiṭṭhitaṭṭhāne ca [2] Mutiyaṅgaṇacetiyaṭṭhāne [3] ca Dighavāpicetiyaṭṭhāne ca Kalyāṇicetiyaṭṭhāne [4] ca nirodhasamāpattiṃ samāpajjitvā nisīdi. Idam assa catutthaṃ dhātusarīrena āgamanaṃ. Dhātusarīrato ca pan'assa nikkhanta [5]-udakaphusitehi sakala-Tambapaṇṇitale na koci apphuṭokāso nāma ahosi. Evam assa taṃ dhātusarīraṃ udakaphusitehi Tambapaṇṇitalassa pariḷāhaṃ vūpasametvā [6] mahājanassa pāṭihāriyaṃ dassetvā otaritvā raññho matthake [**90**] patiṭṭhāsi. Rājā saphalaṃ manussapaṭilābhaṃ maññamāno mahantaṃ sakkāraṃ karitvā dhātuṃ patiṭṭhāpesi. Saha dhātupatiṭṭhānena [7] mahābhūmicālo ahosi. Tasmiñ ca pana dhātupāṭihāriye cittaṃ pasādetvā raññho bhātā Abhayo nāma rājakumāro purisasahassena saddhiṃ pabbaji. Cetāligāmato [8] pañcadārakasatāni pabbajiṃsu; tathā Dvāramaṇḍalâdīhi gāmakehi nikkhamitvā pañca pañca [9] dārakasatāni. Sabbāni pi antonagarato ca bahinagarato ca pabbajitāni tiṃsabhikkhusahassāni ahesuṃ. Niṭṭhite pana thūpasmiṃ rājā ca rājabhātikā ca deviyo ca devanāgayakkhānam pi vimhayakaraṃ paccekaṃ paccekaṃ pūjaṃ akaṃsu. Niṭṭhitāya pana dhātupūjāya patiṭṭhite dhātuvare Mahindatthero Meghavan'uyyānam eva gantvā vāsaṃ kappesi.

95. Tasmiṃ kho pana samaye Anulādevī pabbajitukāmā hutvā raññho ārocesi. Rājā tassā vacanaṃ sutvā theraṃ etad

[1] T.O. acintiyesu.
[2] Bp. adds Mahiyaṅgaṇacetiyaṭṭhāne ca.
[3] Bp. Mudaṅgaṇa-; Sp. Mutiṅgaṇa-.
[4] P.E.V. Kalyāṇiya-.
[5] Misprint in T.
[6] T.O. upasametvā.
[7] T.O. patiṭṭhāne; P.E.V. ṭhāpanena.
[8] P.E.V. Cetāḷi-; Bp. Cetaraṅga-; Mhv. Cetāvi-.
[9] T.O. pañca once only. Mhv. too pañca pañca.

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devi pañcahi ca kaññāsatehi pañcahi ca antepurikāsatehi saddhiṃ pabbajitukāmā mayhaṃ āgamanaṃ udikkhati, gacchām' ahaṃ mahārāja Tambapaṇṇidīpan ti. Rājā āha : amma putto pi me Mahindatthero nattā ca Sumanasāmaṇero maṃ chinnahatthaṃ viya karontā Tambapaṇṇidīpaṃ [**92**] gatā. Tassa mayhaṃ te pi apassantassa uppanno soko tava mukhaṃ passantassa vūpasammati. Alaṃ amma mā agamāsîti. Bhāriyaṃ me mahārāja bhātuno vacanaṃ. Anulā pi khattiyā itthisahassaparivutā pabbajjāpurekkhārā maṃ patimāneti. Gacchām' ahaṃ mahārājâti. Tena hi amma mahābodhiṃ gahetvā yāhîti.[1]

97. Kuto raññο mahābodhi. Rājā kira tato pubbe eva dhātugahaṇatthāya anāgate Sumane, Laṅkādīpaṃ mahābodhiṃ pesetukāmo : kathan nu kho asatthaghātâraham mahābodhiṃ pesessāmîti upāyaṃ apassanto Mahādevaṃ nāma amaccaṃ pucchi. So āha : santi deva bahū paṇḍitā bhikkhûti. Taṃ sutvā rājā bhikkhusaṅghassa bhattaṃ paṭiyādetvā bhattakiccâvasāne saṅghaṃ pucchi : gantabbaṃ nu kho bhante bhagavato bodhinā Laṅkādīpaṃ no ti. Saṅgho Moggaliputtatissattherassa bhāraṃ akāsi. Thero : gantabbaṃ mahārāja mahābodhinā Laṅkādīpan ti vatvā bhagavato pañca mahā-adhiṭṭhānāni kathesi. Katamāni pañca.

Bhagavā kira mahāparinibbānamañce nipanno : Laṅkādīpe mahābodhipatiṭṭhāpanatthāya Asokamahārājā mahābodhigahaṇatthaṃ [2] gamissati, tadā mahābodhissa dakkhiṇasākhā sayam eva chijjitvā suvaṇṇakaṭāhe patiṭṭhātûti adhiṭṭhāsi. Idam ekam [3] adhiṭṭhānaṃ. Tattha patiṭṭhānakāle ca [4] mahābodhi himavalāhakagabbhaṃ pavisitvā tiṭṭhatûti adhiṭṭhāsi. Idaṃ dutiyaṃ adhiṭṭhānaṃ. Sattame divase himavalāhakagabbhato oruyha suvaṇṇakaṭāhe patiṭṭhahanto pattehi ca phalehi ca chabbaṇṇaraṃsiyo muñcatûti [5] adhiṭṭhāsi. Idaṃ tatiyaṃ adhiṭṭhānaṃ. Thūpârāme dakkhiṇ'akkhakadhātu cetiyamhi patiṭṭhānadivase yamakapāṭihāriyaṃ karotûti adhiṭṭhāsi. Idaṃ [6] catuttham [7] adhiṭṭhānaṃ. Laṅkādīpamhi yeva

[1] T.O. gacchāhîti.
[2] T.O. -gaṇhanatthaṃ.
[3] T.O. ekaṃ.
[4] T.O. va.
[5] P.E.V. muñcantûti.
[6] T.O. imaṃ.
[7] P.E.V. catutthaṃ.

me doṇamattā dhātuyo Mahācetiyamhi [**93**] patiṭṭhānakāle Buddhavesaṃ gahetvā vehāsaṃ uppatitvā [1] yamakapāṭihāriyaṃ karontûti adhiṭṭhāsi. Idaṃ pañcamaṃ adhiṭṭhānaṃ.

Rājā imāni pañca mahā-adhiṭṭhānāni sutvā pasannacitto Pāṭaliputtato yāva mahābodhi tāva maggaṃ paṭijaggāpetvā suvaṇṇakaṭāhatthāya bahuṃ suvaṇṇaṃ nīharāpesi. Tāvad eva ca raññο cittaṃ ñatvā Vissakammadevaputto kammāravaṇṇaṃ nimminitvā purato aṭṭhāsi. Rājā naṃ [2] disvā : tāta imaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ gahetvā kaṭāhaṃ karohiti āha. Pamāṇaṃ deva jānāthâti.[3] Tvam eva tāta ñatvā karohîti.[4] Sādhu deva karissāmîti suvaṇṇaṃ gahetvā attano ānubhāvena hatthena parimadditvā suvaṇṇakaṭāhaṃ nimmini, navahatthaparikkhepaṃ pañcahatth'ubbedhaṃ tihatthavikkhambhaṃ aṭṭhaṅgulabahalaṃ hatthisoṇḍappamāṇamukhavaṭṭiṃ.[5]

98. Atha rājā satayojanâyāmāya [6] tiyojanavitthārāya mahatiyā senāya Pāṭaliputtato nikkhamitvā ariyasaṅghaṃ ādāya mahābodhisamīpaṃ agamāsi. Senā samussitadhajapatākaṃ [7] nānāratanavicittaṃ anekâlaṅkārapatimaṇḍitaṃ nānāvidhakusumasamākiṇṇaṃ anekaturiyasaṅghuṭṭaṃ [8] mahābodhiṃ parikkhipi. Rājā sahassamatte gaṇapāmokkhe mahāthere gahetvā sakala-Jambudīpe pattâbhisekānaṃ rājūnaṃ [9] sahassena attānañ ca mahābodhiñ ca parivārāpetvā mahābodhimūle ṭhatvā mahābodhiṃ ullokesi. Mahābodhissa khandhañ ca dakkhiṇamahāsākhāya [10] catuhatthappamāṇaṃ padesañ ca [11] ṭhapetvā avasesaṃ adassanaṃ agamāsi. Rājā taṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ disvā uppannapītipāmojjo : ahaṃ bhante imaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ disvā tuṭṭho mahābodhiṃ sakala-Jambudīpe rajjena [12] pūjemîti bhikkhussaṅghassa vatvā abhisekaṃ adāsi. [**94**] Tato pupphagandhâdīhi pūjetvā tikkhattuṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhasu ṭhānesu vanditvā uṭṭhāya añjaliṃ paggayha ṭhatvā saccavacanakiriyāya bodhiṃ gaṇhitukāmo bhūmito yāva mahābodhissa dakkhiṇasākhā tāva uccaṃ katvā ṭhapitassa sabbaratanamayapīṭhassa upari suvaṇṇakaṭāhaṃ ṭhapāpetvā

[1] P.E. abbhuggantvā.
[2] P.E.V. taṃ.
[3] T.O. jānathâti.
[4] T.O. omit ti.
[5] T.O. -soṇḍapamāṇa-.
[6] T.O. -āyāmāni.
[7] P.E.V. -paṭākaṃ.
[8] P.E.V. -saṅghaṭṭaṃ.
[9] T.O. rājānaṃ.
[10] T.O. -sākhāyaṃ.
[11] T.O. omit.
[12] P.E.V. -dīparajjena.

ratanapīṭhaṃ āruyha suvaṇṇatūlikaṃ gahetvā manosilāya lekhaṃ katvā: yadi mahābodhinā Laṅkādīpe patiṭṭhātabbaṃ,[1] yadi câhaṃ Buddhasāsane nibbematiko bhaveyyaṃ, mahābodhi sayam eva imasmiṃ suvaṇṇakaṭāhe patiṭṭhātûti saccavacanakiriyam akāsi. Saha saccakiriyāya bodhisākhā manosilāya paricchinnaṭṭhāne chijjitvā gandhakalalapūrassa suvaṇṇakaṭāhassa upari aṭṭhāsi.

Tassā[2] ubbedhena dasahattho khandho hoti, catuhatthā catuhatthā pañca mahāsākhā pañcahi yeva[3] phalehi patimaṇḍitā, khuddakasākhānaṃ pana sahassaṃ. Atha rājā mūlalekhāya[4] upari tivaṅgule padese aññaṃ lekhaṃ parichindi.[5] Tato tāvad eva bubbulakā hutvā dasamahāmūlāni nikkhamiṃsu. Puna uparûpari tivaṅgule tivaṅgule aññā nava lekhā paricchindi; tāhi[6] pi dasabubbulakā hutvā navuti mūlāni nikkhamiṃsu. Paṭhamakā dasa mahāmūlā caturaṅgulamattaṃ nikkhantā, itare pi gavakkhajālasadisaṃ anusibbantā nikkhantā. Ettakaṃ pāṭihīraṃ rājā ratanapīṭhamatthake ṭhito yeva disvā añjaliṃ paggayha mahānādaṃ nadi, anckāni bhikkhusahassāni sādhukāram akaṃsu, sakalarājasenā unnādinī ahosi, cel'ukkhepasatasahassāni[7] pavattiṃsu, bhummaṭṭhakadeve ādiṃ katvā yāva brahmakāyikā [**95**] devā tāva[8] sādhukāraṃ pavattayiṃsu. Raññho imaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ passantassa pitiyā nirantaraṃ phuṭasarīrassa añjalim paggahetvā ṭhitass' eva mahābodhi mūlasatena suvaṇṇakaṭāhe patiṭṭhāsi. Dasa mahāmūlā suvaṇṇakaṭāhatalaṃ āhacca aṭṭhaṃsu, avasesā navuti khuddakamūlā[9] anupubbena vaḍḍhanakā[10] hutvā gandhakalale oruyha ṭhitā.

99. Evaṃ suvaṇṇakaṭāhe patiṭṭhitamatte mahābodhimhi mahāputhuvī[11] cali, ākāse devadundubhiyo phaliṃsu, pabbatānaṃ naccehi devatānaṃ sādhukārehi yakkhānaṃ bhiṅkārehi[12] asurānaṃ thutijappehi brahmānaṃ appoṭhanehi meghānaṃ gajjitehi catuppadānaṃ ravehi pakkhīnaṃ virutehi sabbatālâvacarānaṃ sakasakapaṭibhānehi puthuvitalato yāva

[1] E. adds ca.
[2] T.O. tassa.
[3] T.O. eva.
[4] T.O. mūle lekhāya.
[5] E. paricchijji; T.O. -chinditvā tato.
[6] T.O. tā.
[7] T.O. cel'ukkhepa-.
[8] P.E. devatā ca.
[9] T.O. omit.
[10] T.O. -vaḍḍhanā.
[11] P. -paṭhavī; T.O. -puthuvi.
[12] T.O. hiṃkārehi.

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aṭṭha ca rajataghaṭe datvā iminā parivārena mahābodhiṃ Gaṅgāya [**97**] nāvaṃ āropetvā sayam pi nagarato nikkhamitvā Viñjhâṭaviṃ samatikkamma anupubbena sattahi divasehi Tāmalittiṃ anuppatto. Antarāmagge devanāgamanussā uḷāraṃ mahābodhipūjaṃ akaṃsu. Rājā pi samuddatīre satta divasāni mahābodhiṃ ṭhapetvā sakala-Jambudīpe mahārajjaṃ adāsi. Idam assa tatiyaṃ Jambudīpe rajjasampadānam [1] hoti.

101. Evaṃ mahārajjena pūjetvā māgasiramāsassa [2] paṭhamapāṭipadadivase Asoko dhammarājā mahābodhiṃ ukkhipitvā galappamāṇaṃ udakaṃ oruyha nāvāyaṃ patiṭṭhāpetvā Saṅghamittattherim pi saparivāraṃ nāvaṃ āropetvā Ariṭṭhaṃ amaccaṃ etad avoca: ahaṃ tāta mahābodhiṃ tikkhattuṃ sakala-Jambudīpe rajjena pūjetvā galappamāṇaṃ udakaṃ oruyha mama sahāyassa pesesiṃ, so pi evam eva mahābodhiṃ pūjetûti. Evaṃ sahāyassa sāsanaṃ datvā: gacchati vata 're dasabalassa sarasaraṃsijālaṃ vimuñcamāno mahābodhirukkho ti kanditvā [3] añjaliṃ paggahetvā assūni pavattayamāno aṭṭhāsi. Sā pi kho mahābodhisamārūḷhā nāvā passato [4] mahārājassa mahāsamuddatalaṃ pakkhantā. Mahāsamudde pi samantā yojanaṃ vīciyo vūpasantā, pañcavaṇṇāni padumāni pupphitāni, antalikkhe dibbāni turiyāni vajjiṃsu,[5] ākāse [6] jalathalarukkhâdisannissitāhi devatāhi pavattitā ativiya uḷārā pūjā ahosi. Saṅghamittattherī pi [7] supaṇṇarūpena mahāsamudde nāgakulāni santāsesi. Te samutrastarūpā nāgā āgantvā taṃ vibhūtiṃ passitvā theriṃ yācitvā mahābodhiṃ nāgabhavanaṃ atiharitvā satta divasāni [**98**] nāgarajjena pūjetvā puna nāvāyaṃ patiṭṭhāpesuṃ. Taṃ divasam eva nāvā Jambukolapaṭṭanaṃ agamāsi. Asokamahārājā pi mahābodhiviyogadukkhito [8] kanditvā roditvā yāva dassanavisayaṃ oloketvā paṭinivatti.

102. Devānampiyatisso mahārājā pi kho Sumanasāmaṇerassa vacanena māgasiramāsassa [9] paṭhamapāṭipadadivasatoppabhuti [10] uttaradvārato paṭṭhāya yāva Jambukolapaṭṭanaṃ

[1] P. -dīparajja-.
[2] P.E. māgasirassa.
[3] P.E. vanditvā.
[4] P.E.V. repeat passato.
[5] P. . pavajjiṃsu.
[6] T.O. ākāsato.
[7] T.Ḍ. omit.
[8] T.O. add pi.
[9] P.E. māgasirassa.
[10] T.O. divasato pabhuti.

tāva[1] maggaṃ sodhāpetvā alaṅkārāpetvā nagarato nikkhamanadivase uttaradvārasamīpe Samuddasālāvatthusmiṃ[2] ṭhito yeva tāya vibhūtiyā mahāsamudde āgacchantaṃ yeva mahābodhiṃ therassa ānubhāvena disvā tuṭṭhamānaso nikkhamitvā sabbaṃ maggaṃ pañcavaṇṇehi pupphehi okirāpento antar'antarā[3] puppha-agghiyāni ṭhapento ekâhen'eva Jambukolapaṭṭanaṃ gantvā sabbatālâvacaraparivuto pupphadhūpagandhâdīhi pūjayamāno galappamāṇaṃ udakaṃ oruyha: āgato vata 're dasabalassa sarasaraṃsijālavissajjanako mahābodhirukkho[4] ti pasannacitto mahābodhiṃ ukkhipitvā uttamaṅge sirasmiṃ patiṭṭhapetvā mahābodhiṃ parivāretvā āgatehi soḷasahi jātisampannakulehi saddhiṃ samuddato paccuttaritvā samuddatīre mahābodhiṃ ṭhapetvā tiṇi divasāni sakala-Tambapaṇṇidīpe rajjena pūjesi, soḷasannaṃ jātisampannakulānaṃ rajjaṃ vicāresi.

Atha catutthe divase mahābodhiṃ ādāya uḷāraṃ pūjaṃ kurumāno anupubbena Anurādhapuraṃ sampatto. Anurādhapure pi mahāsakkāraṃ katvā cātuddasīdivase[5] yeva vaḍḍhamānakacchāyāya mahābodhiṃ uttaradvārena pavesetvā nagaramajjhena [**99**] atiharanto dakkhiṇadvārena nikkhamitvā dakkhiṇadvārato pañcadhanusatikaṭṭhāne yattha amhākaṃ sammāsambuddho[6] nirodhasamāpattiṃ samāpajjitvā nisīdi, purimakā ca tayo sammāsambuddhā samāpattiṃ appetvā nisīdiṃsu, yattha Kakusandhassa bhagavato mahāsirīsabodhi,[7] Koṇāgamanassa bhagavato pana udumbarabodhi, Kassapassa sammāsambuddhassa[8] ca nigrodhabodhi patiṭṭhāsi, tasmiṃ Mahāmeghavan'uyyānassa tilakabhūte Sumanasāmaṇerassa vacanena paṭhamam eva katabhūmiparikamme rājavatthudvārakoṭṭhakaṭṭhāne mahābodhiṃ patiṭṭhāpesi. Kathaṃ. Tāni kira bodhiṃ parivāretvā āgatāni soḷasa jātisampannakulāni rājavesaṃ gaṇhiṃsu, rājā dovārikavesaṃ gaṇhi. Soḷasa kulāni ca[9] mahābodhiṃ gahetvā oropayiṃsu. Mahābodhi tesaṃ hatthato muttasamanantaram eva asītihatthappamāṇaṃ vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā chabbaṇṇaraṃsiyo muñci, sarasaraṃsiyo sakaladīpaṃ pattharitvā upari Brahmalokaṃ āhacca aṭṭhaṃsu.

[1] T.O. omit.
[2] E. -sālavatthu-.
[3] T.O. antar'antare.
[4] T.O. bodhirukkho.
[5] T.O.E. cātuddasadivase.
[6] T.O. sambuddho.
[7] E. -sirisa-.
[8] P.E. Kassapasammā-.
[9] P. omits.

103. Mahābodhipāṭihāriyaṃ disvā sañjātappasādāni dasapurisasahassāni anupubbavipassanaṃ paṭṭhapetvā arahattaṃ patvā pabbajiṃsu. Yāva suriyass' atthaṅgamā mahābodhi antalikkhe aṭṭhāsi, atthaṅgamite[1] pana suriye rohiṇīnakkhattena[2] paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhahi. Saha bodhipatiṭṭhānā udakapariyantaṃ katvā mahāpaṭhavī akampi. Patiṭṭhahitvā ca pana mahābodhi satta divasāni himagabbhe sannisīdi, lokassa adassanaṃ agamāsi. Sattame divase vigatavalāhakaṃ nabhaṃ ahosi. Chabbaṇṇaraṃsiyo jalantā vipphurantā niccharimṣu. Mahābodhissa khandho ca sākhāyo ca [**100**] tāni ca pañca phalāni dissiṃsu.[3]

Mahindatthero ca Saṅghamittattherī ca rājā ca saparivārā mahābodhiṭṭhānam eva agamiṃsu; yebhuyyena ca sabbadīpavāsino sannipatiṃsu. Tesaṃ passantānaṃ yeva uttarasākhato ekaṃ phalaṃ paccitvā sākhato mucci. Thero hatthaṃ upanāmesi. Phalaṃ therassa hatthe patiṭṭhāsi. Taṃ thero: ropaya mahārājâti raññο adāsi. Rājā gahetvā suvaṇṇakaṭāhe madhurapaṃsuṃ[4] ākiritvā gandhakalalaṃ pūretvā ropetvā mahābodhi-āsannaṭṭhāne[5] ṭhapesi. Sabbesaṃ passantānaṃ yeva catuhatthappamāṇā aṭṭha taruṇabodhirukkhā uṭṭhahiṃsu. Rājā taṃ acchariyaṃ disvā aṭṭha taruṇabodhirukkhe setacchattena pūjetvā abhisekaṃ adāsi. Tato ekaṃ bodhirukkhaṃ āgamanakāle mahābodhinā paṭhamapatiṭṭhitokāse Jambukolapaṭṭane ropayiṃsu, ekaṃ Tavakkabrāhmaṇassa[6] gāmadvāre, ekaṃ Thūpârāme, ekaṃ Issaranimmāṇavihāre,[7] ekaṃ Paṭhamacetiyaṭṭhāne, ekaṃ Cetiyapabbate, ekaṃ Rohaṇajanapadamhi Kācaragāme,[8] ekaṃ Rohaṇajanapadamhi yeva Candanagāme. Itaresaṃ catunnaṃ phalānaṃ bījehi jāte[9] dvattiṃsabodhitaruṇe yojanīyayojanīyesu[10] ārāmesu patiṭṭhāpesuṃ.

Evaṃ puttanattuparamparāya[11] samantā dīpavāsīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya patiṭṭhite dasabalassa[12] dhammadhajabhūte[12] [**101**] mahābodhimhi Anulādevī pañcahi kaññāsatehi pañcahi ca

[1] P.E. atthamite.
[2] T.O.E. rohini-.
[3] P.E. dassiṃsu.
[4] T.O. -paṃsū.
[5] P.E. -āsanaṭṭhāne; Sp. mahā-āsannaṭṭhāne.
[6] Mhv. Tivakka-.
[7] T.O. -nimmāna-.
[8] T.O. Kāṭaragāme; Bp. Gocaragāme.
[9] T.O. omit.
[10] P. yojanīyayojanīyesu; Sp. yojanīyârāmesu.
[11] T.O. -natta-.
[12] P.E. omit.

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105. Atha rājā: sace bhante mayhaṃ nattā karissati kataṃ yeva mayâti dvādasahatthaṃ pāsāṇatthambhaṃ āharāpetvā: Devānampiyatissaraññño nattā Duṭṭhagāmaṇī [1] Abhayo nāma imasmiṃ padese thūpaṃ karotûti [2] likhāpetvā patiṭṭhāpetvā vanditvā [3] theraṃ pucchi: patiṭṭhitaṃ nu kho bhante Tambapaṇṇidīpe sāsanan ti. Patiṭṭhitaṃ mahārāja sāsanaṃ, mūlāni pan'assa na tāva otarantîti. Kadā pana bhante mūlāni otiṇṇāni nāma bhavissantîti. Yadā mahārāja Tambapaṇṇidīpakānaṃ mātāpitunnaṃ Tambapaṇṇidīpe jāto dārako Tambapaṇṇidīpe pabbajitvā Tambapaṇṇidīpamhi yeva vinayaṃ uggahetvā Tambapaṇṇidīpe vācessati, tadā sāsanassa mūlāni otiṇṇāni nāma bhavissantîti. Atthi pana bhante ediso bhikkhûti. Atthi mahārāja Mahā-ariṭṭho [4] bhikkhu paṭibalo etasmiṃ kamme ti.[5] Kiṃ [6] mayā ettha bhante kātabban ti. Maṇḍapaṃ mahārāja kātuṃ vaṭṭatîti. Sādhu bhante ti rājā Meghavaṇṇâbhayassa amaccassa pariveṇaṭṭhāne mahāsaṅgītikāle Ajātasattumahārājena katamaṇḍapappakāraṃ [7] rājânubhāvena maṇḍapaṃ kārāpetvā [8] sabbatālâvacare sakasakasippe payojetvā: sāsanassa mūlāni otarantāni passissāmiti anekapurisasahassaparivuto Thūpârāmaṃ anuppatto.

106. Tena kho pana samayena Thūpârāme aṭṭhasaṭṭhi bhikkhusahassāni sannipatiṃsu. Mahāmahindattherassa āsanaṃ dakkhiṇâbhimukhaṃ [**103**] paññattaṃ hoti, Mahā-ariṭṭhattherassa dhammâsanaṃ uttarâbhimukhaṃ paññattaṃ hoti. Atha kho Mahā-ariṭṭhatthero Mahindattherena ajjhiṭṭho attano anurūpena pattânukkamena dhammâsane nisīdi. Mahindattherapamukhā aṭṭhasaṭṭhi mahātherā dhammâsanaṃ parivāretvā nisīdiṃsu. Raññho pi kaṇiṭṭhabhātā Mattâbhayatthero nāma dhuraggāho hutvā: vinayaṃ gaṇhissāmîti pañcahi bhikkhusatehi [9] saddhiṃ Mahā-ariṭṭhattherassa dhammâsanam eva parivāretvā nisīdi. Avasesā pi bhikkhū sarājikā ca parisā attano attano pattâsane nisīdiṃsu. Athâyasmā Mahā-ariṭṭhatthero: *tena samayena Buddho bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharati Nalerupucimandamūle* ti vinayanidānaṃ abhāsi. Bhāsite ca

[1] T.O.E. -gāminī.
[2] P.E. add akkharāni.
[3] T.O. omit.
[4] T.O. omit Mahā.
[5] T.O. omit.
[6] P.E.V. Mayā ettha bhante kiṃ.
[7] T.O. -maṇḍapâkāraṃ.
[8] P.E. kāretvā.
[9] P.E. pañcabhikkhu-.

panâyasmatā Ariṭṭhattherena vinayanidāne ākāsaṃ mahāviravaṃ [1] viravi, akālavijjullatā niccharimṣu, devatā sādhukāraṃ adaṃsu, mahāpaṭhavī udakapariyantaṃ katvā saṅkampi. Evaṃ anekesu pāṭihāriyesu vattamānesu āyasmā Ariṭṭhatthero Mahāmahindappamukhehi [2] aṭṭhasaṭṭhiyā paccekagaṇīhi khīṇâsavamahātherehi tad aññehi ca aṭṭhasaṭṭhisahassehi bhikkhūhi parivuto paṭhamakattikapavāraṇadivase Thūpârāmavihāramajjhe satthu karuṇāguṇaparidīpakaṃ bhagavato anusiṭṭhikarānaṃ kāyakammavacīkammavipphanditavinayanaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ pakāsesi. Pakāsetvā ca yāvat āyukaṃ tiṭṭhamāno bahunnaṃ vācetvā bahunnaṃ hadaye patiṭṭhāpetvā anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinabbāyi. Te pi kho Mahāmahindappamukhā [3] tasmiṃ samāgame :

[**104**] Aṭṭhasaṭṭhi mahātherā dhuraggāhā samāgatā
paccekagaṇino sabbe dhammarājassa sāvakā.
Khīṇâsavā vasippattā tevijjā iddhikovidā
uttamattham abhiññāya anusāsiṃsu rājino.
Ālokaṃ dassayitvāna obhāsetvā mahiṃ imaṃ
jalitvā aggikkhandhā va parinibbiṃsu [4] mahesayo.

Tesaṃ parinibbānato aparabhāge aññe pi tesaṃ therānaṃ antevāsikā Tissadatta-Kālasumana-Dīghasumanâdayo ca Mahā-ariṭṭhattherassa antevāsikā antevāsikānaṃ antevāsikā câti evaṃ pubbe vuttappakārā ācariyaparamparā imaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ yāva ajjatanā ānesum. Tena vuttaṃ : tatiyasaṅgahato pana uddhaṃ imaṃ dīpaṃ Mahindâdīhi ābhataṃ. Mahindato uggahetvā kañci kālaṃ Ariṭṭhattherâdīhi ābhataṃ, tato yāva ajjatanā tesaṃ antevāsikaparamparābhūtāya ācariyaparamparāya ābhatan ti.[5]

107. Katthappatiṭṭhitan ti. Yesaṃ pāḷito [6] ca atthato ca anūnaṃ vattati maṇighaṭe pakkhittatelam iva īsakam pi na paggharati, evarūpesu adhimattasatigatidhitimantesu lajjikukkuccakesu [7] sikkhākāmesu puggalesu patiṭṭhitan ti veditabbaṃ. Tasmā vinayapatiṭṭhāpanatthaṃ vinayapariyattiyā ānisaṃsaṃ sallakkhetvā sikkhākāmena bhikkhunā vinayo

[1] T.O. -viravitaṃ.
[2] T.O. Mahindattherapamukhehi.
[3] T.O. Mahamahindattherapamukhā.
[4] E. nibbāyiṃsu ; T.O. parinibbāyiṃsu.
[5] O. ends here.
[6] T. pālito.
[7] P. lajjisu kukkuccakesu.

pariyāpuṇitabbo. Tatrâyaṃ vinayapariyattiyā ānisaṃso: vinayapariyattikusalo hi puggalo sāsane paṭiladdhasaddhānaṃ kulaputtānaṃ mātupituṭṭhāniyo [1] hoti, tad āyattā hi nesaṃ pabbajjā upasampadā vattânuvattapaṭipatti ācāragocarakusalatā. Api c'assa vinayapariyattiṃ nissāya attano sīlakkhandho sugutto hoti surakkhito, kukkuccapakatānaṃ paṭisaraṇaṃ hoti, visārado saṅghamajjhe voharati, paccatthike sahadhammena suniggahītaṃ niggaṇhāti, [**105**] saddhammaṭṭhitiyā paṭipanno hoti. Tenâha bhagavā: pañc 'ime bhikkhave ānisaṃsā vinayadhare puggale: attano sīlakkhandho sugutto hoti surakkhito -pe- saddhammaṭṭhitiyā paṭipanno hotîti. Ye câpi saṃvaramūlakā kusalā dhammā vuttā bhagavatā, vinayadharo puggalo tesaṃ dāyādo vinayamūlakattā tesaṃ dhammānaṃ. Vuttam pi h'etaṃ bhagavatā: vinayo saṃvaratthāya saṃvaro avippaṭisāratthāya avippaṭisāro pāmujjatthāya pāmujjaṃ pīt'atthāya pīti passaddh'atthāya passaddhi sukhatthāya sukhaṃ samādh'atthāya samādhi yathābhūtañāṇadassanatthāya yathābhūtañāṇadassanaṃ nibbid'atthāya nibbidā virāgatthāya virago vimutt'atthāya vimutti vimuttiñāṇadassanatthāya vimuttiñāṇadassanaṃ anupādā parinibbānatthāya; etad atthā kathā etad atthā mantaṇā [2] etad atthā upanisā etad atthaṃ sotâvadhānaṃ, yad idaṃ anupādā cittassa vimokkho ti. Tasmā vinayapariyattiyā āyogo karaṇīyo ti.

Ettāvatā ca yā sā vinayasaṃvaṇṇanatthaṃ mātikā ṭhapitā, tattha:

Vuttaṃ yena yadā yasmā dhāritaṃ yena câbhataṃ,
yatthappatiṭṭhitañ c'etam etaṃ vatvā vidhiṃ tato ti,

imissā tāva gāthāya attho pakāsito. Vinayassa ca bāhiranidānavaṇṇanā yathâdhippāyaṃ saṃvaṇṇitā hotîti.

Bāhiranidānavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

[1] P.E.V. mātāpitu-.
[2] T.O.E. mantanā.

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ācāragocarakusalatā, 107
āciṇṇakappa, 38
ājīvaka, 46
āṇā, 25 ; āṇācakka, 10 ; āṇādesanā, 25
ādiccaṃ anuparivattati, 55
ādirājā, 76
ānupubbīkathā, 47, 64
ānubhāva, 12, 37, 45, 47, 49, 56, 102 ; therânubhāva, 93, 97 ; devatânu-, 92, 93 ; puññānu-, 45, 78 ; Buddhânu-, 90, 93 ; rājânu-, 105 ; vigata-, 65
āpatti, 14
āmisapaṇṇākāra, 78
āyusaṅkhāra, 53
ārakkhā, 58, 60, 62, 72
ārammaṇa, rūpa-, sadda-, 23
ārāma, 84
āvāsakappa, 38
āvāsaṭṭhāna, 84
āsava, 1, 11 ; āsavakkhaya, 19
āsana, 42, 48, 83 ; āsanapaññatti, 83

U

uccāsayanamahāsayana, 83
ucchedavāda, 62
uttarâsaṅga, 56
udakapāta, 84
udakasāṭikā, 92
udāna, the aṅga, 28, 31
udānagāthā, 19, 23
uddāna, 23
uddhacca, 11
upajjhāya, 36, 37, 43, 47, 48, 52, 73
upanissayasampatti, 51
upanisā, 107
uparājā, 51, 56 ; oparajja, 51, 56
upasama, 41, 46
upasampadā, 48, 107 ; -kamma, 64 ; -sīmā, 52 ; upasampanna, 52
upassaya, 95
upādinnaphassa, 29
upārambha, 28
upāsaka, 38, 73, 74
upāsikā, 47
uposatha, 38, 54, 55, 57, 61, 62, 74, 87 ; -āgāra, 104 ; -divasa, 87, 99
uppādapāṭhaka (v.l., uppāta-), 83
uppabbājeti, 62
ummāda, 29

E

ekaccasassatika, 62
ekabhattika, 72
ekamātika, 44, 55
ekânusandhika, 32
etadagga, 4, 13

O

oparajja, *see* uparājā
ovāda, 48, 85

K

kaṅkhā, 60
kaṭāha, 97 ; *see* suvaṇṇakaṭāha
kaṇṭaka, 55
kathā, 67, 69, 81–3 ; -bheda, 25
kappa, 1, 45 ; kappa (dasa), 38 ; kappiya, 10
kammaṭṭhāna, 43
karakavassa, 65
karuṇāguṇa, 106
kalahaviggaha, 92
kalyāṇadhamma, 72
kahāpaṇa, 38
kāmâvacaradevaloka, 39
kāyakamma, 21, 106
kāyagatāsati, 11
kāyabandhana, 83, 91
kālapakkha, 99
kāsāyāni vatthāni, 54, 94
kāsāvapajjota, 65, 79
kilesa, 1, 26, 28
kukkucca, 61 ; -pakata, 107 ; kukkuccāyita, 56
kuṭumbikakula, 100
kumbhaṇḍa, 65
kusalatthika, 1
kusalâdhippāya, 57
kusalasambhāra, 27
keṭubha, 42
ketumālā, 45
kojavaka, 83

Kh

khaṇḍaphullapaṭisaṅkharaṇa, 8, 9
khattiya, -yā, 96 ; -kula, 68 ; -jana, 56
khandha, 19 ; *see* pariññātakkhandha *and* sīlakkhandha
khaya; 19
khīṇāsava, 4, 28, 36–8, 40, 49, 50, 79, 106 ; -mahāthera, 106
khuragga, 47, 86

G

gaṇa, 33, 55 ; -kamma, 54 ; -pāmokkha, 98 ; -sajjhāya, 14 ; *see also* pañcavagga gaṇa *and* paccekagṇī
gandhakalala, 98, 103
gandhakuṭi, 8
gandhabba, 65
gabbha, 74 ; *see* paripuṇṇagabbhā
gambhīrabhāva, 24, 26, 27
gahakāraka, 19
gahakūṭa, 19
gāthā, the aṅga, 28, 31
gāmantarakappa, 38
geyya, the aṅga, 28, 31
gocara, 6
gopakula, 100

Gh

ghāsacchādana, 54

C

cakkavāḷa, 99 ; -gabbha, 99
caṅkama, 11
caṇḍāla, jeṭṭhaka-, 47 ; -gāma, 47
cammakhaṇḍa, 58
cātumāsinī puṇṇamā, 89
citta, 9, 42, 57, 61 ; -kkhepa, 29 ; -vārabhājana, 32 ; cittassa vimokkha, 107 ; samāhita-, 82
cīvara, 43, 56, 83
cetiya, 48, 54, 83, 90–3 ; paribhoga cetiya, 90, 93
cetopariyakovida, 79
cel'ukkhepa, 98

Ch

chaṇa, 56, 74, 77
chanda, 5
chaḷabhiññā, 35, 74
chātakaroga, 91
chinnabhinnapaṭadhara, 65, 77

J

janapada, 64, 73, 74
jalogi (kappa), 38
jātaka, 69
jātaka, the aṅga, 28, 31
jātarūparajata (kappa), 38
jāti, 19
juṇhapakkha, 99

Jh

jhāna, 3 ; catutthaj-, 60, 82 ; paṭhamaj-, 3

Ñ

ñatti, 6
ñāṇa, 1 ; -dassana, 107
ñātaka, 61, 73, 80

T

taṭṭikā, 83
taṇhā, 26
tathāgata, *see* Proper Names
tantikkama, 1
taruṇabodhirukkhā, 103
tikapariccheda, 32
tikabhājana, 32
tittira, 61
titthiya, 9, 39, 54, 55, 62 ; -vāda, 9
tipiṭaka, 4, 62 ; -dhara, 38, 40, 43, 44 ; -pariyattidhara, 62 ; -saṅgahita, 52 ; tipeṭaka, 63
tejodhātu, 53
tevijja, 4, 62, 106

Th

thera, 1–12, 13, 15, 33–5, 37–43, 47–87, 90–5, 103–7 ; *see* Elder, General Index ; theravāda, 1, 52 ; therâsana, 10, 14, 55 ; therikā, 33 ; therī, 51, 73, 95, 96, 101, 103
thūpa, 87, 88, 93, 94, 104, 105 ; -patiṭṭhāna, 87 ; *see also* maṇithūpa

D

dakkhiṇ'akkhaka, 87, 88, 93, 97
dakkhiṇadāṭhā, 87, 88

dakkhiṇasākhā, 97, 98
daṇḍakamma, 40
dasabala, 5, 8, 33, 38, 39, 50, 84, 93, 101–3
dasabhātika-rājakula, 86
dasabhātuka-rājāno, 76
dāmarika, 76
diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda, 62
diṭṭhasacca, 74
diṭṭhi, 25, 26, 39 ; -gata, 54 ; -vinivetḥanakathā, 25
dīpa, 63, 72, 75–7, 84, 90–2, 94, 95, 102, 103, 106 ; -'ntara, 1 ; -vara, 75 ; -vāsī, 103
dukabhājana, 32
dukkha, 19
duggahita, 57
duppaṭipanna, 29
dubbhikkha, 91
dubbuṭṭhikā, 91
dussassa, 91
dussīlabhāva, 29
deyyadhamma, 50
deva, 10, 17, 45, 89, 94, 98, 100 ; -kula, 100 ; -dūta, 66 ; -rājā, 87, 88 ; -loka, 39, 89 ; devānaminda, 75, 87, 88 ; devatā, 44, 47, 82, 92, 93, 99, 106 ; -sannipāta, 82 ; sa-devaka, 65
desanā, 24, 26, 27, 84
dosa, 5
dvaṅgulakappa, 38
dvattiṃsākāra, 43
dveḷhakajāta, 58

Dh

dhamma (the Dhamma), 1, 3–6, 9, 13, 15, 18, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 38, 49, 52, 55, 62, 78, 81, 90–2, 107 ; -abhisamaya, 65, 67, 72, 82–4, 90–2 ; -amata, 68 ; -āsana, 10, 13–15, 106 ; -kathā, 65 ; -kathika, 58 ; -karaka, 90 ; -kkhandha, 16, 32, 33, 38, 49 ; -cakka, 10 ; -cakkhu, 66 ; -citta, 29 ; -desanā, 83 ; -dhaja, 103 ; -dhara, 54 ; -paṭisambhidā, 27 ; -paṇṇākāra, 78 ; -puñja, 25 ; -ratana-vassā, 83 ; -rāja (Asoka), 78, 87, 88, 101 ; (Buddha), 77, 79, 106 ; -vara, 1 ; -vādī, 4 ; -vinaya, 3, 16, 18, 33, 43, 55 ; -vinaya-saṅgaha, 10 ; -saṅgaha, 10 ; -saṅgāhaka, 35 ; -saṅgīti, 5, 64 ; -sabhā, 12 ; -savaṇa, 82
dhamma (phenomena), 23, 27
dhamma (principles), 48
dhammī kathā, 65
dhātu, 87–9, 93, 94, 97 ; -caṅgoṭaka, 89 ; -patiṭṭhāna, 93, 94 ; -pāṭihāriya, 94 ; pūjā, 7, 94 ; -maha, 93 ; -sarīra, 87, 94
dhura, 13, 15 ; -ggāha, 37, 106

N

nakkhatta, 77
navakamma, 49
navaṅga, 33, 49 ; -satthusāsana, 4
nāga, 17, 45, 65, 78, 82, 94, 100, 101 ; -kula, 101 ; -bala, 65 ; bhavana, 44, 101 ; -rājā, 44, 45, 65, 94 ; -rajja, 101
nāga (elephant), 93
nāga (sage), 63, 74, 88 ; *see also* mahānāga, samaṇanāga
nāgalatā, 44
nātha, 1
nāmarūpa, 25 ; -paricchedakathā, 25
nikāya, 15, 16, 30, 38, 63
niganṭha, 46
nigrodharukkha, 47
nighaṇḍu, 42
nijjhāna, 28
nidāna, 2, 14, 15, 34
nipāta, 33
nibbāna, 3, 7–9 *passim* ; -dhātu, 3, 17, 106
nibbidā, 107
nirodha, 28 ; -samāpatti, 94, 102
nissaggiyapācittiya, 14
nissaraṇattha (pariyatti), 28
n'evasaññīnâsaññīvāda, 62

P

pakataññutā, 36, 37
pakaraṇa, 63
paccanta, 55, 89 ; -imajanapada, 64
paccaya, 28, 51, 53, 87 ; -dāyaka, 50, 51 ; catupaccaya, 49, 54
paccayâkāra, 19
paccuṭṭhāna, 87
paccekagaṇī, 106
pacchāsamaṇa, 8
pajjaraka, 90
pañcatāpa, 55
pañcavagga gaṇa, 64
pañcavaṇṇāni pupphāni, 83, 102
pañcasata, 33
pañcasīla, 48
paññatti, 14, 27
paññā, 1, 26 ; -sampadā, 29

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Brahma, *see* Proper Names ; -kāyikā devā, 98 ; -loka, 39, 41, 42, 51, 82, 99, 102 ; -vimāna, 10
brāhmaṇa, 41–3, 46, 48 ; -kula, 100 ; -bhatta, 46

Bh

Bhagavā, *see* Proper Names ; s.v. Exalted One
bhṇḍāgārikapariyatti, 28
bhaṇḍukāsāvavasana, 65, 77
bhatta, 81, 97 ; -kicea, 41, 48, 83, 97 ; -vissagga, 41 ; dhuvabhatta, 48
bhadra, 61
bhaya (agati), 5
bhayabherava, 61
bhavābhava, 1
bhāvitamagga, 28
bhāsantara, 1
bhiṃsanaka, 65
bhikkhā, 74
bhikkhācāravatta, 53
bhikkhu, 1, 4–10, 13–15, 38, 40, 48, 50, 54, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 72, 75, 78, 79, 90–2, 94, 97 ; -saṅgha, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 38, 44, 48, 49–51, 53, 55, 62, 73, 84, 90, 97, 98
bhummaṭṭhakā devā, 98
bhūmicāla, *see* mahābhūmicāla

M

magga, -kovida, 63 ; -phala, 69-72 ; *see also* bhāvitamagga
maṅgalahatthi, 83, 87–9
maccu, 48
majjapāna, 72
maṇithūpa, 88
maṇḍapa, 10, 83, 105
maṇḍala, Mahisaka-, 64, 66
madhurapaṃsu, 103
manussavāsa, 76
manta, 39, 42
mantanā, 107
maraṇa, paricchinna-, 56 ; assāsapassāsûpanibaddha-, 56
mala, 1, 55
mahākathī, 63
mahātherā, aṭṭhasaṭṭhi, 106
mahānāga, 74, 88
mahāpañña, 63
mahāpaṭhavī, 103, 104, 106 ; mahāputhuvī, 99
mahāparinibbānamañca, 97
mahāpurisalakkhaṇa, 45
Mahābodhi, *see* Proper Names, s.v. Bodhi ff. ; -gahaṇa, 97 ; -ṭṭhāna, 99, 103 ; -patiṭṭhāpana, 97 ; -patiṭṭhitaṭṭhāna, 94 ; -pāṭihāriya, 103 ; -pūjā, 99 ; -maṇḍa, 100 ; -rakkhaṇa, 100 ; -rukkhaṭṭhāna, 93 ; taruṇamahābodhi, 99
mahābhūmicāla, 89, 94, 104
mahāvivāda, 92
mahāvīra (dhātu), 89
mahāsamaṇa, 3
mātikā, 2, 21, 32, 34, 107
mātugāma, 95, 103
mātulabhāgiṇeyyā (nāgarājāno), 94
māṇavaka, 15, 42
māsaka, 38
migava, 56, 77
micchādiṭṭhitā, 29
muṇḍaka, 65
muṇḍeti, 54
muttā (aṭṭha), 78
mettā, 23, 65
methunadhamma, 14
medhāvī, 63
moha (agati), 5

Y

yakkha, 17, 45, 65, 94, 99 ; -damana, 94 ; -senā, 71 ; yakkhiṇī, 65
yathādhammânusāsana, 25
yathânulomasāsana, 25
yathâparādhasāsana, 25
yathābuḍḍhaṃ, 12
yathābhūtañāṇadassana, 107
yamakapāṭihāriya, 93, 97
yāva ajjatanā, 63, 65, 106
yuvarājā, 56
yojana, 44, 60, 88, 98, 101

R

raṃsi, chabbaṇṇa-, 97, 99, 102, 103 ; sarasa-, 101, 102
rakkhasa, 65, 72 ; rakkhasī, 72
rakkhā, 94
rajjasampadāna, 100
ratanattaya, 1, 74
rasa, 16, 17, 33
rājakakudhabhṇḍa, 78
rājavaṃsa, 76
rājavatthu, 102
rūpa, 61 ; -uppatti, 23
rohitamiga, 77

L

lajjikukkuccaka, 107
laddhi, 62 ; -ika, 62

lābhasakkāra, 39, 54
lena, 86
loka, -nātha, 50 ; -vivaraṇa, 50 ; lokuttarā dhammā, 23, 48

V

vagga, 30, 33
vacīkamma, 21, 106
vajjā-vajja, 48
vaḍḍhamānakacchāyā, 88, 102
vatta, 8 ; -anuvattapaṭipatti, 107 ; *see also* bhikkhācāravatta
vatthu (Vinaya), 14, 15, 32, 34, 38
vatthu (general), 61, 78
vatthu (site), 93, 102
vanacāra, 56
vayadhamma, 19
vassa, 6, 86, 87 ; -upanāyikā, 8 ; -upanāyikakāla, 85 ; -upanāyikaṭṭhāna, 85 ; avassika, 43
vāha, 44
vikkhittacitta, 48
vighāta, 29

V

vijitāvī, 63
vijjā, 1, 29
viññātasāsana, 81
vitakka, 56
vitthāramagga, 1
vinaya, 1–6, 9, 13–15, 18, 20, 23, 24, 29, 32–8, 52, 54, 55, 62, 63, 105–7 ; -ññū, 63 ; -tanti, 36 ; -dhara, 13, 107 ; -dhare ānisaṃsā, 107 ; -nidāna, 106 ; -patiṭṭhāpana, 107 ; pariyatti, 13, 107 ; -pariyattiyā ānisaṃso, 107 ; -paveṇi, 36 ; -vaṃsa, 36 ; -vādī, 4 ; -saṅgaha, 14 ; -saṅgīti, 38 ; vinaye visārada, 63 ; avinaya, avinayavādī, 4 ; *see also* Vinayapiṭaka, Proper Names.
vinicchaya, 1
vipatti, 24, 28, 29
vippaṭipanna, 56, 57
vipphandita, 106
vibhajjavāda, 62
vimutti, 1, 107 ; -rasa, 17 ; -ñāṇadassana, 107
virāga, 107
viriya, 11
vivāda, 92
visaṅkhāragata, 19
visārada, 63
visesa, 11
vihāra, 8–11, 48–51, 54–7, 61, 67, 74 ; -ṭṭhāna, 84 ; -maha, 49, 50
vījanī, 10, 13–15
vīhirāsisadisa, 93
veṇuyaṭṭhi, 78
Veda, 42
veda (tuṭṭhi), 31
vedalla, the aṅga, 28, 31
veyyākaraṇa, the aṅga, 23, 31
vohāra, 49 ; -desanā, 49

S

saṃvaṇṇanā, 1, 2
saṃvara, 25, 107 ; -mūlaka, 107 ; saṃvarā-saṃvarakathā, 25
saṃsāra, 19
sakadāgāmī, 4, 36, 37
sakaraṇīya, 5, 11
saṅkaravirahita, 23
saṅkhāra, 19
saṅgaha, 14, 20, 30, 33, 35, 38, 40, 63 ; tatiya-, 63, 106
saṅgāyanā, 3
saṅgīti, 5, 33, 38, 52, 62 ; tatiya-, 35, 37, 62–4 ; dutiya-, 38, 39 ; paṭhama-, 20
saṅgha, 1–6, 13, 15, 38, 49, 52, 54, 62, 78, 97, 98, 104 ; -kamma, 54 ; -tthera, 3, 74 ; -majjha, 107 ; *see also* ariyasaṅgha *and* bhikkhusaṅgha
saṅghādisesa, 14
saccakiriyā, 98 ; saccavacanakiriyā, 98
sacchikatanirodha, 28
saññīvāda, 62
satthā, 3, 4, 7–9, 48, 106
satthusāsana, 55 ; *see also* navaṅgasatthusāsana, sāsana and Buddhasāsana
saddhamma, 1, 3, 38, 40, 107 ; vaṃsakovida, 63 ; -varacakkavatti, 45
saddhā, 78
saddhivihārika, 36–8, 64
sannipāta, 11 ; -ṭṭhāna, 104
sannivāsa, 48
sabbaññubhāva, 19
sabhā, adhikaraṇa, 54
samaṇa, 42, 56, 72, 77, 78 ; -nāga, 59 ; -brāhmaṇa, 46
samaya, 62
samādhi, 1, 26, 29, 107 ; -sampadā, 29
samāpatti, 102
sambuddha, 1, 76
sampatti, 24, 28, 29

sammāsambuddha, 13, 45, 62, 75, 76, 87, 89, 94, 102 ; purimakā tayo sammāsambuddhā, 90, 92, 95, 102
sammāsambodhi, 17
sammiñjana, 48
saraṇa, 48, 65, 72, 78, 81, 82, 87
sassa, -ghāta, -pāka, 65
sassatavāda, 62
sāṇipākāra, 62
sādhukīḷana, 7
sāmaṇera, 43, 47, 48, 73, 74, 82, 87-9
sāmīcikamma, 87
sarīradhātu, 87, 94
sāvaka, 13, 77–9, 90, 106
sāsana (the Dispensation), 1, 3, 11, 13, 25, 30, 33, 38–40, 43, 48, 50, 51, 54, 56, 58, 60–4, 67–73, 78, 81, 84, 94, 105, 107 ; -pavatti, 79 ; -mala, 62 ; sāsanassa dāyāda, 50, 51 ; sāsanassa mūlāni, 105 ; *see also* Buddhasāsana *and* Satthusāsana
sāsana (admonition), 24, 27
sāsana (message), 58, 83, 95, 96, 101
sikkhā, 1, 24, 26, 27 ; kāma, 107 ; adhicitta-, adhipaññā-, adhisīla-, 26
siṅgiloṇakappa, 38
sivikā, 58, 78
sīmā, 38, 52
sīla, 1, 48, 65, 72, 95 ; -aṅga, 49 ; -kkhandha, 28, 83, 107 ; -vanta, 72 ; -sampatti, 29
sīhapañjara, 46–8
sukkhavipassaka, 4
sukha, 107
sutta, the aṅga, 5, 28, 31
sutta, 1, 20, 22, 24, 28–33, 65, 66, 81 ; -nta, 30, 31, 82 ; -ntika, 1 ; *see also* Suttapiṭaka, Proper Names.
supaṇṇa, 82, 101
supina, 59 ; -ajjhāyaka, 59
suppaṭipanna, 29
subhikkha, 91
suvaṇṇakaṭāha, 97–9, 103
suvaṇṇabhiṅkāra, 84
sekha, 5, 11 ; -paṭisambhidā, 5 ; sekhā dhammā, 23
sekhiya, 14
setakāni vatthāni, 62
setacchatta, 45, 48, 87–9, 103
senâsana, 6
sotâpattiphala, 43, 83
sotâpanna, 4, 36, 37
soḷasajātisampannakula, 102

H

hatthikumbha, 89, 93
hatthināga, 56, 59, 89, 93
hatthisālā, 83, 93
himagabbha, 103 ; -sattāha, 99
himavalāhaka, 99 ; -gabbha, 97, 99
hetu, 27 ; -phala, 27